

**He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reanga:
A critical analysis of *waiata* and *haka* as
commentaries and archives of Māori political
history**

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Dedication

For my Papa ~
Māhealani Keoki Greig Ka'ai,
And my Koro ~
Edwin Thomas Oldman.

Neither were Māori,
but both encouraged and supported my passion for Te Ao Māori.

There has not been a more fortunate grandchild than me
I miss you both terribly.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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*He kokonga whare e kitea
He kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea*

Abstract

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Māori language was exclusively oral. However, this did not in any way impede the archiving of knowledge and history deemed important by *tīpuna Māori*. In fact, tribal history, knowledge and traditions have been preserved for generations in the many *waiata* and *haka* composed throughout the country. Māori *waiata* are one example of a traditional medium for the transmission of knowledge including tribal history, politics, historical landmarks, genealogy and environmental knowledge while also acting as a traditional form of expression for the articulation of anger, hatred, sadness, love and desire. *Waiata* and *haka* are examples of Māori poetry and literature. They are important for the survival of the Māori language and culture. In this sense, *waiata* are bound to Māori identity and the identity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Waiata and *haka* have been likened to the archives of the Māori people, preserving important historical and cultural knowledge, and it is logical that in traditional Māori society these compositions would have acted as the ‘newspapers’ and perhaps even tribal philosophical doctrine of the time. *Waiata* offer an alternative view of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand to those that are based on mainstream Eurocentric history books and archives. However, many of these *waiata* are being lost through time and with them, a Māori knowledge base regarding the meaning behind the words. This is exaggerated by the fact that *waiata* contain the highest form of language utilising proverbs and figurative speech.

The purpose of this research is to establish the validity of *waiata* and *haka* as commentaries and archives of Māori political history. It has included the development of a proposal and template for an online digital repository of *waiata* that will include not only the music and lyrics but also an in-depth analysis of the meaning behind the lyrics. The site will be free to access and act as an archive to preserve oral histories contained within *waiata*. This will provide a national resource thus demonstrating the interface between recovering traditional knowledge and storing this through innovative technology especially, for future generations.

Preface

We dance round in a ring and suppose,
But the Secret sits in the middle and knows.¹
(Frost 1943: 46)

Personal Introduction

The topic for this thesis was chosen as a result of my dual passions for politics and Māori Studies. Consequently, I have combined both of these fields in my postgraduate studies.

The idea for a digital repository of *waiata*² and *haka*³ came to me during my research for my Master of Arts degree in 2004. I was frustrated that there was no source that continued the legacy of the *Ngā Mōteatea* series collated by Sir Apirana Ngata, and archived the *waiata* composed after *Ngā Mōteatea* was first published. I discussed this at length with my grandmother and told her of an idea I had for a ‘library’ or ‘archive’ of *waiata*. This, of course is not a new idea. However, most archives of this nature, such as that by Mervyn Mclean, are not readily accessible and comprehensive in the way that the *Ngā Mōteatea* collection is. The archive I had in mind would be housed online to increase availability. It would be a site where one could find everything one needed to know about the history of particular *waiata* in the one place. My maternal grandmother encouraged me to write the details of my design down in a notebook for future reference as I might want to pick it up as a project in the future. I did as she suggested and casually informed my supervisors of my plan at the time of my proposal. At that time I thought that was the end of it and had no intention of including this project as part of my PhD. In fact, I always imagined it would be something I would follow up in the future as part of a post-doctoral programme. However, when I was in the process of writing my proposal for my PhD, my supervisors suggested I think about including my idea for a digital repository initiative as part of my PhD, especially since I was enrolled at a university which encouraged innovation, the Auckland University of Technology. I followed their suggestion, and recovered my old notebook from several

¹ Robert Frost’s ‘The Secret sits’

² Poem, song, chant

³ Dances of various types – refers to both the composition and the dance

years earlier, with the entry about the digital repository, and wove this into my PhD research. I discuss this at length in Chapter Nine.

Meaning behind the title

In the past, the titles I have chosen for my research projects have reflected my dual passions for politics and for the traditional Māori performing arts.

My Bachelor of Arts with Combined Honours dissertation (2003) was titled ‘Te Mana o Te Reo: “E kore koe e ngaro, taku reo rangatira”.’ The thesis was an examination of Māori language decline as a result of the policies adopted by the New Zealand State education system. The latter part of the title is a line from one of Ngoi Pēwhairangi’s songs which summed up the final decree of the dissertation, that *te reo Māori*⁴ must never be lost. The late Ngoi Pēwhairangi was a prolific composer from my *hapū*⁵, Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare, in the tiny settlement of Tokomaru Bay on the East Coast of the North Island.

For my Master of Arts thesis (2005) I chose the title ‘Tākina ko au, tākina ko koe! Te Āhukatanga o te Whakataetae Kapa Haka’ the first part of which is a line from a famous Ngāti Porou *haka pōhiri*⁶ called *Te Urunga Tū, Te Urunga Pae*. The thesis focused on the impact that the Western notion of competition has had on the traditional Māori performing arts. The line from the *haka pōhiri* was appropriate to include as it has been translated as ‘I challenge and you challenge!’ (Kāretu 1993a: 46).

For this PhD thesis, I decided to continue my practice of quoting from the compositions of my *iwi*⁷, Ngāti Porou. Again, I returned to the beautiful compositions of Ngoi Pēwhairangi and this time I chose a line from one of her most cherished *waiata*, ‘Whakarongo’. I chose the line ‘He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reanga’, which refers to wisdom passed down for future generations. I believe that this could apply to all of the words our ancestors have passed down to us through our strong oral tradition, and particularly through our numerous traditional *waiata* and *haka*.

⁴ The Māori language

⁵ Grouping of families – small kinship group

⁶ Ceremonial dance performed to welcome visitors

⁷ Made up of several *hapū* - extended kinship group that often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor

Language

While I am very proud that I wrote my Master of Arts thesis entirely in *te reo Māori*, I have decided to write this thesis in English. It was a difficult decision to make, as I believe in the importance of Māori language academic writing. However, I view my reason for writing in English as being equally as important. I would like this thesis to reach a wide audience in order to gain support for the *kaupapa*⁸ of archiving *waiata* and *haka*.

Although the thesis is written in English, there are several Māori cultural concepts which appear in *te reo Māori*. These concepts, when explained in English could take an entire thesis to describe and explain, but in Māori they are represented by a single word:

There is a word, a short word, in the Maori language, a word of four letters, yet it expresses something which is very hard to put in English. I refer to the word *mana*⁹. Even the interpreter in the New Zealand Parliament could not translate it into English (Beattie 2004: 95).

In her article ‘Mele Lāhui: The Importance Of Pono In Hawaiian Poetry’, Leilani Basham highlights the difficulty of translating key concepts into English by using the Hawaiian example of ‘pono’:

As always, there is not a direct match between Hawaiian and English words. The word pono is usually translated in English as ‘righteous’ or ‘proper’, but is, in reality, much deeper, broader, and more complex, as evidenced by its definition in the two most complete Hawaiian language dictionaries (Basham 2008: 153).

These definitions appear on the following two pages (154-155) of the article. Basham then goes on to explain: ‘When we look at the word pono...we must retain these multiple understandings of the word. In order to encourage and assist the reader, I will not choose a translation for pono but will leave it in Hawaiian’ (Basham 2008: 155).

Throughout this thesis, the Māori concepts will remain in the language from which they originate, so as to preserve the integrity of their meaning. Māori terms will be footnoted

⁸ Plan, proposal, agenda

⁹ Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - *mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place or object

and the intended meaning of the words will be explained when they first appear. The Māori words can also be found in the glossary at the back of the thesis.

Moreover, I do not believe in translating the words of others, as much of the meaning can be lost in translation.

Is translating a 'local' text into a western language a form of neo-colonialism? What if such translations start being accepted and circulated as literary works in their own right?

...it is easy to start from stereotypes of foreign speech, and import these, perhaps unconsciously, into the translations (Finnegan 1992: 229).

There are decisions implicit in the process of translation. This is the power that the translator wields as illustrated in this excerpt from a piece of prose written by Pablo Neruda: '...An idea goes through a complete change because one word shifted its place' (Neruda 1977: 53). This is indicative of the politics involved in translation.

Therefore, there are several quotes written in the Māori language that have not been translated. Where this has occurred, I have endeavoured to imply the meaning of the quote with the surrounding text.¹⁰

Orthographic conventions

It should be noted that any quotation from interviews is from the transcript of the informant's spoken word; it is not the informant's written word. Therefore, the audio file is the primary source and not the transcription. There is a marked difference between the characteristics of oral and written forms of communication. In order to take what was once oral and reproduce it in a written form, one must edit. Therefore, the transcripts of informants have been edited in places to maintain a sense of fluidity and eliminate anything irrelevant or repetitious. The integrity of the information has been maintained as no content has been changed.

¹⁰ This is an accepted technique that can be found in Ka'ai, T. M. (2008). *Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi: An Extraordinary Life*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, as well as in Royal, T. A. C. (1992). *Te Haurapa: An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Limited.

Macrons have been used throughout the thesis. However, direct quotes have been kept in their original state. Thus, where a source which is being quoted has not employed the use of macrons, these will not appear in the quotation.

This thesis is written in English. Following international academic practices, any words from the Māori language or any other language which are not proper nouns appear in italics.

The word 'Indigenous' appears with a capital 'I', except where it is part of a direct quotation, as it corresponds with the term 'Western'.

A clarification of terms

This thesis employs the terminology 'Aotearoa/New Zealand'. There are many Māori terms for the various islands which make up what is now recognised internationally as 'New Zealand'. The term 'Aotearoa' is the one which I use to refer to my home country. While 'Aotearoa' originally referred to the North Island only, it is now widely used as a term for the whole country. The name 'New Zealand' is attributed to an anonymous cartographer from the Dutch East India Company who, following Dutch explorer Abel Tasman's 'discovery' of this land, named it 'Nieuw Zeeland' or in Latin 'Zelandia Nova' (King 2003: 99).

'Māori' is the general term used in the description of the Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand and will be used throughout the thesis. Though, it must be noted that prior to the arrival of Pākehā¹¹, there was no need for the term 'Māori' as we know it today, as Aotearoa/New Zealand was a land of nations. That is, people lived in and identified with the traditional kinship structure of *whānau*¹², *hapū* and *iwi*. John Rangihau posits,

My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person...Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history (Rangihau 1975: 232).

¹¹ Non-Māori New Zealander of European descent

¹² Immediate and extended family

Rangihau argues that everything is lost by losing one's own tribal history and traditions, as these are the foundations of identity.

To me, Tuhoetanga means that I do the things that are meaningful to Tuhoe...I have a faint suspicion that Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity (Rangihau 1975: 233).

As Rangihau explains, the phrase 'Māori history' is somewhat ambiguous as most Māori connect more with their own tribal history. Jackson agrees:

A key concept of identification in traditional terms is not "Maori-ness" but "tribal-ness" – Kahungunutanga or Arawatanga or Tuhoetanga, as distinct from Maoritanga. One's "Maori-ness" today is still derived from the tribe. Tribal whakatauki¹³, waiata and tangi¹⁴ voice its history; whakapapa¹⁵ outline its genealogical and historic ties. References to identity, history and place are "tribal" not "national" (Jackson 1987: 20).

Variations in traditions and knowledge occur primarily and most noticeably at an *iwi* level.

The term Polynesia will be used to refer to the area of the Pacific which is home to Aotearoa/New Zealand Māori. It is not an ideal word as it has its roots in a Eurocentric world-view. According to Howe, 'Even basic terms we use to discuss the Pacific Ocean, its peoples and their history are culturally loaded' (Howe 2003: 24). Furthermore, 'The partition of the Pacific by Europeans into the categories of Micronesia and Melanesia and Polynesia is a dubious construct' (Howe 2003: 89). However, it is the most common term available to describe the area.

Another clarification must be made regarding the word *haka*. These days, it is common for the word *haka* to refer solely to the male dominated realm of performing arts known as 'posture dances', this includes such genres as *haka taparahi*¹⁶ and *peruperu*¹⁷. This exclusive use of the word *haka* is something that began with the arrival of Pākehā and

¹³ Proverb, saying, cryptic saying, aphorism

¹⁴ Lament. Also known as *waiata tangi*

¹⁵ Genealogy

¹⁶ Ceremonial haka – usually pertains to a social or political issue. Performed without weapons and usually the performers will lower themselves to the ground at some point during the performance

¹⁷ The true war-dance, performed with weapons immediately prior to battle

their observations, which may have been influenced by the fact that those forms of *haka* are particularly unique to Māori, even in a Pacific context. Since then, the stereotypical association of the term *haka* has largely been with the ‘posture dance’ such as a *haka taparahi*.

Image 1: *Haka taparahi*¹⁸



Haka performed by Ngāti Tūwharetoa, led by Sir Hepi Te Heuheu, at the return of the Māori Battalion from World War II, Wellington wharves, January, 1946.

Arapeta Marukitipua Awatere of Ngāti Porou states that *haka* is a broad term and refers to ‘recited form of dances accompanied by action’ (Awatere 1975: 512). He then goes on to address some of the misconceptions regarding *haka* by identifying the variety of *haka* that were traditionally performed (Awatere 1975: 512-515). The Williams dictionary defines the word *haka* as ‘dance’ (noun and verb) and a song accompanying a dance (noun and verb) (Williams 1971: 31). It should be noted that in this thesis, the use of the word *haka* refers to its ancient meaning. The traditional meaning encompasses the full range of traditional Māori dance, not just the male dominated posture dance.

¹⁸ PAColl-7171-83, New Zealand Free Lance Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

The *marae* is a place where meetings and important events pertaining to Māori families take place such as welcoming and hosting visitors, weddings, birthday celebrations, political meetings, Māori performing arts practices, religious services, educational conferences and *tangihanga*¹⁹. Traditionally, the term *marae* referred to the open land in front of the *wharenuī*²⁰, which is the realm of Tūmatauenga, the *atua*²¹ of people and violent, decisive action or war. This is reflected in the saying ‘*te umu pokapoka a Tūmatauenga*’ or the ‘fiery ovens of Tūmatauenga - used to refer to the *marae* as being the realm of Tūmatauenga, the *atua* of war. A provocative and aggressive approach can be taken by speakers on the *marae*’ (Moorfield date unknown: electronic source). The meaning of the term *marae* has extended in contemporary times to include the surrounding lands and the complex of surrounding buildings including the *wharenuī* and the *wharekai*²² (Higgins & Moorfield 2004: 73).

Scope of research

I do not believe in justifying my use of Māori sources, research methodology, and world-view. This, I feel, is a trap that puts the coloniser and dominant world-view at the centre. However, I have included a lengthy discussion of why I have chosen my method as it is appropriate to explain this in detail for the purpose of a thorough research paper. This thesis will not delve into the questions regarding the ‘reality’ of Hawaiki. It is not concerned with the argument of whether or not ‘Hawaiki’ constitutes a ‘real’ place or the questions regarding the exact location of Hawaiki. The Māori oral tradition makes reference to *tīpuna*²³ Māori using navigation to reach Aotearoa/New Zealand from their Polynesian homeland. The oral tradition also notes the strong link that Māori feel to that homeland which is commonly referred to as ‘Hawaiki’. Hawaiki is regarded both as an ancestral homeland and a spiritual homeland to which those who have died return.

There have been numerous explanations regarding the different genres of *waiata* and *haka*. For this reason, the various genres will not be the focus of this thesis. Instead, this research will focus on *waiata* that are an historical record, and more specifically a record of Māori political history. Therefore, there will be certain genres of *waiata* that

¹⁹ Ceremonial rites for the dead

²⁰ Meeting house, ancestral house – main building of a *marae* where guests are accommodated

²¹ Ancestor with continuing influence, divine ancestor

²² Dining hall

²³ Ancestors. In some tribal areas this word appears as *tīpuna*

will remain largely unaddressed. This includes *karakia*²⁴. *Waiata* and *haka* have been categorised and re-categorised numerous times since first contact. This will not be done in this thesis as there are already several publications covering this aspect.

The scope of the research is primarily anchored in the political analysis of *waiata*.

Thesis Outline

Preface: A personal introduction, guidelines on how the thesis is written, a note about language and clarification on the meaning of terms used (where this may be ambiguous.)

Chapter One: The introduction to the thesis. This includes a discussion regarding the significance of the study, an explanation of a Māori world-view as illustrated in research frameworks, a discussion of *mātauranga Māori*, an examination of Indigenous research ethics, the research method used, the secondary sources available.

Chapter Two: This chapter will examine the validity of oral tradition in Aotearoa/New Zealand and places this in the context of the Pacific and general oral tradition research. In addition, a history of *te reo Māori* will be provided up until first contact with Pākehā and traditional knowledge transmission methods will be explored.

Chapter Three: This chapter will explore the origins of the Māori performing arts and the narratives pertaining to *waiata* and *haka*. This will include narratives from different tribes describing the early usages of *waiata* and *haka*.

Chapter Four: In this chapter, the importance of *waiata* and *haka* in maintaining oral tradition will be discussed with reference to the stories and *waiata* from Hawaiki. This will be conducted with reference to specific examples of *waiata* which still exist in living memory.

²⁴ To recite ritual chants, incantation, prayer - chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures

- Chapter Five: The impact of language decline on the evolution of *waiata* is the primary focus of this chapter. This will be achieved through an examination of the chronology of Māori language decline in Aotearoa/New Zealand since the arrival of Pākehā.
- Chapter Six: This chapter will focus on the ability of *waiata* and *haka* to act as political commentaries of the time. The impact of colonisation on the content of composition and the archiving of *waiata* and *haka* will also be explored.
- Chapter Seven: The validity of *waiata* and *haka* as forms of archiving historical information will be explored, with particular focus on *waiata* and *haka* as Waitangi Tribunal evidence. Examples will be provided.
- Chapter Eight: This chapter will consist of the proposal for the creation of a national digital repository for the preservation of *waiata* and *haka*. Furthermore, the name of the digital repository, Tāmata Toiere, will be explained.
- Chapter Nine: This chapter will explore the practical application of the proposal, including an outline of the website and how the compositions will be loaded onto the site. Still images of the website as well as the web-addresses will be provided.
- Chapter Ten: This chapter will focus on tying together the main points of the thesis.
- Glossary: List of Māori terms used in the thesis.
- Bibliography: The references and sources used in the research of the topic.

Chapter One

Introduction

Nei rā ō puipuiaki, ō tongarerewa
Rauhītia! Maimoatia!
Engari kei noho koe
Ka tuku kia mate!

Yours is an illustrious heritage
Cherish it, nurture it
But never ever
Let it die!
(Kāretu 1993a: 14)

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Māori language was exclusively oral. However, this did not in any way impede the archiving of knowledge and history deemed important by *tīpuna Māori*. In fact, tribal history, knowledge and traditions have been preserved for generations in the many *waiata* and *haka* composed throughout the country. Māori *waiata* are one example of a traditional medium for the transmission of knowledge including tribal history, politics, historical landmarks, genealogy and environmental knowledge while also acting as a traditional form of expression for the articulation of anger, hatred, sadness, love and desire.

Tīpuna Māori arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand from Hawaiki carrying with them all of the knowledge of their own *tīpuna*, none of which was written down. The rich Māori oral tradition is treasured and celebrated by Māori. *Waiata* and *haka* are examples of Māori poetry and literature. They are important for the survival of the Māori language and culture. ‘*Waiata* are a tribal archive. They recall the tribal past by references to ancestors, historical incidents, and the landscape’ (McRae 2004: 134). In this sense, *waiata* are bound to Māori identity and the identity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Furthermore, *waiata* are linked to the identity of Māori as Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Waiata and *haka* can be likened to the archives of the Māori people, preserving important historical and cultural knowledge, and it is logical that in traditional Māori society these compositions would have acted as the ‘newspapers’, ‘history books’ and

perhaps even tribal philosophical doctrine of the time. *Waiata* offer an alternative view of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand from those that are based on mainstream Eurocentric history books and archives. However, many of these *waiata* are being lost through time and, with them, a Māori knowledge base regarding the meaning behind the words. This is exaggerated by the fact that *waiata* contain what is regarded as the highest form of language. This includes extensive use of proverbs and figurative speech.

The research for this thesis has included the development of a proposal and template for an online digital repository of *waiata* and *haka* that will include not only the music and lyrics of *waiata* and *haka*, but also an in-depth analysis of the meaning behind the lyrics. The site will be free to access and act as an archive to preserve oral histories contained within *waiata*. This will provide a national resource, thus demonstrating the interface between recovering traditional knowledge and storing this through innovative technology for future generations.

Māori world-view

In his talks with Beattie, Teone Taare Tikao stated:

The white man is taught that the world is round like an orange, but I was taught that it is round like a plate. You learn that it is round like a ball, but I learned that it is flat like a plate, and I still believe this. The Maoris of old said the world is flat, not a globe, but they never said how thick it is...Ancient songs say the world is circular and that the sand lies round it like a rim, and that outside and beyond this is space (Beattie 2004: 9).²⁵

This is an example of what can occur when two opposing world-views converge. As Marsden explains, ‘the worldview lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture’ (Royal 2003: 56). Therefore, it is difficult to separate oneself from one’s world-view, as it acts as a type of filter system. The statement by Tikao highlights the potential for misconceptions that can occur when a person with their own specific world-view ‘studies’ another culture, with no understanding of that culture’s world-view. Another culture can be compared to

²⁵ This tradition is not one that the researcher has been able to find in any other source. Therefore, it is unlikely that this is a widely held belief amongst the different *iwi*

a set of texts that an outsider to the culture ‘...strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong’ (Geertz 1973: 452).

In her teaching, Professor Tania Ka‘ai uses the upside down map of Aotearoa/New Zealand to illustrate a Māori world-view. According to a Māori world-view, the direction North is ‘down’ and South is ‘up’. At first, the image of ‘upside-down’ Aotearoa/New Zealand can be quite confronting to people from outside of the Māori culture, as they are presented with something that goes against everything they have come to accept as the norm up until that point. This is yet another example of the inherent nature of world-view.

Image 2: Pākehā world-view informed map



Image 2a: Māori world-view informed map



Jackson argues that a culture can not be understood without reference to its world-view and this is the basis for core values.

Anthropologists and sociologists have long been aware of the extreme difficulty in making accurate cross-cultural comparisons. Because each culture is unique, the behavior exhibited by its members has certain unique characteristics. No members of a culture can be understood in isolation from the cultural forces which shape them, and no culture can be understood unless account is taken of the attitudes, expectations, beliefs and values on which it is based (Jackson 1987: 25).

Those who have written books about oral tradition and field research, such as Henige and Finnegan, assume that the researcher is always from outside of the culture. Historically, this has usually been the case. However, misunderstandings can arise between members of different cultures (Allen & Montell 1981: 12).

There has been, and continues to be, considerable debate over the best ways to conduct ethnographic interviews – encounters of members of one culture with those of another, often quite different, culture. Some believe that it is most important to understand the viewpoint of the society of the interviewees from the ‘inside’, whereas others argue that a society is best perceived, described, and understood by a ‘disinterested’ observer who normally lives outside it and who is able to see many of its facets at once. Many historians and anthropologists, who view the first alternative as unattainable and the second as too clinical, prefer a middle position in which the best of each of these is blended in one way or another. While the historian must realise that he can never fully achieve the intellectual perspective of the members of the society he is studying, he also recognises that only a sensitivity to the importance of this perspective will enable him to pursue research with any chance of success (Henige 1982: 39).

Henige does not address any circumstance where the researcher is from within the culture that is the focus of the research, such as a Māori researcher in the field of Māori Studies. Being an ‘insider’, or a member of the same culture as the people with whom you will be working, can be both an advantage and disadvantage depending on the research topic being pursued. In the case of this research topic, it presents itself as an advantage, from Allen & Montell’s view,

You share with them major historical experiences and a cultural system based on similar values, symbols, customs, and attitudes. You will understand nuances of meaning accessible only to someone thoroughly imbued with the cultural values of a specific group (Allen & Montell 1981: 11).

One of the ‘disadvantages’ that is routinely referred to when the researcher is an insider is the lack of objectivity. ‘The historian’s purpose, of course, is to try to construct as accurate and as complete an interpretation of the past as he can, in light of the evidence he creates and uses’ (Henige 1982: 46). This is ideally what would happen. However, the historian’s world-view must also be considered as a contributing factor in what version of history is decided on and published. Fortunately, ‘historians are increasingly coming to recognise the ideal of “objectivity” as illusory’ (Allen & Montell 1981: 21).

The world-view of the researcher is intrinsic, and therefore, it affects their research in every way. The challenge lies in the search for a model²⁶, or method, that accepts the filtering nature of a world-view and therefore, accommodates the world-view of the researcher in the research method. In the past,

Theories which were developed in a Western framework have been applied to the Maori community with little questioning of their relevance or validity in a Maori setting. The research has therefore advanced hypotheses about the Maori community which assert Pakeha values as an unquestioned “given”, and attempt to explain Maori behavior within the framework of those values’ (Jackson 1988: 63).

Jackson argues that the descriptions of Māori worth and Māori identity are commonly determined by the Pākehā society. He believes that there is truth in the old adage that ‘the namer of names is the father of all things’ (Jackson 1988: 72). The research will be skewed if one tries to apply Western research techniques and analytical tools to a Māori *kaupapa*. Māori can draw on their own Indigenous knowledge in order to develop theoretical understandings and practices in relation to research. Freire suggests people must ‘name the world’ for themselves. This is a process of creation and transformation (Freire 1972b: 61-62).

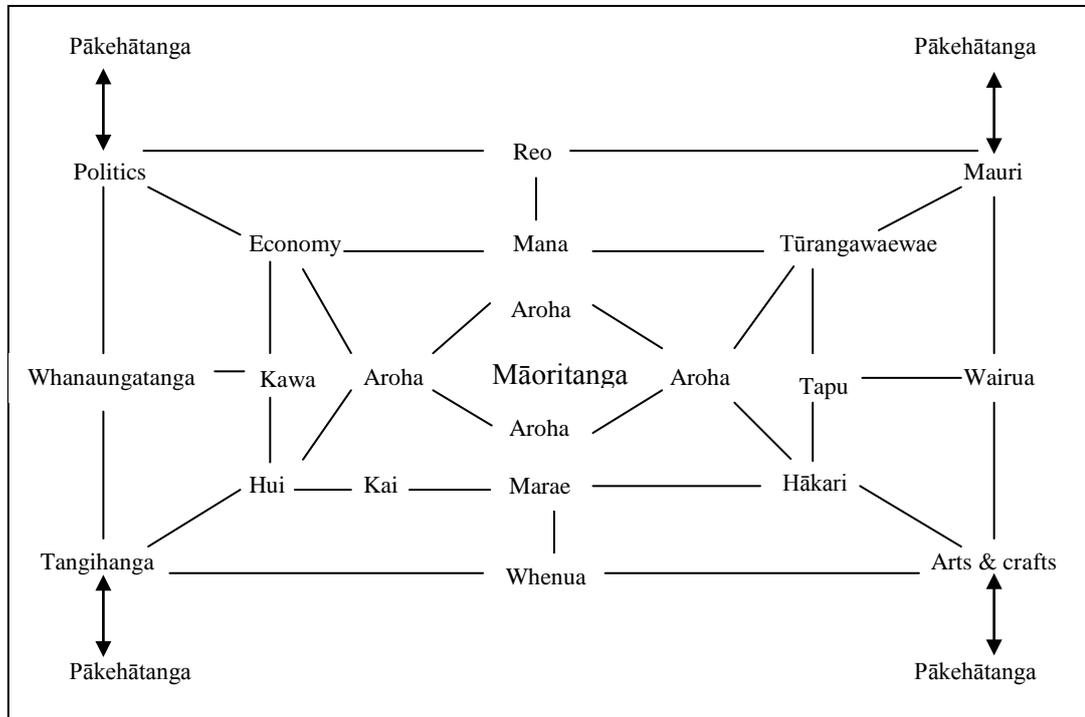
Methodology

This thesis is located in a Kaupapa Māori ideological framework because it enables a critical examination and analysis of *mātauranga Māori* from a Māori world-view. The holistic nature of the Māori world-view and the inter-connectedness of Māori cultural concepts is best illustrated by the late John Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rangihau in a model

²⁶ A model is a symbolic structure which is used to represent an aspect of reality. It is often used to provide insight into certain ideas

that he developed to help non-Māori understand the Māori world-view more effectively.

Figure 1: Rangihau’s Conceptual Model



(Ka'ai & Higgins 2004: 16)

The word ‘Māoritanga’ is used at the centre of the model as it was a common word used in the 1970s to describe what we now more commonly refer to as a Māori world-view. Ka'ai argues that the placement of the Māori world at the very centre of the Rangihau model, and Pākehā culture on the periphery, reflects a culturally specific framework from which to understand a Māori world-view and which some academics, like Ka'ai, call Kaupapa Māori Ideology:

Rangihau locates the Pākehā on the periphery of the cultural framework/model thus depicting an interface with the Pākehā world. This is an important feature of the model as it does not propose that Māori be assimilated, integrated or subsumed by non-Māori into the dominant culture (Ka'ai 2004: unpublished paper).

The Māori world is at the core of Rangihau’s model and from there the researcher can place their research within the model, as everything is inter-linked. If the research is based in a Māori world-view, then Māori values form the backbone of the research

(Ka'ai 2004: unpublished paper). In other words, this is a Māori Studies thesis, therefore it is fitting that a Māori Studies model is used as the basis of the thesis.

In my opinion, the placement of the cultural concepts in the model reflects primary relationships between the concepts. For example: the first layer/tier from the centre outward is AROHA, which emphasises the notion that *whānau/hapū/iwi* are committed to the survival of their kinship group/s to ensure their identity as *tangata whenua*²⁷ for future generations. Many *whakataukī* have been developed to depict this (Ka'ai 2004: unpublished paper).

The Rangihau model visually identifies the holistic nature of the Māori world-view. Therefore, the reader will immediately place the work within that framework. It is also evident within the model that the Māori world-view is not isolated from the reality of interfacing with Pākehā society.

There are many cultural concepts that were not included by Rangihau; however, the beauty of the model is that other cultural concepts can be added to the model as further layers, in a similar way to how they are woven into the holistic Māori world-view. Other cultural concepts that could be added include *whatumanawa*²⁸, *pūmanawa*²⁹, *mana atua*³⁰, *mana tangata*³¹, *mana whenua*³².

The Māori performing arts are linked with many of the concepts in Rangihau's Model such as *hui*³³, *tangihanga*, *marae*, *hākari*³⁴, *reo*³⁵, and *kawa*³⁶ (Ka'ai 2004: unpublished paper). This is illustrated in the following model which has been developed to reflect the focus of this particular research.

The *Tienga*³⁷ Model

Tienga, is an ornately patterned mat only woven out of *kiekie* (*Freycinetia baueriana banksii*)³⁸. The *tienga* was used solely for ceremonial occasions such as consummating

²⁷ Local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land - people born of the *whenua*

²⁸ Seat of emotions, heart, mind

²⁹ Natural talent

³⁰ Power and talents derived from the divine ancestors

³¹ Power and status accrued through one's leadership talents

³² Territorial rights, power from the land

³³ Meeting, gathering

³⁴ Feast

³⁵ Language, voice, dialect

³⁶ Protocol, procedure, custom

³⁷ Ornately woven mat used for ceremonial purposes

a marriage, birthing, *karakia* and especially before men went off to battle. Warriors were blessed on a *tīenga* to give them *ihi*³⁹ and *wehi*⁴⁰ prior to going into battle. After the blessing, they were not permitted to sleep with their *wāhine*⁴¹ the night before battle and in a sense could be likened to being in a state of *tapu*⁴².

The *tīenga* was used because of the strength of the fibre and because the pattern woven in the *tīenga* was usually either the *turi whati*⁴³ pattern which represents the stance the men assume in a *haka* or, the *kaokao*⁴⁴ pattern, representing the strength of the men. An overlapping of *whenu*⁴⁵, sinstrals (left strands) and dextral (right strands), combines the *ihi* and *wehi* of these iconic performances of *haka* by Māori men (Te Kanawa⁴⁶ 2010: personal communication).

³⁸ A thick native vine which has long leaves with fine teeth crowded at the end of branches. Flowers consist of three cream-coloured fingers surrounded by fleshy white bracts. Leaves used for weaving. Found in both the North and South Islands in coastal and lowland forest and scrub

³⁹ One of three concepts associated with the Māori performing arts. Refers to essential force, excitement, power, charm, personal magnetism, psychic force

⁴⁰ One of three concepts associated with the Māori performing arts. Refers to a response of awe in reaction to *ihi*

⁴¹ Women

⁴² Be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection

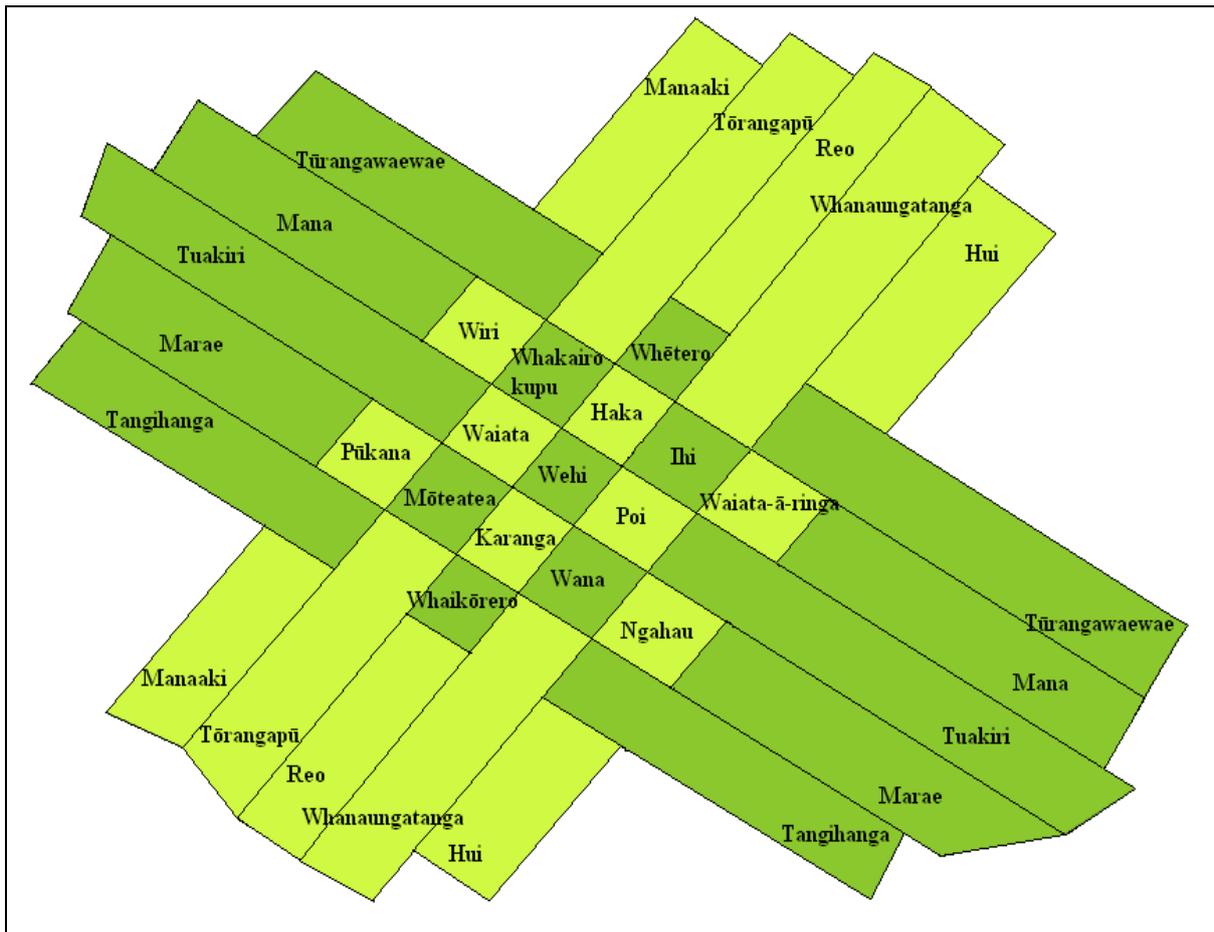
⁴³ Bent knees

⁴⁴ Arm pits

⁴⁵ Threads or strands of the woven flax

⁴⁶ Kahutoi Te Kanawa is a *tohunga raranga*, expert in *raranga*, from Ngāti Maniapoto of Tainui

Figure 2: *Tienga Model*



The *Tienga* model has been adapted by the researcher from the example provided by Te Rangihau and continues the tradition of illustrating the holistic nature of a Māori world-view. The model demonstrates how different concepts can be woven together in the form of traditional *raranga*,⁴⁷ the art of Māori weaving.

This traditional art form is closely linked to the Māori performing arts as they both belong to Te Kete Aronui. Te Kete Aronui is one of the three baskets of knowledge and pertains to love, peace and the arts and crafts⁴⁸. Furthermore, they are linked through *whakapapa*. *Raranga* falls under the mantle of Hine-te-iwaiwa, who is the *atua* of childbirth, *raranga*, and anything pertaining to women (Huata 2000: 23-24). Hine-te-iwaiwa was the wife of Tinirau, a famous figure in Māori tradition, and they are both

⁴⁷ Weaving

⁴⁸ Not all iwi subscribe to the philosophies surrounding the three baskets of knowledge. Further discussion about the *kete* can be found in Shirres, M. P. *Te Tangata – The Human Person*. Auckland: Accent Publications (pp.15-19).

central to a traditional story that recalls an early reference to *kapa haka*⁴⁹. This narrative will be explored further in Chapter Three.

Raranga has gone through a revival in recent times and although it still uses traditional resources, it has also adapted to the modern world by including other materials such as the feathers of introduced species of bird. In this way, *raranga* parallels with *waiata*, as *waiata* has also been part of a traditional Māori performing arts revival and adapted to current conditions.

The concepts that are woven together in the model are significant concepts in a Māori world-view, many of which can also be found in the Rangihau model. The concepts are: *tūrangawaewae*⁵⁰, *mana*, *tuakiri*⁵¹, *marae*, *tangihanga*, *hui*, *whanaungatanga*⁵², *reo*, *tōrangapū*⁵³, and *manaaki*⁵⁴. Those concepts then create the finished piece in the middle with the concepts pertaining to the Māori performing arts in the centre. The performing arts concepts are: *waiata*, *haka*, *mōteatea*⁵⁵, *karanga*⁵⁶, *whaikōrero*⁵⁷, *ngahau*⁵⁸, *poi*⁵⁹, *waiata-ā-ringa*⁶⁰, *whakairo kupu*⁶¹, *ihi*, *wehi*, *wana*⁶², *pūkana*⁶³, *wiri*⁶⁴, and *whētero*⁶⁵. All of these concepts form *Te Tīenga* and collectively reflect the basis of the research thus providing the context through which the rest of the thesis can be understood.

Like the Rangihau Model, these concepts serve as merely an example of the numerous concepts that could be included. Other concepts can easily be added thus increasing the size of the *tīenga* and subsequently the scope of the research. These include concepts

⁴⁹ *Haka* group

⁵⁰ Place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and *whakapapa*

⁵¹ Identity

⁵² Relationship, kinship and sense of family connection

⁵³ Politics

⁵⁴ To provide hospitality, to share, support, take care of, protect, or look out for

⁵⁵ A generic term for traditional orally transmitted songs/poems both sung and chanted types

⁵⁶ Formal or ceremonial call of welcome made by women to visitors onto a *marae*, or equivalent venue

⁵⁷ Oratory - formal speeches usually made by men using eloquent language which includes imagery, metaphor, relevant *whakapapa* and references to tribal history

⁵⁸ Entertainment, entertaining dance

⁵⁹ A ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment, it is both the term for the object and for the dance

⁶⁰ Action song - a popular modern song type with set actions and European-type tunes

⁶¹ Compose, composition of *waiata*

⁶² One of three concepts associated with the Māori performing arts. Refers to being exciting, thrilling, and inspiring awe

⁶³ To dilate the eyes - done by both genders when performing *haka* and *waiata* to emphasise particular words

⁶⁴ Trembling or quivering of the hands during performance

⁶⁵ Protrusion of tongue by male performers

such as *taonga pūoro*⁶⁶, *auaha*⁶⁷, and *kākahu*⁶⁸. Furthermore, the model reiterates the need for researchers in the field of the Māori performing arts to understand a Māori world-view, as Māori cultural concepts and traditions cannot be fully understood in isolation from each other.

The holistic nature of the Māori world-view is illustrated in the following observation by Pākehā ethnomusicologist Mervyn McLean. When discussing Peter Awatere's style during interviews or discussions, McLean states:

His method was different from anything I was accustomed to. A question was seldom answered directly. Instead, if one can imagine the question in the centre of a circle, he would jump repeatedly to the circumference, working his way in to the middle, and then repeat the process. When he finished, after 20 minutes or so, I had my answer, and its entire context as well (McLean 2004: 26).

Mātauranga Māori

Kāretu highlights the significance of world-view when looking inward at one's own culture:

...none of us is able to be objective in our analysis of ourselves. We see ourselves quite differently from the way others see us, and what we may say might be a direct contradiction of what others might say and think (Kāretu 1979: 27).

The primary aim of this thesis is to emphasize the importance of the historical observations, opinions and judgments about Māori that come from within the culture, many of which are referred to in ancient Māori *waiata* and *haka*. However, there are some academics who question research conducted within one's own culture.

For centuries, the focus of Western historians has been on documenting the past of large political units; the nation has traditionally been regarded as the smallest meaningful historical unit, although, in recent years, histories of regions and communities have received an increasing amount of attention. From the viewpoint of many academic historians, however, local history written by members of their own ranks is at best an exercise in methodology and otherwise a product of provincial thought...(Allen & Montell 1981: 4).

⁶⁶ Musical instrument

⁶⁷ Creativity and innovation

⁶⁸ Costume, garment, cloak

While some academics may question the validity of research conducted in one's own culture, Marsden supports the notion that Māori research is best conducted by Māori. He posits,

The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. That is more likely to lead to a goal. As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of the Māori, my approach to Māori things is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me; the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality (Royal 2003: 2).

Marsden critiques the approach of Pākehā anthropologists who make superficial observations and judgments about a culture that they have only ever experienced from the outside:

Only an approach which sets out to explore and describe the main features of the consciousness in the experience of the Māori offers any hope of adequate coverage. For the reality we experience subjectively is incapable of rational synthesis. This is why so many Māori react against the seemingly facile approach of foreign anthropologists to their attitudes, mores and values, and the affective states of mind which produce them...The only way lies through a passionate, inward subjective approach (Royal 2003: 22-23).

Māori have a long history of being studied by Pākehā; those outside of Māori culture, and consequently through this process Māori have been cast as 'the other'.

I am not the 'other'; I am the 'self'. I am an Indigenous woman that has been raised in a Māori environment; therefore I have a Māori world-view. In my world I am at the centre, not on the periphery. I do not believe in post-colonial theory, and while I have studied it, I refuse to use it as the basis for my own work. Why must I filter my work through the theories of another when I have available to me theories that place my world at the centre? They may not be as widely published or as accepted in academia as post-colonial theory, but that does not make them any less important or valid. This is a Māori Studies dissertation, if I can not use Māori Studies theory as the basis of this work, when can I? Furthermore, the structure of my thesis is inherently linked to my methodology. We have a rich oral tradition in Māori society and part of that tradition is the ability to tell a story by weaving together many different strands without losing the 'rhythm' of the narrative. My dissertation is a *whāriki*⁶⁹ in which I have woven the literature. It is my

⁶⁹ Floor covering, ground cover, floor mat, carpet, woven mat

hope that you will not view this as being less, but rather, embrace the difference (Ka'ai-Oldman 2003).⁷⁰

Academic institutions often have a set approach to research based on a long tradition of Western values, beliefs and practices. When that tradition is challenged by an individual, it is often the individual who is seen as being in need of change, rather than the institution. For Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, mainstream education has perpetuated this cycle and enforced colonial values.

The emphasis within such research has often been ethnocentric in that we have been compared with what have been described as universal, objective (read 'Pākehā') norms and found to be wanting. Our unique history, society and culture have often been disregarded in this process (Cram 2000: 36).

This is a common theme that runs through the experiences of many Indigenous peoples who have been victims of colonisation. Often (not always) the research that is conducted by those outside of the culture, is done from a position of power and the results of the research are tainted by the cultural lens of the researcher rather than being a true representation of the Indigenous culture. 'The cultural damage that has been done in the past by poor scholarship has brought much Maori cultural knowledge and heritage into disrepute' (O'Regan 2001: 36).

Moreover, the products of these research endeavours (for example, books, articles, conference papers) often benefit the researcher and not the Indigenous community. It should be a requirement that,

The first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge must be the direct indigenous descendants of such knowledge. Indigenous peoples are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge (Moorfield 2006: 115).

As part of regaining and maintaining control of Māori knowledge, Māori focussed research should be viewed through a Māori world-view-informed lens and not forced into preconceived Pākehā methodologies.

⁷⁰ Statement made during oral examination for the Bachelor of Arts with Honours 4th year dissertation. This statement was never recorded and therefore has been written from the researcher's own memory. It is the researcher's own oral history.

...there is now a pressing need for us to decolonise Māori research. Māori research by, with and for Māori is about regaining control over Māori knowledge and Māori resources. It is about having tino rangatiratanga⁷¹ over research that investigates Māori issues (Cram 2000: 37).

In the Mātaatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples⁷² (1993), the following recommendations were made to States, National and International Agencies:

- 2.1 Recognise that indigenous peoples are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge.
- 2.2 Recognise that indigenous peoples also have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions (cited in Cram 2000: 39).

According to Moana Jackson, information which is gained during Kaupapa Māori research is often hard to analyse within traditional Pākehā methodologies. However, Māori are capable of developing their own, equally valid research methodologies and frameworks which meet their own specific needs. Furthermore, when conducting research about Māori, the Māori researcher is primarily accountable to the Māori community. 'It is a framework which will allow for a synthesis of Maori views' (Jackson 1987: 42).

Indigenous Research Ethics

In keeping with Jackson's assertion that we, as Indigenous people and Treaty partners, have the right to develop our own processes of research, the researcher has adopted a set of research ethics and practices combining personal experience of undertaking research and that of other researchers such as Ka'ai (Ka'ai 1995: 110-112). The research ethics and practices are couched in *tikanga*⁷³ Māori and denote that:

- 1.0 It is essential that *kaumātua*⁷⁴, Māori leaders and/or Māori repositories⁷⁵ be consulted about the nature of the research and be supportive of the research being conducted.

⁷¹ Self-determination

⁷² Formulated at the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Whakatāne, Aotearoa 12-18 June 1993.

⁷³ Correct procedure, custom, lore

⁷⁴ Elder

⁷⁵ Often all three are mutually inclusive

- 2.0 All research on or about Māori must be beneficial to the Māori community and researchers should be open about their intentions.

‘The ethos of research is moving away from the model of outside researchers ‘doing research on’ or ‘collecting from’ some particular people and themselves somehow owning the results’ (Finnegan 1992: 232).

- 3.0 The researcher recognises the honour and privilege of accessing Māori knowledge:

It should be recognised that some people who may contribute to the research may be chronologically young, but their wisdom is valuable. To adopt an attitude as a researcher that one is merely a vehicle for the expression of Māori knowledge in an academic context, provides a sound basis from which to work among Māori communities (Ka‘ai 1995: 111).

- 4.0 The researcher observes Māori protocol at all times in the context of conducting research and allow for this in the preparation of the research plan. ‘Researchers and writers need to observe indigenous protocols in the context of gathering the narratives or in conducting research. They need to allow for this in collecting the material’ (Moorfield 2006: 115).

- 5.0 The researcher presents the option of conducting the research in either the English language or in *te reo Māori*. Most importantly, interviewing in a language that is not the preferred language of the informant can cost the interviewer in accuracy and can, make the informant feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. The guiding principle should be to safeguard participants from harm or embarrassment.

- 6.0 Respect for the informant and accommodating their needs should come first as part of responsible research. ‘The most outstanding characteristic of oral research is its unpredictability. The need to deal constantly with living sources and with a pertinent past guarantees that no amount of forethought can anticipate fully what will happen’ (Henige 1982: 39). Therefore, the researcher must be flexible.

During interviews the historian will often have to deal with interruptions: family emergencies, visits from neighbours, meals, social

occasions. He will quickly learn that on these occasions a willing self-effacement is necessary and he should always be prepared to break off an interview if he senses that his informant needs to, or simply wants to, do something else for the moment (Henige 1982: 59-60).

When conducting research following *tikanga Māori*, the researcher must take into consideration those cultural events and practices which are mostly unplanned such as *te whānau mai o te tamaiti*⁷⁶, *hura kōhatu*⁷⁷, *tangihanga*, *te rā o te tekau mā rua*⁷⁸, *poukai*⁷⁹, *kawe mate*⁸⁰, *whakataetae kapa haka*⁸¹, *pōhiri*⁸², *manuhiri*⁸³, *hui*, etc.

- 7.0 The researcher must always acknowledge and cite all sources of knowledge in the text of the research.

It is of course important that the sources of the writing are acknowledged. In the past this has not always been done, an example from Aotearoa/New Zealand being the texts in Māori collected by Sir George Grey, in the mid 19th Century. While most of his material was written by Māori, especially Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke, none of these authors were acknowledged by Grey in his publications (Moorfield 2006: 115-116).

- 8.0 The researcher, on completion of the research with the Māori community, must thank the community appropriately through *koha aroha*⁸⁴ which may include *kai*⁸⁵, *taonga*⁸⁶, etc. Furthermore, on completion of the research document, the researcher should always present a copy of the thesis to the Māori community from which the information was obtained.

Research method – primary sources

The assumption is that what is written and published is correct. This is not always true and should be decided on a case by case basis. ‘There were many points at which I

⁷⁶ Birth of a child
⁷⁷ Unveiling
⁷⁸ Ringatū church gatherings held on the 12th day of each month
⁷⁹ Gatherings held for the Kīngitanga
⁸⁰ Memorial services
⁸¹ Māori performing arts group competitions
⁸² Rituals of encounter
⁸³ Visitors
⁸⁴ Gifts of appreciation
⁸⁵ Food
⁸⁶ Treasures

found the oral and documentary records differed. In some cases it was because the documentary source was incorrect' (King 1978: 117). King refers to an incident in 1927 where it was documented by Eric Ramsden that Princess Te Puea Herangi of Waikato was responsible for some of the carving on one of the houses at Tūrangawaewae. King believed that this was a misunderstanding that arose out of Ramsden's lack of experience within Māori circles.

Everybody I spoke to who lived in or close to Turangawaewae in the 1920s was adamant that Te Puea never touched the pare or maihi of this house, other than to give directions on how she wanted it done; and that she never carved facings for any building, believing very strongly that this was work for men only. To doubt this view I would have to suspect a conscious conspiracy on the part of the inhabitants of Turangawaewae to cover up a public event that would have been witnessed by dozens of people and talked about by hundreds more; and I cannot believe this to be the case (King 1978: 117).

Several writers have since perpetuated the myth that Te Puea herself carved part of the meeting house, with almost all of them referencing the previous transgressor. King notes that the falsehood appears again in W. J. Phillipps (1955), Anne Salmond (1975), and John Cresswell (1977). These examples 'illustrate how difficult it is to correct an error once it has appeared in print' (King 1978: 118).

Relying solely on documents (a historically Pākehā dominated medium) for a view of Māori history runs 'the risk of being culturally biased to the extent of representing the past unfairly' (King 1978: 105). This is because it is a Pākehā tradition that history is recorded. However, the Māori tradition is that history is transmitted orally. 'The spoken word was very important to the old people. They believed in the power of language' (Royal 1992: 40). Māori oral tradition has diminished since the arrival of Pākehā and subsequent colonisation, but has not been completely replaced by the written form. In families and communities where *te reo Māori* is prominent, oral tradition is more likely to abound. This is evident in the information provided by the primary sources for this thesis. Those who have informed this research have proven to be storehouses of information.

The interviews for this research project were arranged and conducted following the Indigenous Research Ethics identified earlier in the chapter. The list of possible

informants was decided on in consultation with the supervision team and the selection was based on their knowledge of the topic of research. The informants were chosen primarily for their expertise, but also to represent as many different tribal groups and perspectives as practically possible. Other informants were recommended by informants who had already been interviewed. Formal letters were sent to the possible informants and the research project explained. It was then left to the recipient of the letter to decide if they wanted to be involved in the project and contact information was provided for this purpose.

It will always be much easier if you can say that somebody else in the informant's own social network has recommended them. You need to explain briefly the purpose of the research. Suggest a possible time for a first visit, but always leave the informant the chance to propose another, or to refuse altogether (Thompson 1978: 175).

Sixteen experts in the field of Māori Studies have been interviewed for this research. Their areas of speciality include *te reo Māori*, oral histories, Māori performing arts, composition and tribal political history. The informants range from emerging leaders through to prominent leaders and *kaumātua* within their respective *iwi*. The participants were given the option of conducting the interview in *te reo Māori* or in English, as it is important that they felt they could express themselves in the language of their choice. The method used to conduct the interviews was semi-structured in nature, using primarily set questions, but with room for further investigation should something of relevance come up in the answers. That is, the informants were asked a range of open-ended set questions, but issues that arose during the interviews were probed further with follow-up supplementary questions.

Having rid himself of any temptation to be his informants' informant, the researcher should be content to provide several lists of very general questions for himself that he hopes can open up lines of enquiry that he can later explore while in the field (Henige 1982: 36).

Other sources of information were found in various archives and libraries throughout the country and every effort has been made to ensure that all significant collections of *waiata* and *haka* and analysis on these have been consulted. 'Some oral historians profess to regard archives and informants as oil and water and so do not give thought to the best way to integrate archival and field research'(Henige 1982: 33). The researcher

will integrate the archival or secondary research with the oral literature by weaving the two together in the vein of the *tēnga* model previously mentioned.

Secondary sources

From first contact with Māori, Pākehā explorers, settlers, missionaries and anthropologists have recorded their observations of Māori culture. This was the beginning of the written record in Aotearoa/New Zealand, which continued to increase as Pākehā became more interested in the traditions and customs of the Māori. Much of this information was eventually published and most of it is housed in archives and libraries throughout the country.

Māori were enthusiastic about adopting and utilising the new technology that Pākehā brought with them, including the written word. It is therefore of no surprise that by the mid-nineteenth century, the Māori population of Aotearoa/New Zealand became more literate than the United Kingdom. However, this literacy was in *te reo Māori*, not in English (Bell 1991: 67).

Many Māori were prolific writers at this time, ensuring that their stories and traditions were documented. ‘Tūpuna Māori quickly understood the power of the written word’ and began writing letters, journals, diaries and works of history’ (Royal 1992: 22). Māori quickly made use of this new skill by recording their oral tradition and by keeping diaries, journals and writing letters (to each other and to the Government). These periodicals provide a valuable resource for researchers.

The extraordinary flowering of Maori manuscripts in the nineteenth century, which came with the adoption of writing, is a valuable and important source. It should be accepted that it was an attempt to record the state of oral tradition at the time, and that, to some extent, it concretises that tradition at that stage of its development (O’Regan 2001: 35)

The ‘power of the written word’ often became obvious to Māori as a result of bad experiences with Pākehā writers.

The oral tradition is considered the main historical tradition by Māori people. This attitude is reinforced by unpleasant experiences Māori have had with Pākehā recorders of Māori knowledge. Pākehā historians have been writing and publishing books on tūpuna Māori and their histories for more than a

century, and very often these books have misrepresented Māori people. In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Pākehā writers have tended to apprehend Māori personalities and histories in terms of models drawn from their own culture (Royal 1992: 25).

Anthropologists and historians will often gather information from a variety of sources and then make judgments about what material is important to record. This means that in the end, historians record only what they consider appropriate. What one person or culture deems important may seem irrelevant to another. Often in the case of Māori history, 'the narrative is written in such a way that the reader sees the history through blinkers, rather than in the way Māori philosophy would see it'(Royal 1992: 26). This is one of, if not the, biggest flaw of the written historical tradition.

Many Pākehā people believed that the Māori people were a dirty, barbaric, savage, heathen race whose end was near anyway, and their writing reflected this. They tended to focus on events that they believed supported this thesis. Hence the great preoccupation with the gory details of war, such as cannibalism and methods of killing, and with polygamy.

Instead of analysing Māori motives for Māori actions, they viewed Māori history in terms of their understanding of their own, usually Christian, culture. Pākehā people have judged the actions of Māori in terms of the information available to them rather than the information available to Māori people. The result is that very often the works that have emerged from the pens of Pākehā writers have said more about the writers than about their Māori subjects (Royal 1992: 26).

Hone Sadler believes that early observers of Māori culture did not comprehend what it was they were observing and often what they ended up writing down was not in alignment with what Māori think of their own culture (Sadler 2006: personal communication).

In all civilisations there are aspects that stand out as being recognisable markers of the culture. Prior to and since the arrival of Europeans to the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, *waiata* and *haka* have been one such marker of Māori culture. As a result of this, *waiata* and *haka* have been observed and described in many written sources since first contact. However, the written sources pertaining to *waiata* and *haka* are often one dimensional and focus mostly, if not entirely, on the superficial aspects of the art such as its entertainment value. Most do not attempt to delve deeper into the understanding of this art form, that is, that *waiata* are important because of the messages they convey.

Early Pākehā observers of Māori music were not equipped with the necessary language tools or cultural world-view to make fair and accurate judgments about what they saw. They made judgements based on an exclusively Pākehā world-view.

Much of the ethnological data concerning native races has been derived from the writings of people who had no training in the importance of accurate detail. Sailors, travellers, traders, and missionaries were the first to come in contact with native races of the Pacific. They naturally viewed the manners and customs of uncivilized man from their own culture-plane, and many could not or would not see things from the same angle as the natives. In many cases, ignorance and prejudice created a barrier that was rendered even greater by the barrier of speech. Owing to the rapid changes that have occurred in the culture and even physique of native races exposed to civilization, the ill-considered statements of many early writers have assumed a value that is often out of all proportion to their actual merit. Useful information has been recorded as regards material things, but when it comes to the interpretation of the abstract, such writings stand on more doubtful ground than ever did tradition. There is no comparison between the inaccurate writings of a globe-trotting European and the ancient traditions of a cultured barbarian (Buck 1926: 182).

There are many unfavourable remarks on Māori music that have been printed since first contact because the observers lacked any understanding of what they were witnessing as it was so different from what they were accustomed to. ‘So little did Maori music, as a rule, appeal to Europeans that the great majority of writers declare that he had none’ (Andersen 1923: 743).

Māori music was poorly understood because it was so different from that to which the observers were accustomed. The following quote can be found in Elsdon Best’s *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1*, which was originally published in 1924. It is by W. Tyrone Power, who lived in New Zealand for many years:

The Maories have no history, no songs or ballads, and scarcely even the semblance of a tradition to roughly shadow out the past. No Homer or Ossian has handed down in popular strains the name of warrior, sage, or poet. No Druids or priests have kept alive oral tradition; and there is barely an individual in New Zealand whose antiquarian lore ascends beyond his own times. Their solitary tradition is that they are descended from Maui, who, with a canoe-load of companions, came from ‘somewhere’ and settled here...From these uncertain data there is a sad hiatus in Maori chronology, the next fact rewarding one’s researches being the arrival of Captain Cook in the island (cited in Best 2005: 48).

In dismissing Māori history, traditions and culture, including *waiata*, Power has merely reflected his own monoculturalism and ignorance. Best took issue with Power's interpretation.

The foregoing is the most startling statement respecting Maori traditions and mental powers that I have ever seen. Power resided for some years in New Zealand, yet his ignorance of the natives seems to be colossal. A mere portion of native traditions has been recorded, yet it covers thousands of pages of print. As to native songs, a considerable number have been collected and printed, probably a thousand (Best 2005: 48).

Early anthropologists and scholars inevitably recorded things through their own cultural lens, making judgments about things they had first filtered through their own world-view. This was the case with *waiata* and *haka*, as illustrated by these comments by Edward Shortland which were first published in 1856:

On fine evenings, it is the favourite amusement of the young men and girls to assemble for the purpose of joining in this rude sort of concert...When there are many singers the effect is strange, and not unpleasing; but the performance is frequently accompanied by gestures of the body of an immodest character (Shortland 2001: 86).

This practice of making judgements based on a Pākehā world-view also extended to aspects of the performing arts such as *pūkana* and *whētero*: '...they resemble what the idea may imagine demons to be, rather than human beings' (Shortland 2001: 88).

Of course, this initial contact period gave rise to many misconceptions about *waiata* and *haka*. Much emphasis was placed on the male-oriented 'war' *haka* by early Pākehā observers, most likely due to the unique nature of the art, even in the context of the Pacific. Therefore, the general term '*haka*' was misrepresented by these anthropologists as primarily a 'war dance.' However, perhaps the most lasting and constant misconception has been the notion that *waiata* and *haka* are primarily for entertainment and can be translated wholly as 'song and dance.' This notion has also been the greatest threat to the survival of *waiata* and *haka*, and more importantly, the oral tradition they represent and the oral history they hold.

The way in which *waiata* and *haka* were trivialised by outsiders to the culture is evident in the following postcard.

Image 3: Racist postcard⁸⁷



The phrase at the bottom left hand corner states ‘A little nonsense now and then’.

The first significant collection of *waiata*, Grey’s *Ko Nga Moteatea Me Nga Hakirara O Nga Maori*, is a collection of *waiata* and stories in *te reo* with English footnotes (Grey 1853). Some of the stories also featured in *Nga mahi a nga Tupuna* first published in 1854 (Grey 1971). It also includes a lengthy preface. For the first five pages of the preface, Grey condemns the nature of cultures and peoples who were yet to adopt Christianity, whilst passionately praising the ‘Christian teachers’ who convert such ‘Heathen’ societies. He also stresses that those societies derive innumerable blessings from their early Christian teachers (Grey 1853: i-v). It could be termed propaganda for Christianity.

At first it is difficult to understand Grey’s train of thought or how any of his writing is related to *waiata*. However, it soon becomes clear that Grey’s intention for his work collecting these *waiata* is to prove the worth of Christianity by using *waiata* as some sort of evidence of a ‘barbaric’ and ‘hopeless’ past.

⁸⁷ Eph-POSTCARD-Stephens-02, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

...nothing has been done in any country which Christian teachers have converted, to show the full extent of the work which they accomplished...

...men are too apt to undervalue their labours, and losing sight of what the world was without Christianity, altogether to misconceive the advantages that Christianity has secured to the human race. It is to be feared that there are too many who think that the world without Christianity was very much like what the world is with it.

It therefore appeared desirable that in New Zealand a monument should be raised to shew [sic] in some measure what that country was before its natives were converted to the Christian faith, and no more fitting means of accomplishing such an object appeared attainable than that of letting the people themselves testify of their former state, by collecting their traditional poetry, and their heathen prayers and incantations, composed and sung for centuries before the light of Christianity had broken upon their country.

...it seemed probable that there would be many persons who would study with pleasure the poetry of a savage race, whose songs and chaunts [sic], whilst they contain so much that is wild and terrible, yet at the same time present many passages of the most singularly original poetic beauty (Grey 1853: vi-viii).

It is clear that Grey has filtered the Māori histories which he has been privy to through his own Eurocentric and Christian-influenced world-view. It is difficult to consider Grey's work without the thought that he specifically selected material that would further his own agenda and that, ultimately, he did not collect these precious *taonga* in good faith – knowing how he would preface the collection in such a narrow way, something which Grey himself tacitly conceded:

Lest this selection of poems should be regarded as placing the character of the natives in too favorable a light, it is right to state that one very numerous class of poems has been altogether omitted as unfit for publication. Indeed the poems now published should perhaps be regarded as a selection embodying the best Maori poetry, which has been chosen from a very large mass of materials, the poems which have been rejected far exceeding in number those which it has been thought necessary to publish (Grey 1853: xi).

This is a great example of how the reasons why a history is recorded will often dictate or determine what history is recorded and how it is recorded. The way in which Grey prefaced his collection would have contributed to the fact that *tīpuna Māori* became distrustful of Pākehā who were in the powerful position of interpreting their histories and then recording them from any angle they deemed appropriate.

Not all writers at this time were as unforgiving of Māori culture. Rev. Richard Taylor opens his chapter on Māori songs by declaring that: ‘Many of their Songs, which are extremely numerous, contain very beautiful ideas’ (Taylor 1855: 138). This is one of the few examples of a writer at that time acknowledging the ideas contained within *waiata* and focusing on the importance of these. Taylor then goes on to say:

They have songs on every subject, on love and war, as well as incantations, laments, and traditions, and no man would be esteemed an eloquent orator if he could not introduce several quotations from them, containing allusions applicable to the subject on which he is speaking. In addition to these there are numerous nursery and boat songs. The deeds of their warriors are thus handed down (Taylor 1855: 138).

This sets the tone for the rest of the chapter in which Taylor has recorded *waiata* along with explanations regarding their meaning and the stories behind them. Some explanations are briefer than others, but that is to be expected.

Most early collections of *waiata* include the words of a *waiata* without any significant explanation about the meaning. For example Grey’s *Ko Nga Waiata Maori* is a collection of *waiata* without translations, with only certain songs having titles or brief explanations (Grey 1857a).

It is unfortunate that there are many collections of ancient *waiata* with little, if any, explanation of the stories that usually accompany them in oral tradition – it is as if there is a missing piece to the puzzle. This is due to the fact that the stories that accompany the *waiata* have the potential to de-mystify the meaning behind the metaphoric lyrics.

In his article entitled ‘An Introduction to Maori Music’, Andersen alludes to the lack of attention afforded the meaning behind the words in the following statement:

The few references to Maori music in the writings of early voyages and early residents in the country do not assist much in enabling a conclusion to be arrived at as to whether the Maori had any definite system of music – that is, whether music had with him become a conscious art. The appreciation of melody, except as mere accompaniment, was apparently in the earliest stages of its development: that is, the Maori did not consciously appreciate melody for its own sake – there was no tune existing separately apart from words. He

appreciated a song chiefly because of what the words conveyed; the tune, or *rangi*⁸⁸, was altogether secondary (Andersen 1923: 743).

This is all that Andersen mentions of the meaning behind the words in Māori song. The article focuses more on the music rather than the lyrics.

In his article entitled ‘Maori Music’, Andersen again does not delve into the themes of Māori music or the meaning behind the words. Instead he is focused and pre-occupied with Māori musical instruments and the technique of music and song, from the correct style of breathing through to the different Māori terms for stanza, etc. He prefaces his analysis of the technique of Māori music with the following statement:

It is not easy to arrive at an idea of what the Maori thinks of song; nor is this to be wondered at. For one thing, it is a little late in the day to begin questioning. Again, how many Europeans could give definite or satisfactory replies if questioned on the technique of music or song...What can be expected of the Maori, who had not yet reached to the evolution of harmony, to say nothing of counterpoint – who had hardly even reached the stage at which our own enharmonic primitive folk-song evolved? (Andersen 1924: 697).

Here it becomes obvious that Andersen’s world-view does not equip him to adequately analyse *waiata*, as the music is not the most important aspect of the composition. Tīmoti Kāretu, a respected repository of knowledge and expert in *te reo Māori*, argues that the words are of prime importance: ‘Ko te kupu kei mua i ngā mea katoa’ (Kāretu 2004: personal communication). The tune is merely a vehicle for message transmission. When Pākehā have written about the themes of Māori music, it is usually relegated to a comment such as: ‘Tribal history and day-to-day trivia formed the subjects of songs’ (Armstrong 1964b: 15).

For a language such as English, that has an established written form, there is an emphasis on that written form for the preservation of culture and history. Historically, this has relegated aspects of spoken language such as song, poetry, proverb and idioms to the realm of entertainment. In an exclusively oral language, such as Māori, these aspects of spoken language have a dual purpose, which includes the preservation of history. The recording of oral tradition by both Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones

⁸⁸ Tune, melody

demonstrates this, ‘Perhaps the highest point of the Māori historical tradition *written* by Māori can be seen in the collected writings of Dr Pei Te Hurinui and Sir Apirana Ngata’ (Royal 1992: 22).

Sensing the impact of language decline and cultural alienation among Māori in the early twentieth century, Sir Apirana Ngata, a respected Māori scholar, politician and leader, collected songs from around New Zealand and sought to preserve the stories behind the lyrics. He was aided by Pei Te Hurinui Jones who was ‘universally respected for his unrivalled knowledge of song histories’ (McLean 2004: 62). The idea to do this was sparked in the early 1920s, when Ngata submitted a request to the Senate of the University of New Zealand to have Māori Studies included in the Bachelor of Arts degree on the same basis as foreign languages such as French, Italian and Spanish. The request was denied by the Senate as there was concern over the lack of literature to support the teaching of Māori as a language in an academic setting. The Senate was forced to reverse their initial ruling when it was pointed out that Grey’s *Nga Moteatea* and *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* were sufficient. Māori was introduced into the New Zealand University in 1925 (Walker 1990: 194). However, it was not until 1951, almost 30 years later, that classes teaching Māori were established with the appointment of Dr. Bruce Biggs as a lecturer in Māori Studies at the University of Auckland. Dr. Biggs ‘had to overcome entrenched opposition from many of his colleagues before Maori was recognized in 1958 as a language subject for the purposes of satisfying the University of Auckland’s requirements for graduation’ (Benton 1981: 26).

Ngā Mōteatea was Ngata’s own addition to Māori Studies literature.

Having won the point, Ngata did not rest until the matter was secure. He spent twenty-five years collecting the poetry, songs, chants, laments and lullabies that were in the oral repertoire of Maori women and orators on marae throughout the land (Walker 1990: 194).

It was not until the *Ngā Mōteatea* collection of *waiata* that more importance was placed on the preservation and dissemination of these *taonga*. The *Ngā Mōteatea* collection challenged the misconception that *waiata* were merely for entertainment. This collection is widely accepted as the most comprehensive published collection of Māori songs and chants. The collection includes explanations regarding the meaning of the

songs and other notes considered relevant by Ngata. It shows incredible foresight that Ngata sought to archive these songs, as the majority certainly would have been lost through time, had he not. Ancient chants and songs that had survived generations were wiped out within a relatively short period of time as a direct result of cultural assimilation and language decline. The only downfall of the *Ngā Mōteatea* collection is that it includes sound recordings for only some of the songs. At the time that Ngata was building the collection it was simply not an option to record all of the material. It is a great tragedy that one cannot hear the voices of the ancestors who contributed to the *Ngā Mōteatea* collection, although compact discs of some of the songs have been included in the latest editions of *Ngā Mōteatea*.

There is another significant consideration in the study of *waiata* and *haka* and that is the influence of modern ethnomusicologists. Ethnomusicology can be defined as:

A subdivision of musicology concerned primarily with the comparative study of musics of the world, music as an aspect of culture, and the music of oral tradition. According to other definitions that have been promulgated, ethnomusicology is the study of non-Western and folk music, or of the music of contemporary cultures, the anthropological study of music, or the study of music by an outsider to its culture. Although there is disagreement on precise definition, it is clear that most ethnomusicologists do research in non-Western or folk music, take an interest in the role of music in culture, engage in field research, and use concepts developed by anthropology (Randel 1986: 291).

McLean concludes that: 'The point about ethnomusicology, however, is that it straddles the disciplines of both music and anthropology' (McLean 1977: 1, 3). It is also a discipline that has its roots in an ethnocentric view of the world where Indigenous music is seen as merely an evolutionary stage on the way to a more sophisticated Western style of music.

In its early decades, ethnomusicology was dominated by the desire to preserve the disappearing music of non-Western cultures, by attempts to see exotic musics as representative of historical stages that led ultimately to Western art music, and by the establishment of systems of description and analysis that would make possible a world view of music based on comparative study (Randel 1986: 291-292).

For the most part it seems that the modern ethnomusicologists, such as Mervyn McLean, who have studied and continue to study *waiata* and *haka* in Aotearoa/New

Zealand, have made an effort to understand the culture and world-view of the people who produced them. However, there have been omissions and misplaced importance in their analyses, regardless of their good intentions. Oscar Wilde observes, through one of his literary characters⁸⁹, that there are two threats to art. ‘One is to dislike it. The other to like it rationally’ (Wilde 2007: 1005). The researcher believes that ethnomusicologists fall into the second category as most approach the art dispassionately.

Ethnomusicologists tend to focus on categorising *waiata Māori*. There is little, if any explanation that Māori is traditionally an exclusively oral language and that *waiata* contain Māori knowledge and histories. Furthermore, there is often little acknowledgement of *waiata* as the window into the cultural past of Māori.

Translation

The matter of translation from Māori to English is another important aspect in the study of *waiata* and *haka*. In the past, McLean and others such as Margaret Orbell, have provided their own translations of *waiata*, a practice which is questionable if not undertaken by the composer or by someone who is fluent in *te reo Māori* and has exceptionable understanding of the history of the particular *waiata*. McLean’s view of language in ethnomusicology is highlighted in response to the following quote by Vansina:

The first requirement is a knowledge of the language in which the information provided by traditions is conveyed, for without a knowledge of the language the meaning cannot be grasped. It is more or less impossible to collect traditions in a language other than that in which they have been transmitted (Vansina 1965: 188).

McLean does not believe that this applies to *waiata*: ‘But Vansina is here speaking less of oral traditions such as songs than of riddles, proverbs, myths, stories and historical accounts whose nature is such that inadequacies of translation will profoundly affect the quality of the end product’ (McLean 1977: 5). McLean fails to acknowledge that *waiata* are a type of historical account and that the rule that applies to stories should also apply to *waiata*. It is the view of the researcher that inadequacies in the translation

⁸⁹ Gilbert from ‘The Critic As Artist’ when speaking to Ernest.

of *waiata* would, in fact, profoundly affect the quality and accuracy of the end product. As was written by Alastair Reid in the Translator's Note to the great Chilean poet Pablo Neruda's *Extravagaria*:

Translation is a mysterious alchemy – some poems survive it to become poems in another language, but others refuse to live in any language but their own, in which case the translator can manage no more than a reproduction, an effigy, of the original (cited in Neruda 1972: 11).

In effect, translation is 'a process of moving closer and closer to the original, yet of never arriving. It is for the reader to cross the page' (cited in Neruda 1972: 11). The poetic nature of the words is often lost when translated into another language as is the flow of ideas. The result is often two separate variations on the same theme, rather than one poem with a translation. Mark Eisner discusses this conundrum in relation to the process of translating the Spanish poems of Pablo Neruda into English:

I wanted translators who were also poets and who could dissolve the borders of language through lucid, magical, but faithful translation...Finally, we all felt it was critical that this book be bilingual. Even if you do not speak Spanish, I urge you to read the original poems. The words have notes, they resonate like a song. Our translations can never aspire to exactly replicate the rhythms and colors of Neruda's words, but you must feel their tones (Eisner 2004: xix-xx).

Pablo Neruda has himself commented on the notion that there is a certain loss in translation, and that his own poetry may not survive translation intact: 'It seems to me, that the English language, so different from Spanish and so much more direct, often expresses the meaning of my poetry but does not convey its atmosphere' (cited in Felstiner 1980: 28).

McKenney observes that translating is no easy feat and compares the work to caring for another person's baby:

Even with fluency in the other language; other translations of the same poem under your nose; two dictionaries at each elbow; and a biography of the poet at your bedside, translating poetry is heavy lifting. You are carrying someone else's idiosyncratic expression – someone else's baby – across and through barriers of language, country, often continent, culture, and sometimes century. And the better the poem, the heavier the baby...Translators agree that while you've got to have the dictionaries at the elbows, they don't help too much. Word for word doesn't work...Word for word can fail to convey a

meaning intended in the mother tongue; or, conversely, it can skew the poem with the unintended baggage of the language seeking to become the adoptive mother (McKenney date unknown: electronic source).

