

Te Whare o te Reo Māori:
Te rima tekau tau o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori

nā

Heeni Matehaere Hope

He tuhinga whakapae hei whakatutuki
i ngā tikanga o Te Tohu Kairangi
i Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makaurau

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~

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Te iho o te kaupapa

Nau mai, tomo mai rā ki tēnei whare rangahau, ki tēnei whare kōrero āku.

I roto i tōna 50 tau nei (1972-2002), nā wai i āhua ‘marae puehu,’ ka poua ko ngā kaupapa reo Māori, tū mai ana ko te ‘whare o te reo Māori.’ Ko te ‘whare’ e kōrero nei ahau, ehara i te whare kikokiko nei, engari ia he whare hei ariā mō te ao o te whakarauora reo Māori mai anō i te kawenga atu o te petihana reo Māori ki te Whare Pāremata i te tau 1972. E whakaritea ana e ahau ki te ‘whare’ nā te mea ko te whare te tino āhurutanga o te tangata. He tāhū tōna, he pou ōna e tū ai. He pakitara ōna, e whakawehea ai ngā mea o roto i ngā mea o waho. He kawa, he tikanga ōna e pai ai ōna whakahaere.

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Mō te āhua ki taku whare rangahau, ehara noa i te rangahau reo Māori, engari ia he rangahau Kaupapa Māori tonu. E ono rawa ngā mātāpono o te Kaupapa Māori e tika ai kia kīia he Kaupapa Māori whaihua.

I tēnei rangahau, ka tūhuratia te nunumi o ngā mātāpono o te Kaupapa Māori i tērā e kīia nei ko ngā ‘taonga tuku iho.’ Ko tētehi tonu o ngā mātāpono e tino whakawarewaretia ana, ko te ‘piki ake i ngā raru o te kāinga.’ Nō reira, koia tonu hei tino whakatāuteutetanga māku, me taku whakapae, nā tēnei mea te moni i piki ai ētehi i ngā raruraru o te kāinga, ko ētehi kē ia, tapoko kau atu ana i aua raruraru rā. I roto i te āhua 40 tau ka pahemo ake nei, e haere ana ngā mahi o roto i te ‘whare o te reo māori’ engari me te kaha kē atu o te tetē o ngā niho o te moni kei roto i ngā kaupapa a te kāwanatanga, otirā me ngā karawhiu mai o te ao hurihuri.

Ka tomokia ana taku whare rangahau, ka tae ki ngā pou e toru o te whare:

Kei te pou mataaho, he whakakaupapa i te rangahau te mahi, ko ngā upoko 1-3 ēnei. Ko ngā pātai e pā ana ki te rangahau, ko ēnei nā: Nā wai, ā, nō whea hoki te kairangahau? He aha te kaupapa rangahau? He aha te huarahi rangahau e whāia ana? Ka whakatūria ake ko Te Whare o te Reo Māori hei ariā mō te 50 tau o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori, ā, ka whakaahuangia taua whare rā.

Tae rawa ki te pou tokomanawa (upoko 4-6), ka mātua uia te pātai ‘Mō wai te reo Māori?’ (Upoko 4), ā, ka tūhuratia ngā kōrero mō te pīkoko o te tangata, mō te waimarie kē rānei ōna e tomokia ai e ia te whare o te reo Māori.

Ki te Upoko Tuarima tātaihia ai ngā whakapapa kōrero mō te ‘tuakiri’ Māori, arā, he kupu Māori ‘hou,’ e mea nei au he tohu nō te uruuru mai o ētehi mātāpono kē atu ki te ao Māori. Ka tōmenetia hoki ngā taukumekume o te whāinga kia noho ko te reo Māori hei tohu i te tuakiri ā-motu o Aotearoa me Te Waipounamu.

Ki te Upoko Tuaono tōmenetia ai tētehi atu kupu Māori ‘hou.’ Tuatahi ake, ka tātai i ngā whakapapa o ngā kupu nei, a ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ (=economy) me kore noa ka kitea āe rānei e urutomokia ana te reo Māori, he haehae i te mātāpono Māori. Ka tūhurangia ngā mātāpono e pā ana ki te hanga kupu Māori hou, me te whakaaro kāore noa iho te ariā o te ‘economy’ e ‘haere maro-kore’ noa mai ki roto i te reo Māori.

Ki te Upoko Tuawhitu ka whiriwhirihia ngā whakaaro hei whakautu i ngā pātai o te rangahau. Tae rawa ki te Upoko Tuawaru, ka tōia te kūwaha o te kaupapa nei kia kati.

Nā, ko au tēnei, kua waimarie i te 40 tau neke atu ōku e whakaruruhia ana i roto i te ‘whare reo Māori,’ i te ‘whare Kaupapa Māori’ hoki, kua neke atu hoki i te 20 tau ōku e kura mahita ana i te Kura Kaupapa Māori. Ko taku tūmanako, mā taku whare rangahau e paku hinātore mai ai ētehi tūāhuatanga o te ‘whare o te reo Māori,’ me kore noa, ka kitea ētehi o ngā mātāpono e mahi ana i roto i te whare, i waho anō hoki.

Abstract

(Translated version of Te iho o te kaupapa section of thesis)

Welcome to my research project and the account I have constructed of my topic.

The last 50 years (1972-2022) have seen the building of a movement to revive and revitalize 'te whare o te reo Māori' (the Māori language and its social and intellectual structures), which had become dusty and neglected. This 'house' is metaphorical, not material; it is intended as a model for thinking about the world of Māori language revitalization, taking as a starting point the Māori language petition to Parliament in 1972. The metaphor of the 'whare' is apt since a house is synonymous with shelter for a person or family. This whare has its main ideas, principles and commitments, which make up its shape, the frame and ridgepole. This whare has walls that separate those inside from those outside. It runs according to its own rules and processes.

Discourse is power, and as a result the power to 'speak' (i.e. to contribute to discourse) both affirms and generates one's power and influence. One demonstration is in how fluency, as a prerequisite to speaking in te whare o te reo Māori, enhances the power of the speaker and his/her ability to influence every aspect of the whare, including who is in and who is out. The great majority of today's Māori population is excluded from the whare.

I see my research as being Māori not only in language medium, but also in terms of Kaupapa Māori theory and research methodology. Kaupapa Māori is defined by six principles, qualities of any initiative (including this research) that claims to 'be' Kaupapa Māori.

This thesis explores the ways that te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs), as part of the principle of 'taonga tuku iho' (ancestral/cultural treasures), has come to eclipse the other Kaupapa Māori principles. One of those principles that tends to be overlooked is that of 'overcoming the disadvantages of the home.' This principle is important in my thesis since many of those social 'disadvantages' are caused by or exacerbated by money or lack of money. For about the last 40 years the activities of the

whare have kept operating, developing and growing, but during those decades Māori as a sub-population have become significantly more impoverished as a result of national and international economic forces. Entering my house of research, one encounters the three main house posts:

The pou mataaho (front post), which sets up the rest of the research, consists of Chapters 1-3. These chapters introduce the reader to the researcher, the research topic, the research questions, and the research approach to be taken. Initial research through the literature informed the delineation of 'te whare o te reo Māori' as a useful model for the last 40 years of te reo language revitalization.

Next comes the pou tokomanawa (central post) which consists of Chapter 4 and 5. Chapter 4 explores a dominant narrative in Māori language revitalisation discourse where speakers are described as 'hungry and hardworking' and non-speaking Māori as 'lacking in desire.' I suggest that te reo Māori revitalisation goals cannot be achieved for and by Māori without improving the socioeconomic circumstances that disproportionately affect them as a result of colonisation. Chapter 5 provides a synopsis of the history of the new coining of 'tuakiri' as a Māori word for 'identity' through which alien ideas are imported into the Māori language, and hence into the Māori 'world.' These intellectual histories are explored in the context of the current debates about te reo Māori as a marker of the national identity of New Zealand.

Finally there is the pou tuarongo (rear post) in Chapter 6, which undertakes more strictly linguistic analyses, firstly of the derivation of the words 'ōhanga' and 'ohaoha' for economy. Here I closely examine whether through this word ideas are entering te reo Māori that are contradictory and damaging to traditional ways of talking about Māori economies based on mana and oranga. This chapter investigates the approaches taken to lexical expansion of te reo Māori and the underlying assumptions, including the idea that concepts are inert and can be adopted into te reo Māori without negative effects. The purpose of Chapter 7 is to synthesise the discussions of the previous chapters in order to address the research questions. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis with a brief summary of the thesis, succinct statements of the main findings, limitations of the research, and final thoughts.

I consider myself to be fortunate for the 40+ years I have spent 'in' te reo Māori and Kaupapa Māori, including more than 20 years teaching in Kura Kaupapa Māori. It is my hope that my research illuminates some aspects of the nature of the 'whare' of te reo revitalization, and the ruling ideas operating both inside and outside.

Te Ihirangi

He maimai aroha	ii
He mihi	ii
Te iho o te kaupapa	iv
Te ihirangi	ix
Ngā tūtohi me ngā whakaahua	xiii
Upoko Tuatahi: He tīmatanga kōrero	1
Ngā hau i pū mai nei ki taku kiri	1
Ngā pātai o te rangahau.....	23
Te tāhū o te tuhinga rangahau nei.....	24
Upoko Tuarua: He tikanga rangahau	25
Te pū o ngā take rangahau.....	27
Te kimi kōrero	30
Kia māia, kia pono te tū, engari kia ngākau iti	31
Ko Tāne, ko Tangaroa.....	31
Te tūāpapa o te rangahau: Te Kaupapa Māori	37
Ōna mātāpono	40
He whakatūpato.....	42
Te kawa o te rangahau: Te reo Māori	43
He mātāpono mō te reo.....	45
He tikanga tuhituhi.....	48
Upoko Tuatoru: Te Whare o te Reo Māori	50
He marae puehu: Ngā tau o mua atu i te 1970.....	50
He kaupapa i pihi ake i te whenua: 1972 – 1985.....	52
Te uru o te kāwanatanga ki te hāpai i te Reo Māori: 1987 – 2022, haere ake.....	55
Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora.....	56

Te tira hou	59
Tū mai rā Te Whare o te Reo Māori.....	65
Ko Tāmi-mata-tini.....	65
Te Whare Whakahirahira	69
Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga.....	71
He kaupapa Māori, he Kaupapa reo Māori rānei?.....	73
Te Whare o te Reo Māori: He whakarāpopototanga.....	79
Upoko Tuawhā: Mō wai te reo Māori?	81
Ko te kōrero kei runga: Mō te ‘pīkoko’ te reo Māori	81
Ngā mata o ‘Pīkoko’	85
Ko Ngāti Pīkoko kei roto i te whare, ko Ngāti Hūkore kei waho	94
Ngā mata o Hūkore	96
Ko te rahurahu kei raro: Kei te hunga ‘waimarie’ te reo	118
Ngā mata o Waimarie	118
Mehemea e pīkoko ana, whāngaihia; mehemea e hūkore ana, parea te tuarā... ..	130
Ō roke hoki! Tupu ana te ngako!.....	131
Mō wai te reo Māori? He kupu whakarāpopoto	138
Upoko Tuarima: He aha kei tua o te kiri Māori?	139
Te ‘tuakiri’: Ngā kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori	140
Te tuakiri i roto i ngā rangahau reo Māori.....	141
Ngā ‘tuakiri’ o te rangatahi Māori.....	152
Te tuakiri Te Aho Matua.....	154
Ngā waiata o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori.....	157
He tuakiri ā-motu	159
Te iho ngaro: He ‘tuakiri’ hauā, he iwi kāinga kore.....	165
‘Tuakiri’: He kupu nō te matatiki o ngā kupu Māori hou	168

Te Marautanga o Aotearoa	170
I mua i te whakarauoratanga reo Māori	174
Kei tua mai, kei tua atu rānei o te kiri?	175
Te kupu ‘tuakiri’: I haere ‘maro-kore’ mai rānei?	178
Te whakapapa o te kupu ‘identity’	186
Kei tua o taku kiri ko taku mana.....	187
He kupu nā Haorawa.....	188
I mua i te ‘tuakiri’	191
Ngā hau i pū mai i taku kiri.....	191
Ko taku maunga, ko taku awa, ko au	193
Ko au, ko taku iwi	194
Ko wai au? He aha au?	197
Ētehi (atu) kōrero mō te ‘identity’ o te Māori	199
He mana rānei te ‘tuakiri’?.....	202
Nō reira, he aha koia nā kei tua o te kiri Māori? He kupu whakatepe	204
Upoko Tuaono: He ohaoha rānei te ōhanga?	205
Te whakapapa o ‘ōhanga’ rāua ko ‘ohaoha’	207
Hei aha mā wai?	210
Te whakapapa o te kupu ‘Economy’	211
He kupu hirahira.....	215
He kupu, he ao	218
He kupu nā Tāmi, nā Hao	222
Ehara te ‘economy’ i te ‘ohaoha’	226
Te whaioranga i te ao Māori	230
Te taura here tangata.....	231
Te toto o te tangata he kai, te oranga o te tangata he whenua	234

Nō reira, he ‘ohaoha’ rānei te ‘ōhanga’?	240
Upoko Tuawhitu: He whiriwhiri whakaaro	242
Pātai 1: He pēwhea te āhua o ngā mahi whakarauora reo Māori i te 50 tau ka taha nei? He aha ōna pou whenua, ōna pou tangata, ōna pou hinengaro?	242
Pātai 2: He aha ngā tāhū kōrero me ngā tāhū whakaaro o te whakarauora reo Māori i taua 50 tau rā?	244
Pātai 3: He aha ngā whakaaweawe o te ao hurihuri i ngā pou me ngā tāhū o te whakarauora reo Māori, ā, he aha te whakaaweawe o te whakarauora reo Māori i te ao hurihuri?.....	247
Upoko Tuawaru: He Kupu Whakakapi	250
Ngā kitenga matua	251
Ngā roherohetanga o tēnei rangahau.....	251
Ā muri nei.....	252
Ngā Puna Kōrero	254
Ngā Āpitianga	300
Apitianga 1: Te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori	301
Apitianga 2: Ngā kupu ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori	305

Ngā Whakaahua

Whakaahua 1: Te utu ā-tau ki te Māori, e whakaritea atu ana ki te utu ki ngā iwi katoa o Aotearoa.....	88
Whakaahua 2: Te tīhau a Kajun Brooking.....	132

Ngā Tūtohi

Tūtohi 1: He tatauranga mō te reo Māori i Waahi Paa me Rākaumanga.....	16
Tūtohi 2: Ngā puna kōrero	28
Tūtohi 3: Ētehi o ngā kaupapa whakarauora i te reo Māori mai i te tau 1972	53
Tūtohi 4: Ngā tau i whānau ai ngā reanga e toru i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori	60
Tūtohi 5: He kōrero mō tētehi hunga 17 nei kua pakeke kē ka tīmata rā ki te ako i te reo, ā, ka eke ki te karangatanga matatau	85
Tūtohi 6: Ētehi taumata utu ki ngā kaimahi i roto i te reo Māori	92
Tūtohi 7: Te pūtea e utua ana ki ngā tāngata o tētehi kāinga, he kāinga hoki i nōhia rā e te Māori i te tau 2020	109

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.

Signed:

Date: 28 August 2023

Heeni Matehaere Hope

Upoko Tuatahi: He tīmatanga kōrero

He rangahau tēnei mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori, me te oranga o te iwi Māori i te 50 tau mai i 1972 ki 2022. Hei te wāhanga tuatahi o tēnei upoko au whakamārama ai nā wai ahau, nō whea ahau, ā, nā te aha ahau i tae ai ki tēnei rangahautanga: ko ngā āhuatanga i ngaro haere te reo i roto i taku whānau, ā, i pēwhea hoki te whakarauorahia mai anō. Ki te wāhanga tuarua whakatakotoria ai ngā pātai o te rangahau nei, ā, hei te wāhanga tuatoru tātaihia ai te tāhū o tēnei tuhingaroa.

Ngā hau i pū mai nei ki taku kiri

Nō Māui ka tae ki tana tupuna, ki a Muri-ranga-whenua, kia riro ai i a ia tana kauwae, ka uia ia: “Nō whea koe? Nō te hau koe e pū mai nei ki taku kiri?” Ka ngunguru a Māui, ka mōhio a Muri-ranga-whenua he mokopuna a Māui nāna (Grey, 1971, wh. 68).

Ehara i te mea e whaka-māui ana ahau i a au, kāo. Engari he mokopuna hoki au nā aku tūpuna, ā, ki te uia mai ahau nō whea ahau, ā kāti, ka pai ki a au te whakaaro, nō ngā hau ahau i pū atu rā ki te kiri o aku mātua tūpuna.

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I whānau au i te tau 1978

I whānau au i te wā o te makariri i te tau 1978.

Ko te wā tērā o ngā hau ruru i porotū ai a Ngāti Whātua mō tō rātou whenua i Takaparawhau, ā, ko Tuaiwa Rickard mā tērā o Tainui Āwhiro, o Ngāti Tamainupō, o Ngāti Māhanga i whakatūtū, i whakanohonoho i ō rātou whenua i Te Kōpua, i Whāingaroa (Taonui, 2012; Walker, 2004, wh. 213; Winitana, 2011, wh. 66).¹

¹ He mea raupatu te poraka whenua i Takaparawhau. Ka 506 ngā rā e noho ana a Ngāti Whātua me ōna haumi, ōna kaitautoko ki taua whenua, kātahi ka kāwhakina te 222 o rātou, ka mauherea. Ko Tuaiwa Rickard mā hoki tērā i whakatūtū. Ka whakanohonohoia e rātou te whenua i Te Kōpua, i Whāingaroa, he

I Papatoetoe mātou e noho ana; ko taku pāpā, kātahi tonu ia ka tīmata ki te mahi hei pirihihana, ā, ko au te tuarua o ā rāua tamariki ko taku māmā i roto i te rua tau. Kīhai i takitaro, ka hūnuku mātou ki Te Kūiti noho ai, ā, i reira ka whānau ko te tuatoru o mātou ngā tamariki wāhine nei i roto i te toru tau.

Hāunga ā mātou nekeneke haere mō ngā mahi a taku pāpā te take, ko te neke atu i te 75% o ngāi tāua i te tāone e noho ana i taua wā (Taonui, 2012). Nō te hekenga iho o te tini o tāua ki te tāone noho ai i ngā tau i muri mai o te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao taea noatia ngā tau o te puku o te ngahurutanga tau 1970, ā, ka tino wairuhi te reo Māori (Hond, 2013; O'Regan, 2012). Ko aku tūpuna, arā, ko ngā mātua ake, me ngā mātua atawhai o taku māmā i riro ki ngā tāone noho ai, mahi ai, arā, ki Tāmaki, ki Pito-one,² ki Maungaraki,³ ki Pukekohe. Mahue ana ngā kāinga i te tuawhenua, arā, ko Rākaumangamanga, ko Kirikiri (i Pare Hauraki), ko Ngāruawāhia, ko Hukanui ā-muri, ko Te Kāramuramu, ko Te Awahuri. Ā, ka whānau ko te reanga o taku māmā kīhai te reo Māori i kōrerohia i waenga i a rātou ko ana tungāne, ana tuākana, ahakoa rā pea e wawara haere tonu ana i te takiwā, i runga marae, otirā i waenga i ngā rūruhi, i ngā kaumātua. Ki tā ngā kōrero, ko te matua atawhai o taku māmā, i tipu ake i Tāmaki Makaurau, ā, ahakoa tana eke ki ētehi tūranga i roto i te ao Māori, pēnei i te Kaunihera Māori, nā taku tupuna wahine, nā te whaea atawhai o taku māmā anō ia i ako ki te whaikōrero.

Ko te tau 1978 hoki tērā i oti ai te tatauranga tuatahi mō te kaha kōrerohia o te reo Māori i tīmataria rā e Benton mā i raro i te maru o te New Zealand Council for Educational Research i te tau 1973 (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, n.d.). I reira ka mataaho mai te kōrero, āe, he reo haumate te reo Māori (Winitana, 2011, wh. 64): kei waenga i te 18% me te 20% o ngāi tātou he matatau ki te kōrero Māori, engari ko te nuinga ia o taua hunga rā he rūruhi, he koroheke. Tēnā ko ngā tamariki Māori i ngā kura, e 5% noa iho o rātou e matatau ana ki te reo (New Zealand Parliament, 2021). Nā

mea raupatu nā te kāwanatanga i te Pākanga Tuarua o te Ao hei taunga waka rererangi. Mutu ana taua pakanga rā, riro kē ana taua whenua hei papa hahau pōro. Koia tā Tuaiwa mā mautohe, ā, me te aha, he mea mauhere anō rātou 17 nei i te tau 1978.

² Ko te ingoa tūturu tēnei o Petone, i Te Upoko-o-Te-Ika.

³ Takiwā o Te Awakairangi.

taua tatauranga rā i “manaia [ai] te whakapae – e mate ana te reo Māori” (Winitana, 2011, wh. 64). Taihoa ake nei kōrerohia ai ngā tatauranga e pā ana ki te kōrerohia o te reo Māori i tērā o aku kāinga, arā, i Waahi Pā me Rākaumanga i kohia mō te tatauranga reo a NZCER (Tirohia a wh. 23).

Kāti, ko te tau 1978 hoki tērā i takoto ai i Te Reo Māori Society te tuarua o ngā petihana me ōna waitohu e 30,000 e whakakī ana i te kāwanatanga kia whakatū mai i tētehi wāhanga Māori i roto i te Kōporeihana Pāhō o Aotearoa⁴ (Keenan, 2012, wh. 309). Nō te tau 1972 te mātāmua i takoto atu ai: Ko te petihana mō te reo Māori tērā, ko tana whai kia whakaakongia te reo Māori ki ngā tamariki Māori, arā, kia whakaakongia i roto i ngā kura e taea nuitia nei e te tamariki Māori (National Library of New Zealand, 2022).

Engari ahakoa te marangatanga ake o te iwi Māori ki te tohe, ki te kōkiri i ngā take e pā ana ki te whenua, ki te reo, ki te mana motuhake i ngā tau o te 1970, pēnei i te waiata a *Aotearoa*, ‘Maranga ake ai,’ e pokea ana te iwi Māori. Hei tā Chris Winitana (2011) mō te tau 1978;

Ēkene pea ki tā te nuinga o ngāi Māori mā, he take nui kē atu ā rātau hei patu. Ka taka te manotini o aua take i tēnei tau. Kikī ana i te Māori ngā rārangi whai penihana i te ekenga o te hunga mahi kore ki te 25,000. Ka whai kiko tā Maslow raupapa o ngā matua ora a te tangata e mārāma ai tana whanonga. He kai, he whare, he kākahu te whai nui. (Winitana, 2011, wh. 65)

Ko “tā Maslow raupapa” he “whakamārama [...] i te whanonga o te tangata”, arā, me mātua “ea tā te tinana” i te kai, i te whare, i te kākahu, kātahi ka whai i te “piritahi”, i te “mana motuhake”, kātahi anō ka “[whaka]tutuki [i] ngā pūkenga”, pēnei i te ako i te reo Māori (Winitana, 2011, wh. 69).⁵

Nā ētehi take tauhokohoko i ngā tāhuna o rāwāhi atu o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa me Te Moana-tāpokopoko-a-Tāwhaki, pēnei i te huringa mai o te kōtua o Ingarangi i te tau 1973. Ko Ingarangi te tino hoa tauhokohoko o Niu Tīreni o mua atu, kātahi ia ka huri ki

⁴ New Zealand Broadcasting Company

⁵ Ko tā Maslow i kōrero ai ko tā te tangata oke kia whiwhi ai ia ki ngā mea e hiahiatia ana hei oranga mōna (Maslow, 1943). Ki te upoko tuawhā kōrerohia ai ētehi atu tohu o te ora te tangata nā Amarta Sen rāua ko Martha Nussbaum i mātua whakatau, ka tīkina e Mānuka Hēnare i roto i ana kōrero mō te pōharatanga e ngau kino nei ki te tamariki Māori (wh. 110).

ngā whenua o Ūropi⁶ hei hoa tauhokohoko mōna. Nā tērā i kore ai i kaha te hokona atu o te mīti hipi ki ngā iwi o rāwāhi, ka nui hoki te toe mai, ā, ka tino heke te wāriu. Ko tētehi atu take ko te ngaringari o te kōhinu i ngā taukumekume o ngā kāwanatanga i te ‘māketē tikanga-kore.’ Tahuri ana te kāwanatanga ki te whakapau pūtea i tonoa i rāwāhi hei awahi i ngā kaiahuwhenua, hei whakatutuki hoki i ngā kaupapa nui whakaharahara o taua wā (“Think Big”) e ora ai a Aotearoa i tōna anō kōhinu i waho atu o Taranaki, i ōna anō whare ũheu kōhinu, i ōna anō matatara huri hiko. Nā ēnei āhuetanga i pakarū haere ai ngā pūkoro o te kāwanatanga. Ka heke te wāriu o te tāra. Ka piki haere ngā utu mō te kai, mō te pēnehīni hoki. Kīhai i roa ka whakatau te kāwanatanga kia whakatotokahia ngā utu ā-hāora ki te kaimahi hei whakamāmā i te ngauanga iho o te huamoni. Nā wai i tokoiti ake i te 3,000 te hunga kore-mahi i te tau 1975 ka tata haere ki te 21,000 i te tau 1980 (Kelsey, 1997). Ko ngāi tāua anō tērā i kaha te pā kinotia, inā hoki ko ngāi tāua anō hei ringaringa, hei waewae mō ngā momo mahi ‘purū kara’ e utua ā-hāoratia ai te tangata (Locke, 2010; Walker, 2004).

Engari nā aua take nui rā i ‘whati ai te tai’ (Godfery, 2016; Kelsey, 2015, wh. 10).⁷ He aha rā, ka pari mai anō te tai, ka kawea mai ētehi mātāpono e riro ai mā te ‘māketē’ kē (kaua mā te kāwanatanga) e whakatau tikanga whakahaere i te motu e kīia nei ko te ‘ikonomi’.⁸ Kīhai i takitaro e pari mai ana anō me te ū mai hoki o te taniwha⁹, ko ōna kawekawe ērā i rahurahu i ngā kaupapa a ngā kāwanatanga katoa i roto i te ahua 40 tau mai i taua wā (Kelsey, 1997). Ko ngā kaupapa whakarauora i te reo Māori hoki i rahurahutia e ngā kawekawe o te taniwha nei.

Mate kāinga tahi, ora kāinga rua: Te heke ki tāone kē, ki whenua kē
Nō ngā tau whakamutunga o tēnei tuinga rangahau ka mate te tungāne pakeke katoa o taku māmā i tana kāinga i Pukekohe. Kīhai i roa i muri mai, ko te mātāmua o te whānau, ko te tuakana o taku māmā tērā i hinga, i aua atu i te 40 tau i Ahitereiria e noho ana. Ā,

⁶ European Union

⁷ Kīia ana he ‘interregnum.’

⁸ Tirohia te Upoko Tuaono mō te whakapapa o te kupu ‘economy’ me ngā kupu Māori i hangā mai hei kupu taurite mōna, arā, ko ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga.’

⁹ Ko te taniwha nei ko te *Neoliberalism*. Tirohia te Upoko Tuatoru mō tētehi whakamārama.

i muri mai ka riro ko tētehi o aku matua kēkē o Te Pūaha o Waikato i moe rā i tētehi o ngā tuākana tūranga whānau o taku māmā.

Nō taku whānautanga mai, kua riro kē te hāwhe o ngā tuākana, tungāne o taku māmā ki Ahitereiria kimi oranga ai, ko ētehi atu i ngā tāone e noho ana, arā, i Pōneke, i Tāmaki hoki. Takitahi noa iho i te wā kāinga tonu i roto i te riu o Waikato.

Ko ētehi o ngā tungāne o taku māmā i mātua haere atu ki te whare patu hipi o Pito-one mahi ai. I reira taku māmā e atawhaitia ana; ko tana māmā atawhai he teina nō tana māmā ake, ā, ko tana pāpā atawhai, he tūranga kaitiaki (welfare officer) tōna i te whare patu hipi. Ko te māmā atawhai o taku māmā, i tērā atu wheketere nui o Pito-one e mahi ana, arā, i Unilever. Te taetanga atu o ngā uri o Waikato, me ētehi atu katoa o ngā iwi Māori ki Pito-one, manaakitia ana e ngā mātua atawhai o taku māmā.

Ko te pāpara o te pāpā atawhai o taku māmā, ko Steve Puti Wātene, he Mema Pāremata mō te Pāti Reipa. He whānau kaha taua whānau ki te whakakikoha i ngā mata o taua pāti, hei painga mō ngā kaimahi o ngā whare i mahi ai te Māori, pēnei i te whare patu mīti, ā, ko te uninana tētehi o aua mata. Heoi, ahakoa te 50 tau e whakamātautau ana, nō te tau 1971 rā anō i whakatōpū ai te uniana mō ngā kaimahi o ngā whare patu hipi. Ā, taka rawa ki ngā tau 1976 me 1977, e 732 rawa ngā whakatumatuma a aua kaimahi kia whakapikingia ngā utu, kia whakatakotohia he tikanga kē atu mā ngā kaimahi (Tolerton, 2010). Nō te tau 1981 te whare patu mīti o Pito-one i kati ai (O'Neil, 2015).

Nō te katinga, ka mate ngā kaimahi o reira – ngā purū-kara, ngā ringa raupā – ki te kimi oranga i wāhi kē atu, ā, ko Ahitereiria tētehi o aua wāhi i heke ai te mahi a te Māori (Kukutai & Pawar, 2013). Ko te auheke tērā o te tangata ki rāwāhi i ngā ngahuru tau 1970-1980 kimi oranga ai i te tūtakarerewa o te mahi i Aotearoa nei i taua wā, ā, kei ngā rau o te mano te tokopae tāngata nō Aotearoa whānui nei i tatū atu ki Ahitereiria. Ko ngā Māori i riro atu ki reira noho ai i waenga i te 1976-1980 he reatorutanga nō te nui i riro atu i te whā tau o mua atu. Mai i taua wā, kāore i piki, engari ia i āhua ōrite kē te nui o ngāi tāua i huri te ihu o te waka ki Ahitereiria, tatū atu ki te tau 2010.

Taka rawa mai ki tēnei wā, kua toru, kua whā whakatupuranga ināiane i ngā uri i whānau mai i Ahitereiria, otirā me te haere tonu atu hoki o ētehi o te whānau i ngā

ngahuru tau o muri mai ki reira mahi ai. Ko ētehi o ngā mea i whānau mai i Ahitereiria e hokihoki mai ana ki te wā kāinga, ko ētehi anō ia, waiho ana hei ingoa noa iho i roto i ngā mahara.

He mea atawhai nā iwi kē

Taka rawa ki ngā tau o te 1980, nā te mahi pirihimana a taku pāpā mātou i unga atu ki Porirua noho ai, tō mua; tō muri, ki Maungaraki. Ko Maungaraki tētehi o ngā taukahiwi o te ikawhenua o Te Awakairangi.

Ko aku mātua ētehi o te iwi nui tonu e purea ana e ngā hau o taua wā, o taua takiwā hoki nāna i whakatūria ai te kōhanga reo tuatahi i Waiwhetū, takiwā o Te Awakairangi. Ahakoa kīhai mātou i āta uru atu ki te kōhanga reo i taua wā rā, ka manatu tonu aku mātua ki ētehi o ngā kaumātua nō Tūhoe nāna nei rāua i akiaki i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te ako i te reo. He mea hoatu nāna tētehi wahaika ki taku pāpā, ā, te pakeketanga ōku, homai ana e taku pāpā ki a au. Kāore aku mahara ki taua koroua, he tamariki rawa nōku, engari koia hei tohu whakamaharatanga atu ki taua koroua nāna nei aku mātua i awhi.

Kīhai i takitaro, ka hūnuku anō mātou nā te mahi a tō mātou pāpā te take. Ko tō mātou kāinga hou, ko Te Araroa. Ko Te Araroa te kāinga tuatahi i puta ai au i te rehurehutanga o te ao te tamaiti nohinohi, ka pūao ngā mahara, ko pūare ngā karu ki ngā whakakitenga mai o te ao i tua atu i taku whānau. Ko ō mua maharatanga ki tā mātou noho i Maungaraki, hīrearea kau ana.

Ka auraki ngā mahara ki tērā o ngā kāinga, ki Te Araroa, he kāinga whakamīharo ki a au. Ko ō mātou puna kaukau ko Awatere, ko Karakatūwhero, ko Punaruku, ko Onepoto. Ko ā mātou koringa ko te kōhi pūpū i Horoera, ko te takaro i te mōrehu pōhutukawa o Kawakawa-mai-tawhiti, ko te eke pahikara i te tiriti matua, ko te kōhi i ngā wōnati o te rākau i te taha o te whare hanehane o tua tata atu o te taiapa i tō mātou kāinga, ko te tākaro i te whare herehere i muri i tō mātou whare. Ko te tari pirihimana i tētehi pito o tō mātou whare.

He mea atawhai aku mātua e ētehi kuia, koroua o taua kāinga, tae atu hoki ki tētehi o ngā kaiako Pākehā e kaha ana ki te kōhi i ngā whakapapa me ngā hītori o Wharekahika. Ko ō rātou kāinga tonu he whare taonga ki a mātou.

Ko Te Araroa he kāinga i noho tahi ai te Māori rāua ko te Pākehā. Ko ētehi o ngā Pākehā he kōrero Māori, he mōhio hoki ki ngā hītōria o taua kāinga. Ko tētehi atu o aku mahara, ko ngā wāhine Māori i tū hei minita i roto i te hāhi mihingare.

Engari i reira anō ōna uauatanga: ko ngā kupu wetiweti mai ki a mātou mō te mahi pirihihana a taku pāpā i karangahia ai mātou he ‘punua poaka’ me te rongō i tae mai he mea tūkinō tō mātou pāpā i te pāparakāuta e ētehi nauhea porohaurangi nei i tētehi pō.

Ko tētehi o ngā kuia o Te Araroa, ko tana ingoa i tapaina ki tō mātou tēina – te tamaiti wahine tuawhā o mātou - i whānau mai i a mātou e noho ana ki reira. He kuia tino atawhai mai i a mātou, te pirihihana Pākehā, me taku māmā i tawhiti kē i tana whānau e noho ana, me mātou ngā tamariki. Ko tana kāinga i raro iti iho i te marae o Hinerupe, i te take o Te Whetū-matarau, i kō tata mai o te ngutuawa o Awatere, ā, e ngunguru ana te tai i te tahatika i raro iti iho anō. Ko tētehi o aku maharatanga mōna ko tana taka parengo.

Nō te whānautanga mai o tō mātou tēina ki Te Tairāwhiti, oti ana i aku mātua ka kōrero Māori mātou ki a ia.

He iwi whenua-kore

Kāti koa, i roto i te āhuatanga e rangahau nei au, e tuhi nei au mō te haumate haeretanga o te reo me tōna whakarauoratanga mai anō, ko te ātārangi o te raupatu tērā, arā, ko ngā riri Pākehā i roto o Waikato e kōture ana i te kūrae o mahara; ko te ūnga mai hoki o aku tūpuna Pākehā ki Aotearoa nei kei roto katoa i te whakapapa o te haumate haere o te reo i roto i taku whānau, otirā me te whai kia paku ora ake anō.

Ki te taha ki taku māmā i heke mai au i ngā kāwai whakapapa o Ngāti Pou, o Ngāti Mahuta, o Ngāti Wairere, o Ngāti Kauwhata, ngā iwi o te riu o Waikato mai i Maungatautari, tatū noa ki te Te Pūaha o Waikato, ki Ihumātao rā anō. Ko taku pāpā, he uri nō ngā iwi i heke mai i Selkirk me Edinburgh, kāinga o Kotirana; i Iōka, i Rānana, hoki, kāinga o Ingarangi, me ētehi kāwai i toro ki roto o Parani. Ko tana pāpara i whānau mai ki Aotearoa, ko te whakareanga tuatahi o tērā taha o te whānau; te taha ki tana māmā, e toru, e whā ngā whakareanga i Aotearoa, heke iho mai ki taku pāpā.

Kia auraki anō ki te taha ki taku māmā, mōna nei te kōrero, nō te iwi whenua-kore.

I a 1863 ka whakawhitia e Kamerana i te awa o Mangatāwhiri. Ahakoa ko te tīmatanga tērā o ngā riri Pākehā i roto o Waikato, e matatū kē ana ētehi o aku tūpuna i roto o Hunua, o Pukekohe, o Mānuka, o Māngere, ka hikipapa, ka papahoro. Tutū ana te puehu i Rangiriri, i Ōrākau, tae atu ki Pukehinahina, ki Te Ranga hoki i roto o Tauranga Moana. Ko te parekuratanga hoki tērā o Rangiaowhia. 1.2 miriona eka te nui o ngā whenua i raupatuhia i te riu o Waikato. Whakatau tatahia ana ko tōna 400 nei (e 4% o ngā iwi o Waikato) ngā ika a Tū i ngā parekura katoa o Waikato tae atu ki Tauranga i ngā tau 1863-64, ā, ko taua tokomaha anō i taotū (e 7.7% o te taupori) (O'Malley, 2016).

Ka heke iho a Tāwhiao ki Te Rohe Pōtae kia whakaruruhautia ai e Ngāti Maniapoto. Engari, e raungaiti ana: e mate ana i te kai, i ngā taru tawhiti hoki. I reira, i Te Kumi, ka whānau taku tupuna wahine a Taehuri, i mōhiohia hoki i muri mai ko Ngākahikatea, o ngā hapū o Ngāti Kiriwai, Ngāti Kaiaua, o Te Waiohua hoki.

Ka tae ki te tau 1900, ka taiope atu a Taehuri rātou ko ana mātua, ko Hiko Totorewa Te Para rāua ko Mēri Matehaere, ko ana tēina, tungāne me te 21 o ana kiritahi o Ngāti Kaiaua ki Waahi Pā. Ko te rā, ko te 22 o Mei, ko te kaupapa ko te kohinga o ngā ingoa o ngā uri o ngā hapū o Waikato, o Hauraki, o Tauranga hoki i raupatuhia o rātou whenua. Hui katoa, e 3549 ngā ingoa o ngā Māori i rūpeke atu ki reira i tuhia, ka tāpaetia atu ai ki te Whare Pāremata (Mackay & New Zealand Parliament House of Representatives, 1900).

Kia taotahitia i konei:

Nā Taehuri, ko Taraiwa; nā Taraiwa ko Matehaere; nā Matehaere ko Torihina.

Hāunga rā a Taehuri mā, i taua hui hoki ko tērā tupuna ōku, ko Te Kuru Karaipu, o Ngāti Amaru, Ngāti Pareue, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Hape, Ngāti Manuki me Ngāti Koro.

Nā Te Kuru Karaipu, ko Torihina; nā Torihina ko Matehaere; nā Matehaere, ko Torihina.

I reira hoki a Nukutaurua Hakopa, ko tana wahine, ko Ngaheji, tā rāua tamāhine, ko Taurima Nukutaurua me tā Taurima tāne, me Murua Mita, ko aku tūpuna nō roto i a

Ngāti Koura, o Ngāti Wairere me ō rātou pākanga kiritahi 19 nei. Me āta whakamoe i konei ko tēnei o ngā kāwai whakaheke:

Ka moe a Nukutaurua Hakopa i a Ngahej, ka rere ki muri ko Taurima Nukutaurua. Ka moe a Taurima Nukutaurua i a Mita Murua, ka rere ki muri ko Peata Mita Murua. Ka moe a Peata Mita Murua i a Hōri Te Raika Kereama, ka rere ki muri ko Archie Te Raika Kereama. Ka moe a Archie Te Raika Kereama i a Matehaere Taraiwa, ka rere ki muri ko Torihina.

I reira hoki a Hōrina Nēpia rāua ko Murua Mita i waenga i te 106 o Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Whau, me Ngāti Mango:

Ka moe a Hōrina Nēpia i a Murua Mita, ka puta ko Mita Murua; ka moe a Mita Murua i a Taurima Nukutaurua o Ngāti Koura, Ngāti Wairere i kōrerohia i runga tata ake nei.

I Waahi Pā hoki te 139 o Ngāti Whawhākia, ā, i waenga i a rātou ko Eruera Waikato:

Kia hikohiko rā i a Torihina (te tuatahi) ka moe nei i tana tāne tuarua, i a Eruera Waikato, ka puta ko Janey Heeni Eruera Waikato. Ka moe a Janey i a Apanui Wātene, o Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Hikairo me Te Arawa me Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, ka noho ko rāua hei mātua atawhai mō Torihina.