This is particularly true of traditional *waiata* as ‘imagery drawn from a mythological frame, accepted and known by all, is common. It is therefore compressed and highly allusive, so that translation is impossible without extensive explanatory notes (which lose the immediacy of the original)’ (Mitalfe 1974: 11). One of the penciled annotations by William Colenso in his own copy of Grey’s *Nga Moteatea* reads: ‘Many of these songs are very difficult (somewhat like parts of Plato)...not so much from their obscureness as from their pregnancy of meaning which all but defies translation’ (cited in Mitalfe 1974: 11). Historian Michael King concludes: ‘Ideally, the researcher of Maori topics should speak fluent Maori’ (King 1978: 110).

Summary and conclusions

From the first moment that Pākehā arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand, outsiders to the Māori culture have documented their observations, thoughts and judgements pertaining to the Māori people. These outsiders have inevitably filtered their observations through their own Eurocentric world-view. A person’s world-view cannot be separated from their thoughts. The importance of the world-view and the impact this can have on one’s research has been illustrated with the maps of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The historical record in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been dominated by Pākehā writers, which has meant that the majority of written information pertaining to Māori has been written with a view ‘from the outside looking in’. Whilst the written record can prove extremely valuable and some of the Pākehā accounts of Māori culture are indeed accurate, there are other sources of knowledge which are equally as important.

Waiata and *haka* have provided generations of Māori with a method of archiving knowledge and history and are an example of a traditional medium for the transmission of knowledge and expression of emotion. Therefore, *waiata* and *haka* are bound to the identity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Importantly, *waiata* and *haka* preserve Māori histories in a manner which reflects a Māori world-view. This means that the knowledge contained within the compositions is linked to Māori cultural concepts as illustrated in the Tēnga Model. This model captures the importance of the historical observations, opinions and judgments about Māori that come from within the culture,

many of which are referred to in ancient Māori *waiata* and *haka*. As such, it has been necessary to adopt a Māori world-view informed approach and select a methodology that reflects this. In this case, the Tīenga Model has formed the basis of the research along with Indigenous Research Ethics. The research has been informed by both primary and secondary sources.

Chapter Two

Oral tradition

The word
was born in the blood,
grew in the dark body, beating,
and flew through the lips and the mouth.⁹⁰
(Neruda cited in Eisner 2004: 149)

This chapter will focus on the significance of the Māori oral tradition. This discussion will start with the history of oral history, followed by the characteristics of oral history and oral tradition. The criticisms of oral history and tradition will then be outlined. The origins of *te reo Māori* will be explored in the wider context of the Pacific, specifically Polynesia. The role of the oral tradition in the transmission of knowledge will be discussed, with particular reference to spoken art such as stories, poetry and song.

The history of oral history

This chapter opens with an extract from Pablo Neruda's poem 'The Word' which demonstrates the ancient nature of oral history. Oral history was the first kind of history. In the history of man, words were heard well before they were ever seen. 'Men are not built in silence, but in word' (Freire 1972b: 61).

Therefore, it can be argued that oral history is as old as history itself, and oral literature is the oldest form of literature in the world (Lord 1991: 15, 16; Thompson 1978: 19). 'Oral history is a history built around people. It thrusts life into history itself and it widens its scope' (Thompson 1978: 18). Indigenous peoples all around the world have proverbial sayings that represent the importance of oral history, tradition and literature:

Tete ka asom ene Kakyere
Ancient things remain in the ear⁹¹
(Daaku 1973: 45).

⁹⁰ From Pablo Neruda, 'The Word' translated by Alastair Reid from the Spanish 'La Palabra'

⁹¹ Akan (Ghana) proverb

This proverb from Ghana highlights the role that memory plays in the preservation of personal history, community history, and tribal history.

African writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'o links memory to language. Thiong'o suggests that, 'Memory resides in language and is clarified by language' (Thiong'o 2009: 113). Furthermore, Thiong'o describes language as the collective memory bank of a people (Thiong'o 1986: 15). Vansina explains, 'Among the various kinds of historical sources traditions occupy a special place. They are messages, but unwritten; their preservation entrusted to the memories of successive generations of people' (Vansina 1985: xi-xii).

Te Rangihīroa (Sir Peter Buck) argues that those cultures that rely on the written word learn more through the eye and less through the ear. Those cultures depend on notes and books, where the predominantly oral societies rely on memory. 'As the taking of notes increases under our modern educational system, so the cultivation of memory decreases. Even for the passing of examinations, memorization is often of a transient nature' (Buck 1926: 181). Buck concludes that it has therefore become difficult for traditionally literate cultures to 'adequately realize what the human memory is capable of amassing' (Buck 1926: 181).

This is the result of opposing world-views, where the deeds of one people are recorded and the histories of another are committed to memory. As Mitcalfe suggests,

We have grown accustomed to the printed word, the recorded song, the visual image, the momentary action perpetuated in film and projected around the world; we find it hard to understand a culture like that of the ancient Maori where the accumulation and transmission of experience was almost exclusively oral, through formulaic expression, songs, chants, and rituals – charged particles conveying the deeds, dreams, desires of a people (Mitcalfe 1974: 1).

It is this quality of oral tradition, the passing of memory from one person to another that makes oral tradition so unique. Oral history and tradition can be defined as 'a body of knowledge about the past that is uniquely different from the information contained in written records' (Allen & Montell 1981: 23). In fact, material from memory may often be the only source of information available – for many subjects there are no, or very few, written accounts. In cases where there is written material upon which to draw, oral

sources will often illuminate the written history, providing a more intimate account of the events described. Furthermore, the written record will often provide the context and background against which oral historical traditions may be understood. The two complement one another (Allen & Montell 1981: 14-15, 18). Oral tradition stores a wealth of information.

Yet little has been done towards analysing their special features as historical documents. This is all the more astonishing in view of the fact that they are constantly being used as source material, for not only are traditions the most important sources for the history of peoples without writing, but they are known to be the basis of many written sources too (Vansina 2006: xvii).

Oral history and oral tradition

Often the terms oral history and oral tradition are used interchangeably. However, there is a difference between the two. Oral history is the record of the personal experiences of an individual. Oral history can be defined as: ‘reminiscences, hearsay, or eyewitness accounts about events and situations which are contemporary, that is, which occurred during the lifetime of the informants’ (Vansina 1985: 12).

The dictionary definition of ‘tradition’ is ‘the passing on of customs and beliefs from generation to generation’ and ‘a long-established custom or belief passed on in this way’ (Soanes et al 2001: 964). Therefore, oral tradition refers to those things taught (orally) to a person and covers history that is no longer contemporary – oral testimonies concerning the past which are transmitted from one person to another. ‘They have passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the lifetime of the informants...As messages are transmitted beyond the generation that gave rise to them they become oral traditions’ (Vansina 1985: 13).

According to Biggs, ‘Oral tradition is any culturally defined, word-of-mouth way of intentionally passing on information about the past’ (Biggs 1977: 2). The key terms being ‘word-of-mouth’, ‘intentionally’, and ‘culturally defined’. The first is self-explanatory in that Biggs excludes written or pictorial material in his definition. For the other key terms, Biggs provides an example of a Fijian speaker using everyday kinship terms in his speech, such as when he refers to his child as *luvequ*. Biggs does not

include it under his definition of 'oral tradition' as 'it was not in fact intended to pass on information about kinship terminology during the conversation' (Biggs 1977: 2).

However, even if the intention was there, such as during a conversation with an anthropologist where the Fijian man was explaining the different kinship terms, this would still not be classed as 'oral tradition' according to Biggs' definition. This is 'because although word of mouth instruction was indeed intended to pass on information, it wasn't being done in a culturally defined way...relationship terms are not normally learned in a formal situation in Fiji' (Biggs 1977: 3). This is the case in Māori society. Māori children learn relationship terms not by a formal learning situation but acquire them during the normal process of learning to speak and use a language. The things that are included in Biggs' definition of what is oral tradition range from stories, jokes, songs, poems, riddles, proverbs and sayings through to place names and genealogy (Biggs 1977: 3).

It is not the intention of this thesis to engage in the argument of what constitutes oral history and oral tradition, and what does not. For Māori there is probably little difference between the two as oral tradition is made up of individual oral histories. That is, an individual's oral history contributes to the oral tradition of their *iwi*. Māori are the sum of their memory and their memory is the sum of them. The key difference between oral history and oral tradition can be summarised in the following example: a person may learn a *waiata* from their parent. That person's experience of learning that *waiata*, when reiterated orally by that person, is part of their oral history. The *waiata* itself and the stories that go with that *waiata* form part of the oral tradition.

Oral tradition and accounts

The oral tradition of a community is made up of a series of accounts over time. Vansina groups the different types of accounts:

a. **Historical Gossip:**

All sorts of news and hearsay generated as events occur and communicated through the usual channels of communication in a community do not disappear when the novelty has worn off. A child is born and this is news. But even later people will know that this child exists and the names of its parents. A village once founded on a given spot, may be deserted fifty years later, but one may still remember which man was responsible for its

foundation and perhaps why it broke up. Thus a great mass of information survives beyond the generation in which it happened and can then be kept for long periods of time, recalled when the person, the marriage, or the village foundation, is in question again (Vansina 1985: 17).

- b. Personal Tradition: 'Reminiscences become family traditions, known and told by one or more people even after the death of the person whose reminiscences they were' (Vansina 1985: 18).
- c. Group Account: 'Group accounts are the typical "oral traditions" of many authors. They are the oral memories of groups such as villages, chiefdoms, kingdoms, associations, and various kinship groups' (Vansina 1985: 19). Over time, 'The whole corpus of group accounts is constantly and slowly reshaped or streamlined. Some items acquire greater value' (Vansina 1985: 21).
- d. Traditions of Origin and Genesis: 'Every community in the world has a representation of the origin of the world, the creation of mankind, and the appearance of their own particular society and community' (Vansina 1985: 21). This includes stories of migration: 'but here elements that once were part of group accounts can be incorporated...in their lower reaches transitions do occur to what once were genealogical accounts about people who had lived' (Vansina 1985: 22).

Ultimately, all of these categories can be found in Māori oral tradition. 'Accounts of origin, group accounts, and personal accounts all are different manifestations of the same process in different stages' (Vansina 1985: 23).

Criticism of oral history and tradition

Oral history and oral tradition cannot and must not be subject to the same criteria as the written record, and instead, must be viewed under an entirely different set of 'rules'.

Questions of authenticity, authorship, locality, and dating are at the heart of the external critique concerning written documents, because they allow us to establish the context for a critique of their content. With oral tradition these questions receive very different answers...We can only ask whether a given performance that claimed to be part of a tradition is indeed part of a tradition or not (Vansina 1985: 54).

However, there continues to be condemnation of the oral tradition and much of this criticism is based unfairly on a comparison with the written record. The lack of an exact date of events and information is one example of such criticism.

The only place and date that can be given about a tradition is that of the recording of a performance. Beyond this we usually do not know when a tradition was composed, whether at the time of the events or situations discussed or later...weakness in chronology is one of the greatest limitations of all oral traditions (Vansina 1985: 56).

This is a key characteristic of oral tradition and it is also one of its charms as oral tradition is not static, it is constantly evolving. Furthermore, it represents both the past and the present: 'oral traditions are documents of the present, because they are told in the present. Yet they also embody a message from the past, so they are expressions of the past at the same time' (Vansina 1985: xii). However, Finnegan is critical and believes that it should not be taken for granted how old a story is and importantly, that the onus is on the researcher to find this out for sure:

Experiments now have been carried out when a man has been recorded telling a particular story, say two years before, and he has to tell the same story two years later (or even the next day). The basic frame work was the same but the words were different in detail (Finnegan 1977: 15).

Finnegan fails to recognise that this is the nature of oral tradition. Of primary importance is the basic framework of the story being the same, not necessarily the differences in wording. Nonetheless, this is one area where structured forms of oral art such as *waiata* prevail.

This also reveals a key characteristic of narratives – and all the oral genres – the many versions of the one text. Oral narrators did not claim the ownership of a composition in the way the literate author does; as the *whakataukī* explains, '*Ehara i te mea he kotahi tangata nāna i whakaaro te pō*' (It is not the case that only one man kept people awake at night). They composed for the audience – a lively story about Māui's capture of the sun for entertainment, a long version with genealogy and *karakia* for students (McRae 2004: 135).

Finnegan considers the different versions of oral tradition as a weakness in the claim that oral tradition is communal; failing to acknowledge that oral tradition is in fact

communally held in Māori society – communally held by the *iwi*, of which there are many, and therefore, many different oral traditions:

This is true again of many Maori ‘legends’ and historical accounts where the versions of what was believed to have happened in the past varied from area to area and in fact often provide the basis of completing [sic] claims to land or status (Finnegan 1977: 16).

This is true of all history though, as illustrated in Marx’s maxim that history is written by the victors (Reeves 1979: 13). In the case of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the colonisers could be considered the ‘victors.’ This is evident when one considers that the New Zealand land wars were known, until very recently, by our State education system as the ‘Māori wars’ and this notion was perpetuated in the classroom to generations of New Zealanders. By naming these wars the ‘Māori wars’, Pākehā have implied that the responsibility for the wars, and therefore the blame, lies with Māori. The book *Our Country’s Story – A new, illustrated history of New Zealand*, which was first published in 1963, became a common classroom text of the 1960s. Under the section titled ‘Causes of the Maori wars’ it states ‘It was too much to expect that so sudden an emergence from a stone age culture could be accomplished smoothly’ (McDonald 1963: 124).

Each person, group or community has their own ‘truth’. What is particularly appealing about oral history and tradition in Māori society is its ability to hold the truth of two differing or competing societies equally, as opposed to the written tradition which tends to favour one at the expense of another. For example, different *iwi* have the same opportunity to write *waiata* regarding competing claims to land. The same can not necessarily be said of histories committed to paper.

...waiata, karakia, pūrākau⁹² and pakiwaitara⁹³, to name a few items of tribal oral literature. Tribal literature reminds us of the strength and unity in our diversity.

I suspect, and I am not alone in thinking this way, that Māori history, as written and published in the past, has attempted to create some kind of national norm of Māori history and traditions. Writers such as John White

⁹² Ancient legend, story

⁹³ Legend, story, folklore, narrative

have attempted to create a common version of tribal traditions, thereby undermining tribal diversity and ultimately tribal authority (Royal 1992: 13).

Another common criticism of oral tradition is that the traditions require conscious transmission. That is, they only make an appearance when they are told. However, for most of the time they dwell in the minds of their keepers. 'The utterance is transitory, but the memories are not. No one in oral societies doubts that memories can be faithful repositories which contain the sum total of past human experience and explain the how and why of present condition' (Vansina 1985: xi). This can be a hurdle in the effort to maintain a strong link to the past, however, the effort required eliciting the information is warranted, considering the possibilities of what could be unearthed.

In recent years, historical studies have undergone significant change, in New Zealand as elsewhere. Increasing emphasis (and acceptance) has been directed at subject areas and methodologies that were once thought to be peripheral to the conventional frameworks of history...oral history is a good example.

Given this significant change, the value of oral testimony as historical method, and as source of history, has been much debated, if less so these days than perhaps a decade or so ago. Some historians still consider oral testimony to be an incomplete if not flawed source of history, especially Māori oral history (Keenan 2005: 54).

There have been controversial writings regarding the 'invention of tradition' in Pacific culture, which imply that certain traditions could have been fabricated. Allan Hanson opens his article entitled 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic' with the following statement:

Anthropologists and historians have become acutely aware in recent years that "culture" and "tradition" are anything but stable realities handed down intact from generation to generation. Tradition is now understood quite literally to be an invention designed to serve contemporary purposes (Hanson 1989: 890).

It is a given that all cultures evolve and are rarely stagnant representations of the past. Furthermore, it is also a fact that certain misrepresentations and misunderstandings of Māori culture have been published over the years. However, here Hanson has made a sweeping generalisation which is at once ignorant and dangerous. Hanson uses language that implies all tradition is a falsehood, that it is 'made up' and therefore, not real. Other writers such as Jolly and Thomas, and Linnekin have used the term

‘construction’ rather than the term ‘invention’ as they find it to be less inflammatory (Jolly & Thomas 1992: 243; Linnekin 1992: 249). Regardless, the term implies a certain degree of fabrication.

Information taken from the oral tradition, like information gathered from the written tradition must be considered in the wider context and cross-referenced for accuracy where appropriate. It does not purport to be a perfect system. Buck argues the case for oral tradition:

Many people consider tradition to be so full of error that it is of little or no value in ethnological research. It seems natural that the less a person is capable of trusting his own memory, the more he distrusts tradition. This attitude of condemning without investigation is, to say the least of it, unscientific. In seeming contrast to the distrust of tradition is the ready acceptance of unverified printed matter. It is, however, just as unscientific to accept the one without confirmation as to discard the other without investigation (Buck 1926: 181).

Ultimately the answer to a lot of the criticism of oral tradition and in particular Māori oral tradition, is best explained by Te Kapunga Dewes who has described Māori oral tradition as a *‘taonga tuku iho nā ngā tīpuna.’*⁹⁴ According to Dewes: ‘Our literary tradition is a creative one because it draws on the indigenous past, and borrows, changes and continues to comment on and adapt to contemporary situations’ (Dewes 1975: 71). This quote highlights the way that, for Māori, history is culturally entrenched. This is because of the way Māori view the past.

‘Time’ in a Māori world-view

The Eurocentric view of English speakers is that time is linear, whereas Māori view it as cyclic. The Māori word for the ‘past’ or ‘before’ is *mua*, but it is also the word for ‘front’. The Māori word for ‘future’ or ‘time to come’ is *muri*, which is also the word for ‘behind’. Therefore, time ‘past’ is the time that came ‘before’, and ‘future’ time is the time that came ‘after’. According to a Māori world-view, the past lies before us.

The cycle of traditions about the people, land and events is dynamic, not static. For the Maori, the past is seen as that which lies before one, ‘nga ra o mua’, the days in front. It is the wisdom and the experience of the ancestors which they are confronting and seeking to interpret (Binney 2001: 4).

⁹⁴ Cultural heritage and traditions passed down from the ancestors

To Māori, the past, present and future are unified as parts of the same whole (Royal 1992: 26). Being Māori denotes that you inhabit the world of your *tīpuna*. Therefore, events that occurred before you were born become part of the fabric of your life as the experiences of your *tīpuna* weigh heavily on the present. This contrast between a Māori world-view and a Pākehā world-view is often most visible when discussing past grievances. Many Pākehā struggle to understand the relevance of the past in regard to the present, particularly when it involves incidents that occurred more than a century earlier. It is a common attitude in Aotearoa/New Zealand that Pākehā New Zealanders should not have to ‘pay’ for the deeds of others who have passed (their ancestors).

However, Māori culture suggests that we look to the past for the answers for our future. This is a common belief amongst other cultures as well, as illustrated by this Akan (Ghana) proverb:

‘Tete are ne nne’
The very same ancient things are today
(or history repeats itself)
(Daaku 1973: 45).

This is akin to the Māori notion that time is not linear, but is instead cyclic with the past casting illumination on the present.

Origins of *te reo Māori*

The *tīpuna* of the different *iwi* originated from Central Eastern Polynesia and came to settle Aotearoa/New Zealand in a series of migrations starting around 900 AD (Dunmore 2000: 6; O’Regan 2006: 157).

Table 1: Polynesian groupings

<i>Western Polynesia</i>	<i>Eastern Polynesia</i> ⁹⁵	
	<i>Central Polynesia</i>	<i>Marginal Polynesia</i>
Samoa group		
Tonga group	Society Islands -	New Zealand
Tokelau	including Tahiti	Hawai‘i
Niue	Cook Islands	Marquesas Islands
Tuvalu	Tuamotu Archipelago	Easter Island
Other islands	Austral Islands	Mangareva

(Adapted from McLean 1999: 3-4)

Te reo Māori descends from the Eastern Polynesian branch of the parent Polynesian language known as Proto-Polynesian which is a sub-group of the wider Proto-Central Pacific. Although Western and Eastern Polynesian languages descend from the same language family, they are less similar than languages within their own group. The specific family that *te reo* falls into is Proto-Central Eastern, along with other similar languages such as Hawaiian, Tahitian and Rarotongan (McLean 1999: 5; Moorfield & Johnston 2004: 36, 38).

By studying the sound shifts of present-day Polynesian languages, linguists have worked out their relationships to each other and inferred much of the vocabulary of the ‘proto-Polynesian’ language ancestral to them all. An example is the proto-Polynesian term **saka*, reconstructed as ‘dance’. In its unaltered form, *saka*, it is today a song type in Bellona, Rennell and Sikaiana, and a dance in Futuna, Penrhyn and Tuvalu. As *haka* it refers to a dance in the Marquesas Islands, New Zealand, Tokelau, Tonga, the Tuamotu Islands, Tuvalu and Uvea, and in Nukumanu it is a song type. In Rarotonga and Mangareva it has become ‘*aka*’, in Hawaii *ha’a* and in Pukapuka *yaka*, in all cases referring to dance. As *sa’a*, it is a dance in Samoa and a song type in Ontong Java (McLean 1999: 5).

Aotearoa/New Zealand Māori ‘form the largest single indigenous ethnolinguistic group in Oceania’ (Benton 1981: 7).

Te reo Māori is inherently linked to the culture of its people and traditionally, was an exclusively oral language. Prior to first contact with Pākehā, *te reo Māori* was perfectly suited to the world of its speakers. This is central, as ‘it is so often through verbal

⁹⁵ Politically, the islands under French control are known as ‘French Polynesia’

expression that as human beings we somehow get a handle on our experience of ourselves and of the world’ (Finnegan 1992: 233).

Despite the huge challenges it has faced, *te reo Māori* continues to survive as a living language that has adapted to the changing times, continues to accommodate developments in technology, and changes to suit the communication needs of its speakers. This is due to a long tradition of adaptation as evidenced in the way *te reo Māori*, as we know it today, grew out of the experiences of its speakers here in Aotearoa/New Zealand as opposed to the environment and way of life in Hawaiki, and the way it has continued to adapt to the new technology and culture introduced by Pākehā (Moorfield & Johnston 2004: 39).

The ability of *te reo Māori* to adapt and meet the needs of its speakers is best illustrated in the fact that there are specific Māori terms for different aspects of the environment such as the terms for all of the different types and shades of *harakeke*⁹⁶(Moorfield 2001: 13). This is also true of *pounamu*⁹⁷ and the different varieties of *kūmara*⁹⁸ as outlined by Moorfield:

Table 2: Some varieties of *pounamu*

<i>He Momo Pounamu – Some Varieties of Greenstone</i>	
<i>tangiwai</i>	A translucent variety with streaks of white in the texture of the stone. Found at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) and Te Wāi Pounamu (Greenstone Valley).
<i>kahurangi</i>	A light-green translucent variety, without flaws or spots. A highly valued variety.
<i>inanga</i>	A whitish or creamy-coloured variety, named after <i>inanga</i> (whitebait).
<i>tōtōweka</i>	A variety with large dark dots or streaks.
<i>kahotea</i>	Dark-green with black spots.
<i>kawakawa</i>	Olive-green and semitransparent resembling the leaves of the <i>kawakawa</i> shrub.
<i>kōkopu</i>	A variety like <i>tōtōweka</i> but with smaller regular dots like the freshwater fish of the same name.
<i>kokotangiwai</i>	A soft and brittle variety which has streaks of white in the texture of the stone, similar to <i>tangiwai</i> but of rougher appearance. Found at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) and Te Wāi Pounamu (Greenstone Valley).
<i>pīpīwharau</i>	A white and green variety like the dappled breast plumage of the

⁹⁶ New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax*

⁹⁷ Greenstone

⁹⁸ Sweet potato

	bird of the same name (shinning cuckoo).
<i>raukaraka/karaka</i>	Very dark-green variety, like the leaves of the karaka tree.
<i>aotea</i>	Cloudy white or blue-grey, like ao tea (white clouds).
<i>tongarewa/tongarerewa</i>	A semitransparent variety.
<i>kutukutu</i>	A speckled variety.
<i>auhunga</i>	A pale variety.

(Moorfield 2001: 7-8)

For Māori, *pounamu* is a *taonga*. In traditional Māori society, *pounamu* was used by Ngāi Tahu as a valuable resource for trade with northern tribes. Māori terms were developed to describe the different varieties of *pounamu* because it was important to make distinctions between the various types (Moorfield 2001: 7).

Likewise, *kūmara* was an important crop for the nutrition of the different *iwi*. Below are some of the different varieties which have been recorded.

Table 3: Some varieties of *kūmara*

<i>He Momo Kūmara – Some Varieties of Kūmara</i>	
<i>A. Varieties from Te Tai Tokerau – Pēwhairangi (Bay of Islands), Hokianga and Kaitaia</i>	
1.	White-skin varieties, having white or whitish flesh
	<i>*Toroamahoe, Māpua</i>
	<i>*Monenehu</i>
	<i>Waniwani</i>
	<i>Kawakawa</i>
	<i>Maramawhiti</i>
	<i>Pāuātaha</i>
	<i>Pūrata</i>
	<i>Kanawa</i>
	<i>Maomao</i>
	<i>Mengerangi</i> – has grooved sides
	<i>Torowhenua</i> – uniform size
	<i>Pane</i> – mealy dumpy sort
	<i>Toitoi</i>
2.	White skin varieties, having slightly reddish flesh
	<i>Pohutukawa</i>
	<i>Kāuto</i>
	<i>Hītara</i> – a prized variety
3.	Red skin and flesh
	<i>Whakakumu</i>
	<i>Toikahikatea</i>
	<i>Kōreherehe</i> – grooved sides, prized sort
	<i>Taurāpunga</i> – a mealy sort
	<i>*Para-karaka</i>
	<i>Awangarua</i>
	<i>Panahi</i>
4.	Dark purple skin and flesh

<i>Makururangi</i>
<i>Kautowhau</i>
<i>Kengo</i>
<i>*Pokerekāhu</i> – very dark throughout
<i>*Anurangi</i>
<i>Matakauri</i>
<i>Poranga</i> – dark claret flesh
<i>Kaikākā</i> – very dark throughout
<i>B. Varieties from Te Tai Rāwhiti – Hawke’s Bay and East Coast</i> <i>(not including those from Te Tai Tokerau listed above and marked with an asterisk*)</i>
<i>Tūtaetara</i>
<i>Tokoū</i>
<i>Kawakawatawhiti</i>
<i>Kairorowhare</i>
<i>Hāwere</i>
<i>Paihau-kākā</i>
<i>Ngako-moa</i>
<i>Raumataki</i>
<i>Taputini</i>
<i>Māori</i>
<i>Pehu</i>
<i>Kāwau</i>
<i>Tūtanga</i>
<i>Kurararangi</i>
<i>Pātea</i>
<i>Kiokiorangi</i>

(Moorfield 2001: 9-11)

Another example stems from the field of astronomy. Throughout the Pacific there existed an extensive knowledge of astronomy passed down through oral tradition. This included a thorough understanding of the movement of the stars and planets, as this was crucial for the complicated navigational scheme of the Polynesians. There are Māori terms for the different constellations, celestial bodies and planets; however, the knowledge that survives is a fraction of what once existed. The following table provides a sample of that knowledge (Moorfield 2001: 15-19).

Table 4: Astronomy

<i>Te Tātai Arorangi – Astronomy</i>	
<i>āraitanga</i>	eclipse
<i>auahi-tūroa, marau, whetū-rere</i>	comet
<i>kāhui whetū, tātai whetū</i>	constellation
<i>matakōkiri</i>	meteor, ‘falling star’
<i>Rongomai</i>	Haley’s Comet
<i>tohunga kōkōrangī</i>	expert in the study of celestial bodies, astronomer
<i>whānau mārāma, whānau ariki</i>	celestial bodies

<i>whetūao, whetū-mārama</i>	planet
Ngā whetūao	Planets
<i>Ao, Ao Tūroa, Ao mārama, Taiao</i>	Earth
<i>Kōpū, Tāwera</i>	Venus as a morning star
<i>Kōpū-nui, Rangawhenua</i>	Jupiter
<i>Meremere, Meremere-tū-ahiahi</i>	Venus as an evening star
<i>Matawhero</i>	Mars
<i>Pareārau</i>	Saturn
<i>Takero, Whiro</i>	Mercury
He kāhui whetū	Some constellations
<i>Māhutonga, Te Taki-o-Autahi</i>	The Southern Cross
<i>Matakaheru, Te Kōkota</i>	Hyades
<i>Matariki, Te Huihui-o-Matariki, Tātai-o-Matariki</i>	Pleiades
<i>Ngā Pātari, Te Whakaruruhau</i>	The Magellan Clouds
<i>Pātari-rangi, Tioreore</i>	Large Magellanic Cloud
<i>Pātari-kaihau, Tītakataka</i>	Small Magellanic Cloud
<i>Pūtahi-nui-o-Rehua, Kāhui Takurua</i>	Canis Major
<i>Tautoru</i>	Orion's belt
<i>Te Mangō-roa, Te Ikaroa, Te Ika-o-te-Rangi, Te Tāhu-o-te-rangi</i>	The Milky Way
<i>Te Pātiki, Te Rua-pātiki</i>	The Coalsack
<i>Te Waka o Tama-reretī, Uruao</i>	The canoe shape made up of the Tail of the Scorpion
He whetū mārama	Some important star names
<i>Autahi, Atutahi, Aotahi</i>	Canopus
<i>Kaiwaka</i>	Kaus Astralis
<i>Marere-o-tonga</i>	Achernar
<i>Ō-tama-rākau</i>	Fomalhaut
<i>Poutū-te-rangi</i>	Altair
<i>Puanga, Puanga-rua</i>	Rigel
<i>Puanga-hori</i>	Procyon
<i>Rehua, Rerehu</i>	Antares
<i>Ruawāhia</i>	Arcturus
<i>Takurua</i>	Sirius
<i>Taumata-kuku, Whetū-kura</i>	Aldebaran
<i>Te Kakau</i>	Regulus
<i>Wero-i-te-kokota</i>	A star in the Kāhui Takurua (Canis Major)
<i>Wero-i-te-ninihi</i>	A star in the Kāhui Takurua (Canis Major)
<i>Whānui</i>	Vega
<i>Whakaahu rangi</i>	Castor
<i>Whakaahu kerekere</i>	Pollux
<i>Whetū-kaupo</i>	Deneb
<i>Whiti-kaupeka</i>	Spica

(Moorfield 2001: 16-18)

Knowledge of the stars was also important for the traditional Māori method of dividing time known as the *maramataka*⁹⁹. Certain stars heralded the commencement of each of

⁹⁹ The Māori calendar and almanac

the Māori lunar months and knowledge of these was easily transmitted via *te reo Māori*. Furthermore, under the *maramataka*, each night of the lunar month had its own name. The *maramataka* contained knowledge about the ‘suitability of a particular night for such things as planting crops, fishing, hunting birds, gathering wild crops, and harvesting resources’ (Moorfield 2001: 19).

Table 5: Stars which heralded the start of each new month

<i>Ngā whetū e ārahi nei i ia marama o te tau –</i> Stars which heralded the start of each new month		
<i>Pipiri</i>	May/June	Puanga/Puanga-rua (Rigel), Matariki (Pleiades)
<i>Hōngongoi</i>	July	Puanga-hori (Procyon)
<i>Here-turi-kōkā</i>	August	Whakaahu (Castor)
<i>Mahuru</i>	September	Te Kakau (Regulus), Autahi (Canopus)
<i>Whiringa-a-nuku</i>	October	Whitikaupeka (Spica), Puanga (Rigel)
<i>Whiringa-a-rangi</i>	November	Whakaahu (Castor), Rerehu (Antares)
<i>Hakihea</i>	December	Rehua (Antares), Kaiwaka (Kaus Astralis)
<i>Kohi-tātea</i>	January	Uruao (Tail of the Scorpion), Kaiwaka (Kaus Astralis)
<i>Hui-tanguru</i>	February	Poutū-te-rangi (Altair), Uruao (Tail of the Scorpion)
<i>Poutū-te-rangi</i>	March	O-tama-rākau (Fomalhaut)
<i>Paenga-whāwhā</i>	April	Whetū-kaupō (Deneb), Kaipō
<i>Haratua</i>	May	Whetū-kura (Aldebaran), Matariki (Pleiades)

(Moorfield 2001: 18-19)

Traditional Māori knowledge of the environment was comprehensive resulting from close observation of the natural world. This was combined with the linguistic capacity to describe the environment and transmit that knowledge. Other examples include ‘the detailed terminology and knowledge about eels, fish and fishing; birds and their behaviour; the weather; and trees and their medicinal uses’ (Moorfield 2001: 19).

Te reo Māori is considered to be the core of Māori culture, as illustrated in the following Māori proverb:

Ko te reo Māori te iho o te ahurea, arā, ko te mātauranga me ngā āhuatanga katoa o te ao Māori.

The Māori language is the lifeline of our culture of which knowledge is the cornerstone for a Māori world view (Ka‘ai 1995: 37).

The Māori language is at the heart of Māori society and is connected to all other cultural concepts within the Māori world. As stated by Ka‘ai and Higgins, ‘The Māori language is the window to the soul of the people and to sustaining their cultural

identity’ (Ka‘ai & Higgins 2004: 22). The Māori language is, for Māori, the traditional form of expression. Furthermore, it is the vessel for the transmission of knowledge including tribal history, politics, environmental knowledge, and *whakapapa*.

The transmission of *whakapapa* has always been through the language, through the oral language, which is passing down from one repository to another of tribal history. Without the language, everything else becomes unimportant. The language and oratory are the lifeline that keep all things tribal and Māori together (Pere 2005: 51).

The importance of the Māori language is most evident on the *marae*. Here we see traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation over hundreds of years. Hence the reason the *marae* has been described as the bastion of Māori culture. However, this would not be possible without the Māori language, as language and culture are inherently linked. All aspects of *tikanga* on the *marae* rely on the Māori language. Every step of the *pōhiri* from the *karanga* to the *whaikōrero* would be lost without the language. According to Dr Tīmoti Kāretu:

Only the best *karanga* women invite the guests onto the *marae*...these women are the best in terms of their voice, their ability to express themselves imaginatively by making allusions to mythology and proverb, where appropriate. This is also true of the orators – only the most articulate the most eloquent and the most learned rise to speak’ (Kāretu 1993a: 84).

The importance placed on the oral nature of the Māori language and its inherent ties to memory is evident in the quote from Kāretu. Prior to first contact with Pākehā, there was no writing system. ‘Not only was *te reo* perfectly adapted to the pre-colonial world of the Māori, the Māori people also managed to communicate effectively over distance and time without the need for a phonology-based writing system’ (Moorfield & Johnston 2004: 41). Therefore, the finely honed memory banks of *tīpuna Māori* were a necessity. However, they were also celebrated and honoured. ‘The traditional way of constructing, organising and using knowledge is yet another feature of a Māori world-view. The most significant characteristic in this regard is the traditional emphasis on orality over literacy as the means for codifying and transmitting knowledge’ (Ka‘ai & Higgins 2004: 22).

Oral tradition in Polynesia, including Aotearoa/New Zealand

‘The oral traditions of the South Pacific have much to tell us’ (Finnegan & Orbell 1995: 1). This quote is an understatement as the oral traditions of the Pacific encompass the entire history of the Pacific prior to European colonisation. Finnegan and Orbell describe the oral traditions of the South Pacific as ‘sophisticated and artful commentary on the human condition’ and also how ‘the performance and composition of oral forms represent a still vibrant tradition in the Pacific, new as well as old’ (Finnegan & Orbell 1995: 1). Oral tradition in the Pacific is indeed ‘sophisticated’ as those peoples native to these islands have worked hard to preserve their histories by utilising all means available to them. This includes, but is not limited to: narratives, poetry, songs, proverbial sayings and ceremonial rituals.

There are not only differences in the forms of oral tradition but also of what the oral tradition consists; that is, societies preserve different histories depending on what they believe is important to pass down. Throughout the Pacific, the study of genealogy is extremely important. Native Hawaiian scholar Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa posits in relation to the genealogies which recount hundreds of generations:

The genealogies are the Hawaiian concept of time, and they order the space around us. Hawaiian genealogies are the histories of our people. Through them we learn of the exploits and identities of our ancestors – their great deeds and their follies, their loves and their accomplishments, and their errors and defeats.

...The ancestors’ deeds of courage inspire our own; their thoughts and desires become the parameters of our ambitions. They are the models after which we Hawaiians have patterned our behavior.

Genealogies are perceived by Hawaiians as an unbroken chain that links those alive today to the primeval life forces – to the *mana* (spiritual power) that first emerged with the beginning of the world. Genealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992: 19-20).

Kame‘eleihiwa’s statement is applicable to the Māori view of genealogy and is an example of the wider values held by Polynesian peoples. ‘Genealogies are taught deliberately, are recited in specially defined ways, and in a particular form, and they are clearly intended to be passed on, always in this special, culturally defined way’ (Biggs 1977: 3). This is often the task of specific individuals entrusted with this knowledge.

In oral cultures that have recognised central institutions there are sometimes official historians responsible for defining the remembrance of the past. Sometimes these people hold office by virtue of birth, sometimes by appointment, sometimes by self-appointment...in parts of Oceania specialists preserve lengthy genealogies tracing the leading families back to gods...no self-respecting Maori tohunga¹⁰⁰ would be satisfied with a recitation of less than several hours. Oral historiography in early colonial times relied almost completely on such informants. They were the people who were in contact with colonial officials and with the first wave of historians (Henige 1982: 52).

Creation narratives and ancient histories, sometimes referred to as ‘myth and legend’, are another essential element of the total body of knowledge deemed integral by Māori ancestors and by their Polynesian relations. Furthermore, *whakapapa* provide a chronology and a context in terms of time in the absence of dates.

Marsden notes, ‘there are remarkable parallels and similarities between the extant myths and legends held by the various Polynesian groups who have been separated from each other for time spans ranging from eight hundred to two thousand five hundred years’ (Royal 2003: 55). White made the following observation which he used to introduce his work in *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions*:

The New Zealander shall speak for himself. Unacquainted with letters, and living in the Stone Age of the world, he shall relate the history of a people isolated for ages from the civilized nations of the world, and shall tell how his race for ages lived, loved, worshipped, worked, and warred.

His traditions, preserved with the most austere religious care, and rehearsed from age to age in the presence of the most select circles of youths by high priests of most ascetic life, who had received their knowledge from the gods, have preserved for him a history reliable as the histories of tribes sharpened by continual contact, and ripened by emulation in the art of literature (White 1887: 1).

When comparing the first edition of his book *The Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* and the works of Sir George Grey and Rev. Richard Taylor, Edward Shortland makes the following observation:

When it is borne in mind that the matter contained in each of these works must have been collected independently, at different times, and in different

¹⁰⁰ Chosen expert or priest

parts of New Zealand, one cannot but be struck with the agreement in the historical traditions thus obtained from various sources. What more convincing proof can there be that the New Zealanders have preserved from remote ages oral records of their history, by committing them to memory, and so transmitting them, from generation to generation, down to the present time; and that these oral records contain the germs of truth? (Shortland 2001: 4).

The fact that there are many similar stories across many different *iwi* throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand, and even across the different peoples of Polynesia, is not surprising. 'It is too easy for scholars trained in a literary tradition to belittle Polynesian tradition, overlooking the power of the trained memory to retain oral tradition' (Mitalfe 1974: 7). The individual *iwi* are part of a wider community and are the result of individual parts breaking away from the whole. Similarly, this applies to all of the peoples of Polynesia.

Communities comprise individuals and groups of individuals who have shared historical experiences. Aspects of the past that are held in common constitute a major part of community life and thought. The sense of community is heightened when local narratives, some old and some recent, are recounted about a variety of subjects (Allen & Montell 1981: 50).

The variety of subjects that communities can comment on include local events – particularly events that changed the course of a community's history, place names and even landmarks: 'Both physical and cultural features of the landscape also inspire people to tell stories explaining their origins' (Allen & Montell 1981: 51).

In Māori society, place names are an important part of oral tradition as they signify the ties an *iwi* has to the land. Traditionally, Māori children were taught the places of significance to their *iwi* and this was done through incorporating the place names into songs and stories 'so that they would arouse children's curiosity and so that they would be remembered' (Biggs 1977: 3).

Māori oral literature

Maori literature in Maori is dominantly oral literature, composed for and presented before a live audience and relying on its hearers for preservation and transmission. Most Pakehas think of literature as synonymous with writing, especially publication in print, but it is defined by scholars in terms of quality of expression and significance of content. By such standards Maori oral literature unequivocally qualifies for the title.

Over the last hundred and fifty years a large body of Maori oral literature has been recorded, either during a performance or written down at leisure by literate Maoris, but oral transmission has continued alongside the recorded versions and it is still possible to hear pieces that have never been recorded (Metge 1976: 266).

Māori oral tradition, including *waiata*, falls into the category of unwritten or oral literature. Unwritten literature includes stories, poems and chants – which are widespread throughout the Pacific, and indeed the world. ‘Some people find it a little surprising at first to hear it claimed that literature can be unwritten; and this claim is indeed still occasionally denied even in academic circles’ (Finnegan 1977: 18).

The term oral literature seems contradictory but advises distinctiveness. The genres are not typical of literary studies. They are *waiata*, *kōrero*¹⁰¹, *whakapapa*, and *whakataukī*. They may be ‘literary’ in the sense of being of fine quality, but they cannot be categorised as the fiction or non-fiction of literature, for fact and the fabulous often interweave. This literature must be read with a Māori world-view in mind. It asks attention to performance, the sound of texts, and, their subjectivity. Although the oral tradition is generically Māori, it began as the personal recollections of tribal groups and is linked with genealogical relationships and a geographical landscape (McRae 2004: 133).

McRae highlights the importance of viewing Māori oral literature in the context in which it was intended to be viewed. Keenan develops this notion by suggesting that Māori oral history has its own inherent methodology by which to understand it:

For Māori people, oral history at once provides both narratives of the past, and frameworks within which to interpret those narratives. This is because the past substantially converges with the present...within such processes of historical construction, the value of oral history for Māori is not an issue of consequence. It simply does not feature in wider Māori considerations of ‘what is an appropriate methodology’ when Māori are seeking to tap into their past. This is because oral testimony, in its broadest sense, is accepted as an integral part of Māori knowledge transfer; and this has always been so (Keenan 2005: 55).

Keenan goes on to critique the approach of some historians to Māori oral history and tradition:

Māori purposes in history are not always well-served by arguments about methodology which preoccupy mainstream historians from time to time, arguments like validity of process, or ‘reliability of tribal traditions as

¹⁰¹ Speech, narrative, story, news, account

history'. Māori historians generally do not enter such scholarly debates, as 'how reliable or historical are tribal traditions' because scholars advancing such debates often show little knowledge of, much less any empathy for, Māori conventions which Māori themselves apply when representing those same Māori histories (Keenan 2005: 55-56).

What Agathe Thornton wrote about one narrative, could be used to describe Māori oral tradition in general: 'On careful interpretation, it turns out to be laden with meaning, deeply rooted in Maori values, and very choice in its construction' (Thornton 1999: 14). This rich oral tradition relied on a deep understanding of *te reo Māori* and those who excelled in the art of oratory were well respected:

Though ignorant of writing before their intercourse with Europeans, to excel in their native language appears to have been one of their chief objects of ambition. As public speakers they are generally remarkably fluent, and display both force and elegance of expression. They also possess a certain taste for poetical composition, and have numerous collection of proverbs handed down from remote periods (Shortland 2001: 80).

Furthermore, 'Eloquence is held in much esteem among the New Zealanders; and they generally display, as orators, a remarkable ability' (Shortland 2001: 98). Parts of *waiata* were often included in oratory in order to indicate what was about to follow and to add richness. 'The most effective speeches were invariably principally made up from recitations of portions of ancient poems' (Grey 1853: ix). Those who really excelled at oratory would weave references to historical accounts into their oration, and many of these would originate from *waiata*. 'Oral narrators achieved dramatic effect by including songs or chants, or by quoting genealogy and sayings. Readers of literature rarely study genealogy and sayings, but in Māori oral tradition they are of prime importance' (McRae 2004: 136). This statement is verified by Taylor:

The natives have innumerable traditions, which are generally known, and no one who has any claim to be thought an orator would think his speech complete, if he could not find some appropriate sentiment from one of these traditions or songs, to enrich it (Taylor 1855: 107).

The respect awarded to the masters of oratory and the importance placed on knowledge is best described in the following Māori proverb:

Tā te rangatira tāna kai he kōrero, tā te ware he muhukai

The chief's sustenance is discussion but the low-born is inattentive

(Mead & Grove 2003: 362).

In other words, knowledge as communicated through oratory is the food of chiefs. Buck explains the many different aspects of knowledge a successful orator would need to draw on.

There could be no native race, or any race for that matter, that took a greater pride in their traditional history than the Polynesian, as exemplified by the Maori. The expert genealogist who could recite the innumerable ramifications and alliances of the tribe, and the orator who could call up the glorious achievements of the past, were admired and honoured. No one of any rank or prestige could maintain his position without having a thorough knowledge of tribal history. To a race given to public speaking on every possible occasion, it was natural that the gift of oratory was highly developed. Oratory apart from modulation of the voice and appropriate gesture, was based on a wide knowledge of traditional history, mythology, genealogy, and an extensive repertoire of proverbs, incantations, and classical songs. Apart from the sacred schools young men learned their traditional history from their elders in order that when etiquette demanded that they should speak at public functions they should not bring shame upon themselves or their family by exposing their ignorance (Buck 1926: 185).

Memory and knowledge transmission

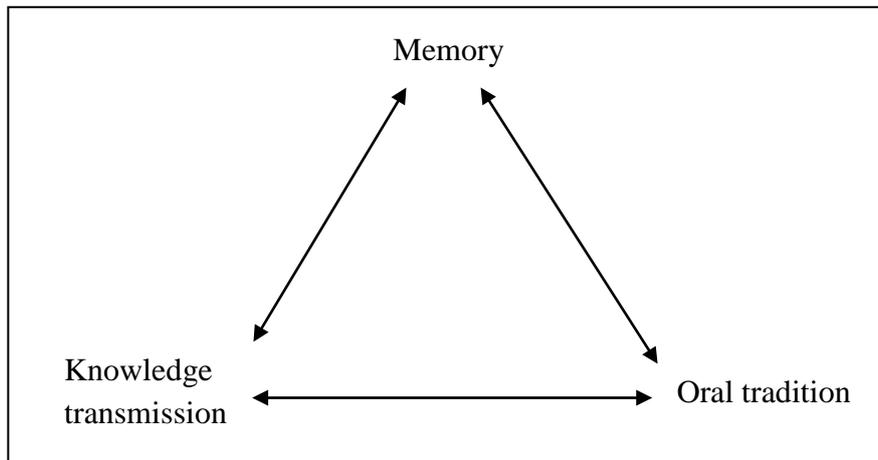
Everything exists in the word...(Neruda 1977: 53).

This excerpt from a poem by Pablo Neruda exemplifies the power of oral tradition in the process of knowledge transmission. Furthermore, the phrase ‘everything exists in the word’ represents the relationship between memory, oral tradition and knowledge transmission.

Connected to this is the way in which Māori view knowledge in a holistic framework that allows learning to be life-long, rather than age-specific. Of course tribal elders have a significant role to play in this area to ensure that cultural practices and knowledge are handed down (Ka'ai & Higgins 2004: 22).

This relationship is illustrated in the model below:

Figure 3: The cycle of Māori history



As is illustrated in the model, the relationship between memory, oral tradition and knowledge transmission is fluid. Memory is the key to knowledge transmission and oral tradition is the vehicle. ‘Language is a communication system and carrier of culture by virtue of being simultaneously the means and carrier of memory – what Frantz Fanon calls “bearing the weight of a civilization”’ (Thiong’o 2009: 20). This illustrates the relationship between memory and oral tradition. Vansina links this to knowledge transmission, ‘The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation’ (Vansina 1985: xi).

The weight that is placed on memory in a Māori world-view is explained by Tikao to Beattie in the following statement:

Everywhere my ancestors went they preserved and handed down the knowledge they had gained since the creation. This was always held to be a strict duty and was gone about very carefully and with much ceremony. When they were coming through the big *Hawaikis* and also travelling among the island *Hawaikis* they never neglected to hand this knowledge on, and the same care was taken when they reached New Zealand.

You white people have your schools, colleges and universities and the old Maori had much the same thing. There was one big difference however – you rely on books, but the Maori teaching was all by memory, and it was done in a very strict and systematic way (Beattie 2004: 66).

One example of successful knowledge transmission due to the incredible ability of oral tradition combined with memory is that of Captain Cook’s Tahitian interpreter, Tupaia. He is credited with naming 130 Pacific islands and drawing a map showing 74,

including every main island group except for New Zealand, the Mangareva Islands and Hawai‘i. The islands of Samoa, Tonga and Fiji were known in detail (Dening 1972: 103).

As late as 1899, S. Percy Smith wrote of a Māori ‘friend’ from whom he obtained 164 *waiata*. Smith observed that it was only necessary to quote a single line from one of the songs and his friend would recognise it correctly and sing the rest of the song (Smith 1899: 257). Smith marvelled at this power of memorisation:

The powers of memory in races which have no written records are acknowledged on all sides to be enormously superior to ourselves, for instance; and hence the history of the people was retained with the greatest accuracy and with surprising detail...These are feats that we, with our artificial memories, are incapable of. It was by memories such as these that Polynesian history has been preserved (Smith 1899: 256-257).

Elsdon Best refers to two examples of the Māori power of memorisation. In the winter of 1896, an informant from Ruatāhuna recited to him over 406 *waiata* along with the explanation behind each of them. None of the *waiata* were written down, they were all provided from memory by the informant. Best also discusses an incident that occurred late in the nineteenth century where Tamarau Waiari of Tūhoe took three days before the Native Land Court in Ruātōki to recite the genealogy of the *hapū*, Ngāti Koura. Over 1400 names were recited in proper sequence, the end product being a complete *whakapapa* table outlining all of the descendants of a single person who had lived 34 generations before (Best 1923: 5).

A more recent example of the power of recall is the finely honed memory of Peter Awatere. McLean makes the following observation regarding Awatere’s ability to recall information: ‘His memory was phenomenal, and must have been near-photographic. Whatever the topic, he could remember exactly when he acquired the information, and from whom’ (McLean 2004: 149).

Prior to first contact with Pākehā, traditional Māori knowledge dwelled only in the minds of those who were entrusted with that knowledge. ‘In pre-literate Māori culture there was a huge dependence on memory and the careful transmission of history from generation to generation’ (O’Regan 1990: xiii). There was an immense reliance on the

collective memory of the people and great care was taken to ensure that knowledge passed from the old to the young through both formal and informal learning situations. Oral literature was recited continuously until it was remembered (Royal 1992: 20-21). This is illustrated in the following proverb:

Ka whakairohia ki te whare o te mahara
It is carved into the house of the mind
(Royal 1992: 21, 105).

Vansina argues that oral traditions are a source of knowledge transmission, having witnessed ‘the guardians of oral traditions solemnly reciting the text stored in their memory’ (Vansina 2006: xvii). Vansina then describes the other half of the transmission process:

The listeners, motionless and intent, follow every word that is spoken, and there can be no doubt that to them these words bring the past back to life, for they are venerable words that provide the key to the storehouse of wisdom of the ancestors who worked, loved, and suffered in times gone by. There can be no doubt that to them oral traditions are a source of knowledge about the past (Vansina 2006: xvii).

Each *iwi* had its own repositories of ancient knowledge whose word was lore. These repositories were trained and skilled. Furthermore, they had taken on ‘a very sacred mission of transmitting information’ (Pere 2005: 51). This was an enormous responsibility and one that usually consumed every moment of the person who it fell upon.

Many of our repositories know the responsibilities and the repercussions that are associated with the ritual of transmission. So they have to be as accurate and as direct as is required, as has already been set by our tipuna of the past. There is to be no deviation, no allowances; in other words, you can’t afford to water it down. So that’s the importance of tradition, of discipline, of ritual, and treating the material with the utmost responsibility and care (Pere 2005: 51).

To those outside the culture, the strict nature of these protocols may seem somewhat of an exaggeration. However, for cultures that are based on oral tradition, the spoken word is taken very seriously.

In Maori society, as in other societies which make no use of writing, language was always experienced as part of a lived reality, and because of this it possessed great weight and finality. Whereas we, in our print culture, say that ‘actions speak louder than words’, people living in oral cultures considered words to be a form of action (Orbell 1978: 6).

This is illustrated in the following proverb:

*He tao rakau e karohia atu ka hemo.
Te tao ki werohia mai tu tonu.*
(Grey 1857b: 27-28)

The proverb suggests that a wooden spear can be eluded and can miss its mark. However, a spoken spear will always find its mark, pierce and wound (Grey 1857b: 27-28). This proverb alludes to words being a powerful form of action. Pou Temara talks about the importance of the ‘word’ in Māori society and uses this *whakataukī* to illustrate his point. Furthermore, he contrasts this *whakataukī* with the Pākehā saying ‘sticks and stones will break my bones, but words will never hurt me’.

Tērā tētahi kōrero o te reo o tēnei Pākehā, e kīia ana, ‘kia tūpato ki te rākau, engari, kua e aro atu ki te wero a te kōrero’. Ki te Māori, ko te kōrero te mea nui, ko te kupu te mea nui, ki te Māori, he nui ake tana whakaaro nui ki te kupu, tēnā i tana matakū, ki te rākau a tētahi, nā te mea, e ai ki ana whakataukī, ‘he rākau, he tao roa rānei e taea te whakataha, engari ko te wero a te kupu e kore e taea te whakataha’, nō reira, e tohu ana tērā i te wāhi o te reo Māori i roto i te ao Māori, ko te reo Māori te waka o ngā whakaaro, te waka o ngā kōrero o te ngākau o te tangata (Temara 2006: personal communication).

Traditionally, different individuals were trusted with different information. Some were more capable and skilled at honing their memory of genealogy than others, and so it often fell to those individuals to maintain the tribe’s oral tradition pertaining to *whakapapa*, committing to memory the relationships in terms of ancestral ties and descent lines. Others were repositories of spiritual knowledge, gifted composers and singers of *waiata*, or able to recall tribal history pertaining to warfare. ‘Whatever the discipline, our old people had an amazing capacity to remember vast quantities of oral literature’ (Royal 1992: 41).

As a result of colonisation and subsequent cultural erosion, in today’s Māori society, knowledge is held by only a few, which places even more importance on ‘the critical

role of elders who are regarded as the culture-bearers or repositories in relation to the transmission of traditional values, beliefs, knowledge, skills and customary practices. For this reason elders hold a cherished position in Māori society' (Ka'ai & Higgins 2004: 22).

Knowledge transmission and the emphasis placed on certain things has evolved since first contact with Pākehā. This can be seen in story-telling, where more emphasis has been placed on deliberately passing on information about an earlier way of life. Biggs describes this as:

...very characteristic of New Zealand Maori storytelling in the nineteenth century, when the society was being subjected to intense contact with the outside world and we find that most of the stories recorded at that time contain ancillary information, not necessarily part of the story, but information put in to explain to the listeners some features of a way of life that was passing away (Biggs 1977: 4).

Māori have struggled to hold on to their traditions in the face of increasing pressure from the outside world as a result of colonisation. This struggle is illustrated in the phrase '*Kimihia te mea ngaro*' (seek what is lost) which refers to the loss, or loss from sight, of their cultural knowledge (McRae 2004: 138).

Literature in Māori (and its translation to English) goes some way to assuage that sense of loss. It retains much information about the culture as it was described and recorded by the ancestors in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries it reproduces that legacy and re-employs it in modern genres and settings for new generations of speakers of Māori, and for those with a curiosity about this literature which is so little known but eminently worthy of study (McRae 2004: 138).

Spoken art – stories, songs, poetry

Tradition, values, and societal mores were transmitted orally from generation to generation, usually from grandparents to grandchildren. *Waiata* (song), especially *oriori*¹⁰² (an instructional chant), and *kōrero pūrākau* (myth, legend and historical tales) also played a large part in intergenerational transmission of knowledge and values, as did proverbial sayings, known in Māori as *whakataukī* (proverbs about social values), *whakatauāki* (proverbs that urge particular actions or behavior), and *pepeha*¹⁰³ (statements of tribal

¹⁰² Traditional lullaby, song composed on the birth of a chiefly child about his/her ancestry and tribal history, an instructional chant

¹⁰³ Tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech

identity). There are a significant number of these (Moorfield & Johnston 2004: 41).

Spoken art, which includes *waiata* and *haka*, has an important role to play in recording oral history as part of oral tradition. ‘Maori oral narrative histories convey what is seen to be the essence of human experience to the people who are living’ (Binney 2001: 14). Te Rito compares Māori poetry to that of Shakespeare: ‘there are some beautiful allusions, especially the older stuff’ (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Māori relied on the human memory in order to preserve their history. Therefore, it was necessary to create ways of making that history easier to remember, such as poetry. Pākehā distinguish songs from poetry. However, Māori make no such distinction. For Māori, *waiata* were part of their daily lives, the medium for expressing feelings and for the retention and transmission of culture. This harks back to the Polynesian heritage of Māori as illustrated in the following quote from Leilani Basham, a Kānaka Maoli¹⁰⁴ scholar:

Mele, which are poetry, music, chants, and songs, have been a foundational part of the histories and lives of the Kānaka Maoli of Hawai‘i. We have used mele to record and recount our histories and stories, as well as our ideas about the lives of our people and our land. Mele have been a vital part of our cultural belief systems and practices, our connection to our ‘āina, our land base, as well as our formal religious practices and our informal daily practices (Basham 2008: 152).

Waiata could be compared to the ‘written’ record as they are passed down from one generation to the next with little or no change to the content. *Waiata* were one of the best ways to remember history as the information was preserved in a structured format. Furthermore, the tune and rhythm aided and reinforced the lyrics. Thus, it is much easier to remember word by word a long *waiata* than it is to remember a long story.

When discussing memorised speech, Vansina makes the following observation: ‘Once created, a composition to be memorized is supposed to remain unchanged from recitation to recitation, although in fact, its actual wording will vary over time’ (Vansina 1985: 14). However, this may not apply to *waiata*. Where stories, for the most

¹⁰⁴ Indigenous people of the islands of Hawai‘i

part, are interpreted and retold through differing lenses, the structured nature of *waiata* safe-guard against changes over time to the lyrics:

In contrast with *waiata* (song-poems) and *karakia* (chanted prayers), which remain almost identical in wording in different recordings, different versions of the same story vary markedly. Storytellers were clearly not limited to a fixed form of wording. They drew fairly heavily on a pool of conventional images and dramatic devices, such as repetitive dialogues and direct speech, but exercised considerable freedom with regard to which they used and how they arranged them. Different tellers highlighted different episodes and actors and added their own touches (Metge 1998: 5-6).

Another tool to ensure that *waiata* are safe-guarded against changes and maintain their structure is the tune: ‘The fact messages are sung helps faithful transmissions because the melody acts as a mnemonic device’ (Vansina 1985: 16). That is, the melody aids memory.

This is not to say that stories do not hold a special place in Māori society. In fact, oral narratives and *waiata* have a complementary relationship. There will often be reference made to *waiata* when telling a story in order to add depth to the narrative, whilst the stories that go with a *waiata* are part of the oral historical tradition that complements the *waiata*. ‘Words are always situated; they cannot naturally occur but in context, and they cannot naturally recur without reference to prior occurrences and prior contexts’ (Foley 1995: xi). This is why *waiata* and the stories that go with them are interdependent. Tīmoti Kāretu stresses the need for the explanation regarding the *waiata* or *haka* to be saved along with the lyrics so that future generations will understand the issues addressed in the composition.

Ki te kore rātou e mārama ki ngā take, ka aha? Ka noho noa iho hei kupu – he kupu noa iho, he rangi ātaahua noa iho, engari kāre i te mārama ki te ngako, ki te kiko o ngā kupu...Engari koirā tētahi whakahau nui, me whakahau i ngā kaitito – ‘waiho he whakamārama i te taha o ngā kupu, kia mārama ai ngā whakatipuranga kāre anō kia tae mai, anei te tikanga o te waiata a taku kuia, a taku koroua, te wā i tito ai ngā kaupapa, i tito ai ērā mea katoa’ (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

The Māori language being an exclusively oral language had a direct bearing on the role of *waiata* and *haka* as methods of preserving history and knowledge. Kāretu discusses this notion:

Hei whakatauirā ake i tāku e whakaaro nei, i te rā o te Wenerei, o te wiki ka pahure ake nei, ka tū mai te kapa o Ōhākune ki te whakanui i Te Arikiniui, ana, ko tā rātou mahi he poi. Ko te poi nei, ko te whakapapa mai i ngā waka e waru, ka oti mai pea ki Te Atairangikaahu, te waka o Mātaatua, o wai, o wai, o wai, o wai. Engari ko te otinga katoa ko Te Atairangikaahu, te otinga mai o te whakapapa. Nā, ka whakaaro koe, te nui o ēnā whakapapa, ā, nā te waiatatanga ka māmā, nē, nā te mea kei te waiatatia ia rā, ia rā, kua mau te whakapapa. Kei te tika tonu te kōrero, ko ngā haka me ngā waiata o tēnei wā, ngā kōrero ka mau i ā tātou mokopuna me tō rātou mōhio, anei te ao o Nanny, te wā i a ia, arā, te ao o Māmā i te wā i a ia e tamariki ana. Koirā te pa o ngā waiata. Ko te mahi nō a iho pea, e kore rāto u e māmā ki ngā āhuatanga o te wā, ki te kore tātou e whakarere mai ngā whakamāramatanga. He pēnei ngā waiata a Tuīni nei, kei te waiata noa iho, engari, kāre i te mārāma, he aha i tīkina atu ai e Tuīni tērā kōrero. ‘He aha te tikanga? Ko wai tēnei tangata? Ko hea tēnei wāhi?’ Koirā ngā mea hei pupuri mā tātou i roto i ā tātou tuhituhinga, mā ā tātou mokopuna i ngā tau kei te tū mai nei. Engari he tika tērā kōrero, ko ā tātou waiata, ngā pukapuka kōrero o nehe, mō ngā mahi i mahia (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Kāretu suggests that recent *waiata* and *haka* will inform future generations of what the world was like in our time. However, in order for *waiata* and *haka* to be effective in transmitting knowledge and historical information, the stories that complement the compositions must be preserved along with them.

Te Wharehuia Milroy argues that the reason a *waiata* is composed must be carried through the generations along with the actual composition itself in order for succeeding generations to unlock the history that is contained within the *waiata*. He provides an example from the early 1800s of the context in which a composition from Te Arawa arose.

Hei tauira noa atu māku ki a koe – pērā ka hakaina tētahi waiata nā, tētahi haka, nā Te Arawa. I te haerenga mai o Te Arawa ka pakanga a Te Arawa rāua ko Tūhoe ki tētahi wāhi i Rerewhakaitu ko Pukekaikāhu te ingoa. He nui ngā rangatira o Te Arawa i mate, ka kotia ngā upoko o ētahi o ngā rangatira ka whakahokia ki Ruatāhuna ka titia ki runga i ngā pou. Kātahi a Te Arawa ka huihui – huihui i a rāto u, ka haere ngā pouaru, ko te kaupapa o te haere, he tiki i ō rāto u mate, mai i Ruatāhuna, ehara i te mea e riri ana, engari i te wā i a rāto u e haere atu ana ka tae atu ki ngā whāruarua e ahu atu ana ki Ruatāhuna ka tūmata haere tā rāto u mahi, i wā rāto u pōkeka, i wā rāto u haka. Ka puta te kōrero a Tūhoe mō Te Arawa, “he whatitiri ki te rangi, ko Te Arawa ki te whenua.” E whakarite ana i te rū o te whenua i te nui o ngā tāngata e takahi ana ka rongu tonu ngā mea i Ruatāhuna, e rū ana te whenua i te kaha o te takahi, me te pāorooro haere o ngā reo haka. Nā, ko Hine-i-turama te ingoa o te wahine i haere ki te tiki i tana tāne, nō Te Arawa. Nā Te Arawa tēnei mea ‘E hiakai atu ana au ki Ruatāhuna ki Kai-mokopuna ki te okiokinga o te upokokōhua nei o Te Urewera’ arā atu te roanga o te mea nei. Nā, ka tae atu ki reira ka tangi – ka tangi te hunga rā ki ō rāto u mate. Nā, ka

whakahokihokia mai ngā upoko o ō rātou rangatira, whakaae a Tūhoe kia mau te rongo i tērā wā.

Arā atu ngā kōrero o mua atu i a Pukekaikāhu, he aha i tū ai te riri ki Pukekaikāhu, arā atu ngā kōrero. Ko te tikanga e haere kē ana a Tūhoe ki te āwhina i a Te Arawa, engari i roto i ngā tautohetohe ka riri a Tūhoe me Rangitīhi – Ngāti Rangitīhi o Te Arawa. Nā, kei konā tētahi momo manawa wera ‘Ko te rangi ka tukua koe, waiho kia haere ana, kei whiua koe, te whiua rongo takawhiu’. Nā,...ngā kupu, engari ko te tikanga o te haka nei, nā Te Arawa, koirā te tīmatanga o taua mea rā, katahi anō ka tae ki te wāhi e kī rā, “e hiakai atu ana au ki Ruatāhuna, ki Kai-mokopuna.” Nā Te Arawa kē tērā, engari ko Tūhoe kē te iwi kei te kawē. Nā, ka pātai koe, he aha te kaupapa i pērā ai? Kua mau te rongo i waenganui i a Tūhoe rāua ko Te Arawa, i ētahi wā ka āhua – puta ake ana tētahi riri i waenganui i ngā iwi nei, ana, kua mahi ngā iwi nei ki a rāua anō, ā, koinei ētahi o ngā kawenga i roto i a rāua...Kei roto e noho ana ētahi kaupapa tōrangapū, ehara i te mea he riri anake, engari koinei te huarahi e whāia ai e rātou hei whakatau i te rangimārie, kia mau te rongo i waenganui i a rātou...he nui mātou e mōhio ana ki ērā kōrero, mō te riri i waenganui i a Te Arawa rāua ko Tūhoe...he nūpepa, he putanga hītori tō ngā waiata me ngā haka nei (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Without that background to the haka, one would struggle to understand its meaning and all of the historical and political knowledge contained within it.

Traditionally, poets were able to make highly allusive remarks using metaphorical language safe in the knowledge that their *waiata* would be understood. This was because a ‘A traditional audience had the requisite knowledge of mythology and local circumstance to understand ornate allusions in poetry’ (McRae 2004: 134). However, more than ever the stories that accompany *waiata* are important as they shed light on the content.

A vast amount of legendary lore, of religious belief, of nature-myth, custom, ritual, folk-story, is enshrined in the poetry of the Maori preserved from generation to generation by oral tradition. I have collected from people of the older generation several hundreds of songs and chants, and this is but a small portion of the splendid poetic treasury. The Maori’s heart naturally goes forth in song; no ceremonial speech is complete without a chant, old or new, bearing upon the occasion or the topic discussed. No primitive race equaled the Maori-Polynesian as a composer of poems and especially elegiac poems, not even the Scottish Highlanders of the old clan days. (Pomare & Cowan 1987: 275).

This quotation alludes to the depth of feeling in *waiata*. Māori composers are able to infuse remarkable sorrow into simple words (Andersen 1946: x). ‘With this power and

resonance, the poetry possesses an extraordinary subtlety and elaboration of form and content' (Orbell 1978: 6).

Keri Kaa argues that *waiata* are an effective form of expression. 'Ka taea e koe, te whakauru atu ki roto i ngā waiata kua titoa e koe, ngā whakaaro kei roto i a koe...ka taea e koe, ki te whakaatu ōu ake whakaaro kei roto i tō ngākau' (Kaa 2009: personal communication). Hone Sadler concurs that composition provides an outlet for the expression of the composer's thoughts and feelings.

Te reo, hēi kawē i ngā whakaaro, i ngā ariā o te hunga e tito ana i ngā mōteatea nei, nā rātou ēnei mōteatea i tito. Kei roto anō i te wairua o te āhua o ngā wā, tērā ko ngā waiata tangi, otirā, ngā mōteatea...te nuinga o ēnei momo mōteatea koia tērā ko te āhua e mau ana mō ngā hē kua hēngia...Nā, ko te reo hei kawē i ngā kare ā-roto, i ngā whakaaro, i ngā āhuatanga o te wā...i te wā i titongia ai ēnei momo mōteatea, kāhore he tuhituhi. Heoi anō rā hoki, mā te rere o te whakaaro o te tangata, ka puta ai ōna mamae, ka puta ai ōna hari, ōna tūmanako, ko ngā tirohanga a mua, ko ngā hokinga mahara, ko ngā pakanga, ko ngā mahi whaiāipo (Sadler 2006: personal communication).

According to Te Kāhautu Maxwell, in his own composition of *waiata* and *haka*, the language is the medium through which he can articulate his opinions, thoughts and feelings.

Ko te reo, mōku tonu, i roto i ōku titotanga, āe, hei whakairo i ngā whakaaro i roto i tōku ngākau, hei whakairo i te pikitia kia kitea mai ai ā-taringa nei, te marea, te taringa whakarongo, kia mārāma ai ki a rātou he aha te pikitia e peita nei au ki te kupu...ki ahau nei te mea nui ahakoa te teitei, te nui, te iti rānā o te reo ko te mea nui ika tika te reo (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

Here, Maxwell picks up on a point made by several of the informants of this research, in that the most important part of composition is that the language is correct. This is important because the intent is for the *waiata* or *haka* to survive and inform future generations. Therefore, it must be as accurate as possible both in content and delivery.

Maxwell continues on to discuss the poetic intricacies and tools of the language employed in composition and makes the point that the actions come second to the lyrics of any *waiata* or *haka*, as the words are the most important feature of composition.

Ko te mahi o te reo i roto i ngā titotanga, he mea whakairo i te whakaaro o te ngākau. Nō reira, kei roto i tērā kōrero ka whakamahia ngā whakanikonikotanga, ngā whakarawaitanga, ka tīkina atu ko ngā whakataukī, whakataukī, pepeha, ka whakamahia ki roto i ngā titotanga. Tērā tētahi rārangi mai i roto i tētahi o ngā pātere o Te Whakatōhea, e kīia ana, ‘mā te waha e kī, mā te ringa e paipai’. Nō reira, ko tērā e kīia ana ko te kupu te mea tuatahi, ko tā te ringa he whakatinana i te tikanga o te kupu (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

Keri Kaa also posits that the language is the most important aspect of a composition as it is the vehicle for the transmission of Māori knowledge.

Ngā whakaaro o te kaitito koinā te kaupapa, ko te reo te waka kawē i ngā kōrero nei. Mēnā kāre he reo, kāre he mahi i kīia nei e te Pākehā, ngā mahi ahurea...ko te reo i te tuatahi, mēnā kāre he reo, kāre he kupu hei whakarongotanga mā ngā taringa, kāre he take o tō kapa haka kei te tū noa iho pēnei i te kēhua e kanikani haere nei (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Milroy states that ‘words are important to sustain and maintain cultural values because you can’t explain a cultural value without using words’ (Milroy 2006: personal communication). Waldo Houia’s thoughts about the Māori language and composition align with those of the other informants in terms of the importance of language as a conveyor of culture.

Ko te whakatinana i te ahurea...koirā te kaupapa nui e whakamahi nei tātou ā tātou waiata. He whakatinana tērā mā te huarahi o tō tātou reo...mā ō tātou kupu ka kite koe i te ao Māori, mā ō tātou kupu ka mārāma koe ki ngā āhuatanga tōrangapūtanga (Houia 2006: personal communication).

Temara reiterates this point, that is, that the language is the most important aspect of *waiata* and *haka*. It is through the language that the thoughts of the composer, and of his people, are expressed.

Mā roto i taua reo rā, i roto i ana mahi waiata ā-ringa, i roto i ana mahi haka, e whakaputa te tino tikanga, te tino ngako o ngā whakaaro o te tangata, ngā whakaaro rānei o te iwi, ki te kore e taea, kāore e taea e te reo tuhi noa iho. Ā, nō reira, e ai ki ngā tohunga o nāiane, me ngā tohunga hoki o mua, ngā tohunga pēnei i a Tīmoti Kāretu nei, e kīia ana ai ia, ko te kupu anō te mea nui, ko te reo anō te mea nui...ki te kore hoki he reo, kāore he haka...ki te kore he reo, kāore he mahi a Tāne-rore. Me pēhea hoki e pū ai ngā mahi a Tāne-rore, nā te mea, kāore he reo hei whakatinana i ngā whakaaro o te ngākau o Tāne-rore (Temara 2006: personal communication).

Te Wharehuia Milroy explains that composers such as Tuīni Ngāwai and Ngoi Pēwhairangi could use simple words to convey great depth of meaning: ‘iti te kupu, nui te whakaaro kei roto’ (Milroy 2004: personal communication). Wiremu Kaa supports Milroy’s view in that simple words can contain a depth of meaning.

I continue to look at, not the surface meaning of the words but the deep meaning of the words, which is what the *koroua* were talking about – *ko te wairua o te kupu, tirohia te wairua o ngā kupu, ana, kua iti te kupu, hōhonu te kaupapa o roto* (Wiremu Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Some scholars have noted similarities with other cultures when it comes to using what on the surface looks like a simple form, which actually delivers a deeper message.

There is a distinct resemblance between some Maori poetic forms and the *hokku* of Japan, which, as a translator of Japanese poetry has said, “enshrines an incredible amount of meaning within the narrowest compass of language”...Like the *hokku*, they are packed with meaning. One word often can be expanded into several lines in the process of conveying the picture it embodies to the English reader (Pomare & Cowan 1987: 276).

Lord makes the point that certain poetry, such as visual poetry, requires the audience to see it in order to understand it fully – ‘these words have to be seen’ (Lord 1991: 17). The opposite is true of *waiata*, that is, in order to experience it fully, one must hear it for oneself. Essentially, ‘There is music in the words, in the very sound and form of many a classic Maori poem’ (Pomare & Cowan 1987: 278). Temara argues that the downfall of the written word is that there is no way to tell what the tone is of what is being said. Furthermore, there is a depth of spirit which occurs in spoken language.

E kore e taea e te reo ā-tuhi, te whakaatu i te hōhonutanga o ngā whakaaro o te tangata, te wahine rānei, i roto i te ao Māori. Kīhai ia, mā te reo kōrero anake, kātahi anō ka taea te whakaputa i ngā whakaaro o roto i te hinengaro, ngā whakaaro o te ngākau, ngā whakaaro o te manawa. I ētahi wā hoki, ehara mā te kupu, engari mā te oro o te reo, mā te whakapiki, mā te whakaheke rānei o te whakahua i te kupu, e mōhio mai ai te kaiwhakarongo e pēnei ana te tikanga o te kōrero rā. E pēnei ana te tikanga o te kupu rā, ki te whakapikia e koe tētahi kupu, he rerekē tōna tikanga ki te whakaheke koe i te oro o tētahi kupu kua rerekē anō tōna tikanga, ā, nō reira, kāore tērā e kitea i roto i te reo ā-tuhi, ahakoa, kua tuhituhi te Māori ināianei. Engari mā roto anō i tōna reo whakahua e taea ai, e kitea ai hoki te tikanga o te kupu, me te hōhonu o te kupu, te teitei, te tairanga o te kupu (Temara 2006: personal communication).