Kāti, kitea ana, he iwi pōhara ngā iwi o Waikato, nā te raupatu te take. Ko aku tūpuna katoa, he tātai whakaheke ki taku māmā, ki a Torihina, he kore-whenua i te tau 1900.

Ka moe a Torihina i a Alex Hope, ka puta ko au, ko Heeni Matehaere.

Me kōrero rā hoki ko taku tama, taha ki tana pāpā, i ngua kinotia hoki e ngā mahi raupatu. E 28 rātou o Ngāti Tamahāpai rāua ko Ngāti Rangitaua, ā, i waenga i taua ope rā ko ana tūpuna, ko Kēti Herewini, ko Wairua Ngawharau.

Nō Tauranga Moana mai hoki ko te 92 hoki o Ngāti Tupu, hapū o Ngāti Ranginui. I taua ope rā ko ana tūpuna, ko Rātuhi Te Keeti, ko Ngaki Te Keeti, i tapaina anō tō rātou ingoa ko Te Keeti, mō te riri i Pukehinakina, arā, i 'Gate Pā.'

Ka moe a Hera Wairua Te Wheoro i a Hātana Herewini Ngawharau Te Keeti; ka rere ki muri ko Herewini Te Keeti; ka moe a Herewini Te Keeti i a Ngaki ka rere ki muri ko Rātuhi Te Keeti. Ka moe a Rātuhi

Keeti i a Tiaki Te Wheoro, ka rere ki muri ko Hera Te Wheoro; ka moe a Hera Te Wheoro i a Gerald Calvin Bennett, ka rere ki muri ko Tūmai Hilton Wayne Bennett; ka moe a Wayne Bennett i a Raewyn Curtis ka rere ki muri ko Andre Tāne Bennett; ka moe a Tāne Bennett i a Heeni Matehaere Hope, ka rere ki muri ko Matariki Tāne Bennett.

He kimihanga tupuna

Roa kau mātou e kimi ana i ō mātou kāwai tūpuna ki te takiaho ure tārewa heke iho ki te pāpā o taku māmā, arā, ki a Te Raika Archie Kereama. Ko te kōrero ia nō Ngāti Raukawa mātou, engari ka tae ki te toru whakatupuranga atu i a Te Raika, tē ai he paku mahara i a wai i heke mai i a wai. Ko te pāpā o Te Raika Archie, ko Hōri Richard (Kere), i noho ki Pukekohe, ā, mate noa, ā, kīhai i whakahokia atu ki te marae i mahara iho ai mātou ko tō mātou marae, arā, ki Poutū, engari i tiraha kē mai i Ngā Tai-e-Rua Marae i Tuakau, e tata ana ki tana kāinga i Pukekohe. Kīhai i roa i muri mai, ka hinga hoki ko Te Raika (Archie). I Raumati, takiwā o Horowhenua a Archie e noho ana, ā, ka mutu, he pānga whenua hoki ōna i taua takiwā rā. Heoi, ahakoa te kawea atu ōna ki Poutū ki reira tiraha ai mō tētehi wā, kīhai noa i roa, ka hiki te tira haere, ka kawea atu i te tūpāpaku, whakatika atu ana ki Ngā Tai e Rua Marae.

I roto i ngā tau ka puta ngā whakapae, ākuanei pea i heke mai i a Mea; nō mea wāhi, i moe rānei i a Mea. Uia rawatia ana ahau nō ēwhea Kereama mātou, mea ake ana, nō ērā o Ngāti Raukawa, engari i tua atu i tērā, e ahi teretere ana, e ahi mātao ana rānei. Ko te kore noa ai i mōhio e kaniawhea ana i roto i te puku.

Engari, ka tūponohia he kōrero i roto i ngā kōrero i tāpaetia atu ki te Whare Pāremata (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1881), ā, ka kitea hoki e taku tuakana e mahi ana ki roto i te Kōti Whenua Māori ētehi kōrero.

I te tau 1868 i riro makihuhunutia ngā whenua i Maungatautari, i Pukekura, i Puahue, i Ngamoko hoki. Whakatūria ana e te Kōti Whenua Māori ētehi hui ki Kēmureti i te 3 o ngā rā o Nōema, 1868, ā, aoake, ka tū anō ko tētehi hui take whenua ki roto o Rangitīkei. He take whenua ō Ngāti Kauwhata ki aua kōti e rua. Ka ui te rangatira o Ngāti Kauwhata, a Tapa Te Whata ki a Te Rihimana (Minita Take Māori, 1866-69), me aha rā ia, ko tana whakahoki, ko te whakatārewahia te tū o te Kōti ki Kēmureti, kia pai ai tā Ngāti Kauwhata tae atu. Kīhai i mana tērā kōrero āna, ā, ka riro atu ō Ngāti Kauwhata whenua ki roto o

Waikato. 13 tau e haere ana ngā kōrero, ngā petihana a Tapa Te Whata mā kia whakawākia tā rātou take ki aua whenua, auare ake. Riro ana i te Pākehā. Ko taku tupuna, ko Kereama Paoe tētehi o Ngāti Kauwhata i haina i te petihana (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1881; McBurney, 2013);

Ko Paoe ka moe i a Ngāurukehu, ka rere ki muri ko Kereama Paoe. Ka moe a Kereama Paoe i a Ngāhaka, ka rere ki muri ko Te Raika Kereama. Ka moe a Te Raika Kereama i a Rātahi, ka rere ki muri ko Hōri Te Raika Kereama (Kere). Ka moe a Kere i a Peata Murua Mita, ka rere ki muri ko Archie Te Raika Kereama. Ka moe a Archie i a Matehaere Taraiwa, ka rere ki muri ko Torihina. Ka moe a Torihina i a Alex Hope, ka rere ki muri ko au, ko Heeni Matehaere Hope.

Ko Ngāruawāhia tōku tūrangawaewae

Nō te takiwā o 1920 aku tūpuna, a Hōrina Nēpia rāua ko Murua Mita i hoko whenua ai i ngā parenga o te awa o Waikato i Ngāruawāhia. He kaupapa tēnei nā Te Paea Hērangi i kōkiri: te akiaki i te iwi ki te hoko whenua – he whenua i raupatuhia – hei kāinga hou, hei marae hou (Royal, 2005/2017). Ko Tūrangawaewae Marae tērā i whakatūria i taua wā ki te whenua 10 eka nei te nui nā ngā rangatira i hoko i runga i te kōrero a Tāwhiao:

*Ko Kemureti tōku oko horoi
Ko Arekahānara tōku hāona kaha
Ko Ngāruawāhia tōku tūrangawaewae*

Nō reira, ka mate aku tūpuna ki te hoko i ngā whenua i raupatuhia, ka tukuna atu ki te Pākehā hei utu i te hoia, mōna i tū ki te hāpai i te pēneti mā te Kāwana (Kohere, 1994, wh. 77; Royal, 2005/2017). I a Rēweti Kohere e kōrero ana mō ‘Te mate nui o Waikato,’ ka puta tana ui makihoi: “Ko wai, ko wai oti e kore e mamae?” (Kohere, 1994, wh. 78)

I a au e tamariki ana, ahakoa i te wā kāinga mātou e noho ana, arā, i Rāhui Pōkeka, i Ngāruawāhia hoki, kīhai mātou ko taku tuakana, ko aku tēina i takahi i tō mātou whenua, kīhai i mōhio nō mātou. Ko ō mātou kāinga noho, he whare rēti, he whare hoko hoki, engari kīhai mātou i āta takatakahi i tō mātou whenua tuku ake.

Ko tētehi wāhanga ōna e nōhia ana e tētehi o ō mātou tūpuna, he tuakana tūrangā whānau nei nō tō mātou koroua, nō Te Raika. Nō muri mai, ka mōhiohia he mea hoko nā tētehi o ngā tuāhine tūrangā whānau o taku koroua, tētehi wāhanga o te whenua, ā, he

mea hanga hoki nāna tētehi whare mōna i tētehi anō pito o te whenua. Ka roa, ka puta te kōrero he whenua tō mātou ko ngā uri o Peata, he mokopuna nā Hōrina rāua ko Murua Mita.

Pēnei ana au he whenua tuku iho, mai anō. Karekau kē. Nō nā tata nei taku māmā i mea mai ai, he whenua hoko ke, i runga anō i ngā tohutohu a Te Puea, ā, i ōna wā he poraka nui, he mea kārawarawa tētehi wāhanga mō mātou ngā uri o Peata, kia noho hei whenua mō mātou. Ā, waiho ana tēnei hei take e ngaukino ana ki te whānau o te tuakana o tō mātou koroua. Huri mai ana rātou ki te whakapōriro i a mātou, me te whakakāhore i tō mātou whai pānga atu ki taua whenua.

Heoi, mohoa nei (i te tau 2022 e tuhia nei tēnei tuhingaroa), kua whakaroherohea mai tētehi wāhi hei urupā mō mātou, otirā kei te whai hoki mātou kia whakatūria he papakāinga ki runga i tō mātou whenua.

Titiro rawa ake ki te reanga o taku māmā, ko rātou te tuawhā o ngā whakatupuranga heke iho mai i Hōrina rāua ko Mita, nā rātou nei i whakarite i tō mātou tarati hei whakatōpū mai i ngā uri i roto i tō mātou whenua. Ā, e whā anō whakatupuranga kua heke mai i taku māmā me ana tuākana, tungāne e kimi oranga ana, e kimi papakāinga ana, e kimi tūrangawaewae ana hoki mō rātou.

He whānau pani

15 ngā tamariki a Matehaere rāua ko Te Raika, 12 o rātou i pakeke, tangata noa. Ko taku māmā tētehi o ngā muringa. Te mahi a Te Raika he hautū taraka. Ko Matehaere ia, he ringa tango parahia, he ringa ono kai, he awe kāpara i ngā mahinga kai o Pukekohe. Nō te tau 1963, ka mate a Matehaere i te pūkahu kakā. E 45 tau tana pakeke. Ko te mātāmuri o ana tamariki, e ono marama te pakeke. Ko taku māmā, e whitu tau tana pakeke i taua wā, ka pani. Ko ngā mea tino tamariki o rātou i tukuna atu mā ngā whānau e atawhai. Riro ana taku māmā hei tamaiti atawhai mā tana whaea kēkē, mā Janey Waikato rāua ko tana tāne, ko Apa Wātene. Ko ngā tuākana, kua moe wahine, kua moe tāne, kua puta he uri. Nō te tau i mate ai a Matehaere, ka whānau mai ko ngā mokopuna tuatahi e toru. Nō reira, ahakoa i tupu mai me te mōhio, he tuakana, he teina, ā, i torotoro tonu tētehi ki tētehi, kāore anō kia noho tahi hei whānau mai i taua wā, engari mararā ana ki te mata o te whenua.

Pōkia ana ngā Māori o Pukekohe e te mate kohi, te huangō, te diptheria, te karawaka, me te pūkahu kakā (Bartholomew, 2020). Ēnei mate katoa e kīia ana he mate nā te pōharatanga: me i pai ngā whare, te wai, ngā kai, ngā kākahu me ngā rongoā kua kore noa i ngaua.

Nō te tau 1931 i eke ai te nui o ngāi tāua e pāngia ana e te mate kohi ki te 70%, ā, taka rawa ki te tau 1938, e 28 ngā tamariki Māori i mate kurī noa i ngā momo mate nā te makariri, nā te hiakai, nā te hanehane o ngā whare (Bartholomew, 2020). Nā Bartholomew (2020) ngā tauranga i tā mō ngā tamariki atu ki te 14 tau i mate mai i roto o Pukekohe i ngā mate whirinaki, ngā mea e taea ana te ārai atu, te rongoā rānei i waenga i ngā tau 1920-1961.

Nō ngā tau 1950 rā anō i tīmata ai te hangaia o ngā whare o te kāwanatanga, ā, ka māuru haere ngā mate tārūrū nui i ngau kino ki ngā Māori o Pukekohe. Nō te tau 1955 taku māmā i whānau ai.

Kāore au i tino ohorere i te rongonga e toru ngā tuakana, teina o taku māmā i mate i te kōhungahungatanga. Pēnei ana au ko ngā āhuetanga anō ērā o te wā, puta noa. Ka mutu, ahakoa taku mōhio, he nui ake pea te tūpono mate o te tamaiti Māori tēnā i te tamaiti Pākehā, kīhai au i mahara he kaha ake te matemate haere o te tamariki Māori o Pukekohe i ngā tamariki Māori i ētehi katoa o ngā kāinga puta i te motu i ngā tau 1920-1961. Heoi, koia tērā ko tā Bartholomew (2020) mō ngā tamariki o Pukekohe. Heoi anō, tērā anō ana korero mō te kaikiri, arā, mō ngā aukati i te Māori, me ngā wehewehenga o te Māori, o te Pākehā i te whare pikitia, i te tākahi, i te whare kuti makawe, i te pāparakāuta, me ngā toimahatanga i te wā o aku tūpuna e noho ana i Pukekohe (Bartholomew, 2020; Husband, 2015a; Te Karere, 2020).

Ko Rākaumangamanga: He kāinga, he kura

I whānau mai taku tupuna whaea, ko Janey Waikato, i Rākaumangamanga i te tau 1931. Tae kau ana ki ngā tau o te 1970, ko Rākaumanga te kāinga i whakatūria ai te whare hiko o Rāhui Pōkeka. I kō tata atu ko tētehi o ō mātou marae, ko Hukanui ā-muri: ko tōna tupuna whare, ko Hiko Te Para, arā, ko tō mātou tupuna nō Ngāti Kaiaua i whai atu i te Kīngi ki roto o Te Rohe Pōtae i ngā tau i muri o te raupatu. Ā, i rāwāhi noa iho o te rori, ko Waahi Pā, ko te marae i whakakao atu ai ngā iwi, ngā hapū whenua-kore o Waikato,

o Hauraki me Tauranga Moana i te tau 1900 (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1900).

I Rākaumanga tētehi kura Māori i mātua whakatūria i te tau 1895, ā, nō te tau 1969 ka wetekina mai te karangatanga 'kura Māori,'¹⁰ ā, ka rite noa ki ērā atu katoa o ngā kura o te motu (Harrison & Papa, 2005). Ko te mea kē, i Māori tonu te nuinga o ngā tamariki e kuraina ana ki reira. Ka taka ngā tau o te 1970, ka takatū ake te iwi kāinga o Waahi Pā me Te Rūnanga o Tainui ki te aukati i te whakatūnga o te whare huri hiko i Rākaumanga. Heoi, kīhai i takitaro ka tahuri te iwi kāinga ki te kōkiri i te whakaaro, ki te mea e whakatūria ana te whare hiko, me neke ko te kura ki whenua kē. Ā, ka mutu, ki te pērā, me whakaae te Tari Mātauranga kia kura reo Māori.

Nā, nō te tau 1979 ka reorua te whare kōhungahunga o Rākaumanga, ā, nō te tau 1984 ka reorua hoki te kura. Taka rawa ki te tau 1993 rā anō i tuwhera ai te wāhanga kura tuarua, arā, te wāhanga ki ngā tauira Tau 9, pakeke ake, ā, he tau anō i muri mai, kua whakaae te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga kia tū a Rākaumanga hei kura kaupapa Māori. Whāia, ka wharekura i te tau 1996 (Harrison & Papa, 2005; TVNZ, 2015b).

Ko taku ko Alex Hope, he mema nō te poari o Rākaumanga i unga atu i te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga kia whakatutukihia tō te hāpori hiahia kia tū rātou hei kura Māori: kia Māori ā-reo, ā-whakahaere hoki, otirā kia whaihua ai hoki ngā tamariki o Rāhui Pōkeka, o Waahi Pā (TVNZ, 2015b).

He mea uiui taku pāpā e Pōtaka Maipi, he tauira o mua o Rākaumanga, nō Waahi Pā anō hoki, ā, he kaiuiui hoki mō te hōtaka Marae, mō te take i hoki ai mātou ki Rākaumanga kura ai i taua wā. Pēnei ana ngā kōrero a taku pāpā;

E rua pea ngā take. Ko te tuatahi, nō reira aku tamariki, nō reira ake. Ko te mea tuarua, i Te Tairāwhiti mātou e noho ana i taua wā. Ā, i tētehi kura reorua i reira: te kura o Hiruhārama. Engari i tō mātou rongu kua huri te kura o Rākaumanga ki te reo Māori, i te whakaaro, "Ā. Me hoki." (TVNZ, 2015b)

¹⁰ Native school

Heoi, hei tāna, kāore i rōnaki noa iho te haere, engari whakahē ana te hapori i te hurihanga o Rākaumanga hei kura kaupapa;

Koirā te kī a te nuinga. Āe, ka tino raru. “He aha te take kei te pērā koe? E kore ō tamariki e whiwhi mahi. Moumou tāima te ako i te reo Māori.” (TVNZ, 2015b)

E 30 tau ki muri, kua tū mātou ko taku tuakana, ko aku tēina ki ō mātou tūranga mahi: he kura mahita, he rōia. Kua tae ki te whare wānanga, kua puta me ngā momo tohu paetahi, tohu paerua hoki. Ko te tuatoru tēnei o mātou, ko tētehi o aku tēina, ko tētehi o ngā mātāmua o ngā tauira o Rākaumanga i rumakina ki te reo Māori e kōrerohia nei e Pōtaka Maipi [PM] rāua ko taku pāpā [AH];

PM: [I] eke panuku [tā Alex] tamāhine ki roto i te reo Māori me te ao mātauranga. Ko ia [t]ētehi ākongā ki roto i te akomanga rumaki tuatahi o te kura, ā, i ēnei rangi ka piri ki tōna pāpā [i roto i te ture].

AH: Ko ia e tū motuhake ana hei rōia, hei *barrister sole*. Ko tana mahi, ko te nuinga i roto i te kōti ā-whānau. (TVNZ, 2015b)

Ko te reo i Waahi Pā, i Rākaumangamanga he mea tūhura i roto i *Te tirohanga i te kōrerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i ngā kāinga Māori me ngā rohe* i waenga i ngā tau 1973-78 (Smith, 1982). Tere tonu te kitea atu, o te 77% o ngā kāinga o Waahi Pā me Rākaumanga i uia, ko te katoa o ngā pākeke e tino mārāma ana ki te reo Māori, ā, ko te nuinga (95%) he matatau ki te kōrero. Engari, heke nei he whakatupuranga, heke nei he whakatupuranga, ko te hekenga o te matatau me te mārāma pai ki te reo, ko te pikinga o tokomaha e āhua mārāma noa ana, e kore ana rānei i paku mārāma (Tūtohi 1). Waihoki, kitea ana ko te reo Māori i whāiti atu ki te marae me ngā karakia (Smith, 1982).

Tūtohi 1: He tatauranga mō te reo Māori i Waahi Paa me Rākaumanga

Pakeke	Matatau ki te kōrero	E mārama pai ana	Ē āhua mārama ana	Kāore i te paku mārama
> 45 tau	39 (95%)	42 (100%)	0	0
25-44 tau	16 (49%)	25 (76%)	5 (15%)	3 (9%)
15-24 ta	2 (7%)	9 (30%)	7 (23%)	14 (47%)
2 – 14 tau	1 (2%)	10 (17%)	21 (35%)	29 (48%)
Te huinga	58 (35%)	86 (52%)	33 (20%)	46 (28%)

He kupu whakamārama: Nā Lee Smith Te tirohanga ki te kōrerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i ngā kāinga Māori me ngā rohe: Survey of language use in Māori households and communities: The Māori Language in Waahi Pā and Rākaumanga (Smith, 1982).

He mea tautoko tēnei kitenga a ngā kaiuiui e Rangiteremauri Barna Heremia, tumuaki o Rākaumanga. Hei tāna;

Ko Tuku Morgan anake te taiohi e āhua mōhio ana ki te kōrero Māori, nē. Tua atu i tērā, kāore noa iho e rongohia ana i te hunga tamariki ake i te 30 te pakeke.

Kua kore noa i rongohia te reo i roto i te hapori, i tua atu i ngā mihi kei runga i te marae. Mutu kau ngā mihi, ā, kua kōrero Pākehā noa iho i tērā wā. I ngā tau whitu tekau tērā, nē. (TVNZ, 2015b).