Wiremu Kaa refers to the *wairua*¹⁰⁵ of the lyrics as being the most important aspect of any composition.

Nōku ka pakeke nei, i roto i ngā kōrero, i ngā wānanga a ngā pakeke, ka rongu au i ngā koroua me ngā kuia e kōrero ana mō te wairua o te kupu, ko te mea nui ki a rātou, ehara kē ko te kupu, engari ko te wairua o ngā kupu o roto o ngā haka, o roto o ngā waiata, koirā te tino pānga i kōrero ai ngā pakeke i a au e tipu ana (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Continuity of the oral tradition

In Western Europe ‘the first written histories probably go back three thousand years. They set down existing oral tradition about the distant past and gradually also began to chronicle the present’ (Thompson 1978: 24). This style of tradition was introduced into Māori society following first contact with European explorers.

The printed reproduction of the oral tradition is the richest literature...It offers insight into pre-European society, the lives of Māori and Pākehā in the nineteenth century and contemporary Māori philosophy. It allows a reader to join the audience of the once oral society and ‘listen’ to the Māori ancestors tell, for example, how they snared birds; married; captured a *pā*¹⁰⁶; recorded their history and wisdom; commented on the topical and expressed feelings; and contemplated the new world with Europeans. It is also resonant in the present – in the orators and singers on *marae*, elders’ teachings, and casual speech (McRae 2004: 133).

Despite the impact of the introduction of written records, the oral tradition remains relevant. ‘Stories preserved in written form risk losing the many nuances available from spoken language and the rich tapestry of the narrator’s soundscape’ (Selby & Laurie 2005: iv). The information contained within oral history and tradition is often very different from that found in written history. This can partly be attributed to the fact that a great deal of what people recall about the past never gets recorded (Allen & Montell 1981: 25). What is recorded can often be enhanced by oral history and tradition. Allen and Montell argue that even when information is well documented in print ‘oral sources can be useful in filling in gaps in the record. Many oral history projects, in fact, are designed to elicit information that will supplement what is already available from written materials’ (Allen & Montell 1981: 54-55). As such, ‘...oral accounts provide a

¹⁰⁵ Spirit, soul, quintessence

¹⁰⁶ Fortified village

wealth of detailed information that puts flesh on the bare bones of records and brings the events to life' (Allen & Montell 1981: 56).

In traditional Māori society, the oral historian had a certain power and standing. It may be considered that the spread of documentation in literate societies has made 'redundant' such skill in memory. 'The modern genealogist works in private silence in a record office. Memory is demoted from the status of public authority to that of a private aid. People still remember rituals, names, songs, stories, skills; but it is now the document which stands as the final authority, and the guarantee of transmission to the future' (Thompson 1978: 23). However, in Māori society, the skills of memory and oral transmission of knowledge remain highly valued to this day. Joe Harawira argues,

Māori have a very strong oral tradition, we've grown from an oral tradition...wasn't until, of course, the Pākehā came to our lands that we...began to put our compositions and our thoughts down onto paper. Significance of the oral language in relation to composition is that, I suppose, for me there is a vast difference between the oral and reading in terms of learning a *kaupapa* (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

The fact that the Māori oral tradition is not as strong as it once was, is not the failure of individual *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*; it is the combined result of several key influences on the way Māori knowledge has been transmitted since first contact. In this way, it is 'the failure of the past to ensure its own survival through recollection' (Henige 1982: 24). However, the Māori oral tradition remains defiant in that it survives to this day.

The use of oral sources as original historical information, weighed carefully, is potentially the most valuable and yet, up to now, the least exploited in local history research. Countless untold topics of historical interest could be fruitfully pursued if people's memories were tapped. Without the use of orally communicated material, the task of researching these topics can never be successfully undertaken (Allen & Montell 1981: 20).

Summary and conclusions

Oral history and the oral tradition are of prime importance in the study of Māori history. The oral tradition provides the researcher with knowledge which can not be found in secondary sources. This is due to its fundamental role in the cycle of Māori knowledge transmission which feeds the collective memory bank of the Māori people. Oral history and tradition rely on memory. In traditional Māori society, the cycle of oral

tradition was finely honed in order to ensure the survival of knowledge. Māori people are the sum of their collective memory and their collective memory is the sum of individual Māori oral histories. Oral tradition is also the medium through which spoken art, such as *waiata* are shared and passed down to succeeding generations. In addition, the oral tradition is inherently linked to aspects of the Māori world-view. The Tīenga model illustrates this interconnectedness. Events such as *tangihanga* and *hui* are interwoven and linked to concepts such as *tōrangapū* and *tuakiri* which, through *te reo Māori*, are encapsulated by *waiata* and *haka*, thus that information is preserved for future generations.

No method of preserving information is perfect. Oral tradition therefore, can be flawed just as the written record. One of the criticisms of the oral tradition is the weakness in chronology, in that older historical events do not relate to an exact date. However, for Māori, this is not an issue, as *whakapapa* is considered a form of dating system. Furthermore, the way in which Māori world-view time does not place the same emphasis on exact dates that the Pākehā world-view does. This is yet another example of differing world-views.

The cycle of oral tradition, knowledge transmission and memory is effective. The Māori oral tradition has proved that it can transmit knowledge over many generations, provided it is not interrupted or corrupted by outside influences.

Chapter Three

History of *waiata* and *haka*

As elders died,
memories of Hawaiki dimmed.
But her heritage remained
well-guarded through knowledge and lore,
entrusted to the wise,
generation to generation;
each nurturing the sacred taproot
not by the written word,
but in custom, language, and song.
By faith in an intellectual gift,
in a creativity bred deep,
bred in Hawaiki.¹⁰⁷
(Puketapu 1979: 15)

The focus of this chapter is the history of *waiata* and *haka* and the significance of these art forms to Māori society. This discussion will start with Hawaiki, the traditional and spiritual home of the Māori. Then, the genesis of the Māori performing arts will be examined along with the stories and genealogy pertaining to the early traditions of *waiata* and *haka*. The narratives that will be discussed include those of Tāne-rore, Tinirau and Kae, Mataora and Niwareka, Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, Tama-te-kapua and Whakatūria, Wairangi, Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia, and Te Kahureremoa and Taka-kōpiri.

Origins of *tīpuna Māori*

The prehistoric Polynesian expansion was the most dramatic burst of overwater exploration in human prehistory...While Polynesians lacked compasses and writing and metal tools, they were masters of navigational arts and of sailing canoe technology. Abundant archaeological evidence at radiocarbon-dated sites – such as pottery and stone tools, remains of houses and temples, food debris, and human skeletons – testifies to the approximate dates and routes of their expansion. By around A.D. 1200, Polynesians had reached every habitable scrap of land in the vast watery triangle of the ocean whose apexes are Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island (Diamond 2007: 86-87).

Hawai‘i, Aotearoa/New Zealand and Rapanui/Easter Island form the three corners of the triangular area know as Polynesia. Hawai‘i is to the North, Rapanui/Easter Island to

¹⁰⁷ The excerpt above is from a poem by Kara Puketapu titled ‘No Man’s Land’ and chronicles Puketapu’s history of Māori in New Zealand which, for him, starts with the arrival of the Tokomaru canoe

the south-east corner and Aotearoa/New Zealand to the south-west (McLean 1999: 3). New Zealand is the most isolated land in the world. The nearest continental neighbour to Aotearoa/New Zealand is Australia, which is 1800 km away. South America is 9000 km away and Antarctica is 2500 km away. Furthermore, 'New Zealand, is much further from the equator than any other Polynesian island, and so lay outside the regularly traversed tropical ocean of ancient voyagers. Quite simply, New Zealand was very hard to find' (Prickett 2001: 21). This means that *tīpuna Māori* sailed for thousands of kilometers over open ocean. Due, in part, to this remoteness, Aotearoa/New Zealand was the last Pacific archipelago to be discovered and settled by Polynesian people, and indeed the last substantial land-mass in the world to be discovered and settled by humans (other than Antarctica) (Prickett 2001: 2, 17).

The evidence suggests that *tīpuna Māori* migrated from central Eastern Polynesia, in excess of 3000 kilometres from Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Tīpuna Māori* 'were typical East Polynesians; they were gardeners, cultivating their precious tropical plants wherever they could, and hunter-gatherers' (O'Regan 2001: 16). The 'evidence' is made up of oral tradition, archaeology, language, plants and animals, and human biology.

The evidence of material culture, language, cultivated food plants and human biology all point to the first New Zealanders having come from somewhere in central East Polynesia. The most likely points of departure are the Society, Cook or Austral Islands, with the more distant Tuamotu and Marquesas groups, even Mangareva or Pitcairn, also being possibilities. It is unlikely there was only one island of origin: once sailing directions were known, settlement canoes may have left a number of islands, over a period of years – or even generations (Prickett 2001: 19-20).

Prickett refers to a proverb to indicate where the *tīpuna* might have migrated from:

'E kore au e ngaro; te kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea' – 'I shall never be lost, for I am a seed sown from Rangiatea'. Rangiatea is the Maori pronunciation of 'Ra'iatea', one of the Society Islands, 200 km west of Tahiti.

There is no doubt that Maori ancestors came to New Zealand from somewhere in the Society Islands or central East Polynesia in general – if not necessarily from Ra'iatea itself. But the island was an important centre for religious observances before the arrival of Christianity in the early 19th century; and is notable for its ancient ceremonial stone platforms, or 'marae'. It is not surprising that such a significant island in the religious and cultural landscape of East Polynesia is the one recalled in the whakatauki quoted above (Prickett 2001: 3).

There is considerable debate regarding the timeframe that Aotearoa/New Zealand was settled. According to some, Aotearoa/New Zealand was settled around 1200AD (Diamond 2007: 87). Howe suggests it was more likely around 1300AD (Howe 2003: 70). O'Regan believes it was much earlier,

We know from radio-carbon dating of the earliest known sites of human occupation in Aotearoa that the first settlers arrived much earlier than 1350, the date of the myth that the ancestors of the Māori arrived here as a single body in a fleet of canoes. This myth was perpetuated by many earlier historians. The time of the first arrivals was more likely to have been between 600 and 800 A.D. Oral history, contained in ancient waiata and traditional stories, has always maintained that settlement occurred earlier than 1350 (O'Regan 1990: 4).

Metge, however, places the time somewhere in the middle:

Evidence assembled independently by prehistorians confirms that Aotearoa New Zealand was settled by people from the islands of Eastern Polynesia about a thousand years ago and that their culture subsequently evolved, through several time phases and with regional variations, into the highly distinctive culture recorded by European visitors in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and generally known as 'Classic Maori' (Metge 1998: 4).

Metge raises an interesting point. It must be stated that the Polynesian ancestors who travelled to Aotearoa/New Zealand were not yet what we now refer to as 'Māori'. They brought with them their language, histories and culture and this developed into what is now considered 'Māori'.

The people who travelled here on their ocean-going canoes brought with them the language, religious beliefs, knowledge and experience of their forebears. They may also have had a greater spirit of adventure than those they left behind, since it was they who left a loved and well-known homeland. Such an element in their make-up would have served them well on the voyage, and when they arrived in a land so different to all their previous experience (Prickett 2001: 22-23).

The first settlers possessed the same knowledge, language, technical skills, life experience and culture as the relatives they left behind. It was in Aotearoa/New Zealand that they became Māori. This occurred as a result of their Polynesian heritage and their new environment. (Prickett 2001: 30).

Here for the first time, Polynesians from small tropical high islands and atolls encountered estuaries, rivers and lakes, huge forests and giant timber trees, inland mountains and plains, cold winters and a brief growing season for crops.

There were new rocks requiring new techniques for crafting into stone tools, weapons and ornaments, and a multitude of new plants and animals to learn about, which could be used for many different purposes. Fearless birds – many without the power of flight – were easy prey; seals on the beaches and headlands offered a new and rich source of food; techniques were developed for making clothes from previously unknown plants such as harakeke (flax).

For thousands of years, Polynesian and earlier ancestors of Maori lived in and understood the world of tropical Asia and the Pacific. Their way of life was adapted to a tropical climate and seas, to tropical plants and animals, and to the year-round gardening of food crops. The first New Zealanders were faced with an enormous challenge of learning about a strange new temperate land and its resources, and creating here a new way of life based on their Polynesian cultural heritage (Prickett 2001: 30-31).

Hawaiki

“Whakarongo te taringa ki te hau raki e pupuhi nei, i takea mai i Hawaiki nui...” “...Listen to the north wind blowing from the great Hawaiki”, wrote Sir James Henare for the launching of the Polynesian Trust in 1983, for that is what brought the Maori to Aotearoa and made this country a part of the Polynesian home-land. Polynesia, or 'many islands', a name given by European explorers, belies the Polynesian view that their ancestors conceptualized the islands as one home, Hawaiki, and the people as one people. Today the ancestral home is variously called Hawaii, Havaiki, Savaii, Hawaiiiti or Hawaiiiki. These dialectal variations emphasise not the differences but the common origin of many, the descendants of South-East Asian voyagers who peopled the first islands some 3500 years ago, then spread across as many miles of ocean to populate the outer islands until eventually the family extended to Aotearoa (New Zealand). Traditionally, New Zealand and Polynesia constitute one family, the Polynesian Trust points out, the family of Hawaiki. "The story of Polynesia", Sir James continued, "is the story of a people establishing their identity against daunting odds and then maintaining that identity by absorbing and adapting to their needs all outside forces that threaten to overwhelm them" (Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim 1987: 3.1).

Hawaiki is the traditional and spiritual homeland of the Māori people. It is where *tīpuna Māori* came from and it is where Māori spirits return on their departure from this world. It is at once a physical location and a metaphorically spiritual location. This could be because ‘In the Māori view of the world, travels and migrations were seen both as physical movements and as spiritual journeys’ (McKinnon 1997: plate 17). The following is Royal’s interpretation:

The spiritual and philosophical foundations of Aotearoa based Māori culture were laid in the mysterious and mythical homeland called Hawaiki. Whereas Hawaiki must at one time have been an historical and physical reality, in 1000 years of settlement in Aotearoa, Māori mythologised Hawaiki as both the dwelling place of deities and divinities as well as the homeland to which all spirits return following the death of the body (Royal 1998: 102).

Of all of the variations in *iwi* histories, the origins of Māori from Hawaiki are widely held traditions. Māori 'generally acknowledge, as a fact not to be disputed, the migration from Hawaiki' (Shortland 2001: 7). In fact, Hawaiki is 'the claimed immediate homeland of many people of eastern Polynesia, not just Maori' (Howe 2003: 159-160). Furthermore, when studying ancient Māori history 'Most of the action takes place in Hawaiki, a land which the Maori locate among the islands of Polynesia but also recognise as existing in a mythical dimension outside the 'real' world' (Metge 1998: 4).

Oral tradition does not accurately identify the physical locations of places such as Hawaiki, Tawhiti or Rangiātea. However, all three names can be found in the Pacific. The islands of Hawai'i, Tahiti and Ra'iatea are examples.

When the Maori people reached New Zealand about 1000 years ago, they brought with them legends of a Polynesian homeland called Hawaiki. To the Europeans who followed them centuries later, it seemed obvious that the Maori must have come from one of several places in Polynesia with a similar name – from Hawai'i, the largest of the Hawaiian islands, or Sava'i in the Samoan group, or Havai'i, now called Ra'iatea, in the Society Islands (McLean 1999: 5).

Whilst it may not be possible to piece together all the details of the story from oral traditions alone, they do provide a valuable framework for investigation. Archaeologists and historians have been trying for a long time to complete the picture of the original migrations. However, it may be that proof of some traditions does not exist, or just has not been found yet. Recent advances in science have resulted in some re-writing of the story, but Māori traditions remain steadfast, while open to some re-interpretation.

For example, oral tradition has maintained that that *tīpuna Māori* made return voyages to their original homeland, and science has recently proved this 'true'. Aotearoa/New Zealand was discovered during a period of regular voyaging in East Polynesia which maintained contact between the early settler communities of several islands. Therefore,

at one time Aotearoa/New Zealand may have been part of a wider Polynesian voyaging community.

At first, as in the western Pacific hundreds of years earlier, a small and scattered population may have been held together by regular canoe voyaging. Later, as island communities grew to self-sufficiency, communication with distant islands became intermittent, or was lost altogether.

This process may be illustrated by the so-called ‘mystery islands’ of the Pacific, which have evidence of people once having lived on them, but which were abandoned before European voyagers first came across them in the 18th or 19th century. There are nearly 30 of them, all small and isolated, and many of them on ocean routes between larger islands or archipelagoes (Prickett 2001: 19).

It is likely that these islands would have been occupied or used as stop-overs while regular voyaging was going on but then abandoned when it ceased as the islanders settled into their homes. Māori oral tradition suggests that Rangitahua, or the Kermadecs, was a stopover place for the *waka*¹⁰⁸ *Kurahaupō*. According to tradition, the *waka* was damaged there, and the *waka Aotea*, stopped and picked up some of the passengers from *Kurahaupō* (Ngata 2006: 509; Broughton 1983: 42). Until recently, this was refuted and was not generally accepted by academics. However, evidence of humans was discovered on Raoul Island, which included chips of *pounamu*, only found in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Williams 2004: 32). Other evidence includes the *tī pore*¹⁰⁹,

Raoul Island in the Kermadec Group is a ‘mystery island’, abandoned before Europeans first visited in the late 18th century. Evidence of its former inhabitants includes the Pacific cabbage tree, *tī pore*...which was taken throughout the Pacific by early Polynesians as a valued food source (Prickett 2001: 21).

Another source of physical evidence can be found with the *kiore*¹¹⁰ that inhabit the Kermadecs. Howe posits,

Kiore on the Kermadec Islands show a significant genetic diversity which lends weight to the idea that the Kermadec Islands were a staging point in multiple and return journeys between New Zealand and eastern Polynesia. Fragments of New Zealand volcanic glass have also been found on the Kermadec Islands (Howe 2003: 178).

¹⁰⁸ Canoe

¹⁰⁹ Pacific Island cabbage tree (*Cordyline terminalis*) – an introduced species of cabbage tree

¹¹⁰ Native rat

This, of course, is indicative of a stopover on return voyages from Aotearoa/New Zealand. Māori have long held the knowledge, safely preserved in oral tradition, that their *tīpuna* made return voyages. This ‘new’ physical evidence merely reaffirms the validity of the oral tradition.

It seems that there will be doubts regarding ancient Māori history until Western science and knowledge prove the histories to be correct. Margaret Orbell has argued that Hawaiki is a mythical and mystical homeland rather than a real one. She has based this argument on various inconsistencies in the Hawaiki narratives and on contradictory statements made by Māori regarding the direction of Hawaiki from New Zealand. In doing so, Orbell has effectively ‘thrown the baby out with the bathwater’ by deciding that because some aspects of the Hawaiki narrative are mythical in nature, every account relating to Hawaiki must be a myth. In one section, entitled ‘The Actual History’, Orbell makes the distinction that the section will include a discussion of ‘the actual history of the Polynesians, as this has now been established by archaeologists, linguists and other scholars’ (Orbell 1991a: 3). For a long time archaeologists, linguists and other scholars did not believe in the navigational abilities of the peoples of the Pacific or the Māori explanation of return trips to the islands. Those scholars have since been proven wrong.

Orbell seems to have a similar take on Māori tradition as Andrew Sharp did in his work *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific* (Sharp 1956: 84-86). That is, they emphasise the mythical, believing that Māori stories come straight from the imagination of *tīpuna Māori*, have no basis in reality, should not be taken too seriously and should be embraced for what they are – ‘myths’.

The ‘myth’ myth

Prior to the arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Māori language was an exclusively oral language. It is logical then that the origin of the Māori performing arts is located in an oral Māori historiography.¹¹¹ Many aspects of Māori ancient history have been referred to as ‘myth’ by Pākehā writers. ‘Historians have labeled as ‘myth’

¹¹¹ It is important to note that there are various tribal differences in the ways the stories have been passed down from generation to generation and that the version that follows may vary from other versions. Furthermore, stories such as this one are often difficult to translate, as, some of the emphasis, interpretation and metaphoric language are lost in translation.

what seem unrealistic ways of representing the past, but it can sometimes be shown that mythic structures encode history, that is, they register actual happenings or significant changes' (Tonkin 1995: 8).

From a Māori world-view all things in the natural world, including humans and different human activity, have a *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* is the cornerstone of Māori tradition. 'Genealogy as a tool for transmitting knowledge pervaded Māori culture. Every class and species of things had their own genealogy' (Royal 2003: 61). The origins of the Māori people can be traced through *whakapapa* back to the *atua*. However, through the years these *whakapapa* links have been trivialised and questioned, partly due to the fact that the term '*atua*' has been translated to mean 'god'. This is part of the process of colonisation where the oppressor reclassifies the world of the oppressed. Metge explains:

As defined by anthropologists, myths are accounts of how the world came to be the way it is for the myth-tellers, with special reference to the natural environment, the problematic issues of mortality, gender, and customary beliefs and practices. They are stories believed to be true and held as sacred (Metge 1998: 3).

The word myth is defined as a '1. a traditional story concerning the early history of a people or explaining a natural or social fact. 2. a widely held but false belief. 3. an imaginary person or thing' (Soanes et al 2001: 589). The first definition could be associated with Māori narratives. However, the word myth is usually tied to the second and third definitions, which indicate that the story in question is a fabrication. Therefore, traditional Māori stories regarding the creation of the world and the subsequent events of our ancestors do not fall under the definition of 'myth' as they are very 'real' and 'true'. Metge makes the following observation, which is important despite the use of the term 'myth':

In the case of the Maori, their myths are at once located in the distant past and eternally contemporary with their tellers and their audience, because, in the context of telling, they are continually being re-expressed and re-interpreted in contemporary idiom...Myths never become out-of-date. Instead, they continue to provide a charter for existing social institutions, even in social change, and attempt to bring about a mediation of contemporary as well as ancient problems. Myths move with the times, because myths are for telling (Metge 1998: 8-9).

The following quotation which discusses the *tīpuna* Kupe, who was an explorer, ends with a clear argument regarding Māori historical narratives.

Pākeha scholars have written much about these traditions and have strongly divergent views about them. Māori tribal authorities also give regionally different accounts of Kupe. In general, these Māori authorities reject the idea that Kupe was a figure of myth and regard him as an historical, exploring ancestor. They leave the scholarship to the scholars and say:
“Mōku te kupu, ko ahau e mōhio!”
“If the word is about me, I know best!” (Davis 1990: 14).

Stories of *atua* and *tīpuna* Māori

When considering a narrative, it is important to examine the source. This is particularly important considering that different *iwi* will have different traditions or variations of the same tradition. In addition, the reliability of the often Pākehā writer must be considered. Simmons explains: ‘Grey, in compiling *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, often drew on a number of sources, for the same tradition. The result in some sections is a patchwork which does not truly represent the traditions of any particular region’ (Simmons 1966: 178). H. W. Williams in the Preface to Grey’s Third Edition of *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, says: ‘Sir George Grey tells us that he has in some instances combined matter collected from different sources. Such combination may prove misleading, for there was generally a reason for the local variation’ (Grey 1971: vii).

It seems that Grey’s failings are inconsequential in comparison to those of John White, who published the series entitled *Ancient History of the Maori*.

Perhaps the most famous attempt at creating a single, pan-Māori canon of tradition is found in John White’s seven volume work entitled ‘Ancient History of the Maori’. This work has been widely analysed and criticised primarily for the ruthlessness with which White edited original material and attempted to splice seemingly incompatible material together (Royal 1998: 84).

White and his peer S. Percy Smith have been criticised for the lack of authenticity in their work. Kendrick Smithyman, in his article ‘Making History: John White and S. Percy Smith at work’ traces the origins of ‘the Maori account’ which appears in Smith’s *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century* (1910). Smithyman states,

‘The Maori account’ as published was concocted by S. Percy Smith rewriting and making free with material from John White’s papers. I shall show that White beforehand made free with his source material but not to any extent as to warrant what is implied by talk of “a manuscript” which Smith advanced. White confected, Smith contrived. Both appear to have acted with more than a degree of duplicity. They seem, lamentably, to have been dishonest (Smithyman 1979: 378).

By editing, deleting and rearranging, Smith effectively contrived “the Maori account” said equivocally to come from “a MS. Of Mr John White’s”, in which he enlarged on the contriving initiated by White (Smithyman 1979: 386).

Smith’s behaviour as considered in this article is in itself devious enough and more than sufficiently complicated for anyone trying to analyse it. Even so, only some of the convolutions are considered in these pages, an observation which applies also to John White’s scripts’ (Smithyman 1979: 411).

Smithyman concludes his article by stating, ‘One thing at least is sure about all this, it is not history’ (Smithyman 1979: 411). It is clear from this example that one can not always trust what is claimed to be a Māori account. Therefore, where possible, the narratives that are included in this chapter have been extracted from the original source manuscripts¹¹² written or dictated by *tīpuna Māori*, most of which originate from the Sir George Grey Collection housed at the Auckland Public Library.

Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna and the 500 Maori songs published by Grey in 1853 in his “*Nga Moteatea*” are only a portion of the material contained in Sir George Grey’s original collection of Maori manuscripts...The total collection exceeds 9,800 pages of manuscript, of which only 196 pages of prose and 500 pages of poetry have been printed. The whole is an invaluable collection of text mainly written between 1845 and 1854 (Simmons 1966: 177-178).

The Grey collection is highly regarded, especially the passages which were directly contributed by *tīpuna Māori*.

Grey’s informants or recorders were often people who had experienced life in a period relatively unaffected by European contact or who had access, in the persons of their fathers, or relatives of the father’s generation, to informants who had lived in the pre-European situation (Simmons 1966: 178).

¹¹² When the researcher has not had access to original manuscripts the narratives have been drawn from a number of published sources. In these cases, the references have been provided at every part of the story so as not to repeat Grey’s mistake and so that the reader might know where the information has come from.

The manuscripts are often written in the same way that the stories would be told orally. This is the beauty of the manuscripts, but it is also what is challenging in terms of severing a single narrative from a mass of woven narratives.

In the original manuscript, stories continue seamlessly one from the other and are joined by the use of *whakapapa*...Therefore, when one extracts a single story, one has to make a judgement as to the best way in which to sever the story from the fabric of all the stories for the *whakapapa* that connects them together renders them in total as some kind of fabric. Perhaps the image of the spider's web is useful in approximating the experience of isolating just one story from the fabric of a number of stories (Royal 1998:102-103).

The stories below have been arranged in a manner to achieve an approximate chronological order. Some of the stories were transplanted with *tīpuna Māori* from Hawaiki, and as such, can be found in various forms throughout Polynesia. One feature of the narratives is the transplanting of location. Setting the story in one's own area or home is a technique used by storytellers in order to make stories relevant and interesting to their audience/people's situation. This is aligned with place names such as Hawaiki being transplanted around Polynesia (which will be discussed at length in Chapter 4).

Another tool that Māori storytellers would adopt in order to make a narrative more interesting and relevant to the audience is to tell the story in present tense. This is also related to the way Māori view the past as being directly linked to the present and the way in which Māori inhabit the world of their ancestors. A written example of this can be seen in Te Rangikāheke's use of 'kei te', which normally indicates present or future tense, in his narrative concerning Māui (Moorfield 2004: 74). Tīmoti Kāretu utilises this technique in his account of narratives pertaining to *waiata* and *haka* which is located in *Haka! Te Tohu o te Whenua Rangatira, The Dance of a Noble People* (Kāretu 1993a: 15-21). This provides an example of the traditional Māori story-telling technique being utilised even when the story is being told in English. The following stories will be narrated in this manner.

Te Haka a Tāne-rore

According to the oral tradition of some *iwi*, the *whakapapa* of the performing arts is traced back to Tama-nui-te-rā, the sun. In Best's *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, The name Te Manu-i-te-rā is used for the sun. Best translates this as 'The Bird in the Sun'. However, he acknowledges that the term '*manu*' may have some ancient unknown meaning apart from 'bird' (Best 1972: 786-787).

Tama-nui-te-rā has two lovers, Hine-takurua, who is referred to as the winter maiden, and Hine-raumati, the summer maiden, with whom he has a son called Tāne-rore. It is said that Tāne-rore dances for his mother during the summer months, when Hine-raumati holds the favour of Tama-nui-te-rā. The shimmering heated air that rises from the ground on hot summer days is personified as *Te Haka a Tāne-rore*¹¹³ (Best 2005: 93).

The proverb '*Kua tū te haka a Tānerore*' or 'The dancing of Tānerore has commenced' is still applied to the heat haze, or the shimmering atmospheric distortion caused by heat (Best 1972: 787). In modern day performance the *wiri* is an acknowledgement of this ancestor and his dance (Gardiner 2001: 17; Reed 2004: 399). The *wiri* is one of the constants in performance, regardless of the style of performance, the genre of *waiata* and *haka* or the gender of the performer. Therefore, this particular *whakapapa* and story is relevant to all *kapa haka* across the nation.

There are many other stories that have been passed down through the generations that describe the origins and various usages of the Māori performing arts. However, this story is widely accepted by Māori across many tribes as the story that best describes the origins of *haka*. Best describes *Te Haka a Tāne-rore* as 'the origin of all the *haka* of the world' (Best 2005: 93). The fact that this story has been relayed through countless generations is one example of the perseverance and strength of the Māori language, and it is also a testament to the importance of the language in transmitting knowledge.

¹¹³ The dance of Tāne-rore

Tinirau and Kae

The following narrative is well known. Royal claims, ‘He kōrero tēnei e mohiotia whānuitia ana i te Ao Māori. Kei ngā iwi katoa ēnei kōrero tae atu hoki ki ngā whanaunga o Te Moananui-a-Kiwa’ (Royal 1998: 172).

Many South Seas Islands have been named as the likely habitats of Tinirau and Kae. It seems most probable that Upolu, in Samoa, was Tinirau’s home, and that Kae lived on Savaii. The period was probably about fifteen hundred years ago...Tinirau, according to the legends of Rarotonga and Mangaia Islands, lived on the islet of Motu-tapu, and also at Rangiriri; both these places are at Rarotonga (Pomare & Cowan 1987: 71).

Several of New Zealand’s islands were also called Motu-tapu by Māori, including the island of Mokoia in Rotorua – its ancient name is Te Motu-tapu-a-Tinirau (Pomare & Cowan 1987: 71). Tinirau is a *rangatira*¹¹⁴, the guardian deity of fish, and according to some accounts, the son of Tangaroa (Reed 2004: 56). The first *kapa haka* is said to be ‘*ngā wāhine a Tinirau*’ literally meaning the women of Tinirau, which refers to Tinirau’s *kapa haka* made up solely of women (Kāretu 1993a: 15). Hine-te-iwaiwa is Tinirau’s lover and is known throughout Māori culture as the ancestor of all things pertaining to women, including weaving and childbirth, she is also the exemplary figure of a wife and mother (Huata 2000: 24; Moorfield 2005: 27).

The earliest recorded version of this narrative found by the researcher is from 1852. It is a manuscript by Mātene Te Whiwhi and Te Rangihaeata which appears in the Grey collection at the Auckland Public Library as GNZMMSS 46 (30-35). Te Rangihaeata was a *rangatira* and the nephew of Ngāti Toa *rangatira* Te Rauparaha. Mātene Te Whiwhi was the nephew of Te Rangihaeata. Most of the information recorded by Te Whiwhi was obtained from his uncle (Simmons 1966: 181). For this reason, Te Whiwhi’s writings are often credited to both himself and Te Rangihaeata. The narrative was reproduced by Grey in his ‘Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna’ (first published 1854) under the title ‘Te Patunga o Kae’ (Grey 1971: 29-31).

Tinirau summons the *tohunga* Kae to his *pā* as he wants Kae to perform a *karakia tohi*¹¹⁵ for his son Tūhuru. Once the *tohi* is completed, Tinirau calls to his pet

¹¹⁴ Chief

¹¹⁵ Baptism ceremony

whale, Tutunui, to come to shore. To mark the occasion, Tinirau presents Kae with a *koha*¹¹⁶ of a small portion of cooked whale meat that he carves from the side of Tutunui. Kae finds the meat to be delicious. It comes time for Kae to return home. He is offered a *waka* to use for his return trip, however, he declines. Kae, it seems, is determined to ride the whale home (GNZMMSS 46: 31).

‘Ka ki atu a Tinirau ki a ia, e tata koe ki uta, e oioi te ika, e rere ki te taha katau’ (GNZMMSS 46: 32). Tinirau allows Kae to return home upon Tutunui and provides Kae with clear instructions regarding the dismount. Kae mounts the whale and returns to his home. As they get closer to shore Tutunui begins to gently shake signalling that the water is getting shallow and it is time for Kae to dismount as was explained to Kae by Tinirau. However, Kae ignores the signal, refuses to dismount and continues to push on towards the shore, forcing Tutunui to shake and wrestle to the point of being stranded. As a result of the violent struggle in shallow waters, the gills of the whale fill with sand and Tutunui dies (GNZMMSS 46: 32).

Subsequently, Kae’s people wrap Tutunui in the branches of the *koromiko*¹¹⁷ and cook him in an *umu*¹¹⁸. The fat from Tutunui’s meat runs onto the leaves. This can still be seen today. It is a characteristic of the *koromiko* that when the leaves are put on a fire, grease appears. The smell of the cooked whale meat is sweet. This is the origin of the famous saying ‘*Tēnā te kakara a Tutunui*’ or ‘There rises the savoury smell of Tutunui’ which is used to describe the evidence of someone’s guilt (GNZMMSS 46: 32; Mead & Grove 2003: 379).

Meanwhile, Tinirau awaits the return of his pet, and as time passes he begins to fret for Tutunui. Tinirau and Hine-te-iwaiwa learn that Kae has killed Tutunui, and Tinirau wants to seek *utu*¹¹⁹ for the *hara*¹²⁰. ‘Te waka o Hine-te-iwaiwa’¹²¹, the canoe that the *kapa haka wāhine*¹²² travels on, is launched. There are forty women on board including

¹¹⁶ Gift

¹¹⁷ Earth oven

¹¹⁸ *Hebe elliptica* - a native shrub with small, thick, folded leaves in four neat rows, with white flowers. Forms a large part of shoreline scrub. Wood was often used for making fire. Also refers to *Hebe salicifolia* and *Hebe stricta* - native shrubs with willow-like leaves creased along the centre line, each pair at right angles to the one below it. Flowers are white or light blue. Commonly grow on banks.

¹¹⁹ Vengeance

¹²⁰ Transgression

¹²¹ Other names for this tīpuna include Hine-i-te-iwaiwa, Hinauri

¹²² Female kapa haka

Hine-te-iwaiwa, Rau-kata-uri, Rau-kata-mea, Itiiti, Rekareka, and Rua-hau-a-Tangaroa. As the women have never met Kae, Tinirau provides them with a detailed description so that they might recognise him. He has a tooth that overlaps another (GNZMMSS 46: 32-33).

The women arrive at Kae's *pā* and set out to make Kae laugh with their performance, thereby forcing him to reveal his teeth and his identity amongst the crowd.

Ka hui tera iwi ki te matakitaki, ka ahiahi ka ka te ahi ki te whare o Kae, ka hui te tangata ki roto, ka ki, ko tetahi taha i te manuhiri, ko to Kae moenga kei te take o te poutokomanawa, ka whakakitea nga mahi a Raukatauri i reira, te haka, te waiata, te putorino, te koauau, te tokere, te ti ringaringa, te ti rakau, te pakuru, te papaki, te porotiti, mutu katoa enei mea, kaore a Kae i kata (GNZMMSS 46: 33).

Despite the performance by Rau-kata-uri, Kae is yet to laugh. The women continue with their attempt until finally Kae laughs and is recognised by the flesh of Tutunui that adheres to his teeth. Kae is then rendered unconscious through a *karakia* and taken back to Tinirau's *pā*, where he is killed. Thus, *utu* is taken for the death of Tutunui (GNZMMSS 46: 33-35).

There are slight differences in the different versions of the narrative, some of which will be explored here.

Another Grey manuscript, which seems to be written in Grey's own hand, details that Tinirau waits for Kae to return his pet. However, he realises his whale has died due to the morning breeze bringing the smell of cooked whale meat (GNZMMSS 54: 57).

The *tīpuna* on board include several important female ancestors of the ancient Māori realm, most of whom are the ancestors responsible for different aspects of the Māori performing arts. The table below outlines the names of the ancestors included in the writings of some of New Zealand's most prolific writers of Māori history and tradition. Some of the names appear throughout and some are specific to a single source. However, this provides an overview of which ancestors may be aboard the canoe and part of Te Kapa Haka a Tinirau.

Table 6: Te Kapa Haka a Tinirau

Source	LIST OF ANCESTORS	Page number
Best (2005)	Hine-te-iwaiwa Raukata-uri Raukata-mea Ruhiruhi Hine-awhi-rangi	p.93 p.12
Grey (1971)	Hine-i-te-iwaiwa Rau-kata-uri Rau-kata-mea Itiiti Rekareka Rua-hau-a-Tangaroa	[taken from the manuscript by Mātene Te Whiwhi and Te Rangihaeata] p.29
Kāretu (1993)	Hine-te-iwaiwa Rau-kata-uri Rau-kata-mea Rūhirūhi Hine-te-otaota Hine-mārekareka	p.15
Reed (2004)	Hineteiwaiwa Rakatauri Hineraukatamea Itiiti Rekareka Rauhauatangaroa	p.157
Royal (1998)	Hineteiwaiwa Raukatauri Raukatamea Itiiti Rekareka Ruahauatangaroa	[from the manuscript by Mātene Te Whiwhi and Te Rangihaeata] p.104
	Raukatauri Raukatamea Itiiti Rekareka Ruatamāhine Te Whakapītaumanawa	[from a song recited by Te Kōhurehure in Mātene Te Whiwhi/Te Rangihaeata] p.107
	Rau-kata-uri Rau-kata-mea Itiiti Rekareka Kura-hau Pō-ruhiruhi Pō-roherohe Whakaaro-rangi Rūhi-i-te-rangi Hine-te-iwaiwa	[a version titled 'Ngāē' by Mohi Ruatapu of Ngāti Porou] pp.108-109
	Tokotoru ngā tuāhine taipo a Tinirau. Ko tētahi ko Ruawahine	[A version recorded by James Herries Beattie] p.119

	Hine-te-iwaiwa Raukatauri Raukatamea Itiiti Rekareka Ruahau-a-Tangaroa Ruhiruhi Ruatamāhine Te Whakapītaumanawa Kurahau Pōruhiruhi Pōroherohe Whakaaro-rangi Rūhi-i-te-rangi Ruawahine	p. 173
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According to Grey, Moorfield, and Gardiner, Kae can be recognised by his crooked and over-lapping teeth (Gardiner 2001: 19; Grey 1971: 29; Moorfield 1992: 26). However, Best and Kāretu believe that Kae can be recognised by the gap between his teeth (Best 2005: 93; Kāretu 1993a: 15). Taylor recorded that Kae has a missing front tooth (Taylor 1855: 113). According to Reed, Kae’s teeth are broken as illustrated in his full name Kaenihowhati, or ‘Kae who’s teeth are broken’ (Reed 2004: 157). The word *whati*¹²³ is also recorded in a Grey manuscript regarding this story, in relation to the teeth of ‘Ngae’ (GNZMMSS 54: 58).

Gardiner claims that the women fail to make Kae laugh until one of the women steps forward and begins to dance in a humorous manner, distorting her body with exaggerated movements (Gardiner 2001: 19-20). Reed’s account is a little different, where the women perform a suggestive dance (Reed 2004: 158). The crowd laughs and they identify Kae by his teeth.

An account in one of the Grey manuscripts suggests that at the conclusion of their performance, the women perform the following *haka*:

Ako au ki te kowhiti
 Kaore te kowhiti
 Ako au ki te whewhera
 Kaore – te whewhera
 E kowhiti nuku
 E kowhiti rangi
 E kowhiti werewere

¹²³ Fracture, break, broken

Puapua – e
Hanahana – e
Tinaku e –

(GNZMMSS 54: 59)

‘Ka mutu te haka ka kata a Ngae, no reira i mohiotia ai ia e ratou’ (GNZMMSS 54: 59). This *haka* is credited with making ‘Ngae’ laugh. The *haka* recorded by Grey is very similar to a *haka* that has been recorded by Best:

E ako au ki te haka
E ako au ki te ringaringa
E ako au ki te whewhera
E! Kaore te whewhera
E ako au ki te kowhiti
E! Kaore te kowhiti
E kowhiti nuku, e kowhiti rangi
E kowhiti puapua, e kowhiti werewere
E hanahana a Tinaku...e!

(Best 2005: 93)

Kāretu provides a translation of the *haka* recorded by Best:

E ako au ki te haka	<i>I learn to haka</i>
E ako au ki te ringaringa	<i>I learn to explore with my hands</i>
E ako au ki te whewhera	<i>I learn to open wide</i>
E kāore te whewhera	<i>Not to open wide</i>
E ako au ki te kōwhiti	<i>I learn to twitch</i>
E kāore te kōwhiti	<i>Not to twitch</i>
E kōwhiti nuku, e kōwhiti rangi	<i>Pulsating upwards, pulsating downwards</i>
E kōwhiti puapua, e kōwhiti werewere	<i>My vagina throbs, my vagina fibrillates</i>
E hanahana a tinaku...e!	<i>A haven of lingering warmth.</i>

(Kāretu 1993a: 16)

According to Best, Rau-kata-uri is the leader of the *haka* (Best 2005: 12). The *haka* is so effective Kae is entertained and begins to laugh, thereby showing his teeth.

The Grey manuscripts also contain a *waiata* which was recorded by a man named Te Kōhurehure (cited in Royal 1998: 107). The song contains references to some of the great stories from Hawaiki, including the story regarding Kae, Tinirau and Tutunui. The following is the section of the *waiata*, followed by a translation, which refers to this story.

E kimi ana i a Kae he tangata tohitohi
 Kia tupu nunui ai tama ki tana kiwai
 Ka ra Tutunui
 Ki tikina ki runga
 Ki a Raukatauri
 Ki a Raukatamea
 Ki a Itiiti, ki a Rekareka
 Ki a Ruatamahine
 Ki a Te Whakapitaumanawa
 Nana i ako mai te rauhanga
 Ka rotua ka moe
 Ka whakakokopaia
 Ki te takapau wharenuī
 Oho rawa ake ko te Motutapu na Tinirau
 Te hemo noa nga pohehe
 O onamata
 Ka utaina ki te waka
 Ka mate ra Tuhuruhuru

I seek out Kae, the man who baptises children
 So that they may grow strong in the appropriate manner
 Tutunui was killed
 Hence a group was sent for including
 Raukatauri
 Raukatamea
 Itiiti, Rekareka
 Ruatamāhine
 Te Whakapītaumanawa
 It was they who beguiled the people
 They were bewitched and fell asleep
 They were then gathered up
 into the mats
 and the sacred island of Tinirau awakened.
 Lest the mistakes
 of long ago be forgotten
 He was taken aboard the waka
 And Tūhuruhuru was killed.

(cited in Royal 1998: 107).

Mataora and Niwareka

It is not clear what the original source is for this narrative. The following version appears in Best (1942).

Niwareka is a *tūrehu*¹²⁴ who descended from the *atua* of Rarohenga¹²⁵ and lives in Rarohenga. Some believe that Hine-nui-te-pō and Whakarūaumoko are her *tīpuna*. Mataora is a *rangatira* who lives in Te Ao Tūroa (Best 1942: 167).

¹²⁴ Fairy, light skinned people, mythical being of human form

¹²⁵ The underworld

One day Mataora is sleeping in his house, when he is awoken suddenly by the sounds of a group of women. The women are *tūrehu* from Rarohenga. The group of *tūrehu* have never met a human before, as such, they do not know what Mataora is (Best 1942: 167).

According to one account, Mataora sees the women and begins to realise that they are *tūrehu* based on their appearance. They are fair-skinned and their waist-long hair resembles the white plumes of the *toetoe*¹²⁶. They are also wearing *maro*¹²⁷ made from *rimurimu*¹²⁸ (Best 1942: 168; Reed 2004: 97-98).

Mataora asks the *tūrehu* questions to identify whether or not they are women, and the *tūrehu* respond with their own questions about Mataora's gender and origin. On identifying themselves, the *tūrehu* are invited by Mataora to enter his house where he can provide them with nourishment. However, the *tūrehu* decline his invitation, explaining that they do not eat food that is cooked. Upon hearing this, Mataora provides raw food for his guests (Best 1942: 168).

Soon after, there is entertainment in the form of exchanges of song and dance. Here, while performing his *haka*, Mataora is able to showcase his dexterity and agility. In one account, Mataora uses a *māipi*¹²⁹ during his *haka*. Following Mataora's performance, the *tūrehu* stand and perform a *haka* that Mataora has not encountered previously. One of the *tūrehu* takes centre stage and while she performs her *haka* the rest of the *tūrehu* begin to sing "Niwareka, Niwareka." The woman, Niwareka, is tall with fair hair and graceful in her performance. Mataora falls in love with her and Niwareka stays behind to be with him when her people leave (Best 1942: 168; Reed 2004: 98).

This narrative provides us with insight into certain cultural aspects of *waiata* and *haka*. For example, the cultural concept of *manaaki manuhiri*¹³⁰ is not only seen in Mataora's insistence that he provide nourishment for his guests, but also in his providing entertainment through *haka*. Another cultural aspect pertaining to *waiata* and *haka* that

¹²⁶ Native plants with long, grassy leaves with a fine edge and saw-like teeth. Flowers are white, feathery, arching plumes. Grow on sand dunes, on rocks and cliff faces, along streams and swamp edges.

¹²⁷ Loincloth

¹²⁸ Seaweed

¹²⁹ A long wooden weapon also called a *taiaha*

¹³⁰ Hospitality towards guests

is included in the narrative is the ability of *haka* to act as a catalyst for love. The fact that Mataora falls in love with Niwareka whilst she is performing her *haka* is a sign of the importance placed on performance in Māori society. To be skilled in performance is a trait that is valued, and many a love match has started with a brilliant *haka* performance.

Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (Māui)

In some accounts, Māui is a descendant of the union between Mataora and Niwareka (Reed 2004: 118). Māui is one of the most celebrated characters in Māori history and his life is chronicled in the histories of Indigenous peoples throughout Polynesia. Walker describes Māui as ‘quick, intelligent, bold, resourceful, cunning, and fearless, epitomizing the basic personality structure idealised by Maori society’ (Walker 1990: 15). ‘Māui tinihanga’ or ‘Māui the trickster’ refers to the tricks he played...the phrase is still applied to a practical joker (Mead & Grove 2003: 289). The following story is merely one of the many tales of Māui’s antics. It focuses on Māui’s quest to find his mother.

Māui wants to reconnect with his mother and her family, as he has been raised separately by one of his ancestors. Māui’s mother believes that her youngest son, Māui, is stillborn or that she has miscarried, as he is premature. Beattie refers to the incident in his retelling of the narrative: ‘Then the mother had a *whanau-karukaru* (miscarriage) and the premature child was wrapped in a cloth and thrown into the sea’ (Beattie 2004: 11). As a result of this misconception, she cuts her hair which is usually worn as a *tikitiki*¹³¹ and wraps her baby in it following the birth. This is where Māui gets his full name, Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. She then throws the baby into the ocean. It is Māui’s ancestor, Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi who saves him (Grey 1971: 6-7; Reed 2004: 119).

In the account published by Best in *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, Maui-pōtiki¹³² is aborted. As Taranga is walking along the waterside at O-wa-newha one day, she wraps the aborted child in a piece of *aute*¹³³ that she takes from her hair and throws it into the water. According to Best, Maui-pōtiki is also known as Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga

¹³¹ Topknot

¹³² *Pōtiki* refers to the youngest child

¹³³ Bark cloth

because the bark cloth that Taranga uses to wrap him is what she had used to tie her hair (Best 1972: 935-936).

The significance of Maui as a heroic figure derives as much from the circumstances of his birth as from his many accomplishments. He was a *potiki*, the last born of five brothers. In a society where status and succession were based on order of birth, Maui, as a last-born child, was low in the family hierarchy. Furthermore, he had the additional disadvantage of being an aborted child...(Walker 1990: 15).

Once Māui reaches his mother's *pā*, he joins the *kapa haka* that is performing a *haka*. This is Māui's first encounter with his older brothers, who are the members of the *kapa*. As Taranga watches the performance, she notices the young man who has joined her sons in the *haka* and challenges him as a stranger. Māui begins to explain the circumstances of his birth and Taranga realises that he is her *pōtiki* and acknowledges him publicly for the first time. Thus, Māui is reunited with his mother and her family (Kāretu 1993a: 16; Thornton 1999:69).

Tama-te-kapua and Whakatūria

There is a rich oral history in the Pacific, and many Polynesian histories have been transported across the ocean from the spiritual homeland, Hawaiki. The following narrative is about Tama-te-kapua, the captain of the Te Arawa waka, while he was still living in Hawaiki. Some believe this story is the reason why the Te Arawa canoe left Hawaiki and travelled to Aotearoa (Buck 1950: 38; Kāretu 1993a: 16).

The narrative is provided by Te Rangikāheke who was a *rangatira* of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. The story can be found in the Grey collection at the Auckland Public Library as GNZMMSS 81 (56-58). Te Rangikāheke recorded his own knowledge regarding the history and tradition of his people and was one of Grey's primary sources from Te Arawa. 'He contributed some 500 pages of manuscript to Grey's collection, all of it written between 1849 and 1853...Rangikaheke is the author of at least 50 pages out of the 198 in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*' (Simmons 1966: 179).

Tama-te-kapua and his *teina*¹³⁴, Whakatūria are out stealing breadfruit from a tree belonging to the Hawaiki *ariki*¹³⁵, Uenuku. They stand on stilts in order to reach the top of the tree and to avoid making footprints. However, they are discovered by Uenuku's people. Tama-te-kapua is not captured, but Whakatūria is (GNZMMSS 81: 56-57).

The breadfruit tree grows over the roof of Uenuku's house and therefore grows over Uenuku's head. As a result, the fruit is considered to be *tapu*. Therefore, it is a *hara* to eat the fruit, as well as a great insult to Uenuku (Walker 1990: 44).

Since the breadfruit was *tapu* by contagion because it grew over the roof and hence the sacred head of Uenuku, eating it was an insult tantamount to eating the head of the high chief himself. Such an audacious act was punishable by death (Walker 1990: 44).

Whakatūria is taken to the *wharenuī*, where he is tied to the rafters.

Ka emi mai te mano o te tangata ki te haka, ki te waiata, ki te piu, ki te tutu kai, ki te tii, ki te ponga, ki te puripuri, ki te takaro, ki te pukana, ki nga mahi tini hanga a te maori.

Iiapo iiapo¹³⁶ me te whakarongo iho a te tangata ra ki nga mano o Uenuku e kori ana i roto i te ware, a ka tae atu te rongo kia Tamate-kapua, e kei te ora tou teina kei runga i te ware e iriana (GNZMMSS 81: 57).

Every night he is teased by the local people and suffers from the smoke of the fire below. The news that his brother is still alive reaches Tama-te-kapua and when night falls he climbs to the top of the *wharenuī*, makes a little hole in the thatch, and whispers to his brother about the plan to help him escape Uenuku (GNZMMSS 81: 57).

As the evening sets in, the entertainment starts, with *haka* being at the forefront. Whakatūria taunts the performers for their lack of skill and boasts about his own ability to *haka*. Upon hearing this, the *tangata whenua* let Whakatūria down to prove his claims. Whakatūria requests a weapon in order to perform his *haka* properly, which he is granted (GNZMMSS 81: 57).

¹³⁴ Younger sibling of the same sex

¹³⁵ High chief

¹³⁶ I ia pō, i ia pō

From the very beginning of his performance, it is clear that Whakatūria is indeed an expert in *haka*. His performance is beautiful and the *tangata whenua* are mesmerised. Whakatūria then asks that the door at the front of the house be opened to let some fresh air in, as he is getting hot. During his performance he moves slowly toward the open door, and once he is in front of it he dashes outside where his brother, Tama-te-kapua is waiting for him. Together, they flee the scene (GNZMMSS 81: 58).

This narrative demonstrates ‘*te mana o te haka*’¹³⁷. The *tangata whenua* fail to notice Whakatūria’s getaway plan as they are too distracted by the beauty of his *haka*. As a direct result of his *haka*, Whakatūria is able to evade his captors. In this respect, there is a resemblance to the story of Tama-rua-rangi and his son Te Rangi-tū-mai cited in Kāretu, where the primary reason behind a *haka* is to escape the enemy (Kāretu 1993a: 20-21).

The inclusion of this narrative serves two purposes: The first is to demonstrate one of the usages of *haka*, that is, one branch of the *whakapapa* tree of *haka*. Secondly, this important oral literature has been preserved in an Arawa lament, thereby illustrating the significance of *waiata* and *haka* in the archiving of oral histories. Below is the lament and Buck’s (1950) translation:

Rakau tapu o Hawaiki
No tera taha o Tawhitinui,
Ko te kuru whakamarumaru
o te whare o Uenuku.

Sacred tree of Hawaiki
On the other side of Great Tahiti,
It is the *kuru* that sheltered
the house of Uenuku.

(Buck 1950: 39)

Buck claims that *kuru* is an ancient word for breadfruit that is found throughout the Pacific with its various cognate forms. Therefore, these four seemingly simple lines of a lament, in fact, hold important details of Māori ancient history (Buck 1950: 39). This story is also celebrated and remembered in many *wharenuī* throughout the country where the carved figure of Tama-te-Kapua is depicted standing on stilts. ‘The famous fruit foraging expedition’, as Buck refers to it, was conducted on stilts so as to reach the fruit and not leave footprints (Buck 1926: 201-202).

¹³⁷ The prestige, authority, or influence of *haka*

Wairangi

The story of Wairangi is another example of using *haka* as a means of surprising the enemy. However, this narrative is set in New Zealand and is a more contemporary branch of the *whakapapa* of *haka*. Wairangi, the grandson of Raukawa, is a *rangatira* of Ngāti Raukawa who lives at Rurunui, in the area of Whare-pūhunga. He has two wives, Parewhete and Pūroku. While Wairangi is away in Kāwhia, one of Parewhete's relatives, Tupeteka, arrives at Rurunui. Tupeteka is a *rangatira* of the Ngāti Maru tribe in the Waikato. Whilst there, Tupeteka sleeps with Parewhete. On his return, Wairangi learns of his wife's adultery and he beats Parewhete. Soon after, Parewhete flees to Tupeteka's *pā*, Te Aea, close to Matamata. When Wairangi learns of his wife's whereabouts he decides to follow with his *iwi*, Ngāti Raukawa, and exact revenge on Tupeteka (Biggs 1997: 245; Kāretu 1993a: 18).

Ko nga toa o roto i tana ope, ko ana tuaakana, ko Tama-te-hura me Upoko-iti, me tana teina, me Pipito. Hokowhitu te tokomaha o te ope a Wairangi i haapai ai, ko te haerenga ki Te Aaea, ki te paa o Tupeteka, i roto o Waihou. Kei runga mai o Te Aroha teeraa paa a Te Aaea (Jones & Biggs 2004: 145).

Wairangi's group are armed with the necessary weapons.

Ko te raakau a te iwi ra, he patu paraaoa, he meremere, he patu koowhatu, me aa raatou patu roroa, he tewhatewha, he taiaha, he pouwhenua, he koikoi me eeraa atu raakau. Kaatahi ka haere ki Te Aea (Biggs 1997: 247).

The group arrives at Te Aea and is greeted as *manuhiri*. However, Parewhete warns Wairangi and his party by saying: 'He aha koe i haere mai ai i te rourou iti a Haere; tee noho atu ai i te tookanga nui a Noho?' or translated literally 'Why did you come with the small basket of Traveller, and not remain with the big basket of Stay-at-home?' (Jones & Biggs 2004: 144-145). The quoted saying means 'Why did you come with so few warriors instead of staying in the midst of your own powerful tribe?' (Mead & Grove 2003: 62).

Knowing that they will be outnumbered, Wairangi and his people decide that they should *haka* as a means to escape. At the end of the *haka* they will launch a pre-emptive attack on the people of Te Aea.

Ka mea atu a Wairangi ki a Tama-te-hura maa me hanga e raatou teetehi haka hei huarahi e ora ai raatou. He iwi hoki raatou e haere ana te rongo mo te pai ki te haka. Ka tahuri raatou ki te whakariterite i nga kupu mo ta raatou haka me te waahi o ta raatou haka e tahuri ai raatou ki te patu i te iwi o Tupeteka (Jones & Biggs 2004: 147).

The signal to attack is located in ‘te haka a Wairangi’. Wairangi’s attendant Matamata is told to stand close to Tupeteka in case he tries to escape once the fighting starts (Jones & Biggs 2004: 147). The *haka*, as recorded by Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs in *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, is as follows:

Tama-te hura: Ko te Aaea o ia rangi, ko te Aaea o ia rangi, hui ake!
Te nuinga: Ko te Aaea o ia rangi, o ia rangi, o ia rangi!
Upoko-iti: Ka whakakoopura Ruarangi-hape, teina o Tupeteka e-e!
Te nuinga: O Tupeteka e! O Tupeteka e!
Upoko-iti: Huakina!
Te nuinga: Huakina! Huakina!
Pipito: Puhi kura, puhi kura, puhi kaakaa. Ka whakatautapaa ki Kaawhia. Huakina!
Te nuinga: Huakina! Huakina! (I konei kua ara te maatua, kua tuu kei runga.)
Wairangi: Kaatahi ka riri, i toru ka whaa. Matamata, hopukia!
Te nuinga: Hoomai ra to whiri kaha, toro kaha, ka wetewetea ai, wetewetea. A tee, a taa, a tau!

Tama-te hura: Te Aaea of everyday fame, of everyday fame, gather here!
Te nuinga: Te Aaea of everyday fame, of everyday fame!
Upoko-iti: Ruarangi-hape, brother of Tupeteka, dazzles like the Morning Star!
Te nuinga: Tupeteka! Tupeteka!
Upoko-iti: Charge!
Te nuinga: Charge! Charge!
Pipito: Red plumes! red plumes! parrot plumes challenging Kaawhia. Charge!
Te nuinga: Charge! Charge! (At this point the company arose and stood up.)
Wairangi: Now, fight. Three, four. Matamata, seize him!
Te nuinga: Give here your strong ropes, your vines to be unravelled, unravelled, *A tee, a taa, a tau!*

(Jones & Biggs 2004: 148-149).

The next version, found in Kāretu, is slightly different. This *haka* is still performed today, particularly by Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Kāretu 1993a: 19).

Ka tū a Tama-te-hura ka whakahua i te haka:

Puhi kura, puhi kura, puhi kākā,
Ka whakatautapa ki Kāwhia
Huakina, huakina.

Ka kī tērā hei tāna ka huaki. Ka noho ki raro. Kei runga ko Ūpoko-iti, ka whakahua i tāna haka:

Ko Te Aea o ia rangi
Ko Te Aea o ia rangi hui ake
Ko Te Aea o ia rangi.

Ka kī hei tāna ka huaki. Ko Pipito, ka whakahua i tāna haka:

Ka whakakōpura rua a Rangi-hape,
Teina o Tūpeteka, e
Huakina, huakina.

Ka tohe hei tāna ka huaki. Kātahi ka tū ko Wairangi ka whakahua:

Tahi ka riri, toru ka whā
E matamata hopukia
Hōmai rā tō whiri kaha, toro kaha
Kia wetewetea, wetewetea
Ā tē, ā tā, ā tau.

Tama-te-hura rises and recites his haka:

*The red top-knot, the kākā plume!
Chant your challenge towards Kāwhia!
Open, yes, thrust asunder!*

He says his haka should be the signal to attack. He sits down. Then Ūpoko-iti rises and recites his haka:

*It is Te Aea (the pā) of each day,
It is Te Aea (the pā) of each day,
Come together!
It is Te Aea (the pā) of each day
Of each day*

He says at his haka they should attack. Then Pipito rises and recites his haka:

*Behold the lightning flash of Hape,
The younger brother of Tūpeteka
Of Tūpeteka, of Tūpeteka!*

He demands that the attack be made at his haka. Then Wairangi rises and recites:

*For it is war once more,
Seize your weapons!
Put forth your utmost strength
And sever the cords that bind you
Thus! and thus! and thus!*

(Kāretu 1993a: 19-20)

The beauty of the *haka* enralls the *tangata whenua*. Wairangi's part in the *haka* comes toward the end of the performance, and as it draws to a close the *kapa haka* pull

out their *patu*¹³⁸ from behind their backs and proceed to attack, with Tūpeteka being Wairangi's first victim. Parewhete is not harmed and returns to Rurunui with Wairangi (Kāretu 1993a: 20).

The narrative lives on in the proverb from Ngāti Raukawa: '*E, kei kitea te kōkōwai o Parewhete ki tō pāpāringa*' or 'Do not let the red ochre of Parewhete be discovered on your cheek'. The matter of Parewhete's infidelity was discovered through the red ochre left on the lover's cheek. The proverb warns against misbehavior (Mead & Grove 2003: 28).

Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia

Haka, like other aspects of the Māori performing arts, holds a special place in the great Māori love stories. 'It is not too difficult to imagine the mutual attraction that can be generated between performers when they are in full cry and giving their all. Legend has a great deal of evidence to support this thesis' (Kāretu 1993a: 16-17). In the story of Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia, the *haka* is credited with creating the first spark of attraction between these two ancestors. The narrative appears in John White's *Ancient History of the Maori* and was re-published together with translation in *Te Ao Hou*.

There were many battles between Ngāti Kahukōkā of Āwhitu on the Manukau Harbour, and Ngā Iwi of Maungawhau¹³⁹ in Auckland. One of the reasons the two tribes are fighting is over the rights to a shark fishing ground at Pūponga, with each side believing they have custody of the area (White 1888: 116 - 117). Te Ponga is a young *rangatira* from Āwhitu and in one of the times of peace between the two *iwi*, he visits Maungawhau, along with his people (White 1888: 119-120).

Following the *pōhiri*, where Te Ponga and his people are welcomed, the two sides sit down to eat. However, the *manuhiri* refrain from filling their stomachs, lest it hinder their performance. Dusk settles, and as is customary, the two sides begin the night's entertainment. Firstly, the *tangata whenua* perform, and within that *kapa haka* is Te Puhi-huia, the daughter of the *rangatira* from Maungawhau. Te Puhi-huia does not stand in view of the audience in the front row, instead she stands back and waits for the

¹³⁸ Weapon, short club

¹³⁹ Mount Eden

appropriate time to step forward and showcase her talent (White 1888: 122-123).

Grey's account states:

Te tino putanga ki mua o nga kapa o te haka, katahi ra ka pehia ki tetahi taha, ki tetahi taha, ae ta tuawahine pai, whakamau noa atu ki nga kanohi o ia wahine; anana, me te Maure ka puta ake i te pae! Na reira ano te manuhiri ra mate noa ake ki te pai o te wahine ra. Koia hoki ko Te Ponga, ko te rangatira o taua teretere nei, kua whakawairangi noa ake te ngakau ki te pai o ia wahine (Grey 1971: 141).

Te Puhi-huia is a graceful performer, so beautiful are her movements that she is compared to the appearance of the moon on the twelfth night rising in the horizon. The audience is captivated, particularly Te Ponga, who feels a strong attraction to her. Following that performance by the *tangata whenua*, Te Ponga begins to focus on his own performance. In a similar vein as Te Puhi-huia, Te Ponga waits for the right moment to demonstrate his ability in performance. Te Ponga's *haka* is outstanding, and Te Puhi-huia begins to feel the same admiration for Te Ponga. It is of no surprise then, that Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia become lovers (White 1888: 123-124; Grey 1971: 141).

Te Kahureremoa and Taka-kōpiri

The narrative of Te Kahureremoa and Taka-kōpiri is similar to that of Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia in that it is *haka* that showcases the attributes of the performer and captures the heart of the person watching. Te Kahureremoa is a *puhi*¹⁴⁰. She is the daughter of Pākā, the *rangatira* of Wharekawa in the Hauraki Gulf, and the granddaughter of Tainui chief Hotunui (Jones & Biggs 2004: 107, 150). The version of this story used by Grey is credited to a manuscript by an unknown author, possibly of Ngāti Pāoa descent (Simmons 1966: 186).

Pākā arranges for his daughter to marry a man from Aotea¹⁴¹. However, Te Kahureremoa has other ideas, so she goes in search of Taka-kōpiri, the *rangatira* of Katikati. The pair had met when Taka-kōpiri visited Hauraki, at which time Te Kahureremoa developed a strong attraction to him (Kāretu 1993a: 18; Royal 1998: 133).

¹⁴⁰ Virgin, woman of high rank

¹⁴¹ Great Barrier Island

Te Kahureremoa arrives in Katikati and meets up with Taka-kōpiri's *iwi*, Waitaha. Following the *pōhiri* and the sharing of food, the sun sets, the fire is lit inside the meeting house and it is time for the entertainment. The *tangata whenua* hope that Te Kahureremoa will stand to perform following their performance, and she does not disappoint (Kāretu 1993a: 18).

Tino whakatikanga o te wahine nei ki runga ki te haka, i te toronga kautanga o nga ringa inamata e whakatangihia ana ki te ngongoro; ko nga ringa me te mea ka marere, ko nga koikara piri ana i tua i te angangamate o te kapu o te ringa; koia ano me te mea e komurua ana te tamahine a Paka, ta te Aitanga-a-Tiki pai, ta te kotahi a Tu-tawake pai, ara ona whakatauki o te rangatira, "He riri ano ta te tawa uho, he riri ano ta te tawa para;" ara o te rangatira ona whakatauki, tu atu ki te haka, he haka ano ta te rangatira, he haka ano ta te ware, he porahu noa iho nga ringa (Grey 1971: 122).

Kāretu (1993) translates Grey's Māori text:

And so the woman rises to dance, as soon as she extends her arms exclamations of surprise and admiration can be heard it is as though her hands will leave her body, her fingers arch to touch the back of her hands; it is as though the suppleness of Paka's daughter has come from constant training and massage, she is the epitome of feminine grace and beauty in the dance; there are many sayings concerning the nobility, the sound tawa¹⁴² has its qualities, the inferior tawa has its qualities so it is said of the high born when they rise to haka that they have their style and the low-born have theirs, their hands look awkward (Kāretu 1993a: 18).

The tawa is a tall native tree and is used in the Māori text to mark the difference between the *haka* abilities of the nobility and those of the common people. The beauty of Te Kahureremoa's performance leads Taka-kōpiri to fall in love with her, and eventually they are united.

Summary and conclusions

These histories provide insight to the different usages of *haka* and are a *whakapapa* of *haka* commencing from the time of Tāne-rore, through the events in Hawaiki, up until *tīpuna Māori* established their society here in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Throughout these narratives, there are examples of the different reasons one stands to perform.

¹⁴² *Beilchmiedia tawa* - a tall tree with large dark fruit and yellow-green foliage of long, narrow leaves. The bark is smooth and dark brown. Found throughout the North Island and in northern areas of the South Island

In the account of Tinirau and Kae, the *haka* serves as a method of entrapment, and leads the *kapa haka* to Kae. The story of Tama-te-kapua and Whakatūria, and that of Wairangi, illustrate the ability of *haka* to surprise the enemy by tricking them into dropping their guard. These are all examples of the intersecting links between *mana*, *tōrangapū* and *reo* which, in the Tīenga model, provide a cross-section with *whakairo kupu* and *haka*, thus illustrating the inter-connected nature of these concepts and the Māori performing arts.

There are several examples of the ability of *haka* to create positive emotions and feelings of attraction and love, including the stories of Mataora and Niwareka, Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia, and Te Kahureremoa and Taka-kōpiri. In the account of Māui searching for his mother, Māui joins his brothers in their *kapa haka*, thus illustrating the traditional composition of *kapa haka* being family, and highlighting the importance of *iwi* specific performance styles.

Finally, the entertainment aspect of *haka* as a form of *manaaki* is illustrated in the narrative of Mataora and Niwareka. According to Grey (1971) ‘e tu ana te haka, ko to te tangata maori taonga nui tenei mo te manuhiri’ (Grey 1971: 122). This is reinforced by the Tīenga model as *manaaki* is featured as a key concept in the Māori performing arts and relates to other aspects of the culture which influence *haka* such as *mana*, *marae*, *whanaungatanga* and *hui*.

Haka had, and continues to have, a fundamental role in Māori society and this is evidenced by the many detailed oral histories pertaining to *waiata* and *haka*. The fact that these stories had been carried through the generations is a testament to the strength of Māori oral tradition in traditional Māori society.

Chapter Four

Waiata as archives

Transplanted and with new stance
the Māori sang his greatest songs.
He sang of his home country, Hawaiki;
he sang of his voyage, and his kinsfolk
left on the islands of Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.
He sang too of the stars that had guided him
to this land of peace and plenty.¹⁴³
(Puketapu 1979:14).

The focus of this chapter is the role of *waiata* in the archiving of ancient Māori history. First, there will be an examination of some aspects of culture which were transplanted to Aotearoa/New Zealand from Hawaiki. This will include a discussion of the transportation of narratives from Hawaiki and the role that *waiata* and *haka* have played in preserving these histories. The *oriori* ‘Pō! Pō!’ will illustrate the ability of *waiata* and *haka* to act as repositories of traditional Māori knowledge and tools in the successful transmission of this knowledge. Knowledge transmission and ownership of *waiata* will also be explored.

Hawaiki transplanted

The extract from Puketapu’s poem begins with the word ‘transplanted’. This is a significant term when reviewing the ancient history of Māori, as many of those histories were transplanted to Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is evident in Chapter Three, where many of the stories were brought to Aotearoa/New Zealand with *tīpuna Māori* who migrated from Hawaiki. In doing so, *tīpuna Māori* also transplanted many place names from their original home. Furthermore, there are sequences of place names that commemorate the journeys of explorations of a single ancestor (O’Regan 1990: xiii). When place names held special significance, they would often be transplanted to a new landscape by the migrating group. O’Regan states:

Because of the role of place names as a device for recording and remembering tribal history the historical events themselves sometimes became relocated in the new setting. This is one of the reasons why some

¹⁴³ The excerpt above is from a poem by Kara Puketapu titled ‘No Man’s Land’ and chronicles Puketapu’s history of Māori in New Zealand which, for him, starts with the arrival of the Tokomaru canoe

Māori and Polynesian histories appear so similar and repetitious. They may be the same story being repeated in fresh settings. This does not make the traditions associated with a particular place name, or group of names, any less authentic. It is a perfectly valid process within an oral tradition. It derives from the character of oral tradition. It uses place names in different ways from the way literate societies use them (O'Regan 1990: xiii).

Examples of this include the names Hikurangi and Aorangi for *maunga*¹⁴⁴ which have made their way to Aotearoa/New Zealand from Tahiti via Rarotonga. In Tahiti, Aora'i is the second-highest mountain and in close proximity, Hi'ura'i stands. In Rarotonga, 'Ikurangi is the high peak overlooking the capital, Avarua, and Arorangi stands on the other side of the island. These names can also be found in Aotearoa/New Zealand. On the East Coast of Te Ika a Māui, the North Island, Hikurangi and Aorangi are side-by-side in the Ruahine Range. The names also appear in at least six other locations, all of which were visited by a single ancestor, Tamatea. The two names also appear in Te Waipounamu, the South Island. Aoraki is the tallest mountain in the Te Waipounamu, and Hikurangi is found in several locations (Taonui 2009: electronic source).

'When Paikea migrated to New Zealand from Rangiātea, he brought with him many place names and transferred them to places on the east coast of the North Island, to serve as reminders of the homeland he had left behind' (Davis 1990: 52). Therefore, it is not a stretch to believe that our Pacific ancestors also took the name of their homeland with them along their travels – meaning that the name 'Hawaiki' was bound to have been flung out to the far corners of the Pacific ocean.

Hawaiki was the most significant name transferred from Polynesia. In mythology it is the place from which all bounty came, including life, food and treasures. Ancestors referred to it as the source of life and destination of the dead – a paradise to which the spirits returned. The concept was so important that the name was given to many islands and places during migrations across the Pacific.

The earliest Polynesian name for Hawaiki was Sawaiki, probably given to the Lau islands of eastern Fiji. This is possibly where the first Polynesians crossed over to Tonga and Samoa. People named the islands they subsequently discovered after this first Hawaiki (Taonui 2009: electronic source).

Examples of the name Hawaiki being transplanted include:

¹⁴⁴ Mountain, mount, peak

- Savai‘i in Samoa
- Havaiki in Niue
- Savaiki in Tongareva
- Havai‘i, the old name for Ra‘iatea in Tahiti
- Havaiki, the atoll Fakarava in Tuamotu
- Havaiki in the Marquesas
- Hawai‘i
- ‘Avaiki in Mangareva
- ‘Avaiki, the spiritual name for the islands of Rarotonga.
- Hawaiki, in several New Zealand locations including Maketū, Aotea Harbour, Lake Rotongāio, Motutapu Island, and the Auckland suburb of Mt Eden

(Taonui 2009: electronic source).

O’Regan suggests that, ‘It is this relationship between the historical tradition and a group of names which gives rise to the concept of the “Oral Map”. The story explains and orders the geography and the land geography reinforces the history. The two serve each other’ (O’Regan 1990: xiii). This is also a clever way to keep histories alive in people’s memories, as they would use place names in everyday conversation.

The names in the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place, recording some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe. If the name was remembered it could release whole parcels of history to a tribal narrator and those listening. The daily use of such place names meant that history was always present, always available (O’Regan 1990: xiii).

***Waiata* brought from and about Hawaiki**

At the time of first contact with Pākeha there existed, in living memory, *waiata* which were brought to Aotearoa/New Zealand from Hawaiki. These *waiata* had been successfully transmitted through the generations and are testament to the ability of oral tradition as an archive of ancient history. In referring to *haka*, Shortland makes the following statement: ‘Some of them are very ancient: and, according to tradition, were familiar to their ancestors before they came to New Zealand’ (Shortland 2001: 87). Stories of Hawaiki have also been preserved in the oral tradition and have later been referred to in new *waiata*.

There is a large section of *waiata* difficult to translate, because of the archaic language in which many passages are couched. Such chants are very ancient and are to a certain extent regarded as sacred, embodying esoteric knowledge and embalming memories of far-off Hawaikian ancestors, when mankind was near akin to the gods. The translation of such songs is only to be accomplished by the aid of learned old men, now very few in number, belonging to the tribes which have preserved by frequent recital the words of the composition. This sort of work is slow, since I have found it often required reference to several persons to fix the exact and full significance of a line, a phrase, or a name in a centuries-old chant (Pomare & Cowan 1987: 275).

The retelling of history is intrinsic to *waiata*, and this can be partly attributed to the emphasis placed on the past by Māori culture. Barrow suggests that Māori felt a 'nostalgic longing for distant homelands left and never to be seen again. Song and dance retold the legendary stories of the past, and recounted the deeds of famous ancestors, thus transmitting knowledge of the past from generation to generation' (Barrow 1965: 7). Due to the rich oral tradition in Polynesia, many of the stories brought to New Zealand about Hawaiki have been preserved in *waiata* and *haka*. Wiremu Kaa discusses a *waiata* from his own region which contains information regarding Easter Island.

The history was part of the motivation for their compositions, and so whether it was about the *waka*, or whether it was about Rarotonga, or *whakapapa*, you know, it's unavoidable that those elements were key components of the lyrics of their *waiata*, of their *haka*, or whatever it is they were composing...our parents were very good at recording that in *waiata* form, recording the events, I mean, a lot of the *waiata* in the Waiapu valley are because of the recording of events, we have one about some of our *tīpuna* coming back from the East Cape, and they composed a *waiata* called, 'Tīpare o niu'. And they would recall the old name for Easter Island, which wasn't Panaokena, it was Whaiawa, they recalled, and that's the beauty of those kinds of *waiata*, so the lyrics would bring forward the traditional names as well, and so they would not be lost, so history was recorded accurately. 'Tīpare o niu' and I think it was about 1700s, *āe*. (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Furthermore, Wiremu Kaa makes the point that *waiata* are an important vehicle for preserving stories which connect the different *hapū* and *iwi*.

The example used in this chapter of *waiata* which contains ancient history back to the time of the arrival from Hawaiki is an *oriori*.

Oriori

I roto i ngā oriori, koirā ngā tino waiata, ko te kaupapa o ērā momo waiata he mea, he whakarārangi haere i ngā take nui a te iwi kia mau i te tamaiti rangatira, kia mōhio ai ia he aha ngā kōrero mōna, he aha ngā pakanga me kimi e ia hei utu, ērā āhuatanga katoa, kia kore ai e wareware (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Oriori were often written for children of high birth in order to provide the child with knowledge on *whakapapa*, important tribal history and instructions on what must be accomplished in the future. ‘Hei whakatō ake nō hea koe, ngā piringa ērā atu tū āhuatanga, ngā hītori’ (Houia 2006: personal communication). Stories of Hawaiki are included to remind the child of their ancient roots located deep in the Pacific.

As a foundation to it recourse is made to distant Hawaiki; its traditions are related, its battles recounted; then the story of the migration to this country of Aotearoa is told, the genealogies are recited, and also the battles fought here (Ngata 2004: xxv).

It was common for *oriori* to be composed prior to the birth of a child and sung throughout the ante-natal period through to when the child was older. The *oriori* usually ‘serve as a vehicle for a survey of the child’s origins, and of the tribal loyalties and feuds which he has inherited from his elders’ (Orbell 1978: 61). It is typical of *oriori* to describe an unhappy political situation from which the child, when he is grown, must rescue his *iwi*. It is the child’s own personal history and provides a reference for the future (Orbell 1978: 61).

Oriori contain the most references to important *iwi* histories. ‘In the better specimens of *oriori*, songs specially composed at the birth of children, and sung to them by parents or attendants, are often contained many references to incidents in tribal history and mythology’ (Best 2005: 209). The allusions to history and mythology are usually so nuanced that an English translation is meaningless. Furthermore, the imagery and quick transition from one subject to another are features of *oriori* which torment the translator in his attempt to capture the spirit of the original *waiata* in his translation. ‘It may be difficult for the English reader to appreciate the poetical genius of the Maori from a translation, as the rendering in English is sometimes clumsy’ (Ngata 2005: x1vii). The language in *oriori* is extremely difficult to comprehend as it incorporates a style similar to that used by *tohunga*. In other words, the metaphors used and the complexity of their

allusions generally make them impossible to understand without a detailed knowledge of the subjects discussed (Ngata 2005: xii-xiii, xlvii).

‘Pō! Pō!’

‘Pō! Pō!’ is an *oriori* from the east coast of the North Island. It is one example of ancient knowledge regarding Hawaiki being preserved in *waiata* form.

Pō! Pō!
E tangi ana tama ki te kai māna!
Waiho, me tiki ake ki te Pou-a-hao-kai,
Hei a mai te pakake ki uta rā,
Hei waiū mō tama;
Kia hōmai e tō tupuna e Uenuku.
Whakarongo! Ko te kūmara ko Parinuitera.
Ka hikimata te tapuae o Tangaroa,
Ka whaimata te tapuae o Tangaroa,
Tangaroa! Ka haruru!

Ka noho Uru ka noho i a Ngangana;
Putā mai ki waho rā ko Te Aotu,
Ko Te Aohore, Ko Hinetuahoanga
Ko Tangaroa! Ko te Whatu-o-Poutini, ē!

Kei te kukunetanga mai
I Hawaiki ko te āhua ia,
Ko Maui-wharekino ka noho i a Pani,
Ka kawea ki te wai o Monariki
Mā Onehunga, mā Onerere,
Mā te pierē, mā te matata
Te pia tangi wharau, ka hoake
Ki runga rā, te Pipiwharau.
Nā Whena koe, e ‘Waho ē!
Tuatahi, e ‘Waho ē!

Tuarua, ka topea i reira
Ko te Whatanui, ko te Whataroa, ko te tīhaere,
Nā Kohuru, nā Paeaki,
Nā ‘Turiwhatu, nā Rakaiaora.
Ko Waiho anake te tangata i rere noa
I te ahi rara a Rongomaraeroa,
Ko te kākahu nō Tu’, ko te Rangikaupapa,
Ko te tātua i riro mai
I a Kanoa, i a Matuatonga.
Tēnei te manawa ka puritia,
Tēnei te manawa ka tāwhia;
Kia haramai tōna hokowhitu i te ara,
Ka kīia Ruatapu e Uenuku ki te tama meamea,
Ka tahuri i te Huripureiata,
Ka whakakau tama i a ia.
Whakarere iho ana te kakau o te hoe,

Ko Manini-tua, ko Manini-aro.
Ka tangi te kura, ka tangi wiwini!
Ka tangi te kura, ka tangi wawana!
Ko 'Hakirangi ka ū kei uta
Te kōwhai ka ngaora ka ringitia te kete
Ko Manawaru, ko Araiteuru,
Ka kitea e te tini, e te mano.
Ko Makauri anake i mahue atu
I waho i Toka-ahuru;
Ko te peka i rere mai ki uta rā
Hei kura mō Mahaki;
Ko Mangamoteo, ko Uetanguru,
Ko te kōiwi ko Rongorapua,
Waiho me tiki ake
Ki te kūmara i a Rangi.
Ko Pekehawani ka noho i a Rehua;
Ko Ruhiterangi ka tau kei raro,
Te ngahuru tikotikoiere,
Ko Poututerangi te mātahi o te tau,
Te putunga o te hinu, e tama!

Pō! Pō!
My son, Tama, is crying for food!
Wait until it is fetched from the Pillars-of-netted-food.
And the whale is driven ashore,
To give milk for you, my son,
Verily, your ancestor Uenuku will give freely.
Now listen! The kūmara is from the Beetling-Cliff-of-the-sun
Beyond the eager bounding strides of Tangaroa, God of the Sea;
Lo, striding to and fro is Tangaroa,
Tangaroa! Listen to his resounding roar!

'Twas Uru who did abide with Ngangana
And they begat Te Aotu,
Te Aohore, Hinetuahoanga,
Tangaroa, and the Stone of Poutini!

The primeval pregnancy began
In Hawaiki, when there appeared
Maui-wharekino who took Pani to wife,
She it was who was taken to the waters of Monariki
(For the rites) of the Smoothing-sand, of the Flying-sand,
Of the 'opening fissure', of the 'gaping crevice',
Of the 'first whimper from the shelter', thus giving
Birth to (the glistening) Pipiwharauoa.
You are of Whena, O 'Waho!
Thus the first part, O 'Waho!

Of the second part was the severing over yonder
(Of the timbers) for the Whatanui, Whataroa, and the perch of bird snares,
For Kohuru, for Paeaki,
For 'Turiwhatu, and for Rakaiaora.
Waiho was the only one who fled
From the scattered fires of Rongomaraeroa.
The cloak of Tu', God of War, is the Day-of-annihilation,

The belt of which was brought hither
 By Kanoa and Matuatonga.
 Hence the spirit oft is apprehensive,
 Hence the spirit oft is in suspense,
 By tidings of his armed band along the pathway taken
 When Ruatapu was named by Uenuku a misbegotten son,
 And brought about the disaster of Huripureiata,
 When that son in desperation swam away.
 Hurriedly he put aside the hand-grip of the paddles,
 Manini-tua and Manini-aro.
 The noble one cried, crying in fear!
 The noble one cried, crying in terror!
 'Hakirangi it was who reached the shore,
 And, with the flowering kōwhai, emptied the kit
 At Manawaru and Araiteuru,
 There to be seen by myriads and thousands.
 Only Makauri was left behind
 Out there at (the sheltering reef of) Toka-ahuru;
 The branch which was cast ashore
 Became a prized plume of Mahaki.
 Mangamoteo and Uetanguru
 Ritually nurtured (the tillage of) Rongorapua,
 They waited until they brought
 The kūmara from the Heavens above.
 'Twas there Pekehawani was taken in wedlock by Rehua;
 Ruhiterangi (was conceived and) alighted here below,
 Hence the bounteous harvest-time,
 When Poututerangi brings forth the first-fruits of the year
 And the calabashes overflow with game fat, O Son!

(Ngata 2005: 218-221)

'Pō! Pō!' is credited to Enoka Te Pakaru of Te Aitanga-ā-Mahaki who was a *tohunga* of the Tūranga/Gisborne district, but it has also been attributed to other people in some accounts. 'Ko Te Pakaru he kaumatua, he tohunga no roto o Turanga; he tohunga mau ki nga korero o nehera. Ko tetahi tenei o nga waiata tohunga o te Tairawhiti' (Ngata 2005: 216). The story which runs through this *waiata* belongs to the people of Te Urewera, Ngāti Awa, and the *iwi* belonging to the *waka Horouta* and *Tākitimu* (Ngata 2005: 216).

The lyrics above are from *Ngā Mōteatea Part Two*. The translation has been provided by Pei Te Hurinui, who, after discussing the complex nature of the language, said of his translation:

The writer, therefore, concludes this note with the pious hope that, in his translation, he has not allowed the spirit and poesy of the lullaby of Enoka to

escape entirely, or to evaporate in the transfusion from the Maori into the language of the Pakeha (Ngata 2005: x1vii).

‘Pō! Pō!’ is primarily about the migration of the *kūmara* from Hawaiki to Tūranga in Aotearoa/New Zealand. There were elaborate traditions observed during the cultivation of the *kūmara* and various narratives explained its origin. Ngata suggests that the subject of how the *kūmara* first arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand is a matter of keen debate, with each *waka* or *iwi* having their own version of events (Ngata 2005: 216).

In *Ngā Mōteatea Part Three* is a *waiata* by Rangi-takoru of Ngāti Apa called *He Oriori mō Wharau-rangi* (Ngata 2006: 509). This *waiata* is another example of an *oriori* which contains ancient Māori history. ‘Part of this ancient lullaby describes the naming of rivers on the West Coast of the North Island, from Whanganui to the southern end of the North Island’ (Davis 1990: 66). *He Oriori mō Wharau-rangi* was used as evidence to support the claim that the *kūmara* was brought from Hawaiki on the *waka Aotea*.

The text as recorded hereunder is that of Te Hata Rio of Waingongoro which he contributed to the *Waka Maori*, on the 8th January 1873, in order to support the claim that the *kūmara* was brought from Hawaiki on the Aotea canoe (Ngata 2006: 509).

The debate about the origins of the *kūmara* may be due to it having special significance in Aotearoa/New Zealand because most of the other food plants eaten throughout the Pacific were unavailable (McLean 1999: 10). The *kūmara* flourished on the East Coast of the North Island, where the *waiata* ‘Pō! Pō!’ originates, and was therefore highly prized and associated with an especially complex body of traditions (McLean & Orbell 2004: 70).

Ngata, in a note regarding ‘Pō! Pō!’ which is located in *Ngā Mōteatea Part Two*, refers to a story about a man named Pourangahua retrieving the *kūmara* from Hawaiki. Jones states: ‘References in this song localise the story of Pourangahua in the Turanga (Poverty Bay) district. Pou’ has as wife Kanioro, and he left her at Turanga when he set out to get the *kūmara* (*Ipomoea batatas*)’ (Ngata 2005: x1vi). The story included in Ngata’s notes is cited as originating in Best. The account describes how Pourangahua retrieves the *kūmara* from Parinui-terā in Hawaiki. Pourangahua’s brothers-in-law return to Hawaiki to fetch the *kūmara* leaving Pourangahua behind. Pourangahua mounts a

whale, and performs a *karakia* to Tangaroa¹⁴⁵ which enables him to reach Hawaiki before his brothers-in-law. He obtains the *kūmara* from Parinuiteā, and returns to Aotearoa/New Zealand on the bird known as Manunui-a-Ruakapanga. The *kūmara* is then planted at Manawaru and Araiteuru. This narrative is from the time when the district of Tūranga was being settled by the people of the Horouta canoe (Ngata 2005: 216).

Best, in *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist* provides another version of the account of how Pourangahua retrieved the *kūmara* from Hawaiki. Pourangahua, who lives at Kiri-kino of the Tūranga district, is perhaps motivated by his child Kahukura's hunger: 'When the sun rises, he sticks out his tongue in the direction of the sunrise, hence I believe that in that direction may be obtained some rich food as a *whakawaiu*¹⁴⁶ for my child' (Best 1972: 923). As in the narrative cited in Ngata, Pourangahua's brothers-in-law return to Hawaiki to fetch the *kūmara* leaving Pourangahua behind. However, Pourangahua is determined to go in search of new food. He obtains the *kūmara* and two plants, *waiū-oka-hukura*¹⁴⁷ and *waiū-atua*¹⁴⁸, which produce *tawau*¹⁴⁹, a milky juice that is used as a *whakawaiū* for Kahukura. Pourangahua acquires the services of three birds in order to get himself and his cargo home. The birds are Manu-nui-a-Rua-kapana, Tiu-rangi and Haronga-a-rangi (Best 1972: 922-924).

In his article, 'Whare Kohanga: Part V, Miscellaneous Items', Best provides a detailed explanation of *whakawaiū* in regards to this story.

Whakawaiu.—This term is applied to any food eaten by a mother in order to cause an abundant supply of milk for her child. Birds, fish, steeped fern-root, etc., were so used. When Pou-rangahua, of old time legend, set forth to visit Hawaiki, he said: "I am going far away to where the sun rises, in order to procure some food as a *whakawaiu* for my child Kahu-kura. For, as he lies in his mother's arms, he keeps putting his tongue towards the east, and so I know the food must be in that direction." Even so, Pou returned with the *kumara*, the first cultivatable food product of any account brought to this land (Best 1907: 1).

¹⁴⁵ Atua of the ocean

¹⁴⁶ Food given to a nursing mother in order to produce a quality supply of milk for the child

¹⁴⁷ *Euphorbia glauca* - a native groundcover plant with milky sap. Generally forms clumps but has a creeping rhizome from which red stems bear narrow oblong blue-green leaves

¹⁴⁸ Depending on the region, the term is used to refer to *Euphorbia glauca*, *Rhabdothermus solandri*, or *Gaultheria oppositifolia*

¹⁴⁹ Milky juice (of plants)

Jones, in the Introduction to the 1961 edition of *Ngā Mōteatea Part Two*, makes the following statement:

The story, told in cryptic form in this lullaby, takes us back in parts on to the borderline of human history as taught by the Maori high priests of old. The inspiration for this poem was the fretful crying of a child for food during a time of scarcity. On this theme Enoka commences his composition with words to soothe and pacify the child (Ngata 2005: x1vi).

The first line of the *waiata*, **‘Pō! Pō!’**, is open to interpretation regarding its exact meaning. Three different meanings are provided in *Ngā Mōteatea*. The explanation provided in the first edition of *Ngā Mōteatea* is that it is a saying to stop the child from crying, similar to ‘Hush! Hush!’ *Pō* is the Māori term for night, so it could mean ‘‘Tis night! ‘Tis night!’ indicating it was night when the *oriori* commenced. Finally, Jones suggests that ‘Pō!’ is an abbreviation of the term *pōtiki* in reference to an infant child or youngest of the family, and the one who was the pet of the family. Jones refers to the fact that *oriori* were often composed for the *pōtiki* of a family (Ngata 2005: x1vi-x1vii, 222-223).

The first four lines of the *oriori* parallel the section of the narrative of Pourangahua where he travels to Hawaiki to seek food for his hungry child. In the clarification for line five, **‘Hei waiū mō tama’**, Ngata notes the explanation by Best regarding *whakawaiū*. Line six, **‘Kia hōmai e tō tupuna e Uenuku’**, refers to Uenuku, a powerful *rangatira* in Hawaiki who is a part of many Māori stories set in Hawaiki, including the narrative of Tama-te-kapua and Whakatūria examined in Chapter Three. The seventh line, **‘...Ko te kūmara ko Parinuitera’**, makes reference to the *kūmara* being acquired from Parinuitera, the cliffs in Hawaiki. According to Ngata and Jones, Parinuitera is ‘located in Hawaiki, and is a place often mentioned in accounts about the *kūmara*. The *kūmara* was procured from there and brought over to this land’ (Ngata 2005: 222-223).

The *waiata* then goes into the *whakapapa* surrounding the *kūmara*. The *waiata* references Pani (line 17), who is said to be the mother of the *kūmara*, and then refers to the birth of the *kūmara* (lines 15-18). Line 41 of the *oriori*, **‘Ko Manini-tua, ko Manini-aro’**, is in reference to what are the wooden *kūmara* digging implements which were brought by Pourangahua by way of Manu-nui-a-Ruakapanga. The 46th line **‘Ko**

Manawaru, ko Araiteuru’ is an indication of the plantations in Tūranga where the *kūmara* was planted. These are mentioned in the narrative regarding Pourangahua. The *waiata* ends with reference to harvest time and an abundance of food. Furthermore, the last line (line 60) ends with ‘...e tama!’ which brings the *waiata* to a close in much the same way it began – with the child. (Ngata 2005: 222-227).

This is merely an introduction to this complex *waiata* as a comprehensive study of ‘Pō! Pō!’ would comprise an entire thesis. ‘Pō! Pō!’ is one of the most profound *oriori* of the Māori people and is still sung today. When referring to ‘Pō! Pō!’ Ngata states: ‘e kore e mārama i te tangata kia mōhio rā anō ia ki ngā kōrero o neherā, ki ngā tikanga hoki a ngā tīpuna’ (Ngata 2005: xii).

Knowledge transmission and *waiata*

‘Our knowledge is wrapped up in our stories and in our compositions’ (Harawira 2006: personal communication). The cycle of memory, knowledge transmission and the oral tradition has been discussed at length in Chapter Two. Through the Māori oral tradition, knowledge is transmitted and committed to memory for the next generation, whereby the cycle begins again. One of the key tools of this process is composition, or *waiata* and *haka*.

When you don’t have a written medium, you have to find ways which are creative, you have to create mechanisms which will ensure the retention of knowledge which will make people passionate about knowledge and own knowledge and you can’t do that by simply having language which is – in an unstructured form, because in an unstructured form people aren’t going to recite and recall, and you run the risk of losing information through generations, so *waiata* was a tool, a mechanism by which the language could be – you could be creative with the language to ensure the retention of that knowledge, be it historical grievances, be it *whakapapa*, even the visions of one generation to another (O’Regan 2006: personal communication).

Embedding *whakapapa* within *waiata* is a significant feature of Māori tradition and the transmission of knowledge. Jossie Kaa talks about the traditional method of composing *waiata* for a specific trip to another region which details *whakapapa* that links the visiting group to the *tangata whenua*.

[When visiting] different parts of the country guaranteed, someone from here would compose a song connecting us to that particular *iwi*, the *whakapapa* would come in there. Hēnare Waitoa's good at that, and Tuīni Ngāwai. Yes, they always did that; they always connected the group to the *kaupapa* and the people the group was visiting. 'Tēnei anō e whai ake te whakapapa i piri ai Te Kīngitanga o Waikato ki te Tairāwhiti'. And away would come the *whakapapa*, it's beautiful (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Te Wharehuia Milroy has also used this particular *waiata* to illustrate the connections made to different *iwi* through composition.

Tēnei anō te whakapapa i piri ai Te Kīngitanga ki Te Tairāwhiti'...Kei roto i te whakapapa e waiatia mai rā e takoto ana ngā tūhonohotanga i waenganui i ngā *iwi*, engari he aha koe i whakahua ai. Ko te kaupapa pea e whakahua ai koe i ērā ingoa, nā te mea, tuatahi kei te whāki koe ki a Tainui, kei te tautoko koe i te Kīngitanga, kei te tautoko rānei koe i ngā kaupapa e whāia ana e te Kīngitanga (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Knowledge preservation and transmission is the primary aim of most forms of *waiata*. *Waiata*, as exemplified by the *oriori* 'Pō! Pō!', are an important tool for teaching children. Te Kāhau Maxwell describes the importance of *waiata* and *haka* as a means of transmitting and preserving knowledge. This is the primary concern for him in relation to his *kapa haka*, as it is an *iwi* based *kapa*. Maxwell views composition as a method for ensuring the survival of tribal knowledge and retaining this for the next generation. He refers to the children of the *kaihaka* who are at the practices of the *kapa* and learn the *waiata* incidentally.

Mōku tonu, ko ngā haka me ngā waiata, ko te mea nui he waka wēnei mea hei kawē kōrero, hei kawē kōrero tuatahi, hei kawē kōrero hei waka whakaako. Tuatahi mōku, whakaako i taku *iwi*, ngā *kaihaka* o taku rōpū ki ō rātou nā hītori e pā ana ki tō rātou *iwi*, koirā te mea nui mōku...he waka, he waka whakaako, i waku *kaihaka*, i te mea he *kapa haka* *iwi*. I te mea, koirā te mea nui mōku i roto i waku titotanga, he whakaako i a rātou. I te mea, nā runga i tērā ka tū rangatira rātou...ko te mea nui ka mau tonu mātou ki wā mātou kōrero, ka taea e rātou te whāngai wēnei kōrero ki ngā tamariki...kua mau i roto i ō rātou hinengaro wēnā kōrero, ā pakeke rawa mai rātou, kātahi anō rātou ka ruku i te hōhonutanga, 'he aha te tikanga o tēnei mahi,' ka mōhio rātou. Nā, koirā te mea nui mōku, he waka kawē, he waka kawē kōrero mō te *iwi*...ko te mea nui katoa o aku titotanga hei pupuri i ngā kōrero tuku iho, i te mea, ko ngā kōrero mai ki ahau mai i ngā pakeke, ko tāku he whāngai atu ki a rātou, mehemea kei roto i tēnei mea te waka o te *kapa haka*, te waka o te *waiata*, ana, he huarahi tērā ka taea e au te tuku wērā kōrero kia ora tonu, koirā te mea nui ki ahau (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

Māori children will usually start learning *waiata* and *haka* from a young age. Traditionally, this was often as part of a *kapa haka* from their *hapū*. This was how many of the informants for this research started in the Māori performing arts. Some informants such as Keri Kaa, Jossie Kaa and Donna Grant have described their first foray into the Māori performing arts as occurring within a *whānau* context, that is, within a *kapa haka* ‘tutored’ by a family member. Keri Kaa: ‘parakitihī mātou ngā haka o Ngāti Porou ki roto i te iāri kau, ko tō mātou pāpā te kaea. Ki a mātou ehara i te mahi ako he mahi tākaro noa iho, pērā te momo ako’ (Kaa 2009: personal communication). Jossie Kaa talks about how she grew up with her cousins performing *waiata* and *haka* every night for their grandfather after dinner.

I tīmata ai i a au e tamariki tonu, kāre anō kia haere ki te kura i taua wā, i noho i te kāinga, i te kāinga o te whānau o taku tipuna, i te taha o taku pāpā, a Hone Te Kauru, ko tō mātou koroua hoki, ko tōku pāpā koroua, ko Totorewa. He mahi, kaingākau kē a tēnā mahi, a te waiata, te haka, ko tana hiahia kia kite tonu i ana mokopuna, i a mātou katoa, e haka ana, e waiata ana, ia pō, kia mutu te kai, ka whakahuihuingia mātou i roto i te rūma noho, ā, ka tū, ā, ‘kei a koe tēnei e mea’ (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Jossie Kaa also talked about how her grandfather taught the *whānau* a *haka*, called ‘Kānga kōpiro’. Here, Jossie’s husband, Wiremu Kaa, discusses the significance of that *haka*.

It’s a social commentary, historical, that ‘Kānga kōpiro,’ because maize was introduced. The economy from subsistence, the growing of crops, that’s for people to live, it was popular among the coast but then we had just transferred to selling...he [Jossie’s grandfather] composed that *haka*, ‘Kānga kōpiro,’ for the enjoyment of his *mokopuna*, his love, that’s his love for his *mokopuna*, you know, people say, what did you leave for your *mokopuna*, well he left a *haka* for them. And they always like doing that *haka*, they also composed songs about him, about their *tipuna*, Totorewa, and in a sense it’s a kind of glue that bonded the *whānau*, it’s *whānau* solidarity, when their *whānau*, the Green *whānau*, get together only one of them needs to start one of the songs and all come from wherever they are, in the hall or at the *hui*, and they all perform together as though they had been practising for weeks before, and it all arose from that *koroua*, building up a kind of bond of solidarity. In Māori we have ‘*whakatō te kākano* – sowing the seed,’ he sowed that kind of seed in his *mokopuna*, from a very early age and he enjoyed sowing that seed...and that *koroua* sowed seeds in the minds and hearts of his *mokopuna*, and this is how you keep the family together through *waiata*, *waiata* is an instrument of bonding people together. And he wasn’t alone of course, there are a lot of composers like that (Wiremu Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Te Rito picks up on the point of composition as a traditional teaching aid: ‘Composition is very significant, it is vital in helping to maintain the traditions of the people...it is didactic, it has a didactic purpose, a teaching purpose’ (Te Rito 2006: personal communication). In addition, *waiata* provided a structured means of knowledge transmission:

The *waiata* is important because you know you can tell people a story orally but ultimately every person who reproduces and re-transmits that story puts another angle on it and they can’t remember how you do it, so the *waiata* are good because it is like a template that you can’t alter and so it just keeps passing down the generations (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Traditionally, prior to modern forms of communication, *waiata* and *haka* provided a medium through which information can be made available to a large audience.

Māori used speech and song to ‘publish’ for everyday life and posterity: instruction in art or manufacture; news; opinion or feeling; appeals to the *atua*; historical chronicle. Singing and listening to *waiata* were essential to learning about, and participation in society; performance of them asked response – sympathy, forgiveness, laughter or divine assistance (McRae 2004: 134).

The emotional response to *waiata* is also emphasised by O’Regan, who claims that an emotive attachment to *waiata* will go some way to ensure its survival. ‘Because *waiata* is one of those things that people can actually find emotive, they can find that they have an emotional reaction to it, then they’re more likely to want to learn it’ (O’Regan 2006: personal communication). This is logical, in that people are most likely to continue with something that is entertaining.

People can relate to *waiata* because of an enjoyment, a relationship, an emotional attachment...It can capture somebody in a way that basic information necessarily can’t and because of that people can have an emotional response, an emotional attachment, and that can also ensure that – it will support the likelihood that it will be passed down...It’s cultural persistence (O’Regan 2006: personal communication).

Jossie Kaa suggests that the entertainment factor is the reason why *waiata* and *haka* appeal to children in learning situations. She discusses her years teaching children in schools and how she would compose little *waiata* and *haka* for the children. Jossie Kaa was inspired by the fact that *waiata* are a tradition learning tool for children. She found

that the children retained more of the information than if she had just told them a story, because it was entertaining and fun to learn (Kaa 2009: personal communication). *Waiata* is an effective teaching tool as it captures the attention and imagination of the child. Keri Kaa explains,

Ko te pai o te waiata ka hoki anō koe ki te waiata, te ngāwari o te whakarongo ki te rangi me te rerenga o ngā kōrero...mēnā kei te kōrero noa iho koe, tino maroke tēnā mō te tamaiti e ako ana, engari, mō te hoki ki te waiata, te kupu, he rerekē anō kei reira te ātaahuatanga ki te taringa o te tamaiti (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

When the primary focus is the transmission of knowledge and the conservation of tradition, there is an emphasis on the accuracy of transmission. ‘In most areas of Polynesia, there is a premium on accuracy of performance’ (McLean 1999: 395). McLean made the following remark regarding his work recording *waiata* ‘in the field’: ‘When recording began, the importance attached to accuracy became very evident. Most items to be recorded were first rehearsed. Discussion of the history of each song occupied up to three quarters of an hour before recording’ (McLean 2004: 24). This is to ensure that the knowledge is transmitted correctly.

The compositions are important because they...are vehicles of knowledge. And because we didn’t have a written language that was another means of transmitting it down and knowing that it will be transmitted in whole, so kind of as a package deal. And I think that’s probably why the Nannies were quite keen to ensure that – you know you aren’t allowed to make a mistake, if you *whati* you have to start again kind of thing, I guess because you are transmitting that knowledge (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Learning was traditionally strictly by rote in order to commit the piece to memory (McLean 1999: 400). ‘Based on an organized and continuous system of teaching, and stimulated by pride of race, Maori traditions are as thorough and as accurate an account of the history of the past as any unwritten record can hope to be’ (Buck 1926: 186). This was due to successful transmission, which was of the utmost importance:

In a completely oral culture like that of the pre-European Maori, myths and other stories survived only as long as they were successfully transmitted from one generation to another. Stories had to be told orally, and their telling involved a long and many-stranded chain of tellers and receivers operating in time and space (Metge 1998: 5).

Waiata has played a pivotal role, as part of the Māori oral tradition, in fulfilling the requirement of cultural maintenance:

In many cultures, stories and songs contain genealogical information, historical interpretations of events and geographical knowledge (oral maps) that are central to maintaining the integrity of the culture. Strong oral traditions and the practice of keeping history and genealogy alive through stories in chants and songs have helped to ensure that traditional practices and understandings of many cultural groups continue, to various degrees, to this day (Glynn et al. 2006: 49).

Waiata were a teaching/learning mechanism that would contribute to the shaping of a child's world-view. The messages contained within traditional *waiata* lend guidance and inspiration for learning. As such, there is much thought put into *waiata* to ensure that it conveys perfectly what it is the composer wants it to convey, regardless of how long this takes. 'The record for time taken is probably held by New Zealand where a renowned group-composed *oriori*, called '*Pine pine te kura*' is reputed to have taken 25 years to perfect' (McLean 1999: 387). Te Rito discusses the emphasis on knowledge transmission and its affect on ensuring accuracy:

It means the compositions are packed with information. I suppose people don't necessarily think that their song is going to be alive 100 years later. All they know is that it is going to be around for another generation. So, in terms of how did it affect the content – it meant the composers had to be very careful about what they selected to put into their composition and how they worded it, knowing that it was something, that it was potentially something, that would be there for eternity...other people are going to learn it and use it, so a composer needs to be very careful and very selective in their choice of actual words and the actual content. So I think it absolutely affected their compositions, the content was affected by the fact that this was a good solid means of passing information and knowledge onto the following generations (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Waiata can also be reworked to fit new circumstances. Incorporating passages from an existing *waiata* or reworking a *waiata* into something new is common within and across different *iwi*. The selected passages would often be molded to suit the new circumstances. Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, a nineteenth-century prophet, leader, and prolific composer of *waiata*, was known for reworking *waiata*. One of his reworkings is of '*Pinepine te kura*', which is said to be a lament for his home at Tūranga and refers to his capture, imprisonment, and escape (Best 1942: 599).

Te Kooti borrowed a lot of his *waiata* from other *iwi*, ‘Pinepine te kura’ from northern *iwi*, and then adapted to suit his political purposes or his spiritual purposes. So language becomes a very, very important means of conveying as clearly as possible a message (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

It is also common to find the same phrases used in many *waiata*, as ‘Formulaic expressions gained authority and a further weight of emotion from their occurrence in earlier songs’ (McLean 1999: 387). A new *waiata* created from parts of an older *waiata* ensures that the old stories as well as the new stories pertaining to that *waiata* are remembered.

Ownership of *waiata*

The notion of reworking a *waiata* raises questions regarding the Māori view of ownership. Ownership of *waiata* is important when discussing the transmission of songs. Historically, there has been reluctance to allow outsiders to learn songs for many reasons ranging from fear of a rival group quoting passages of a song in a claim over disputed land, through to commercialisation. First, it is necessary to understand the general Māori approach to ownership.

Table 7: ‘Ownership’

Māori ¹⁵⁰	Pākehā
Collective responsibility	Individual freedom
Cooperation	Competition
Sharing of resources for the benefit of the collective	Individual ownership and individual benefit

(Adapted from Trask 1987: 168-169)

Different cultures have different values, which is a notion that extends to the concept of ‘ownership’. The Pākehā world-view places a high value on the right to property, that is, land, buildings, shares, assets and money.

The European culture in modern times is remarkable for the emphasis it gives to material things. Modern New Zealanders who have influence and

¹⁵⁰ This is a generalisation of group values and does not reflect the actions or beliefs of individuals who are either Māori or Pākehā

prestige are frequently rich New Zealanders, the people who have 'succeeded' in life – succeeded, that is, in acquiring a strong hold on the sinews of our economy (Temm 1990: 33-34).

The Māori world-view, like that of their Polynesian cousins, emphasises collective responsibility and cooperation in relation to 'ownership' of knowledge. This is because knowledge is believed to belong to the whole group rather than the individual. Furthermore, individuals hold knowledge for the benefit of the community as a whole and for future generations. As such, they have a responsibility to transmit that knowledge to others in the community (Smith 2000: 218).

The ownership of *waiata* and *haka* is no different, it is usually held collectively by *hapū* or *iwi*. 'Most songs and dances are, indeed, collectively owned; most performances are by groups; and high value is attached to unanimity and group cohesion' (McLean 1999: 14). Ruakere Hond discusses the issue of song ownership in relation to the people of Taranaki,

Most of the *waiata* we don't really refer to the people who composed them, they were more commonly associated with the *rōpū poi* that performed them so that the person that composed them wasn't as important as the *iwi* and the *rōpū* that stood and performed them (Hond 2006: personal communication).

Whilst some songs are universally sung by all *iwi* and are not attributed to one particular *iwi*, the ownership and rights to most *waiata* are held by the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* of the composer.

When ownership of *waiata* is not individual it is vested in the tribe. Claim to the song is established by the ability to give the name of the composer and the circumstances of composition and to justify this by quoting from the song itself. Generally the singers of one tribe are not much interested in the songs of another tribe. They have their own songs and respect the rights of other tribes with regard to theirs (McLean 1965: 302-303).

The *waiata* that originate from one's own *hapū* and *iwi* are a source of great *mana* as they recount the deeds of one's own *tīpuna*.

Songs were so much part of the shared experience of the tribe or family that the Maori composer need only allude in the most cursory way to a legendary, historical, geographical, natural or personal point of reference for the image to be instantly appreciated...Because Maori song had this communal quality, songs became symbols of corporate identity, sources of tribal, family or

personal *mana*. Even today, according to some authorities, it is difficult to persuade older Maoris to record songs from other tribal areas, though they may know these *waiata* perfectly well (Mitalfe 1974: 8-9).

This attitude may stem from the belief that one does not have a right to recite another nation's history, it is the shared experience of another tribe, and therefore belongs to their members.

Although each tribal area had some distinctive and deeply cherished songs which were its own, such as those associated with the various canoes that symbolized the migration, some ancient songs were commonly held, sharing common forms. Songs that stemmed from tribal or family ancestors remained the possession of that group. Most songs related specifically to people. Where this was so, only those descendants who themselves could claim some relationship with the people or events in the song would use such songs (Mitalfe 1974: 9).

Summary and conclusions

When *tīpuna Māori* traversed the Pacific Ocean to reach the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, they transplanted to their new home much of the culture of their previous home, Hawaiki. Narratives and place names were transplanted and new stories regarding the voyages from Hawaiki became part of the oral tradition. *Waiata* and *haka* have preserved much of this history. This includes compositions which arrived to these shores with *tīpuna Māori*, and *waiata* and *haka* which were later composed to preserve the stories of those *tīpuna* and their traditional homeland, Hawaiki. An example of the latter is the *oriori* 'Pō! Pō!'.

'Pō! Pō!' illustrates the ability of *waiata* and *haka* to act as repositories of traditional Māori knowledge and tools in the accurate transmission of this knowledge to successive generations. *Waiata* and *haka* are an important and proven medium for the retention of ancient Māori history. Although the information in 'Pō! Pō!' seems primarily historical in nature, this *waiata* is also political as it is used as evidence of how the *kūmara* first came to be in Aotearoa/New Zealand, a topic which is keenly debated amongst the different *iwi*. The *kūmara* was an important and essential crop in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the *iwi* who could claim the role of original bearer of the *kūmara* would derive *mana* from this as it would form part of their identity as an *iwi*. In relation to the Tīenga model, 'Pō! Pō!' is an example of *whakairo kupu* which is influenced by *mana*, *tōrangapū* and *tuakiri*. The influences of *mana*, *tōrangapū* and *tuakiri* are perhaps the

primary reason for the ownership of *waiata* being held by the most significant political entities in traditional Māori society, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Chapter Five

Language decline

Languages die because they are no longer spoken. This happens because their speakers die out without passing them on to the next generation. Only rarely is this because of the extinction of an entire society or race. Usually it happens because from generation to generation (it takes only three or four) the speakers shift to another language. Languages do not die natural deaths. They do not fade away without outside influence. Languages are killed by other languages (Bell 1991: 67).

The focus of this chapter is the impact that Māori language decline has had on *waiata* and *haka*. In the study of Māori language decline one must critically review the New Zealand State education system, including a discussion of the key events and legislation in the history of Pākehā colonisation and assimilation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This will form the chronological map of the deterioration of the status of the Māori language. Following on from this, there will be a discussion relating language decline to Māori oral tradition in general, and then specifically to *waiata* and *haka*.

Impact of colonisation on *te reo Māori*: A critical review of the State education system

‘We inhabit language and language inhabits us. A main means of communication, we can’t think without it’ (Tonkin 1995: 75). This statement by Tonkin along with the quotation that opens this chapter illustrate the force and power of language. These quotations provide a context for the information that follows.

By 1979, merely 139 years after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)¹⁵¹, the loss of *te reo Māori* was so great that it was believed it would suffer language death (Walker 1990: 147-148). This can be attributed to colonisation and the State policy of assimilation which eroded the status of the language. From its inception,

¹⁵¹ Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) was signed on the 6th of February 1840. It was meant to establish a partnership between the British Crown and Māori as the Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Since its signing it has been the focus of controversy and scrutiny due mostly to the fact that two versions of the Treaty were produced. The Māori text, which was signed by both Māori and the Crown, was translated from the English text by a Pākehā missionary. However, the translation was not at all a correct interpretation of the English text. It is the English text which has been used by the Crown as the definitive version and this is the cause of contention to this day between Māori and the Crown.

the New Zealand Government has continually passed legislation that has been detrimental to the Māori language and furthered the Government's agenda of cultural assimilation and language domination. The mechanism of the Government's agenda of assimilation and language domination was the State education system. This was, therefore, the primary cause of Māori language loss. According to McCarthy, 'Māori have a long history of experiencing assimilative policies and practices which have been detrimental to the overall well-being of Māori, as evidenced in the language, culture and identity losses of many' (McCarthy 1997: 30). In some cases the legislation regarding the State education system can be directly linked to language loss. However, in many cases the education system has negatively affected *te reo Māori* indirectly through aspects of Eurocentric education. These include assimilation, cultural invasion, cultural subordination, language domination, hegemony, the curriculum, class structures, racism, meritocracy, intelligence testing, negative teacher expectations. To fully understand how this tragedy has occurred, it is important to understand how the New Zealand State education system has evolved and what aspects of education may have negatively affected *te reo Māori*.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, one text written in *te reo Māori* and the other in English, was first signed on 6 February 1840, between the *rangatira Māori* of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the representatives of the Crown. Māori have always considered Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a charter that was supposed to be the basis of a national dual planning system, incorporating both Māori and Pākehā values into every aspect of decision-making in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Glynn 1998: 3). Furthermore, this charter was also signed under the pretence that it would act to protect Māori rights. 'To many Maori people, the terms of the Treaty provided the ultimate protection for their way of life, their institutions, and their culture: they were mechanisms to protect their taonga' (Jackson 1988: 48).

However, the Crown failed, almost immediately, to honour the terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. 'The colonists had gained the benefit of the Treaty by being allowed to emigrate to this country under the British flag, but they were not willing to accept the burden of the bargain from which they had gained so much' (Temm 1990: 24). When Captain George Grey became governor of the colony, one of his first acts was the

establishment of the office of the Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Title (Temm 1990: 19). Māori became disenfranchised in their own land, which has resulted in many Māori grievances. ‘The Treaty is the shared touchstone and starting point of “official” Maori/Pakeha interaction. Its place in the New Zealand scheme of things, like the place of the Maori community, has been largely defined by the Pakeha’ (Jackson 1988: 168).

Following its signing, the Treaty was largely regarded by Pākehā as being null and void and was dismissed as irrelevant. In 1877, during the case of *Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington*, Chief Justice Prendergast ruled that the Treaty was ‘a simple nullity’ (Temm 1990: 24). This judgement was unfathomable to Māori. ‘The law’s eventual dismissal of the Treaty confirmed the Maori sense of betrayal’ (Jackson 1988: 48).

Under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori were guaranteed *tinio rangatiratanga* over their *taonga* or treasured possessions (Kawharu 1989: 317). According to a Māori world-view, the meaning of the word *taonga* is not restricted to the tangible. The meaning of *taonga* extends further to encompass the intangible, such as language and ‘all those things to do with pedagogy and epistemology – what counts as knowledge, how that knowledge is to be preserved, transmitted and evaluated’ (Glynn 1998: 4). Therefore, Article Two guarantees Māori full Chieftainship over their knowledge including *te reo Māori*. ‘The second article is the most far-reaching. It assures Maori New Zealanders that the Crown will protect all their cultural and property rights – and this is no mere protection; it is an explicit guarantee of those rights’ (Temm 1990: 18).

In Article Three of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Queen of England promises to protect Māori and guarantees they will have the same rights and privileges of her British subjects (Kawharu 1989: 318). British subjects in New Zealand had the right to be educated in their own language, and the privilege of having the curriculum of mainstream education tailored to their specific cultural needs. Therefore, under the third article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori should have been provided with a pedagogy that was tailored to their specific cultural needs, including being taught in their own language.

To this day, Te Tiriti o Waitangi has not been honoured. In fact, immediately after this pact was signed, it was intentionally dishonoured through the Pākehā policy of assimilation. Assimilation can be defined as becoming absorbed and incorporated into another culture (Soanes et al 2001: 46). In this case, it was intended that Māori would become absorbed by Pākehā culture, and would have to adjust to this change. This policy of assimilation was especially evident within the State education system. As a result of this policy, Aotearoa/New Zealand has witnessed the near death of *te reo Māori*. Māori have been victims of

...the cultural deprivation and denigration that has denied positive knowledge of, and close links to, their own cultural heritage. The fact that the law, the education system, and other bases of power in New Zealand have been subject to Pakeha control, has meant that Maori socio-cultural status has been defined by monocultural processes unwilling or unable to adequately serve different cultural needs (Jackson 1988: 173).

Mission schools

Eurocentric education started in New Zealand on 12 August 1816 with the opening of the first mission school by Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) at Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 22; Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 10). By 1830, there were many mission schools throughout Northland that taught subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as catechism (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 22; Walker 1990: 146). The general Pākehā belief was that Māori were 'most anxious for civilization' (Hawtrey 1840: 10).

Mission Schools were set up to civilize and convert Maori people to what was promoted as a superior, more enlightened view of the world. Incorporated in this process was the devaluing and marginalizing of the worth and legitimacy of a Maori world view (Merritt 1996: 82).

According to Ka'ai-Oldman, 'the missionaries saw themselves as the instrument by which the Maori people would be brought from the state of barbarism to civilised life' (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 22). This school of thought was typical of the time and equates civilisation with Christianity (Cesaire 1972: 11). These mission schools could be referred to as the tools of cultural invaders. Cultural invasion occurs when the 'invaders' force their own world-view onto another group, such as the missionaries in these schools influencing Māori children (Darder 1991: 36). Missionaries sought to

interrupt the inter-generational transmission of language and culture, thereby invalidating the world-view of Māori and paving the way for their own world-view to replace that of Māori.

In a general sense, ideas of monoculturalism assumed that Pakeha values and ways of doing things were the only valid ones, and that other cultures should accept those ways either because they did not possess appropriate methods of social order themselves, or because they possessed ideals which were inferior. The basis of those assumptions was an innate prejudice against the norms of other cultures. Their implementation in policies exercised through political power and ethnically-defined “right” of civilised superiority or competence led to personal and structural racism (Jackson 1988: 49).

The mission schools did not attempt to accommodate the cultural need of Māori children. In fact these schools assisted significantly in the formation of Māori as a subordinate culture in society, through casting Māori children as the subordinate culture of the education system. The subordinate culture refers to the culture that lives in ‘social and material subordination to the dominant culture’ (Darder 1991: 30). Māori children had their educational environment dictated to them by the dominant culture. The dominant culture refers to the culture that is ‘in control of the material and symbolic wealth in society’ (Darder 1991: 30).

At this time the Māori children within the mission schools were taught in their own language, and Aotearoa/New Zealand’s population became more literate than that of the United Kingdom. However, this literacy was in Māori, not English (Bell 1991: 67). Unfortunately, the use of *te reo Māori* as the medium of instruction was to be short lived.

Education Ordinance Act 1847

In 1847, the Education Ordinance Act was introduced in order to aid the assimilation process (Walker 1990, p.146). Sir George Grey introduced the Education Ordinance Act, as he believed that it would speed up the process of assimilation by insisting that English be the medium of instruction in schools. ‘To Grey it appeared essential, for reasons that were to him so obvious as not to need repeating, that all the children should be brought up to speak and read the English language’ (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 44).

The Education Ordinance Act also encouraged the establishment of more boarding schools, particularly industrial training boarding schools, as they would ‘take the children away from the ‘demoralising influences of their villages’, thereby ‘speedily assimilating the Maori to the habits and usages of the European’’ (Walker 1990, p.46). This is a form of cultural violence. Cultural violence occurs when a society is forcibly removed and separated from their roots, their land, their language and their traditions.

The Act resulted in the establishment of new Church Boarding Schools between the years of 1848 and 1852 (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 45-50). These schools separated Māori children from their *whānau*, therefore separating them from their language and cultural base and increasing the chance of language loss and assimilation. Furthermore, under the Education Ordinance Act, mission schools were to be subsidised with public funds, perhaps as an incentive to carry out the Government’s aims (Walker 1990: 146).

The Education Ordinance Act was the first formal move towards language domination and hegemony. Language domination occurs when members of the dominant culture silence an Indigenous language (Darder 1991: 36). This often takes place in the classroom, when the dominant language is viewed as superior to the Indigenous language as a result of the values and beliefs instilled in the school system (Darder 1991: 36). Hegemony works in much the same way, by making the subordinate culture believe in the authority of the dominant culture through the power that the dominant culture wields in social systems and institutions (such as the education system) (Darder 1991: 34). According to Giroux, ‘Hegemony refers to a form of ideological control in which dominant beliefs, values, and social practices are produced and distributed throughout a whole range of institutions such as schools, the family, mass media and trade unions’ (cited in Darder 1991: 33-34). Therefore, the culture and values of the oppressor are promoted over that of the oppressed, whose culture and values are devalued through the colonising powers.

Although legislation such as the 1847 Education Ordinance Act was common practice at the time, today it is seen as a policy that was in violation of the rights of Indigenous peoples, as outlined by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in the Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights. Principle 14 of this Declaration states that ‘Indigenous

peoples have the right to receive education in their own language’ (cited in Anaya 1996: 189). Clearly this right was not afforded to Māori.

By the 1850s the European settler population exceeded that of Māori and the decline in Māori numbers was compounded by deaths from introduced diseases and from the Land Wars (between certain *iwi* and the Crown) of the 1860s (Moorfield 2006: 109). The land wars were also responsible for the closure of many mission schools and subsequently, the end of the missionary period in Aotearoa/New Zealand. ‘War closed the schools, and their closing can be taken to symbolize the break in relations which had occurred between the two races’ (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 95).

This ‘break in relations’ is obvious in the following quote by Sherborne Rimpton from the introduction to the book *Justice To New Zealand, Honour To England* which was published in 1861: ‘The fairest of England’s colonies is threatened with disaster. There is a general cry that to save the colony we must exterminate the natives’ (Hawtrey 1861: 3).

Native Schools Act 1867

The 1867 Report to the Minister of Native Affairs concerning Native schools found that these mission schools put too much emphasis on religion and were not furthering the Government’s objectives of removing Māori from their community-based living and encouraging the use of the English language (Walker 1990: 146). Furthermore, the Report concluded that the Government should intervene so as to regulate the curriculum and place the emphasis on the English language (Walker 1990: 147).

The curriculum was a colonial tool used to aid in the reproduction of the dominant world-view. According to Darder, ‘Curriculum traditionally refers to the coursework offered or required by an educational institution for the successful completion of a degree or credentialing objective’ (Darder 1991: 19). However, the curriculum is composed of knowledge that is seen as important by the group that designs the curriculum. Generally speaking, the group that has the power to decide the curriculum is drawn from the dominant culture in society (Darder 1991: 19). Therefore, the curriculum reflects the values of this dominant culture, while neglecting the needs of the subordinate cultures.

As a result of the Report to the Minister of Native Affairs, the 1867 Native Schools Act was introduced in order to establish Native schools under the administration of the Government and in doing so, provide the Government with more control over the content of the curriculum (Walker 1990: 147). Essentially, this Act replaced mission schools by establishing Native schools for Māori children. The settler Government was to claim part responsibility for the provision of teachers and school buildings, provided that Māori gifted land for the school to be built and covered the remaining costs for teachers, buildings and books. In 1871, this Act was amended so as to remove the financial burden from Māori, which had been proving too heavy (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 101, 105-106). By 1874, this amendment had resulted in twenty-five new schools, increasing from thirteen in 1870 to thirty-eight in 1874 (Ka'ai date unknown: unpublished paper).

By the late 1870s, many Māori petitioned in favour of European knowledge, as there was a widespread perception that this knowledge was responsible for the perceived 'success' of Pākehā economically and the key to a higher standard of living (Ka'ai date unknown: unpublished paper; McCarthy 1997: 33). Therefore, some Māori leaders of the time accepted the policy of ignoring *te reo Māori* due to the belief that there was no other means for the advancement of Māori people and that Pākehā knowledge would further Māori children (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 24). In 1876, there was a petition by Māori leaders to amend the Native Schools Act so that 'there should not be a word of Maori allowed to be spoken in the school' (Bell 1991: 67). This is disturbing as it meant that the colonised were active participants in the further colonisation of their people based on the understanding that the coloniser was a model of success (Freire 1972b: 22).

The Native Schools Code 1880

The Native Schools Code of 1880 outlined the expectation that teachers have a knowledge of *te reo Māori*, but only in the context of teaching English to the junior classes (Walker 1990: 147). Therefore, the Native Schools Code 1880 aided the process of assimilation by placing restrictions on *te reo Māori* in schools (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 23). Ka'ai refers to the Code as 'utterly patronising and racist' (Ka'ai date unknown: unpublished paper).

Racism can be seen throughout the history of New Zealand's State education system and is a reoccurring theme in the education of Māori children. Racism can be defined as the belief in superiority of a particular race, and antagonism and prejudice towards members of a different race based on this idea of superiority (Soanes et al 2001: 731). According to Darder, there is a distinction between individual racism and institutional racism. For example, a Pākehā person acting against Māori can be classed as individual racism, and the collective acts of the Pākehā community against the Māori community can be classed as institutional racism (adapted from Darder 1991: 40). The legislation and regulation of the State education system, such as the 1880 Native Schools Code, is an example of institutional racism against Māori. When discussing the two forms of racism Darder notes: 'what is most significant is that both forms of racism result from deep-rooted prejudices and stereotypes' (Darder 1991: 41).

In 1894, the School Attendance Act was introduced, making attendance at school compulsory. Pākehā children were legally required to attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen. However, it was only compulsory for Māori children to attend school up to the end of Standard Four (approximately age 10). This was also a form of institutional racism as the State had different educational assumptions and expectations for Māori. Furthermore, there were strict regulations placed on the reasons why children might not be able to attend school, and these did not include *tangihanga* or *hui* (Ka'ai date unknown: unpublished paper). Clearly, this Act was not culturally sensitive or culturally tailored to Māori, as was promised under Article Three of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

In 1897, the Revised Native Schools Code was introduced (Walker 1990: 147). This regulation continued to allow *te reo Māori* to be spoken in junior classes for the purpose of teaching English. However, it was argued that the use of *te reo Māori* should be discontinued as soon as possible and that English should become the sole language in the classroom (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 144).

The State education system legislation and regulation at his time collectively aided the assimilation process by stripping Māori children of their cultural base through a process of language and cultural domination (Walker 1990: 147). Furthermore, it was in breach of the Treaty that Māori and Pākehā signed at Waitangi in 1840 and reflects a common

colonial world-view that denied the rights of Indigenous peoples. A century on, it can be seen as directly violating our current understanding of Indigenous rights. Article 8 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples¹⁵² states:

1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.
2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for:
 - a. Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;
 - b. Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;
 - c. Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;
 - d. Any form of forced assimilation or integration;
 - e. Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

(United Nations date unknown: electronic source)

Therefore, all of the legislation that supported the assimilation of Māori children by way of the State education system is considered illicit under current international regulations.

***Te reo Māori* banned**

By 1903, the use of Māori as a medium of instruction and communication within schools was officially discouraged by educational authorities (Bell 1991: 67). Then in 1905, teachers in Native Schools were strongly advised by the Inspector of Native Schools to encourage Māori children to speak only English in the playground (Walker 1990: 147). This led to widespread prohibition and eventually children in Native Schools were forbidden to speak *te reo Māori* in the classroom or in the playground and in many cases corporal punishment was used freely as an oppressive tool against children who disobeyed (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 23). According to Walker, 'The damaging aspect of this practice lay not in corporal punishment *per se*, but in the psychological effect on an individual's sense of identity and personal worth' (Walker

¹⁵² The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 13 September 2007. 143 countries voted in favour of the charter which outlines the rights of the world's estimated 370 million indigenous people. New Zealand was one of four countries (along with the United States of America, Canada, and Australia) that voted against the Declaration and refused to support it. This was a move indicative of the way in which those nations view the rights of their native peoples. Australia has since gone back on its initial decision and endorsed the Declaration on 3 April 2009. Fortunately, New Zealand has also reversed its initial decision and endorsed the Declaration on 4 April 2010. Canada and the United States of America remain opposed.

1990: 147). The child's native language is the primary form of expression of that child's thoughts and feelings. Therefore, language provides empowerment for a child.

Language is the life line and sustenance of a culture. It provides the tentacles that can enable a child to link up with everything in his or her world. It is one of the most important forms of empowerment that a child can have. Language is not only a form of communication but it helps transmit the values and beliefs of a people (Pere 1997: 9).

Therefore, according to Darder, suppressing this language is a form of 'psychological violence' (Darder 1991: 37-38). McCarthy illustrates the psychological effect of this prohibition: 'Native Māori speakers who were graduates of the 1900s schooling era have in the majority of cases deliberately not taught their children to speak Māori. Responses of this kind are directly linked to the belief, firmly inculcated, that to speak Māori was of no practical use' (McCarthy 1997: 33). Effectively, if speakers of *te reo Māori* did not have positive attitudes towards their native tongue, they were reluctant to transmit their knowledge to new generations regardless of how proficient their language skills were. Moreover, many Māori who had been physically punished for speaking *te reo Māori* during their schooling were subsequently reluctant to submit their own children to this experience, and therefore chose to speak English only to their children.

This policy of prohibition was usually accompanied by negative 'teacher expectations' or negative attitudes of teachers towards all things Māori, including the language. Teacher expectations are the assumptions and judgements made about children by their teachers either consciously or unconsciously (Darder 1991: 19). That is, how the children and their ability are perceived by the teacher. For the most part, this involves making judgements about student's educational potential. The expectations that teachers have of students are often based on racial stereotypes. Darder states that 'teachers are more likely to hold negative expectations for lower-class and bicultural children than for middle class white children' (Darder 1991: 17). Teachers anticipate differences in levels of achievement, this in turn impacts on how they allocate their time, which students they invest in, and how the students feel about their learning environment. Essentially, teachers expect less of students from certain backgrounds and these students will often fulfill that prophesy.

The negative attitudes of teachers towards Māori children and their language impacted on the children's sense of self worth, and usually, they reinforce the hegemonic belief that Māori are in fact academically inferior. 'The exclusion of the Maori language from the primary school curriculum coupled with the negative attitude of many teachers towards the language, negatively affected the attitude of Maori people themselves towards their own language' (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 23). Furthermore, the belittlement of the Māori language has also impacted negatively on Māori self-esteem. Māori felt *whakamā*¹⁵³ of *te reo Māori* due to the Pākehā notion that the English language was superior. According to McCarthy, 'Through both overt and covert processes the colonized are inculcated with the belief that their culture and all that it offers is inferior to that offered by the colonising culture' (McCarthy 1997: 32).

This superior attitude of the colonisers was again evident in 1907 with the introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act. This Act affectively eroded traditional Māori communities in that Māori were restricted from accessing their traditional spiritual healers and practitioners (McCarthy 1997: 35). Perhaps this was another strategy by the dominant Pākehā majority to advance the assimilation process by eradicating traditional Māori spirituality and replacing it with Christianity within Indigenous communities. The preamble states:

Every person who gathers Maoris around him by practising on their superstition or credulity, or who misleads or attempts to mislead any Maori by professing or pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of any disease, or in the foretelling of future events, or otherwise, is liable on summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months (Jones 2009: electronic source).

The Tohunga Suppression Act was in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. Traditional Māori knowledge is a *taonga* which was guaranteed under Article Two of the Treaty. Furthermore, it made criminals out of *tohunga* and forced them 'underground' which disrupted the transmission of the traditional esoteric knowledge associated with *tohunga*.

¹⁵³ Embarrassed, ashamed

In 1910, the Annual Report from the Minister of Education Regarding Native Schools was released. The ‘Teachers at Native Schools’ section of this Report found that of approximately 100 schools, only three of these had Māori Head Teachers, all of whom were male. Furthermore, the Report found that there were female Māori teachers, but they held the position of ‘Junior Assistants’ and therefore, were on low-wages. This is yet another example of racism and cultural domination in that the State restricted the advancement of Māori people by rarely allowing them to occupy leadership positions in the Schools (Ka‘ai date unknown: unpublished paper).

In 1925, the Advisory Committee on African Education, which was set up by the British Colonial Secretary, found that ‘education should be adapted to the traditions and mentality of the people and should aim at improving and conserving what was best in their institutions’ (Ka‘ai-Oldman 1988: 23; Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 202). This finding impacted on the education policy of New Zealand, and from 1931, aspects of ‘Māoritanga’ were incorporated into the curriculum of some schools. However, this was minor and somewhat cosmetic as only cultural content was added. Māori language was again not included (Ka‘ai-Oldman 1988: 23). In 1930, the New Zealand Federation of Teachers endeavoured to have the Māori language introduced as part of the curriculum. Unfortunately, this attempt was shut down by the Director of Education at the time, T. B. Strong, who was of the view that ‘the natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss to the Māori’ (Ka‘ai-Oldman 1988: 24; Moorfield 2006: 109). It can be argued that this attitude politically fuelled the continued opposition by the dominant Pākehā culture toward the Māori language.

Initially, some Māori leaders, such as Apirana Ngata, believed that young Māori would have sufficient levels of *te reo Māori* at home, and so, did not require the language to be a part of the school culture (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 242). However, Ngata quickly realised that this was a mistake. In 1939, whilst speaking at a conference of young Māori leaders in Auckland, Ngata explained that he had previously opposed the teaching of *te reo Māori* in Native schools because he had thought that there was not enough time for students to learn both languages, Māori and English. He then explained that he had come to the realisation that ‘nothing was worse than for one to be with Maori features but without his own language’ (cited in Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 207).

Before the Second World War the majority of the Māori population were native speakers of *te reo*. Following the Second World War, the inter-generational transmission of *te reo Māori* changed dramatically. This was primarily a result of massive social, political and economic changes within Māori society at that time. From the 1950s there was a migration of Māori to the urban centres seeking employment. The steady urban drift led to the disintegration of rural *te reo Māori* speaking communities (Benton 1981: 16-17).

In addition, at the time there was a policy of ‘integrating’ urban Māori into the wider population, also known as ‘pepper-potting’. Essentially, this meant that Māori families were placed in predominantly Pākehā suburbs, with the hope that they would ‘integrate’ into society. This policy was created to prevent the development of urban Māori communities and had the follow on effect of preventing the formation of *te reo Māori* speaking groups because Māori speakers were physically isolated from other Māori speakers. Therefore, English was firmly established as the language of not only the workplace, but also of the local neighbourhood and soon became the primary language through which daily social interactions were undertaken (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori date unknown: electronic source).

This policy had far-reaching repercussions, of which the most severe was that, for the first time, Māori children were being raised as monolingual speakers of English. This new phenomenon was intensified by the high percentage of Māori under the age of 20 at that time. These conditions led to a rapid language shift among the Māori population, especially among the first generations of Māori who were born and raised in the city. However, it should be noted that the use of English in communication with children, does not mean that urban Māori households were exclusively English language domains. Māori parents and adults living in the household would often speak Māori to one another. Therefore, the children would usually develop passive heritage language skills as a result of hearing *te reo Māori* spoken (Benton 1981: 16-17).

The Hunn Report 1960

In 1960, after many years of assimilation, cultural invasion, cultural subordination, language domination, hegemony, racism and negative teacher expectations, the Hunn Report was released. Named after the Head of the Department of Māori Affairs, J. K.

Hunn, it found that there was a huge disparity between the educational achievement of Māori and that of Pākehā. The Report found that while 3.78% of Pākehā children reached the Sixth Form, only 0.5% of Māori children did so. The Report therefore advocated 'integration' over 'assimilation'. Hunn's interpretation of the word 'integration' implied that both parties should consent to integrating, and that both should have input into what this would entail. However, this interpretation was effectively ignored by the State education system. According to Ka'ai, 'The reality was more like the kahawai and the shark analogy "Let's integrate", said the shark to the kahawai. "Have I any choice?" he replied' (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 24).

The Hunn Report was significant in that it proposed a society which should embrace and respect Māori as a minority group in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Impressive as this sounds, Hunn's vision for a pluralistic society never came to fruition as people involved in State education across the country were resistant to changing their attitudes (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 24). This is to be expected as the State education system had been founded on hegemonic ideas and practices for 140 years and had shaped the attitudes of teachers and administrators.

Some recognition of biculturalism within the classroom emerged by the late 1960s. In 1967, the Report on Maori Education was released by the New Zealand Educational Institute. This Report recognised the value of biculturalism, stating that, 'It must be remembered that the Maori is both a New Zealander and Maori. He has an inalienable right to be both, and to be consciously both, and he is likely to be a better citizen for being both (cited in Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 25). Then in 1971, the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education Report pushed the concept of biculturalism in the classroom. This Report, along with pressure from the Māori community, resulted in some positive changes for Māori within the State education system. By 1973 there were Māori Studies courses established in all seven teachers colleges around the country. More importantly, in 1974 the Department of Education created six new posts for Māori Education Advisers (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 25-26).

The minor recognition of *te reo Māori* in secondary schools and universities was a positive step. However, it did little in the way of compensating for the damage previously inflicted upon the health of the language. Despite the advancements, *te reo*

Māori continued to suffer. According to Glynn, ‘Participation in mainstream education has come for Māori at a cost of their own language, culture and identity’ (Glynn 1998: 4). This is evident when one considers the statistics.

Te reo Māori statistics

In 1900, over ninety per cent of Māori children started school with *te reo Māori* as their first language. However, by 1960 this had fallen to twenty-five per cent (Ka‘ai-Oldman 1988: 24). ‘The perception of *te reo Māori* as a language of little value or benefit to the Māori people had evolved through the colonial era and become inherent in the popular culture of mainstream New Zealand’ (O’Regan 2006: 158). This was compounded by the impact of rapid Māori urbanisation and the aftershock of the Second World War. By 1979, the loss of the Māori language was so great that it was believed that it would become extinct if nothing was done to save it (Walker 1990: 147-8).

By the mid-1970s, the Māori language was in great danger of becoming extinct as a medium of everyday communication. Fluency was restricted to a small number of speakers, many of them middle-aged and older, who resided largely in rural areas. Fluent Māori speakers were outnumbered four to one by predominantly English-speaking people of Māori descent. The conclusion was obvious – the viability of the Māori language as a language of daily communication was in serious doubt. Drastic measures were needed to ensure its survival (Moorfield 2006: 109).

According to Ka‘ai-Oldman, by 1984 the number of children entering primary school with Māori as their first language was most likely less than two per cent (Ka‘ai-Oldman 1988: 24). Further evidence of the success of colonial tools, such as language domination, can be found in the fact that New Zealand is among the most monolingual countries in the world. It is estimated that ninety to ninety-five per cent of New Zealanders can not speak any other language apart from English (Bell 1991: 66). This percentage is a lot greater than other primarily English speaking nations such as Britain, the United States of America, Canada, and Australia (Bell 1991: 66).

Te reo Māori is considered to be the core of Māori culture, as illustrated in the following Māori proverb:

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori
The language is the very life principle of Maori Mana
(Jenkins & Ka‘ai 1994: 163).

‘The belief among Māori is that the language is the key to a deeper understanding of the culture and their world-view and values’ (Moorfield 2006: 108). The language you speak affects your thoughts and experience. ‘The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis makes the claim that the structure of the language one habitually uses influences the manner in which one thinks and behaves’ (Kramsch 1998: 11). The hypothesis is that language affects the way in which we view the world and the way speakers of different languages think and behave differently because of it. Therefore, *te reo Māori* is a marker of Māori identity and is crucial to an understanding of Māori world-view.

The New Zealand State education system has failed Māori communities and their children. It was a major contributor to the rapid loss of Māori language. Furthermore, New Zealand State schools have been locked into the cycle of social and cultural reproduction of the dominant Pākehā culture based on the presumption that Pākehā culture is the most appropriate for all of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s peoples. Obviously this presumption was incorrect, as this cycle has led to the decline in the educational achievement of Māori children and, more importantly, the gradual deterioration of *te reo Māori*.

Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and up to the later part of the twentieth century, the dominant European population thought that once Māori were shown the superiority of the European way, they would reject their own language and culture, and adopt that of the dominant society. Instead, Māori have rejected assimilation; but despite this rejection, the battle to preserve the language has been arduous (Moorfield 2006: 108).

In both direct and indirect ways, the legislation passed regarding the establishment and evolution of the New Zealand education system has created amongst many Māori families one of the greatest, if not the greatest injustice of them all - the inability to speak one's own native tongue.

Kaupapa Māori education

Indigenous people have the right to all levels and forms of education. They also have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions, providing education in their own language (Article 14, Coolangatta Statement 1993 cited in Glynn 1998: 4).

The State education system failed many Māori children. After many years of being affected by cultural subordination and language domination, and with no indication of positive action by the State, Māori families and communities took matters into their own hands. That is, Māori decided to start reversing the cycle of language decline within their society by immersing their children in a bilingual environment.

Most people who are changing their way of life, tend to be enthusiastic in the first instance about the new culture. But after a while, and sometimes it's quite a long while, perhaps as much as a century, people begin to feel that western culture is such a big hungry thing that they feel lost in it and they begin to emphasise that they possess things of their own which are not part of the way of life of all the rest of the world. Some people feel this need for cultural identity sooner than others (Biggs 1977: 8).

Kaupapa Māori schooling is an example of resistance. According to Darder, 'This is most apparent when oppositional ideologies of subordinate cultures attempt to resist and challenge the dominant ideologies in an effort to break through the existing relations of power' (Darder 1991: 42-43). Kaupapa Māori schooling can be described as a critical Māori pedagogy, and was the positive way in which Māori educational professionals responded to the assimilation process and subsequent language loss (Glynn 1998: 5). Kaupapa Māori schooling, such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, and Te Wharekura has been the key in breaking the cycle of social and cultural reproduction of the dominant Pākehā culture that has been identified within the State education system. The curriculum is compiled through a selection process of which knowledge is appropriate to teach the children. If the curriculum is chosen to meet the child's cultural needs, the child has a head start. If not, the child is on the back foot. Teachers and schools need to be responsive to the educational needs of their students if they have any hope of engaging children positively in learning.

Te Kōhanga Reo initiated a programme that totally immersed pre-school Māori children in the values, traditions, customs and stories of traditional Māori. 'For the first time in over two generations, Māori preschoolers were receiving the language, cultural knowledge and life principles that would help them make better sense of their own cultural worldview' (Glynn et al. 2006: 53).

Te Kōhanga Reo

The idea of Te Kōhanga Reo was first discussed at the 1981 Hui Whakatauirā (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 27). The Te Kōhanga Reo movement was a result of Māori communities working together with the Māori Affairs Department to arrest the rapid decline of *te reo Māori*, hence the Te Kōhanga Reo imperative:

Me korero Māori i nga wa katoa, i nga wahi katoa
Speak Māori at all times and in places (Jenkins & Ka'ai 1994: 163)

The aim was to have every child who was enrolled in Te Kōhanga Reo bilingual by the age of five (Walker 1990: 238). On a day to day basis, the Te Kōhanga Reo were to be operated by *kuiā*¹⁵⁴ and *koroua*¹⁵⁵ who were native speakers of *te reo Māori* (Walker 1990: 238).

A critical point to make is that Te Kōhanga Reo was not initiated or funded by the Department of Education from the outset. Yet it is very much an educational strategy to correct the huge underachievement of Māori children stemming from Pākehā hegemonic practices in education over the previous 140 years. In fact, Te Kōhanga Reo originally came under the mantle of the Department of Māori Affairs. Each new Te Kōhanga Reo was granted \$5000 as an establishment grant from the Department of Māori Affairs. However, the *whānau* were required to cover the ongoing operational costs (Walker 1990: 238). The lack of support by the State for Kaupapa Māori schooling has since been condemned by the Convention (No.169) Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. Article 27 of the Convention states, 'Governments shall recognise the right of these peoples to establish their own educational institutions and facilities...Appropriate resources shall be provided for this purpose' (cited in Anaya 1996: 201).

The first Te Kōhanga Reo was established in April 1982 at Pukeatua Kōkiri Centre, Wainuiomata (Jenkins & Ka'ai 1994: 167). Despite the cost to parents, the Te Kōhanga Reo movement experienced a huge influx. In November 1983, there were 188 Te Kōhanga Reo around the country (Walker 1990: 239). By June 1990, this number had rapidly increased to 609 (Jenkins & Ka'ai 1994: 168). Each of these Māori focused

¹⁵⁴ Elderly women

¹⁵⁵ Elderly men

early childhood centres catered specifically to the needs of Māori children by delivering a curriculum established by Māori parents and Māori educational professionals for Māori children. According to Ka'ai-Oldman, 'Te Kōhanga Reo is one of the most dynamic and innovative educational programmes in the country' (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988: 27). The existence of an alternative Māori school system was obviously a critique on the conventional state system and the rapid growth of the school system is testimony to the fact that they fulfill a need for Māori, providing the tools of transformation, liberation and emancipation.

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori

Following the success of Te Kōhanga Reo, Māori parents became concerned about where to place their school-age children who were fluent speakers of *te reo Māori*. Children leaving Te Kōhanga Reo and entering mainstream English language state education quickly lost their Māori language proficiency. At that time there were only twelve bilingual schools throughout the whole country that offered some instruction in the Māori language. Furthermore, Māori parents did not like the idea of sending their children to State schools, as the success of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement was attributed to community control (Walker 1990: 239).

These concerns were raised at the Māori Educational Development Conference in 1984 (Walker 1990: 239). Of those who attended, 300 were Māori language teachers. These teachers expressed their belief that the State education system was 'inherently flawed' and that it was actually 'manufacturing Maori failure' (Walker 1990: 242).

Although the Maori community has never forfeited its mana or denied its cultural uniqueness, the policies of monoculturalism continually place it under stress. The reality of racial prejudice and the demeaning of Maori identity create a sense of cultural deprivation as real as that engendered by the stresses of economic deprivation (Jackson 1988: 72).

Therefore, it was decided that a school system be developed consistent with the Te Kōhanga Reo philosophy of language revival, recovery and maintenance. The Māori primary school system, called Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, and the secondary schools, called Te Wharekura, have evolved from the principles of Te Kōhanga Reo, so as to provide excellence in Māori language, knowledge and cultural frameworks. The first

Kura Kaupapa Māori was established at Hoani Waititi Marae in 1985 (Jenkins & Ka'ai 1994: 172). It was set up in order to 'find placements for the emerging 'graduates' from Te Kohanga Reo, the first of whom had tried State schools and soon found the programmes alienating' (Jenkins & Ka'ai 1994: 172).

Many of the parents, because they have experienced language and cultural loss, are eager to get their children back to learning the language. The key in these schools has been to tap into that intense emotional energy for language and cultural revitalization so that it coincides with learning intervention (Smith 2000: 222).

Kaupapa Māori education has validated the merit of a Māori pedagogy. Kaupapa Māori education is a statement of Māori people reclaiming power as they were no longer willing to participate in the cultural reproduction of mainstream education in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ka'ai 1995: 39).

We had a very high failure rate in Huntly in the late '70s or early '70s and then we started up Te Wharekura o Rākaumanga as a total immersion school, it started as a bilingual school and our main focus was to turn that whole low self-esteem, that low achievement around – turn it on it's head, and get Māori to take responsibility, I suppose, for their learning and not just say, 'Oh, we don't understand that Pākehā stuff, it's a Pākehā teacher'. You know, that blame type syndrome – which was the problem, that they couldn't relate to what was being taught in the classrooms at that particular time. It was very foreign to them (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

It is an indictment on the State to have designed a strategy of assimilation advanced by educators in schools to accelerate the decline of the Māori language and culture and the absorption of Māori into Pākehā society. For this cycle to cease, it is critical that educators recognise the role language plays as one of the most powerful transmitters of culture; as such it is crucial to the survival of a cultural community (Darder 1991: 37).

'Māori people constitute about 15 percent of a total New Zealand population of about 4 million. We are about 20 percent of the school-aged population. We are very young, and our population is growing' (Smith 2000: 220). Therefore, Māori language and culture remain extremely vulnerable.

The State needs to be more proactive and responsive in its support of Kaupapa Māori educational institutions. According to Jackson, there is 'a very real challenge

confronting Pakeha society and its institutions, as well as the Maori community, to ensure that the transmission of Maori language, values and cultural ideals is promoted' (Jackson 1988: 174). Furthermore, it is now time for the State to take more responsibility in 'cleaning up the mess' that they have created for Māori within the State education system for the last 170 years. 'It is important that we take heed of our past, for it is from this template that the reconstruction of a better future is shaped' (McCarthy 1997: 30).

The State has an obligation to right the wrongs of the past and uphold the promises set forth in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. One such promise was in Article Two, where Māori were guaranteed protection of all *taonga*. The Te Reo Māori claim was submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 by Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo Māori. The claim was based on the assertion that *te reo Māori* is a *taonga* that should have been protected by the Crown under Article II of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Tā Hēmi Henare (Sir James Henare), one of the nation's most cherished *kaumātua*, made the following statement whilst giving evidence in 1986 for the Waitangi Tribunal Claim¹⁵⁶ relating to the Māori language:

If the language dies as some predict, what do we have left to us? Then, I ask our own people who are we?