Ko te nuinga o ngā kaiako o Rākaumanga i ngā tau o te puku o te waru tekau (1980) ki te takiwā o te tau 2000, i huri ai hei kura reorua, hei wharekura hoki, nō iwi kē atu, arā, nō Ngāi Tūhoe, nō Ngāti Awa, nō Ngāti Manawa, nō Te Whakatōhea, nō Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, he kore nō ngā kaiako o te kāinga ake hei hāpai i te mahi whakaako i roto i te reo Māori. Kotahi noa iho te kuia o te kāinga i noho hei kaimahi i te kura, arā, hei whakawhirinakitanga mā ana mokopuna o Waahi Pā, o Rākaumanga. I reira anō ngā ngā kuia, koroua o te kāinga, he matatau ki te reo i tautoko i te kura, ahakoa kāore i reira e whakaako ana. Heoi, ka roa, ā, ka puta ngā mātāmua i rumakina i roto i te reo, ā, ko ētehi i haere kia whakangungua hei kaiako, ka hoki ai ki Rākaumanga.

Nō ngā tai e rua mātou

Ko tētehi o ō mātou marae, ko Ngā Tai-e-rua, kei roto o Tuakau. I pēnei ai te whakaingoatanga o tērā o ō mātou marae, hei tohu i te whītiki a Te Puea (Te Taihauāuru) rāua ko Āpirana Ngata (Te Tairāwhiti) ki te whakatū i te marae hei ahurutanga mō ngā Māori e whakaeke atu ana ki ngā tāone ki te kimi mahi. He tini ngā mea o Te Pūaha o Waikato i haere atu ki Tuakau, ki Pukekohe mahi ai.

Heoi, nō ngā tai e rua hoki mātou: Ko tō mātou pāpā he Pākehā i whānau mai i Kawatiri, i Te Tai Poutini. Kāore pea ia i tino kite i te Māori i tana tamarikitanga, engari hei katanga mā mātou ana kōrero mō tā rātou whakarongo ki te waerahi ko tana whānau i te whakapāhotanga o ngā kēmū a te tīma Ōpango, ā, ka tae ana ki te haka whakataruna haere ana hoki rātou ko ana tēina ki te haka.

Ko tētehi anō o ana kōrero mō tana tamarikitanga ko te whākī mai i te ingoa o tētehi o ngā kāinga i te ākau i te taha whakarunga ake o Kawatiri. Hei tāna he ingoa Māori tō taua kāinga rā, i whakahuatia e ngā iwi noho ki Te Tai Poutini (ngā mea Pākehā), ko “Nock-a-war.” Ui mai ana taku pāpā ki a mātou ko te aha ki ō mātou whakaaro te ingoa ‘tūturu’ o taua kāinga, auare ake tō mātou paku mōhio! Mate ana ia kī te kī mai, ko ‘Ngākawau’ kē te ingoa o taua kāinga!

Nō reira, ko ngā tai e rua, ko te taha ki taku pāpā Pākehā, ko te taha ki taku māmā nō ngā tātai whakaheke o Tainui waka. Ko te ao o taku pāpā me ko Te Tai Tamāhine, aiō kau ana, rōnaki kau ana. Ko te ao o taku māmā, me ko Te Tai Tamatāne kē; tāpokopoko ana, tīkokikoki ana, tūpoupou ana te haere.

Ko ngā mātua o taku pāpā he whai tohu i te whare wānanga: ko taku tupuna tāne, he kaimātai waro, ko taku tupuna wahine he nāhi. He mahi pirihimana taku pāpā, engari i a ia kē tētehi tohu i te whare wānanga, he tohu whakaako tamariki hoki.

Ko taku māmā te mea tuatahi o tana whānau ki te haere ki te whare wānanga, ko te reo Māori tētehi o ana aronga. Ko te katoa o mātou, aku tuākana teina kua tae ki te whare wānanga, ki te kuratini rānei ki te whai i ō reira mātauranga.

Nā, kāore au i te kī ake, mā te moe Pākehā e rōnaki noa ai te haere o te Māori i tēnei ao, engari e whakapae ana ahau kei konā anō ōna hua. Nā te Mema Pāremata o mua, nā

Mārama Fox te kī, kei roto i te whakapapa o tana pāpā (Pākehā) te haere ki te whare wānanga; ko te mātauranga ia kei tana māmā, he mātauranga kē anō (Mātangireia, 2019).

Ka titiro hoki ki ērā atu o tō mātou whānau he kōrero Māori, ko mātou ngā uri o te Pākehā i waimarie. I tua atu i a mātou, ko tētehi o aku tuākana, ko tana pāpā hei tungāne ki taku māmā, ā, ko tana māmā he Hainamana, he Māori hoki, i haere ki te whare wānanga, i reira hoki ka ako i te reo. Ā, ko tētehi atu o ngā peka o te whānau he kōrero Māori, arā, ko ētehi o ō mātou teina i te roto i te whānau whānui, ko tō rātou pāpā he mea whāngai nā tētehi kuia kōrero Māori, ā, i kuraina hoki rātou ki Te Wharekura o Rākaumanga. Ko ērā atu o te whānau o taku māmā i moe Māori, ā, kāore i tae ki te whare wānanga, kāore hoki i tino mau ki te reo Māori. Ehara tēnei i te whakakurīmōri i aku whaea, i aku pāpā, kāore i ako i te reo, engari kei te kohuki noa ake ngā whakaaro.

Koia i tupu ai te whakaaro i a au he māmā ake pea tā mātou haere i te ao, ākuanei pea nā te kiritea ake o te kiri, me te tauira mai a aku mātua e tuwhera kau ana ngā kūwaha o te whare wānanga ki a mātou. Engari, i tua atu i tēnā, kāore i taku pāpā ngā momo mamaetanga i roto i tana whakapapa nā te raupatu, nā te kaikiri, nā te noho pani, nā ngā mate hauraki, nā te aha, nā te aha.

He pīpī ka paopao mai i te kōhanga

Ko āku anō takahanga i roto i te reo Māori i tīmata rā i taku ohinga, i roto i ngā kura Māori, i ngā kāinga Māori i noho ai mātou i Te Tairāwhiti, i Rāhui Pōkeka, i Ngāruawāhia, tae rawa ki te kukunetanga o te reo Māori hei reo mō roto i tō mātou kāinga ake. I whakauru aku mātua i te turukitanga o te kura kaupapa Māori, ā, i uru hoki rāua ki te Whare Wānanga o Waikato i te wā i reira ētehi o ngā taniwha hikuroa o te reo Māori. Ko taku māmā tētehi o ngā tauira i whakangungua hei kaiako reo Māori, ā, ka kite, ka rongu mātou i ēnei āhuatanga huri noa i a mātou.

Ka roa, ā, ka whānau mai taku tamaiti, he tamaiti huatahi. I reira ka toko ake i roto i a au te hiahia kia reo Māori hoki tō māua kāinga ko taku tama. Ka mutu, i rongu anō au i te tūāporoporo, i te hikohiko noa iho o taku mōhio ki te reo, i mahara ai au i mua, e āhua pai ana, engari ia, ka tae ki ngā kōrero a te māmā ki tana pēpē mō ngā take huhua, take hauwarea noa iho, e! Nō whea hoki i taea!

Nō reira, ko te tīmatanga tērā o taku haere atu ki ngā kura reo, otirā o taku whai ki te ako i te reo i te kāinga mā roto atu i ngā pukapuka, i ngā whakapāhotanga o te reo irirangi me ngā hōtaka o te pouaka whakaata hoki. Mōkōri anō taku whānau i takahi ta hi ai i te ara kōrero Māori i waenga i a mātou.

Nā taku tamaiti hoki i huri kōtua ai au i te ara i takahia i roto i te pūtaiao, ka huri kē ki te mahi a te kura mahita i roto i te kura kaupapa Māori. Hāunga ia te reo Māori, ko tētehi tino take i pērā ai ahau, ko te aroha ki te matua, ki te tamaiti hoki. I a au e mahi ana i roto i ngā mahi pūtaiao, e whakamahia ana mātou ko aku hoamahi Māori nei ki te ako i ngā waiata me ngā karakia ki ngā Pākehā i roto i tō mātou whare rangahau. Ehara i te mea koirā anake ā mātou mahi, ā, kāore hoki au i te whakahē i te hiahia o ētehi ki te ako. Engari, kīhai taku ngākau i tino tau i roto i tērā mahi.

Waihoki, i whakawhēuaua te herea ōku e taua mahi i te mahi whakatupu tamariki; ko ngā hāora mahi ko te 8.30 i te ata ki te 5.30 i te ahiahi, ā, takitahi ana ngā kōhanga reo e pērā ana ngā hāora. He wā i tūpono, e oma pōnānā ana au ki te tiki i taku tamaiti, me te huri o te tuarā ki ngā mahi; he wā anō i akutōhia ai au ki wāhi kē, me te manawapā mō taku tamaiti e tatari ana i tana māmā i te kōhanga reo. Me mihi rā ngā kuia o tana kōhanga, nāna nei ia i atawhai ahakoa te tikanga kua mutu kē ngā mahi. Nō reira, ehara i te mea nā te reo anake au i huri ai ki te kura kaupapa, engari nā te pōkaikaha i ngā tikanga mahi e taupatupatu ana ki te noho a te whānau.

Huri kau atu ana au ki te kura, māmā ake ana ngā hāora, engari e arohaina ana hoki te whānau. Kāti, waiho ana ko ngā mātāpono o te waiata o Rākaumanga hei tauira i te ‘noho whānau’:

*He aha tēnei? Te whānau
He aha te take o te noho whānau?
He tiaki, awhi, whakatikatika
Kia pūmau ai te noho i te ao*

*He taura tangata herenga
Papatūānuku, Ranginui
Tuakana, teina, tungāne, tuahine
Whaea, mātua, tūpuna, mokopuna*

*Ngā whānau o Rākaumanga Kura
E mihi, e tangi nei
Te manaaki, rangimārie, aronui
Maungārongo, āwhina hūmārie
Te ira atua*

Nā, kua pau te 20 tau ōku i roto i ngā kaupapa e whai take ana ki te kura kaupapa Māori: he whakaako, he whakangungu, he hanga rauemi, he whakahaere wānanga, he whakakaupapa marau, whakakaupapa aromatawai hoki. I roto i taua wā i whāia e au taku tohu whakamāori, ā, ka whai wāhi ki te ako, ki te whakamātautau i ngā mahi whakamāori ā-waha. Ā, i tua atu i ngā kura reo, i tae hoki au ki ētehi o ngā wānanga o Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori. Kimihia ana hoki i roto i ngā runaruna, pēnei me te waka ama nei, ko ngā kaupapa Māori, ko te reo Māori.

Ko te kāinga hei kōhanga reo mō taku tamaiti, engari ia he mea morimori hoki ia e te kōhanga reo, e te kura kaupapa. Ka mutu, ehara kau mō te reo anake te take, engari mō tō māua oranga: oranga tangata, oranga whānau.

He pī ka rere

Nō te pīreretanga o taku tama i te kāinga i hua ake ai te urupounamu i roto i a au, “Āe rānei ka ū tonu ia ki te kōrero Māori?” Inā hoki, ahakoa tā te kātua whāngai i te ‘manu pīkari,’ ka pīrere ana taua manu rā, kei a ia anō te tikanga mōna. Ko wai ka hua, ka pēwhea taua pīpī rā ka eke ana ki te karangatanga kātua me āna anō pīpī.

Inā hoki, kitea ana e Hinurewa Poutū (2015), raukura o te kura kaupapa Māori Te Aho Matua, kua kitea hoki e Barna Heremia, tumuaki o Te Wharekura o Rākaumanga hāunga rā ia te whakatupuhia o te tamaiti i roto i te kāinga kōrero Māori, te wharekura, te kura kaupapa Māori rānei, uaua ana tērā te kitea, ko wai mā o rātou ka ū tonu ki te whāngai i te reo ki ā rātou tamariki ake (Education Gazette, 2021). Ko au tēnei, ko te kātua e noho ana i te kōhanga rohai me te tūmanako ka kaha tonu mātou ko taku tama, ko te whānau nui tonu ki te kōrero Māori ki ā mātou tamariki.

Me pono rā ahau, kāore au i āta mōhio ka manawareka atu au ki ngā mahi a te kaiako, i tūpono noa iho pea ki reira i runga i te kimikimi o te ngākau i tētehi taunga mōna, engari me te mōhio anō ko te tinana, ko te ngākau ērā e kimi ana i tētehi mea ngaro, kua ko te hinengaro. Te meatanga, ha! Tae atu ana ki roto i te kura, tatū tonu iho te whakaaro

ki te oranga nui o tērā noho: oranga taha tinana i te āhei ōku ki te mahi, me te piri tata tonu o māua ko taku tamaiti nohinohi. Oranga o te ngākau Māori i roa e noho kaimohū ana i roto i te ao pūtaiao me ngā āhuatanga o tērā ao, me te rongō anō ki te māoriori o te ngākau i runga i noho tahi i roto i tētehi kaupapa Māori. Ko te mea i oho ai au, ko te hihiri o roto i a au ki te mahi whakaako i te pūtaiao, otirā ki te whakaako i te taiohi Māori.

Ko te reo hei oranga mōku

Ko te kura i whakaako tuatahi ai au ko taku kura o mua, ko Te Wharekura o Rākaumanga. Ka whai tūranga ahau hei kaiako pūtaiao, ahakoa mō tētehi wāhanga kotahi noa iho pea o te tau. Ko tētehi o aku teina, ko taku tungāne hoki i reira tonu e kura ana. Ko te torengetanga tērā o te ao o te kura tiwhikete, ā, e hahae mai ana i te pae ko te hanga nei, ko NCEA.¹¹ Ko ngā kaipupuru mauri o tērā kaupapa i mua atu ko Wiha Te Raki Hāwea, ko Te Hunanga Hill.

Ko te tīmatanga tērā o taku takahi i te ara o te whakaako tamariki, whakaako taiohi. Ka auraki aku mahara ki ngā kura i mahi ai - Ko Te Wharekura o te Matai, ko TKKM o Ruamata, ko Te Wharekura o Mauao, ko TKKM o Hurunga-te-rangi, ko TKKM o Whakarewa i te Reo ki Tūwharetoa – ka ea te kōrero, he hokinga mahara, he koanga ngākau.

I reira ka poka te haere ki te whai i te tohu whakamāori a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, e karangahia nei ko te *Toi Reo Māori*, me ngā mahi hei hāpai ō mō ngā kura kaupapa, arā, te hanga rauemi, te whakangungu kaiako, te tuhi paerewa paetae.¹² Ā, he ruarua anō ngā wā i whai mahi ai ahau hei kaiwhakamāori i roto i ngā kōti. Engari ka pau ētehi tau e kai kapua haere ana, ka tīmata te whakamangeo mai o ngā nekenekhehanga o roto i aua mahi, ka hoki anō ngā waewae nei ki te kai i ngā pakiaka, arā, ki te whakaako tamariki. Ko te pihinga hoki tērā o te rangahau nei.

¹¹ National Certificate in Educational Achievement

¹² Ko te 'paerewa paetae' te tikanga e whakamātautauhia ('aromatawaitia') ai te mōhio o te tauira i raro i ngā tikanga whakahaere o NCEA.

Nō reira, waimarie ana ahau, ko taku huri ki te reo Māori, ki te kaupapa Māori, he moni i roto i ngā tau o te 2000, ka ora te puku i te kōrero Māori. Kāore i pērā i te wā e taraiwa taraka ana, e mahi wheketere ana, e ngaki māra ana aku tūpuna.

Ko au e tū atu nei

Hāunga rā ngā kōrero o runga ake nei mō ngā hau i pū mai nei ki taku kiri e hoki ana ki ngā riri Pākehā, ki te raupatu, ki te ūnga mai o aku tūpuna Pākehā ki ēnei motu, ā, me ngā karawhiu mai o taua wā i whenua-kore ai, i pani ai, i toro ai ki tawhiti atu o te wā kāinga ki te kimi oranga, katoa, katoa, he āhuatanga nā te wā i tohu. Kāore noa iho i kotahi te taotūtanga o te reo i roto i tō mātou whānau, engari e rite ana ki te whakataukī, nā te mano o ngā haehaetanga o te kiri i mate ai.

Me mutu pai noa iho i konei ēnei manatunga āku. Ahakoa ngā mamaetanga o mua i ngā hau pūkeri o te wā i a rātou, ko tātou e takatū nei i te mata o te whenua, he urupā nō rātou mā. Moe mai rā e aku piki kōtuku.

He tamaiti hoki au nō te wā i tōrua ai te hau i ngā whitu tekau. Ka hoki ngā mahara ki ngā tau o taku kōhinetanga, ka koa te ngākau, ka whakaaro ki ngā waimarietanga i tau mai ki runga i ahau. Kei ngā ringa māhorahora o roto i ngā tau, nāna nei au i tangata ai, ko te kokonga ngākau, e kore e kitea.

Kia tīkina atu rā te tongi a Tāwhiao, i whakakitea rā e ia te puta o ana uri ki te ora:

*E kore teenei whakaoranga e huri ki tua o aku mokopuna
Maaku anoo e hanga i tooku nei whare
Ko ngaa pou o roto, he mahoe, he patate
Ko te taahuuhuu he hinau
Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga
Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki
Teera anoo ooku nei hoa kei ngaa toopito o te ao
Ko ngaa huumeke, ko ngaa kaamura me ngaa parakimete
Ahakoa ngaa mano huri atu i te haamarietanga, mahue mai ki au
Kotahi mano, e rima rau, rima tekau, tekau maa rua, ko ahau kei roto
Ko te Atua tooku piringa, ka puta ka ora.¹³*

¹³ He mea tiki ake i <https://www.rakaumanga.school.nz/>

Kāti, kua mutu i konei taku whakamārama ake, nā wai ahau, nō whea ahau, ā, he aha 'ngā hau i pū mai ki te kiri,' kia tae ai ki te kaupapa o taku rangahau. Mā ngā pātai e toru e whai ake nei ahau e arataki. Heoi, ko ngā pātai nei, ehara i te mea e tūhāhā ana, engari ia e taupuhipuhi ana, arā, e mahitahi ana.

Ngā pātai o te rangahau

Ko ngā pātai ēnei o te rangahau nei:

1. He pēwhea te āhua o ngā mahi whakarauora reo Māori i te 50 tau ka taha nei? He aha ōna pou whenua, ōna pou tāngata, ōna pou hinengaro?
2. He aha ētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero me ngā tāhū whakaaro o te whakarauora reo Māori i taua 50 tau rā?
3. He aha ngā whakaaweawe o te ao hurihuri i ngā pou me ngā tāhū o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori, ā, he pēwhea te pāhekoheko atu o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori ki te ao hurihuri?

Hei whakakōpani ake i te upoko kōrero nei ka tataihia te 'tāhū' o te tuhinga rangahau nei, arā, ka whakarāpopotohia ngā kōrero o ia upoko, o ia upoko mei kore ake ka kitea te aroaro whenua o te tuhinga rangahau nei.

Hei te upoko e whai muri mai nei tātaihia ai ngā tikanga rangahau, tae atu ki ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te reo Māori, te wāhi ki tā te kairangahau tātai kōrero mōna anō¹⁴ me ngā mahi tātari kōrero, haehae kōrero¹⁵ i puta hei tikanga turaki i ngā tāhū kōrero a ngā iwi whakatuanui o Ūropi kia tū mai ko ngā tāhū kōrero o ērā atu katoa o ngā iwi i tāmia i roto i ngā rautau ka taha nei.¹⁶

¹⁴ E kīia nei ki te reo Pākehā ko te *autoethnography*.

¹⁵ Ko te critical literature analysis, ko te critical discourse analysis (CDA) rānei.

¹⁶ E kōrerohia ana ko tēnei mea te *Poststructuralism* i konei.

Te tāhū o te tuhinga rangahau nei

Kua oti kē i te **Upoko Tuatahi** nei taku tātai kōrero mō aku mātua tūpuna, heke iho mai ki a au, hei aho tāhuhu mō te rangahau nei. Kua whakatakotoria hoki ngā patai o te rangahau.

Hei te **Upoko Tuarua** whakatakotoria ai te tikanga rangahau, me te kawa tuhituhi o te rangahau.