'Language', according to Oliver Wendell Holmes, 'is a solemn thing, it grows out of life, out of its agonies and its ecstasies, its wants and its weariness. Every language is a temple in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined.' Therefore, the *taonga*, our Māori language, as far as our people are concerned, is the very soul of the Māori people. What does it profit a man to gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul? What profit to the Māori if we lose our language and lose our soul? Even if we gain the world. To be mono-lingual, a Japanese once said, is to know only one universe... (Waikerepuru and Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo Incorporated Society, cited in Ka'ai et al. 2004: 202).

In the Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Māori Claim (WAI 11) 1986, the Waitangi Tribunal asserted that *te reo Māori* was included in the description of *taonga* (Ka'ai date unknown: unpublished paper). Therefore, the State is obligated to protect *te reo Māori* under this Charter. In addition, the Waitangi Tribunal, in the summary of the

¹⁵⁶ This is commonly known as the WAI11 claim

Orakei Report 1987, stated that Te Tiriti o Waitangi ‘was not intended merely to fossilise the status quo but to provide a direction for future growth and development. It is not intended as a finite contract but it is the foundation for a developing social contract’ (cited in Glynn 1998: 3).

This statement suggests that the State should be more open to providing and supporting a critical Māori pedagogy, such as Kaupapa Māori schooling, as a foundation to educate Māori more effectively within the State education system. Currently, ‘Maori educational aspirations, Maori-preferred approaches to learning and teaching, and Maori perspectives on educational research are barely visible within mainstream New Zealand education’ (Glynn 1998: 4). This has caused many Māori students to feel alienated, as often there are significant cultural differences between Māori children and the Pākehā teachers who teach them. It is the responsibility of the State to make provisions for appropriate teacher training and to ensure that teaching graduates do not hold deeply entrenched negative attitudes towards Māori, and are capable of educating children of all cultures (Ka’ai-Oldman 1988: 26). Ideally, all graduating teachers should be bilingual, as only then can they truly meet the needs of Māori children. As Jackson states,

“Culture conflict” has always been seen to arise because of a Maori inability to adapt to the inherently “right” Pakeha values. However, the issue in this culture conflict is not whether Maori youngsters may be maladjusted to Pakeha values, but whether those values are in fact appropriate to them.

An equally important issue is whether the attempted imposition of Pakeha values actually denies young Maori people the chance to absorb and adjust to their own. The policies implemented through the schools, the law, and other institutions, have meant that Pakeha society has demeaned the worth of Maori culture and raised questions about its survival. The assimilationist assumptions which underlay the belief that Maori people are not adequately adapted to Pakeha values do not explain cultural conflicts; they are in fact the cause of them (Jackson 1988: 21).

The Māori language is the foundation from which the culture has flourished.

'Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro tāua, pērā i te ngaro o te Moa'
If the language be lost, we will be lost, as dead as the Moa.
(Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Māori Claim: Report Summary).

The preservation of *te reo Māori* is an ongoing challenge that confronts the Māori community. Despite the efforts to revitalise the Māori language, English remains the dominant language in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

So all-pervading is English in the wider community, it is the language likely to be used by the majority of parents to communicate in the home, and it is still also the first language of the majority of children attending education in Māori immersion settings (Glynn et al. 2006: 53).

A native speaker of Māori who works as a Māori immersion classroom teacher in a mainstream New Zealand school makes the following observation:

I find it really sad. Even though the tamariki [children] speak te reo [the Māori language] when they are in my classroom, as soon as they go out the door, all that they hear is te reo Pākehā [the English language]. My kaiarahi i te reo [expert language assistant] and I try to be the best language models we can but it's not enough. When they go out the door it's English. When they go out the school gate it's English. When they go home it's English and when they turn on their TV that's English too.

You know when I was at school we used to get the strap for talking in Māori yet even though we weren't allowed to speak Māori at school we still heard more Māori in a week than my babies hear, and they're meant to be learning in Māori (cited in Glynn et al. 2006: 52-53).

Kaupapa Māori education will continue to face challenges. Harawira discusses the importance of finding teachers who have quality language skills as well as total immersion in the younger classes.

[When] Te Kōhanga Reo started, we had a good base of *kuia* and *kaumātua* who could model good language, and now they've all gone and we've got second language learners in our Kōhanga Reo who aren't modeling the language very well, they're sort of one step ahead of the children, and even then Kōhanga Reo have Pākehā posters in their Kōhanga Reo and they're speaking English. That's not what it was about, you will never ever learn a language like that, you've got to immerse the kids in good language before it's going to set in (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

In addition, Harawira discusses the challenges facing the *kura* his *whānau* are associated with, Te Wharekura o Rākaumangamanga in Huntly.

Now we've gotten to a point where we think we need to re-look at the last 20 years, because, well it's been 21 years since we had our first immersion class...we've got to review now...we need to have the quality teaching in those lower primary areas to get that communicative role going, that's where the best teachers should be, the other staff as specialist staff up in the high school, I'm saying there's nothing, I'm not downing specialist teachers but, it's ok if you've got a teacher who's got good *reo* and can impart the concepts, *i roto i te reo*, so that our kids can understand, but if you've got half-pai *reo* then our kids are going to hit the wall, they're going to get bored and there are a whole range of issues there, so those are things that we are going to need to be looking at in terms of reviewing that whole program there. But, we have had our successes, we've had a lot of successes – it's a bit of a 'go forward' *kura*¹⁵⁷. A lot of those teachers are composers for *kapa haka* groups and for the young *kapa haka* teams, primary school and secondary school there (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

According to O'Regan, 'most Māori cannot conceive of a Māori nation that cannot speak *te reo*. The reality is that the responsibility to ensure that doesn't occur belongs to all Māori' (O'Regan 2006: 167). As Māori are becoming more comfortable with the quantity of speakers, the focus is shifting to the quality of language. This includes the preservation of Māori language diversity. The way we acquire language is different now from what it was traditionally. These days there tends to be a more standard language taught in a classroom situation – at schools and in university. The onus is on the learner, once they have mastered a working knowledge of the language, to seek out their own particular *iwi* dialect, usually amongst their own people and native speakers (Papesch 2006: 34-35). 'The different dialects found throughout New Zealand were a normal part of the *reo* Māori reality and were key identity markers for Māori as emblems of their *iwi* identification' (O'Regan 2006: 164).

The impact of colonisation and language decline on Māori oral tradition

The negative attitude of the Pākehā majority toward the Māori culture in the mid-nineteenth century can be summarized in a passage. It is from the *Wellington Independent* 20 April 1867, the same year as the Native Schools Act was established which emphasised the policy of assimilation through elevating the English language. The following passage claims that the performance of *haka* illustrates the 'evil' at the heart of the Māori culture.

But scrape a Māori, the most civilised, and the savage shows most distinctly underneath. The 'Haka' (war dance) is an *exposé* of the evil

¹⁵⁷ School

which really lies at the root of their present prostrate condition, an exhibition of the substratum of utter immortality, depravity, and obscenity, which forms the ground work of their race; and in spite of the veneering with which we clumsily cover the rough wood, we shall do nothing until we alter their entire character, by taking in hand the education, *per force*, of the young growing saplings (cited in Barrington 2008: 294).

This quotation reflects the ignorance, prejudice and monoculturalism of the author of the newspaper article and provides insight into the attitudes of the time and the context in which Māori language decline occurred. The ‘young growing saplings’ refers to the Māori children who were stripped of their native tongue through the State education system which in turn affected their sense of identity. The resulting language decline impacted greatly on the Māori oral tradition.

The Maori community is currently engaged in a well documented struggle to preserve its language and halt the decline to which our shared history condemned it. The struggle is not just to maintain an oral history, but to retain the soul of a people (Jackson 1988: 71).

The strength of Māori oral traditions and forms of expression are directly linked to the health and the condition of the Māori language. Acquisition of linguistic knowledge and the acquisition of cultural knowledge are often interdependent. This is directly linked with oral tradition as language is the vessel through which culture is traditionally passed on to children. According to Thiong’o, ‘To starve or kill a language is to starve and kill a people’s memory bank’ (Thiong’o 2009: 20).

Currently, the statistical and political majority in Aotearoa/New Zealand are monolingual speakers of English. Of those who are bilingual and do speak *te reo Māori*, the majority are English first language speakers, with *te reo Māori* being their second language.

The continued survival of the language depends on a very small pool of first language speakers of *te reo* who are also speakers of English, and a moderately larger group of bilingual individuals for whom *te reo* is a second language. It is a concern that the greater percentage of *te reo* speakers continues to be in the over-sixty age group (Moorfield and Johnston 2004: 43).

The decline of the Māori language has had a major affect on the Māori sense of identity. According to Walker, ‘A basic component of Māori identity is the concept of Māoritanga, which incorporates...cultural traits such as language’ (Walker 1996: 25). Furthermore, the language domination that has occurred in Aotearoa/New Zealand since the establishment of the Education Ordinance Act has served to strip Māori of their primary tool for expressing themselves.

Cultural deprivation, which is most deeply felt in language loss, occurs when an individual or community ‘has been deprived of the fundamental means of insight into its own culture and thereby denied a unique sense of identity’ (Jackson 1988: 71). In addition, ‘A culturally deprived Maori child is not one who has difficulty reading English, but one who has difficulty speaking Maori’ (Jackson 1988: 73). This notion is supported by the following statement by Chamberlin,

We are often told that language defines what it is to be human, individually and collectively. Different languages, the argument goes, therefore define us differently; thus, while language in the abstract may be what defines us as human, language in practice – different languages in different practices – determines these differences. No matter how much we gloss over this for the sake of social or economic or political expediency, the blunt fact is that the loss of these languages means the loss of these differences. There are clear patterns to the loss – or often the deliberate destruction – of languages, and more often than not this pattern of loss is determined by the encounter between those two fundamental ways of being in the world (Chamberlin 2000: 133).

There are few domains in today’s society where *te reo Māori* is the primary or preferred language. One example is on the *marae*. However, many Māori, particularly those in urban centres, do not have access to those domains. Thus, the decline of the Māori language has impacted on the complex skill of oratory.

Control of the carefully cultivated language of the orator requires a number of extra-linguistic abilities: knowledge of traditional history, mythology, and poetry...It is knowledge gained usually from prolonged observation of and informal tuition by experts, knowledge increasingly difficult to acquire in urban settings (Benton 1981:19).

The *marae* has maintained its role as the bastion of Māori culture. It is on the *marae* that the Māori language remains the dominant language for cultural activity, particularly in rural areas. Royal states, ‘Remarkably, the oral tradition survives to this

day, despite the negative influences that have affected it' (Royal 1992: 21). It is important to note that the Māori oral tradition still exists despite the obstacles. 'Amid changes due to the acquisition of literacy, individualised employment and massive urban migration, gifted exponents have kept the art of oral storytelling alive, learning and passing on traditional stories and methods of presentation' (Metge 1998: 6).

However, 'As the language has declined, so has the number of young people whom elders have considered competent to maintain the traditions and histories of their people. Consequently, many elders have gone to the grave without passing on their knowledge' (Royal 1992: 21).

The impact of colonisation and language decline on *waiata*

There is a great body of Maori history, poetry and song that depends upon the language. If the language dies all of that will die and the culture of hundreds and hundreds of years will ultimately fade into oblivion. It was argued before us that if it is worthwhile to save the Chatham Islands robin, the kakapo parrot or the notornis of Fiordland, is it not at least as worthwhile to save the Maori language? (Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Māori Claim: Report Summary).

The loss of some *waiata* has always been a feature of Māori society. However, prior to the arrival of Pākehā, when *te reo Māori* was strong, the songs that were lost were usually made redundant due to lack of relevance and were quickly replaced by new songs. 'Song loss, while always present in the past, did not result in radical change because the chain of oral tradition which maintained stylistic continuity remained intact and old songs were regularly replaced by new ones in similar style' (McLean 1999: 426). Tīmoti Kāretu discusses why certain *waiata*, such as 'Poia atu taku poi' and 'Pō! Pō!', have such longevity. He believes it is based on the strength of the composition.

Ka pātai koe, he aha ai? Nā te rangi pea? Nā te pai o ngā kupu, ki taku mōhio, nā te pai o ngā kupu ka mau tonu te waiata. Āe, 'Poia atu taku poi', ērā momo waiata, 'Pō Pō', āe – he aha i mau ai? Nā te pai o te rangi, nā te pai o ngā kōrero, nā te pai o ngā kupu. Nā te mea, mēnā he waiata koretake nei, kua kore e mau, kotahi te waiatatanga, hemo tonu atu tēnā waiata, nā, he nui ngā waiata pērā. Nā reira, me mihi tātou ki ngā kaitito, ki te mōhio ki te whakatakoto i te kupu, me te kimi i tētahi rangi pai (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

The impact of song loss was not as significant in the past as it is today, due to the large repertoire of *waiata* and *haka* within each *hapū* and *iwi*. Singers would choose which *waiata* was most appropriate for the *kaupapa* of the day. Te Wharehuia Milroy explains that traditionally, *waiata* were carefully selected based on their relevance to the situation and in a *marae* setting, to what was being said, ‘E āta whiriwhiri anō rātou ko ēhea waiata hei waiata mā rātou, kia hāngai ai ki te kaupapa o te kōrero’ (Milroy 2006: personal communication). It is important for the *waiata* to match the tone, content and context of a speaker’s *kōrero*.

When older compositions and traditional compositions are being performed, there seems to be in the minds of those who have been performing for a long time a sense of sacredness attached to some of those compositions and that you don’t perform them in any old place and in any old time that would have to have a relevance to the context in which they were being performed (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Despite the fact that there are many examples of *waiata* and *haka* which have remained in use for generations, the repertoire of *waiata* and *haka* has diminished greatly since colonisation. The loss of a few compositions as part of the natural cycle of oral tradition is unremarkable compared to the huge loss of *waiata* and *haka* since processes such as assimilation were put in place which disrupted that cycle. These days Māori do not have the luxury of being wasteful with *waiata* and *haka* because the pool of compositions is so much smaller than it was previously. It is now necessary to manufacture ways that will ensure the survival of *waiata*.

The cycle of oral tradition which preserved compositions was first dislocated by the missionaries, who were condemnatory of *waiata* and *haka*. Throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand, one of the first acts of the missionaries was to ban or place restrictions on certain *waiata* and *haka*. ‘In Polynesia, most cases of prohibition of song and dance were at the behest of Protestant missionaries. Everywhere they preached hell-fire and damnation, sin and redemption, and the evils of the flesh’ (McLean 1999: 423).

There were several likely reasons why missionaries were opposed to Māori music. However, three primary reasons stand out. The first, is that missionaries realised that there was an intrinsic link between Māori religion and Māori music. In pre-contact times, certain *waiata* were essential to religious ceremonies. ‘Music and dance were

often part and parcel of the indigenous religious practices the missionaries were dedicated to stamping out, and destruction of the one was a logical if ruthless step towards the destruction of the other' (McLean 1999: 423). Second, is the missionary distaste for the often overt sexual nature of some *waiata* and *haka*, and their accusations of 'obscenity' and 'indecenty'. At first, this would have merely been an observation of the actions and movements. However, allusions to sex often occur in song lyrics as well, which would have become obvious to the missionaries as they learnt the language. Finally, missionaries would have been opposed to certain *waiata* and *haka* because of their associations with warfare.

Perhaps the best example of song and dance as an incitement to war is the fierce *peruperu* or war dance of the New Zealand Maori. Missionaries in New Zealand opposed it implacably. As early as 1819, Samuel Marsden, who had introduced Christianity to New Zealand five years earlier, was enquiring of his missionaries whether the Maori had in any degree 'laid down their ferocious habits, such as shouting, dancing naked and sham fighting to inflame their passions and kindle their warlike ardour' (McLean 1999: 423-424).



Members of Ngāti Tūwharetoa performing the *peruperu*, which required much discipline, at Waitangi, 6 February 1934.

This all resulted in the enforced abandonment of many *waiata*. The missionary-approved hymn singing was the obvious replacement for all of the *waiata* and *haka* that they prohibited.

By introducing sanctions against indigenous song and dance styles they created an enormous vacuum which they themselves at once began to fill. The mission-approved alternative to the valued songs and dances of which Polynesians were now deprived was a new tradition of Christian hymnody which was to have far-reaching results, perhaps beyond the missionaries' own expectations (McLean 1999: 426).

For many *iwi* there was a catastrophic loss of traditional *waiata*. The impact of the influence of missionaries on *waiata* and *haka* was profound.

¹⁵⁸ G-23706-1/2, New Zealand Railways Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

At the present time it appeared possible to make such a collection of the ancient poems of the New Zealanders, because they still lingered in the memories of a large portion of the population, although they were fast passing out of use, and so ancient and highly figurative was the language in which they were composed, that already large portions of them are nearly or quite unintelligible to many of their best instructed young men (Grey1853: viii).

Grey wrote this in the mid-1800s and already he could see a noticeable change in the language capabilities of young Māori, particularly in relation to their understanding of *waiata*. *Waiata*, like all other aspects of Māori culture, have evolved at great speed since the arrival of the Pākehā. One of the most devastating changes for *waiata* and *haka* has been the decline of *te reo Māori*. It follows that as the number of Māori people fluent in *te reo Māori* has declined, so too have the number of potential composers, the number of compositions, and the number of people able to fully grasp the compositions as fluency in *te reo* enhances the ability to encompass the understanding of the *waiata*. In fact, for most *iwi*, the decline in a *waiata* tradition has mirrored the decline of *te reo Māori* itself (McLean 2005: 63).

Te Rito highlights the fact that without the *te reo Māori*, *waiata* do not exist: ‘they couldn’t exist, they couldn’t happen in another language, I mean it just wouldn’t work in English...So the language is important to convey those concepts and the history...the language is vital in being there as part of that vehicle’ (Te Rito 2006: personal communication). When discussing her own *iwi*, Ngāi Tahu, Hana O’Regan states:

There’s been a real void for many generations in terms of knowing *waiata*...because of our lack of language, we haven’t been able to use *waiata* as a tool to carry on our messages or state our political aspirations or whatever the issues are...We have paid the price in terms of the cultural deprivation that has come from it as a result...because of that, a lot of our people don’t know what the issues are. They haven’t had access to those reminders all the time – we ended up with a people that are pretty ignorant about what our historical situation has been and what the issues are that have affected us. I think a lot of the contemporary compositions have been dominated by politics – you know when you go through an era of struggle, that becomes what is dominant (O’Regan 2006: personal communication).

The impact of language decline as a result of the Crown policy of assimilation was compounded by the effects of introduced diseases, such as the smallpox epidemic; by the wars fought here in New Zealand, and then later by the wars fought overseas. These all contributed to the loss of Māori people, and therefore the irrevocable loss of

knowledge and the disruption of the Māori oral tradition, which included knowledge of *waiata*. This was heightened by the dissolution of traditional Māori communities and the disruption of kinship groups through urbanisation, which meant that they could not continue the traditions of their *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi*.

If language loss occurs in a certain region then so too does the loss of potential composers. The effects of this are evident today. According to Te Wharehuia Milroy, there are few composers today that can live up to the legacy left behind by the prolific Māori composers of the past (Milroy 2004: personal communication). One cannot be articulate and eloquent, or make imaginative allusions to mythology and proverb, in a language that one does not speak. ‘If our words and our several modes of imaginative representation are replaced by others that are not the reflection of our hearts and minds and experiences and the heritage of our people, then so is our sense of reality’ (Chamberlin 2000: 127).

Waiata were often learnt incidentally through hearing the composition sung by those around you and your *whānau*. This method was only effective while Māori continued to live within their traditional kinship groups. With the migration of a large portion of the Māori population to the cities, the traditional methods of learning were interrupted and were increasingly supplemented by recourse to written texts and sound recordings (McLean 1965: 301). Of course this does not apply to *karakia* and certain *haka*, which were transmitted through specific learning schools or formal learning environments. ‘Formal instruction seems – within living memory – to have been the exception rather than the rule’ (McLean 1965: 301).

The lack of incidental learning opportunities was often coupled with the decline in Māori memorising abilities. ‘Before the advent of literacy, when songs were passed on entirely without benefit of writing as an aid, power of memorization was reputedly developed to an extent which seems unbelievable today’ (McLean 1965: 301). Increased literacy meant less reliance on memory.

In the Māori world, people with a deep knowledge of their tribal culture, history and traditions and with fluency in the language are highly respected by their own tribe and Māori people in general. They are regarded as repositories of this knowledge, much of which will have been handed down

from earlier generations. Prior to colonisation, this knowledge was transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth. However, most modern Māori do not have the finely-honed memory necessary to maintain such an oral tradition because of changing traditions which de-emphasise the spoken transfer of cultural knowledge (Moorfield 2006: 107).

Language loss has also meant a lack of understanding of the meaning of *waiata* and *haka*. McLean noted in 1965, that ‘With inability to speak Maori, inability to learn the songs not un-naturally follows. Decline of language ability is a very obvious reason for the failure of the present day younger generation to learn the songs’ (McLean 1965: 296). If a performer does not understand the meaning of what they are performing it is impossible to convey the right emotion and place emphasis in the right place (Ka‘ai-Oldman 2005: 68). Tīmoti Kāretu, an authority in the Māori performing arts, raises his concern regarding this matter:

Each generation changes and what one did not accept another does. As conventions and philosophies of haka are ignored for the sake of applause and victory, so the whole art becomes shallow...The language will continue to be the difficult issue for most of the young performers but for haka to be meaningful and to survive the young performer must know what is being said, how to interpret what is being said and how to imbue that interpretation with passion and panache. Not to do so, is to do haka and our ancestors an injustice (Kāretu 1993a: 13).

Language loss has also reduced the number of audience members who will understand the composition:

In the past when you had a very oral people and you didn’t have to use exaggerated body movements to convey a message...language loss tends to bring on things like exaggerated body movements to compensate for the lack of a language speaking audience who would understand the messages...You have a mixed audience of people who don’t even know what is going on, but enjoy watching the spectacle. As opposed to that earlier audience when everybody had an understanding of the reo (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Milroy stresses the importance of the audience understanding what the composition is about. He then discusses the differences in modern composition from those of the past. Milroy suggests that the composers of the past had a deeper understanding of the mechanics of the language. Compared with older compositions, which come from purely Māori thought processes, today’s composers will often have Pākehā ways of thinking creep into their compositions.

Ki te hoki ō tātou whakaaro ki te wā i titoa mai ai ngā mōteatea, ngā haka o mua rawa, o tērā atu rautau, e mau tonu nei ētahi o aua waiata i tēnei wā i ētahi tonu o ngā iwi nā rātou ngā tāngata tito i aua haka, i aua waiata, i aua mōteatea...Nā, ki a au ko te reo, ahakoa nō tērā atu rautau rā anō te reo, nō tēnei wā tonu rānei, ko te mea nui o roto i te reo kia aro i te hunga whakarongo he aha te tikanga o ō whakaaro i tito ai e koe mā roto atu i tō haka, i tō waiata-ā-ringa, i tō mōteatea rānei. Kia mōhio mai te hunga whakarongo he aha te aronga o ō whakaaro, he aha koe i whakatakoto pēnei ai te kōrero, he aha koe i kuhu atu ai tēnei kupu ki tēnei wāhi, nā te aha koe i pērā ai? Koia tēnei ko ētahi o ngā āhuatanga o te reo nei. Ko te matua ki a au o roto i te mahi tito waiata/haka ko te āhei o te taringa whakarongo ki te whaiwhai haere i ō whakaaro. Ki taku mōhio, i roto i ēnei rā kāore rawa i rite te āhua o te whakatakoto kupu ki ngā wā o mua, nā te mea, i tērā wā e noho mātotoru tonu ana te Māori i roto i ō rātou kāinga, e kōrero Māori tonu ana, nā reira e mārama ana ki ngā āki a te kupu, ki ngā whiu a te kupu, ki te wero a te kupu, ki te mirimiri a te kupu, ki te whakahohotu a te kupu, ki te tākirikiri i te tau o tō ate...Kāre i uru mai he whakaaro Pākehā ki roto nā te mea he ao kē tērā, engari i roto i ēnei rā he uaua ki te whakakotahi i te whakaaro nā te mea kei te haere ngātahi ētahi whakaaro Pākehā me ētahi whakaaro Māori. Kei te haere ngātahi te ao hou me te ao tawhito...Ko ngā kupu, he kupu Māori, engari ko ngā whakaaro, he rerekē anō. Nā reira, ki a au, ko te waiata, ko te mōteatea, ko te haka i ētahi wā he iti te kupu, he nui te whakaaro kei roto. I ētahi wā, he nui rawa ngā kupu, engari ka taea e koe te whaiwhai haere he aha kē ia ngā whakaaro o te kaitito (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Milroy refers to the high level of language used in early compositions.

The language of the very earliest recorded compositions is quite graphically different in the usage as many of the words are now no longer used even in a poetic sense. The capacity to make allusions was very strong amongst the earliest composers. Because that is one of the particular aspects of an oral society, the fact you can use imagery in a very effective way...something which excites, if you like, or arouses the thought processes of the listeners and that in a context where you rely on those cues to transport a message into the minds of the people (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Hond argues that prior to colonisation, when Māori were still living in their traditional kinship structures, ‘people automatically had a shared knowledge within the community, had a shared understanding of what that meant in their context’. Therefore, *waiata* and *haka* could contain obscure references to events or people based on the premise that those who had a shared knowledge would understand the meaning. Oral tradition supported the *waiata*.

If you didn’t know that oral history that was shared within that community, you would be at a complete loss as to what the references were...Metaphors had to link in with the shared knowledge that the community had...it didn’t make sense to create a metaphor out of

something that just happened today because it didn't have any relevance at all. So the *waiata*, the *haka* made sure that people continued to use that metaphor and to share and to keep that metaphor strong in their shared oral history or knowledge...A lot of those references came out of the Bible but they were actually shared because people knew a lot about the Bible that was what the context in which they were put into...In contemporary compositions there aren't as many metaphors that are used (Hond 2006: personal communication).

Milroy argues that modern compositions do not employ as many implied messages, they are less likely to have any hidden messages and for the most part, are very transparent in their design. 'That's the way in which these things are related because you don't have the oral traditions to sustain and support the use of allusion' (Milroy 2006: personal communication). Hond also suggests that the decline in language proficiency is directly responsible for the lack of a 'shared knowledge' regarding metaphors and proverbs.

You don't get that with current, contemporary *waiata* in the same way. You don't get the shared knowledge, you've lost the community where people constantly refer to it and in Parihaka it's really quite hard that there's not many people who know the *waiata* anymore because of the level of language and a lot of the *waiata* are quite long and so there's not many people who speak Māori anymore in Taranaki, so the level of debate and discussion that occurs to maintain a sort of cohesion within the communities is just not there anymore and so most of the *tikanga* that has become very ritualised, its just been condensed down into the bare minimum of what you have to do because that's what's always been done and the *waiata* aren't really understood to a certain extent because it's the level of language proficiency (Hond 2006: personal communication).

Finally, Hond recommends that the foundation of a 'shared knowledge' be re-built as a sound basis for future compositions.

The loss of local knowledge, the loss of the shared metaphors, not only means that you have less *waiata* available, less appreciation of the *waiata*, you have less *kōrero* to be able to share as well...and its trying to build that oral knowledge, that shared knowledge, it's not just about so that we can understand these *waiata* better. It's about when we compose *waiata* that it is the knowledge that is actually being portrayed...we need to actually reinstate the shared knowledge again. We have to do things to try and recreate a level of shared knowledge. Because those aren't *whakataukī* and those aren't *kīwaha*¹⁵⁹ unless you've actually got a base for them to have any relevance otherwise they just become a *whakataukī* that's in a book (Hond 2006: personal communication).

The Māori Renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s produced many outcomes that have been beneficial to *te reo Māori*, and subsequently to *waiata*. One positive outcome of

¹⁵⁹ Colloquialism, idiom

this time period was the establishment of Kaupapa Māori education. Another positive outcome was the emergence of performing arts festivals that became particularly popular at this time following a huge rural to urban migration of Māori people. These festivals and the many *kapa haka* that were established at this time, provided a link for Māori families living in the city to their culture, and subsequently provided contact, regardless of how little, to the language. (Ka'ai-Oldman 2005: 64).

The combined positive result of the language and cultural renaissance of this time period has been an increase in the quantity of Māori language speakers, and therefore an increase in the number of potential performers and composers. However, these numbers fail to live up to the legacy left behind. As O'Regan states with regard to Ngāi Tahu, 'Part of why I do compositions myself is because we don't have people with the language ability within the tribe to do it' (O'Regan 2006: personal communication). The loss of language proficiency means that some *waiata* which are composed today are formulaic as the skill in higher level language is not as common. Ruakere Hond believes that compositions today will often employ 'cliché terms rather than any well thought out statements' (Hond 2006: personal communication). Wiremu Kaa notes that there has been a major shift in *waiata*: 'Kei te titongia, he kupu noa iho, kāre he hononga, kāre he kaupapa o te waiata' (Kaa 2009: personal communication). When discussing the differences between historical compositions and those of more recent times, Keri Kaa states:

Kāre he rerekētanga he hōhonu tonu te kaupapa, engari ko te rere o ngā kōrero he rerekē, mēnā kei te titiro koe ki ngā waiata rā, ngā tohunga tito waiata, pērā i a Tuīni mā ka āta titiro koe ki ngā kupu o ngā waiata o ēnei rā, kāre i te ōrite (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Keri Kaa is in agreement with the view that the primary difference between the compositions of today and those of the past is the language. Keri Kaa has also suggested that, 'A lot of the *waiata* that are now being composed go back to the same themes' (Kaa 2009: personal communication). That is, there is not as much variation in the composition of today and many of the compositions are identical in theme.

Te Kāhautu Maxwell is optimistic about the future of composition. Maxwell believes that *kaupapa Māori* education and other intensive language programmes focussed on

excellence in *te reo Māori*, such as Te Panekiretanga o te Reo, have not only strengthened the state of the Māori language, they have also had a positive effect on composition and Māori will see the fruits of this in the future.

Kua kite au he tipuranga hou kua puāwai mai ai. Ko rātou ngā tamariki e puta mai nei i ngā Kura Kaupapa, ko rātou ngā kaitito o āpōpō, o nāia tonu nei mō roto i ētahi kapa haka, nō reira, kei te kite au kua huri te tai, kua pari haere mai tērā whakatipuranga ki uta...kua huri, kua huri te tai, ana, ko tēnei whakatipuranga kei runga i te tai pari, ka whati mai nei ki te ākau, ana ko rātou ngā kaitito hou i te mea, kua kaingia rātou i tēnei mea te taro mārō i roto i ngā Kura Kaupapa, i roto i ngā Kōhanga Reo...Nō reira, he taonga ā rātou kei roto i a rātou tēnei mea, kaingākau nui rātou ki tō tātou reo rangatira, ahakoa, te reo rangatira, engari kaingākau nui rātou ki tēnei mea te kapa haka, ana, kua kite rātou i ngā tauira, kua tae rātou ki ngā kura reo a Tīmoti i roto i ngā Wharekura, ana kua whakatauirahia mai e Tīmoti, e wēnei, e Te Wharehuia mā, tērā, me kī, Te Panekiretanga o te Reo, kua kite rātou i tērā whakatauiratanga mai, ana, koirā te whetū mārama e whāia nei e rātou (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

When discussing the differences between the composers of the past and those of the present, Temara makes the distinction that today's composers are more likely to produce compositions which do not have hidden meanings or differing explanations. Instead, they are likely to 'spell it out'. The composers of past generations were more subtle in their composition of *waiata* and *haka* and there was a lot of implied meaning. Temara suggests that older compositions leave something for the audience to ponder and are more open to interpretation.

Ngā kaitito o mua, ko te rerekētanga o rātou me te rerekētanga ki ngā mea o nāianei, ki ngā kaitito o nāianei, kua kore e taea e ngā kaitito o nāianei te kore e kōrero i ngā mea katoa. Ko ngā kaitito o mua, ka waiho e rātou ētahi kōrero kia tārewa, kāore i kōrero katoatia mai, me pēnei, me pēnei, me pēnei, engari ka hōmaitia e rātou he wāhanga o te whakaaro, ā, kia riro māu, mā te kaiwhakarongo e whakamāori te tikanga o ā rātou kōrero, ā, māu hoki e kī e rere, e ahu pēhea ana te kōrero a taua kaitito rā. Engari ināianei, kua kore e taea e te kaiwhakarongo, te noho ki reira whakaaro ai he pēnei te tikanga o te waiata nei, nā te mea, kua hōmaitia tonutia e te kaitito te tikanga o tana kōrero, kāore e waiho tētahi wāhanga mā te kaiwhakarongo, ā, ka kōrero katoahia mai, ahakoa pēhea te iti o te kōrero, ka kōrerohia mai, engari i mua, kāo ka waiho tētahi wāhanga, he wāhanga nui tonu mā te kaiwhakarongo, māna e whakaaro, 'koinei pea te tikanga o te waiata nei' (Temara 2006: personal communication).

Temara compares older compositions with *whakataukī* and *kupu whakaari*¹⁶⁰ where there is usually no set definition or explanation of what is being said, but rather, there are interpretations. Perhaps the change in composition styles can be attributed to the fact that there are fewer members of the audience who have the language skills necessary to read into hidden meanings. Temara does not condemn this development, he merely identifies the difference.

Experts in this field have continually placed emphasis on the language and the important role and function that it plays in maintaining the *mana* of the Māori performing arts (Ka'ai-Mahuta 2008: 165). During the research process for her Master of Arts thesis, the researcher interviewed four exponents of the performing arts: Tīmoti Kāretu, Te Wharehuia Milroy, Pae Ruha, and Te Ripowai Higgins. They were all asked what, in their view, is the most important component of the Māori performing arts. They were unanimous in their answer – the language and more specifically, the quality of the language: '*ko te kupu te mea nui...ko te kupu te matua...ko te kupu i te tuatahi...ko te mea nui kē hoki i roto i ngā mahi katoa ko te kupu*' (Ka'ai-Oldman 2005: 87-8). Furthermore, they all agreed that the language was the aspect of performing arts that required the most attention. Again, this can be attributed to language loss in that Māori are victims of circumstance and have sadly lost many fluent speakers of the language.

However, despite the loss, there is still an understanding that *waiata* as a tradition, like the Māori language itself, is resilient.

They must be doing something, they must be successful otherwise *waiata* wouldn't have been one of the few culturally persistent things that we have within Māori culture at a time that our language often wasn't persistent and culturally strong in any other area, *waiata* was something that was held on to (O'Regan 2006: personal communication).

Waiata are statements of identity and culture. They are a medium for telling a story and provide validation and recognition of life experiences. This is important because language in its simplest form is a carrier of information, but it is also a means of expression, creativity, imagination and reason.

¹⁶⁰ Prophetic sayings of charismatic leaders

Summary and conclusions

The Māori language suffered a devastating blow at the hands of the New Zealand State education system. The key events and legislation discussed in this chapter were instrumental in the implementation of the state policy of assimilation. The policy of assimilation was an intentional strike at the heart of Māori culture and society as it targeted *te reo Māori*. Therefore, the decline of the Māori language can be mapped based on these events. The atrocities in which the language has suffered at the hands of the Crown are in direct violation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in which the second article states that the Queen guarantees Māori the tino rangatiratanga over their land, homes and all of their taonga. For Māori, *te reo Māori* is perhaps the most treasured *taonga* of all.

Te reo Māori is the soul of the Māori people and many *kaumātua*, such as Te Wharehuia Milroy, have explained that Māori, as a people, would cease to exist without the language. The language is connected to all other cultural concepts within the Māori world as illustrated through the woven form of the Tīenga model. The weakness of the holistic way in which the different aspects of Māori culture are interwoven, is that when one aspect is debilitated it affects all of the other features of the culture as well. This is more prominent in the case of *te reo*, as it is the most significant feature of the culture.

The decline of *te reo Māori* in Māori communities had far-reaching consequences, one of which was how it affected the oral tradition. Further to this, the loss of *te reo* from a large number of the Māori population impacted directly on the health of *waiata* and *haka*. It follows that as the number of Māori people fluent in *te reo Māori* has declined, so too have the number of potential composers of *waiata* and *haka*. The effects of this are evident today. According to Te Wharehuia Milroy, there are few composers today that can live up to the legacy left behind by the prolific Māori composers of the past (Milroy 2004: personal communication). Language loss has also meant a lack of understanding of the meaning of *waiata* and *haka*. This affects those sitting in the audience who do not understand the *kaupapa* of the composition. It also has an affect on potential performers of *waiata* and *haka*. If a performer does not understand the meaning of what they are performing, it is impossible to convey the right emotion and place emphasis in the right place (Ka'ai-Oldman 2005: 68).

Fortunately, Māori have been innovative in their pursuit of language revitalisation strategies. As these language strategies make a positive impact on communities, *waiata* and *haka* have become a strong feature as well thus demonstrating a correlation between language and the performing arts. Initiatives such as Kaupapa Māori education have been a catalyst for the increase of Māori language speakers, performers and composers who are poised to honour the legacy left behind by *tīpuna Māori*.

Chapter Six

Waiata as political commentaries

...politics became part of my poetry and my life. In my poems I could not shut the door to the street, just as I could not shut the door to love, life, joy, or sadness in my young poet's heart (Neruda 1977:53).

This chapter will focus on the ability of *waiata* to act as political and social commentaries, thus preserving and archiving the political past of *iwi*. First, there will be a discussion regarding the definition of 'politics' in a Māori world-view, in order to establish the boundaries of what constitutes political content in *waiata*. This definition will then be examined in terms of the changes that have taken place since first contact with Pākehā. Finally, the role of *waiata* as political commentaries will be examined complete with examples.

What is 'politics' in a Māori world-view?

It is necessary to examine what is meant by the term 'politics' in relation to the research topic, as this will inform the scope of research. As Leftwich explains,

It is important to recognise that any definition, conception or understanding of politics is likely to carry with it quite far-reaching implications for methodology. That is to say, the way one defines politics will significantly influence what one looks for and how one analyses politics, that is, the methodology of enquiry (Leftwich 2004: 5).

Therefore, the term 'politics', as defined in a Māori world-view, will impact on what *waiata* are considered as political commentary within the context of this thesis. First, the general definition of 'politics' must be examined.

There are several definitions of the term 'politics', with not one being universally accepted as comprehensive. This is due to the fact that politics is a universal process which takes many different forms and is essentially inherent in human interactions. The Greek philosopher Aristotle in his work of political philosophy the *Politics* describes man as a naturally political animal due to the fact that he has the ability to communicate and dialogue about moral concepts such as justice.

Man is by nature a political animal...Nature, as we often say, makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech. And whereas mere sound is but an indication of pleasure or pain, and is therefore found in other animals (for their nature attains to the perception of pleasure and pain and the intimation of them to one another, and no further), the power of speech is intended to set forth the expedient and inexpedient, and likewise the just and the unjust. And it is a characteristic of man that he alone has any sense of good and evil, of just and unjust (Aristotle 2000: 28-29).

Aristotle believed that politics and political rule are natural and occur because humans are inclined to live in communities and form kinship structures. Inevitably, this leads to a system of power. Most definitions of politics focus on the distribution and control of power, the social manipulation involved in the acquisition of power, and the process of maintaining the influential positions of power.

The notion that politics is primarily about the control, distribution, acquisition and maintenance of power translates to traditional Māori society. Traditionally, politics was 'to do with *mana* and who owned what, who was in charge of what' (Keri Kaa 2009: personal communication). According to O'Regan, 'It really is those things that are around a higher level interaction, around control, around governance, around *mana whenua*, around rights...when I think of Māori politics it would have been disputes and interactions between nations, between tribes, that's politics' (O'Regan 2006: personal communication).

The informants for this thesis all agree that traditional Māori society was very political. Politics touched every aspect of society – leadership, the kinship structure, tribal land boundaries, resources, warfare, *hui*, and *tangihanga* to name a few. Even the topic of lovers was political, as often there would be a strategic approach to romantic partnerships. In fact, strategic inter-tribal marriage was often one of the tools of traditional Māori politics. It reinforced alliances.

Milroy stresses that even though politics is a significant aspect of Māori culture, it does not come before *tikanga*. Milroy provides the example of welcoming and elevating the *manuhiri* when they arrive at your *pā* despite any political troubles you might have with them.

For me on the *marae* is a *rangatira* way of doing these things and still being able to present your case and you don't have to go to extremes to disagree with a person. If you disagree, you disagree and you leave it at that...the *mana* of your *hapū*, of your *iwi* was at stake, you know and you can't talk about the way in which you treat your *manuhiri* and have double standards...but you know once your *whakatau*¹⁶¹ and *mihi*¹⁶² are over, then you get into the matter of discussing things (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Milroy adds that you can express your political point of view through *waiata* and *haka* whilst still ensuring that you *manaaki* your *manuhiri* (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

The evolution of 'politics' in a Māori world-view

Prior to contact with Europeans, Māori had established a long standing kinship structure, which also acted as the primary basis for political power. This kinship structure ensured that one's loyalty was primarily to the *rangatira* of his *hapū* and following this, to that of the *iwi*. Therefore, the most obvious form of politics was inter-tribal. According to Milroy, 'I ngā rā o mua, ko te riri i mua atu i taenga mai o te Pākehā ki tērā iwi e noho mai rā i kō, ki tērā iwi e noho mai rā i kō' (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

According to Maxwell, one example of inter-tribal politics that continues to this day is the debate regarding the author of the saying 'kia whakatāne au ia ahau', as it has been attributed to two different *tīpuna* from two different areas. Maxwell believes that it was Muriwai,

Koinā te whakapono o mātou, o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, o Te Whakatōhea, ā, anei, nāna te kōrero, 'kia whakatāne au i ahau,' i te mutunga he tōrangapū tērā i waenganui i a mātou me Ngāti Awa, me Tūhoe, me Ngāi Te Rangi, i te mea, ko rātou e mea ana nā Wairaka, nā mātou, e kīia ana nā Muriwai, he tōrangapū tonu tērā...pērā anō mō 'ko wai te waka tuatahi i tae mai ki konei? Ko Te Arawa, ko Tainui rānei?...Kei te mau tonu wēnā kōrero, i te mea, i heke mai, i heke mai i ngā tīpuna, mai i te hekenga mai o ngā waka wērā kōrero (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

¹⁶¹ To officially welcome *manuhiri*

¹⁶² To greet, pay tribute, acknowledge, thank

The majority of politics in traditional Māori society was conducted inter-tribally. However, there were political issues within *hapū* and *iwi* as well. The notion of politics for Māori, has changed dramatically since the nineteenth century.

There is a consensus amongst the informants of this thesis, that following first-contact with Pākehā, the Māori notion of politics changed. This is a direct consequence of the Māori political system coming in contact with outsiders, which subsequently changed that system irrevocably.

Traditionally opposing political groupings were other *hapū* or other *iwi*. But I think nowadays in the modern world with Pākehā, I think it has changed, so I would say that very rarely happens, that a Māori group would do that nowadays to another Māori group. But the new foe, if you like, for Māori is the Pākehā – well not so much the Pākehā, but yeah Pākehā in a generic sense or the Government (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Te Rito is correct in that, to a certain extent, the different *iwi* banded together against a common threat, the colonial Government. Pan-tribal institutions such as the Kīngitanga movement have endeavoured to provide a voice for the Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The need to come together can be attributed to the injustices that have occurred since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Of particular relevance is the fact that, ‘Of the 66 million acres of land in New Zealand, 3 million acres remain in Māori hands today’ (Smith 2000: 220). These changes in the Aotearoa/New Zealand’s political and cultural landscape since colonisation have impacted on every facet of traditional Māori notions of ‘politics’. Keri Kaa suggests that since colonisation, ‘being Māori is a political statement’ (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Role of *waiata* as political commentary

The political nature of traditional Māori society ensured that politics was a focus of oral tradition, and accordingly of *waiata* and *haka*. Daaku argues that ‘oral traditions are strong in reconstructing political and social histories’ (Daaku 1973: 52-53). Furthermore, Māori oral tradition is the medium through which political theories and philosophies were created and employed. This is mirrored in other Polynesian societies, as explained by Basham: ‘Mele have also been vital to our political theories, ideas, and

practices' (Basham 2008: 152). The political history of other traditionally oral societies is also commonly recorded in their oral tradition. Daaku argues that,

Despite shortcomings, the Akan oral traditions, like similar traditions of other African people, are the best evidence the historian of Africa can employ to understand the Africans and their history. They enable us to understand their ideas and relations with other people. How for instance did the Akan view his relations with the European traders? For an answer one may look into Akan proverbs about foreigners (Daaku 1973: 53).

Compositions have allowed composers to report on issues in a unique way. Milroy suggests that above all else, successful composers must be good communicators.

Composers in the past were often people who were observers of issues, who were observers of matters concerning the *iwi*...then transmitted the information by way of performance to others of the groupings...They were the editors and they were the reporters and some of these *waiata* maintained a long life because the reporting was very effective, the words used were very effective and they struck home to the listeners, not the readers, but the listeners, perhaps readers is right, readers of the message in it and the interpreters of the message. So those composers became very important people, they're observers, they were like a bird sitting on a cliff watching the tide come in and go out and whatever the tide brings in and whatever the tide takes out. They were like the sentry in a *pā* keeping an eye on the surrounding country side to see what was happening out there. They were like the *whakairo* in a meeting house listening in silence to all these people talking and gaining the information from there and then putting them into a composition...They were inventive, they were creative. Inventive in a way in which they worded something to get the most, the greatest effect in the use of words and they know their audience, they know how to word a composition in a way in which it derived the greatest effect from the audience because they would have a familiarity with that audience whether it was their own *hapū* or *iwi* or *whānau*. The fact that you had this inside understanding of the psyche and mood of the people you would capitalise on those, that knowledge, to give greatest effect to the words of your composition. So they were listeners, they were interpreters, they were word-smiths (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Milroy has explained that compositions provide more information than merely reporting the facts; they provide opinions and commentary. Therefore, *waiata* and *haka* are a type of editorial that have the capability to be published instantaneously. Hence, *waiata* and *haka* have the ability to comment on political events as they unfold. Compositions can provide a running commentary on society. It is a type of social comment that is exciting, has relevance to the current issues and therefore, is usually very current.

It is an editorial to use a modern sort of equivalent...proffering an opinion through a *haka* or it may be a letter to the editor commenting on someone. May be an article composed by someone through song in which they look at a number of issues and some *haka* are like that. So the language plays an important part in influencing the way in which people respond and react (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

O'Regan suggests that the *waiata* pertaining to the issues of the day, those that comment on the rights, standing, *mana whenua*, *rangatiratanga*¹⁶³ and control of the people, are the *waiata* and *haka* that should be classified as political (O'Regan 2006: personal communication). Hone Sadler describes the different aspects of politics contained within composition.

Nā, i roto i aua wā rā, koia tērā ko te momo āhuatanga e tukuna atu ana i tana riri. He haka anō, he mōteatea anō hei kawē i tērā āhuatanga o te tōrangapū nei, ka whawhai tēnei hapū ki tēnei hapū nei, ka whawhai tēnei whānau ki tēnei whānau nei, ka rapu ai he hoamai i tērā hapū, kō atu i ngā mea e whawhai i a ia, ka riro mā ēnei momo mōteatea hei mau i ngā whakaaro, hei hopu i te hiahia, hei whakaata atu ki ngā āhuatanga e hiahia ana...Ko ngā kaupapa katoa i mau ai ngā haka nei, ngā mōteatea, hei kawē atu i ngā āhuatanga o te wā. Mai i ngā kaupapa tōrangapū, ngā kaupapa whakangari, ngā kaupapa taunu tangata, ngā kaupapa, me kī, whaiāipo, ērā momo āhuatanga kei roto i ngā momo waiata, i ngā momo haka...nā, ka taka mai ki roto i ngā wā i tae mai ai a Pākehā ki konei, koia ērā ngā momo nūpepa i tukuna atu tana riri ki ngā Kāwanatanga, i tukuna atu ai tana riri ki ngā hōia i haere mai ki te whawhai ki a rātou, i tukuna atu ai i ngā riri ki ngā rironga whenua ka titongia ai ēnā momo āhuatanga kia maumahara tonu rātou, kia maumahara tonu ai ngā whakatupuranga ki ngā kino me ngā painga o te wā. Kaua e mea mai, e pōhēhē ngā wā o ō tātou tūpuna i pērā ai ki a rātou anō, i te mea, i mua mai i te taenga mai o te Pākehā e mahi pēnā ana rātou ki a rātou anō, i roto i ngā whawhaina, i roto i ngā pakanga, i roto anō i te tuku i te tatau pounamu kia tau ai te rangimārie...i tuku ai ko ngā kare ā-roto i whakawaha atu ai kia kite i te iwi, kia mōhio mai te iwi ki ngā haerenga o te kāinga, kia mōhio ai te iwi ki ngā whaiāipotanga, me ngā kōingotanga o ngā iwi e noho ana ki aua kāinga e noho nei rātou...koia rā ko ngā momo nūpepa, hītori me ngā pouaka whakaata a ō tātou mātua i aua wā (Sadler 2006: personal communication).

Kāretu discusses the political themes of *waiata* and *haka* in traditional Māori society prior to the arrival of Pākehā

Ko te take nui pea i te wā i a rātou, ko te kimi utu mō ngā raru, ana, kei te pērā tonu tātou, engari ko ngā mate he rerekē, ā, ko te muru whenua, ko te kore e whakamanahia o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, ērā āhuatanga nē, koirā kē ngā

¹⁶³ Sovereignty, chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination, self-management, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the *rangatira*, noble birth.

āhuatanga nui o tēnei wā. Engari i te wā i a rātou, ko te whakaea i te maringi o te toto, koirā tā rātou tino whāinga nui, kia tau pai ai ngā wairua o ngā kaumātua i mate. He rerekē hoki ngā hoariri o ēnei wā (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Milroy also discusses the different political issues that would arise in traditional Māori society. In addition, he explains how *waiata* and *haka* would not be used if they were not considered appropriate or were not pertinent to the issues of the day.

Ko ngā take o roto kei te hāngai tonu ki te wā o te hunga e tito ana i aua waiata rā. Ki te hoki koe ki ngā wā o mua, ka tito ētahi o ā rātou waiata he momo tāwai i ētahi iwi kē, i ētahi tāngata kē. Hei ētahi he momo whakanui, hei ētahi he manawa wera, hei ētahi he momo whakautu ki ngā wero mai a ētahi ki taua hapū, ki taua whānau, ki taua iwi rānei. Nā reira, ka kite tonu koe i ngā āhuatanga o te tōrangapū i roto i ērā mea, ahakoa ko ngā kaupapa tōrangapū nei kei waenganui noa iho i ngā whānau, i ngā hapū, kei waenganui rānei i ngā iwi, ka mōhio tonu koe ki te kore e tika te whakatakoto o te kōrero, ki te kore e rata ngā taringa whakarongo mai, ka titoa mai anō pea tētahi atu anō haka, tētahi atu anō waiata hei whakautu i aua kupu rā, ki te kore e pērā tērā rānei ka pakaru te riri, ka whawhai, he tangata ka mate, pakaru te toto, kua puta ngā waiata aroha, ngā waiata tangi, me ngā kōrero katoa kei roto – kite tonu iho ana koe i aua kōrero rā, he kōrero e mea ana he aha koe i haere ai, i haere koe, ka patua koe, ka mate koe, e taku manu turae, e taku whakawhiti o te rā, ērā momo kōrero katoa. Nā ka huna ki roto i ngā waiata rā hei whakaahua i te aroha me te mamae, me te pōuri o tētahi ki tētahi – o te riri rānei, o tētahi ki tētahi...kei roto i aua titonga rā he hītori, kei roto noa i aua kupu rā e takoto ana ētahi kōrero hei whāki mai ki a koe ki te hunga e whakarongo ana, hei kōrero ki ētahi atu i te kaupapa, kia kaua e wareware mehemea he utu rawa tō taua mea rā, kia kaua e wareware ki te hunga ko rātou i whara, kia haere ki te whakaea i taua mate rā, i taua riri, i taua whara, he aha rānei. Nā reira, e nui rawa atu ngā momo titonga i noho ai hei tohu mai ki a koe he aha te raruraru i pā mai ki te iwi i tēnei wā, nā wai i tito, ko wai te hunga i tito ai, me te kaupapa (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Furthermore, Milroy comments on the political content in traditional *waiata* and *haka* from the time when Māori were still living in their traditional kinship groups. Milroy makes the point that traditionally Māori were well versed in their genealogies and this informed their composition style and content. Furthermore, Milroy explains the notion of politics in traditional Māori society.

Tino mōhio ngā Māori o mua ki ō rātou whakapapa. Nā reira, ka mōhio rātou, ki ngā huarahi hei whakaoho, hei whakaarai i te riri e mōhio ana anō rātou ki ngā huarahi hei aukati i te riri, e mōhio ana rātou ki ngā kōrero o ō rātou whenua nā te mea, kua kōrerotia ngā tūtohu whenua mai i mea, ki mea, ki mea, ki mea kua kōrerotia ki ngā tamariki. Nā, he kaupapa tōrangapū katoa hoki ērā, nā te mea ko te rohe tērā o tērā hapū ko te rohe tērā o tērā iwi.

Nā, kei roto i taua rohe rā e noho ana ngā rākau mahi kai, ngā awa mahi kai, ngā māra mahi kai, te oranga o te iwi. He mea nui ki ngā tāngata, ki te kore hoki e taea ai e koe te whāngai i tō iwi kua haere koe ki te kimi oranga mōu i wāhi kē. Nā koinei, koinei ngā kaupapa e mōhio ai koe ki ō whakapapa, kia mōhio ai koe ko wai ngā mea hei haerenga atu māu. Ahakoa, i ētahi wā ko te riri kei waenganui i a koutou anō te whānau, engari nā te mea, he whakapapa e taea ana ērā te whakatau i waenganui i a rātou anō, tēnā ko ngā riri i waenganui i ngā iwi o waho kē, ā, he rerekē anō tērā, he take nui tērā. Ka mutu, he aha te kaupapa, he mana (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Compositions will be more likely to be remembered if they relate to the emotive issues of the day, which often have a political slant to them.

I would imagine out of the millions of *waiata* that have been composed over time...the ones that persist are the ones that are more accurate in terms of depicting what the issues of the day are (O'Regan 2006: personal communication).

This is a sound argument, as the survival of *waiata* relies upon regular usage. Regular usage would seem more probable if the *waiata* touched on an issue that was important to those who would be performing it. Chamberlin expands on this thought.

Words of power and words of survival have one thing in common. We remember them. That's part of their power. It's also how they contribute to our individual and collective survival, for we need a set of remembered words and occasions in order to maintain the coherence and continuity of our societies and to satisfy our spiritual and material needs. These are the words and the phrases that last (Chamberlin 2000: 125).

Words of power and words of survival are often political in nature. Hond discusses the notion of *waiata* as statements of survival with regard to his own people of Taranaki.

The *tīpuna* asked themselves:

'How do we survive beyond this generation so that we don't actually all get wiped out and there's no one left, how do we as an *iwi*, as a people survive unless there is a constant statement that comes through?'...most of the statements were that the government was coming in to simply wipe out Taranaki completely and that we had to look at, not at simply fighting the government, but about surviving, about still being around in the future (Hond 2006: personal communication).

Maxwell posits that politics has always had a significant role in *waiata* and *haka* and uses the example of a composition written to mourn a loved one who died at the hands of another *iwi*.

I te orokohanga mai o te ao tēnei, o te ao Māori tēnei mea te tōrangapū i roto i ngā waiata, i roto i ngā haka, i te mea, he mea hei whakaahua i tēnei mea i te mamae o te iwi, me pēhea tāu whakaahua i te ngau kino o te ngākau, te kikini o te ngākau mō tētahi, mō tō hoa rangatira i mate i tērā, i tētahi atu iwi, mā te tito waiata, mā te tito kaioaraora wērā mea (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

According to Harawira, all *waiata* have a political element in them, regardless of genre.

I think all compositions, even *waiata oriori*, have political content within them...it's actually the spirit of the word that conveys that, rather than the written word. And I suppose that's a point of difference for me in terms of the oral and the written, is that the written word doesn't convey, I believe, the essence of what those people were trying to express, as it would when you sing it, *ko te taha wairua tēnā* (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

When discussing the nature of traditional political composition, Te Rito makes the following observation: 'I believe that the traditional compositions before the arrival of the Pākehā, they were political inter-tribally, or inter-*hapū*, or inter-groups' (Te Rito 2006: personal communication). Today on the world stage, the interaction between nation-states is fundamentally political. This compares with the traditional Māori kinship structure, where there was intrinsic politics at *hapū* and *iwi* level.

There was a clear shift in the focus of *waiata* following the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the nineteenth century, *waiata* were composed featuring Māori encounters with Pākehā, both political and social. 'The poets' concerns began to change in the early nineteenth century as the people acquired a new technology, new resources, a new religion, then in 1840 a superimposed political structure and a foreign queen' (Orbell 1991b: 3). As these changes occurred, so did the content in *waiata*.

The poets began to speak of their new interests and concerns, and soon of the struggle to maintain their mana and their heritage as the country became overrun with Pākehā settlers, and in many regions the colonial Government overcame Māori resistance and seized tribal lands. There were songs of protest about Pākehā greed, and songs by, or about, a series of prophetic leaders, notably Tāwhiao, Te Kooti and Te Whiti (Orbell 1991b: 3-4).

There are comparable experiences in other parts of the Pacific. Basham identifies the link between times of political upheaval and increased number of compositions, explaining that at the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 under

Queen Lili‘uokalani, there was a prevalence of *mele lāhui* being composed and published. *Mele lāhui* refers to ‘mele written in honour of the lāhui, the Hawaiian people and nation’ (Basham 2008: 152). Basham goes on to state that:

Between the overthrow in 1893 and annexation to the US in 1898, over 300 mele lāhui were published in Hawaiian language newspapers and books. These mele were composed to show resistance to foreign and American colonialism and as assertions of Hawaiian rights to sovereignty and independence. These mele lāhui also contain information which relate historical details of the events. They honour the heroes of these events and the places where they occurred. They also criticise and disparage the enemies of the people. The mele are reflective of cultural, religious, and political values and practices (Basham 2008: 152-153).

The publishing of political critiques in Hawaiian language newspapers is akin to much of the content published in Māori language newspapers. In addition, the concept of *mele lāhui* as forms of resistance and assertions of Indigenous rights is comparable to many *waiata* and *haka* that were composed regarding the Crown. Basham posits, ‘The mele lāhui act as a lens through which we can see the importance of pono in the world views of the Kānaka Maoli over 200 years following initial contact with the West and following the loss of Hawai‘i’s sovereignty and independence’ (Basham 2008: 163).

This notion is supported by O’Regan, who suggests that the political content within *waiata* could be analysed to form a ‘chronological map’. O’Regan goes on to state that ‘In time, we can look back and we can see at the time that these were the *haka* that were sung, these were the issues of the day’ (O’Regan 2006: personal communication). O’Regan compares the *waiata* to newspapers, publishing the stories that are relevant to the people.

Newspapers...what has currency in the day, and what are the issues that have currency. If the issues that have currency in the day are political, if they’re emotional, if they’re about *whakapapa*, or whatever they are – you know they might be economic, they might be social in their nature – then the *waiata* have an ability almost like – if you trace them back – to be a chronological map that you can literally place on a map what were the issues over time by what people chose to put in *waiata* at different times. So you can maybe make some assumptions...If they became *waiata* that were entrenched in the cultural history of the people or the cultural practices of the people then I think you could probably do an analysis (O’Regan 2006: personal communication).

There is consensus amongst the informants for this thesis, that the content of *waiata* and *haka* reflects the times in which they were composed. Harawira discusses this notion in relation to three famous Ngāti Porou *haka*: ‘Rūaumoko’, ‘Kuratīwaka’, ‘Poropeihana’, or prohibition. There are reasons why those *haka* were actually composed, and those were the political situations of that particular time, the prohibition and what have you’ (Harawira 2006: personal communication). Another example comes from the time of the First and Second World Wars. There were many *waiata* and *haka* composed during wartime, most of which commented on the Māori involvement in the wars.

Te nuinga o ngā mea o ēnei rā, ngā mōteatea kua titongia i ēnei wā hei tāunu i a Tauiwi, hei tāunu i te Kāwanatanga...kua huri kē anō i āiane nā, ēnei mōteatea ki te tiroiro ki a tātou i ēnei rā, me pēhea rā tātou e puta ki te ora, he aha ngā huarahi ka puta ai tātou ki te ora, e whakanui anō i a tātou. Kāhore e noho tonu ana i roto i te pōuritanga, kāhore e noho tonu ana ki roto i te taimahatanga, engari e titiro whakamua ana. Nā, nei ka titiro ki ngā tau o te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, ko te nuinga o ngā waiata, ngā mōteatea i titoa mō taua wā rā, e hāngai ana ki te pakanga (Sadler 2006: personal communication).

Harawira discusses the notion of *waiata* reflecting the concerns of the day in regards to what is currently relevant:

A difference in composition is the *kaupapa* that we are composing about. Composition in the past is about war, it’s about love, about all of that sort of thing. And I’m not saying that’s not what we are composing today, but we’re looking now at the abuse, the drugs, the alcohol, the language, are all contemporary *kaupapa* today. The political content is determined by the time, I suppose, and the place. And the things that were happening at that time, I think, are quite different to what is happening today...we don’t fight like we did in the compositions of the past – hand to hand I mean, our fighting is now in board rooms...it’s still political, it’s just a different way of doing it...we are composing about now – it’s of the now, which is exactly what it was in their time, it was of their time (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

Kāretu supports this point by identifying what he believes are the main themes that run through compositions in modern times, and how these themes reflect the concerns of the time.

Kua kore tātou e tito oriori pērā i ngā wā o mua. Engari kei te kite au i roto i ngā haka o ēnei wā, ngā take nui o te ao Māori nē, te whānako whenua, te muru whenua, te patu wāhine, te kai i ngā tarukino, ērā kaupapa nui katoa o

tēnei wā, o tēnei ao, kei te uru ki roto i ngā haka. Tērā pea ā te wā e whiwhi mokopuna ai kōrua ko Dean, he raru anō, he raru kē atu anō, engari me mārama rātou ki ngā raru o tēnei wā (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

This is perhaps what O'Regan was referring to when talking about a 'chronological map' of *waiata*. Another clear shift in the political nature of *waiata* is that *waiata* composed in the recent past are often written with a focus on national issues that affect all of the *iwi*, and therefore, Māori in general. Milroy identifies that pan-tribal issues are currently taking precedence 'Compositions used to be narrowed down to a tribal or *hapū* area now compositions are often at a national level and have national significance' (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

When discussing the composition of new *waiata* and *haka*, Milroy makes the point that many are focused on pan-tribal issues that affect all Māori rather than those issues that affect their own *hapū* or *iwi*. Also, Milroy touches on the fact that news spreads quickly in today's world through advanced communication tools such as the internet and television, something which was not a part of traditional Māori society and did not impact on the composition of *waiata* and *haka*. Furthermore, Milroy argues that the compositions which revolve around pan-tribal issues do not have a strong base to ensure their survival, as in the past the *waiata* and *haka* pertaining to a *hapū* or *iwi* would usually be remembered by the people who are direct descendants of the characters in the composition.

Ki tōku whakaaro, kei te ngaro haere te āhei o te hunga ki te kawē haere i ngā waiata tawhito, engari kei te hanga rātou i ngā waiata hou, ko te mate anake o ngā waiata hou, kāre i te kawē whānuitia e te iwi, e te hapū rānei, ko te kapa haka noa iho, me te mōhio atu ko ētahi o ngā mea a te kapa haka rā, kāre kē i whai wāhi atu ki taua hapū, i taua iwi, nā reira, ko ngā take e whai wāhi atu ai rātou ko ngā take e pā ana ki te iwi Māori whānui, he rerekē tērā ki ēnei...e whāiti mai ana ki tēnā iwi me tēnā iwi, i tēnā hapū me tēnā hapū. Ināianei kei te horapa kē ki te motu whānui, ki te iwi Māori whānui, ki ngā rangatahi, ki ngā koroua me ngā kuia...kua kore e rite ngā waiata o ēnei rā, he titiro whānui kē ngā waiata o ēnei rā ki ngā take whānui. Nā te mea, kua taea e koe te tō mai i te ao ki roto i tō whare mā roto mai o te rorohiko, engari i te wā i mua ka wānangatia e ngā koroua, e ngā kuia, ka mutu ka tirohia mā roto noa iho i te hinengaro e whātorotoro ai i ngā whakaaro ki waho ki te kukume mai i te ao ki roto i te hinengaro, ināianei kei te kite tonu koe i roto i tō pouaka whakaata i tērā taha o te ao kei roto i tō whare e nō hōu mai ana (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Te Rito agrees that national issues which affect Māori have become the norm,

A lot of them are very much about the Treaty and the fact that it hasn't been honoured. It's all about the Treaty of Waitangi, it's about land loss, it's about language loss, and so I would say that that is the political content of contemporary compositions; it's more on contemporary issues of a national nature to Māoridom rather than the small inter-tribal or inter-hapū feuds, so it is all about saving our language and loss of land (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

The loss of land and health of the Māori language are arguably the two most significant issues affecting Māori today, and have been for some time. Therefore, it is of no surprise that there have been numerous *waiata* and *haka* composed for both issues. *Waiata* and *haka* have been used frequently as a medium through which to voice concern regarding the loss of Māori land and the decline of the Māori language.

Donna Grant discusses how compositions today will often reflect a global view as Māori look out to the world. Grant, 'The global world that we live in allows us to make comment and be more informed about what is happening globally...in the past we only had a little patch, we could only comment from that context'(Grant 2006: personal communication).

Role of political waiata in protest

Do you hear the people sing?
Singing the song of angry men?
It is the music of a people
Who will not be slaves again!
(Les Misérables)

Poetry, song and music are emotive. They will often stir emotions in a way that speech and text cannot. This gives them a certain power and makes them the perfect companion to protests, demonstrations, rallies and marches. Māori have long recognised the ability of *waiata* and *haka* to convey a message of protest. Donna Grant discusses *waiata* and *haka* as a medium for publicising an issue and conveying a message.

All compositions are politically significant as all tell a story...We need many stories so that we can understand, so that we can be inspired, to right injustices, to celebrate, to love, to forgive...we are always making comment about how we think and about how we feel, and *haka* is just a natural

medium that allows us to transmit the information...*kōrero* is sometimes an ineffective method of getting the message across. But if you wrote a *haka*, and performed the *haka* with the passion and engaged all the senses...sometimes that message is more effective and so you know, its about picking the right opportunities in which to deliver an effective message (Donna Grant 2006: personal communication).

Waiata and *haka* are useful in that they provide a point of interest and draw attention to a cause, with the hope that the audience will then become informed about the cause. This makes *waiata* and *haka* ideal in a protest situation. Furthermore, compositions provide protesters an outlet to vent their true feelings and voice what they believe in. 'Composition has been one of the ways that we've been able to articulate ourselves and inspire our fellow tribe's people, our fellow Māori. So, it's been a way of engaging people in the issues' (O'Regan 2006: personal communication).

O'Regan also makes the point that audiences are often more open to listening and paying attention to a group performing *waiata* than they are to an individual's speech. 'Often you can be heard through a *waiata* in a way that you can't be heard as an individual; it creates that opportunity for others to have access to those views' (O'Regan 2006: personal communication). Te Rito agrees:

I think there is most definitely a role of composition in protest...I think song, composition, performing arts is quite a neat way to get a message across. Even if they don't understand it, you can disarm people with music, and they can let down their defense weapons and then you can maybe have a better way to get into their psyche by – I mean I could stand up there and give a speech, a very forceful speech and it can alienate the audience, the target audience...and so I think music is a wonderful way of getting to people's hearts and to their emotions...it helps break down the barriers and it enables you to get your message across, even though it is in another language. I think it is also an opportunity for Māori to vent their anger (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Additionally, Te Rito discusses the longevity of *waiata* as a tool for publicising a cause: 'I think it is an excellent and valid way for people to voice protest for something. You know you can hold up a banner and you can march, but the beauty with songs is that they live on' (Te Rito 2006: personal communication). This is evident in the many *waiata* and *haka* that, when performed today, instantly remind the audience of a certain issue.

When discussing *mōteatea* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Metge makes the following observation: ‘Among them are a number which voice strong protest at the political and cultural imperialism of the Pakehas’ (Metge 1976: 268). There are several examples of *waiata* being used as a tool in protest, including various *hīkoi*¹⁶⁴, Waitangi Day protests, the 1975 land march, and several occupations from Parihaka to Bastion Point. Ruakere Hond refers to the settlement of Parihaka and the *rangatira* Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi who are renowned for their commitment to passive resistance.

In Parihaka...[*waiata*] was a statement of theory, a statement of philosophy. So people composed *waiata* and they put them out there for people to listen to, and they made their statements through *waiata*. Most of the *waiata* that were performed were like the thoughts of those people who composed them and they made statements and they amended them, changed them depending on what was being spoken about at the time...they tended to be more philosophical statements...if they didn’t strike the right chord with the audience they were simply put aside and other ones were composed until the sorts of *kōrero* that came out of those *rōpū* were consistent with what was being followed at that time...Between the mid-1830s through to 1860 most of the energy went into production of the development of generating wealth economic wise so I don’t know of many *waiata* that were actually composed through that period either and then in 1860, 21 years of war with government from 1860 through to 1881 that’s where most of the *waiata* came from...Tohu and Te Whiti really started to become prominent with passive resistance strategies and *waiata* became the way of getting those messages out so that they were also statements of philosophy where people tested their ideas, they tested their perspective of the issues and if they weren’t taken up by people then they were just dropped and other ones were composed until *waiata* that were appropriate and those were the ones that were held on to and performed (Hond 2006: personal communication).

¹⁶⁴ Peaceful march



Haka with tewhatewha¹⁶⁶ at Parihaka.

Sadler discusses composition as a form of protest by using an example from his own *whānau*.

I tae mai ngā hōia ki roto, i tae atu ai ki roto o te kāinga nei, i reira kē ōku tūpuna, i reira ōku tūpuna e porotēhi ana. Nā, i roto anō i aua momo porotēhi, ka puta ake tēnei haka, ‘Ka eke anō te wīwī, ka eke te wāwā’. Ko ōku tūpuna e haka ana i te taenga mai, i te mea, ko te hiahia a ngā hunga rā kia tau ai ō mātou whenua ki raro i ngā porakatangā nē, i hāere mai ki te poraka i ngā whenua, kīhai ōku tūpuna i pai kia poraka ō rātou whenua. Me te mōhio, tirohia atu ana au i te 1903, i aua wā rā, koia i porakangia ō mātou whenua, ka riro i te Pākehā, koirā ōku tūpuna e porotēhi ana (Sadler 2006: personal communication).

The one composition that stood out to many of the informants of this research, as being a good example of protest, is the Ngāti Porou *haka* ‘**Poropeihana**’.

Kaea: Ko Apirana Ngata rā te tangata
Takarure mai rā i ngā ture
I roto o Pōneke.

Katoa: Horahia mai ō ture ki ahau
Horahia mai ō ture ki ahau
Tū ana te Minita i waenganui
Tū ana te Minita i waenganui
Ō ture patua ki runga ki te tekoteko
Te whare e tū mai nei nā

¹⁶⁵ G-17415-1/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z

¹⁶⁶ A long wooden or bone weapon with a flat section at one end like an axe

Kaea: Mahi hamupaka koia naka
 Katoa: Hei!
 Kaea: Ture Kaunihera koia naka
 Katoa: Hei!
 Kaea: Poropeihana koia naka
 Katoa: Hei!
 Ka minamina au ki te waipiro
 Ko hokona i te pō
 Hei!
 Kaea: I! Ā! hā! hā!
 Katoa: Homai ō ture kia wetewetea
 Kia wetewetea
 Hī! au!

Leader: Apirana Ngata is the person
 Formulating the laws in Wellington
 All: Your laws are imposed on me
 At the centre of it all is the Minister
 Your laws will be destroyed upon the carved figure
 Of the meeting house standing here
 Leader: Humbug is what it is
 All: Hei!
 Leader: Council laws.
 All: Hei!
 Leader: Prohibition is what it is.
 All: Hei!
 I thirst for liquor and so
 I obtain it by illegal means at night
 Leader: I Ā! hā! hā!
 All: Give us these laws so we may reject them
 Reject them. (Kāretu 1993a: 58-59)

Poropeihana is the Māori loan word for prohibition. It was composed as a protest against Sir Apirana Ngata, a Māori member of parliament at the time, and his support of the law of prohibition. Pae Ruha explains,

Nā i te wā i a [Āpirana Ngata] i te Pāremata, koirā te wā...E kai waipiro ana, e kai pia ana, e kai waipiro ana, ka katia mai nei e ia i roto i te Pāremata taua mahi nei i waenganui i tana iwi, anā ko te haka rā ko 'Poropeihana'. Nā, ka puta mai taua haka rā nō tana iwi (Ruha 2004: personal communication).

Sadler makes the point that Ngata was put there by his people to be their mouth piece, and yet he went against their wishes.

Ka hoki ngā mahara ki taua haka rā, a 'Poropeihana'. Tā Apirana, i te poropeihana, i te mea, pērā ana a te poropeihana, e tāunungia ana te iwi Māori. Nā, koia a ia i hou ki roto i te whare pāremata, i te mea, ko ia te māngai Māori, ā tia, i tohungia ia e tana iwi, e Ngāti Porou, kia hou ia ki tērā hei māngai mā rātou. Engari, tana taenga atu ki reira, ko ia kē te

matua o ngā, i taua wā rā, o ngā mema pāremata katoa, nā reira, ka tito māna hei pīkau i ngā taimahatanga katoa o te iwi (Sadler 2006: personal communication).

Wiremu Kaa refers to it as the template of a composition used as a form of protest.

Well it changes tempo in later lines, but I think it was a serious commentary in the beginning...Protest, it was a serious protest, and it started off with land tax and tax on tobacco, and *pua tōrori* – chew tobacco – then the liquor one. It was a protest that Apirana that particular one, the protest was ‘we sent you to Wellington, to help us keep our land, all that sort of stuff and now you come around with this tax on alcohol, prohibition’. That’s what that was about...I think it has a significant place...that’s the model, that’s the template for protest (Wiremu Kaa 2009: personal communication).

According to Donna Grant, the protest was effective as it was truly ‘heard’ by the intended target.

Famous compositions include the haka ‘Poropeihana’ that was written to protest over the law of prohibition...whilst it was a direct attack on Apirana Ngata, Apirana Ngata received the message and actually enhanced that message by getting up and performing with them...you don’t need to engage in political comment in the normal colonised versions. We do it in our own way and sometimes more effectively. ‘Poropeihana’ has survived the journey of time and it is still performed with passion and all the intent that was first written (Grant 2006: personal communication).

Another composition of protest targeting a Māori member of Parliament is ‘**Auahi Ka Kā**’ which is a Tūhoe *haka*.

Auahi ka kā kai Pōneke rā
Kai raro iho ko Te Kāwana
Te hoa moenga i a Timi Kara
Ko te ure i tākaia nei ki te rau o te nōti
Tiaia mai hoki ki te rau o te hiriwa
Kia pai ai koe te kai i te whenua e
I! Ā! hā! hā!

Tono tuatahi nā Te Kārimana
Kia tukua atu te rūri mō te rohe pōtae
Ka hoki atu taku mihi ki te urunga tapu
Kai raro iho ko te ope hōia
Hai hopu i ahau ki te whare herehere
Kāti māku ko te whakahoki i ngā mahi kikino a te Kāwana
E patu nei i taku whenua nei
I! Ā! hā! hā!

Ehara taku mana i te mana hou

He mana tawhito tonu taku mana
Rūrū rawa mai, ka rūrū mai
Ka mahora ngā ture ki te urunga tapu
E ai te kauika pakake,
Inā te Tūruki kai Te Wainui
Peke mai anō ko Te Kāwana
Ki te kohi atu i te roi a Tūhoe
Hai roi mō tana whenua, mō Ruatāhuna
Kai pau i te whānako nei, i a Timi Kara
Pāiri taku poho e!

Smoke rises above Wellington
Beneath it is the Governor
Bedmate of James Carroll
Whose penis is wrapped with hundreds of notes
And studded with many pieces of silver
So that my land can be consumed with ease
Ā! hā! hā!

The first request came from Cadman
For the territory to be surveyed
I address my compliments to my sacred natal soil
Where the troops of soldiers are located
To take me to prison
My only recourse is to react
To the evil deeds of the Governor
Who is destroying my land
I! Ā! hā! hā!

My authority over this territory is not recent
It is an ancient authority
A hand is offered in friendship
Yet laws continue to be imposed on my natal soil
Numerous as a school of whales
Te Tūruki takes up residence at Te Wainui
Once more the Governor intervenes
Taking to himself the rich resources of Tūhoe
Let us assemble all our resources at Ruatāhuna
Lest claim be laid to them by this thief, James Carroll (Kāretu 1993a: 61-62)

The composition was written at a time when Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu were embroiled in a political debate about the ownership of Lake Waikaremoana. At this time, Sir James Carroll who was of Ngāti Kahungunu descent was a member of Parliament. As such, Tūhoe questioned his influence over the outcome of the debate claiming a clear conflict of interest. Tīmoti Kāretu comments on this.

He nui ngā haka, kei a Tūhoe tētahi, e kī rā, ‘Auahi ka kā i Pōneke rā, kai raro iho ko Te Kāwana, te hoa moenga i a Timi Kara. Ko te ure i tākaia ki te rau o te nōti, tiaia mai ki te rau o te hiriwa.’ ‘Sleeping mate of Sir James Carrol, his penis is wrapped in bank notes, and studded with silver coins’.

Nā te riri o ngā kaumātua i te haerenga mai o Timi Kara, tērā ki te whānako i ngā whenua o Tūhoe ki Waikaremoana, ka titongia te haka. Nā, e rua ngā haka a tō iwi, ko te ‘Poropeihana’ tētahi, mō te inu pia, ko te ‘Ka pō ngā rā’, mō te nui o ngā tāke me ngā reiti ki runga i ngā whenua o Ngāti Porou. Nā reira, he nui ngā haka, e kīia nei he porotēhe, porotēhi kē rānei. Ana, kei te ora rawa atu aua haka rā, kei te mahia tonutia e te iwi i ēnei rā, ko taua haka a mea, a Waka Huia, mō Koro Wetere, kei a Tuīni, he nui ngā waiata a Tuīni, mō ngā mahi a te Kāwanatanga...Nō reira, mai, mai rā anō te mea a ngā kaitito, i ō rātou whakaaro ki roto i te waiata, engari ko tēnei nā, he nui ngā haka...tirohia e koe ngā titonga waiata a Pita Sharples, a Waka Huia, a Te Whare Wānanga [o Waikato], a wai noa iho, a wai noa iho, kei reira e rārangi ana. Engari, ki te hoki ki mua atu, ki te wā o Tuīni mā, ā, me ngā haka rā, a ‘Poropeihana’ rāua ko ‘Ka pō ngā rā’, ērā haka e rua, nō mua noa atu ērā, ā, i ngā waiata a Tuīni mā. Nō reira, kua tīmata noa atu ngā koroua rā ki te amuamu mō ngā mahi a te Kāwanatanga, i whakauru ērā āhua o rātou ki roto i ngā haka me ngā waiata...He nui ngā haka i titongia mō ngā mahi whānako a te Kāwanatanga i te whenua (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Temara explains that *haka* is a way of venting about certain issues. It is the best way of resolving anger and frustration bar picking up arms against the enemy.

Ko ngā haka, ā, he tōrangapū katoa tōna āhua, nā te mea, kei roto i te haka e taea ai e te Māori, ngā momo whāitaita katoa, ngā momo whakaweriweri katoa i a rātou, i tua atu i tō rātou āhei ki te haere ki te utu i te mate mā roto i ngā rākau patu tangata, koirā anake te kaupapa e āhua tata atu ana ki te mau rākau, ki te utu rānei i ō rātou mate, mā roto i te kōrero, mā roto i te haka, e ea ai ō rātou whakaaro mō ngā kaupapa kino o te wā, ā, ka whakatōrangapūtia e rātou ō rātou whakaaro i roto i ā rātou haka me ā rātou waiata. Āe, te nuinga anō o ngā kaupapa o ngā haka, o ngā waiata ā-ringa, he tōrangapū katoa...ahakoa he aha te kaupapa, he pānga o te tōrangapū ki roto (Temara 2006: personal communication).

Examples of political *waiata*

The first four compositions that will be examined, will illustrate the different types of political history that can be preserved in *waiata* and *haka*. The first *waiata* is in relation to the socio-political relations that can occur within Māori society. The second composition is a *haka*, and is a comment on the Māori adoption of Christianity. The third *waiata* preserves important political history regarding land confiscation. Finally, the fourth *waiata* provides instructions for future generations with regard to the political dealings with the Pākehā.

The *waiata* ‘**Poia atu taku poi**’ is a well known and classic *pātere*¹⁶⁷ in Aotearoa/New Zealand and is a good example of a *waiata* concerning socio-political issues. Regarding *pātere*, Kāretu states:

Ko ngā pātere rongonui o te motu mō ngā wāhine, me kī, he wahine pūremu, he wahine mate tāne, he aha, he aha, he aha, katoa o ērā momo waiata, ana, me ngā whakautu a ngā wāhine i kōrerotia i roto i ngā pātere, haere ai ki tētahi atu wāhi nē, nā te poro hae noa iho, nā te pūhaehae noa iho. Engari, nā ērā āhukatanga ka puta he waiata hou, he waiata hou, he waiata pai, kei te ora tonu i ēnei wā, ahakoa ngā āhukatanga o roto i te waiata kua kore i hāngai ki tēnei ao, kei te mau tonu ngā waiata (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

A *pātere* is a reply to insulting remarks made about the composer and is a method of restoring respect to the composer.

Poia atu taku poi,
Wania atu taku poi
Ngā pikitanga ki Otairi,
Papatairite atu ki Patea.
Ka tirotiro ki Te Onetapu;
Ka rangā tonu ki Taupo,
Ko Te Rohu, ko Te Rerehau.
E whae mā! Kia rite mai te whakaaro
Ki ōku haere ruahine ki konei.
Nunui tonu mai, he iti taku iti,
Ehara i muri nei
Nō tua whakarere nō aku kaumātua.
I whiua ki Heretaunga
Ko Puororangi, ko Tarapuhi.
Ka rawe rā māua ko taku tara
Ki te hāpai ewe ki ngā whenua
Tāpapa ana i te hiwi ki Horohoro.
Kia mātau tonu ana au ki Tarawera,
Ko Te Hemahema.
Ka rere tītaha te rere a taku poi,
E oma ana i te tai pōuri ki Rotorua,
Ko Parihokotoru, ko Te Apoapo, ko Ngatoro.
Kei whea te rā ka hāpainga mai?
Kei Tauranga, Tupaea,
Ko te mea rā e wawatatia nei
E māua ko taku poi.
Tīehutia i te wai ki Hauraki,
Ko Hapai, ko Taraia.
Tū tonu mai Tauaiti,
Pīkautia i te hiwi ki Mahurangi,
Ko Te Aohau, ko Tiaho,
Ka taupatupatu te rere a taku poi

¹⁶⁷ Song of derision in response to slander and chanted at a fast tempo

Ngā ia tuku ki Waikato,
 Ko Kīngi Potatau, ko Te Paea,
 Ko Matutaera e tāoro nei
 I te nuku o te whenua.
 Hei aha rā?
 Hei mana mō Niu Tireni
 Pōtaea!
 Nau mai rā, e poi,
 Kia kawea koe ngā one roa
 Ki Te Mahia, ki a Ngati Awa.
 E tū mai rā he ariki kei te tonga,
 Ko Karaitiana,
 Taoroa te hiwi maunga ki Porangahau.
 Tēnā anō taku kuru tangiwai
 I makere iho i a Pare,
 Hei whakamutunga mō aku haere ruahine
 Ki te muri ki te tonga
 E poi ē!

Swing afar off my poi,
 Skim onward my poi,
 Upwards to the heights at Otairi,
 And there draw nigh unto Patea.
 Look about (you) at Te Onetapu;
 Thence hasten onward to Taupo,
 To Te Rohu and Te Rerehau.
 Ah mesdames! Listen both of you
 To my dedicated journey hither.
 Ye exalted ones, a lowly one indeed am I,
 Not of recent times, of course,
 But from time afar off, from my forbears.
 Cast off in Heretaunga
 Were Puororangi and Tarapuhi,
 But see now how well, with my feminine allure,
 (I) Fly carefree to distant lands,
 Even unto the recumbent hill of Horohoro,
 Where I shall be reminded of Tarawera,
 Where abideth Te Hemahema.
 Side-ways my poi now flies
 Across fearsome places to Rotorua,
 To Parehokotoru, Te Apoapo, and Ngatoro.
 (And I shall ask), where does the sun rise?
 (Ah yes), from Tauranga where abideth Tupaea;
 The one who brings day-dreams
 To me and my poi.
 Let me now splash in the waters of Hauraki,
 With Hapai and Taraia.
 Standing boldly yonder is Tauaiti,
 As I trudge up the hill at Mahurangi,
 (Where abideth) Te Aohau and Tiaho,
 And now my poi swings wildly,
 (Striving) to follow the current to Waikato
 (Where abideth) King Potatau, Te Paea
 And Matutaera who hold sway
 O'er the land from end to end.

For what purpose?
 For the prestige of New Zealand,
 And as a head covering!
 Felicitations to you, O poi,
 And let me now take you to the long beach
 At Te Mahia thence away to Ngati Awa.
 But wait, o'er yonder stands forth
 A high chief in the south,
 Ah, 'tis Karaitiana.
 Stride forth boldly o'er the high lands
 Of Porangahau.
 Thereabouts is my jade ornament
 Bequeathed to me by Pare,
 And there too I shall end my dedicated journey
 To the north and to the south,
 O my poi!

(Ngata 2005: 202-205)

There are slight differences between the previous lyrics and those provided in *Kāti au i konei: A Collection of Songs from Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa* compiled by Charles Royal. The words and explanation are attributed to Lucy Jacob, the last of the grandchildren of Erenora Taratoa (Royal 1994: 31). The differences are as follows: Line 10: 'nunumi' is used rather than 'nunui'. Line 18: 'mātai' replaces 'mātau'. Line 27-28: 'ko Te Rangitāmoe' occurs after 'Hauraki' and before 'ko Hāpai'. Line 36: 'i' does not appear. Line 37: The line 'Hei aha rā?' does not appear at all. The waiata ends with 'Hei mana mō Niu Tīreni, Pōtaea!' and the last verse is not included as it is not believed to have been composed by Erenora (Royal 1994: 31-33).

'Poia atu taku poi' was composed by Erenora Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa, who is said to have been a very beautiful woman. Her beauty was widely known and subsequently she was courted by young men, both Māori and Pākehā (Ngata 2005: 203). 'Because of this fact, the women of Ngāti Parewahawaha became envious of her and called her an adulteress, a person of no consequence, a braggart' (Kāretu 1987: 32). According to Ngata, 'All the women became very jealous and they spoke in disparaging terms of Erenora; saying she was vain, low born, and adulterous' (Ngata 2005: 203).

Another explanation regarding the inspiration for this *waiata* is some criticism directed at Erenora by Rihī Puhīwahine of Ngāti Tūwharetoa of Taupō. This is the explanation attributed to Erenora's granddaughter Lucy Jacob. Ngata also includes this explanation. Puhīwahine was not pleased with the news that Erenora was the intended wife for

Puhiwahine's brother, Te Marakū. Puhiwahine remarked that Erenora was arrogant and adulterous (Royal 1994: 32; Ngata 2005: 203).

Erenora Taratoa uses the *pātere* to respond to the malicious rumours about her that were circulating at the time. In the *waiata*, she outlines her aristocratic line of descent so that her detractors would know her high status and in doing so, asserts that she is a woman of consequence (Kāretu 1987: 31-32). The *pātere* is based around her figurative *poi* which she sends around the North Island, touching down at key areas where leaders lived who could guarantee her reputation (McLean 2004: 189). It was through proving her relationship with these important figures that she hoped to put an end to the rumours. All of these people are linked to Erenora and her people in some way and are listed in a manner to prove her high birth and status while at the same time disposing the insults aimed at her.

Erenora mentions several tribal landmarks, *rangatira* and members of their family in her *pātere*. The following are only a few examples of the names listed in the *waiata*. Line seven, '**Ko Te Rohu...**', refers to a female composer who was also the daughter of Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira*, Te Heuheu Tūkino and his senior wife, Nohopapa (Ngata 2004: 189). Line 17, '**...te hiwi ki Horohoro**', describes Horohoro, a hill situated to the south-west of Rotorua. It was home to several *hapū* of Ngāti Raukawa, including Ngāti Wairangi, Ngāti Whaita and Ngāti Tuara. All of which were *hapū* of Erenora. Line 19, '**Ko Te Hemahema**', makes reference to a *rangatira* of Tūhourangi. Line 24, '**Kei Tauranga, Tupaea**', refers to Tupaea who was a great chief of Ngāi Te Rangi, of the Tauranga region. Line 34, '**Ko Kīngi Potatau, ko Te Paea**', acknowledges the first Māori King, Potatau Te Wherowhero, and his daughter, Te Paea. Line 35, '**Ko Matutaera...**', continues this acknowledgement of the Kīngitanga. Matutaera was one of the names of the second Māori King, Potatau's son, Tāwhiao (Ngata 2005: 206-207).

While this *pātere* was composed for the distinct purpose of restoring the composer's reputation, it also serves as an archive, preserving historical information such as *whakapapa*, the *rangatira* of different areas and tribal landmarks. This is but one example of such a *waiata*.

‘**Tihei Tāruke**’¹⁶⁸ is a *haka* from Ngāti Porou on the east coast of the North Island.

Kāea: Ko ngā iwi katoa e kanga mai nei...
Katoa: Ki taku upoko
Kāea: He tapu...
Katoa: Taku upoko
Kāea: Ko Tuairangi
Katoa: Taku upoko
Kāea: Ko Tuainuku
Katoa: Taku upoko
Kāea: Ahaha
Katoa: He koia, he koia, Ha!
Hei kai māhau te whetū
Hei kai māhau te marama
Tuku tonu, heke tonu te ika ki Te Reinga
Whio.
Kāea: Ko Rangitukia rā te Pāriha i tuku atu ai ngā
Kaiwhakaako tokowhā...
Ruka ki Reporua
Hohepa ki te Paripari
Kāwhia ki Whangakareao
Apakura ki Whangapirita e.
Katoa: E i aha tērā
E haramai ki roto ki Waiapū kia kite koe
i Tawa Mapua e te paripari Tihei Tāruke.
I kīia nei e Rerekohu
‘Hoatu, karia ōna kauae’.
Pūrari paka, i kaura mōkai. Hei.

(cited in Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper)

The *haka* was composed by Mohi Tūrei. Tūrei was an Anglican minister and was the person who baptised Apirana Ngata. According to Wiremu Kaa, ‘Mohi Tūrei composed ‘Tihei Tāruke’ in order to reconcile the theological juxtaposition in which he was located’ (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper). Wiremu Kaa describes the *haka* as,

A theological reflection that gave expression to the dilemma that Mohi Tūrei and many of our pakeke of the time were confronting...where their Ngāti Porou beliefs and customs had served and satisfied the iwi for hundreds of years were now being neglected and replaced. Those customs and beliefs were being subsumed by the introduced systems of the missionaries (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper).

Keri Kaa argues that the *haka* is effective because it speaks to an issue of the time it was composed.

¹⁶⁸ A *tāruke* is a wicker trap for catching crayfish

Koinā te kaupapa o te haka o konei o ‘Tihei Tāruke’, kōrero mō te taenga mai o te hahi karaitiana me te whakapono ki roto o Ngāti Porou i mutu ai te kai tangata. Nā te haka ka taea e te katoa, te tū ki runga ki te whakaputa i ngā whakaaro o te hapū, o te iwi (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Wiremu and Jossie Kaa published a collection of Mohi Tūrei’s writings and are very familiar with his work.

I’m a priest as well, an Anglican Minister. I took an interest in our *kaumātua*, Mohi Tūrei. Now, we [Wiremu and his wife, Jossie] published a lot of his writings – *i roto i te reo* – And I was fascinated by the language he used, he spoke a lot in metaphor, he used metaphoric language, and I considered that he was as well versed in the language, in the Māori language, as Shakespeare was in the English language, I would put him up against Shakespeare, as an equivalent in *te reo Māori*. We took a liking to his writings and his style of using metaphor. He too was an Anglican priest, one of the early Anglican priests of Ngāti Porou descent, and he’s from here, from Rangitukia...Mohi was able to write in both Māori and English, and he was very eloquent, it’s his Māori that fascinated both of us, that captured both of us, his liberal use of metaphor. Not many students of Māori today use metaphor to the extent that that *koroua* did, there were other writers of his time too, who were eloquent in using metaphors, but Mohi Tūrei went beyond that in his mastery of *te reo*, and his mastery of the skill of writing (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Wiremu provides the background and context of the *haka*.

It was a concern of his that *te ao Māori* had jumped onto the Christian bandwagon and adapted Christian prayer, as though, they belonged to you, and in a way concerned Mohi, and it concerned him because a lot of the Ngāti Porou people, had also forgotten about their own theology, their own spirituality and jumped on to the Christian bandwagon, leaving aside their own. And so, theologically and spiritually he was in a juxtaposition of the Christian ethic dominating over the Māori ethic, of the Māori *wairua*, and it concerned Mohi. That’s my interpretation. It concerned Mohi, and so he wrote the one *haka*, and that *haka* I call a theological reflection on the dilemma that Ngāti Porou had reached, in terms, of riding the Christian horse and forgetting the Māori part of that horse, almost casting it aside, and that *haka* for me is a template that Mohi had devised theologically and spiritually to satisfy the conflict between the Māori world and the Christian world and how we’d almost abandoned the Māori world substituted with Christian world, and so to satisfy that dilemma he composed this *haka* and it’s done in Rangitukia today, done by the kids at the school. *Ko te ingoa o te haka rā*, ‘Tihei tāruke!’ I wrote about it...Mohi did compose it as a reflection, a theological reflection on the dilemma that our people here, Ngāti Porou were in, the conflict between the two spiritual forces, the Māori one and the Christian one. In that *haka*, Mohi says, to put both the Christian ethic and the Māori spiritually, put them both in the one crayfish pot. And that’s why the metaphor of ‘tāruke,’ you see, he used the ‘tāruke’ as the metaphor and to satisfy the theological conflict that he had, that he was in or that Ngāti Porou was in, in terms of Christianity and Māori theology, Māori spirituality. I

proffer the idea that he was leaving behind for us, us generations, a template of satisfying our own individual walk, spiritually and I suggested in that paper that us, as Ngāti Porou, we need to have claim, re-claim our own Ngāti Porou spirituality and put it in our own crayfish pot, and then we can get whatever religion from throughout the world...and for Mohi they could reside comfortably within the crayfish pot...that's the theological model for us now and in the future, it's a political statement, it's a social commentary (Wiremu Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Wiremu Kaa discusses the concerns of the local people regarding a translation of the *haka*. Therefore a straight translation is not provided by Kaa. Instead, he provides his own interpretation of the words. 'A lot of our people here didn't want to translate that *haka*; I didn't translate it; but I interpreted it. I interpreted it and gave it a location within the culture' (Kaa 2009: personal communication). Kaa explains lines 1-14:

The first part of the *haka* is an expression that is affirming our Ngāti Porou wairua. That phase of the *haka* is collapsed and synthesized to outline the entire life cycle of being a Ngāti Porou Māori from birth to death.

...The language used by Mohi is a classic example of Māori narrative, where meaning is cloaked in metaphor. According to our own lores and beliefs we are urged to seek meaning in 'te wairua o ngā kupu, kāore i roto anake i te āhua o ngā kupu'. I am suggesting that Mohi had come to the realisation that his taha Ngāti Porou cannot be abandoned or trashed because the wairua from his mātua and his tīpuna are the material essence of his being. Ko te ngako tēnei i heke iho ōna mātua tīpuna nō te pō mai anō. He then placed his taha wairua Māori into his personal theological tāruke (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper).

The explanation of lines 15-20 is as follows:

In the second part of the *haka* Mohi explains that Ngāti Porou were enthusiastic and readily accepted this new faith that was introduced.

...His own commitment and dedication for the Anglican faith was the motivation that stimulated him to place this new found faith into his personal theological tāruke to co-exist happily with his taha Ngāti Porou wairua (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper).

Kaa explains the final lines of the *haka*, lines 21-26:

The third part of this *haka* is the climax and punch line for Mohi's theological reflection. To reconcile his strong desire to reclaim and maintain his Ngāti Porou wairua and to retain his strong affinity with the Anglican faith, he suggests that the both can co-exist in the tāruke. His personal theological tāruke is now complete (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper).

Based on the *haka*, Kaa has drawn some conclusions about the theological reflection of Mohi Tūrei. Kaa states:

I am asserting that in today's climate, Ngāti Porou individuals are at liberty to choose a particular source of spiritual preference. However, Ngāti Porou individuals have no choice with regard to the (Ngāti Porou theology) customs and beliefs that belong to our landscape. We are all born into and form part of our Ngāti Porou wairua. We may choose to ignore it or even to place it to one side. These Ngāti Porou beliefs are part of us. Our whakapapa is the bond that affirms our tūrangawaewae here in Tairāwhiti. Our individual tāruke will always contain the wairua that is Ngāti Porou tūturu. Whatever else we place in that tāruke is up to every Ngāti Porou individual (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper).

The *haka* is still performed today and Kaa refers to it as Mohi's gift for future generations:

Ko tēnei haka kei te hakaina tonutia e Ngāti Porou, otirā e ngā mea kei Te Ngutu Awa tonu o Waiapu e noho ana. Nā te uru o Mohi Tūrei ki roto ki ngā mahi a Te Hāhi Mihinare me tana mātau ki te ao Māori i taea ai e ia te tito tēnei haka hei taonga mā ngā uri whakatipu (Kaa date unknown: unpublished paper).

'E pā tō hau' is a very well known *waiata tangi* or lament. It was composed by Te Rangiāmoa of Ngāti Apakura for her male cousin Te Wano (Ngata 2004: 315).

E pā tō hau he wini raro
He hōmai aroha,
Kia tangi atu au i konei;
He aroha ki te iwi,
Ka momotu ki tawhiti ki Paerau
Ko wai e kite atu,
Kei hea aku hoa i mua rā,
I te tōnuitanga?
Ka haramai tēnei ka tauwehe
Ka raungaiti au.

E ua e te ua e tāheke
Koe i runga rā;
Ko au ki raro nei riringi ai
Te ua i aku kamo.
Moe mai, e Wano, i 'Tirau',
Te pae ki te whenua
I te wā tūtata ki te kāinga
Koua hurihia.
Tēnei mātou kei runga kei te
Toka ki Taupo,

Ka pāea ki te one ki Waihi,
Ki taku matua nui.
Ki te whare kōiwi ki Tongariro,
E moe iho nei.
Hoki mai e roto ki te puia
Nui, ki Tokaanu.
Ki te wai tuku kiri o te iwi
E aroha nei au, ī.

Gently blows the wind from the north
Bringing loving memories
Which causes me here to weep;
'Tis sorrow for the tribe,
Departed afar off to Paerau.
Who is it can see,
Where are my friends of yesteryear,
Who all dwelt together?
Comes now this parting
And I am quite bereft.

Come then, O rain, pour down,
Steadily from above;
Whilst I here below pour forth
A deluge from mine eyes.
Sleep on, O Wano, on 'Tirau',
The barrier to the land,
Stretching forth to that home
Which is now forsaken.
Here we now are cast upon
The rocky shores of Taupo,
Stranded upon the sands at Waihi,
Where dwelt my noble sire,
Now placed in the charnel-house on Tongariro.
Like unto the abode wherein we sleep.
Return, O my spirit, to the thermal pool
Of renown, at Tokaanu,
To the healing-waters of the tribe
For whom I mourn.

(Ngata 2004: 315)

When Pākehā troops occupied the Waikato in 1864, following the wars between the Māori and the Pākehā, more than a million acres of Waikato lands were confiscated by the Crown. These lands, which are rich and fertile, had been coveted by the Pākehā settlers but had previously been unavailable due to the Waikato people's resistance to selling their land (Orbell 1991b: 66).

Ngāti Apakura is one of the principal tribes of Waikato. Their lands were at Rangiaohia and Ōhaupō (near where the city of Hamilton stands today) and extended to the Waipā River in the direction of Pirongia. Ngāti Apakura was evicted from their lands based on

the Pākehā accusation that they had taken up arms against the Crown. However, ‘The Ngāti Apakura were never armed and took no part in the Waikato War’ (Ngata 2004: 315).

Ngāti Apakura moved to the territory of their relatives, Ngāti Tūwharetoa of Taupō. On their journey, Te Wano asked his people if they would climb the hill Tītīraupenga with him so that they might look back upon their lands once more. Once they had reached the summit, Te Wano took one last look at his home territory and then died. He was buried there. At Taupō, his people settled amongst Ngāti Tūwharetoa at Waihī and Tokaanu. It was some time later that the Pākehā discovered that they had wrongfully evicted Ngāti Apakura (Ngata 2004: 315).

This is the *waiata tangi* that was composed for Te Wano by his cousin, Te Rangiāmoa. However, it also laments the land that was lost and the suffering of their people. The fifth line of the *waiata*, ‘**Ka momotu ki tawhiti ki Paerau**’, is in reference to Paerau which is one of the place-names associated with the journey made by a person’s spirit upon their death, to Te Rerenga Wairua, or the ‘Leaping Place of Spirits’. Line 15, ‘**Moe mai, e Wano, i ‘Tirau**’, farewells Te Wano and refers to Tītīraupenga by its abbreviation, Tīrau. The *waiata* then turns to the adopted home of Te Wano’s people and makes reference to several placenames and landmarks, **Taupō** (line 20), **Waihi** (line 21), **Tongariro** (line 23), and **Tokaanu** (line 26) (Ngata 2004: 316-317).

The *waiata* is still widely sung today, although most groups only sing the first verse. The first verse has been attributed by some to Te Kooti. However, the second verse is without a doubt attributed to Ngāti Apakura (Ngata 2004: 315).

One example of a *waiata* that was written post-contact and arising out of the conflict between Māori and Pākehā is ‘**Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa**’ by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki.

Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa!
Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.
Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi,
Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kōti Whenua,
Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake!
Ka kīia i reira ko te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe,

He rongō ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa.
 He kino anō ra ka āta kitea iho
 Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri!
 Ka uru nei au ki te ture Kaunihera,
 E rua aku mahi e noho nei au:
 Ko te hanga i ngā rōri, ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!
 Pūkōhu tāiri ki Pōneke ra,
 Ki te kāinga ra i noho ai te Minita.
 Ki taku whakaaro ka tae mai te Poari
 Hai noho i te whenua o Kōtītia nei,
 Pā rawa te mamae ki te tau o taku ate.
 E te iwi nui, tū ake ki runga ra,
 Tirohia mai ra te hē o aku mahi!
 Māku e kī atu, 'Nōhia, nōhia!'
 No mua iho anō, no ngā kaumātua!
 No taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture,
 No konei hoki au i kino ai ki te hoko!
 Hī! Hai aha te hoko!

Alas for this unhappy night!
 Waking to the world, I search about in vain.
 The first mana is the Treaty of Waitangi,
 The second mana is the Land Court,
 The third mana is the Separate Mana:
 Hence the Rohe Potae of Tuhoe,
 And peace made with Ngati Awa.
 It would indeed be an evil thing
 To abandon the mana of the Maori!
 If I submitted to the law of the Council,
 Two things I would do:
 Building roads, and building streets!
 Yonder the mist hangs over Wellington,
 The home of the Minister.
 I fear that the Board will come
 To live in this land of Kootitia,
 And I am sick at heart.
 All my people, be watchful,
 See the veil of these things!
 I say to you, 'Remain, remain on your land!'
 It is from former ages, from your ancestors!
 Because my heart has searched out the Law,
 For this reason I abhor selling!
 Hi! Why sell!

(translation by Orbell, cited in Wedde et al 1985: 91-92)

Te Kooti composed and adapted many *waiata*. He used *waiata* to convey his teachings and prophecies. He is also well known for altering *waiata* to suit his own messages.

Te Kooti's *waiata*...they are compositions which are both spiritual and political in their nature. Spiritual because he has a *karakia* aspect to it and therefore it appeals to the spiritual side of Māori and to the spiritual side of the Ringatū followers (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

This *waiata* was composed in 1883 and is a *waiata tohutohu* or song of instruction.

‘Kāore te pō nei i mōrikarika noa,’ e tohutohu ana i a mātou, ana kia pai mātou ki a Ngāti Awa, kia pai mātou, kia whāia ai e mātou ko te Tiriti o Waitangi, ahakoa kāre mātou i haina, engari e kī kē mai ana, kei reira pea tētahi oranga mō koutou, me toro koutou ki te Tiriti o Waitangi (Temara 2006: personal communication).

In the song, Te Kooti urges Tūhoe to protect their lands from surveys, partitions and especially from sale. He insists they do not consult with the Native Land Court.

Te Kooti was an extraordinary leader, who not only founded the Ringatū¹⁶⁹ religious movement, but also fought a protracted guerilla war against the New Zealand colonial authorities, was captured and exiled to the Chatham Islands (Wharekauri), seized a schooner and escaped, eluded capture thereafter, and was eventually pardoned by the Crown. Te Kooti, above all, was responsible for an isolationist strategy on the part of Tūhoe, ensuring, perhaps more than any other Maori tribe, that they were able to hold on to many of their lands and way of life, and not least their songs, until the present day (McLean 2004: 20-21).

Tūhoe would not allow any surveying or road-making to take place within their territory.

The third line, ‘**Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi**’, refers to the *mana* of the Treaty. Mention of the Treaty is significant as Tūhoe did not sign it. The fourth line, ‘**Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kōti Whenua**’, refers to the *mana* of the Native Land Court. The Native Land Court was established in 1865 with the objective of investigating the ownership of land held on a customary basis and converting the title to a European individual ownership style, thereby making the land available to be sold to European settlers. The Land Court was seen as an instrument through which Māori land could be alienated. According to Ruakere Hond, the people of Parihaka in Taranaki ‘refused to attend any of the court hearings because they felt once you were allocated land it was really easy to sell the land’ (Hond 2006: personal communication). Line five, ‘**Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake!**’, makes reference to the ‘separate *mana*’ and independence of Māori, such as the *mana* of the Kīngitanga and the rule of King Tāwhiao at the time. Line six, ‘**...ko te Rohe Pōtae o**

¹⁶⁹ A Māori Christian religious faith founded by Te Kooti in the 1860s with significant numbers of adherents amongst the Bay of Plenty and East Coast *iwi*

Tūhoe’, uses the term for the King Country, Rohe Pōtae, in reference to the territory of Tūhoe. Line seven, **‘He rongō ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa’**, is in reference to the former hostility between the neighbouring *iwi* of Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa, and their subsequent reconciliation and united front as allies. Line 10, **‘Ka uru nei au ki te ture Kaunihera’**, uses the loanword for ‘council’, *kaunihera*, which could refer to the Land Court or some organisation associated with it. Line 12, **‘Ko te hanga i ngā rōri, ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!’**, refers to the colonisers interest in surveying the Urewera area and building roads through. The word *rōri* is a loan word for ‘road’ and the word *tiriti* is the loan word for ‘street’ (McLean & Orbell 2004: 39). Lines 15-16, predict that a board of some form will come into the Urewera and make a decision about the land. This prediction came true when the National Parks Board created the Urewera National Park in 1954 (Binney 2009: 603). The last line in the *waiata* makes it clear that Te Kooti is against the selling of Māori land.

This *waiata* is well known. In 1886, the Native Land Court sat at Ōtorohanga to investigate the ownership of the ancestral land of Ngāti Maniapoto. Whilst there, Rihī Puhīwahine sang an adaptation of this *waiata* in protest against the Court and as a warning to her people not to lease their lands to the Pākehā (Jones 1960: 19-20).

The *waiata* continues to have relevance today and the words of instruction contained within the *waiata* are particularly significant to the people of Tūhoe who continue to struggle for the return of the Urewera¹⁷⁰.

Maxwell explains the significance of Te Kooti to the people of *Mātaatua waka* and how Te Kooti provides inspiration and a point of reference for Maxwell’s own compositions.

Ko ngā mea tauira mai ki ahau, ko ngā mahi a Te Kooti, ko ana porotēhi, ‘kāore te pō i mōrikarika noa,’ katoa, te Tiriti o Waitangi, te mana motuhake, te Kaunihera, ko ana porotēhi i roto i wana waiata...ko tāna kia mau ai tātou ki tō tātou whenua, he whakapātaritari i te Kāwanatanga mō wā rātou mahi tūkinō i a tātou te Māori, nō reira, koinā pea ngā tauira pai, mōku i wēnei wā, i te mea, ko aku titotanga, i roto i waku haka, i roto i waku waiata, he tiki mai i āna tauira hei tautoko i ōku whakaaro, hei *reference*, ka tiki mai, he aha i tua atu i a ia, mōku, i te mea, he Ringatū

¹⁷⁰ The National Government announced on 10 May 2010 that the return of the Urewera National Park land would not be part of the Tūhoe Waitangi Tribunal claim settlement.

ahau, i whāngai au ki wērā kōrero a ngā mātua tīpuna mō tēnei mea te raupatu. Ko ia te waka whakaora i a mātou, i a mātou o Te Whakatōhea, i a mātou o Mātaatua, ko ia te waka whakaora mō mātou, i te mea, i noho whenua kore mātou, ā, i tētahi rangi he rangatira mātou i runga i tō mātou nā whenua, mana motuhake, tino rangatiratanga, wērā mea katoa, ko mātou ngā ariki, mai i tērā pito ki tērā pito, mai i tērā maunga ki Whakaari, ko mātou, ko ō mātou tīpuna ngā ariki i runga i tērā whenua. Ā te rangi i muri mai, ka hou mai te Kaipuke me ngā koti whero ki roto i tō mātou rohe, ka kōhurutia tō mātou tīpuna...ka raupatutia wō mātou whenua, te rangi i muri mai kua noho taurekareka ō mātou tīpuna, kua noho whenua kore, kua noho tūtūā ki raro i te matimati o te Pākehā...pēnā au i ō rātou nā wā, kua kino kē atu tēnā mamae i te mea he rangatira ahau inanahi, i tēnei rā, he taurekareka ahau. Nō reira, ka tae mai a Te Kooti me te whakapono hou, te Ringatū, koinā, ka kitea mai e ō mātou tīpuna i te mea, ko tāna he whawhai, he whawhai i te Pākehā, he patu i a rātou mō te whānako i te whenua, he kōkiri, he kōkiri i ngā tauā, tēnā iwi, tēnā iwi, ka whakahau i a Mātaatua kia tāwharautia a Mātaatua. I te mea, i pā mai te rau o te patu ki runga i ō mātou mātenga, nō reira, koirā te tauira pai mōku, ko ia, ko wāna titotanga, tana tohungatanga, i te mea, he rerekē tēnā kaitito a Te Kooti, i te mea, he waiata kai konā, kai tērā iwi, ‘Pinepine te kura,’ ko tāna he whakahuri pakutia nē, ngā kupu, paku noa te kupu ka tīnīhia e ia wētahi kupu, ana kia eke ai ki runga i tāna kaupapa, ko te pupuri i te whenua, ko te mana motuhake, ko te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ana, he tino taonga tērā (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

Temara believes that Te Kooti’s compositions continue to be relevant today as the instructions within the compositions are still applicable to the people for whom they were written.

Kāre he tangata i tua atu i a Te Kooti, nā te mea, ko āna haka, ko āna waiata, kāore i mau noa āna waiata ki tōna ao, engari kei te whakaheke tonu te tikanga o āna waiata, ahakoa ki ngā kaupapa o nāianeī. Ko te waiata pea e tino whāia ana pea e mātou o Mātaatua, ko ‘Pinepine te kura,’ kāore he waiata i tua atu i tērā, koirā mātou ka waiata i tērā waiata kia oti rawa, kāore i wāhi i waenganui, nā te mea, kei roto ngā kōrero e hiahia ana mātou hei whakaohooho i a mātou, hei tohutohu i a mātou. Ko wāna waiata katoa hoki he kupu whakaari katoa. He tohutohu i a mātou, me pēnei koutou, me pēnei koutou, me pērā koutou, anei ngā mate, anei ngā ora, anei ngā huarahi, hai whāinga mā koutou, me pēnei koutou (Temara 2006: personal communication).

Waiata-ā-ringa and World War II

The songs of World War II are significant in the history of Māori political *waiata* and *haka*. According to Milroy, ‘E tohu ana i te putanga o te Māori ki te ao whānui ki te whawhai i te hoariri i whenua kē, i runga i ngā marae o Tūmatauenga i whenua kē’.

The majority of New Zealanders would not associate Māori music with the traditional *waiata* and *haka* genres, but instead, with the *waiata* that emerged in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of contact with Pākehā (McLean 1999: 340). At the forefront of these new styles was *waiata-ā-ringa* or songs accompanied by action (action songs).

Sir Apirana Ngata, a respected Māori leader from Ngāti Porou and the collector, recorder and writer of *Ngā Mōteatea*, is believed to be the person who created *waiata-ā-ringa* as a new genre. He is often referred to as the ‘father of action song’. Ngata, along with Paraire Tomoana, of Ngāti Kahungunu, composed the First World War classic recruiting song ‘E te ope tuatahi’ (McLean 1996: 339).

Image 6: Sir Apirana Ngata¹⁷¹



At Waitangi on 6 February 1940, Māori Battalion C Company, of the East Coast, provided a 24-man *haka* party who discarded their khaki uniforms and donned shorts and *piupiu*¹⁷² for a rendition of the classic Ngāti Porou *haka*, ‘Rūaumoko’. Sir Apirana Ngata introduced the group. During his speech, in which he addressed Major-General Duigan, Chief of the New Zealand General Staff, he explained that the *haka* provided the most perfect coordination of

¹⁷¹ F-29794-1/2 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

¹⁷² A type of skirt made of flax

word and action. ‘There is too much left and right in modern physical drill. Here is the real thing, 500 years old, in New Zealand’ (cited in Soutar 2008: 61). Soon after, Peter Awatere, who was standing next to the group, launched the men in to the *haka*. Ngata exhorted the men in the second phase of the *haka taparahi* (Soutar 2008: 61).

An early feature of *waiata-ā-ringa* was that most were to the tune of Pākehā popular songs. This was a method employed by the composers of the time to capture the attention of the youth. Furthermore, the tune is merely a carrier for the lyrics, which are most important.

In the literary forms of pre-European origin, music though essential, is secondary to the words...Probably for this reason, composers of action-songs have not worried unduly about composing music that matches the words but have borrowed whatever catchy tune is to hand, modifying it to suit their purposes by altering time intervals and harmonies (Metge 1976: 282).

Although *waiata-ā-ringa* were first created many years earlier, before the First World War, they did not become widespread until the 1930s and 1940s. During the Second World War, when *waiata-ā-ringa* were at their most popular, composers such as Apirana Ngata, Paraire Tomoana, Henare Waitoa and Tuīni Ngāwai, among others, excelled in the composition of *waiata-ā-ringa*. Crowds of well-wishers would come out to farewell the troops before they left and in Māori communities this experience would often include *waiata*, and specifically *waiata-ā-ringa*. In Gisborne, ‘A crowd estimated at 5000 completely blocked Peel Street and overflowed into Gladstone Road as they waited for the arrival of the troops... As the column filed from Gladstone Road into Peel Street Maori in the crowd started singing the Battalion’s marching song’ (Soutar 2008: 71-72).

The focus of the many *waiata-ā-ringa* was usually on the issues of the day, of which most were political in nature.

Political history of New Zealand, World War II, all of those compositions about our soldiers going off to war, you would have to say are politically significant and are a part of our political history. A lot of them are about love and losing our men in war, but I mean you know, it’s like ‘E te Hokowhitu’ that one, like ‘*Kāti rā te hīngahinga kei raro rā*’, that is political history, that’s what our people did, that’s what was happening to them. So those, during the Second World War I think were incredible, a number of really strong *waiata* that signified our – the political issues of the day (O’Regan 2006: personal communication).

The *waiata-ā-ringa* ‘E te Hokowhitu-a-Tū’ that O’Regan refers to was penned by the prolific composer Tuīni Ngāwai of Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare, Ngāti Porou from the east coast of the North Island. It was performed at the Ngārimu Memorial *hui* and V.C. investiture in Ruatōria on October 6, 1943 (Mitalfe 1974: 143). Tuīni Ngāwai was one of the composers who popularised the *waiata-ā-ringa* genre, and is known to have composed in excess of 100 songs (McLean 1999: 340-341).

Ngawai composed few tunes of her own, preferring instead to borrow her tunes from current popular songs. Among her best known compositions are ‘*Arohaina mai*’, composed in 1939 to the tune of ‘Love Walked In’; ‘*Te Hokowhitu Toa*’, to the tune of ‘Lock My Heart and Throw Away the Key’; and her song of tribute to Victoria Cross winner, Lt Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu, ‘*E Te Hokowhitu a Tu*’, composed to the tune of ‘In the Mood’ (McLean 1999: 340-341).

Tuīni Ngāwai was indeed a master at adapting the popular tunes of the day, and this most certainly added to the quick appeal of her compositions which have travelled the length and breadth of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Tuini Ngawai re-arranged tunes, adapting wherever and whatever suited her, she assimilated them so completely into the Maori genre that even the more outrageous and unlikely borrowings passed without remark. In her hands the tune of ‘In the mood’ becomes acceptable as part of a Maori lament – admittedly the part that exhorts courage from the mourners, and ‘Love Walked In’ from George Gershwin becomes the tune of ‘Arohaina Mai’ without anyone (yet) protesting at copyright breaches (Mitalfe 1974: 143).

One of Tuīni’s classics is ‘**Arohaina Mai**’:

Arohaina mai e te Kingi nui,
Manaakitia ra, o tamariki e,
Horahia mai ra te marie nui ki te
Hokowhitu-a-Tu Toa!

Nga mamaetanga me nga pouri nui,
Peehia rawatia ki raro ra e,
Me anga atu ka karanga, ki te Matua
Aue, aroha mai.

Nga hapu katoa o Aotearoa e,
Tauawhitia ra ko toku rongo,
Kia mau te Tihei Mauri ora, a nga tipuna,
He tohu wehi e.

Great King! Bestow Thy love upon them all;
Thy children take into Thy loving care;

Spread wide for them Thy mantle of good will;
Thy blessing on this Warrior Band of Tu.

Our pain and sorrow great and all they be
Subdue with patience, though with straining hearts.
Turn in your deep distress and call unto
The Father, “God bestow Thy gracious care.”

Ye many tribes of Aotearoa
Cling to the fame, that we have gained in war;
Shout, as your fathers did in olden days,
“Away with evil! Hail, and all is well.”

(cited in Pēwhairangi 1985: 14)

‘Arohaina Mai’ was performed at a final leave farewell for the men of C Company (Ngāti Porou) of the 28th Māori Battalion at Waiparapara Marae in Tokomaru Bay. ‘The Ngati Porou servicemen were taken to Tokomaru Bay, where the contingent spent the night at Waiparapara...they were joined by men from the Te Whanau-a-Te Aotawarirangi and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare sub-tribes and all were lavishly entertained’ (Soutar 2008: 70-71). Tuīni had been at a special Ringatū service for the men of C Company conducted by Rev. Petera Paikea and Hōri Ngāwai, both *tohunga* of the Ringatū Church. On her way home from the service, Tuīni rested by the roadside as she was overcome by the emotion of the evening. It is said that as she was resting, the complete lyrics for ‘Arohaina Mai’ came into her mind. The *waiata* became very popular, as it is extremely moving, and was of great significance throughout the country during that time (Mitalfe 1974: 143; Soutar 2008: 73). Milroy notes that it is often difficult to separate themes of love and political themes in *waiata*: ‘He uaua te wehewehe i te aroha me te kaupapa tōrangapū i roto i ētahi o ngā waiata’. Although it may not seem political on the surface, it is a comment on the nature of the socio-political climate of the time; Māori men were heading overseas to fight in the war and many would not return. *Kaumātua* will often get emotional upon hearing this *waiata*.

Keri Kaa discusses the similarities and differences between Tuīni’s style of political *waiata* and that of her niece, the equally prolific composer Ngoi Pēwhairangi:

Tuīni was both witty and biting. Ngoi was more subtle than Tuīni, but no less powerful in the message. And the other thing with Ngoi, Ngoi was very influenced by immediate events...see, there was more impact of regular political events, they rolled in much more often than they did during Tuīni’s time. That’s why you got many more compositions from Ngoi and she was

also more reflective than Tuīni. She had a different composing style...you are influenced by your landscape (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Milroy also comments on the difference between Tuīni Ngāwai and Ngoi Pēwhairangi. Milroy states that Tuīni had a style of composition that was to the point and blunt in a cheeky way. Ngoi contrasted this style with a more subtle technique. However, it was no less powerful and Milroy explains that her compositions still had ‘teeth’.

Ko Ngoi, hari ai ia i tana waiata, kei reira e noho mai ana, he ātaahua...engari kei runga te kōrero, kei raro te niho...Me nui tō tātou whakaaro ki te reo, nā te mea, i mohio a Ngoi ki te whakatakoto i te reo i roto noa iho i te kupu ‘Whakarongo,’ ehara i te mea, e kīia ana ki ngā Māori, ‘whakarongo ki te reo Māori nei’, engari he kōrero anō ki te Kāwanatanga mō te āhua o te reo nei. Nā reira, e rua ngā mata, matarua o roto i ana kupu. Ko tērā e hāere hāngai mai ana ki ō ringa, ko tētahi e haere kē ana ki roto i ngākau tangata (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Te Rito discusses his thoughts regarding the similarities and differences between Tuīni’s style and that of Ngoi:

Tuīni Ngāwai was the big gun, and I suppose in a way, Ngoi Pēwhairangi, of a later generation...sometimes you can promote a positive message and you don’t have to say all of that other stuff, the message carries itself like ‘*Whakarongo ki te reo Māori e karanga nei*’. It is subtle, yeah, it is subtly political, whereas Tuīni Ngāwai, from her time she was ‘bang’ out there, and there’s that song ‘*Te Mātauranga o te Pākehā*’. ‘*Te mātauranga o te Pākehā, he mea whakatō hei tinanatanga mō wai rā, mō Hātana*’ – for Satan! And it talks about the benefit ‘*ka tuari te penihana oranga, hei aha rā, hei patu mahara, patu tikanga Māori e*’ – so she was talking about giving out the dole was actually a way of dumbing down or dulling down our people, and it was about land as well. She’s composing in the 1940s I suppose, I think the war years and look that’s powerful, you know she’s saying ‘*te mātauranga o te Pākehā*’ it’s bad news, you know it’s not as good as it was all made out to be this Pākehā education system (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

Te Rito mentions the well known Tuīni *waiata-ā-ringa* ‘**Te Mātauranga o te Pākehā**’ which, although composed in the same era as the wartime *waiata*, addresses instead the threat posed to Māori identity by the Eurocentric education system discussed in Chapter Five.

Te Matauranga o te Pakeha
He mea whakato hei tinanatanga
Mo wai ra mo Hatana
Kia tupato i nga whakawai

The knowledge of the Pakeha
Has been instilled into us
For whose benefit? For Satan’s
Beware of the temptations

Kia kaha ra.

Be strong.

Te Matauranga o te Pakeha
Patipati a ka muru whenua
Kia kaha ra, e hoa ma
Ka mutu ano, te tanga Manawa
Oranga.

The education of the Pakeha
Has made us realise how we were exploited
Be strong friends
Hold on to our land
Our remaining means of survival.

Te Matauranga o te Pakeha
Ka tuari i te penihana orange
Hei aha ra, hei patu mahara
Patu tikanga a Maori e
A Maori e, a Maori e.

Furthermore the Pakeha education
Has given us benefits
For what purpose?
It deadens Maori thought
And kills our Maori customs.

(cited in Pēwhairangi 1985: 70)

Wiremu Kaa describes his analysis of the context in which this *waiata* was composed:

I don't think we built on that kind of direction that Tuīni was protesting about, I don't think we took it up, as a serious challenge, and we sort of got lulled into accepting that as normal, the treatment that we were getting. Māori education is down to the pits. Tuīni was a pioneer in that regards, to criticise *te mātauranga o te Pākehā*. We didn't analyse that song enough, to take stock of our own situation as a *iwi*, because at that time, of that song, the Government was giving us second in education, in Ngāti Porou, what they were building for us was district high schools, which is really the worst of the worst, it was good for us at least we had some entrance into secondary education, some form of secondary education, but it's still the patronising kind of secondary education, and the girls were taught to cook and sew, and the boys were taught about how to use a saw and hammer, so what good is that? Well 'that's all you're good for'. Yes well that's it you see, mainly, we accepted that and the Government was happy to have lots of district high schools, Tokomaru had one and Tikitiki had one, Te Araroa had one, you know, Te Kaha, all that. And our parents didn't protest against that, they were proud to have some sort of education at their door step, so that their kids could be still at home to milk the cows...Colonial Government lulled us into accepting the second best in secondary education. We need to analyze the words that Tuīni put together, and look at, what is the meaning? What is she telling us, politically? Because there is a message there, and the *kupu* that she wrote spells out that message...I mean that song, 'Te Mātauranga o te Pākehā', by Tuīni, has volumes in there, you know, a whole curriculum is in there in that one *waiata*. That is a political, social commentary on our position at that time (Wiremu Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Kaa's statement that there is a wealth of knowledge within that one *waiata* harks back to the saying '*iti te kupu, nui te kōrero*'. Houia compares the scope of the *waiata* to an entire book. 'Kia tupato i ngā whakawai' kei whakawaia tātou e te ao Pākehā, ka wareware tātou ki a tātou...Nā tēnā *waiata* pakupaku noa iho nei, arā kē tana whānui rā (Houia 2006: personal communication).



Women performing a waiata-ā-ringa to welcome home the Māori Battalion after World War II, 23 January 1946.

The World Wars were really the first time that global issues featured prominently in *waiata*. The Second World War inspired the composition of a number of patriotic *waiata* and *haka*. Many of these were overtly political in nature; such is the case with the following example, which is a personal attack on Hitler. ‘E tā Hītara’ is a *haka taparahi* that was composed by Sir Apirana Ngata for the men of Ngāti Porou who went overseas to fight during World War II in 1940. It is a message to Hitler after the declaration of war in 1939, thus:

¹⁷³ F-1650-1/4, John Pascoe Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Mr Hitler, the news of your atrocious crimes has now reached New Zealand. I now tread the watery paths of Moananui-a-Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) and set my course for Germany. Now let us burst through. Now we are there. Now we are fighting. Now we are at his throat! (McLean 2004: 189).

Another composition inspired by Hitler is the *waiata* ‘**Hītara waha huka**’.

Hitara Waha Huka

Hitara waha huka, upoko maro,
He tangata tohetohe ki te riri, e!
Hinga atu, hinga mai i runga o Ruhia,

Ka wheru ona mahi! Hei! Aue, aue, aue!

Tuhikitia ra! Tuhapainga ra!
Te rau o taku patu ki runga ki te upoko!

Hoatu, e tama, karia te kauae o
Te kauramokai o Hitara, e.

Kua rongo o Mahurini, kua tata tonu mai
A te Hokowhitu toa ki Roma, e.

Hiki nuku, hiki rangi! Kore rawa he rerenga,

Ka wiri ona papa i te matakū e.

Hitler, Frothy-Mouth

Hitler, frothy-mouth, wooden-head,
He’s the man who wanted to fight,
Beaten here, beaten there, all over
Russia,
You can wipe him and his works.

Raise it, raise it on high,
Raise the blade of my club over his
head–

Let him have it, bash the jaw of
That cowardly slave called Hitler.

Mussolini has had news of how
The Maori Battalion will soon take
Rome

Up! Up to the heights! There’s no
escape,

He’s so scared his buttocks quake.

(Mitalcfe 1974: 141)

This *waiata* is remembered by many *kaumātua Māori* who learnt it as children. Milroy is unsure of who the composer was, but thinks that it is similar to the composition style of Tuīni Ngāwai. Jossie Kaa and Keri Kaa also thought it was one of Tuīni’s compositions. Milroy explains the *waiata*:

‘Hītara waha huka upoko maro’, I mean when you look at the words, ‘Hītara waha huka’ - *waha huka* is to froth at the mouth, in other words here is a person who views the rhetoric of war and froth at the mouth is consequence of stirring up the feelings and emotions of a nation to act in a particular way. ‘The Aryan superiority is something that we have to maintain, get rid of the Jews’ and all those sort of things. ‘Hītara waha huka upoko mārō’ – very stubborn person, ‘he tangata tohetohe ki te riri’ – persist in arguing and fighting, ‘hinga atu, hinga mai, kore rawa he rerenga,’ so you know, you got defeated here, you got defeated there, *kore rawa* – there was no escape, ‘ka wiri ana papa i te matakū’ – because this the Māori Battalion and of course I mean he trembled in fear, as the allied forces, *te kotahitanga o te ao* began to assume its superiority, militarily, strategically and I guess the freedom of the world was at stake. ‘Ka wiri ana papa i te matakū ē, tū hikitia rā, tū hapainga rā, tērā o tō patu ki runga i te upoko’ and this is the exhorting of the warriors, of the soldiers to fight hard and they used the words ‘tō patu ki runga i te upoko,’ well they had guns really but they are using an old image to convert into a modern context in which guns were being used, its the same thing, ‘tū

hikitia rā, tū hapainga rā te rau o tō patu ki runga i te upoko, hoatu, e tama, karia te kauae o te purari paka nei o Hītara ē’ – well it was a sort of an idiomatic phrase which was common even when I was a kid. People used that purari paka, you know that bloody bugger so you capitalise on certain words of the time to bring greater emphasis to the idea that here’s a song which is exhorting people, soldiers, Māori in particular, to do their duty to save the world from Hitler. So there we are, ‘te purari paka nei a Hītara ē, kua rongo Mussolini,’ well Mussolini of course was in cahoots with Hitler, ‘kua rongo Mussolini, kua tata tonu mai’ – and this is talking about the stages of the war or the phases of the war, ‘Te Hokowhitu Toa ki Rōma e,’ and this is when the Māori Battalion went into Italy, close to Rome you know entering Rome ‘Te Hokowhitu Toa ki Rōma ē, hiki nuku, hiki rangi, kore rawa he rerenga, ka wiri ana papa i te mataku ē’, same words as the Hitler one you see because he and Mussolini of course eventually was hung by his own people and there you are and that was a song which was composed at a time and it has political, very strong political connotation, it also has the idea of ‘kia kaha, kia kaha, kia kaha ki te whawhai’ - we don’t want to be subordinated under the Hitler rule, we want to have a free world (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Mitcalfe compares it to a traditional *kaioraora*.

This song, reminiscent in mood and tone of the traditional *kaioraora*¹⁷⁴ (cursing song), is said to have originated at Nuhaka (near Wairoa). It became widely known in the space of a year, through that most simple and effective medium – word of mouth – or, as the experts say, oral transmission (Mitcalfe 1974: 142).

The Second World War in particular, impacted on Māori tribal politics as many future leaders of *hapū* and *iwi* were lost in the war, thus many potential repositories of Māori knowledge were also lost. The deaths would often result in *waiata tangi* being composed, which is a traditional way of honouring the dead and ensuring that the history of that person lives on. Milroy explains how his uncle and his brother were lost in the war, his uncle in Cassino and his brother in Florence, Italy. Milroy then discusses the *waiata tangi* that was composed for his uncle who was to succeed Milroy’s grandfather, Takurua Tamarau, as the *rangatira* of his tribe.

My grandfather composed one for his son, my uncle which he sang. He had hoped that his youngest son would have taken over the mantle of leadership from him but of course he was killed and was left with two older sons, but you know he didn’t see that they had the leadership qualities and the younger brother did because he ended up being a leader in the Māori Battalion (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

¹⁷⁴ Song of derision, venting haka, cursing song, an abusive or belittling song of hatred

It is a tragedy that so many future leaders, speakers on the *marae*, and repositories of knowledge were lost and did not make it home to assume their role within their communities including on the *paepae* of their respective *marae*.

Image 8: Welcome home for Māori Battalion¹⁷⁵



Sergeant Major Anania Amohau welcomes members of the Māori Battalion following their arrival home aboard the *Dominion Monarch*.

The end of World War II saw a large migration of Māori from their rural communities to the cities in order to gain employment. Jossie Kaa discusses a composition by her husband, entitled ‘Te urunga o te rā’, which he composed for the centenary of Rangitukia Primary School.

¹⁷⁵ F- 1644-1/4, John Pascoe Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

[Wiremu] composed one when we were in Wellington, we were having a reunion at the school, Rangitukia School Centenary and we were living in Wellington, and we had a group there, so we had our own *kapa haka* group in Wellington and we were going to come back to the school's centenary, he composed this one, 'Te urunga o te rā,' and all our group learnt it and put the actions together... These are the sort of things when you think of coming home, you know, that sort of thing wells up in you...so those are the sort of things you get inspiration from to write songs I guess (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Wiremu Kaa explains the inspiration behind the *waiata* was his longing for home, something which most Māori living in the cities can relate to.

It was a *tangi* from us who live in Wellington, 'townies', it was a *tangi* for home and our *tangi* for 'te urunga o te rā'. A lot of *waiata* are like that, they recall an event and they make the connection between one place and another place, in this case, its a social comment on urbanised Māori, pining for their rural home, and that's what that *waiata* was about, the inspiration came to me based on those sorts of things...Pining for home we were, and we were practising for coming back to the centenary, and we were, well I suppose calling out for our *mātua*, our *tīpuna* to *ārahi* us, we were bereft of leaders. The song, the inspiration for the song came at night, it just happened, the *wairua* came to me, and I got up in the night and wrote the words (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

Ruakere Hond notes that following the urban drift of Māori from their communities to the cities to seek employment, the *waiata* coming out of Taranaki were mainly 'talking about unity and coming together and those sorts of things' (Hond 2006: personal communication).

Māori renaissance and the recent past

Moorfield describes the Māori Renaissance as 'a cultural explosion of initiatives by Māori people of all ages across the country to reassert and reaffirm Māori identity' (Moorfield 2006: 108). This period provided rich material for the composition of *waiata*, which focused specifically on issues regarding language decline, Māori rights, and the return of confiscated lands.

One example of a *waiata* from this time is 'Ngā Iwi e' by Māori musician and scholar Hirini Melbourne. In the documentary *Untouchable Girls* Jools Topp discusses this *waiata*: 'In any kind of political movement, there is always some music and a song that maybe makes people feel brave or strong or something...gives them a sense of freedom

or something. And people will listen to the song before they will listen to the speech a lot of the time too. So it was kind of a bit rousing'. This quotation reaffirms the ability of *waiata* to aid in a protest movement.

Hirini Melbourne is also responsible for the *waiata* '**Aramoana**' which was a song of protest about the construction of an aluminium smelter at Aramoana.

E kai nei te kino	The pain gnaws
I ahau nei	within me
E noho nei ki runga	As I sit on top of
O Ōtākou e	Otago peninsula
Kia whakatapuhia a Aramoana	Sanctify Aramoana

Raparapa ake nei e	The calm is
I te marino	disturbed
Ripiripi ake te tai	The tide of Huikoau
O Huikoau	in turbulence
Kia whakatapuhia a Aramoana	Sanctify Aramoana

Kei konei au	Here I am
Kei runga o Hautai	On top of Hautai
O Muaupoko	and Muaupoko
E kairangi nei	perplexed

Kei raro ra	Below my love
Ko te aroha	descends
E miri noa	to mingle with those
I te hunga moe te pō	who have passed
Kia whakatapuhia a Aramoana	Sanctify Aramoana

Toroa i te rangi	Albatross of the sky
Kaua rā e tau	Do not land
Kāore ō tāua tunga	There is no place for us
i tēnei ao	in this world
Kia whakatapuhia a Aramoana	Sanctify Aramoana

(Melbourne date unknown: 10)

The *waiata* is significant as it is an example of composition regarding environmental politics. In the 1970s, an aluminium smelter was proposed to be built at Aramoana at the entrance to the Otago harbour by a consortium of New Zealand based Fletcher-Challenge, Australia's CSR Ltd and Swiss firm, Lausuisse. Initially, the New Zealand government of the day endorsed the proposal. There was much protest from lobby groups opposed to the aluminium smelter being built and eventually the project was abandoned. Hirini Melbourne wrote this song as part of the protest against the construction of the aluminium smelter at Aramoana.

Melbourne makes reference to some of the significant features of the Otago harbour. Line nine, ‘...**Huikoau**’, is the name of the tide that comes through the main channel. ‘A raft of shags float in with the tide, feeding as they go. Hence the name Hui-koau “a gathering of shags”’ (Melbourne date unknown: 10). Lines 12-13 reference the peak on top of the peninsula, ‘**Hautai**’ and the Māori name for the Otago peninsula, ‘**Muaupoko**’. There is an albatross colony at Pukekura at the end of the peninsula, hence the reference in the last verse of the song.

Although Māori have made many advances since the Māori renaissance, the issues that were relevant at that time continue to be relevant today.

In terms of compositions that we’ve performed maybe in the last ten years, say five Nationals, the compositions have been about – more the social aspect of we as a people, and the challenges that we as a people face against trying to find our way in a very colonised system...the *reo*, alcohol abuse amongst our own families, just all of that social – negatives. And what is it that we can do to just turn that whole thing around for the betterment of we as Māori people. For me, a lot of that stems from our people becoming disconnected from Papatūānuku and from the natural world, from Te Ao – *kua ngaro te – kāore rātou i te rongō i te whatumanawa o Papatūānuku* – we’ve become disconnected from it, we are so busy trying to survive in today’s world with the rules that have been placed upon us (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

The effects of colonisation continue and are therefore, still the source of inspiration for *waiata* and *haka*. Kāretu argues that historical issues that have not been resolved will continue to be one focus of compositions.

Ka mau tonu ēnei, ki te tupu mai koe ki roto o Waikato, me kī, ka mau tonu koe, kia whakahokia rā anōtia mai te awa...He nui ngā iwi, pēnei i a mātou nei, kāre anō kia tutuki tā mātou take...he nui ngā iwi kei te whawhai tonu nē...Nā reira, e kore pea tērā take e takoto kia ea rā anō ngā amuamu o ngā kaumātua, o te iwi rānei, engari kei te tika. Koirā te taha tōrangapū e puta ana i roto i ngā waiata (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Timoti Kāretu writes: ‘Haka have always reflected the cares, concerns and issues of the time. The haka of today are no different’ (Kāretu 1993a: 49). The health of *te reo Māori* will continue to be an important issue for Māori, and will therefore, continue to be the subject of Māori composition.

I was thinking about it this morning, one of our tutors just taught us a little *haka* which is about *tōku reo Māori*, and it's pretty basic, it just goes: *Tōku reo Māori, puritia ki te uma, hei hoki i te manawa, hei mōwai i te ngutu...tōku reo ko tōku mana, mana hikinuku, mana hikirangi, tōku piki amokura, tōku reo Māori, puritia hī*. Really basic, and you think that's not political, that's about *reo*, there's nothing political in there. But, if the *reo* wasn't in jeopardy, if the *reo* wasn't decimated to the point that it was, if it wasn't at risk, then why would you have a *haka* about the *reo*? You don't have it in English, can you imagine anything like that in English? Saying 'let's hold on to our English language, don't let anybody take it whatever happens, it has to be our sustenance, it has to be where we source our *mana* from' – it's normal, so because of its normality it doesn't require that level of – its taken for granted. But when it's under threat, all of a sudden you get people standing up for it saying it has to be this, it has to be that. In a way, you could say that's a politicisation of the issue, because of the social circumstances at the time (O'Regan 2006: personal communication).

Milroy refers to Tīmoti Kāretu's compositions regarding *te reo Māori*, which implores Māori to protect and nurture the language.

Tīmoti, he nui wana haka, wana waiata pērā anō, pērā ana anō e riri ana ki te iwi Māori tonu, he ngoikore nō te iwi Māori he kaha ki te mea, he momo porotēhi tērā, porotēhi ana nā te mea, he ngoikore nō te iwi Māori. Ā, ka porotēhi anō ia, nō te mea kāre te Kāwanatanga i te whakapau kaha ki te whakaora mai anō i te reo, i te mea, ka mate haere te reo, ka mate haere te wairua Māori, ka ngaro te mauri Māori, ka ngaro ngā tikanga, ki te ngaro te reo. Mā te reo hoki, ka ora mai ngā tikanga ki te kore he reo, kua tikanga kore tātou (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Harawira refers to a composition by Tīmoti Kāretu which stresses the importance of language use and transmission, especially for future generations:

In terms of the *reo* compositions of Tīmoti's – *mēnā kei a koe te reo, kōrero i te ao, i te pō, i te ao, i te pō. Mei kore koe e kōrero i te reo, tō tāua nei reo rangatira, ka haere atu ō mokopuna ki te pātai 'i ahatia e koe taku taonga'* (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

Te Rito discusses a *waiata* which reinforces the values of Te Kōhanga Reo:

And then – I notice that Pita Sharples is probably a good example of this – I remember him at the festival in Hastings many years ago and they did their – the Kōhanga Reo song, and you know to me that was a real – they did this song and there were just little phrases – I can't remember the words, but it's little phrases that you would teach the little kids like '*tīkina te something*'. And you know to me that is really political, because it was a soft political message but it was really holding up the virtues and, I suppose, the value of Kōhanga Reo as an institution and as a means of saving our language, partial

means of saving our language. So that was very political (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

The grievances of the past are still referred to as part of Māori history as it is important to remember the *tīpuna Māori* who have sacrificed and struggled for the rights that Māori have today. *Waiata* ensure that this history is engrained in Māori identity. Harawira provides an example regarding a *haka* composed for a land claim settlement.

Say an example of a contemporary item that we've done as Te Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, could be the *haka* that we did in 1992 which is about the *raupatu*¹⁷⁶. Now, even though the *raupatu* has been settled, it was settled in 1995, the story is still relevant today, because it conveys the stories for those yet to come, about the situation leading up to the signing of that *raupatu* deal...And even though claims have been settled now, grievances are being settled, it still doesn't take away from the fact that that's the reality, that was our reality at that time, it's still a reality for us today (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

Another example of the settlement of a land claim providing source material for the composition of *waiata* and *haka* comes from Harawira's own *iwi*.

For my people back home who have been through the *raupatu* settlements, the compositions we composed for our *raupatu*, just like we composed that *haka* for the *raupatu* in Tainui, we composed for the handing back of Pūtauaki...real political stuff (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

Other types of injustices have provided the material for *waiata* and *haka*. Donna Grant refers to her uncle, Haane Manahi, who was part of the Māori Battalion and was awarded the Victoria Cross in the Second World War, only to have it downgraded. This led to a Waitangi Tribunal Claim by Te Arawa and a *haka* by Ngāti Rangiwewehi.

My Uncle Haane was awarded the VC two weeks after Ngarimu – on the field he was awarded the VC and it went through the chain of command but at the British War Office, it was crossed out and the DCM was put in place which is the second award down...Rangiwewehi composed a *haka* that protested that travesty of justice. So a whole festival was themed around that, it was in memory of my Uncle Haane. We have taken it to the Waitangi Tribunal and at the Waitangi Tribunal the *haka* was played and I translated in Pākehā the *kupu* of what the men were performing and so now we have been successful where the Crown now is making a submission on behalf of the family. I'll be going through to London to Buckingham Palace (Donna Grant 2006: personal communication).

¹⁷⁶ Conquest, confiscation, often referring to confiscated land – land taken by force

Te Kāhautu Maxwell argues that inter-tribal politics is still present today. An example of historical inter-tribal politics which are perpetuated by the present generation is the disputes that arise between *iwi* who share land-boundaries. In a contemporary context, this will often result in competing claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. Maxwell refers to an entrance item performed by the *kapa haka* from Ruatāhuna.

Kei konei tonu tēnā tōrangapū i waenga tonu i ngā iwi, i te mea, mō ngā raupatu whenua e mea ana, ā, nāku tēnā whenua, arā kē a Ruatāhuna e whakahē nei i ngā mahi a Ngāti Awa, e mea ana, he iwi whānako whenua, nō reira, kei reira tonu tēnei tōrangapū i waenganui i ngā iwi, i te mea, ka hoki anō ki taku kōrero ko ngā waiata nei he waka kawē kōrero, he waka pupuri kōrero mō ngā uri whakaheke...mai i te orokohanga mai o tēnei mea o te ao Māori i tīmata ai tēnei mea, kei roto i ngā kaioraora, kei roto i ngā tautitoto (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

All of these contemporary examples of *waiata* and *haka* demonstrate the continued tradition of composers using composition as a means of commenting on the politics of the day. Kāretu discusses the main political focus within compositions composed today, and provides an example of a *waiata-ā-ringa* about the short-comings of the Māori members of parliament.

Tērā pea, mēnā koe i whakarongo ki te waiata-ā-ringa a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, i ngā whakataetae nui nei, te whakaingoa haere i ngā mema Māori o te whare pāremata, me tō rātou koretake, a mea, a mea, a mea, a mea. He waiata ātaahua tērā! Engari, me hoatu anō tērā kōrero, he whakamārama me waiho, kei te pai tātou, kei te mōhio tātou ko wai a Parekura Horomia, e mōhio tātou ko wai a Mita Ririnui, kei te mōhio tātou ko wai, a wai, a wai, a wai. Engari tino pai taua waiata a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, ngā koretake o tēnā...rātou katoa i roto i te waiata-ā-ringa a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, he tino, he tino, mātauranga nei, ka kite i te tohungatanga o te kaitito, tōna tohungatanga ki te whakatakoto i te kupu, āe, ātaahua, engari, koirā katoa ngā mahi tōrangapū o ēnei wā. Ko te nuinga pea o ngā kaupapa, ko te Tiriti o Waitangi, ko te muru whenua...me te kore e aro mai o te Kāwanatanga ki te ao Māori, nē, kei te pēhia mai te ao Māori e te Kāwanatanga. Koirā ngā kaitito o ēnei wā (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Compositions such as this ensure that the Māori political leaders of today are reminded about who they represent and are encouraged to push for Māori advancement lest they be reprimanded by their people through *waiata* and *haka*. Donna Grant discussed Pita Sharples as an example of someone who was a political commentator through his compositions for Te Rōpū Manutaki and is now in a position to affect change as a

member of parliament and co-leader of the Māori Party (Grant 2006: personal communication).

Kāretu provides an example of a political *haka* performed by Waka Huia, an Auckland-based *kapa haka*, regarding Koro Wētere who was once a Māori member of parliament.

I kata au i Tūrangawaewae, i te Koroneihana, i hakahia mai e Waka Huia tā rāto u haka, e whakatū poto nei i a Koro Wētere i te wā i a ia ko te Minita Māori, e kīia ana, ‘ki te kore koe e whakatika i a koe, kei waho koe e putu ana’. Ana, koirā i hinga ai te Rōpū Reipa. I taku taha a Koro e noho ana, e whakarongo ana ki taua haka, kei te kī mai ki a au, ‘ah! Nō ngā wā o nehe ērā kōrero’. Engari ko te mea nui, i mau ērā kōrero ki roto i te haka, kua mārama ngā tamariki ā tōna wā, ‘Ah, ko Koro Wētere te minita Māori, nā te mea, nā te mea, nā te mea, i kī atu a Waka Huia, ‘ki te kore koe e tūpato, kei waho koe e putu ana’ – Nō reira, he tika tēnei kōrero, ko ngā waiata, ko ngā haka, ko ngā poi, ko ngā mea hei pupuri i ngā kōrero nui o te wā o te kaitito, ngā take nui o te ao Māori o taua wā (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Kāretu goes on to stress the importance of preserving the stories, explanations and contexts of compositions, as these are essential in order to properly explain the composition.

Kei te pai tātou i tēnei wā, nā te mea, kei te mārama tātou ko wai a Koro Wētere. Engari, e puta he mokopuna mā tātou, kāre rātou e mōhio, ko wai a Koro Wētere. Nō reira, me waiho he whakamārama (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Kāretu himself is one of the contemporary composers who maintains the tradition of providing an editorial on the issue of the day.

I know Tīmoti [Kāretu] is very good at this...we will go to a *hui* and he'll pick up on something and he says 'I'm going to challenge that' and he'll compose and he will give it to the group to convey his message. And a good example of that is, one year we did a *haka* and our women did the *haka* with us, and as we were going off the stage, one of the *kaumātua*, one of the – the chairman of traditional Māori performing arts at that time nationally I think, Kīngi Ihaka, he stood up and he said '*Kāore e tika ana mā te wahine hei haka i te taha o te tāne.*' And Tīmoti looked at him and 'oh I will fix you up' and at our next regionals we did a *haka* and we mentioned all of those tribes that *haka*, whose women *haka* with their men, and that was a political statement, and up North maybe they don't do that, but in other areas we do... But there were five *iwi* that actually did – do *haka* with their women. So, I suppose he took that and he thought 'well I disagree with that' and the composition was a way of conveying his thoughts as a composer, to get out

in front of people. And, he in fact does that with all of our items, he will just pick up on whatever is happening at the time...Yeah, so very political, his compositions are political (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

The composition that Harawira is referring to is **‘Pupū ake ana’**.

Pupū ake ana i taku whatu manawa
Te whakatakariri me te pōuri nui
Ki te hunga e whakahaere nei
Whakatakoto ture tikanga kore
Mō ngā mahi nei mahi tauwhāinga
E tautokohia nei e ngā kapa puta noa
Inā hoki i kīia mai ahau
Kaua te wahine e haka i te taha o te tāne
Ki te whērā, he kore take
He kore take nō te tāne e
Ka kimikimi ko te hinengaro
Ka pātai te ngākau he aha kē
Te tino kaupapa o ngā mahi nei
Āe rānei he whakahau i te rangatahi
Ki te pupuri i ngā taonga hirahira
I heke mai i ngā huihuinga, kāwaitanga
Āe rānei he takatakahi
I ngā mana, i ngā wehi o ngā iwi
Horouta te waka – he haka te wahine!
Te Arawa te waka – he haka te wahine!
Mātaatua te waka – he haka te wahine!
Te kaupapa kē he tautoko, he āwhina
He whakahau tā te wahine i te tāne, (te tāne)
Kia puta ai te wana, te ihi, te wehi
Hei hoa mō te tau o te kupu (te kupu)
Ngā tino taonga o roto i ēnei mahi
Ki te kore hoki he aha te aha? (te aha?)
Nō tuawhakarere te tikanga e mau nei i ahau
Nā rātou mā hoki ēnei kupu ōhākī
‘Auaka tumutumu te kura i Awarua’
Tihē! Tihē mauri ora!