Ka tae ki te **Upoko Tuatoru** ka whakatūria mai ko Te Whare o te Reo Māori hei ariā mō te 50 tau o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori. Ka tātaihia te whare: ōna kaupapa, ōna tāngata, tae atu ki ētehi o ngā momo pou hinengaro hoki. Ka whakaahuangia hoki ngā āki o te wā ki te whare, mai i tōna orokotūtanga ake, tae rawa ki te tau 2022.

Hei te **Upoko Tuawhā** ngangahu ai te titiro ki ētehi momo tāhū kōrero, tāhū whakaaro hoki mō te reo Māori, arā, ko te ‘pīkoko’ ki te reo, ko te ‘hūkore’ ki te reo, ko te ‘waimarie’ rānei i te reo.

Hei te **Upoko Tuarima** uia ai te pātai, he aha kei tua o te kiri Māori? Ka whakahiatohia ngā tūmomo kōrero e whai pānga ana ki te ‘tuakiri’ Māori, e takaruretia nei i roto i ngā mahi whakarauora reo i te manotau hou nei. Ka wetekina te whakapapa o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ kia kitea ōna taketake i roto i te reo Pākehā, otirā i roto i te ao hurihuri o te rautau ka taha nei, me ngā pānga o te ururua haere o taua kupu nei i roto i te reo Māori.

Hei te **Upoko Tuaono** uia ai te pātai, ‘He ohaoha rānei te ōhanga?’ Ka tūhuratia te whakapapa o ngā kupu nei, o ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ i hangaia mai hei kupu ‘taurite’ mō te kupu Pākehā nei, mō ‘economy.’ Ka wetekina te whakaaro, ko tā te kupu ōhanga he mahi whakapūnguru tikanga Māori.

Ki te **Upoko Tuawhitu** hokia atu ai ngā pātai o te rangahau nei, ka whiriwhirihia ko ōna kaupapa kōrero, me kore noa ka tū mai te tāhū o te rangahau.

Hei te **Upoko Tuawaru** whakarārangihia ai ngā kitenga matua o te rangahau nei, ka kōrerohia ngā roherohetanga, ngā tapareretanga o te rangahau, ā, ka whakapuakina hoki ētehi whakaaro e pā ana ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori e ahu atu ana ki raurangi.

Upoko Tuarua: He tikanga rangahau

Ko te aho tāhuhu o tēnei rangahau ko taku rangahau i ngā āhuetanga i tangata ai ahau, i tae mai ai ahau ki tēnei rangahautanga āku. Hāunga rā aku takahanga, ka huri ngā whakaaro ki aku tūpuna kua riro atu ki te pō, me ō rātou takahanga waewae i te wā o ‘te pani, te pouaru me te rawakore’ (Tirohia te upoko tuatahi).¹⁷

Ko tēnei tikanga rangahau i roto i te whare wānanga – ko tā te kairangahau kōrero mō te ao i tangata mai ai ia – nōnakuanei noa iho nei (Stewart, 2022), arā, nō te eke o te Kaupapa Māori, otirā me ērā atu ‘kaupapa’ huri i te ao e tohea ai te mana, te mātauranga, te reo me ngā mātāpono o ngā iwi ehara nō Ūropi, tae atu ki te mana o te wahine, o te takāpui.¹⁸ Heoi, i roto i te rangahau Māori, he mea nui tā te tangata kī ake, ‘nā wai ia, nō whea ia’ (Poutū, 2015), kia mōhiotia ai ōna tātai, ka tahi; ka rua, kia kitea ai te ‘raupā o ana ringa’ (Smith, 2017), ko tana ‘tū’ rānei (L. T. Smith, 2012), arā, tana ‘kaupapa.’

Hei tā Virginia Tamanui (2013), nā te huri rā anō o tana aro ki a ia anō i hono ai te māramatanga ā-hinengaro ki te māramatanga o te kikokiko, arā, “[I] increasingly recognised a gap between my ‘conceptualisation,’ academically, and my lived understanding. Within this gap, my thesis was transformed into an indigenous autoethnographic study of whanaungatanga: performances, struggles, particular tellings” (wh. ix). E whakapae ana au e pēnei ana hoki te tini o ngā kairangahau Māori, ehara i te mea mō te whai tohu, mō te kimi mahi anake te rangahau, engari ia, i ahau mai i ngā oke a te iwi Māori kia puta ki te ora (Stewart, 2022). Me kī, kei roto pū te kairangahau o tana kaupapa rangahau, ehara i te mea e titiro atu ana mai i waho.

¹⁷ He kupu ēnei nō roto i te tongi a Tāwhiao mō te poukai: ‘Ka whakatūria e au tēnei taonga hei āwhina i te pouaru, i te pani me te rawakore. Hu kūaha whānui kua puare ki te puna tangata me te puna kai.’ Ko te poukai he kaupapa nā Tāwhiao i tīmata, he aroha nōna ki ana iwi, he hiahia hoki nōna ki te whakakaha i ngā hapū me ngā iwi o te Kīngitanga i ngā tau i muri mai o ngā raupatu whenua, i te wā o te raungaiti. (Moorfield, 2004, wh. 26).

¹⁸ Poststructural, Postmodern, Postqualitative

E whai ana hoki tēnei rangahau i ētehi o mua atu e noho nei te kairangahau ki te āta ‘whakamāori’ i tana ao, kāore he aronga ki te āta ‘kōhi kōrero’¹⁹ mā te uiui, mā te ine, mā te kaute whika. Ka ōhia ake te whakaaro ki tā Te Ahikaramu Charles Royal (Royal, 2003b) kōrero whakataki mō ngā tuhinga a Māori Marsden;

The value of Māori Marsden’s writing is found not so much in the quantity of traditional kōrero, but rather in the quality of wānanga or analysis he brings to bear to the study of the Māori worldview. For those who wish to see, there is a rich vein of *thinking* and *experience* in his writings that can be perceived by carefully considering the models and interpretations contained within them. We need not, therefore, feel a sense of insecurity about our Māoritanga but rather feel assured that a tohunga of his ilk has provided us with a model of wānanga appropriate for the modern Māori persons, and anyone else who wishes to partake of this way of seeing and experiencing the world. (Royal, 2003b, wh. xxi, Nāku anō i miramira)

E pērā ana anō ngā kōrero a Georgina Tuari Stewart mō te ‘tuhituhi’ hei tikanga rangahau (Stewart, 2021b). Nā te nui o te mana o te rangahau pūtaiao, kāore nei he maharatanga ake ki te tuhituhi kia mutu rā anō te ‘rangahau,’ ā, kei te ine, kei te kaute whika kē te mana nui. Tēnā ko te rangahau tikanga tangata, rangahau toi whakaaro, kei te ao tangata tonu anō ōna kōrero hei rangahautanga, ā, kei roto i te rapunga whakaaro o te hinengaro, kei roto rānei i te whiriwhiri i ngā kupu kōrero o runga pepa tā te tangata ‘rangahau,’ me kore noa ka ea te kōrero, ‘ko te kairapu, koia te kite.’ Pēnei i tā Māori Marsden ‘whakamāori’ i ngā tāhuhu kōrero a tana iwi me te whakatauriterite atu ki ērā o iwi kē, tērā hoki ngā āhuatanga o te ao hei ‘rarau’ atu mā te kairangahau, pēnei i ngā ture, ngā kaupapa here me ngā kōrero o te ao pāpāho.

Ko tā tēnei rangahau he whai i te huarahi kua oti kē nei te para, ko te kōhi i ngā kōrero, ko te ‘tātari,’ ko te ‘haehae’ i aua kōrero rā kia kitea ai ngā raurahu o roto i aua kōrero. He tikanga tēnei i pū mai i ētehi o ngā ‘ika haehae,’ pēnei i a Gramsci, i a Foucault (Hall, 2004), i a Laclau, i a Mouffe, i a Žižek i te wā o te ‘tahuritanga ki te reo’²⁰ i roto i ngā whare wānanga (Torfing, 2003) (Tirohia hoki a wh. 35).

¹⁹ Pēnei i te uiui i te tangata, pēnei rānei i ngā mahi kaute, ine o ngā rangahau pūtaiao.

²⁰ Ko te ‘linguistic turn.’

Arā anō ngā 'ika haehae kōrero' o te iwi Māori pēnei i a Donna Awatere, i a Ranginui Walker, tae atu ki a Ani Mikaere (2011; 2012), ki a Moana Jackson (1992, 2007, 2016), , ki a Te Kawehau Hoskins (Hoskins, 2017; Hoskins & Jones, 2020), ki a Georgina Tuari Stewart (2012, 2017, 2018a; 2010; 2019). Ā, kua tahuri hoki ētehi o ngā iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa ko te haehae, ko te wewete kōrero, ko te tute, ko te whakangāueue hei tikanga rangahau, pēnei i te Tofā'a'anolasi i Hāmoa (Galuvao, 2018).

Tērā ngā rangahau haehae kōrero e pā ana ki te reo Māori, pēnei i tā Brian Lewis haehae i ngā pūrongo kōrero e toru mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori me ngā reo o Te Whenua Moemoeā (Lewis, 2014) me tā Nōmana Anaru haehae i ngā kōrero mō te whakarauoratanga reo Māori (Anaru, 2017).

Te pū o ngā take rangahau

Ko ngā take katoa o tēnei rangahau, o ia upoko, o ia upoko, i pū mai i roto i te ngākau, i te rongonga ki tētehi kōrero kāore i tino tau i roto i taku puku, ā, nā konā, ka hihiri te ngākau ki te rangahau, otirā ki te wewete i taua kōrero, kia mārama ai, kia taea hoki te whakautu, te tohe i aua kōrero, te whakatakoto whakapae kē rānei mō taua take rā.

Ko ngā kōrero i arongia rā i te rangahau nei, hāunga rā ngā kōrero mōku, mō taku whānau ake, ko ērā e taea ana e te tangata te āta toro atu i ngā puna kōrero o te ipurangi, me te ruarua anō pea o ngā mea kei te ao tonu o te rīpene! Ko ngā rongongā kōrero o te wā ērā, ko ngā whakaaturanga o te pouaka whakaata, ko ngā whakapāhotanga o te reo irirangi, ko ngā waiata Māori, ko ngā haka hoki, me ngā momo konae kōrero i te ipurangi e kōrerohia ai ngā take e pā ana ki te reo Māori, otirā ki te iwi Māori (Tūtohi 2).

He wā anō ko te tuhinga reo Māori, ko te tuhinga take Māori, ko te tuhinga rānei nā te kaituhi Māori i te ipurangi, i ngā pukapuka te kaiwhakatākirikiri i te ngākau. Heoi, tērā hoki ngā pūrongo a te kāwanatanga, me ngā tuhinga rangahau hei puna kōrero.

Tūtohi 2: Ngā puna kōrero

Te reo irirangi	Ko Waatea, ko Te Hiku, ko Te Upoko o Te Ika me RNZ
Te pouaka whakaata	Ko Te Karere, ko Te Ao Māori, ko Marae, ko Waka Huia, ko The Hui, ko Ki Tua, ko Whiua te Pātai, ko Rage against the Rangatahi, ko Te Ao with Moana; ko NewsHub.
Te ipurangi	Ko ngā konae ipurangi, pēnei i Te Kōkōmuka, i Taringa; i He Kākano Ahau. Ko ngā papa kōrero, pēnei i E-Tangata, i Ātea i The Spinoff, i Stuff, i Te Hērora. Ko Ngā Niupepa Māori, ko Te Ao Hou. Ko ngā whakairinga rangitaki.
Ngā whare wānanga	Ko ngā hautaka pēnei i Te Kōtiriti, i MAI, i Te Pūkenga, me Te Kaharoa. Ko ngā kauwhau rangahau a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga; a Te Ipukarea, pēnei i Te Puna o te Kī, i He Papa Huia; a Te Kotahi Research Institute, pēnei i Tikanga Rangahau, i He Manawa Whenua. Ko ngā tuinga tohu paetoru (me ētehi tohu paerua hoki) nō roto mai o ngā whare wānanga he mea tuhi ki te reo Māori, mō te reo Māori, mō ētehi āhuatanga rānei e pā ana ki te iwi Māori.
Te Kāwanatanga	Ko ngā pūrongo, ngā pae ipurangi rānei a te Kāwanatanga me ana tari, ana whare, pēnei i Te Taura Whiri i te Reo (He Muka), i Te Mātāwai, i Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, i Te Manatū Taonga, i Tatauranga Aotearoa hoki.
Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga	Ko Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, me ana tauākī. Ko Paekupu me ngā papakupu nā He Kupenga Hao i te Kupu i hanga mai mā Te Tāhuhu.
Ngā pukapuka	Ko ngā pukapuka reo Māori, pēnei i: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Te hua o te reo Māori• Te tū a te toka: He iere nō ngā tai e whā• Tōku reo, tōku ohooho, nā Chris Winitana• He kupu tuku iho, nā Tīmoti Kāretu & Te Wharehuia Milroy• He hokinga mahara, nā Hēmi Pōtatau• The woven universe, nā Māori Marsden• Ngā papakupu a Te Wiremu, a Te Matatiki me He Pātaka Kupu
Ngā waiata, haka a tāua, a te Māori	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ko ngā waiata a Hīrini Melbourne, a Six60.• Ko ngā waiata o Te Matatini, o Waiata Anthems.

Ka toko ake te whakaaro ki te nui o te hunga i roto i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo Māori – ngā whare wānanga, ngā whare pēnei i Te Taura Whiri, kei ngā tūranga whakapāho rānei, he rite tonu te whaikupu e pā ana ki te reo, ā, ko ngā tāhū whakaaro i roto i ā rātou kōrero e ruia ana ki te takiwā. Koia au e kimi nei i ngā kōrero kei taitua i tā ngā ‘mātanga’ i whakapuaki ai. Kāti, he aha tā te ‘tangata māori’ e kōrero nei mō te reo Māori, mō te iwi Māori, mō te ao e noho nei te Māori?

Hei tā tētehi o ngā kaihaehae kōrero o nakuanei, a Teun A. van Dijk, tērā ka noho ko te tirohanga o te tangata awenga nui, arā, te ‘iho pūmanawa,’ ki tētehi kaupapa (pēnei i te whakarauoratanga reo Māori), hei whakatauiria i taua kaupapa rā ki te ao, arā, “... if the personal mental model of social events of an influential person is shared by others of a group or community, mental models may be generalized and abstracted from to form social representations such as knowledge, attitudes and ideologies” (van Dijk, 2014, wh. 396-7).

I tēnei rangahau, e arongia ana ngā kōrero a te hunga whaikupu i roto i ngā mahi whakarauora reo, e noho nei hei tāhū kōrero, hei tāhū whakaaro hoki i roto i te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori. Nō reira, ko te ‘haehae’ i aua kōrero rā, ko te kimi i ngā kōrero a te hunga kāore e tino whaikupu i roto i ngā kaupapa reo Māori, hei wero, hei whakamātautau rānei i ngā ‘tāhū kōrero’ me ngā ‘tāhū whakaaro’ e tāpua ana.

Ko tētehi atu o ngā tikanga kohi kōrero, kei roto i te whakaaro: ‘E mātau ana te tangata ki tōna ao me ngā āhuatanga e whaipānga ana ki a ia anō’ (Richardson, 2020).²¹ E kaha ana te tīkina atu o te ‘tohunga,’ o te ‘mātanga,’ o te ‘wānanga’ hei whakatau tikanga mō te hunga pēnei i te tamariki me te hauā, tae atu ki ngā iwi taketake, ki te iwi kirimangu, ki te wahine, ki te pōhara hoki. He mea whai kē nāku ngā kōrero a te hunga kāore pea e kitea, e rangona rānei ō rātou reo hei whakautu i ngā kōrero mō te whakarauora reo Māori: ko te hunga kore-reo tērā, engari i tua atu i a rātou, ko te hunga kāore pea e nanao atu ki te pene, kāore rānei e kaha uia ō rātou whakaaro.

²¹ “We are each the experts in our own lives.”

Nā te wahine Bengali, nā Gayatri Spivak (2003) te ui mākihoi: “He whaikupu rānei te tūtūā?”²² Engari, kotahi noa iho te whakahoki ki taua pātai rā: “Kāo!” Mehemea rā he whaikupu te tūtūā, kāti, kua kore kē i tūtūā! Ko te hunga whaikupu i ngā whare wānanga, i ngā pae pāhō, i ngā pukapuka, otirā i roto i te ao tuhituhi, he iwi whaikupu, he iwi whaimana ki te whakapuaki kupu. Tēnā ko te tūtūā, kōrerohia ai rātou e tangata kē, kāore rātou e tino whaikupu mō rātou anō. Ko te ‘tūtūā’ he hunga ka āta kōrerohia e tangata kē. Ko te ‘tūtūā’ e kōrero nei a Gayatri Spivak, ko ngā wāhine Bengali, kāore i haere ki te kura, kāore e mōhio ki te tuhituhi.

Te kimi kōrero

Ko tētehi o ngā mātāpono kimi kōrero, ko te kukume mai i ngā kaikōrero ki roto i te whare kotahi, kia tāutuutu ai, pēnei i te kōrero a te ‘kaupapa whakarauora reo Māori’ ki te ‘Kaupapa Māori’ (Tirohia a Upoko Tuatoru); te kōrero a te ‘pīkoko’ ki te ‘hūkore,’ a te tāne ki te wahine, a te ‘mātanga reo’ ki te ‘mema o te kēnge’ (Tirohia a Upoko Tuawhā). He wā anō ka ‘tīkina atu’ te kōrero a ngā reanga o mua kia kōrero ki ngā reanga o nāianei (mō te ‘tuakiri’ i te Upoko Tuarima, mō te ‘ōhanga’ me te ‘ohaoha’ hoki i te Upoko Tuaono).

I ngā Upoko Tuawhā, Tuarima hoki, ka āta kimi au i ētehi kupu i ngā tuhinga tohu kairangi, i ngā niupepa Māori, me ērā i te ipurangi, ka whai i ngā tikanga kimi kupu o te rorohiko, o te ipurangi (pēnei i te ‘pīkoko,’ te ‘hiakai,’ te ‘hūkore,’ te ‘waimarie,’ te ‘tuakiri,’ te ‘identity’). Ko EndNote tonu te kōputunga o te tini o ngā pepa rangahau me ngā pūrongo, ā, mā reira au kimi ai i ētehi o aua kupu. Heoi, ka tae ki ngā kōrero nā te waha i puaki (ki te reo irirangi, ki te pouaka whakaata, ki ngā pae pāpori, ngā konae ipurangi), mā te pīkari o te taringa tonu e tautohungia ai ngā kōrero whaitake. He wā anō ka tīkina atu ngā tatauranga me ngā rangahau e pā ana ki ngā ao o te iwi Māori hei whakautuutu i ngā kōrero mō te whakarauora reo.

²² “Can the subaltern speak?”

Kia māia, kia pono te tū, engari kia ngākau iti

Ko te momo rangahau nei he tū ki te 'umu pokapoka a Tū' i runga i tā Foucault i kōrero ai, ā, nā Stewart i kawē mai ki roto i te Kaupapa Māori: ko te *parrhesia* (Stewart, 2021b). He kupu Kirīki tēnei mō te tangata tū ki te 'marae ātea' ki te whakapuaki kōrero mō tāna e tino whakapono ai, kāore e whakatōngā, kāore e wehi i ngā tao kupu, i ngā tao whakaaro tērā ka whiua mai ki a ia.

Ka mahara au i konei ki a Ani Mikaere, i mea rā, me māia te kairangahau, ahakoa pea he kōrero whakamamae ka puta i tāna i rangahau ai (Te Kotahi Research Institute, 2013). E kōrero ana ia mō tana rangahau i ngā pānga kikino o te Hāhi Mihingare ki tana iwi, ki a Ngāti Raukawa, ahakoa ko te whare karakia i Ōtaki, ko Rangiātea, tētehi o ngā tino pou o tana iwi, he whare karakia Mihingare, ā, ko ana whaea, ko ana mātua katoa, he mema nō taua Hāhi rā. Heoi, ka kōrero ia ki ana pākeke, ka tautokongia e rātou tana rangahau i runga i tō rātou mōhio, he kaupapa hirahira. Kitea ana, ki te ngākauiti te kairangahau, ā, ki te whakahaere ia i tana rangahau i runga i te tika me te aroha (Stewart et al., 2021) ki tana iwi e rangahau nā ia, i runga hoki i ngā mātāpono o te Kaupapa Māori, mā reira e māmā ake ai tā te kairangahau whewhera i tana rangahau, otirā me te māmā ake hoki o te taunga ki runga ki te iwi mō rātou nei te rangahau.