From the very depths of my being wells up
Anger and resentment
At the attitude of the organizing body
Who make pointless rules
For these competitions
Which have the support of groups throughout the country
For I have been told
That the women must not haka with the men
And should they persist in so doing
It is tantamount to saying that the men are useless
The mind wonders
And the soul searches
For the philosophy underlying these activities
Is it to encourage the younger generation,
To retain those valued items

Which exist as a consequence of the gatherings of experts,
 Or is it to brazenly ignore
 The practices and customs of other tribes?
 In the territory of Horouta canoe – women haka!
 In the territory of Te Arawa canoe – women haka!
 In the territory of Mātaatua canoe – women haka!
 The philosophy really is that the women should support, boost,
 And give encouragement to the men
 So that the excitement, vigour and panache will emerge
 As an accompaniment for the lyrics
 Which are, after all, the most important aspects of these activities.
 Should they be absent from the performance, then what is the point?
 The custom which I am observing has come down through the ages
 And it was they, our ancestors, who left this piece of advice,
 ‘Do not forsake the customs whose origins are in Awarua’
 Tihē mauri ora!
 (Kāretu 1993b: 105-106).

This politically-charged *waiata-ā-ringa*, which was composed by Tīmoti Kāretu and performed by Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, is clearly an important example of the level of passionate protest that can be expressed through composition. Kāretu’s own explanation of the incident leading to the composition is as follows;

In 1980 at the regional competitions of the Waikato-Maniapoto district, to select groups to represent the area at the New Zealand Polynesian Festival, held in Auckland in 1981, Kīngi Matutaera Ihaka announced that women were not permitted to perform in the haka with men. At the festival held in Wellington in 1979, Te Whare Wānanga were the only group in which the women performed the haka with the men, and I realised because of our doing that, the rule was invoked. To vent my spleen and frustration, this song was composed which we used as our entry for the action song in the Polynesian Festival of 1981 held in Auckland (Kāretu 1993b: 106).

Another Kāretu composition, ‘**Whakaipupu mai**’, can also be interpreted as being political in another sense.

Whakaipupu mai rā te moana kei waho e
 E āki kau ana ki Te Toka-namu-a-Mihi-marino
 Ki uta rā, ki Pākirikiri e
 Ko te rite o te wai kei aku kamo
 Tīneia te whetū mārama o te ao Māori
 Kia pōuri, kia tūohu noa, kia mamae au e
 Kei hea rā tōu ritenga hei whakamau atu mā te iwi e
 E koe, e te ngākau māhaki, e te ngākau aroha
 Te tohunga whakairo kupu, te manu tioriori o te motu
 Mū ana i te rā nei e
 Ngaro atu koe i te kitenga kanohi e
 Ō taonga ia, ka mahue mai
 Anō he toka whatiwhati ngaru

E kore e ngaro, e kore e wareware e
Kāti, e hika, haere i tō tira mokemoke e
Ko au e kapo atu ki te rehu o te tai
E pā mai nei ki ahau e

The sea offshore is overcast with clouds
As it pounds against Te Toka-namu-a-Mihi-marino
To the shore at Pākirikiri
It is like tears in my eyes
The bright star of the Māori world is extinguished
I am in sadness, I bow down and I am in pain
Where is your likeness as a focus for the people (to follow)
You the generous heart, the loving heart
The expert in crafting words, the singing bird of the land
Is now silent this day
You have disappeared from view
But your gifts remain
Like a rock where the waves break
Which will never be lost and never forgotten
Well, my friend, go with your lonely travelling party
And I will snatch at the sea spray
That strikes me (Ka'ai 2008: 125-126)

‘Whakaipuipu’ is a *waiata tangi* or lament. Tīmoti Kāretu composed the *waiata tangi* as an expression of the enormous loss he felt following the passing of his dear friend and fellow composer, Ngoi Pēwhairangi. ‘Whakaipuipu’ was first sung in 1985 (the year of Ngoi’s passing) at Pākirikiri Marae in Tokomaru Bay when Kāretu and a handful of his colleagues from the University of Waikato returned to the area on University business. The *waiata tangi* was only ever sung once on this occasion.

Kāretu in Lines 2 and 3, locates lament within Ngoi’s *hapū* by using traditional landmarks ‘**Toka-namu-a-Mihi-marino**’ and one of her *marae* ‘**Pākirikiri**’, the largest *marae* at Tokomaru Bay.

The underlying political element of this *waiata* is the loss to the Māori community of a great leader and repository of knowledge. Kāretu highlight this in line seven, ‘**Kei hea rā tōu ritenga hei whakamau atu mā te iwi e**’, asking who will now fill her role in Māoridom. This is one of the significant issues facing Māori. As repositories of Māori knowledge pass away, there are fewer of the younger generations who are capable of stepping into those roles.

Lines 8 and 9 describes Ngoi’s personal attributes and talents, while Lines 11 and 12 suggest that Ngoi’s legacy will indeed live on.

In the mid-1990s the *waiata* was revived by Professor Tania Ka’ai and Professor John Moorfield, with Dr Kāretu’s blessing. They both felt it was a waste for such a beautiful *mōteatea* to lay dormant. In the years since, it has become the primary *waiata* for the Professors and for their students when visiting *marae*, and as such, ‘Whakaipuipu’ has been heard on *marae* throughout the country. This will continue on, as ‘Whakaipuipu’ is the *mōteatea* of choice for Te Ipukarea, The National Māori Language Institute, founded by the aforementioned professors and their mentors. This *waiata* is also the first composition to be uploaded onto the digital repository (which is discussed further in Chapters Eight and Nine).

The composition ‘**He Taurere Takutai**’ provides a very recent example of a *waiata* which is a commentary on political events.

He Taurere Takutai

Tērā tētahi whare i hanga
I te marae ātea o Hine Tuaneone

Aurere ana te moana
Ngunguru ana te whenua
I te auētanga o te motu
Pākia ki uta, pākia ki tai

Tū kau noa te whare pūngāwerewere
Toro atu ana te kōrurutanga ki mamao
He rā kūtia mō te hunga o raro
Ko te hinapōuri, he pōuriuri
Tē hiki e

Tē kite atu i te pūāhurutanga
He mātao te takuahi
Ngā tara o te whare, pīrahirahi e
Whakairohia e te ringa naho
Torutoru noa i hinga
I ngā whakawai a tōna poho e

Ka nuku te one, oreore te kiri
Pānekeneke ana i raro wae
Pākia rawatia ana e te tai o riri
Ka timu, ka whatiwhati
Ka pari tonu mai
Ki tōna tūranga motuhake e

A Lament for the Sea Coast

There was a house built
Upon the swept dunes of Hine
Tuaneone

The sea groaned
The land growled
As the lament of the nation
Slapped upon shore and tide

It stood, this spider’s house
Its shadow cast far
Eclipsing all it cloaked
Night and darkness did not recoil

No refuge could be found
Its hearth stone cold
Its walls paper thin
Its carvings etched in haste
It beckoned but few into its breast

The sand shifting, moving,
Sliding under its feet
Lashed by the angry tide,
Pushed away, and broken
Still the tide returned
To claim its place

Tērā tētahi whare i hinga
I te marae ātea o Hine Tuaneone e

There was a house that fell
on the swept dunes of Hine
Tuaneone

(Summary Report of the Ministerial Review of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004)

The above *waiata* was composed by Hana O'Regan and was published in the Summary Report of the Ministerial Review of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004. The composition refers to the injustices that occurred as a result of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004.

Te Tauihu o Ngā Waka, a confederation of tribes in the northern part of the South Island, became concerned over the development of marine farming in the Marlborough Sounds. The confederation felt marginalised and they were worried about the impact of aquaculture, particularly mussel farms, on their customary fishing rights in the Sounds. According to Walker, the tribes also felt shut out of the marine farming industry by the Marlborough District Council. In 1997, Te Tauihu o Ngā Waka applied to the Māori Land Court to determine what their customary rights to the foreshore and seabed were (Walker 2004: 377-378).

The foreshore is the land between the high and low water mark and the seabed is the land below the low water mark. This does not include the sand up on the 'beach' or beach access land as some political campaigns had insinuated. One such campaign was the misleading "Beaches for All" campaign run by the National Party. This struck a cord with the NZ public who imagined that their summer holidays at the beach would be ruined by Māori restricting access. The result polarised the foreshore and seabed issue as being a Māori v Pākehā issue. Some have even compared the whole debacle to the 1981 Springbok tour that divided the country and set family member against family member and neighbour against neighbour (Walker 2004: 381, 388).

Feeling the weight of the political pressure, the Labour Government proposed a bill that would 'clarify' the situation. That is, the legislation would make it clear that Māori had no claim to the seabed and foreshore. What is interesting is that the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 does not affect those areas already privately owned, 30.4% of the coastline of Aotearoa/New Zealand. This led to Māori questions such as, 'why are our rights less than those of other New Zealanders?'

Image 9: Seabed-Foreshore Protest Placard



All manner of protest placards and banners were seen at the Seabed-Foreshore Protest in Wellington, 2004

In March 2004, the Waitangi Tribunal released a report on the Māori claim to the foreshore and seabed. ‘The tribunal found that the Government’s policy of removing the ability of Maori to get a declaration of their legal rights through the courts breached the norms of domestic and international law’ (Walker 2004: 403). The Government denied Māori due legal process.

Māori felt betrayed by the Labour Government, as it is the Labour Party that has traditionally received the Māori vote. In fact, prior to 2005 there was only one election in the history of the Māori seats when Labour did not fill those seats. The 2004 *hīkoi*, or march on parliament, was the result of Māori discontent and disillusionment with the Government over the Seabed and Foreshore case. The idea of a *hīkoi* (a peaceful march to Parliament to protest against the Governments proposals) was raised by Ngāti Kahungunu at a *hui* to discuss the seabed and foreshore in September 2003. The idea was unanimously supported by all tribes. The people of Te Tai Tokerau, led by Hone Harawira, organised the *hīkoi* to march down the centre of the North Island (Walker 2004: 403).

Image 10: Seabed-Foreshore Hikoi, 2004



This collage of protest images features Dr Pita Sharples (bottom left image) leading a *haka*. The Seabed-Foreshore Legislation led to the establishment of the Māori Party of which Sharples is a Co-Leader

The *hīkoi* arrived at Parliament in the afternoon of 5 May 2004, when the Foreshore and Seabed Bill was to be given its first reading. The march swelled to at least 20,000 people when it reached Wellington (the capital city) (Walker 2004: 404). Regardless, the Foreshore and Seabed Act was passed. The Māori Party was established as a direct result of the Foreshore and Seabed issue and they lobbied the National Government to order a review of the legislation. Hana O'Regan's composition was included in the summary report of that review.

Temara claims that the majority of Māori compositions have an element of political comment within them, and usually the themes of these compositions reflect the political issues of the day. He uses the example of the Seabed and Foreshore Legislation which led to many new *waiata* and *haka*.

I te nuinga o ngā titonga o mua i taka iho ki ngā titonga o nāianei, he tōrangapū te kaupapa e whāia ana, he porotēhi...Ko ngā mea e mōhio ana ki

te whakairo kōrero, ko tā rātou mahi he whakairo i ngā whakaaro, i ētahi wā ehara nō rātou ngā whakaaro, nō ngā kaitito, engari e whakairo ana rātou i ngā whakaaro o te iwi, me ngā anipā o te iwi ki ngā kaupapa o te wā. Nō reira, ahakoa he aha te kaupapa, te takutai moana, ka puta te takutai moana i te rua me te hāwhe tau ka huri, ko ngā waiata o roto i ngā kapa haka o taua wā, i muri mai i te putanga, i te pakarutanga o tērā kaupapa, ko te takutai moana katoa. Ka tū mai tērā kapa haka, takutai moana, tū mai tēnā kapa haka, he takutai moana, tae rawa ake ki te 32 kua āhua hōhā nei koe i te takutai moana, engari, koirā te kaupapa o te wā. Ko ētahi o ngā kaupapa o te wā, ko te patu wahine, ā, kua whakairohia tērā, ko ngā tamariki, ko te manaaki i ngā tamariki, ko te mate whakamomori, koirā katoa, me ētahi atu, me te huhua noa o ngā kaupapa tōrangapū e whakairohia ana e te Māori ki roto i ana haka, ki roto hoki i ana waiata...ka hangaia e koe te kaupapa o tō waiata i runga i te kaupapa tōrangapū o te wā (Temara 2006: personal communication).

According to Maxwell, the main focus of Māori politics remains unchanged since prior to colonisation, that is, land. Maxwell also discusses some of the political issues that Māori are faced with today, such as the Māori rights to the seabed and foreshore.

I te patutanga o Papa-tū-ā-nuku ki te rau o te patu, koirā te parekura nui i apakuratia e ngā iwi raupatu. Nō reira, i tērā wā ko te whenua tonu. Ko te kaupapa i nāianei tonu ko te whenua tonu te kaupapa nui, engari arā kē e kōrerotia nei e te matua, takutai moana, kātahi anō ka whakauruhia, kei te wānangatia te pire hei raupatu i a Hine-wai, ngā awa, kei roto tērā i te Pāremata ināianei. Nō reira, e kī nei au he nui noa atu ngā kaupapa tōrangapū kei mua i a tātou. I tērā ko te kotahitanga, ko te Tiriti o Waitangi, koinei tonu te kaupapa i āianei, wērā kaupapa ināianei, kua tū te Pāti Māori, nō reira, he kaupapa anō tērā, he waka tērā hei hoenga mō tātou, e kīia nei e te matua tangata, e Te Kooti, ‘i muri i ahau ko te waka hei hoenga mō koutou, ko te waka o te ture.’ Tērā pea, kua whakatinana mai tērā kōrero i roto i te Pāti Māori kua tū nei, koirā pea te waka hai hoenga mā tātou kia ū atu ai ki runga i te whenua, te whenua i oaitia ai, i moemoetia ai e ō mātou mātua tīpuna, ā, kei roto i te Tiriti kei a tātou tonu te tino rangatira, mana motuhake ki runga i tō tātou whenua. Nō reira, koirā te rerekē o nāianei, ngā tōrangapū o tērā wā, ki ngā tōrangapū o wēnei wā, he nui noa atu ngā taiapa, ngā poro tāwhaowhao kei mua i a tātou, hai kakatanga, hai pikitanga mō tātou (Maxwell 2006: personal communication).

Summary and conclusions

Māori society is political. According to Aristotle, man is a naturally political animal due to the fact that he has the ability to communicate and dialogue about moral concepts such as justice. Moreover, political rule is natural as humans are inclined to live in communities and form kinship structures. Inevitably, this leads to a system of power. The notion that politics is primarily about the control, distribution, acquisition and maintenance of power translates to traditional Māori society.

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā, the Māori kinship structure acted as the primary basis for political power. The most obvious form of politics was inter-tribal. However, this changed considerably through colonisation. There is a consensus amongst the informants of this thesis, that following first-contact with Pākehā, the Māori notion of politics changed. This is a direct consequence of the Māori political system coming in contact with outsiders, which subsequently changed that system irrevocably.

The political nature of Māori society has meant that politics has always been a focus of oral tradition. The concept of *tōrangapū* features prominently in the Tīenga model which illustrates that politics is not only woven through Māori society, but also through the compositions which reflect that society and comment on its nature. *Waiata* and *haka* are a medium through which Māori can publish their comments on the political issues of the day. For this reason, *waiata* provide a ‘chronological map’ outlining the political history of *tīpuna Māori*. This map illustrates the significant changes in the Māori political landscape that have taken place since first contact with Pākehā.

Milroy suggests that the wairua of politically themed compositions is the same today as it was in the past. Perhaps the language used is different, but the thoughts behind the composition remain the same.

Ko ngā kupu he rerekē engari ko te wairua, ko te wairua e āhua rite ana, te take i titoa he waiata, he haka mō te takutai, i tito anō he waiata mō te hīkoi, tito anō he haka mō te kōpaki pūtea, ērā, nā reira, he kaupapa tōrangapū wērā (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

There may be an argument that arises claiming that the oral tradition and the written record have done well to preserve *waiata* and *haka* as evidenced by the examples used in this research. However, it must be stressed that for every *waiata* which has been preserved through the oral tradition with the aid of the written record, there have been many more which have been lost through time without new compositions to replace them.

Chapter Seven

Waiata as evidence of Māori political history

The past is myself, my own history, the seed of my present thoughts, the mould of my present disposition (Stevenson 1898: 60).¹⁷⁷

The focus of this chapter is the validity of *waiata* as evidence of Māori political history. The discussion will begin with an analysis of the impact of the past on the present. Following that, there will be an examination of the ability of *waiata* to preserve political histories. The Waitangi Tribunal use of oral tradition as evidence will be discussed, as will their use of *waiata* as evidence.

Looking to the past, from the present

As described in the opening quotation, the past affects one's perceptions, moulds one's disposition, and affects one's actions (Tonkin 1995: 7). Tonkin expands on this concept,

People talk of 'the past' so as to distinguish 'now' from a different 'then'. At the same time, every 'now' is the consequence of many 'thens'...What goes on now is interpreted from previous knowledge, from memory. The present we live in is built from past events (Tonkin 1995: 9).

Accordingly, the past will frequently provide insight into issues faced in the present. Tonkin continues with this thought,

We also try to shape our futures in the light of past experience – or what we understand to have been past experience – and, representing how things were, we draw a social portrait, a model which is a reference list of what to follow and what to avoid (Tonkin 1995: 7).

Determining 'what to follow and what to avoid' is extremely political in nature. Recalling history is political, particularly when the history of the coloniser is in opposition to the history of the colonised. Whilst Māori political history is a comment on the past, it affects the present and the future of the *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to Binney, 'The 'telling of history', whether it be oral or written, is

¹⁷⁷ Robert Louis Stevenson, Scottish novelist, poet and travel writer. Spent much time in the Pacific, wrote about politics in the Pacific, friend of King Kalākaua of Hawai'i, died and buried in Samoa.

not and never has been neutral. It is always the reflection of the priorities of the narrators and their perceptions of their world' (Binney 2001: 14).

There are two (often opposing) remembered histories of Aotearoa/New Zealand, that of Māori (the colonised) and that of Pākehā (the colonisers). Binney explains that the Māori oral histories have been 'largely suppressed histories, although they live in their own world' (Binney 2001: 3). Conversely, Pākehā written histories have dominated.

Mohe Tawhai accurately predicted, while considering whether or not to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, that the sayings of the Maori would 'sink to the bottom like a stone', while the sayings of the Pakeha would 'float light, like the wood of the wau-tree, and always remain to be seen (Binney 2001: 3).

It is important that Māori interpretations of history be preserved and that Māori truth is told. This will ensure that the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand is not 'whitewashed'.

In listening to the voices of the colonized, rather than the observations and reports of those who were the colonizers, a gap in perceptions soon becomes apparent.

...It is only relatively recently that Western-trained historians have come to realize that they have been perpetuating colonialist attitudes in their so-called objective histories. At the same time, these histories have served, to a considerable extent, to erase Maori memories and perceptions (Binney 2001: 4).

Binney provides an example regarding a descendant of Te Kooti who did not realise that the prophet was her great-grandfather until she was asked to write about him at school in 1928. Her family did not talk about him and suppressed that aspect of their family history due to the mainstream negative perception at the time of Te Kooti as a 'rebel' leader (Binney 2001: 4). Regardless of this negative view of Te Kooti, 'other traditions had survived in the oral narratives and the waiata of Te Kooti. They convey quite different perspectives; other ways of seeing' (Binney 2001: 4).

Waiata and the preservation of historical knowledge

The Maori relied to a great extent on song for the purpose of expressing his feelings, and even utilised it in order to impart ordinary information such as would never tempt us to cross the bounds of prose. Possessing no form of script in which to conserve or impart knowledge, our Maori had to rely on

spoken language entirely, and a public statement was equivalent to our written declaration (Best 2005, p.185).

The fact that *waiata* can contain large amounts of knowledge regarding history in relatively few words has been previously discussed; so to the association of history with tribal landmarks. The following *waiata* is a prime example of both of these aspects.

Kia whakataukitia,
Tāhora ki raro, Panekire ki runga
Maungapōhatu ki waenganui
Waikaremoana! Hei!
Ruatāhuna! Hei!
Te rohe pōtae o Ngāi Tūhoe
Aue! Hei!

Let me prophesy
Tāhora below, Panekire above
Maungapōhatu in the centre
Waikaremoana! Hei!
Ruatāhuna! Hei!
The tribal area of Tūhoe
Aue! Hei!

(Karetu 1979: 27)

Kāretu states that the above extract is from a composition performed by a Tūhoe group at the annual coronation celebrations that commemorate the Kīngitanga (Karetu 1979: 27). Kāretu used this composition to set the scene for a chapter in *He Mātāpuna - A Source: Some Māori Perspectives* titled, 'Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness'. He explains:

Many of the salient features of the Tūhoe where I grew up and to which I feel a strong emotional attachment are mentioned.

Tāhora is a little mountain located in Waimana, the northern part of our territory. Panekire is a sheer bluff at the southern end of Lake Waikaremoana which is also the southern point of our area. Like all tribes we have a maunga tapu. Ours is Maungapōhatu located in the centre of Tūhoe land. Waikaremoana is for me the most salient feature of Tūhoe territory – it is where I grew up. Ruatāhuna is regarded by the tribe as 'te kōhanga o Tūhoe' – the cradle of Tūhoe. It is from here that the tribe migrated to points north and south. For all major events like discussing matters of tribal importance and paying its respects to distinguished guests, the tribe returns here (Karetu 1979: 27).

For Tūhoe all of that information is housed within seven lines. This demonstrates the power of *waiata* and *haka* as tools for the transmission of knowledge and history. As Milroy suggests, 'iti te kupu, nui te whakaaro kei roto' (Milroy 2004: personal communication).

The following *waiata* is another example that houses knowledge regarding the history surrounding tribal landmarks.

Tangi amio toroa tai-kakapu uta
Ngā Tukemata o Kahungunu
Whakamaumaharatanga
Ngai Tahu Pōtiki Matawhaiti
Hikunui Iwitea Korito Onepoto
Tahutoria Takitaki Tuhara
Ngā tāhora mauri o te waka Takitimu
Te Repo o te Waiatai e
Te whakaruruhau o ngā tāhora tokowhitu nei
Te kainga tūturu o te waka tapu a Matawhaiti
TE TOKI A TAPIRI e...(Whaanga 2005: 24)

Whaanga describes the *waiata* above that was composed by her father, Te Hore Epanaia Whaanga in the mid 1980s:

A tangi amio is a song that roams or circles about. It will name geographical features such as hills, rocks, rivers or significant places that are often boundary markers or indicators of the extent of the tribal group's mana whenua or authority over land and resource areas. There are instances of this type of *waiata* being sung at Māori Land Court meetings to help prove a claim to a block of land (Whaanga 2005: 24).

Whaanga goes on to state that:

This *waiata* names significant places around Iwitea and the first line also refers to the waves curling upon the beach which is the eastern boundary of the hapū land. Along Korito Beach are several wāhi tapu¹⁷⁸ of our people – old urupā¹⁷⁹, the twelve tōtara¹⁸⁰ tapu that were central to the vision of the prophet Te Matenga Tamati and other evidence of ancestral occupation (Whaanga 2005: 24).

The rest of the article is an in-depth explanation of the story, the knowledge and information behind the lyrics of the *waiata*. It is a description of everything contained within the *waiata*.

This tangi amio then covers many of the identifying characteristics of the hapū Ngai Tahu Matawhaiti – land marks and boundaries, iwi affiliation, prominent ancestors and important whakapapa, taonga and the

¹⁷⁸ Sacred area

¹⁷⁹ Burial ground, cemetery, graveyard

¹⁸⁰ *Podocarpus totara*, *Podocarpus cunninghamii* - large forest trees with prickly, olive-green leaves not in two rows. Found throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand

accompanying history that includes conflict with both Māori and Pākehā. It is an example of how oral history was preserved, remembered and handed on to new generations – a taonga tuku iho (Whaanga 2005: 27).

Māori are the *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the uniqueness of the language and culture are tied to the land.

The distinctive features of that culture are indigenous to New Zealand and were shaped by the people's interaction with this land. Such uniqueness does not give them an exclusive understanding or sense of belonging to the land, but it does give them a pre-eminent right to be heard and to participate in what happens to and within it (Jackson 1988: 170).

The two *waiata* previously discussed are examples of the types of compositions which have been used in evidence during Waitangi Tribunal hearings.

The Waitangi Tribunal

The Waitangi Tribunal is a 'body set up under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 to deal with any claims that arose under the Treaty' (Temm 1990: 3). However, initially the Tribunal could only hear complaints which arose out of matters from 10 October 1975 onwards. It was not until the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 that the Tribunal jurisdiction stretched from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi to the present day. When speaking about these extended provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi Act one Judge, Justice Bisson, referred to 'the intention of putting an end to long outstanding and legitimate grievances which had simmered in the breasts of Maoris from generation to generation since 1840' (cited in Temm 1990: 92). Enabling claims to be heard back from the time the Treaty was signed 'was a highly contentious decision, which opened the way for a flood of claims' (Temm 1990: 12).

Māori have a long history of protest and submitting petitions to Parliament and the courts. In fact, these applications and petitions number in the thousands. Temm observes,

Maori have shown patience down the years to a remarkable degree and have, generation after generation, relied upon lawful means of protest about matters that needed redress...For most of our history, they have had little success. The establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the breadth of its

jurisdiction have provided almost for the first time a forum for Maori to make their claims (Temm 1990: 29-30).

It should be noted that the Waitangi Tribunal does not have the power to force the Crown to compensate Māori, and the Government is not bound by its rulings. However, for Māori, the Waitangi Tribunal has provided the most significant opportunity for long-standing grievances to be heard.

In one sense it is the humblest judicial body in the country. It has no power to decide anything. In a real sense it is even less powerful than a Coroner's Court, which at least has the power to decide how a person came to his or her death. But in another sense, especially in Maoridom, the Waitangi Tribunal has a whisper that echoes like a thunderclap. It begins to look as though it is becoming the conscience of the nation (Temm 1990: 97-98).

Waitangi Tribunal use of oral tradition

The Waitangi Tribunal 'has provided a different forum within which oral testimonies might be heard' (Keenan 2005: 57). This means that 'Historical issues which have not been the subject of litigation, or subject to the rules evidence, are being dealt with in new ways' (O'Regan 2001: 19). Consequently, the Tribunal process has had an interesting affect on the way in which historians apply their expertise. It has begun to reshape the profession of 'historian' into something which is now very political in nature. As O'Regan suggests, 'There are direct links between their conclusions and political and economic outcomes' (O'Regan 2001: 20). It is a powerful position to hold.

I am concerned that the professional historians will become mercenaries in the courts and tribunals, with their judgements and interpretations shaped by the client that can pay most handsomely. Most of all, I am concerned that in this great intersection of law and history, to which the Treaty and its outcomes have condemned us, we might begin to devalue our past, that our history and tradition become mere opinion, blown by political winds. The only protection is a rigorous and culturally inclusive scholarship and our ultimate duty is to protect it (O'Regan 2001: 37).

O'Regan discusses his concern regarding the practice of straining history through 'due process' (O'Regan 2001: 23).

Lawyers and judges and tribunals are having to grapple with the nature and character of historical evidence to some extent. The criteria which they are accustomed to applying to evidence is generally designed to deal with matters of the present or very recent past. On the whole, they are not

designed to cope with issues a century or more old. Further, their rules are designed to cope more with facts than with judgement, supposition and interpretation (O'Regan 2001: 20).

Historical evidence submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal is diverse in form. Evidence can include oral tradition handed down within a family, ceremonial *waiata*, and orations performed on the *marae* which contextualise an argument by creating powerful impressions. There have also been instances where claims have been supported by evidence of inherited traditions regarding Māori customary lore (Phillipson 2004: 43). According to Phillipson, 'These different forms of evidence contribute to a complex, layered interpretation of historical claims' (Phillipson 2004: 41). However, they have also forced outsiders to the culture to accept certain realities regarding the way Māori approach and preserve history.

The traditional ways in which Maori have managed their history have identifiable characteristics, which are different from those normally manipulated by the academic historian, and those to which the lawyer is accustomed. It could be said that Maori traditional history, tikanga Maori, Maori customary authentication and the Maori perception of post-Treaty history, are savaged equally by both the professional historian and the rules of legal 'due process'.

In the context of Treaty issues, the floor of the High Court and that of the Waitangi Tribunal become a battleground of the most fundamental cultural conflicts. They are not so much conflicts about facts and issues as conflicts of mindset (O'Regan 2001: 20).

Part of the oral tradition, which has been used as evidence in claims presented before the Waitangi Tribunal in the past, has been the narratives about the deeds of the ancestors. This has often conflicted with the Pākehā world-view which labels such histories as 'myth' and does not believe in such narratives having any role in legal matters.

Western-trained historians understandably have problems handling such material. Some take the extreme position that it falls outside the realm of history, into that of myth. Others are willing to recognise that Maori have their own scholarly approach to history, including their own ways of testing reliability and validity. While the Maori approach differs from the Western one in significant ways, knowledge of its conventions would open up access to information at present locked away in code as it were (Metge 1998: 9).

The Muriwhenua Claim and criticism of the oral tradition

In the Muriwhenua hearing, the Tribunal was ‘strongly informed by the oral traditions of claimants, who presented a wealth of oral testimony in support of their claims’ (Phillipson 2004: 48). A complex disagreement arose as a result of the historical evidence presented to the Muriwhenua Tribunal. ‘In its simplest form, commentators have posited this as a basic conflict between oral tradition and written records’ (Phillipson 2004: 47). W. H. Oliver has accused the tribunal of encouraging a ‘retrospective Utopia’ through the promotion of a ‘historical mentality less concerned to recapture past reality than to embody present aspiration’ (Oliver 2001: 9)

On 29 September 1998, *The New Zealand Herald* printed an editorial by editor Gavin Ellis which was entitled ‘Self-serving history’. In his write-up Ellis suggests that the Waitangi Tribunal ‘needs to get a grip on the grievance business’ (*The New Zealand Herald* 29 September, 1998). He also claims that Māori understandings of land transactions are a result of recently revealed lore. ‘The tribunal preferred the “evidence” of anthropology and Maori studies which interpreted the transactions according to latterday impressions of Maori customs and values before European contact’ (*The New Zealand Herald* 29 September, 1998). The editorial encourages the Waitangi Tribunal to subject claims to ‘rigorous historical examination’ as if that was not the common practice of the Waitangi Tribunal. Ellis argues that,

In fairness to both sides on such a vital question the tribunal must distinguish between historical evidence and assumptions from hindsight. That is, it must be satisfied that modern Maori claimants are not ascribing ignorance to their ancestors simply because the land sales seem, from their point of view at this distance, to have been a fateful mistake (*The New Zealand Herald* 29 September, 1998).

Ellis implies that written documents are the only form of historical evidence, while oral sources are merely ‘assumptions from hindsight’. The editorial is concluded with a statement of the obvious: ‘The Waitangi Tribunal is too significant to indulge in wishful reconstructions of the past. For its own credibility it must sift fact from fancy’ (*The New Zealand Herald* 29 September, 1998). However, it is the implication that Māori accounts of history are fanciful and wishful reconstructions of the past that is objectionable.

W. H. Oliver's 2001 'The Future Behind Us: The Waitangi Tribunal's Retrospective Utopia' puts forth the notion that the sole purpose of oral tradition is to explain and justify the present which leads to a mythology and an 'imagined' past. Oliver believes this process to be more apparent in oral tradition despite the fact that it could also occur in the written record (Oliver 2001: 10, 21-24).

According to Phillipson, the Tribunal had come to the conclusion during the Muriwhenua case that Māori law and reciprocity were still operating. According to Oliver, in reaching such a view the Tribunal was recreating an imagined past and using it for political purposes. Thus, the weight the Muriwhenua Tribunal placed on the tradition found on the *marae* was challenged directly by Oliver (Phillipson 2004: 47; Oliver 2001: 10, 21-24).

In Muriwhenua, there was a conflict between oral traditions on the one hand, and the apparent meaning of land purchase deeds and the observations of missionaries and other contemporary Pakeha observers on the other hand. In the result, however, claimant historians demonstrated that the documents could (and, they argued, should) be interpreted in a way that agreed with the oral history. Hence this was a dispute not so much between oral and written sources as between conflicting interpretations of core documents by historians, linguists and anthropologists. The weight placed on oral history, and on the broader contexts in which all evidence was interpreted, was influential in the Tribunal's decision to accept the claimant historians' version of Muriwhenua history.

...The oral history was weighed for internal consistency, agreement with what other claimant experts were saying, accordance with the understanding and knowledge of the Tribunal's kaumatua member, and consistency with the documentary evidence (where it existed). The result...was a rich and multi-layered body of evidence available to the Tribunal, enabling it to assess past events from different perspectives and come to its own conclusion as to the 'history' of the matters at issue between claimants and the Crown (Phillipson 2004: 52).

Waitangi Tribunal use of *waiata*

There is a diversity of oral evidence that appears before the Waitangi Tribunal. Phillipson claims that this evidence is taken just as seriously as the written record and that all evidence is considered in order to find the truth. Phillipson:

...all evidence must be placed in context, checked for internal consistencies and weighed against alternative testimony, before a final interpretation is made. One of the key ways in which the Tribunal achieves this is by operating partly in the Maori world. By holding hearings on *marae*,

participating in powhiri, listening to karanga, whaikorero and waiata, and immersing itself in a Maori environment, the Tribunal develops a context within which to interpret oral and written evidence (Phillipson 2004: 42-43).

Phillipson develops this argument further by discussing the reality of how the Tribunal maintains a balance between documentary evidence and the oral evidence supplied by Māori. He maintains that ‘the Tribunal operates partly in a Maori environment, holding hearings on marae, considering whaikorero and waiata as evidence, and listening to the experience of its senior Maori member’ (Phillipson 2004: 51). Wheen and Ruru pick up on this point in relation to claimants that are trying to establish a natural resource as a *taonga*.

To establish that a natural resource is a taonga, claimants often invite kaumatua to speak at Tribunal hearings. Snippets of this evidence are then reproduced in the reports, which consequently contain a wealth of information about tikanga Maori concerning the environment. Whakatauki, waiata and chants are often reproduced to illustrate the claimants’ relationship with a taonga (Wheen & Ruru 2004: 100).

Waiata, among other aspects of oral tradition, provide a historical window through which outsiders to the culture can view Māori tradition as it was in time past. This includes the Māori traditions concerning the environment.

By bringing together whakatauki, waiata and accounts of customary practice and use, the reports contribute to an understanding of how Maori saw themselves within the natural world order, the relationship between nature and people (and how tikanga managed that relationship), and the importance of particular resources. They explain how value was (and still is) measured in material and spiritual ways. This aspect of the environmental claims, findings and reports has been recognised by others (including the courts), and by the claimants themselves. Whanganui iwi have stated that they took their claim to the Tribunal party to respond to ‘the people’s anxiety that their culture, history, and traditions, and their customary association with the river, should be known and understood (Wheen & Ruru 2004: 101-102).

Waiata and *haka* can be heard on *marae* throughout the country at Waitangi Tribunal hearings. These compositions will often include historical accounts of land wars and subsequent deaths, land confiscations, the plundering of the land, etc. Milroy explains,

Nui atu ngā momo haka i rongo ahau he mea tito mō roto noa iho o ngā take kerēme a ngā iwi ki te Taraipiunara o Waitangi. I titoa ai e rātou ngā kōrero mō rātou, mō ngā mate i pā ki a rātou, mō ngā toto i maringi ki runga i te whenua, ki roto i te whenua, mō ngā mamae, mō ngā kōhuru, mō ngā

pāwheratanga, mō ngā pāhuatanga i a rātou. Nā, puta katoa ērā haka i roto i ngā mahi e noho ana te Taraipiunara ki te whakarongo (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

There are several examples of *waiata* and *haka* being used as evidence in Waitangi Tribunal claims. However, the examples examined in this thesis will be drawn from the Mohaka River Report (1992) and the Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report (1995).

Mohaka River Report

The Mohaka River Report 1992 was the first report concerning Ngāti Kahungunu and the east coast of the North Island. It was also one of the first of the Waitangi Tribunal's 'rivers reports' (The Mohaka River Report 1992: Report Summary).

As old Father Thames is to the Londoner
As the Ganges is sacred to the Indian
As the Jordan is spiritual to the Palestines
So is the Mohaka all these things to Ngati Pahauwera
(Joe cited in Mohaka River Report 1992: Report Summary)

The claim was lodged in January 1990 by Ariel Aranui on behalf of himself and Ngāti Pāhauwera. It concerned the *tinu rangatiratanga* of Ngāti Pāhauwera over the Mōhaka River. The claimants alleged that their *tinu rangatiratanga* over the river, which was guaranteed in Article Two of the Tiriti o Waitangi, had never been relinquished.

Originally, the river claim was part of a wider claim relating to tribal lands in Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa. However, in November 1991 it was detached from the wider claim. The reason behind this, and the subsequent urgency accorded by the Tribunal for the claim, was because the Planning Tribunal had recommended to the Minister for the Environment that a national water conservation order be placed over the river. 'The claimants alleged that the making of such an order without their consent would usurp their *rangatiratanga* and be a breach of the principles of the Treaty' (The Mohaka River Report 1992: Report Summary).

The claimants identified *whakapapa*, *whakataukī* and *waiata* which would provide the history of the *iwi*.

These contain the histories of the tribe, the stories of their origins and the relationship their ancestors formed with the lands and waters of Ngāti Pahauwera:

Mai ra ano, i te wa o kui ma, o koro ma, ko nga korero tuku iho me whangai ki a ratou i ata tohia hei kawē i nga ahuatanga e hangai ana. Ko nga karakia, ko nga whakatauki, ko nga whakapapa, ko nga tohutohu, ko nga tauparapara, ko nga pepeha, ko nga ruri, ko nga apakura, ko nga pao ara, nga waiata o te ao Maori, me tuku ki tena, ki tena o ratou me ata tohi mo tenei mahi tapu.

From time immemorial the oral traditions have been passed on to those specially selected and who were appropriate to be the transmitters of karakia, of proverbs, genealogy, and songs...

(The Mohaka River Report 1992: 2.2).

Based on the traditional Māori kinship structure, Ngāti Pāhauwera consists of different *hapū* and *whānau*, each with slightly different rights and their own distinct territories. However, the following *whakataukī* was used as evidence of their collective *iwi* identity in relation to their river and land. As members of Ngāti Pāhauwera, their shared mountain is Tawhirirangi, their common ancestor is Kahu-o-te-Rangi and their primary river is Mōhaka:

Ko Tawhirirangi te maunga
Ko Mohaka te awa
Ko Kahu-o-te-Rangi te tangata
Ko Ngāti Pahauwera te iwi

Tawhirirangi is the mountain
Mohaka is the river
Kahu-o-te-Rangi is the chief
Ngāti Pahauwera are the people

(The Mohaka River Report 1992: 2.2).

In their claim, Ngāti Pahauwera used oral traditions such as *waiata* and *whakataukī* to highlight the importance of the river to the people. These oral traditions often personify the river as an ancestor. Many of Ngāti Pāhauwera are said to be descended from Mawete, Popoia and Paikea; the names of three *taniwha* who reside in the Mōhaka river. Many of those who presented evidence used the saying ‘Ko Pahauwera te awa, ko te awa ko Pahauwera’ or ‘Pahauwera is the river, the river is us’ (The Mohaka River Report 1992: 2.5). According to Wheen and Ruru, ‘The living relationship between the claimants and the resource is an integral part of its status as taonga’ (Wheen & Ruru 2004: 100-101). In response to a question from the Tribunal, expert witness for the

claimants, Professor James Ritchie replied ‘the river is a tipuna, an ancestor’ (The Mohaka River Report 1992: 2.5).

The following is a *waiata* which was used in the claim and referenced frequently by Ngāti Pāhauwera when explaining the origins of their river:

I timata mai ia i tawhiti pamamao
Ki te mau mai i tona kupu
Ko ona wehenga, ko te Taharua i Poronui
Ko Te Ripia ki Ahimanawa
Ko Te Makahu i Kaweka
Ko te Waipunga i Kaingaroa
Ko Matakuhia i Tarawera
Ko haere mai ma waenganui
O Turanga-kumu-rau
Ko Te Titi o Kura
Ka huri ki te tairawhiti
I te taha o Maungaharuru
Ka puta mai ko Te Hoe i Huiarau
He aha ra te mea nei? He aha ra te mea nei?
He taniwha? He tipua? He tangata? Hei!
Kahore! Ko te awa o Mohaka
E huri ana ra, e koki ana mai,
E piko ake nei, e rere atu ra
Ki te marae o Pahauwera
I te ngutuawa o Te Ika a Maui
Ki a Tangaroa, ki a Paikea
Te Kai-tiaki o Pahauwera e

It begins in the far distance to bring its message;
It offshoots (tributaries) are Taharua at Poronui,
Ripia at Ahimanawa, Makahu at Kaweka,
Waipunga at Kaingaroa, and Te Matakuhia at Tarawera.
It then flows down between Turanga-kumu-rau and Te
Titi-o-Kura, turning eastward along the side of
Maungaharuru, emerging at Te Hoe in Huiarau.
What is this thing? A taniwha? A giant? A man?
No! It is the Mohaka River! It twists and turns
And flows on to the marae of Ngati Pahauwera at the
mouth of Te Ika a Maui - to Tangaroa (the God of the
sea) and to Paikea (a taniwha), the guardian of
Ngati Pahauwera.

(The Mohaka River Report 1992: 2.5)

The following *waiata* was used to identify the connection Ngāti Pāhauwera has with their river:

Kahungunu, te tipuna
Te Huki, Te Kahu-o-te-Rangi
Puruaute, me Tureia

Anei ra o matou tipuna
Ko Mohaka ra te awa
Tawhirirangi nei te maunga
Ko te iwi Pahauwera e
Haruru ana te moana
Haruru ana te whenua
Au, au, aue, ha
No reira au, au, aue, ha

Kahungunu, the [founding] ancestor,
Te Huki, Te Kahu-o-te-Rangi,
Puruaute and Tureia are our ancestors.
Mohaka is the river, Tawhirirangi is the mountain
And the people are [Ngati] Pahauwera.
The sea rumbles, the land rumbles au, au aue ha.

(The Mohaka River Report 1992: 2.5).

Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report

In March 1988, Wai 55, a claim concerning Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, also known as Te Whanga, Ahuriri Lagoon, or the Napier inner harbour, was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal by a collective of seven local *hapū*: Ngāti Parau, Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Mahu, Ngāi Tāwhao, Ngāi Te Ruruku, and Ngāti Matepu. These seven *hapū* had lived on the shores of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu and belong to the *iwi* Ngāti Kahungunu. ‘Through whakapapa, waiata, and whakatauki evidence, they established their ancestral rights to use, occupy, control, and enjoy Te Whanganui-a-Orotu’ (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.3).

The claim was granted urgency because leasehold sections in the claim area were about to be sold. Six Tribunal hearings were held between July 1993 and July 1994, and the report was released in July 1995. The claimants sought recognition that Te Whanganui-a-Orotu is their *taonga* and that their *tinu rangatiratanga* in relation to the harbour had never been relinquished (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: report summary, 1.1).

They wanted the Tribunal to recommend that legislation vesting the title to Te Whanganui-a-Orotu in others be repealed or amended, that all Crown and other public lands in Te Whanganui-a-Orotu be returned, and that compensation be paid for those parts of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu that had passed from the Crown into private ownership (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: report summary).

The claim was concerned solely with Te Whanganui-a-Orotu and not with the land around it, although ‘what happened to the land served to define what eventually

happened to the lagoon' (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.1). 'Te Whanganui-a-Orotu' referred to 'the lake and its boundaries in 1840'. Within those boundaries several things were specified: the water (fresh or otherwise), the bed, the islands, fisheries, vegetation, and animal life (such as birds), all organic and inorganic matter (such as soil, stones, peat, minerals, and the like), all deposited matter (such as the foregoing, shells, bone, fossils, timber, and the like), and everything left by *tīpuna* (including their remains) and all that they handled and possessed (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.4).

Many of the grievances raised as part of the claim had previously been the subject of a number of petitions and two important investigations. The 1920 Native Land Claims Commission and a Native Land Court inquiry, was conducted by Judge Harvey in 1934 but not reported on until 1948. The Tribunal concluded that, 'A settlement of these and subsequent grievances is long overdue' (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.1).

The claimants stated that 'Te Whanganui-a-Orotu is their *taonga* over which they have rangatiratanga and which, but for statute law, rightfully belongs to them' (cited in Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.1). The Crown maintained that Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was included in the Ahuriri purchase of 1851. Furthermore, the Crown argued that as the lagoon is an arm of the sea, under English common law it is the property of the Crown. In 1874 and 1876 Parliament had passed legislation vesting Te Whanganui-a-Orotu in the Napier Harbour Board. In 1989, legislation was passed empowering the board's successor, the Hawke's Bay Harbour Board, to sell the land which had been vested in it by the 1874 and 1876 Acts (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.1).

During the proceedings, the oral record confirmed that Te Whanganui-a-Orotu was 'a place of abundance' for freshwater fish, shellfish, and birds. Furthermore, it was prized as a source of food by the people who had lived on its shores and islands for over 1000 years prior to their alienation (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 1.2.1).

Throughout the evidence of the claimants, whakapapa were used to connect with the environment, establish the identity of witnesses, identify ancestors, establish occupation and use rights, and explain spiritual concepts and tribal history...The claimants further established their descent from Tangaroa, god

of the sea, down through Pania, the sea maiden, and her child Moremore, a taniwha¹⁸¹ (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 2.2.1).

A *waiata tawhito* which was used to support submissions by some of the claimants traces the descent of Kahungunu through Papatūānuku and Ranginui and their children, including Tangaroa, to the first humans and the voyagers from Polynesia who arrived on the *Takitimu waka* and merged with the people already here. The line extends down to Kahungunu's parents, Tamatea Pōkaiwhenua and Iwipupu Te Kura, and identifies him with the mountains, and the rivers, outlet, and hinterland of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu:

Ko wai Te Waka	Takitimu
Ko wai Te Tangata	Tamatea Arikinui
Ko wai Te Tohunga	Ruawharo
Ko wai Nga Maunga	Hikurangi Puketapu Kohukete Heipipi Haruru Mataruahao
Ko wai Nga Awa	Ngaruroro Tutaekuri Te Waiohinganga
Ko wai Te Ngutu Awa	Keteketerau
Ko wai Te Iwi	Ngati Kahungunu

(Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 2.2.2).

Another *waiata* which was used in the claim is that of Te Whatu, which records the *whakapapa* of his father, Te Orotu, and his people, who occupied Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, and laments Taraia's invasion and occupation:

E hara taua i te heke / i a Taraia e
He whenua tipu he tangata / tipu - tonu
He takare taua no roto / no Heretaunga
Ma te tangata e ui / mai ki e koe
Na wai ra e kia / atu e koe
Na Tangaroanui / a Te Kore
Na waira e kia / atu e koe
Na Maikanui / a Te Whatu
Na Hoakehu ano a / Haumaitawhiti
Na Orotu a Whatumamoa
Na Tamaahuroa / a Ruakukuru
Nana te awa poka / Hauhaupounamu

E tama e tangi nei / he tangi kai pea
Kaore nei tama / he kainga i a taua
Tena nga kainga kai / nga wehewehe a o tipuna
Ko Te Huhuti ano te / taha / ki Ruahine
Ko Te Rerehu ko Tamanuhiri / ki runga ki kawera

¹⁸¹ Water spirit, guardian - *taniwha* take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory.

Ko Hineiao ano ki tona / tauranga ki Tawhitinui
Ko Hinekai ano ki tona wai u / ki Te Rotokare
Ko Haumahurua ano ki Ohiwia / ki te Makoparae
Ka tau mai Taraia nga utu awa / kahawai kai Ngaruroro
Ka whati mai o / tipuna
Ki runga te tehuna tapapa noa ai

We are not of the migration of Taraia
The land is permanent, the people also are permanent
We are the principals within Heretaunga
When people ask you to whom it belongs, you reply
By Tangaroanui is Te Kore
By Maikanui is Haumaitawhiti
By Orotu is Whatumamoā
By Tamaahuroa is Ruakukuru
He made the water course Hauhaupounamu

My son who is crying, are you crying for food
There is no land my son, which is ours
There the lands which were divided by your ancestors
To Te Huhuti the side at Ruahine
Te Rerehu and Tamanuhiri at and upon kawera
Hineiao to her landing place at Tawhitinui
Hinekai to her mother's milk at Te Rotokare
Haumahurua to Ohiwia and Te Mokoparae
When Taraia came to the kahawai river mouth at Ngaruroro
Your ancestors were driven away
To the shingle banks and there squatted without right

(Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 2.2.2).

In introducing evidence on the ancestors of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, Patrick Parsons said that one of the things that had particularly impressed him in his research was that:

Time has never quite succeeded in erasing the imprints which illustrious ancestors of antiquity stamped on Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. They survive in the place names, the wahi tapu, the little-known documentation and especially in the faces of the descendants who are here in support of the Wai 55 claim today (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 2.2.3).

During the hearings and the visit to the site, the claimants recounted stories of the deeds of ancestors associated with the place names and *wāhi tapu*. The oldest names are imprints of the journeys that *tīpuna* – Mahu, Orotu, Tamatea, and Kahungunu made down the coast. Te Whanganui-a-Orotu bears the name of Orotu, an early visitor who established his people on its shores. To the seven claimant *hapū*, the stories behind the place names in and around Te Whanganui-a-Orotu are a priceless *taonga*, ‘an oral record of the footprints of their illustrious ancestors, who discovered and settled the area 26 or more generations ago’ (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: 2.2.3).

The Tribunal concluded that several blatant breaches of Treaty principles had occurred, beginning with the Crown's inclusion of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu in the Ahuriri purchase of 1851. The recommendation from the Tribunal was that there be no further alienations of any State owned land within the pre-1851 boundaries of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. The Tribunal also suggested that a substantial compensation fund be set up for what the Tribunal acknowledged were irretrievable losses caused to the claimants.

The Tribunal did not make final recommendations on the issue of remedies until June 1998, at which point the Tribunal released its report on remedies. The report recommended that various lands in the claim area be returned to the claimants and that monetary compensation be paid (Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995: report summary).

Summary and conclusions

The past impacts directly on the present. This is especially true for Māori because of the way in which Māori view time. In addition, Māori believe that the past will often provide insight into the present situation, so that one can learn from history in order to not repeat the mistakes of the past. This is pertinent to Māori because the injustices of the past continue to affect the situation of Māori today.

It is important to preserve as much of that history as possible. *Waiata* and *haka* are unique in that they can accurately transmit large amounts of knowledge in relatively few words. *Waiata* and *haka*, along with other aspects of oral tradition, have proven to be valid archives of historical information and the validity of *waiata* as evidence of Māori political history has been established and maintained in Māori society since *tīpuna Māori* first arrived to these shores.

One way in which *waiata* and *haka* have been validated in the mainstream is through the Waitangi Tribunal. There have been numerous examples of *waiata* and *haka* which have been used as evidence in Waitangi Tribunal claims and have informed the Waitangi Tribunal decisions on those claims. Several *waiata* which have been used as examples in this thesis have also been used by *iwi* to endorse their historical claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. These include 'Po! Po!' and 'Pinepine te Kura' which were used by *iwi* from Te Tai Rāwhiti as evidence of *mana whenua* and skirmishes with the

Crown (Milroy 2010: personal communication). The validation of *waiata* and *haka*, as credible vessels of historical and political knowledge, by the Waitangi Tribunal has given weight to notion that these *waiata* and *haka* must be protected and preserved.

Chapter Eight

Proposal for a Digital Repository of Māori *waiata* & *haka*

We are what we remember; society is what it remembers, that's why we must control what we remember – history – and hand that on to our children (Wendt cited in Sarti 1998: 209).

This chapter will focus on the importance of archiving *waiata*. The discussion will begin with the historic ability of Māori to adapt to changing circumstances, and how *tīpuna Māori* were often quick to adopt new technology. This is exemplified in the way Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones used the written word to preserve *waiata* in their *Ngā Mōteatea* series. There will then be a case made for the establishment of a national digital repository of *waiata* and *haka*. Here traditional Māori concerns of commercialisation, commodification of knowledge, intellectual property rights, control of culture and restricting access will be discussed. Finally, the basic elements of the repository will be examined including the need to source material to populate the site.

The ability to adapt to changing circumstances

Whilst Māori have been described as a conservative culture resistant to change (McLean 1965: 296), *tīpuna Māori* had a remarkable ability to adapt to new circumstances. This is a trait which has survived from the time of Polynesian explorers who were involved in 'an ongoing process of adaptation and cultural development in new and changing locations' (Howe 2003: 70). This is evident in that *tīpuna Māori* were forced to adapt to Aotearoa's colder and harsher environment on arrival from Hawaiki.

Historically, Māori have been quick to adopt new technology and skills which they recognise can be of benefit to the advancement of their society. This is illustrated by Māori interest in literacy during the early period of the mission schools.

What is evident from the historical record is that from about 1830, when the first signs appear of what apparently was a widespread Maori response to missionary efforts, the desire to become literate was clearly the most striking expression of the Maori receptivity to Christian teaching.

...the Maoris came to place great value on the ability to read and write. It was after all a demonstrably useful skill to be able to communicate in this way both with the Europeans and with other Maoris. There was, moreover, even for the literate, a kind of awe of the written word (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 29).

As a result, the numbers of Māori who were literate in *te reo Māori* increased rapidly. 'It seems possible, indeed likely, that by the middle of the nineteenth century a higher proportion of the Māori than of the settler were [sic] literate in their own language' (Biggs 1968: 73). This illustrates how quickly *tīpuna Māori* picked up new technology and skills. These *tīpuna* were also quick to put their new skills to good use for the benefit of future generations.

Extant manuscripts attest that Māori wrote prolifically in the nineteenth century, recording genealogies, songs, tribal histories and religious and customary practices. From the early 1890s some submitted writing to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, with the result that it is a valuable source of Māori oral literature (McRae 2004: 137).

Another valuable resource of Māori writing is the significant collection of Māori language newspapers. More than 40 Māori language newspapers were produced from the 1840s into the twentieth century (McRae 2004: 137). McRae observes,

They are remarkable for the writing by Māori about political and social issues and for exemplifying their adaptation of the oral arts for the press – by quotation of songs to close letters, articles on tribal history, traditional eulogies and farewells in obituaries (McRae 2004: 137).

Māori adopted other Pākehā technology such as knowledge of ships to commence trading on a large scale around Aotearoa/New Zealand and to Australia (King 2003: 126-129). 'Within fifteen years of having signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the tribes had successfully developed their own economic infrastructure. They were the primary producers of agricultural produce, the millers of flour and the transporters of their own products to the markets' (Walker 1990: 101).

Tīpuna Māori also utilised new technology to create recordings of *waiata* and *haka*.

Sound recordings first became possible with the use of Edison wax cylinders, which were immediately put into use in New Zealand. Examples

of wax cylinder recordings can be found at the Archive of Māori and Pacific Music in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Auckland.

From the very beginning, *whaikōrero*, *haka*, *waiata-ā-ringa*, *waiata tawhito*¹⁸², *tangi*, *pōkeka*¹⁸³ and other items of oral literature have been recorded. Today, sound tape recordings continue to be made by the tribes, many of which have commissioned recordings of *kaumātua* (Royal 1992: 36).

It seems that Māori embraced new opportunities, such as literacy and the recording mechanisms, to ensure cultural continuity and the continued transmission of knowledge. The manuscripts and newspapers left behind are a rich source of Māori literature, particularly the information pertaining to *waiata*.

The written word and *waiata*

Thousands of texts of *waiata* and other songs, most of them still unedited and untranslated, survive in manuscripts in public libraries and in early books and periodicals. These songs were written down almost entirely by Māori authorities, from the 1840s onwards, and they were then preserved in most cases by interested Pākehā (Orbell 1991b: 5).

In one collection alone, the Grey collection, there are 9,800 pages of manuscript regarding Māori history and culture, of which only 696 pages have been published (Simmons 1966: 177-178). The process of colonisation disrupted the cycle of oral tradition, knowledge transmission and memory which had been operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand since *tīpuna Māori* arrived from Hawaiki. This disruption caused a devastating amount of Māori knowledge to be lost through time. The written word was available to Māori on the cusp of this loss, and therefore, symbolises the retention of a fraction of the knowledge which might have been lost.

O'Regan discusses the process that *tīpuna Māori* must have gone through, considering what the most important information to record was, or what was too important to record, which narratives to write first and so on.

'E kimi ana' it was recorded by Matiaha Tiramorehu, which is about Tāne and Hine-a-taurira...and that story of what happened and you know, becoming Hine-nui-te-pō and all of those kind of things. Maybe that *koroua*, that *poua* actually thought – maybe he saw the loss of that cultural knowledge as being something that was imminent, and believed that we

¹⁸² Ancient and traditional *waiata*

¹⁸³ A rhythmic chant without actions similar to *manawa wera* and peculiar to Te Arawa tribes

needed to record these things urgently so that we could ensure that those stories stayed, and in that case there is a level of politicisation in terms of the overall context, not necessarily in the *waiata*, but why those *waiata* have been focused on and chosen to be recorded. Because they must have gone through a process of selection, you know, what are the issues that they saw as the most important, so they went through all of these things and said ‘Right, I am going to record this *waiata*, and I am going to record that *waiata*’, so maybe it was because of the cultural loss that they saw at the time (O’Regan 2006: personal communication).

Most of these written records are available to the public in archives and libraries throughout the country. However, some remain in private collections or have been lost through time. Pei Te Hurinui Jones is widely known for his knowledge of Māori tradition, history culture and in particular, *waiata*. The following quotation by Mclean refers to Jones’ *waiata* book which McLean has viewed and copied but does not exist in the Jones papers at Waikato University Library.

He had compiled a wonderful manuscript *waiata* book, with texts written out in beautiful handwriting, together with notes in Maori about the songs. He repeatedly trusted me with the book overnight, and I photocopied from it the texts of many of the songs I was recording in the district. With Pei’s death in 1976, the book disappeared and is not among his papers (now at Waikato University), so I regret that, out of respect for his rights to his own work, I did not copy the notes or more of the texts. Generous as he was, he probably expected me to do so but, for better or worse, I demurred (McLean 2004: 62).

The pinnacle of the written record pertaining to *waiata* is the *Ngā Mōteatea* collection by Ngata and Jones. This is due not only to the number of *waiata* collected, but the comprehensive nature of the collection. Each *waiata* is accompanied by an explanation regarding the context of its composition and detailed explanatory notes regarding the lyrics. Awatere argues that the classic collection of traditional Māori song texts take account of the contextual content of the songs, largely ignoring their musical and postural elements (Awatere 1975: 511). This is not surprising, as Ngata and Jones were aware that the most important aspect of the *waiata* are the histories and commentaries captured within them.

One only has to look in *Ngā Mōteatea* to realise the vast knowledge contained within *waiata*.

For each song, commentary interprets poetics and allusions, and, importantly, documents the circumstance of composition and names of composer and *iwi*. *Waiata* are a tribal archive. They recall the tribal past by references to ancestors, historical incidents, and the landscape. For this reason the compilers, Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, provided *whakapapa* to reveal unstated connections, accounts of significant events and meanings of place names (McRae 2004: 134).

From the moment the series was printed it has been prized by Māori as it comprises the very best of Māori literature. The following account by McLean illustrates the interest in the series before it was even published.

A prized possession of Awatere's was a pre-publication copy of Part 1 of Sir Apirana Ngata's classic collection of annotated song texts and translations, *Nga Moteatea*, which was not yet available in final form. Only a dozen or so of the pre-publication copies, complete except for the absence of covers, had been printed. This was the volume from which Awatere had supplied the text for me (Song 46 in *Nga Moteatea*) of 'Ka eke ki Wairaka'. He had the book with him at the funeral, and it aroused a good deal of interest (McLean 2004: 22).

Preserving the 'sound' of *waiata* and *haka*

The written word has managed to capture and preserve tradition that has faded from living memory, including thousands of song texts of *waiata* which are no longer sung.

Of the thousands of songs in print, only a tiny fraction were still being sung, and both these and others whose words had never been written down were disappearing at an alarming rate. Whenever knowledgeable singers died, some of their songs went with them. Moreover, although many song texts had been preserved, the tunes were lost for ever whenever a song ceased to be sung (McLean 2004: 10).

It has already been stated that the words are the most important aspect of any composition. However, the tune is what will see the continued use of a composition. That is, the tune will aid the memory of the singer and ensure that the words are still used.

...a written tradition can be retained even when there is no living person who remembers it at all. For once that tradition is written down, it does not matter any longer that sound itself is transitory, since some aspects of sound anyhow are being captured by the writing, but not all. If we have a song written down in an alphabet this does not help us to sing a song because we don't have the tune or the rhythm perhaps. In some ways writing is a crude and unsatisfactory way of recording what things sound like. So although it is much better to have a written record than no record other than the human memory. In fact we can imagine much better record [sic] and in fact we have

much better records. We have things which will actually record the sound itself and render it virtually permanent so that it is no longer transitory and by far the most convenient and best such recording device, as we all know is the tape recorder (Biggs 1977: 12).

Some *tīpuna* adopted the use of the wax cylinders to record their *waiata*. However, these recordings are relatively few when compared to the thousands of compositions which were not recorded orally. Peter Awatere saw the notation of music as a way in which the tune of a *waiata* could be preserved for future generations.

Peter Awatere's recognition of the value of musically notating Maori chant was unusual as well as far-sighted. Foremost in his mind would have been a hope that writing down the music as well as the words would aid learners. From my point of view, it was essential if the music system was ever to be worked out (McLean 2004: 30).

Ethnomusicologist Mervyn McLean has amassed a large number of recordings of *waiata* from different *iwi* as he was one of the first to go into Māori communities and make sound recordings. These recordings are held in an archive at the University of Auckland.

As head of the archive, I made it one of my first tasks to repatriate to tribal custodians copies of all of the recordings I had made during my 1962-64 field trips, each tribe receiving its own materials. Some tribes, notably Ngaiterangi, Tūhoe, Tūwharetoa and Waikato, used these for *waiata* schools in their own areas, while individuals and groups resident outside of the primary areas were able to make use of a free dubbing service from the archive, which I instituted at about the same time. Later, when I spoke with Bill Poutapu, who had been secretary to King Koroki, at Turangawaewae, he was full of praise for the archive and the Waikato recordings I had put into the custody of the King's Council, crediting these with a revival of *waiata* singing which by then had taken place at the marae. Others, too, told me there had been a renaissance of *waiata* singing in the area. I could not have had better news (McLean 2004: 144-145).

Harawira refers to an older *haka* that was revived with the help of written documents and oral recordings.

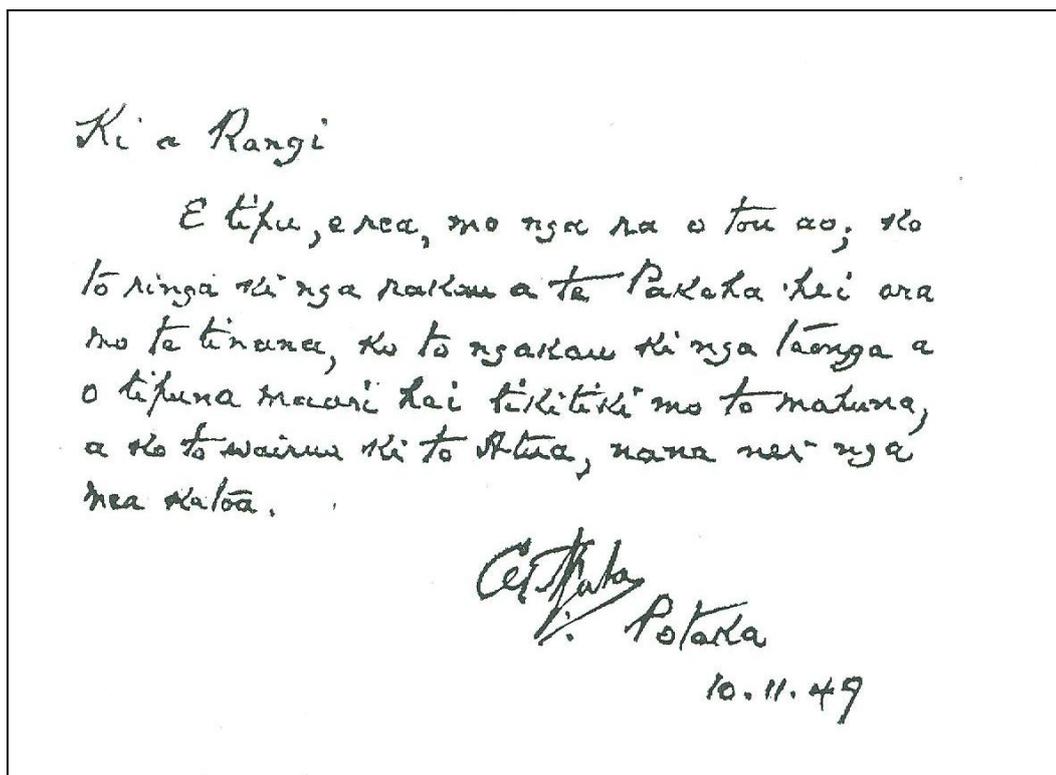
We've picked up one of our old *haka* because the *raupatu* is still relevant, you know, we need to still be talking about that for our young people so they know what their people did for them, you know, to go into the future – about making statements through composition, getting those archived for future generations. And a good example of that is the Maniapoto *moteatea* book that has just come out with a CD, and we went down to Alexander Turnbull

and pulled all of the Maniapoto *waiata* off these old tapes and things and put it onto a CD and that went with the *kupu*, and the book you can buy that in the shops now (Harawira 2006: personal communication).

Modern methods of recording, such as digital audio visual, provide an opportunity to ensure that succeeding generations have access to the ‘sound’ of *waiata* and *haka*. ‘Film/video and sound tape cut across the distinction between the oral and recorded traditions. Since these media record literally the actions and sounds of our people, they can sometimes come into the realm of the oral tradition’ (Royal 1992: 36). The enthusiastic adoption of this technology for the preservation of *waiata* and *haka* would be continuing in the tradition of *tīpuna Māori* who adapted new technology as a means of cultural continuity and excellence.

‘E tipu e rea’

Image 11: ‘E tipu e rea’



Ngata served as the inspiration behind the research for this thesis in more than one way; he is also the composer of a famous *ōhāki*¹⁸⁴, ‘E tipu e rea’, which he penned in a

¹⁸⁴ Parting wish, last words, dying speech

child's autograph book in 1949. The *ōhāki* encourages future generations to educate themselves for the new world.

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao;
Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō te tinana;
Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna,
ā ko tō wairua ki tō Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

The following translation was provided by Rt. Rev. W. N. Panapa, Bishop of Aotearoa:

Grow up oh tender plant
To fulfill the needs of your generation;
Your hand clasping the weapons of the pakeha
As a means for your physical progress,
Your heart centred on the treasures
Of your Maori ancestors
As a plume upon your head,
Your soul given to God
The author of all things.

(Panapa date unknown: 33)

The poem is most widely known for its imperative that Māori grasp the new ways of the Pākehā, while still remaining true to the traditions of their ancestors as a way of moving forward into the future – it encourages Māori to find ‘modern ways for ancient words’¹⁸⁵.

While it is advocated that the oral tradition is essential to Māori cultural survival and that it should be defended and maintained, it is also viewed that Māori should utilise new technology in order to preserve their traditions. Hence the development of the digital repository which will sit alongside Māori oral tradition and act as a resource to supplement the continued oral traditions of Māori.

We are at a point in our history where a tremendous challenge has been laid before us: to seek all that is good in the past, in the world of our ancestors, and place it alongside all that is good from the Pākehā world, thereby creating a new and better world. That was the dream of those who signed the Treaty of Waitangi (Royal 1992: 16).

¹⁸⁵ This is a tag line from Puliima: National Indigenous Language and Information Communication Technology Forum, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, April 2009. The researcher presented a paper at the conference and used the conference tag line of ‘modern ways for ancient words’ in the presentation.

Importance of archiving

It is thrifty to prepare today for the wants of tomorrow
(Aesop date unknown: electronic source).

This is the moral of the Aesop fable *The Ants and the Grasshopper*, which can be applied to the concept of archiving. Ngata and Jones were both motivated by the notion that it is imperative to the survival of Māori culture to ensure that Māori knowledge is preserved, which is evident when one looks at the quantity of information the two scholars collected and collated.

Like documentary evidence, oral traditions must be treated with care, since they are mainly political and legal testimonies to present what data the narrators want their listeners to hear (Daaku 1973: 53).

The repository is primarily concerned with the preservation of knowledge and the celebration of identity and culture. Wiremu Kaa discusses this point in relation to the Ngōi Pēwhairangi composition, ‘Ka Noho Au i Konei’. Kaa suggests that the entire composition promotes Ngāti Porou identity.

We need to analyse that and take stock of ourselves as Ngāti Porou, as Tairāwhiti, as Māori people generally, we don’t want to just sing it for the love of singing it, its a beautiful song, the *kupu* are beautiful, the lyrics are beautiful, the tunes beautiful, but we need to analyse what’s behind all of that (Kaa 2009: personal communication).

It is hoped that the repository will be a tool to aid in the survival of the oral tradition. When discussing his *Te Whanake* collection of Māori language resources, Moorfield states that the collection ‘features narratives by well-known repositories of Māori knowledge across Aotearoa/New Zealand who saw the importance of the written word as a tool to aid in the survival of the Māori language, history and culture’ (Moorfield 2006: 107). Comparisons could be drawn between the *Te Whanake* collection and a digital repository for the archiving of *waiata* and *haka*. Traditionally, Māori did not learn their language from books, or their *waiata* from the internet. Both are non-traditional ways of helping to keep a language and a tradition alive.

In the Māori world, people with a deep knowledge of their tribal culture, history and traditions and with fluency in the language are highly respected by their own tribe and Māori people in general. They are regarded as repositories of this knowledge, much of which will have been handed down

from earlier generations. Prior to colonisation, this knowledge was transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth. However, most modern Māori do not have the finely-honed memory necessary to maintain such an oral tradition because of changing traditions which de-emphasise the spoken transfer of cultural knowledge. Thus they must use modern technology to preserve this knowledge, whether this be the written word or audio or video recording equipment (Moorfield 2006: 107).

The digital repository would have the capability to use audio, visual and written recordings in order to provide a comprehensive experience of *waiata* and *haka*. Many *waiata* have been lost, and many more could follow unless something is done to ensure their survival.

The passing of people who do have a deep knowledge of their tribal culture, history and traditions is lamented, partly because with their death, so much of what they know is lost to Māoridom forever. To retain that knowledge for future generations is important (Moorfield 2006: 107).

Moorfield stresses the importance of ensuring that knowledge survives in an appropriate manner in accordance with the wishes of the person imparting that knowledge.

However, knowledge is passed on only if the person with the knowledge is confident that it will be used only in an appropriate manner, and for the benefit of the tribe or wider Māori community. Permission to publish some of this knowledge requires the confidence of people imparting the knowledge that it will benefit future generations of their people (Moorfield 2006: 107).

The most important aspect of the repository will be the section dedicated to the story behind the *waiata*, the reasons why it was composed and/or any explanatory notes. The inspiration for this section is drawn from the *Ngā Mōteatea* series. Full notes and explanations are needed in order that the many names and references included in the *waiata* are understood.

The repository is not a replacement for oral tradition, nor does it seek to be. However, the reality is that most Māori do not have much access to Māori oral histories or traditions. Therefore, the repository will endeavour to be as comprehensive as possible in order to aid oral tradition in the preservation of *waiata*. This means that the repository will need to draw on a number of different sources and mediums.

There are a number of sources of tribal and family histories and traditions. These include people as well as books, films and audio tapes. All sources

should be co-ordinated with each other in order to develop the best picture of an historical event or *tūpuna*. All sources have their features, problems and strengths. None is perfect (Royal 1992: 9).

Waiata and *haka* are an essential part of the Māori oral tradition. They act as storehouses of historical and cultural knowledge, and have been compared to the archives of traditional Māori society. In this sense, *waiata* and *haka* provide an alternative understanding of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand to that found in the usual history text books. What is most alarming is that through time, many *waiata* have been lost. Therefore, it is essential to utilise all available methods of preserving *waiata* and *haka* for future generations.

The voices of *tūpuna Māori* can be heard through their *waiata*, and these voices continue to transmit knowledge to their *uri*¹⁸⁶. As Royal puts it, ‘Learning the history of our ancestors teaches us much about ourselves’ (Royal 1992: 10). This, of course, is a traditional concept in Māori society, as Māori are continually looking to the past to make sense of their own identity.

I think we should study oral tradition, because of its genuine, intrinsic interest and value. But I think perhaps that it also has a wider importance in that it can help to provide a sense of identity, a sheet anchor if you like, or as they say in New Zealand, a post to which the canoe, is tied. They may see their culture, as a canoe, which could very easily go adrift and be blown away if there were not some cultural heritage in the form of a post to which the canoe can be moored (Biggs 1977: 9).

Biggs discusses the importance of recording oral tradition, regardless of who does it (Biggs 1977: 10).

Because the time will undoubtedly come when as cultures change that the need will be felt more and more to revive some of these aspects that have slipped by, and then it will be the archives and the records that will provide a good deal of the information (Biggs 1977: 10).

This is slightly controversial in that not everyone agrees with Biggs’ point of view.

Oral traditions remain with us because they perform a task that is not available through the written record. As a human being becomes the source

¹⁸⁶ Offspring, descendant, relative, progeny, successor

of information, so he or she becomes the controller of that information. This is but one feature of oral tradition that is not available to the written record (Royal 2005: 17).

Royal makes an important point. However, this feature is also the very thing that threatens the efficiency of oral tradition and the transmission of that knowledge. Therefore, we must find ways to ensure that our oral tradition can withstand the test of time, which is what Biggs was suggesting.

In Polynesia and other areas of the Pacific where the vernacular is still thriving, it is usual to find a considerable turnover of songs through the generations. The most recent songs displace the old which become speedily forgotten. In such a case it is the style that survives rather than individual songs. This seems nearly always to be the case where there is a vigorous ongoing tradition of song composition. In Māoridom, by contrast, songs progressively ceased to be composed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, making it more and more important to retain the old ones. These, in consequence, have become a classical tradition, valued as much for their links to the past as for their content (McLean 2005: 63).

Tīmoti Kāretu suggests that the written word is necessary in today's world as an aid to memory. Kāretu argues that the written word in Māori represents the spoken word. Kāretu's primary concern is the quality of the Māori language, as that is the main difference between the performances of the past and those of today.

I te wā i a rātou mā hoki kāore he tuhituhi. Nā reira, me whakamīharo tātou, i te mea, i mau i a rātou ngā kupu katoa. He roa ētahi o ngā waiata i te wā i a rātou, ka pātai koe, 'Nā te aha rā i mau ai i a rātou te katoa o ngā kupu o aua waiata?' Ko tāku mea hoki i tēnei wā me tuhi rawa, kia kore ai e wareware, nē. Engari, me kī pēnei ahau, ko te ao, ko te kōrero i te kupu kua nekehia mai ki te ao o te tuhi i te kupu. Ana, ki a au nei, kāre he mate o tērā, nā te mea, e tuhi ana koe i te reo e kōrerotia ana e koe. Tērā pā i roto i te tuhituhitanga, i te titonga i te waiata ka āhua piki ake tō reo ki runga ake o te reo e kōrerotia ana e koe ia rā, ia rā, nā te mea he pīrangī nōu kia kitea mai e te ao, 'A! He tangata mōhio a Tīmoti ki te kimi i ngā kupu.' Engari ki a au, ko ngā kupu e ahu mai ana i ngā kaitito, i ā rātou, ka haka mai ko ngā kupu anō e mōhio ana rātou i te wā o te kōrero noa iho ki a rātou anō, nō reira, kāre he rerenga kētanga o te kupu i ā rātou mā, o te kupu i tēnei wā. Ko te mate noa iho pea, i te wā i a tātou nei, kua whāiti rawa te titiro a ngā kaihaka, nē, nā te mea, he whāiti noa te mōhio ki te reo. Engari, atu i tērā kei te mau tonu te ao o te tuhi i te kupu, o te waiata i te kupu, o te haka i te kupu, me ērā mea katoa (Kāretu 2006: personal communication).