Ko Tāne, ko Tangaroa

Tērā ngā tikanga rangahau nō roto i ngā tumu kōrero mō Tāne, mō Tangaroa hei ārahi i te rangahau nei. Nā Tāne, ko Tāne-whakapiripiri, ko Tāne-te hokahoka, ko Tāne-te-wānanga, ko Tāne-toko-rangi. Nā Tangaroa, ko Tangaroa-piri-whare, ko Ika-haehae-kupenga. Ko te tūāpapa o te rangahau nei ko te Kaupapa Māori. Ko tōna kawa, ko te reo Māori.

Ko Tāne-te-wānanga

Nā Tāne ngā kete e toru o te wānanga i tiki atu i Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, ka whakahoki mai ai ki roto o Te Wharekura hei mātauranga mō te tangata (Reed, 2004). Kei te tauparapara nei te kōrero;

*Tēnei au, tēnei au
Ko te hōkai nei i taku tapuwae
Ko te hōkai nuku
Ko te hōkai rangi
Ko te hōkai a tō tūpuna
a Tāne-nui-ā-rangi
I pikitia ai ki ngā rangi tūhāhā
Ki Te Tihi-o-Manono
I rokohina atu rā
Ko lo-matua-kore anake
I riro iho ai
Ngā kete o te wānanga
Ko te kete tuauri
Ko te kete tūātea
Ko te kete aronui
Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua
Ki a Papatūānuku
Ka puta te ira tangata
Ki te whai ai
Ki te ao mārama
Tihei mauri ora!*

Kei tēnā kete, kei tēnā kete ōna mātauranga (Kāretu, 2008; Poutū, 2015; Reed, 2004; Royal, 2003a, wh. 60-2). Engari i tua atu i ngā mātauranga o roto ake i aua kete, ko te 'hiringa' ki te whai i te mātauranga tētehi mea nui. Koia te kōrero, "Kotahi tonu te hiringa i kake ai a Tāne ki Tikitiki-o-rangi,²³ ko te hiringa i te mahara" (Kei te oriori a Tūhoto-ariki mō Tū-tere-moana i Ngata & Jones, 2004, wh. 2). Waihoki, hei tā Māori Marsden, ehara i te mea ko te mātau o te tangata kei te nui o ngā kōrero o roto i tana 'kete,' engari ia kei te mārama kē ōna ki te whai, ki te whakamahi rānei i taua mātauranga (Marsden, 2003).²⁴ Ko te hua ake o te whakaaro ki tētehi kete tuawhā (Kāretu, 2008) he whakapātaritari anō i ō tātou whakaaro ki te whanake tonu o tēnei mea te mātauranga, kāore noa iho e whakarōau.

Tērā hoki te kōrero mō Tāne-toko-rangi, nāna tana matua, a Ranginui i toko ake, ka wehea ko Ranginui ki runga, ko Papatūānuku ki raro, ka hahae mai te hinātore. Ko ia hoki

²³ He ingoa anō mō te Toi-o-ngā-rangi.

²⁴ Hei tā Māori Marsden, "[I]nformation without learnedness is useless information, just an accumulation of facts and figures."

tērā ko te poutokomanawa o te whare, nāna i tokona ake ai te tāhū, kia hinātore mai ai tētehi māramatanga ki ngā pia, ki ngā tauira o te whare wānanga.

Ko Tāne-te-hokahoka

Nā Tāne-te-hokahoka ko ngā manu ririki o te wao. Kia tīkina atu e au te āhua o tērā o ngā uri o Tāne-te-hokahoka, o Hōmiromiro hei tikanga rangahau, he kaha nōna ki te āta kimi i ngā kai pakupaku nei o te papa o te wao. Mōna te kōrero 'he kanohi hōmiromiro.'

Hei tā ētehi kē atu, ko Tāne-te-hokahoka, nāna te kāhu, mōna nei te kōrero, 'he kanohi kāhu.' Nō reira, kei ōna wā anō me hoka kē te kairangahau ki te rangi kimi kōrero ai i ngā tāhuna, i ngā whārua, i ngā raorao o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori.

Ko Tāne-whakapiripiri

Ko Tāne-whakapiripiri, ko te whare. E whakataukītia ana mōna ko 'te whakairinga o te kupu, te whakapiriranga o te tangata.' I tēnei rangahau ko ngā whakairinga kōrero ērā mō te whakarauoratanga reo Māori ka arohaeātia. Ko te whakapiriranga o te tangata i roto i te whare ka ārohitia.

Ko ngā whakairinga kōrero kei ngā heke, kei ngā poupou, kei ngā tukutuku o te whare (Tūtohi 2).

Te Whare Whakahirahira

I roto i taku tuhinga rangahau ka toro au ki *Te Whare Whakahirahira* i waiatahia rā e Hīrini Melbourne me Te Kura o Ruātoki (Melbourne, 1985).

*Ko Ranginui e tū ake nei hei tuanui
Ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei hei whāriki
Ko te reo me ngā tikanga hei tāhuhu
Ko te iwi hei poutokomanawa*

*Ko te whare whakahirahira o te iwi ē
Hei whakairi i ngā tūmanako
I ngā wawata, i ngā moemoeā*

*Tērā te wā i te wao nui tū takitahi
Tēnā ko koe ko Tāne-whakapiripiri*

I tēnei rangahau ka torona ngā kōrero o te kōwae tuatahi o te waiata nei hei tauira mō te 'ao Māori.' E pēnei ana, i runga i te whakaaro, e kaha ana te kōrerohia o te 'ao Māori,'

engari kei tēnā tangata tōna māramatanga, kei tēnā tangata ōna whakaaro he aha rā taua ao i 'Māori' ai. He wā kua whakamahia hei whakatauaro, hei whakataurite rānei ki te 'ao Pākehā,' ānō he mea tino tauwehe aua ao, ahakoa kua kō atu i te 200 tau ngā iwi e rua nei e noho tahi ana. He wā anō kua whakamahia hei whakamārama i te ao Māori i mua i te paenga mai o tau iwi.

Kāti, ka whakamahia *Te Whare Whakahirahira* i tēnei rangahau nei hei tauira whiriwhiri kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga o te 'ao Māori,' me te pānga o ngā kawekawe o te taniwha nei, a Tāmi-mata-tini (Tirohia a wh. 65) ki taua whare. Nei koa, ko te noho wehewehe tērā o te iwi Māori, ko ētehi kei roto, ko ētehi kei waho kē o te whare (Upoko Tuawhā); ko te kōkūhuta mai rānei o ngā kupu hou ki te reo Māori (Upoko Tuarima me Upoko Tuaono).

Kia paku whakamāramahia ngā āhuatanga i roto i te waiata a Hīrini:

1. *Ko Ranginui e tū ake nei hei tuanui, ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei hei whāriki.*

Ko ngā 'whakapapa kōrero' (Smith, 2000), ko ngā tātai kōrero ēnei mō te orokohanganga mai o te ao, mō te heke iho mai i a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku, ka puta ko te tapu, ko te noa, ko te mana, ko te mauri, ko te whakapapa (Barlow, 1991; Benton et al., 2013; Moorfield, 2004; Royal, 2003a; Temara, 2011).

2. *Ko te reo me ngā tikanga hei tāhuhu.*

Ko te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori i whanake tahi mai, kāore e taea te wewete tētehi, tētehi.

3. *Ko te iwi hei poutokomanawa.*

I heke mai te tangata i a Rangi rāua ko Papa, heke iho ki a Tāne. Nō reira mai te ira atua i roto i a tātou katoa, ā, nō konā hoki te tapu, te mana o ia tangata, o ia tangata. Ko te ira tangata, i heke iho mai i a Hine-ahu-one. Ko te iwi Māori te kaitoko i te reo me ngā tikanga o te ao Māori.

Kia tahuri atu i konei ki ngā āhuatanga o Tangaroa hei tikanga mō te rangahau nei.

Ko Tangaroa-piri-whare

Ko Tangaroa-piri-whare, ko te uri o Tangaroa, arā, ko te ngaro e piri ana ki ngā pakitara o te whare, kāore tahi he kōrero kāore e mau i a ia, ānō e ‘whakarongo ana ngā pakitara o te whare’ (Riley, 2020, wh. 489).

Ko te pai o tēnei momo whakarongo kōrero, kāore te tangata e āta whakatōngā ki te whakapuaki i ana whakaaro, kāore rānei e āta whiriwhiri i ana kupu i runga i te mōhio, taihoa ka tātarihia aua kupu rā e te kairangahau e uiui nei i a ia. Ā, ka nui hoki ngā kōrero o roto, o waho hoki i te ‘whare’ o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori hei tātari mā te tangata, heoi anō te mahi, he ‘piri’ ki ngā ‘pakitara’ o te reo irirangi, o te pouaka whakaata, o ngā pae ipurangi, tae atu ki ngā kōrero kua tuhia ki ngā nūpepa, ki ngā pae kōrero me ngā tuhinga rangahau (Tūtohi 2).

He wā kua kīia, he hari kōrero, he whakatutū puehu te mahi a Tangaroa-piri-whare (Riley, 2020, wh. 489),²⁵ engari he wā anō kāore e pērā ana tōna wairua. Ko te whai i a Tangaroa-piri-whare hei tikanga rangahau, ehara i te mea he mahi raweke, inā hoki, ko ngā kōrero katoa, he mea āta whakaputa kē ki te ao, hei titiro, hei whakarongo mā wai.

Ko Ika-haehae-kupenga

Tērā anō te kupu whakarite mō te uri o Tangaroa, arā, mō te ‘ika haehae kupenga’ (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 73). Nā, ko te tangata e whiua ana ki te kōrero, he ‘ika haehae kupenga,’ hei tā ētehi he tangata whakatutū kurī noa i te puehu, he whakapīoioi rānei i te waka. He wā anō kua kīia he mahi noa iho nā te tarahae, nā te ngau tuarā.

Heoi, he tirohanga kētanga tā Ani Mikaere (2012). Hei tāna mā te ‘ika haehae kupenga’ ka puta ai tātou i te ‘kupenga’ nā te kāwanatanga i uhi ki runga i “te whenua katoa nei.” Ko ngā kōrero mō taua kupenga rā, kei ngā kōrero o te nupepa Māori, kei *Te Wānanga*,

²⁵ Tērā anō te kōrero mō te whare o Tangaroa, mō Huiteanui, i te papa o te moana, ā, ko ōna poupou, he taki kōrero ki a rātou anō (Radio Kahungunu, 2021). Ko Rua-te-pupuke tērā i kau atu ki taua whare nei, mō runga i te kāwhakanga o tana tama, o Te Manuhauturuki e Tangaroa, me te herea ōna ki te tekoteko rānei, ki te kōruru rānei o te whare. Tahuna ana te whare e Rua-te-pupuke, whakaorangia ana tana tama, ā, whakahokia ana e ia ētehi o ngā poupou – ngā mea kāore i kōrero – ki tana kāinga. Ko te tīmatanga tērā o ngā toi whakairo (Reed, 2004). I tēnei o ngā tātai kōrero, he whakatūpatō kē kei roto i te kōrero mō Tangaroa-piri-whare, kei rongo ngā poupou o te whare ki ō kōrero.

mō tētehi hui i tū ki Maketū, otirā mō ngā take e pā ana ki te iwi Māori i te tau 1876, arā, ko ngā murunga whenua a te kāwanatanga. E ai taua pūrongo rā;

...kua uhi te kupenga a te Kāwanatanga ki runga i te whenua katoa nei, kia riro katoa ai ngā whenua mā rātou, mā te kāwanatanga anake, ā, he iti rawa nō ngā mata o taua kupenga i kore ai e ora te tangata kotahi, e mau ai te katoa, te katoa. (Mikaere, 2012, wh. 29)

Tikina atu ana e Ani Mikaere te kōrero nei, engari me te kī ake, mehemea tātou, te iwi Māori, kei te mau i roto i te kupenga a te kāwanatanga – āna ture, ōna whakapono, ōna uara – he toa tauā tonu te ‘ika haehae kupenga,’ māna ka puta, ka ora tātou i taua kupenga rā.

Hei tā Ani Mikaere (2012) ko ō tātou whakaaro ērā ka mau i roto i te kupenga, arā, mā taua kupenga e kawea ai ō tātou whakaaro e pā ana ki te mahi ‘tika’ (“common sense”). Hei tauira mō tērā āhuatanga ko tō tātou mau i roto i te kupenga o ngā whakapono Karaitiana kia riro ai ko ōna tikanga hei tikanga mā tātou, ka waimeha, ka tino ngaro rānei ko ā tātou tikanga ake (wh. 26).

Waihoki, hei tā Ani Mikaere (2012) ko tētehi anō o ngā painga o te ‘haehae’ i te ‘kupenga’ ko te āhei ki te puta i taua kupenga rā, me te mātirotiro anō ki tōna āhua mai i waho, mai i ngā tahataha, me kore noa, ka mātau haere ai ki tōna hanga, ki āna mahi, ā, ka mātau haere hoki te tangata ki ngā tikanga e kore ai ia e mau anō ki roto.

I tēnei rangahau nei ko te Ika-haehae-kupenga hei tauira mō te haehae i ngā kōrero mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo.

Ahakoā kāore a Ani Mikaere (2012) i kōrero mō te Kaupapa Māori, mō te ariā wewete rānei, ki a au nei ko te ‘haehae’ o te ‘ika haehae kupenga’ he ōrite ki te ‘wewete’ o te ‘ariā wewete,’ ko te ‘critical’ rānei o te ‘Critical Theory,’ kua whakamāorihia nei e ētehi ko te ‘ariā wewete’ (Poutū, 2015), ko te ‘ariā wewete’ rānei (Ferguson, 2015). He mea heke mai te ariā wewete nei i a Antonio Gramsci (Anaru, 2017; Smith, 1997), heoi, hei

tāna ko ngā 'ika,' ko ngā 'tūtūā,' ko ngā 'iwi rawa-kore'²⁶ i mau ki te 'kupenga' ('hegemony') a te iwi whaimana, whairawa hoki (van Dijk, 1993).

Kei roto i ngā kōrero a Leonie Pihama (He mea kite i roto i a L. T. Smith, 2012) te wairua o ngā kōrero a Ani Mikaere, engari ia ko te Kaupapa Māori te 'ika' māna e 'haehae te kupenga' i hāoa ai te iwi tātou te iwi Māori. Ka mutu, ko te 'kupenga' ko ngā 'tikanga whakaaro' me ngā 'whakamārama' a ngā iwi nāna nei te kupenga i tā, ā, hāoa ana ki roto i te kupenga ko te ihomatua tonu o te Māori;

Kaupapa Māori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide *ad hoc* justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people. (wh. 185-6)

Kua tae i konei ki te tūāpapa o te rangahau nei, arā, ki te Kaupapa Māori.

Te tūāpapa o te rangahau: Te Kaupapa Māori

Ko te tūāpapa i tohea ai te tohe i puta ai te Kaupapa Māori ko te kura kaupapa Māori (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997). Koia tā Tuakana (Tuki) Nepe i tapā ai ki ngā kura i whakatūria mai e rātou ko ētehi whānau i Tāmaki Makaurau e kimi ana i tētehi kura mō ā rātou tamariki e puta mai ana i ngā kōhanga reo i ngā tau o te 1980 (Smith, 1997).

Ko te Kaupapa Māori he kaupapa kei te Māori anō te mana whakahaere, hei oranga anō mōna (L. T. Smith, 2012). He momo urupare, he momo ātete te Kaupapa Māori i ngā taupā a te kāwanatanga i tā te iwi Māori whai i tōna mana motuhake, i tōna tino rangatiratanga. Ka mutu, ko te whāinga kia whaimana ai, kia whai tūrangawaewae ai, kia whai tikanga ai hoki tātou i roto i ngā āhuetanga katoa e whai pānga ana ki te mana Māori: tōmua ko te kura, ko te whare wānanga, ko te whare rangahau; tōmuri, kaweā atu ana ki roto i ētehi kaupapa pēnei i te hauora.

E tika ana kia kīia ake, i mātua pihi ake te Kōhanga Reo rāua ko KKM i te tāone. Hei tā Reikura Kahi rāua ko Kawariki Morgan, ētehi o ngā raukura tuatahi o te KKM tuatahi,

²⁶ I kōrerohia te 'subaltern' me te 'proletariat.'

arā, o Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae, he mea whakatū [te marae o Hoani Waititi] “hei tohu maumahara ki t[e] tangata māia [ki a Hoani Waititi], hei āhuru mōwai hoki mō t[e] hapori e noho ahi tere ana” kia “taea e te Māori te tū hei Māori i roto i te tāone” (Indigenous 100, 2019). Hei tā rāua he nui ngā tāngata nō Ngāti Porou, nō Ngāpuhi hoki i Te Atatū e noho ana, arā, i te wāhi i whakatūria ai te marae. Nā wai rā, ko te kura tērā i whakatūria.

Āpiti atu ki ngā kōrero o runga tata ake nei, ko te Kaupapa Māori te whakakikiritanga o te purapura whakaaro o Paolo Friere (1972; he mea kite i roto i a Smith, 2017) ki ngā oneone o ēnei moutere nei, arā, te ‘transformative praxis.’ Ko taku māramatanga ki te ‘praxis,’ ko te ‘tae o te wae kai pakiaka ki te wae kai kapua’ (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 32 & 174).²⁷ Inā hoki, ko te ‘praxis’ te mahi tahi o te ‘theory’ (e tae ai te ‘wae kai kapua’ ki te tiki atu i ngā mātauranga i te whare wānanga i Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi) me te ‘practice’ (ko te ‘wae kai pakiaka’ ia, ko te mātau o te tangata ki te karo i ngā tūtukinga waewae).

Kei roto i te ariā nei te whakaaro e puta ai te tangata e tāmia ana ki te ao mārama, arā, ki tētehi taumata anō o te ora (‘transformation’) māna anō ia e oi: he oi ā-tinana, he oi ā-whakaaro hoki. Ka mutu, ko te oi o te whakaaro, ko te hinātore mai o tētehi māramatanga hou (‘conscientisation’) e pā ana ki te tāmia ōna. Ko te oi ia o te tinana, ko te ātete atu (‘resistance’) i aua tāmītanga (Smith, 2017).²⁸

Heoi, me āta whiri ngā whenu e toru o te rauru nei, o te Kaupapa Māori, kia kāwitiwiti, kia katoatoa, arā, te ‘māramatanga,’ te ‘ātete’ me te ‘whaka-te-ao-māramatanga.’

Ko tā Smith (2017) tauira mō tērā, ko te tonoa o te tamaiti ki te Kōhanga Reo he kore nō ētehi atu whare morimori i te tamariki nohinohi i te kāinga e noho ai tana whānau. Ka

²⁷ Kei wh. 174 o Mead & Grove (2001) e pēnei ana te whakataukī: “Kāore e tae te waewae kai pakiaka ki te waewae kai kapua.” Heoi, kei whārangi 32 e pēnei kē ana: “E kore e mau i a koe, he wae kai pakiaka. (Ā, e kite koe i te wae kai kapua.)” Ko tō mua e whakamihhi ana i te wae kai kapua; ko tōmuri e mihi ana ki te wae kai pakiaka. Ko au nei kei te mihi ki a rāua tahi: he mahi tā tētehi, he mahi anō tā tētehi. Heoi, he whakamāoritanga tēnei nāku, nā te kairangahau nei.

²⁸ He mea whakamāori nā Smith (2004) ko te ‘transformation’ te ‘tahuritanga,’ ā, ko te ‘conscientisation’ te ‘māramatanga.’

noho, ka noho, ā, ka hinātore haere taua whānau ki ngā aupēhitanga e pā ana ki te reo Māori, me te aha, takatū ake ana ki te ātete atu i aua aupēhitanga rā.

Hāunga a Paolo Friere, ko Antonio Gramsci tētehi atu o ngā wānanga, ko ana tuhinga kōrero i whakaaweawe i te Kaupapa Māori. Ko ana kōrero he 'kaikini i te ngākau' o te Māori e noho ana, e mahi ana i ngā kura o Porirua, o te tonga rānei o Tāmaki, ko te nuinga kē o ngā pukenga o roto i ngā whare wānanga kāore i paku mātau ki aua ao rā (Smith, 1997). Ka mutu, ahakoa ehara a Gramsci i te Māori, i mātau anō ki ngā ao o te tūtūā, o te ringa raupā,²⁹ e aupēhia ana e ngā tikanga a te iwi whaimana. Ka mutu, ko ngā Māori o Porirua, o te tonga o Tāmaki, he 'ringa raupā' hoki, he iwi kāore i tino whaimana i roto i ngā tikanga whakahaere whānui o ō rātou nā ao.

Nā Gramsci i puta ai te 'Critical Theory' (Tirohia: Ko Ika-haehae-kupenga, wh. 35), arā, ko te 'wewete,' ko te 'haehae' i ngā tui, i ngā pona o ngā kupenga e mau nei tētehi iwi (Fairclough, 2010). Ko te kupenga nei ko ngā tātū kōrero, ko ngā tātū whakaaro, ko ngā whakapono, ko ngā tikanga, ture hoki, ā, ko te kaitā i te kupenga, ko te kaihao i te ika ko te hao-rawa.³⁰

Hei tā Roger Lewis (2014), ko te 'kupenga'³¹ e ai ki a Gramsci, ko te 'whakakīkī,' ko te 'uruhi' kē rānei i te ware, te 'ringa raupā'³² rānei kia tāmia iho ōna hiahia, ōna tūmanako, ōna uara e ngā uara, ngā hiahia, me ngā whakapono o te iwi whānui tonu, arā, "For Gramsci (1971), hegemony involves a process in which the values, interests and assumptions of one class (the proletariat) are, through consent or coercion, conceptualised as being equivalent to the values, interests and assumptions of society generally" (wh. 69).

Ko tētehi atu o ngā koha mai a Gramsci ki ngā whare wānanga, e whanaunga ana ki te kōrero i mua mō te 'tae o te wae kai pakiaka ki te wae kai kapua' (Tirohia: wh. 38), arā, ko te 'organic intellectual.' Ko tā Hingangaroa he whakamahara mai, ko te raupā o ngā ringaringa o te tangata tētehi tohu nui i roto i te Kaupapa Māori e mātau ana ia ki ngā

²⁹ Working class.

³⁰ Capitalist. Tirohia hoki: Ko Tāmi-mata-tini, kei wh. 77.

³¹ Hegemony.

³² Proletariat.

piki me ngā heke, ki ngā roto me ngā waho o te ao o te iwi e aupēhia ana (Smith, 1997, wh. 34).³³

Ōna mātāpono

He nui noa atu te Kaupapa Māori i te rārangi mātāpono, he nui noa atu hoki i tētehi 'hātepe' rangahau (Smith, 2017; L. T. Smith, 2012). He aha koa rā, nō te huritaotanga o ngā mahara ki tā ngā whānau whakatū i te kura kaupapa Māori mō ā rātou tamariki he mea iheu mai nā Hingangaroa Smith ētehi mātāpono, ētehi iho matua rānei nāna i hihiri ai aua whānau ki tā rātou kaupapa. Koia ēnei ko aua mātāpono rā:

- Kia noho ko ngā whānau hei rangatira mō roto i ō rātou kura.
- Kia piki ake ngā whānau i ngā raruraru o te kāinga.
- Kia heke iho ki ngā whānau ngā taonga tuku iho o tua whakarere.
- Kia ākona ngā tamariki i roto i ngā tikanga ako a kui, a koro mā.
- Kia tōnui ā-whānau te noho.
- Kia noho tahi i roto i te kaupapa. (Smith, 2017, wh. 86-8)

Ahakoia kei roto pea i te hā o ana kōrero ko te reo Māori (arā, ko ngā 'taonga tuku iho' ērā, ko te 'akoranga Māori' hoki tērā), ehara i te mea ko te reo te tino take i tahuri ai ngā whānau ki te whakatū i ngā kura kaupapa Māori tuatahi (Smith, 2017). Hei tā tētehi o ngā manutaki o te Kōhanga Reo, hei tā Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi (2014);

I attended a Ministry of Education forum where a paper had been collated for a focus on Māori medium. The first paragraph made me mad because it interpreted Māori medium as being a bilingual approach, which is not what Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa are about. Unless we know the difference we will continue to confuse ourselves and others. Māori medium and reo Māori kaupapa are important, but not different. The whole paper was about how each of these can be bent to fit Maori medium in the context of fitting in to the [M]inistry. I even asked for someone to define Māori medium and there was a long silence – no one could do so. Kōhanga Reo and kura kaupapa do not belong in a Māori-medium paddock in the corner. In terms of

³³ E kōrero ana a Hingangaroa Smith mō ngā pūkenga, mō ngā wānanga i raupā hoki ō rātou ringaringa, arā, mō Paulo Freire, rātou ko Frantz Fanon, ko Michael Apple, ko Antonio Gramsci nā rātou nei te Kaupapa Māori i whakaaweawe: "All are inspirational, practically oriented, and accurate in as far as describing and speaking to the nuances of 'our' lived oppression and exploitation as Maori living in a societal context of subordinate(d) power relations." (wh. 34). Hei tā Hingangaroa, he mea whakatākirikiri ngā kōrero a te tokowhā nei i ngā tauwharewharenga o tana ngākau.

bilingualism, kei te pai, but Māori medium is not the same as Māori immersion. I admire their attempts to have bilingualism but I have a problem with people treating us the same, yet unequally. Māori immersion is about te reo, whānau and everybody being involved. It is not mere Māori medium. The Ministry of Education has enough to do and why they think they can deal with Māori immersion is beyond me. (Tawhiwhirangi, 2014, wh. 50).

Rāua rāua, ko Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2017) e whakamahuki ana he kaupapa kē tō te kura kaupapa Māori, he kaupapa kē tō te kura reo Māori, he kaupapa kē anō tō te kura reorua. Nō Linda Tuhiwai Smith ka whakamahara atu ki ngā hui a ngā whānau ki te Tari Mātauranga e pā ana ki te whakatūtanga o tētehi kura, ka mea atu rātou (ngā whānau), ehara tā rātou i tūmanako ai ko te whakamāori i ngā kaupapa e whakaakona ana i roto i ngā kura o te motu (Te Rau Ora Webinars, 2017). Heoi anō kē tā rātou i hiahia ai, he momo kura kē, he kaupapa kē;

Every time we would go and talk to the [then] Department of Education about our alternative school, they would always start by saying, “Now, about your bilingual school.” And we would go, “No, we are not a bilingual school. We are a kura. And we do more than bilingualism. It’s not just about translating the curriculum or schooling practice into te reo.” It was about an approach to schooling (Te Rau Ora Webinars, 2017).

Heoi, ahakoa ngā kōrero mō te rerekē o te kura ‘reo Māori’ i te kura ‘kaupapa Māori’ ko te reo tonu te tino take e kōwhiringia ai te kura kaupapa Māori hei kura mō ngā tamariki o nāianei rangi (Waho and Walker, 2014), ā, e haere tonu ana tā Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga hīpoki i ngā kura matahuhua nei ki te karangatanga kura ‘reo Māori,’ arā, te ‘Māori medium.’

I tēnei rangahau ka tūhurangia tāku e whakapae nei, ko te mātāpono tāpua o Te Whare o te Reo Māori ko tērā e pā ana ki te reo hei ‘taonga tuku iho’ (ko te reo, ko ngā tikanga me te mātauranga Māori), anō nei ko te whāinga nui e whaka-te-ao-mārama ai te iwi Māori ko te whakarauora i te reo me ngā tikanga. Kua kore kē i kaha manaakihia ērā atu o ngā mātāpono o te Kaupapa Māori, pēnei i te piki ake i ngā raru o te kāinga me te tino rangatiratanga. Nō reira, ka whakamahia ngā mātāpono o te Kaupapa Māori hei arohaehae i ngā mātāpono o te Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

He whakatūpato

Kāore e taea e te ariā ngā āhuetanga katoa o te ao te whakaari mai, engari ia ko tana mahi he whakangangahu i ētehi āhuetanga ake o te ao. E pērā ana te Kaupapa Māori, te ‘Critical Theory,’ me te maha noa atu o ngā kaupapa, o ngā ariā. Waihoki, puta mai ana te ariā i te ao hei whakamārama, he ātete rānei i ngā paringa me ngā timunga o te tai o taua wā rā.

Ko tā Te Kawehau Hoskins he whakatūpato mai, ahakoa te whaihua o te Ariā Wewete hei tikanga wewete i tā te whairawa aupēhi i te rawakore; i tā te tāne aupēhi i te wahine, i tā te iwi nō Ūropi aupēhi i te iwi taketake, ehara i te mea e āta taharua ana ngā mea katoa o te ao, ā, ehara i te mea e mau ana te iwi Māori nui tonu ki te kupenga a te Pākehā, pēnei me te ika nei;

The power analysis associated with critical theory has largely been a structuralist one that has emphasised a set of structures (economy, ideology, the state) as determining social relations of power (Gibson, 1986). Structuralism has lent explanation to class, gender and race/colonial power analyses, and has starkly illuminated the structural and binary patterns of these relations of power. As a teaching academic, I consider structuralist analyses as continually relevant to theorising power, and central to a solid grounding in social theory. Yet structuralist explanations tend to reinforce the kind of fixed binary analysis of dominant–subordinate, colonised–colonised brought into question in this article. This kind of analysis can be too deterministic, offering simple reductionist explanations that, for example, cast all Māori as colonised victims. (Hoskins, 2012, wh. 89)

Heoi, ahakoa ēnei kōrero whakatūpato kei taharua noa iho tā tātou wewete i te ao Māori (Salmond, 1978), i te ao rānei i puta ai te ‘Critical Theory’ (Hoskins, 2017), he wā, kua whaihua te ‘whītiki tauā’³⁴ o te wahine, o te iwi taketake, o te rawakore hei nonoke atu ki te ‘ringa kaha’ e pēhi nei i a rātou, ahakoa pea ngā rerenga kētanga kei waenga i a rātou (Spivak, 1995). E pērā ana hoki te iwi Māori: he wā kua kotahi i runga i te āhuetanga o te whakapapa, o te reo, o ngā kōrero tuku iho, otirā i runga hoki i te āhuetanga o ngā mahi raupatu, muru, tūkino hoki i pā mai, engari arā anō hoki ngā tini rerenga kētanga i waenga i a tātou, te iwi Māori.

³⁴ Strategic essentialism.

Kia huri ināiane ki te kawa o taku whare rangahau: ko te reo Māori.

Te kawa o te rangahau: Te reo Māori

Tupu te toi, whanake te toi, te toi i ahu mai i Hawaiki.

Kāore i rerekē ake te tohe kia whaimana te reo i roto i te Whare wānanga i te tohe kia tū ko te Kōhanga Reo, ko te Kura Kaupapa Māori, otirā kia whaimana te Māori me ōna mātauranga, āna tikanga, ōna titiro, ōna tūmanako. He tohe hoki te whakahokinga o te reo Māori ki roto i te whare wānanga he kape i te whakaaro ko ngā ringaringa anake o te Māori me ako, kua ko te hinengaro, pēnei i tā Reweti Kohere i kōrero ai:

I rongu au ki te tumuaki o ngā kura e kī ana, ko te whakaako tika i te Māori he whakaako i ō rātou ringaringa, hāunga ō rātou hinengaro... Kore rawa aku toto Māori me aku toto rangatira e whakaae ki tēnei kōrero (Kaa rāua ko Kaa, 1994, wh. 73)

I tā Agnes McFarland rāua ko Taiarahia Black pukapuka i ētitangia rā e rāua mō ngā kōrero o te whare wānanga, i *Toitū te whare*, te kōrero mō ō tātou tūpuna whare, he whare wānanga tonu;

Huhua ngā kōrero kai roto i tēnā tipuna whare, i roto i tēnā tipuna whare. Ko ō tātau tūpuna whare ngā kura mamao o te wānanga hai reo tātari, wetewete, reo whakapakari hinengaro, reo rangahau, inā hoki, te kōkuhu whakaaro (McFarland & Black, 2015, wh. vi).

Ko Ruka Broughton rāua ko Taiarahia Black ngā kākā tarahae, nā rāua i whakahoki ake te reo Māori hei reo (rangahau) mō te whare wānanga. Hinga ana a Ruka i mua i te putanga mai o tana tuhinga (Poutū, 2015, wh. 68), ka puta ko tā Taiarahia Black tuhinga rangahau paetoru i roto te reo Māori i te tau 2000 (Black, 2000).

Ki tā Taiarahia Black mō te reo Māori i roto i te whare wānanga:

I roto i ngā whā tekau tau e hākiri ana te reo Māori me ōna tikanga ki ngā kokonga pūtakataka o te hinengaro tangata ki ngā tōpito e whā o te motu. Whāia i roto i tēnei hākitanga ka tipu mai te taumata tūhono, whakaora o neherā hai koko mai i te taumata whakaora i te wairua o te kupu (2012, wh. vii).

Kia whakahahakitia e au tāna i puaki ai: ko tēnei mea te tuhi rangahau ki te reo Māori he whakaoranga, he tūhonotanga ki ngā taumata kōrero o nehe. Ka mutu, ko aua

taumata kōrero, taumata whakaaro o te iwi Māori, ahakoa o neherā, ahakoa o nāianeī, e kore oti e taea e tētehi atu reo te katoa o aua kōrero, o aua whakaaro te āta whakaari mai (Stewart, 2017).

Waihoki, ko te tuhi i roto i te reo hei mātātaki ki ngā tumu whakarae o ngā whare wānanga kia whakamanangia te iwi Māori i roto te whare wānanga, arā, kia riro māna anō te kī nā wai ia, nō whea ia, he pēwhea tana titiro ki te ao, he pēwhea hoki tana whakaari ā-kupu mai i taua tirohanga rā.

Nā wai i hākirikiri te reo Māori i roto i ngā whare wānanga, ka āhua ngunguru haere i te āhua 20 tau ka pahemo nei. Inā hoki, puta rawa ko tā Taiarahia Black (2000), kīhai i takitaro, ka puta te iwa o ngā tuhinga rangahau paetoru reo Māori i roto i te tekau tau atu i 2000 ki 2010. A, he 12 anō i puta atu i 2010 ki 2018 (Stewart, 2018c). Arā hoki ko ngā tuhinga (reo) Māori kua puta mai i Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, ko te tini hoki nā ngā taura e whai ana i te tohu paetoru, kua whiwhi kē rānei ki taua tohu nei (McFarland & Black, 2015; McFarland & Black, 2016; McFarland, 2012).

Tā te ika he 'kai ake i raro, he rāpaki ake i raro' (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 73), ā, kei te kitea te ngarue o ngā ika e minamina nei ki te kai i te reo Māori i roto i ngā whare wānanga, ko ngā tauira ērā e tuhituhi nei i ā rātou tuhinga rangahau tohu paerua ki te reo Māori. Heoi, ka tatū te whakaaro o te tangata kia reo Māori tana tuhinga rangahau mō te tohu paetoru, ka nui ngā take hei whiriwhiri māna, ka nui hoki ngā āhuatanga o ngā whare wānanga me mātua whakarite (Stewart, 2018b).

Kia mātua puaki te kōrero mō te take i oti ai i a au me tuhi taku rangahau ki te reo Māori, e pēnei ana:

Tuatahi, mēnā rā nā te pakiaka te rākau i tū ai, ā kāti, ko te reo te pakiaka i tū ai tēnei rangahau. Ko te reo Māori te reo o taku o taku kāinga, ko te reo hoki i ngaio ai ahau ki te whakaako, nā reira ākuanei pea he pai kē atu koia tonu hei reo mō te rangahau, kua ko te reo Pākehā!

Tuarua, ko te reo hei tāngaengae ki te hunga mōna tēnei rangahau. Inā hoki, ko te kura kaupapa Māori tērā i noho hei ō manapou mō māua ko taku tama i te 20 tau neke atu ka taha nei. Nā reira e pai ai taku whiriwhiri kōrero mō ngā kura me ngā kaupapa

whakarauora reo e tika ana hoki kia puakina ki te reo Māori. Me kōrero rā hoki ko tētehi huatau o te ao Māori: ‘Mātua whakapai i tōu marae ka whakapai ai i tō te tangata’ (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 288). Ko aku tūmanako mō tēnei rangahau kia tara ā-wharetia ōna kōrero ki te ‘whare kōrero’ o ngā kura kaupapa Māori, otirā o ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo Māori, hei whaiwhakaarotanga mā ōna iwi, haere ake nei. Tērā tūmanako tērā.

Tuatoru, mā te tuhi rangahau ki te reo Māori e ea ai te whakaaro, kei te tupu, kei te whanake tonu te toi i ahu mai i Hawaiki.

He mātāpono mō te reo

Ko tāku i whai ai kia māmā te takoto o ngā kōrero kia mārama ai te kaipānui i runga i te whakaaro e hangaia ana tētehi whare kōrero hei tomokanga mā te tangata kōrero Māori. Ehara tēnei i te whare me mātua tomo e te tangata kua tohunga ki te tini o ngā kupu hou o te wā.

Koia i kore ai i āpitihiā tētehi rārangi kupu, kuputaka rānei e takoto ai ngā kupu Ingarihi hei hoa mō te kupu Māori. Arā kē ngā tini papakupu o te wā e takoto ai ngā kupu Māori hei toronga, hei rangahautanga mā te tangata, ki te tūpono mate te tangata ki te kimi. Tuarua – he take nui ake hoki tēnei i tō mua atu – kāore taku ngākau e pai kia riro mā te reo Pākehā tō tātou reo e whakamārama, ānō nei mā te kupu Pākehā rā anō tātou e mārama ai ki tō tātou reo. Ki a au nei he whakaū tērā i te whakaaro (o ētehi) e ngoikore ana te reo Māori, ā, kāore e taea e te reo te whakaahua i ngā āhuetanga katoa o te ao, engari me whakawhirinaki kē ki te reo Pākehā hei toko mōna. Hāunga tērā, ki te whakamoea te kupu Māori ki te kupu Pākehā, kōkuhu mai ana ngā tikanga o te reo Pākehā ki roto i te reo haehae ai. E āta werohia ana i roto i te rangahau nei te whakaaro he kupu Pākehā ‘taurite’ tō ia kupu Māori. Ki te Upoko Tuarima, Upoko Tuaono hoki ārohitia ai tērā tūāhuetanga.

Heoi anō, ehara i te mea e ū ana au ki te whakaaro me ‘urutapu’ te tuhingaroa nei (Poutū, 2015), arā, me kua he kupu Pākehā kotahi e kitea mai, kāo. Ko te mea kē, kei te reo Māori tōna mana, tōna tapu; kei te reo Pākehā anō tōna. Ko te reo kawē o tēnei tuhingaroa, ko te reo Māori, engari arā anō ngā kōrero reo Pākehā ka torona, inā hoki, ko tāku e whai nei kia whaikupu hoki te hunga kore-reo i roto i tēnei tuhingaroa.

Heoi, mehemea au kei te whakamāori i ngā kōrero a tētehi atu i mātua puakina ki te reo Pākehā, kāore e tika ana kia kīia e au nāna tonu aua kupu, ka whakaatu ai ki ngā “tohu kōrero.” Ko te purapura o taua whakaaro nō te tangata, engari nō te ruinga ki taku hinengaro, pihi kau ake, hauhake rawa, noho kē mai ana he āhua kē. Me mihi tonu rā te tangata nōna te whakaaro i whakatōkia, ā, e mau tonu ana tētehi paku ritenga ōna, engari ia uru ana hoki he āhuetanga hou i te whakamāorihia mai ōna (Tipene, 2014).

Nō reira, ka whakamahia e au ngā tohu kōrero “pēnei” nā mō ngā kupu i āta puta i te waha o te tangata, i āta tāngia rānei e te ringa o te tangata. Mehemea nāku i kawē mai ki roto i te reo Māori, kāti, kua riroia e au aua kōrero, ā, ka mutu, kua uru atu ko aku whakaaro, ko taku titiro, ko taku māramatanga, koinā te take ka tuhia ‘pēneitia’ kētia.

Heoi, he wā ōna e whakatakotohia atu ai ko ngā kōrero reo Pākehā hei kupu āpiti ki rō taiapa, ki te taha whakararo rānei o te whārangi, me kore noa, ka hiahia te kaupānui ki te pānui, ki te kimi i tōna anō māramatanga ki taua kōrero rā.