Milroy is of a similar view to Kāretu and posits,

Certainly modern Māori compositions do have a sort of message in them, but they are fleeting; they don't last forever and it may be because the language is not language which we want to keep on repeating and singing and maybe even the tune is not a good one either. Therefore, it is unlikely that is going to last a long time. But if you take those old compositions, they have lasted because the oral traditions was so much stronger and people shared these in their meeting houses because they are meaningful...These *waiata* in which the story was told as to why the *waiata* was composed, why the *haka* was composed would be exchanged between various groups...The difference between the old compositions and the new compositions is that the old compositions were sustained by continuing oral tradition and kept alive for long periods of time because they were relevant to the activities of the people of the time. That's not to say that modern compositions are not relevant, they are relevant but they are relevant to an issue which is a political issue such as the Foreshore and Seabed, or smoking, or methamphetamine, or an aspect of sport, etc., but they have not maintained if you like, the endurance that old compositions have been able to maintain for long periods. I think some of these compositions that are being performed are nearly a couple of hundred years old. Whereas modern compositions may last for a year, or for a week at a national competition and that's it; its forgotten after that and something new is performed because the focus is on winning, giving a message and winning a competition, whereas in the past, it was directly related to tribal politics and tribal cultural activities...

The loss of a language speaking audience is another reason why compositions are no longer full of illusory references or imagery which tend to draw out the poetic spirit in people...there are very few composers in the modern context who you could say have a feel for imagery in the same way as those early composers did. That's because modern Māori composers have not had the exposure to nature, have not had the exposure to tribal gatherings, nor the exposure to issues that used to be part of the everyday life of Māori society in those earlier periods. So language, I won't say has deteriorated, but language has changed because the contexts in which people find themselves have changed considerably. Added to this is the fact that we are losing a lot of native speakers and we now have a large cohort of second language learners. So, language has changed considerably since those early compositions and it will continue to evolve in that way, because even now, you can see usages of phrases that are different from when we were young and using it in a different context (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Hana O'Regan proposes that *waiata* comprise a chronological map of *iwi* histories. Taking this notion and the concern that both Kāretu and Milroy have for sustaining the quality of the language, an archive of *waiata* could also provide a chronological map of the evolution of the Māori language and be a critical resource for L2 (second language learners) composers to access language associated with their ancestors. Such an archive would be a valuable resource for composers.

A digital repository of *waiata* and *haka*

The question must be asked as to how effectively oral tradition may be handed on in the 21st century. Handing on traditional knowledge with no aid but the memories of teller and listeners is becoming increasingly difficult in a context of growing urbanization and the international influences coming into nearly every home via the internet, satellite television and other technological developments which may erode traditional avenues of transmission. Today Māori, wherever they reside, can preserve stories by recording and storing them electronically, ensuring that they remain available to descendants (Selby & Laurie 2005: iv).

It is against this background that the researcher has been compelled to develop a digital repository of *waiata* that has the capability to include not only the music and lyrics but also an in-depth analysis of the meaning behind the lyrics.

I was under the tutorship of Koro Dewes, Te Kapunga Dewes. We studied *waiata* as part of our studies, as part of our BA degree and he got me all enthused and he had a particular methodology, the one that is used in *Ngā Mōteatea*, that sort of setting all the words and translations, and annotating all the *kōrero*. I think that is quite a good methodology to use in terms of setting up *waiata* because it is quite clear (Te Rito 2006: personal communication).

The site will be free to access and will act as an archive to preserve oral histories contained within *waiata* and *haka*. This will provide a national resource thus demonstrating the interface between recovering traditional knowledge and storing this through innovative technology, especially for future generations. ‘Researchers nowadays can look further than the traditional academic mode and audience, and consider different possibilities and audiences for the presentation of the products of their research’ (Finnegan 1992: 232). The main purpose of the site is for people to find everything they need to know about a song in the one place (lyrics, history, what it sounds like, and what it may look like when being performed). The composition and the story behind the lyrics must go hand in hand. The composition ensures that the story remains relevant. The story provides the explanation and connection.

In referring to the *waiata* ‘Tangi amio toroa tai-kakapu uta’, Whaanga makes the following statement:

This *waiata* was composed by my father Te Hore Epanaia Whaanga in the mid 1980s. Concerned that the stories and history associated with Iwitea Marae were known by very few, he conducted a number of wānanga for the

descendants of Tahu Pōtiki and Matawhaiti. To accompany the kōrero that he passed on to the hapū, he composed a number of waiata and tauparapara. These are essentially synopses of the stories that are important to Ngai Tahu Matawhaiti and the people who affiliate to Iwitea Marae. Each word or phrase has significance, and in learning such a waiata, it is important that the story behind every name is learnt before the waiata is sung. Much can be learned of the history of Ngai Tahu Matawhaiti by knowing the stories behind each of the eleven lines of this waiata (Whaanga 2005: 24).

Biggs argues that song and dance in the Pacific should be recorded: ‘it’s worth recording these things simply because they’re knowledge. If they’re lost then some knowledge is lost’ (Biggs 1977: 7). The repository will be accessible from anywhere in the world and will be particularly beneficial to those Māori who no longer have access to Māori oral tradition.

The repository will provide a home for early *waiata* and contemporary *waiata* often composed and performed only once and invariably for competition.

Ināianeī ko ngā waiata-ā-ringa, he nui ngā waiata-ā-ringa kua titoa e ngā kaitito, mutu ana ngā whakataetae ngaro atu ngā waiata. Moumou ngā waiata, he nui ngā waiata, nō mai ra anō he nui i moumouhia. Nā te aha i pēra ai? Nā te mea te tau o muri mai kei te tito waiata hou anō koe kia whiwhi koe i ngā *bonus points* i roto i ngā whakataetae (Ruha 2004: personal communication).

It is just as important to record the new oral literature – this is a form of publishing that not only acts as another resource of Māori knowledge and tradition, but also benefits composers who can reach a larger audience with their poetry.

The primary objectives of the site are:

- To archive *waiata* (especially *waiata* that have not been recorded anywhere else)
- To improve access of Māori to *waiata* and its associated knowledge
- To provide a resource for learning and another means for Māori to ‘publish’
- And finally, to ensure Māori control of Māori knowledge.

Commercialisation

Commercial use of *waiata* is already happening, both in New Zealand and overseas. Air New Zealand used ‘Pōkarekare ana’ in one of their advertising campaigns during the

1990s during which time, the song became regarded as part of the Air New Zealand 'brand'. Air New Zealand was capitalising on the fact that 'Pōkarekare ana' is perhaps the most well known Māori song. Milroy posits,

'Pōkarekare ana,' e kaha ana te waiatatia o tērā ehara i te mea i te iwi Māori anake, koirā anake pea te waiata e mōhio whānuitia ana e te nuinga o Aotearoa. Nā reira, he tohu tērā ki tō rātou Aotearoatanga, ki tōku whakaaro (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Similarly, the *haka* 'Ka mate' and the All Blacks, have long been tied together in the minds of most New Zealanders, and the All Blacks have continued to profit from this association. The *haka* has even been used in a PlayStation rugby themed game. The All Blacks, who have performed the *haka* for 100 years, are the only group to have Ngāti Toa's permission for commercial use of the *haka* (*The New Zealand Herald* 22 May, 2005).

Ngāti Toa, the *iwi* of the composer Te Rauparaha, have long fought for recognition of their intellectual property rights and have been disheartened by the unauthorised commercial use of the *haka*. *Iwi* representatives began a battle with the Intellectual Property Office in 1998 which lasted over six years. After years of wrangling to get the *haka* trademarked, the Intellectual Property Office turned down the application (*The New Zealand Herald* 2 July, 2006).

A precedent-setting move to trademark the All Black *haka* has been turned down in what is a major body blow for the *iwi* who say they are the rightful owners of one of the country's most iconic symbols of national pride.

...In a significant development in December [2005], IPONZ formally objected to the application, saying Ka Mate was widely recognised here and abroad as representing New Zealand as a whole and not a particular trader (*The New Zealand Herald* 2 July, 2006).

Milroy discusses the significance of the *haka* 'Ka mate' and the politically fuelled tension that surrounds that particular *haka*. He acknowledges that it has been used as a symbol of 'Kiwi' identity but that in doing so, has become removed from its original Māori meaning and background.

Kua ara ake ngā kūrakuraku i waenganui i ngā Māori tonu. Kua ara ake anō hoki, nā te mea kua tīmata ngā Pākehā ki te *haka* i taua *haka*...kāore

hoki ngā Pākehā rā e mōhio ana arā kē anō ngā kōrero kei muri o te mahi i taua haka rā, engari, ki a rātou, he tohu tērā nō tō rātou ‘Kiwi-tanga,’ he tohu mō tō rātou Aotearoatanga...i te wā kei konei rātou kāre pea rātou e tino mahi ana, engari kua haere rātou ki tāwāhi, ā, kua noho rātou ki te mahi i aua mahi rā, nā te mea koirā te mea e rerekē ake ai rātou i ētahi atu Pākehā. A ‘Ka mate, ka mate’, kei te mahia whānuitia e ngā tīma whakataetae nei (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

The fact that ‘Ka mate’ is associated with New Zealanders or ‘Kiwis’ is a point of contention for Ngāi Tahu as it was composed by Te Rauparaha who led an historic attack on the people of the South Island which is often referred to as a massacre. Milroy discusses this issue:

Kawa rawa atu ngā mea pēnei i a Tipene O’Regan nei ki te haka, ‘Ka mate, ka mate’, tino kawa rā atu nā te mea, ki a rātou koirā te patunga, te kōhurutanga a Te Rauparaha i ngā mea o Te Waipounamu, o roto o Te Waipounamu. Nā, mōhio tonu au e kore ia e pai ki taua haka, e kore ia e pai kia kite ia e mahia mai ana e te tīma o Aotearoa taua haka rā (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

Milroy supports the notion of *haka* written specifically for the All Blacks, such as ‘Kapa o Pango’ written by Derek Lardelli. Milroy: ‘He mea hanga taua kaupapa, nā i runga i tērā āhuatanga kāore e pāmamae ētahi ki te mahia taua haka rā, nā te mea, he haka mā te kapa pango e kawē. Pai ki a au tērā’.

In 2006, Fiat, the car company in Italy, produced a television advertisement with women performing a *haka* which reflects a bastardisation of the *haka* ‘Ka mate’. Māori composer and performing arts expert Derek Lardelli said in a statement that he did not support the ‘adulterated version of Ka Mate’ in the Fiat commercial. Upon learning of the intentions of the advertisers, Lardelli had explained to the advertisement’s producer, Stefano Tucciarelli, that there were aspects of *haka* which were not to be performed by women and ‘discussed the need to write something appropriate to the kaupapa and context. This advice was not followed’ (*The New Zealand Herald* 4 July, 2006). Lardelli stated that it is ‘completely inappropriate to misuse cultural icons or symbolism in the manner that Fiat have. They had the opportunity to engage on a culturally appropriate level but chose to ignore this’ (*The New Zealand Herald* 4 July, 2006). *The New Zealand Herald* article regarding the advertisement made the point that ‘Fiat is the

latest international corporation to commercially exploit Maori images or culture' (*The New Zealand Herald* 4 July, 2006).

This commercialisation has led to a commodification of knowledge. Commodification refers to the process of 'packaging' knowledge as 'goods' that can be bought, traded or sold. Haunani-Kay Trask, a Native Hawaiian scholar, refers to this as the 'prostitution' of culture (Trask 1999: 137). The commodification of *waiata* and *haka* is often outside Māori control.

To a very great degree, knowledge is a constantly negotiated and mediated entity that we pass between ourselves to help us understand and guide our experience of the world. This transfer of knowledge, particularly through the use of the written text, has meant that knowledge has taken on the aspect of a commodity that is traded between individuals and groups. Knowledge has become a resource available to one and all but most of all to those who can afford it (Royal 2005: 48).

For Māori, the commercialisation of *waiata* is not a traditional concept. This is a sentiment which is also found in other parts of Polynesia. 'Song and dance are no less valued, but tend to be treated as literally invaluable or beyond price' (McLean 1999: 392). McLean discusses this aspect of culture by referring to incidents where Pacific peoples have rejected the notion of selling their songs for money or gifts (McLean 1999: 392-393). 'In the Hawaiian, New Zealand and Cook Islands cases, it is clear that anything in the nature of a commercial transaction concerning songs is rejected as demeaning of the tradition' (McLean 1999: 393). McLean stresses this point:

In New Zealand and in the Cook Islands, for example, there are very strong individual and community feelings against commercialisation of traditional songs and any attempt to pay performers for them would lead to total non-co-operation. In both places, the songs are valued by the carriers of the tradition as beyond price. This attitude may indeed be usual elsewhere in Eastern Polynesia (McLean 1977: 27).

Intellectual property rights

'Who owns the folklore? Not you or me, that's for sure'
(Jackson 1987: 259).

This is a complex issue – if a composer is known, the rights obviously reside with them or with their family (if they have died.) However, if a composer is unknown, usually

the *hapū* or *iwi* is regarded as the owner, and therefore, the rights reside with them. This means that there are shared rights. When considering the intellectual property rights in relation to recordings, there are further questions regarding the rights to reproduce the recordings and the commercial implications. In some cases there is legal protection under copyright laws.

When *waiata* are recorded by an outside researcher, there are questions regarding the ownership of the recording itself. What artistic, financial or legal responsibilities do fieldworkers bear towards those whose verbal performances they ‘collect’? (Finnegan 1992: 226-233). According to Selby and Laurie, ‘The ethical questions of ownership, access and use of oral history recordings by outsiders remains controversial’ (Selby & Laurie 2005: iv). In the past, there has been a presumption that the researcher somehow owns the information and material collected. This is evident in material where the informants name has not been provided. Subsequently, Māori have become concerned for their cultural and intellectual property rights.

Mervyn McLean references the *waiata* that he compiled as part of his archive of *waiata* as McL 33, etc., rather than with the name of the *waiata*, composer or singer. Furthermore, McLean and Orbell have provided their names as the ‘authors’ of several works of collected *waiata*. As such, when students and researchers reference those *waiata*, McLean and Orbell inadvertently become the ‘authors’ of the *waiata*. Whilst these scholars have contributed to the preservation of *waiata*, which is to be commended, they have also gained personally and professionally from Māori knowledge.

Ngata and Jones understood the ethical and moral implications of ‘authoring’ a book on *waiata*, which is evident in the fact that Ngata and Jones are noted as the collectors of the *waiata* and not the authors.

Certainly the historian who expects his work to survive and serve as a source of information and inspiration for later generations of scholars must realise that above all else he must regard himself as the servant, and not the master, of any evidence he may uncover (Henige 1982: 23).

Control of Māori oral literature

Albert Wendt argues, in the quotation that opens this chapter, that society is what it remembers, and that control of those memories is important. Sir Tīpene O'Regan raises this concern in relation to his own *iwi*, Ngāi Tahu:

I believe that Ngai Tahu heritage and history is part of our rangatiratanga, and that our runanga¹⁸⁷ are the guardians of that...I am concerned that iwi must find ways to bring the intellectual and cultural property of Maori under some greater cultural control (O'Regan 2001: 35).

Māori leaders such as Sir Tīpene O'Regan have expressed their concerns regarding the control of Māori cultural and intellectual property rights and the dissemination of Māori history and tradition (O'Regan 2001: 36-37). After negative experiences with outside researchers, many Māori believe that they should not allow their oral literature to be recorded unless they hold complete autonomy over the process.

According to Albert Wendt, 'History has everything to do with memory and remembering: history is the remembered tightrope that stretches across the abyss of all that we have forgotten' (Wendt 1987: 79). The memories that are perpetuated are often those that are drawn from the majority in society. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, those memories are drawn mainly from Pākehā. This process is common in other places where colonisation has occurred. Albert Wendt discusses this in relation to the Pacific.

If we look at written Pacific history we find that most of it is the work of papalagi/outside, and that most of it is based on records written and kept by papalagi explorers/missionaries/clerks/etc. So we can say that that history is a papalagi history of themselves and their activities in our region; it is an embodiment of their memories/perceptions/and interpretations of the Pacific. And when we teach that history in our schools we are transmitting their memories to our children, and consequently reordering our children's memories (Wendt 1987: 86-87).

The perpetuation of the coloniser's memories leads to a process whereby the cultural and political memories of the minority are oppressed and erased.

It is possible to erase, replace, or reorder people's memories. Colonialism is a process of erasing and replacing and reordering the memories of the

¹⁸⁷ Tribal council, assembly, board

colonised to suit the colonisers...Groups without political and economic power are trapped in a reality dictated by others (Wendt 1987: 87).

It is important to uphold and control the collective memory of the minority as a defense against this process. Whilst discussing his work of fiction, *Black Rainbow*, Albert Wendt states that in the book 'the colonizing power does not want the colonized people to remember their 'true' history, the violent history of how the colonizers stole their land' (cited in Sarti 1998: 209).

It is important that Māori are proactive in creating initiatives that reclaim Māori knowledge. 'The transmitting of Maori perceptions allows the colonizers to see the perspectives of the colonized – a necessary step so that the dominant culture changes its attitudes about its possession of 'truth' (Binney 2001: 13). In other words, it is important to allow Māori voices to speak for themselves and be heard on a global scale.

According to Royal, 'Contiguous with the rise of the 'information age' has been a growing interest in the nature of oral cultures, histories and traditions' (Royal 2005: 45). However, there is sensitive material in Māori tradition which is considered not appropriate for recording or for public consumption. The rise of the internet and globalisation has meant that Māori culture is readily available to those who have little or no understanding about its history. Māori now have very little control over the flow of information regarding their culture and heritage.

However, there is an opportunity available to Māori that can ensure that there is a legitimate source for people wanting to know more about *waiata* and *haka*. It will be a source that is answerable to Māori and is controlled by Māori. If this new technology is embraced by Māori, Māori will, at the very least, be able to supply legitimate examples of their culture and have a certain amount of control over what information is included, and how that information is presented. It is logical that people are less likely to seek information from unreliable internet sources when a legitimate source is available and widely known.

'Nowadays, many of our people learn about their history from books and outside the context of the tribe. We need to take control of that learning so that accurate traditions

are perpetuated among our people' (Royal 1992: 30). Here Royal is most likely referring to a renewed oral tradition rather than a digital repository of oral literature. However, a digital repository that is controlled and monitored by Māori for Māori can aid the preservation of oral tradition.

Restricting access

When conducting research on *mātauranga Māori* through a Māori world-view, one must accept that there will be knowledge that is not for public-consumption and is therefore, off-limits. This is in stark contrast with the typical Western research methodologies which set no limits on what knowledge can and should be explored.

Some oral forms are secret, or restricted to particular exponents or audiences in terms of, say, age, gender or status. This raises problems about confidentiality in publication or archive deposit. Should such genres be given wider publicity either for the sake of truth generally or quite specifically to reach a wider audience (including present or future generations of the culture being studied)? Or confined to more limited categories of audiences as some of the original proponents might have wished or assumed? Asking for explicit permission may be one strategy, but this will not necessarily [sic] solve questions about whose interests should prevail (Finnegan 1992: 226).

The rights and wishes of the informant should always prevail. As knowledge bearers, they have the responsibility to ensure that the knowledge they possess is safeguarded for the future. The recording of everything in oral recollection will never be a reality as some knowledge will always remain private and restricted. However, recordings of the oral tradition that are available for public consumption 'are useful tools for stimulating an understanding of oral history and traditions in their entirety' (Royal 2005: 17).

Once gain, the knowledge bearers and repositories should be consulted regarding the appropriate outlet for their knowledge.

...there have been great tensions between the different media by which knowledge is transmitted. Māori believe that the oral tradition is the best tradition for the transmission of knowledge, because this knowledge is never divorced from its cultural reality: it is always maintained in the whānau, hapū and iwi, the descendants of the people who are described in the histories (Royal 1992: 21).

Where knowledge is not to be shared with a wider audience, the digital repository will place an embargo on that knowledge, restricting that information and ensuring it is

password protected. In such cases, the user will need to contact the composer, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* in order to gain access to the password and view the material. This mechanism will ensure that the material can still be safeguarded and archived through the digital repository without exposing it to a general audience.

It is not expected that there will be any *karakia* or Ringatū songs recorded for the digital repository, as these have, historically, been a grey area for Māori as evidenced in that very few *karakia* have ever been recorded.

Sourcing material to populate the repository

Initially, the focus has been to source compositions from composers with whom the researcher has an established relationship. This is for practical reasons, as these composers are aware of the research topic and are therefore likely to contribute to the project without needing to be convinced of its merits. The repository will continue to rely on composers, the *whānau* of composers, *hapū* and *iwi* voluntarily contributing to the site. Ultimately, this will mean that the compositions and information available will have been approved by those who hold the rights to the material. This is important as it is their history. Each page of information will be fully referenced to the source.

One of the significant advantages of a digital repository in the form of a website is that it is easily updated, unlike written published material. This means that new material can be added and be instantly available. It also ensures that material can be easily removed, should this be necessary.

‘It was not until I had many versions of the same songs to work on and was able to compare renditions...it was highly desirable to obtain duplicates of songs’ (McLean 2004: 31). Where there are different versions of a song, or of the explanation behind a song, there will be adequate room to cater to all of the versions. This will provide the user with the ‘full picture’. Of course, all of the versions will be attributed to the individuals, *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* who supplied them so as to build a clear picture of where the information has come from.

At the present time there is no intention of including the music notation as part of the digital repository as the recording of the *waiata* will be available, and this is ultimately

the most akin to the traditional method of learning by ear. Furthermore, Mervyn McLean's recordings have been used to revive *waiata* in certain *iwi* through the introduction of *waiata* schools. This supports the notion that recordings are sufficient.

McLean addresses the fact that the Māori Resource Centre at the University of Auckland *marae* held recordings (Māori Purposes Fund Board recordings) which anyone was free to dub without leaving contact information:

I have the uneasy feeling that when access is as free as this, the material is being devalued and to a degree demeaned. This feeling is not mine alone. It has rubbed off on me as a result of my contacts with elders, and especially as a result of a visit from a Taranaki group a few years ago (McLean 2005: 68).

McLean continues on to discuss 'potential' problems should the recordings fall into the wrong hands.

...it cannot be taken for granted that just anyone is a suitable recipient for recorded *waiata* just because she or he is Māori. And in this there is the precedent of the elders who didn't think so either and, in some cases, left specific instructions as to who could gain access and who not. The question is what, if anything, should be done about it? And how can conflicting views even within Māoridom be reconciled? (McLean 2005: 69).

McLean goes on to discuss the difficult position he is in as 'Keeper of the Archive' – trying to balance 'due regard for cultural values and sensitivities while at the same time ensuring maximum availability of the materials in its care' (McLean 2005: 69). Processing 60 requests per year does not line up with the notion of maximum availability. The researcher was unaware of the existence of the archive until the research for her MA thesis, and it would seem that many Māori are also unaware of its existence.

While it is recognised that the oral tradition is essential to Māori cultural survival and that it should be defended and maintained, it is also argued that Māori should utilise new technology in order to preserve traditions. It is hoped that the digital repository will sit alongside oral tradition in a complementary way and act as a resource to supplement the continued oral history of Māori people.

The idea of an oral culture is often placed or located in competition with a literate culture as if they are mutually exclusive or as if one who dwells in a so-called literate culture possesses no oral dimension to their lives. This idea is reflected in such notions that the book, for example, is the repository for the culture of a people. Another cliché and assumption is the idea that memory is an inferior repository of knowledge to that of the book (and latterly digital containers). The problem with this idea is the assumption that memory is only concerned with storing of quantities of knowledge (particularly of past events) and that memory can be separated from that part of us that is concerned with forming understandings, analysing, communicating and so on. There are other clichés that have arisen including the tendency to see literate cultures as a superior form of culture and that the movement from an oral culture to a written culture is a natural evolutionary step. Naturally, indigenous peoples, who have tended to maintain oral cultures, have protested against this view because it offers the judgement that they need to be liberated somehow from this earlier and inferior form of human culture.

These kinds of ideas, which are prevalent in various quarters, are unfortunate indeed for they give rise to other clichés such as the notion that we need not be too worried about memory because we now possess a range of containers to stockpile knowledge (Royal 2005: 45-46).

Memory is still the most important vessel for the survival of Māori culture and tradition. If Māori retained the ability of *tīpuna Māori* to rely totally on their memory, indeed there would be no need for a website repository. However, this is not the case. The digital repository is not intended to replace memory or the oral tradition; it is merely another resource which can be tapped into in order to aid the survival of oral tradition. The repository will provide as much information as possible stopping short of giving the user a live performance.

Summary and conclusions

The importance of archiving *waiata* is based on the importance of archiving Māori history. Historically, Māori have a tradition of adapting to changing circumstances by adopting new skills and technology for the advancement of their people. This provides the basis for which it can be argued, that Māori should seek out any new methods available for the preservation and perpetuation of *waiata* and *haka*. Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones accomplished this in their time by using the written word to preserve *waiata* in the *Ngā Mōteatea* series.

The *Ngā Mōteatea* collection has proven to be an invaluable resource for Māori as it is not merely a collection of *waiata* and *haka*, but also a source of history, culture and

advanced language. With reference to the Tīenga model, the interrelationship of history, culture and language is illustrated with the link between composition and other facets of Māori culture and tradition. The comprehensive nature of the compositions and the stories which accompany the compositions have ensured that the *Ngā Mōteatea* content is all-inclusive.

Ngata's well-known saying, 'E tipu e rea' provides a mandate for Māori advancement. Ngata suggests that Māori must be well equipped to face the challenges of their own generation by holding on to their *taonga* which have been handed down from *tīpuna Māori*, whilst adopting the methods of advancement engineered by Pākehā. Digital technology is one such method of advancement that could meet the challenge of this generation by aiding the oral tradition in the preservation of *waiata* and *haka*.

Milroy supports this view by suggesting that today's composers must compete with all of the communication methods available in today's world.

In today's context, what is happening is brought to our attention immediately by the television, composers of the present time can't beat the imagery of the television. So the modern composer needs to be very clever if you like, or very creative in a different way from the old ones. They have to be able to utilise the technology in the present context and yet convey Māori values at the same time (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

The *Ngā Mōteatea* series is the inspiration behind the establishment of a national digital repository of *waiata* and *haka*. The digital repository will continue to encounter traditional Māori concerns regarding commercialisation, commodification of knowledge, intellectual property rights, the control of culture and restricting access. These concerns will need to be accepted and addressed in order to find the best approach to move forward to ensure that the digital repository is a success.

Chapter Nine

Tāmata Toiere

Whakarongo! Ki te reo Māori e karanga nei Whakarongo! Ki ngā akoranga rangatira Nā te Atua i tuku iho Ki a tātou e Pupuritia! Kōrerotia mō ake tonu	Listen! To the Māori language which is saying Listen! To the noble teachings It was the Lord Almighty who bequeathed it To us Retain it! Speak it for all time!
Tirohia! Ngā tikanga tapu a ngā tīpuna Kapohia! Hei oranga ngākau aue Whiua ki te ao, whiua ki te rangi	Look! The sacred customs of our ancestors Reach out for them! As a source of pleasure Then disseminate them to the world, to the heavens And to people everywhere Under no circumstances let these sacred customs wither and die.
Whiua ki ngā iwi katoa Kaua rawa rā e tukua e, kia memeha e	
Whakarongo! Ki te reo Māori e karanga nei Whakarongo! Ki ngā akoranga rangatira Tēnā kia purea e te hau ora e He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reanga	Listen! To the Māori language which is saying Listen! To the noble teachings Ritually purified by the life-giving winds Let these words be a commandment to this generation
Whakarongo!	Listen! (cited in Kāretu 1993b: 91-92)

This chapter will focus on the practical aspect of the digital repository. There will be a discussion of the different features of the website, with each part explained in detail. This will include still images of what the repository looks like.

‘Whakarongo’

The late Ngōi Pēwhairangi wrote the *waiata* that opens this chapter which emphasises the importance of the Māori language. It urges the listener to hold fast to the language, and therefore, to the knowledge and teachings of the ancestors. Language is the medium for Māori histories. Although, Ngōi wrote this for *te reo*, *waiata* and *haka* are expressions of the language, therefore, the researcher believes that the *waiata* is appropriate for the thesis topic. This is the reason why one of the lines from the *waiata*

is used as the title for this thesis. Milroy suggests that ‘Whakarongo’ has a depth of meaning and that Ngoi has included political imperatives within the *waiata*.

Mēnā koe ka whakaaro ake ki te waiata a Ngoi, ‘Whakarongo,’ he whakahau tērā i ngā tamariki, i te rangatahi ki te whakarongo ki te reo kei ngaro hoki, engari ki te titiro whānui koe, ko te patai kei roto, he aha e ngaro nei tō tātou reo? He aha e ngaro haere nei tō tātou reo? Koirā te pātai. Kei muri o ngā kupu. Nā, o ngā kupu e whakahau ana i a tātou, kia mau tonu te reo, kei ngaro...ka whakarongo koe ki ngā kupu he ngāwari ngā kupu, engari ki a au kei roto e takoto ana ētahi tin o kiko, ko te wero ki a tāto u an ō ka tahi. Tuarua, ki te Kāwanatanga, e ahatia ana e koutou te reo, te reo nei, te reo o ō mātou mātua, o ō mātou tīpuna...He momo kupu huna nei nē, he kupu huna, he whakaaro huna, he matarua, he matarua tō ngā kupu (Milroy 2006: personal communication).

A digital repository of *waiata* and *haka*

As part of this thesis and with the intention of including an applied component to the work, the researcher has developed an online digital repository for the preservation of *waiata*.¹⁸⁸ The site will be free to access and act as an archive to preserve the oral histories contained within *waiata* and *haka*, thus providing a national resource. In addition, the repository will illustrate the interface between recovering traditional knowledge and storing this through innovative technology for the future. The importance of archiving Māori oral history and tradition has been established, and it is for this reason that the repository will include not only the lyrics of the *waiata* but also in-depth analysis of the meaning behind the lyrics.

Image 12: Tāmata Toiere homepage – header



The repository will provide a platform for storing detailed information regarding *waiata*. This includes, but is not limited to, the lyrics of a *waiata*, the history behind the composition, information about the composer, what the *waiata* sounds like and what it

¹⁸⁸ The vision and functions of the repository were conceived by the researcher. However, the website itself was designed and constructed by VO2 Web Design with Peter Moorfield leading the project

may look like when being performed. The website itself has been constructed in a well-organised manner with a simple layout with the purpose of making it easy to use and navigate. This was of primary importance so as to make it as accessible as possible. The repository was also constructed with the view that it have a modern dynamic feel to appeal to users. The option of viewing the information in English or in *te reo Māori* will be another key feature of the site. The repository has been developed in English with the intent to make it bilingual.

The target audience

The target audience is broad in that anyone with an interest in *waiata* and *haka* could use the site as a source of information. The repository was originally conceived from an academic point of view, with the hope that it would provide a reliable source of information for those researching in the field or for those wanting to research specific *waiata* from their own *iwi*. However, as the project has developed, it has become apparent that the user-base has the potential to be much broader. This includes, but is not limited to, school teachers, university students and lecturers, *kapa haka* tutors and performers, and people overseas researching things Māori.

Locating the repository on the web

When researching on the internet, the first point of reference is to often use search engines such as Google. Therefore, in order to ensure that the repository website is known about and used, it will need to feature on these searches. The following is a list of words that have been provided to the web design team to use as keywords that will lead to the repository if searched on the internet.

- Waiata
- Haka
- Poi
- Mōteatea
- Kapa haka
- Māori music
- Māori song
- Māori dance
- Māori chant
- Māori literature
- Māori performance
- Māori performing arts
- Māori composers
- Māori poetry

Māori history
New Zealand music
New Zealand song
New Zealand poetry
New Zealand dance
New Zealand literature
New Zealand history
Indigenous music
Indigenous song
Indigenous dance
Indigenous poetry
Indigenous literature
Native music
Native song
Native dance
Native poetry
Native literature

The name of the repository

The name ‘Tāmata Toiere’ was gifted by Te Wharehuia Milroy, a nationally recognised and respected repository of *mātauranga Māori*. A detailed explanation behind the meaning of ‘Tāmata Toiere’ can be located under the ‘Learn tab’ and by selecting ‘About this site’.

The website address is www.waiata.maori.nz. It was chosen for its simplicity in the hope that those who use the site will remember it.

Content that appears on the homepage

When the web address is located, the user will be faced with the Tāmata Toiere homepage. Therefore, the homepage provides the first impression for the repository. The items that could appear on the home page will be explained in further detail below.

Image 13: Tāmata Toiere homepage – full view

TĀMATA Toiere

LEARN
HOME
ABOUT THIS SITE
RESOURCES

BROWSE
NEWEST
GENRE
COMPOSER
KAPA HAKA
YEAR

SEARCH
SEARCH
More Search Options

CONNECT
CONTRIBUTE
CONTACT US

FEATURED SONGS
Ngoi Pēwhairangi
Tōreo karanga e
The waiata-ā-ringa Tōreo Karanga E' was composed for the opening of the dining room at Mātaura in the South Island in the mid-1980s. Ngoi's hapū, Te... [more](#)

Timoti Kāretu
Whakaipuipu
Whakaipuipu is a waiata tangi or lament. Dr. Timoti Kāretu composed the waiata tangi as an expression of the loss he felt following the passing of his dear friend, Ngoi... [more](#)

Welcome to Tāmata Toiere
The aim of the site is to provide comprehensive information about waiata and haka. Included in this will be: the lyrics, a translation, an explanation of the context behind the composition and the reasons it was composed, a biography of the composer, an audio file, a video file, any photos of relevance, and a list of references for further study.

FEATURED MEDIA
this is the image 2 caption

RECENTLY ADDED

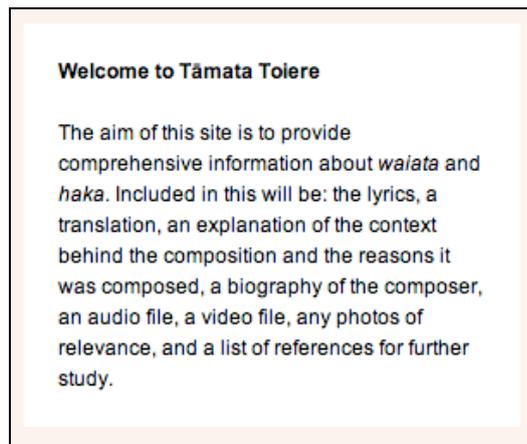
COMPOSER	SONG TITLE	YEAR	REFERENCE NO.
Timoti Kāretu	<i>Whakaipuipu</i>	1985	KAR001
Ngoi Pēwhairangi	<i>Whakarongo</i>	1980 -	PEW003
Ngoi Pēwhairangi	<i>Tōreo karanga e</i>	1980 -	PEW002
Ngoi Pēwhairangi	<i>Ka noho au i konei</i>	1980 -	PEW001

TE IPUKAREA
© 2010 Tāmata Toiere VO2 web design

Welcome to the site

This box appears in the bottom left-hand corner of the homepage. It provides a brief overview of ‘Tāmata Toiere’.

Image 14: Welcome to the site



Learn

The 'Learn' tab contains links to the 'Homepage', 'About this Site' and 'Resources'.

Image 15: The 'Learn' Tab



'About this Site' also contains Te Wharehuia Milroy's explanation behind the meaning of 'Tāmata Toiere'.

Image 16: About this site

ABOUT THIS SITE

THE MEANING OF 'TĀMATA TOIERE'

The name 'Tāmata Toiere' was gifted by Te Wharehuia Milroy. The following is Wharehuia's explanation behind the meaning of Tāmata Toiere:

Tāmata: means a new cultivation. This website is 'breaking new ground' by using modern technology to affect a fertile ground for growing the seeds of Māori traditions and history.

Toiere: means a type of hauitū chant or song that in one sense draws the participants into united activity (such as paddling a canoe). The toiere also starts or begins the journey on the 'river of knowledge' for those seeking to find distant horizons of the past, and so brings them into the future through Te Ipurangi.

Like paddling a canoe, the whole context is interactive; one is in a synchronous state with the flow of water. In the website, one is in a synchronous context with the flow of knowledge that is derived from paddling through the currents of information; you can negotiate, you can berth your waka, and start again. 'Whāia te pae tawhiti kia tata, ko te pae tata whakamaua kia tīnā.'

MOTIVATION BEHIND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TĀMATA TOIERE

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa/New Zealand, *te reo Māori* was an exclusively oral language. However, this did not in any way impede the archiving of knowledge and history deemed important by *tipuna Māori*. In fact, tribal history, knowledge and traditions have been preserved for generations in the many *waiata* and *haka* composed throughout the country. *Waiata* is a traditional medium for the transmission of knowledge including tribal history, politics, historical landmarks, genealogy and environmental knowledge while also acting as a traditional form of expression for the articulation of anger, hatred, sadness, love and desire.

Waiata and *haka* have been likened to the archives of the Māori people, preserving important historical and cultural knowledge. Furthermore, *waiata* offer us an alternative view of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand to those that are based on mainstream history books and archives. However, many of these *waiata* are being lost through time and with them, our knowledge base regarding the meaning behind the words. This is exaggerated by the fact that *waiata* contain the highest form of language utilising proverbs and figurative speech.

Tāmata Toiere has been created as a celebration of our rich oral history. Furthermore, the site acts as an archive to preserve oral histories contained within *waiata*. This will provide a national resource thus demonstrating the interface between recovering traditional knowledge and storing this through innovative technology especially for future generations.

ABOUT TĀMATA TOIERE

The concept of a digital repository of *waiata* was first realised in 2004. However, it was not until 2008 that work began on the site. Tāmata Toiere is free to access as it is a non-profit project with the purpose of increasing access to *waiata* and *haka*. The site is very comprehensive and has the capacity to hold print, images, and media files, both audio and visual. This means that the user will have all of the information about a composition in one place, including references to undertake further research. The aim of the repository is to highlight the importance of the knowledge contained within *waiata* and *haka*, with emphasis on the ability of Māori composition to act as political and historical commentaries.

'It is my hope that Tāmata Toiere will contribute in some small way to the preservation of *waiata*. Furthermore, I hope that it will live up to the example set by works such as the *Ngā Mōteatea* series' (Ka'ai-Mahuta 2009).

The 'Resources' contains a list of books, articles and websites that relate to *waiata* and *haka*.

RESOURCES

LINKS

Te Ipukarea: National Māori Language Institute <http://www.teipukarea.maori.nz>

RECOMMENDED TEXTS

Awatere, A. M. (1975). Review of Mitcalfe Maori Poetry: the Singing Word (1974). In *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, (84: 4), pp. 510-519.

Best, E. (2005). *Games and Pastimes of the Maori* (2005 edition). Wellington: Te Papa Press.

Huata, N. (2000). *The Rhythm and Life of Poi*. Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers New Zealand Limited.

Ka'ai, T. M. (2008). *Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi: A Remarkable Life*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Kāretu, T. S. (1993). *Haka! Te Tohu o te Whenua Rangatira, The Dance of a Noble People*. Auckland: Reed Books.

McLean, M. & Curnow, J. (Eds.) (1992). *Catalogue of McLean Collection Recordings of Traditional Maori Songs, 1958-1979 (McL 1-1283)*. Auckland: Archive of Maori and Pacific Music, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland.

McLean, M. (1996). *Maori Music*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

McLean, M. & Orbell, M. (2002). *Songs of a Kaumātua*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ngā Tatangi a Te Whare Karioi – Te Matatini National Kapa Haka Festival, Tauranga Moana, Mātaatua (2009).

Ngata, A. T. & Jones, P. T. H. (2004). *Ngā Mōteatea, Part I* (2004 edition). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ngata, A. T. & Jones, P. T. H. (2005). *Ngā Mōteatea, Part II* (2005 edition). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ngata, A. T. & Jones, P. T. H. (2006). *Ngā Mōteatea, Part III* (2006 edition). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ngata, A. T. & Mead, H. M. (2007). *Ngā Mōteatea, Part IV* (2007 edition). Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Orbell, M. (1978). *Maori Poetry: An Introductory Anthology*. Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books.

Orbell, M. (1991). *Waiata – Maori Songs in History*. Auckland: Reed Books.

Shennan, J. (1984). *The Maori Action Song*. Wellington: NZCER.

Walker, R. (2001). *He Tipua – The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata*. Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd.

Connect

The 'Connect' tab contains links to 'Contribute' and 'Contact us'.

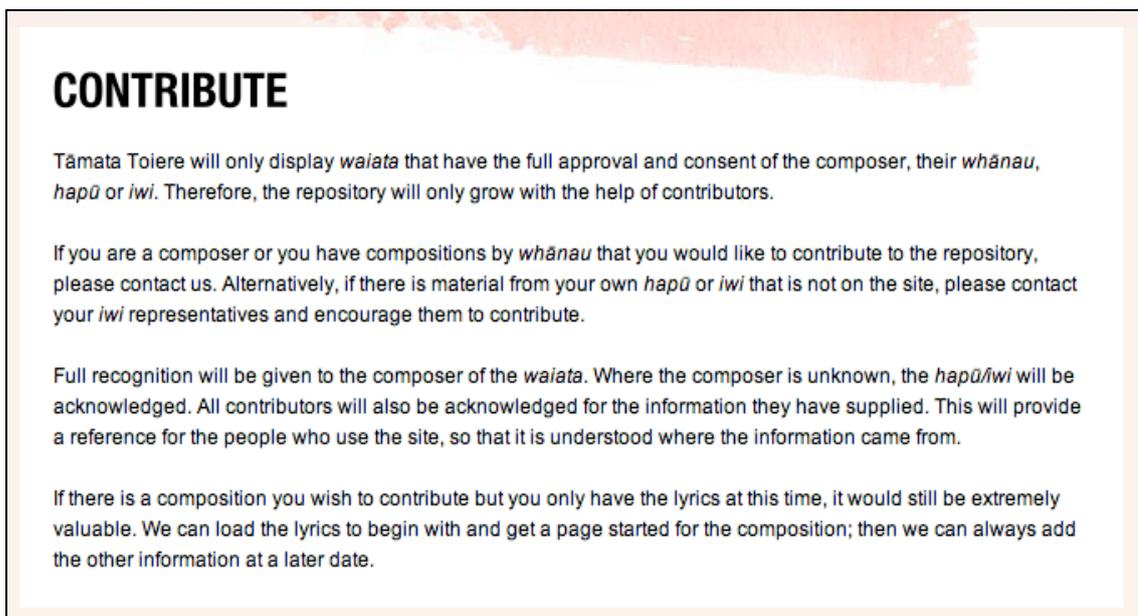
Image 18: The ‘Connect’ tab



Contribute and Contact Us

The ‘Contribute’ page provides information for those who wish to contribute to this website.

Image 19: Contribute



The ‘Contact Us’ page will provide contact details for contributors who wish to contact the webpage administrator. Currently, this link returns the user to the homepage. The ‘Contact Us’ page will be developed once the website is situated in a permanent home within an appropriately resourced environment to further populate the repository.

Featured songs

The 'Featured Songs' box appears on the upper left-hand side of the homepage. This box will showcase the content of the site and the song featured will be changed regularly.

Image 20: Featured songs



Featured media

The 'Featured Media' box appears in the centre of the homepage. As 'Tāmata Toiere' is a performing arts site, it is appropriate to have audio and visual on the homepage. This section could also feature video or photos of performances.

Image 21: Featured media



Recently Added

The 'Recently Added' box appears directly under the 'Featured Media'. This box will include any recently added material that has been uploaded to this site.

Image 22: Recently added

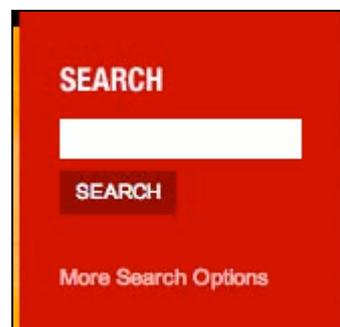


COMPOSER	SONG TITLE	YEAR	REFERENCE NO.
Timoti Kāretu	<i>Whakaipupu</i>	1985	KAR001

Search

The most important aspect of this site will be the search function. It is similar to a library catalogue where users will be able to search by conducting a simple search or by using the categories listed below.

Image 23: Search



- Search by keyword (as in a keyword found in the song lyrics) e.g. '*manu*' (bird) would bring up all the songs that had the word *manu* in the lyrics, starting with the songs that have *manu* in the title as well as in the lyrics.
- Search by title (or even by the beginning of the title) e.g. 'Haere mai' would bring up 'Haere mai tātou katoa' and 'Haere mai e ngā rangatahi haere mai' (both by Tuīni Ngāwai) and probably numerous other songs.

- Search by composer (just like search by author in the library system) e.g. Kāretu, Tīmoti would bring up all of Tīmoti Kāretu's compositions, starting with the most recent.
- Search by *iwi/hapu* (here the user would type in the name of the tribe or sub-tribe and it will first bring up the composers from that tribe; then the user can click on a composer for a list of their compositions) e.g. Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare would bring up people like Ngoi Pēwhairangi and Tuīni Ngāwai. This function could also bring up songs that have the *iwi/hapū* mentioned in the song lyrics as an alternative result if there are no composers that come up in the results or if there are only one or two.
- Search by *kapa haka* (this would bring up all of the songs composed for a particular *kapa haka*) e.g. 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tū' would bring up all of the songs composed for that *kapa haka*.
- Search by genre (here the user should be able to search by genre in either Māori or English) e.g. 'oriori' (lullaby) would bring up all of the lullabies, alternatively you could type in 'lullaby' and it would do the same thing.
- Search by year (either the exact year or a date range) e.g. 1990-1993 would bring up all of the songs within that range, starting with the most recent.
- Search by reference number (As more songs are loaded onto the site it will be useful to have some sort of reference system to be able to keep track of all of the material. This will also be useful for the user, as it will mean a quick way to get back to a particular song.)

Browse

In addition to the 'Search Function', users will be able to browse the repository based on the categories listed below.

Image 24: The ‘Browse’ Tab



- Browse newest (the user will be able to view the recently added *waiata*). This will be useful for users who regularly check the site for new material.
- Browse by genre (the user will be able to search by genre in either Māori or English) e.g. ‘*oriori*’ would bring up all of the traditional lullabies; alternatively you could type in ‘lullaby’ and it would do the same thing. The following genres will be included in the repository to maximize the information available to users:

Mōteatea

- Waiata tangi
- Waiata aroha
- Waiata whaiāipo
- Waiata tohutohu
- Oriori
- Pātere

Haka

- Peruperu
- Haka Taparahi
- Kaioraora
- Tūtūngārahu
- Whakatū-waewae
- Ngeri
- Pōkeka
- Manawa wera
- Haka Pōhiri

Poi

Waiata-ā-ringa

Waiata ngahau

Waiata tira

Whakaeke

Whakawātea

- Browse by *iwi/hapū* (the user would type in the name of the tribe or sub-tribe and it will first bring up the composers from that tribe, then the user can click on a composer for a list of their compositions) e.g. Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare would bring up people like Ngoi Pēwhairangi and Tuīni Ngāwai. This function could also bring up songs that have the *iwi/hapu* mentioned in the song lyrics as an alternative result.
- Browse by composer (just like search by author in the library system) e.g. Kāretu, Tīmoti would bring up all of Tīmoti Kāretu's compositions, starting with the most recent.
- Browse by year (either the exact year or a date range) e.g. 1990-1993 would bring up all of the songs within that range, starting with the most recent. On the actual song page the exact year (if known) will appear. For the browse function, it will go up in decades from 1840 onwards, then have one range for pre-1840, and one for unknown:

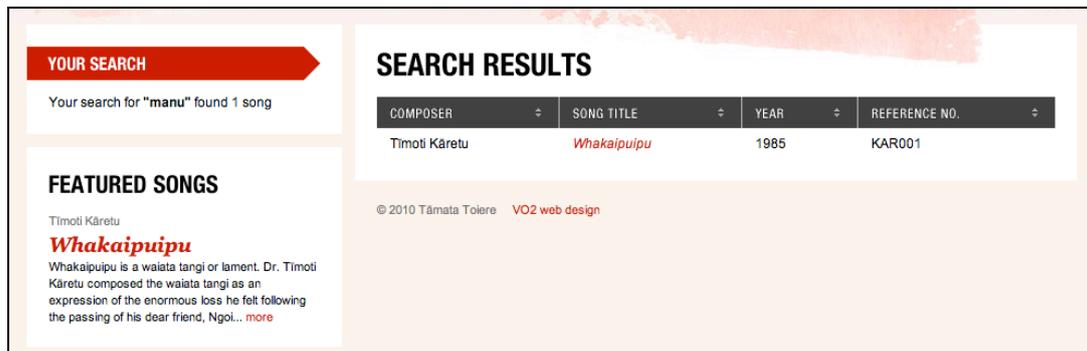
2000 –
1990 – 1999
1980 – 1989
1970 – 1979
1960 – 1969
1950 – 1959
1940 – 1949
1930 – 1939
1920 – 1929
1910 – 1919
1900 – 1909
1890 – 1899
1880 – 1889
1870 – 1879
1860 – 1869
1850 – 1859
1840 – 1849
Pre-1840
Unknown

- Browse by *kapa haka* (this would bring up all of the songs composed for a particular *kapa haka*) e.g. 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tū' would bring up all of the songs composed for that *kapa haka*.

Search/Browse Results page

Once the user has searched for a composition, the results will be listed with the name of the composition, the composer's name, the tribe where the person comes from, the year of composition and the reference number. For example:

Image 25: Search results



The screenshot shows a search results page. On the left, there is a 'YOUR SEARCH' section with a red arrow pointing right, indicating the search term 'manu' found 1 song. Below this is a 'FEATURED SONGS' section featuring 'Whakaipupu' by Timoti Kāretu, with a brief description and a 'more' link. On the right, the 'SEARCH RESULTS' section displays a table with the following data:

COMPOSER	SONG TITLE	YEAR	REFERENCE NO.
Timoti Kāretu	Whakaipupu	1985	KAR001

At the bottom of the search results section, there is a copyright notice: © 2010 Tāmata Toiere - VO2 web design.

Iwi/hapū information

The *iwi* and *hapū* (if known) should appear in brackets directly under or beside the composer's name on the song page – and if there is enough room, on the search results page too. If only the *iwi* is known, it would look like this:

Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta
(Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu)

If both the *iwi* and the *hapū* are known, it would look something like this:

Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta
(Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare – Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Wheke – Ngāi Tahu)

Image 26: Song page

The screenshot shows the Tāmata Toiere website interface. At the top, there is a navigation menu with sections: LEARN (HOME, ABOUT THIS SITE, RESOURCES), BROWSE (NEWEST, GENRE, COMPOSER, KAPA HAKA, YEAR), SEARCH (SEARCH, More Search Options), and CONNECT (CONTRIBUTE, CONTACT US). The main content area features a 'LISTEN' player for 'Whakaipūipu' with a progress bar. Below the player, there are three main sections: 'COMPOSER' (Timoti Kāretu, Ngāi Tūhoe; Ngāti Kahungunu, 1937 -), 'LYRICS' (Whakaipūipu mai rā te moana kei waho e...), and 'MORE BY THIS COMPOSER'. The 'COMPOSER' section includes a photograph of Timoti Kāretu and a short biography. The 'LYRICS' section provides the original Māori lyrics and an English translation. At the bottom left, there is a logo for 'TE IPUKAREA'.

Song Page

As shown in Image 24, once the user has clicked on the composition they want to view, the following will pop up:

- Lyrics: The song lyrics and a translation (if known) [text].
- Explanation: A short essay explaining the meaning behind the song and the story that goes with it [text].
- Biography: A short biography of the composer including a photograph or image of the composer (if available) [text & image].
- Photographs: Any photos of significance. For example, a *kapa haka* performing the song or something mentioned in the lyrics (e.g. If the song is about a rare bird then it

might be good to have a photo of that bird, or if it is about a historical landmark the inclusion of a relevant image would also be a useful addition).

- Audio file: An audio clip of someone, or a group, singing the song.
- Video file: Any video clips of groups performing the song (if available).
- Reference list: A list of books, articles and websites relating to the song.

To start with, not every page will have two media files as the most readily available information will be the text. However, in the future it is anticipated that there will be at least one media file (audio and/or video) per page. The following should appear on the page of a single composition: Song lyrics (text), short bio about composer (text), explanation of song (text), photographs of significance (e.g. the composer or something mentioned in the lyrics), audio file, video file, and reference list at the bottom.

It is anticipated at the very least, that each page will have a photo of the composer. Subsequently, there may be a photo that is significant to the song (e.g. a photo of the song being performed on some important occasion) that will be added. However, it is unlikely this will be the case for every song.

Composer information

It is not considered necessary to have a separate page for details about the composers. Ultimately, there are many forums for details about composers (e.g. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, etc.). The focus of this repository is largely on providing information about the compositions themselves.

If the composer is unknown and the *kapa haka* is known, then the *kapa haka* will replace the composer with all of the details the composer would have had such as a photograph, biography, etc. If the composer is known, then the *kapa haka* will be mentioned in the explanation section – e.g. ‘this song was famously performed by Te Hokowhiti-a-Tū at the welcome home for the soldiers of the 28th Māori Battalion’. Of course, there will be a few songs (mostly the ancient *waiata*) where the origins will be unknown and it will not be possible to have either the composer or the *kapa haka* in that section so instead, the *iwi/hapū* will be referenced. In these cases, the composer section will be replaced with a short explanation about the *iwi/hapū* that the song came from.

Restricted Access Options

As the project develops further there may be some compositions that will need to have restricted access. There may be some songs that are completely restricted and there may be some that only have certain parts restricted, such as the audio file or the photo of the composer. If a song is completely restricted, it will appear as:

Table 8: Restricted access search results

<u>Search Results</u>			
Composer	Song Title	Year	Reference no.
Restricted (click for more information)	Restricted	Restricted	7654321

If there is only one part of the composition that is restricted such as the audio file, then it will also say ‘Restricted: click for more information’ next to the part that is restricted. When the user clicks for more information, they will be directed to something like the following:

Table 9: Restricted access information

<u>Restricted Access</u>
This [<i>waiata/haka/essay/biography/audio-file/photo/video-file</i>] has restricted access. In order to apply for access, please contact: Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou PO Box 394 Gisborne

Recording

For recording *waiata*, it is important to have the best equipment available. However, the most sophisticated equipment is often the most delicate and what may work well in a sound studio may not be transferable to other situations. This is primarily due to portability issues, heavy use and the realities of outside conditions such as dust and humidity. ‘An extremely common problem is to find that songs one wishes to record are inseparably linked to a customary occasion of performance’ (McLean 1977: 22). This is problematic as it poses questions regarding the legitimacy of recordings that have been recorded without the spontaneity associated with performance. ‘To what

degree does a written or taped record correspond to the performance? How typical is that performance given that records are not often made during normal “live” performances, but during a recording session, which can be a very different situation?’ (Vansina 1985: 56-57).

Vansina continues on to highlight the advantages of capturing performances on video.

Performances for recording are often different from the usual circumstances under which a tradition is performed. In the best of cases the person who records participates in a normal performance and manages to capture the message either on tape or on paper, without disrupting the normal flow of events. Even in such favorable circumstances, however, the product only partially reflects the proceedings. The visual elements and the reaction of the audience are lost, unless videotape is used. When a gesture of approval, denial, despair, or joy is used rather than a description of such behavior, even the tape gives no clue. Videotape would correct this to some extent, but even videotape works only from a single angle (Vansina 1985: 59-60).

Different Versions

It is highly preferable to obtain duplicate audio and visual recordings of songs. Grant argues that ‘diversity is the best type of political statement available’ and as such Māori should strive to preserve the different versions of traditional stories and *waiata* (Grant 2006: personal communication).

Recordings are not always perfect because the singer may not sing it the way it is most widely sung. If there are clearly different versions of the same song, either in tune or in lyrics, it will be important to record both versions to ensure that both/all versions are eventually available on the repository. Each variation will be attributed to the individual, group, *whānau*, *hapū*, or *iwi* that it belongs to.

In addition, the explanatory notes associated with *waiata* can vary. Therefore, the source of the explanation will be provided so as to indicate where an explanation has come from. Transparency is essential to provide as much context as possible for the users of the site.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter opened with the lyrics of Ngōi Pēwhairangi’s ‘**Whakarongo**’, of which one of the lines is the title of this thesis: ‘**He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reanga**’. The

waiata urges the listener to hold fast to the language, and therefore, to the knowledge and teachings of *tīpuna Māori*. Although, Ngoi wrote this in recognition of the language, *waiata* and *haka* are indeed expressions of the language and bearers of Māori history, as expressed in the Tēnga model. Therefore, the *waiata* reflects the very essence of the thesis as language is the medium through Māori histories are transmitted. Furthermore, this *waiata* is pertinent to this particular chapter for the following reasons. Lines 1-3 of the *waiata*, **‘Whakarongo! Ki te reo Māori e karanga nei whakarongo!’**, embodies one aspect of the digital repository, in that, audio files of the compositions will be available. The user will be able to ‘listen’ to the compositions contained in the repository. This is akin to the voices of the past speaking to those listening in the present.

The beginning of the seventh line, **‘Pupuritia!’**, encourages the listener to retain the Māori language, but this could apply to other features of the oral tradition as well, such as *waiata* and *haka*. The digital repository will act as an archive to retain these *taonga*. Lines 8-13 instruct the listener to reach out for, and hold on to, the *tikanga* of the ancestors and then disseminate these. This also applies to the digital repository, as it will be free to access and will therefore increase access to others to the knowledge it holds. Line 14, **‘Kaua rawa rā e tukua e, kia memeha e’**, implores the listener to protect these customs so that under no circumstance should they be left to wither and die. This is the primary focus of the repository; that *waiata* and *haka* are protected from being lost through time, and with them, all of the knowledge and histories they contain.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

[A poem] begins in delight and ends in wisdom
(Frost cited in Pritchard 1984: 238)

The Māori oral tradition, as a form of Polynesian tradition, has changed more in the past two centuries than it had in the previous millennium. Historically, the Māori language was exclusively oral and as such knowledge and history was transmitted through a system based on highly evolved memory. An important part of this system were the many *waiata* and *haka* that archived tribal history, politics, historical landmarks, genealogy and environmental knowledge. *Waiata* and *haka* have been likened to the archives of the Māori people, preserving important historical and cultural knowledge. Therefore, *waiata* offer a uniquely Indigenous view of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

This oral tradition harks back to Hawaiki, the ancestral homeland of *tīpuna Māori* who left to make a home in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Māori share many of their traditions with their Polynesian relatives. The rich Māori oral tradition should be preserved for future generations. In particular, the many *waiata* and *haka*, which are examples of Māori poetry and literature. They are important for the survival of the Māori language and culture. In this sense, *waiata* are bound to Māori identity and the identity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

The origins of *waiata* and *haka* provide insight into the role that the Māori performing arts play as significant art forms in Māori society. From the genesis of the Māori performing arts through to the stories and genealogy pertaining to the early traditions of *waiata* and *haka*, these narratives form the basis from which we can examine the impact of *waiata* and *haka* on Māori society. The narratives include the accounts regarding Tāne-rore, Tinirau and Kae, Mataora and Niwareka, Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, Tama-te-kapua and Whakatūria, Wairangi, Te Ponga and Te Puhi-huia, and Te Kahureremoa and Taka-kōpiri.

When *tīpuna Māori* travelled to Aotearoa/New Zealand they transplanted certain *waiata* and *haka* from Hawaiki. Since that time *waiata* and *haka* have acted to preserve the stories of and from Hawaiki. This ensures the maintenance of the links between Māori and the Pacific. The fact that traditions have been preserved since the arrival of Māori from Hawaiki illustrates the ability of *waiata* and *haka* to act as repositories of traditional Māori knowledge and tools in the successful transmission of this knowledge.

There has been a large number of *waiata* which have been lost through time and with them, a Māori knowledge base regarding the meaning behind the words. This is largely a result of Māori language decline and the subsequent impact it has had on the oral tradition. The decline of the Māori language since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi is primarily a result of the policy of assimilation which was implemented vigorously through legislature regarding the State education system.

Politics has always been a central feature of Māori society, and as such, has been a feature of the method of commentating on that society, through composition. Therefore, *waiata* and *haka* provide a wealth of knowledge regarding the political history of *iwi* which has been preserved and transmitted through the generations. In addition, *waiata* and *haka* provide a way in which the political history of Māori can be ‘mapped’. This is due to the fact that composition is a type of editorial, which ‘publishes’ the views and opinions of the composer regarding the issues of the day. The issues affecting Māori have changed since colonization. However, the way in which compositions act as commentaries on the current political climate has survived. Today, there are still composers in Māori society who regularly comment on the state of Māori affairs through their *waiata* and *haka*.

Waiata are an important archive for Māori history. This has been acknowledged by the Waitangi Tribunal. The oral tradition, which includes *whakapapa*, place names and *waiata* have been used as evidence in Waitangi Tribunal Claims, and have been afforded the same consideration as the written record. Māori do not need the approval of the Waitangi Tribunal to know that their oral tradition is rich in historical information. However, it does provide some insight to those outside of the culture who may question the validity of the oral tradition.

Historically, Māori have been able to adapt to changing circumstances. This is evident in the fact that *tīpuna Māori*, on their arrival to this land, were faced with a completely different environment from Hawaiki, and yet they managed to prosper. Furthermore, Māori have often been quick to see the benefit of new technology, such as the written word. This suggests that the case for the establishment of a digital repository of *waiata* and *haka* is well founded. However, any digital repository that is open to the public must comply with certain concerns regarding commercialisation, commodification of knowledge, intellectual property rights, control of culture and restricting access of certain material.

One tool, which has been developed in order to aid the process of oral tradition in relation to *waiata*, is Tāmata Toiere, an online digital repository for the preservation of *waiata*. The site will be free to access and act as an archive to preserve oral histories contained within *waiata* and *haka*. This will provide a national resource thus demonstrating the interface between recovering traditional knowledge and storing this through innovative technology for future generations. The importance of archiving Māori oral history and tradition has been established, and it is for this reason the repository will include not only the lyrics of the *waiata*, but also in-depth analysis of the meaning behind the lyrics.

The repository will provide a platform for detailed information regarding each *waiata* or *haka*. This includes, but is not limited to, the lyrics of a *waiata*, the history behind the composition, information about the composer, what the *waiata* sounds like and what it may look like when being performed. The website itself has been constructed in a well-organised manner using a simple layout with the purpose of making it straightforward to use and navigate. This was of primary importance so as to make it as accessible as possible. It was also constructed with the view that it have a modern dynamic feel. The option of viewing the information in English or in *te reo Māori* will be another key feature of the site, to be developed in the future.

Tāmata Toiere, as a repository of Māori composition, contributes to the preservation of *mātauranga Māori* and provides a blueprint which could be used by other Indigenous peoples to help them reclaim their own oral traditions, poetry, literature and narratives and preserve these using innovative technology. It is hoped that Tāmata Toiere will

challenge ethnomusicologists and anthropologists to realise the significance of this digital repository and, encourage them to release their own collections of *waiata* and *haka* for uploading on to the repository, so these precious compositions can be readily accessed by the communities who provided the original recordings in good faith.

The success of this repository relies heavily on the goodwill of composers to submit their compositions and their willingness to share their knowledge. Resources will be needed to keep developing and growing the repository to keep it updated and relevant. Finally, it will be important to find an appropriate institution for the repository to be administered from, to be sure that it does not become an artifact of the past.

It is hoped that Tāmata Toiere will contribute in some small way to the preservation of *waiata* and *haka* and the promotion of the oral tradition that is worthy of the legacy of the *Ngā Mōteatea* collection. Like the Tīenga Model, Tāmata Toiere attempts to weave together ancient words and innovative technology to preserve cultural knowledge for the benefit of future generations.

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Glossary

Aotea	Great Barrier Island
Ariki	High chief
Atua	Ancestor with continuing influences, divine ancestor
Auaha	Creativity and innovation
Aute	Bark cloth
Haka	Dances of various types. Relates to both the composition and the dance
Hākari	Feast
Haka pōhiri	Ceremonial dance performed to welcome visitors
Haka taparahi	Ceremonial <i>haka</i> – usually pertains to a social or political issue. Performed without weapons and usually the performers will lower themselves to the ground at some point during the performance
Hapū	Grouping of families – small kinship group
Hara	Transgression, wrongdoing, infringement
Harakeke	New Zealand flax (<i>Phormium tenax</i>)
Hautū	To guide, keep in time
Hīkoi	Peaceful march
Hui	Meeting, gathering
Hura kōhatu	Unveiling
Ihi	One of three concepts associated with the Māori performing arts. Refers to essential force, excitement, power, charm, personal magnetism, psychic force
Iwi	Made up of several <i>hapū</i> – extended kinship group that often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor
Kai	Food
Kaioraora	Song of derision, venting <i>haka</i> , cursing song, an abusive or belittling song of hatred.
Kaiarahi	Guide, leader, mentor
Kākāhu	Costume, garment, cloak
Kaokao	Arm pits
Kapa haka	<i>Haka</i> group
Kapa haka wāhine	Female <i>kapa haka</i>

Karakia	To recite ritual chants, incantations, prayer – chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures
Karakia tohi	Baptism ceremony
Karanga	Formal or ceremonial call of welcome made by women to visitors onto a <i>marae</i> or equivalent venue
Kaumātua	Elder
Kaupapa	Plan, proposal, agenda
Kaupapa Māori	Has a Māori focus
Kawa	Protocol, procedure, custom
Kawe mate	Memorial services
Kiekie	A thick native vine which has long leaves with fine teeth crowded at the end of branches. Flowers consist of three creamed-coloured fingers surrounded by fleshy white bracts. (<i>Freycinetia baueriana banksii</i>)
Kiore	Native rat
Kīwaha	Colloquialism, idiom
Koha	Gift
Koha aroha	Gifts of appreciation
Kōrero	Speech, narrative, story, news, account
Koromiko	<i>Hebe elliptica</i> - a native shrub with small, thick, folded leaves in four neat rows, with white flowers. Forms a large part of shoreline scrub. Wood was often used for making fire. Also refers to <i>Hebe salicifolia</i> and <i>Hebe stricta</i> - native shrubs with willow-like leaves creased along the centre line, each pair at right angles to the one below it. Flowers are white or light blue. Commonly grow on banks.
Koroua	Elderly man/men
Kuia	Elderly woman/women
Kūmara	Sweet potato
Kupu whakaari	Prophetic sayings of charismatic leaders
Kura	School
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma – <i>mana</i> is a supernatural force in a person, place or object

Manaaki	To provide hospitality, to share, support, take care of, protect, or look out for
Manaaki manuhiri	Hospitality towards guests
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - <i>mana</i> is a supernatural force in a person, place or object
Mana atua	Power and talents derived from the divine ancestors
Mana tangata	Power and status accrued through one's leadership talents
Mana whenua	Territorial rights, power from the land
Manawa wera	Type of <i>haka</i> with no set movements performed especially at <i>tangihanga</i> , unveilings and after speeches
Manu	Bird
Manuhiri	Visitors
Māipi	A long wooden weapon also called a <i>taiaha</i>
Maramataka	The Māori calendar
Marae	Traditional meaning refers to the land in front of the meeting house. Contemporary meaning includes surrounding land and complex of buildings.
Maro	Loincloth
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Maunga	Mountain, mount, peak
Maungawhau	Mt Eden
Mihi	To greet, pay tribute, acknowledge, thank
Mōteatea	A generic term for traditional orally transmitted songs/poems both sung and chanted types
Mua	Past, front
Muri	Future, behind
Ngahau	Entertainment, entertaining dance
Ngā wāhine a Tinirau	The women of Tinirau
Ngeri	A type of short <i>haka</i> with no set movements and usually performed without weapons.
Oriori	Traditional lullaby, song composed on the birth of a chiefly child about his/her ancestry and tribal history, an instructional chant
Ōhāki	Parting wish, last words, dying speech
Pā	Fortified village

Pākehā	Non-Māori of European descent
Pakiwaitara	Legend, story, folklore, narrative
Pātere	A song of derision in response to slander and chanted at a fast tempo
Patu	Weapon, short club
Pepeha	Tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech
Peruperu	The true war-dance, performed with weapons immediately prior to battle
Piupiu	A type of skirt made of flax
Pōhiri	Rituals of encounter
Poi	A ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment, it is both the term for the object and for the dance
Pōkeka	A rhythmic chant without actions similar to <i>manawa wera</i> and peculiar to Te Arawa tribes
Pōtiki	Refers to the youngest child
Poukai	Gatherings held for the Kīngitanga
Pounamu	Greenstone
Puhi	Virgin, woman of high rank
Pūkana	To dilate the eyes – done by both genders when performing <i>haka</i> and <i>waiata</i> to emphasise particular words
Pūmanawa	Natural talent
Pūrākau	Ancient legend, story
Rangatira	Chief
Rangatiratanga	Sovereignty, chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination, self-management, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the <i>rangatira</i> , noble birth
Rangi	Tune, melody
Raranga	Weaving
Rarohenga	The underworld
Raupatu	Conquest, confiscation, often referring to confiscated land – land taken by force
Reo	Language, voice, dialect
Rimurimu	Seaweed

Ringatū	A Māori Christian religious faith founded by Te Kooti in the 1860s with significant numbers of adherents amongst the Bay of Plenty and East Coast <i>iwi</i>
Rūnanga	Tribal council, assembly, board
Tamariki	Children
Tangata whenua	local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land - people born of the <i>whenua</i>
Tangihanga	Ceremonial rites for the dead
Taniwha	Water spirit, guardian - <i>taniwha</i> take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory
Taonga	Treasures
Taonga pūoro	Musical instrument
Taonga tuku iho nā ngā tīpuna	Cultural heritage and traditions passed down from the ancestors
Tapu	Be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under <i>atua</i> protection
Tāruke	A wicker trap for catching crayfish
Tawa	<i>Beilchmiedia tawa</i> - a tall tree with large dark fruit and yellow-green foliage of long, narrow leaves. The bark is smooth and dark brown. Found throughout the North Island and in northern areas of the South Island
Tawau	Milky juice (of plants)
Te haka o Tāne-rore	The dance of Tāne-rore
Te Ipurangi	Internet
Te Kōhanga Reo	Early childhood nest
Te Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion language schools
Te mana o te haka	The prestige, authority, or influence of <i>haka</i>
Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa	Pacific Ocean
Te rā o te tekau mā rua	Ringatū church gatherings held on the 12 th day of each month
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
Te waka o Hine-te-iwaiwa	Other names for this <i>tīpuna</i> include Hine-te-iwaiwa, Hinauri
Te whānau mai o te tamaiti	Birth of a child
Te Wharekura	Māori immersion language secondary schools

Tēina	Younger sibling of the same sex
Tewhatewha	A long wooden or bone weapon with a flat section at one end like an axe
Tī pore	Pacific Island cabbage tree (<i>Cordyline terminalis</i>) – an introduced species of cabbage tree
Tienga	Patterned mat woven out of <i>kieke</i>
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, lore
Tikitiki	Topknot
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination
Tīpuna	Ancestors
Toetoe	Native plants with long, grassy leaves with a fine edge and saw-like teeth. Flowers are white, feathery, arching plumes. Grow on sand dunes, on rocks and cliff faces, along streams and swamp edges
Tohi	Baptism ceremony
Tohunga	Chosen expert or priest
Tōrangapū	Politics
Tōtara	<i>Podocarpus totara</i> , <i>Podocarpus cunninghamii</i> - large forest trees with prickly, olive-green leaves not in two rows. Found throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand
Tuakiri	Identity
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	Place where one has rights of residence and belong through kinship and <i>whakapapa</i>
Tūrehu	Fairy, light skinned people, mythical being of human form
Turi whati	Bent knees
Tūtūngārahu	Type of <i>haka</i> where men are armed. A key characteristic is the side to side jump in unison. Performed by the war party before going into battle, in front of elders and experienced warriors who judged by their performance whether they were ready to go into battle.
Umu	Earth oven
Uri	Offspring, descendant, relative, progeny, successor
Urupā	Burial ground, cemetery, graveyard
Utu	Vengeance

Wāhi tapu	Sacred area
Wāhine	Women
Waiata	Poem, song, chant
Waiata aroha	Songs of love – usually lost love. Have tunes similar to <i>waiata tangi</i> and are sung without set actions.
Waiata-ā-ringa	Action song – a popular modern song type with set actions and European-type tunes
Waiata ngahau	Song for entertainment
Waiata tangi	Lament
Waiata tawhito	Ancient and traditional <i>waiata</i>
Waiata tira	Choral song – songs sung as a choir without actions
Waiata tohutohu	Song of instruction
Waiata whaiāipo	Song composed for a lover, sweetheart song
Wairua	Spirit, soul, quintessence
Waiū-atua	Depending on the region, the term is used to refer to <i>Euphorbia glauca</i> , <i>Rhabdothamnus solandri</i> , or <i>Gaultheria oppositifolia</i>
Waiū-o-Kahukura	<i>Euphorbia glauca</i> - a native groundcover plant with milky sap. Generally forms clumps but has a creeping rhizome from which red stems bear narrow oblong blue-green leaves
Waka	Canoe
Wana	One of three concepts associated with the Māori performing arts. Refers to being exciting, thrilling and inspiring awe
Wehi	One of three concepts associated with the Māori performing arts. Refers to a response of awe in reaction to <i>ihi</i>
Whaikōrero	Oratory – formal speeches usually made by men using eloquent language which includes imagery, metaphor, relevant <i>whakapapa</i> and references to tribal history
Whakaeke	An ‘entrance’ song or performance item – a term used for the item of a traditional performing arts competition during which the performing group takes the stage.
Whakairo kupu	Compose, composition of <i>waiata</i>
Whakamā	Embarrassed, ashamed

Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataetae kapa haka	Māori performing arts group competitions
Whakatau	To officially welcome <i>manuhiri</i>
Whakatauāki	Proverb, saying – particularly those urging a type of behaviour
Whakataukī	Proverb, saying, cryptic saying
Whakatū-waewae	Type of <i>haka</i> in which men are armed.
Whakawaiū	Food given to a nursing mother in order to produce a quality supply of milk for the child
Whakawātea	An ‘exit’ song or performance item – a term used for the final item of a traditional performing arts competition during which the performing group retreats from the stage.
Whānau	Immediate and extended family
Whānau-karukaru	Miscarriage
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship and sense of family connection
Wharekai	Dining hall
Wharenui	Meeting house, ancestral house – main building of a <i>marae</i> where guests are accommodated
Whāriki	Floor covering, ground cover, floor mat, carpet, woven mat
Whati	Fracture, break, broken
Whatumanawa	Seat of emotions, heart, mind
Whenu	Threads or strands of the woven flax
Whētero	Protrusion of tongue by male performers
Wiri	Trembling or quivering of the hands during performance