Kei te iho o te rangahau nei ko ngā pānga kikino mai ki a tātou, te iwi Māori, otirā ki tō tātou reo me ā tātou tikanga mai anō i te ūnga mai o tauiwi, e kīia nei ko te ‘colonisation,’ me ana whanaunga, me ‘colonialism’ rāua ko ‘imperialism.’ Kei ngā papakupu ngā kupu Māori kua whakamoea atu: ko ‘tāmitanga,’ ko te ‘whakapākehātanga,’ ko te ‘whakatuanui a te karauna’ ētehi (Te Whanake, 2003-2023). Hei tā *PaeKupu* ko te ‘taipūwhenuatanga’ kē (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018), ā, he mea whakawhānui atu tēnei nā Hinurewa Poutū (2015), ka mea ia ko te ‘taipūhinengarotanga’ hoki tērā, inā hoki i “riro whenua atu, [engari i] riro mātauranga atu, [i] riro reo atu, [i] riro whakaaro atu [hoki]” (wh. 71). Hei tā ētehi atu, ko te ‘whakapākehātanga’ tonu tērā, mō runga i te āhua e whakamahia ai te Māori kia ōrite ki te Pākehā, ā, me te aha, ko te ‘whakamāoritanga’ te kupu e whakamahia ana mō tēnei mea te ‘decolonisation’ (Mahi Tahī Media, 2020a).

Nā, ko ngā taketake hoki o te kaupapa nāna i āki mai a tauiwi, ko te ‘Liberalism,’ me tana uri, me ‘capitalism.’ Nā te mea he ingoa motuhake ake te ‘Liberalism,’ waiho ake ana ia hei ingoa mō ngā āhuetanga katoa kei a ia e amo ana. Ko ‘capitalism’ ia, he mea whakamāori nā *PaeKupu*, ko te ‘angahaorawa,’ ā, ko tērā atu o ngā uri o te ‘Liberalism’

rāua ko ‘capitalism,’ arā, ko ‘neoliberalism,’ kua whakamāorihia ko te ‘angahao herekore’ (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).

Heoi, kāore taku ngākau i pai ki te ‘anga,’ i whakamahia rā e *PaeKupu* (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018), e tau ana mō ngā āhuatanga o te ‘capitalism,’ otirā mō te ‘neoliberalism,’ inā hoki he niho ō ēnei hanga nei, he kawekawe hoki ōna e rahurahu tonu nei i te ao kikokiko e whaioranga ai te tangata, tae atu ki ngā kōrero a te tangata, ki ngā whakaaro hoki o te tangata. Koia e karangahia nei i tēnei tuhingaroa, he taniwha matatini, ā, ko Tāmi, ko Hao ētehi o aua mata rā.

Whai whakaaro ana hoki ahau ki ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna, kīhai i whāiti ki tētehi kupu kotahi hei whakarite i te ao. He wā pea kua whakaritea te ‘colonisation’ ki te kupenga (Upoko Tuarua), ā, ko te ‘ika haehae kupenga’ tērā e puta ai tātou i ngā tikanga aupēhi o taua kupenga rā, he wā anō ko te paringa mai o te tai. Koia tērā ko te tino rerekē o te reo Māori, o te whakaaro Māori, kua whakarite noa te tangata i tētehi āhuatanga o te ao ki tētehi atu āhuatanga o te ao tūroa (H. Black, 2021).

Kotahi anō te mātāpono hei kōrerotanga i konei e whanaunga ana ki ngā āhuatanga o runga ake nei, ko te ‘individualism.’ Ko tētehi ēnei o ngā kawekawe o te taniwha o Tāmi, o Hao, he haehae i te taura tangata. Ka rapu ngā whakaaro, me pēwhea hoki e kōrerohia ai tēnei tūāhuatanga, kua kīia nei e *PaeKupu* ko te ‘angatakitahi’ (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018), kātahi ka hua ake i ngā mahara tā Hīrini (Melbourne, 1985) i waiata ai, i tana waiata, *Te Whare Whakahirahira*:

*Tērā te wā i te waonui tū takitahi
Tēnā ko koe, ko Tāne-whakapiripiri*

Ka mahara iho ki ngā tini kupu whakarite o te ao Māori mō te ‘tū takitahi i te wao’ (tērā i a Tāne-whakapiripiri), mō te ‘maire tū wao’ (tērā i te ‘uru kahikatea’), otirā mō te haehae, te momotu rānei i te taura tangata. Nō reira, ko taua kōrero anō rā: Ehara i te mea he kupu kotahi tērā mō te ‘individualism,’ engari he tini anō ngā tauira o te ao Māori e kōrerohia ai te whaihua o te ‘whītiki,’ pēnei i ēnei e whai ake nei:

*Ki te kotahi te kākaho, ka whati,
Ki te kāpuia, e kore e whati.*

He ora te whakapiri, he mate te whakatākiri.

He tikanga tuhituhi

Nā, kua tae ināianei ki ētehi pitopito kōrero whakamārama mō ngā tikanga tuhituhi ake o te rangahau nei.

- Ko ngā tikanga tuhituhi e whāia ana, ko *Ngā Tikanga Tuhi a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2012).
- Kei ngā tuhinga kīhai i whāia *Ngā Tikanga Tuhi a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, he mea whakaū nāku aua tikanga, kia āhua ōrite ai te takoto o ngā kupu, o ngā kōrero puta noa i te tuhingaroa nei.
- Heoi, ko aku iwi, ko aku hapū o Waikato, he kaha ki te pūrua i te oropuare, kāore e whakamahi i te tohutō. Inā tētehi o aku marae, ko *Waahi Paa*, ā, ko taku ingoa hoki he whai i tērā tikanga.³⁵ Nō reira, ka kōrerohia ana e au ētehi o ngā ingoa o te wā kāinga, kua whai au i tā te wā kāinga tikanga tuhituhi i ngā ingoa. Kei te Upoko Tuatahi: **Ngā hau i pū mai nei ki taku kiri** (wh. 1) te nuinga o ēnei nā.
- Ko ngā ingoa o te pukapuka rānei, o te hōtaka pouaka whakaata rānei, o te waiata rānei, o te aha rānei, tuhia ana kia pēnei: Te Karere; Te tū a te toka: He ieretanga nō ngā tai e whā; Te Matatiki, He Pātaka Kupu; Te Whare Whakahirahira, Pōteretere ana.
- Kei ōna wāhi i hopukina ai ngā kōrero i pāhotia ki te reo irirangi, i te pouaka whakaata, otirā i ngā konae ipurangi i mate ai au ki te patopato i ngā kōrero he mea puaki ā-waha mai, ko tāku i whai ai kia ū ki te mita o te kaikōrero, arā, kua 'awau' kē a 'ahau' i roto i te mita o Ngāti Porou, kua 'haka-' kē a 'whaka-', ā, kua 'nōki' a 'anō hoki' i roto i tētehi o ngā mita o Te Taitokerau. Ā, kei ngā iwi o Taranaki, o Whanganui ā rātou momo whakahua, ō rātou mita e makere ai te 'h' ka 'mō'io' a 'mōhio,' ka 'ranga'au' a 'rangahau.'

³⁵ Ki ētehi iwi ka pēnei te tuhia o taku ingoa, o Heeni: ko Hēni, ko Heni rānei.

- E werohia ana te tikanga o ētehi kupu Māori i runga i te whakaaro, ko te huatau ia nō roto kē o te reo Pākehā. Ko ngā kupu nei, miramiratia ana, arā, tuhia ana kia pēnei: ‘tuakiri,’ ‘ōhanga,’ ‘ohaoha.’
- E torona ana ngā kōrero katoa, ahakoa reo Māori, ahakoa reo Pākehā hei kōrero whai take i roto i te rangahau nei. Ki te whakatakoto au i ngā kōrero a te tangata ake, ka “penei” te whakatakotoria ki ngā tohu kōrero. Ki te ‘whakamāorihia’ e au te wairua o te kōrero i mātua whakapuakina ki te reo Pākehā, kua kore kē au e whakaatu “pēnei,” i runga i te whakaaro, nāku kē aua kupu rā.

Kia huri atu rā ki te Upoko Tuatoru mō whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori.

Upoko Tuatoru: Te Whare o te Reo Māori

I a te 14 o Hepetema o te tau 1972 e orua ana te kawenga atu o te petihana reo Māori ki te Whare Pāremata i Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara e unga ana i te kāwanatanga kia āta whakaakongia te reo Māori i roto i ngā kura kei reira te tini o ngā ākonga Māori (National Library of New Zealand, 2022; Stephens, 2014) me tā Rīhari Benton kōrero i Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato i uia rā e ia te pātai mō te reo Māori: He waka pakarū kino rānei? (Benton, 1972) i runga i ngā whakapae e kore pea e taea taua waka rā te whakatika mai anō.³⁶

Ko te whatinga tēnei o te tai mō te reo Māori, i tae ai ki tōna tino timunga i timu ai. Ko te pao hoki tēnei a te iwi Māori ki te whakaora mai i a ia. Koia e whakatauhia nei ko te tau 1972 hei tīmatanga mō te ārohi i ngā mahi whakarauora i te reo Māori i roto i tēnei rangahau, arā, mō te whakatūnga mai o Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Hei ariā te ‘whare’ nei mō te 50 tau o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori (1972-2022), ā, ko te tātai i te whare te aronga o tēnei upoko.

He marae puehu: Ngā tau o mua atu i te 1970

He nui ngā kōrero mō ngā take i tīmata ai te haumate haeretanga o te reo i ētehi kāinga i te huringa o te rautau 1900 (Benton, 1989; Benton, 1988; Benton, 1990; Benton, 1997; Hond, 2013; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Mikaere, 2016; O'Regan, 2011, 2012; Simon et al., 2001). Ko ētehi take e kōrerohia ana ko te uruhi o te kāwanatanga: ko te ringa pākaha o te kaiako ki te whakawhiu i te tamaiti kōrero Māori, ko tana whakawehewehe rānei i ngā Māori e heke ana ki te tāone noho ai. Ko ētehi anō take nā ngā whakakīkī o te wā kia ‘mau ki te rākau a te Pākehā hei oranga mō te tinana,’ arā, te kimi i ngā ‘mahī Pākehā’ (Waiari, 2006). Ko tētehi anō o ngā kōrero e mea ana, i āta tahuri atu te iwi Māori i te reo Māori (Te Ara, Kāore he rā).³⁷

³⁶ I tuhia te petihana ki ngā reo e rua, arā, ki te reo Pākehā rāua ko te reo Māori. Ko te wāhanga reo Māori i pēnei: “E hoa maa, teenaa koutou katoa. E pīrangi ana maatou kia whakaakongia te reo Māori, ki roto i NGAA KURA KATOA e maha ana ngā taitamariki Māori, aa, kia hoatu hoki teenei taonga hei koha ki te Pākehā, ki roto i oo raatou kura katoa, kia tika ai te kōrero he iwi kotahi taatou.”

³⁷ E ai ki a Te Ara, i te tau 1950: “Most Māori families choose to speak English, and Māori children are raised as English speakers.”

Ko te timu o te tai o te reo kāore i ōrite puta noa i ngā kāinga katoa o ngā motu, engari ia he āhuatanga kē i pā ki tēnā kāinga, ki tēnā rohe (Benton, 1997). I tā Benton (1997) rangahau, kitea ana te tino auheke o te reo i roto i te hunga i whānau i ngā tau o te 1930, i te wā o te kaikini o te matekai.³⁸ He nui tonu ngā mea i mārama ki te reo, engari anō te mātau ki te kōrero. Tae rawa ki te reanga i whānau mai i ngā tau o te 1950 ka tika pea te kī ake, e puehu ana te marae o te reo, inā hoki, i taua wā e kitea ana tētehi reanga ko te reo Pākehā anake hei reo mō rātou (wh. 17). I taua rangahau rā e rua noa iho ngā kāinga e noho punanga ana te reo hei reo matua: ko Ruātoki me Matawaia (wh. 23). Nā wai, ka puta te kōrero ko Ruātoki te mōrehu o ngā kāinga kōrero Māori (Benton, 1988).

Ehara i te mea e kūware ana te iwi Māori ki te tāmātemate haeretanga o te reo i mua i te rangahau a Benton. I reira anō ngā whakaoreore kia kaua e whakarērea ngā taonga a kui, a koro mā i te wā i “pā ai te karanga” a Āpirana Ngata, kia “utaina” auā “mōrehu taonga” ki runga i te Poari Whakapapa (Ngata & Jones, 2004, wh. xvi).³⁹ Ko ngā ‘taonga’ kia ‘utaina’ ko ngā tāhuhu kōrero a ngā iwi, ko ngā mōteatea, ko te reo Māori hoki. Nā te Poari tonu i kōkirihia ai tā Āpirana tonu kia uru te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako i te whare wānanga (Walker, 2004, wh. 194). Ko te whakaora i ngā mahi whakairo me te whakahaere i te komiti ētita i te whakahoutanga o te papakupu a *Te Wiremu* ētehi atu o ngā tini mahi i oti i te tupua nei, i a Āpirana. Ko tētehi o ana kōrero e whakatauāki nuitia ana he akiaki i te iwi Māori kia tū i roto i ngā ao e rua, te ao Māori rāua tahi ko te ao Pākehā Māori, kia reorua anō hoki, ko tēnei nā;

*E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao
Ko tō ringa ki te rākau a te Pākehā, hei oranga mō tō tinana
Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori, hei tikitiki mō tō
māhunga
Ko te wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa⁴⁰*

Hāunga te uru o te reo ki te whare wānanga i muri tata mai o te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, ka uru hoki hei kaupapa ako i roto i ngā tikanga whakamātautau o ngā haikura (Benton,

³⁸ Nō ngā tau o te 1930 ka heke haere te oranga ā-moni i Aotearoa me Te Waipounamu. Tirohia a Benton (1997, wh. 18).

³⁹ Board of Ethnographic Research

⁴⁰ <https://teara.govt.nz/en/nga-tamariki/page-4>

1988).⁴¹ Koia i tuhia ai e Hoani Waititi ana pukapuka *Te Rangatahi*, hei rauemi whakaako i ngā tauira reo Māori o te kura, o te whare wānanga hoki (Te Ara - The Encyclopedia o New Zealand, 2000).

He kaupapa i pihi ake i te whenua: 1972 – 1985

E kaha ana te whakanuia o ngā kaupapa o ngā tau o te 1970, ānō nō reira pū i “maranga ake ai” (Ruru & Kohu-Morris, 2020), i “tū tangata” ai te iwi Māori (Hill, 2009; Spolsky, 2003).⁴² Heoi, ahakoa ngā oreoretanga o mua atu, koia tērā ko te wā i whītiki tauā ai ētehi whānau, ētehi rōpū Māori hoki ki te whakatū kaupapa mō te reo, mō te mana o te Māori, hei painga hoki mō ngā whānau Māori. Ko te hīkoi a Whina tērā, ko te mautohe a Iwa, a Ngāti Whātua ērā. E kīia ana ēnei kaupapa, he mea i ‘pihi ake i te whenua’ (Spolsky, 2003), nā ngā whānau i whakaara. Ko te utu ko te aroha o te kuia, o te koroua o Te Ataarangi (Hond, 2013), ko ngā kaupapa mahi moni rānei, pēnei i ngā mahinga moni nāna nei i tū tuatahi ai Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika (RNZ, 2021d).

⁴¹ I muri mai ka huri ki te Kura Tiwhikete.

⁴² Ko Tū Tangata tētehi te kaupapa a te Tari Māori i raro i a Kara Puketapu i ngā tau whakamutunga o te 1970. Ahakoa tōna ingoa, mau tonu ana i te kāwanatanga te mana i roto i ngā tikanga whakahaere i ngā kaupapa. Waihoki, he nui ngā kaupapa, i tukuna pea mā ngā whānau e whakahaere, engari kāore he pūtea hei whakatutuki (Hill, 2009, wh. 194).

Tūtohi 3: Ētehi o ngā kaupapa whakarauora i te reo Māori mai i te tau 1972

Tau	Kaupapa
1972	Ka tāpaetia e Hana Jackson rāua ko Lee Smith o Ngā Tamatoa te Petihana Reo Māori me ōna waitohu e 30,000 e nonoi ana i te kāwanatanga kia whakaakongia te reo Māori i roto i ngā kura he nui nei ngā tamariki Māori Ka puaki ngā kōrero a Rihari Benton mō te reo Māori: He waka pakaru kino Ka tū te whakataetae kapa haka ā-motu tuatahi, arā, te New Zealand Māori Performing Arts Festival ⁴³
1973–78	Ka haere te rangahau reo a Benton (Benton, 1991)
1975	Ka ara te kaupapa Whakatupuranga Rua Mano Ka tū te Wiki o te Reo Māori tuatahi Ka whakatūria te Taraipiunara o Waitangi
1976	Ka tonono te Kaunihera Māori (ko Kereama Rātima te heamana) kia pāho ngā rongorongō kōrero mō ngā take a te iwi Māori me ngā iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa ia wiki, kia tū hoki tētehi reo irirangi Māori hoki
1977	Ka tuwhera Te Kura (Reorua) o Ruātoki
1978	Ka puta te pūrongo mō tā Benton rangahau i te kaha kōrerotia o te reo Māori
1979	Ka ara ake te kaupapa o Te Ataarangi Ka whakatūria Te Wānanga o Raukawa I te Wiki o te Reo Māori ka hīkoi te iwi ki te tohe i te mana o te reo
1982	Ka tīmata te Kōhanga Reo
1983	Ka tīmata te pāho o Te Reo o Pōneke (Te Upoko o Te Ika) Ka pāho tuatahi a Te Karere
1985	Ka tū te Kura Kaupapa Māori tuatahi, arā, Te KKM o Hoani Waititi Marae ⁴⁴ Ka tae tā Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo kerēme mō te reo Māori (Wai 11) me ētehi kerēme mō te iarere ki te Taraipiunara o Waitangi
1987	Ka pāho tuatahi a Waka Huia Ka whakaūngia te Ture Reo Māori 1987, nāna ka tū ko Te Kōmihana mō te Reo Māori (i muri mai ka kīia ko Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori)
1989	Ka 'whakamanahia' e te ture te Kura Kaupapa Māori i raro i te Education Act 1989
1990	Ka kawea te kēhi mō te iarere pāho ki Te Taraipiunara o Waitangi ⁴⁵ E 2,500 ngā kupu hou ka oti te hangā mai e Te Taura Whiri i <i>Ngā Kupu Hou</i>
1992	Ka puta a Te Matatiki Ka puta te tauākī mō Te Marautanga o Aotearoa. Ka pau ngā tau o te 1992 – 2000 ki te whakaputa i ngā tauākī o ōna wāhanga ako e waru
1993	Ka whakatūria ko Te Māngai Pāho

	Ka tae te kēhi i tohe ai te mana o te iwi Māori ki te iarere ki te Piriwi Kaunihera i Ingarangi
1993	Ka tae ngā tamariki o te KKM ki te wharekura (Tau 9-13)
1994	Ka eke te maha o ngā kōhanga reo ki te 819 (14,000 ngā tamariki), he neke atu i te haurua o ngā tamariki Māori e haere ana ki ngā whare kōhungahunga
1995/6	Ko te putanga tuarua o <i>Te Matatiki</i>
2001	E 21 katoa ngā reo irirangi Māori e whāngaitia ana e Te Māngai Pāho
2004	Ka tū a Whakaata Māori me Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori Putana ana <i>Te Reo Pāngarau</i> , nā Ian Christensen i tuhi Tū ana ko te Kura ā-iwi me ōna kura e 32
2008	Ka rere te hōngere tuarua o Whakaata Māori, he hōtaka reo Māori anake
2008	Ka puta a <i>He Pātaka Kupu</i> , te papakupu tuatahi he reo Māori katoa
2009	Eke ana te maha o ngā KKM ki te 73, ā, neke atu i te 6000 ngā tamariki
2011	Ka takoto te kerēme a te Kōhanga Reo (Wai2336) ki te aroaro o te Taraipunara o Waitangi
2011	Ka puta te pūrongo <i>Te Reo Mauriora</i>
2013	Tae ana te tokomaha o ngā tauira kei ngā kura reo Māori ki te 17,343, he pikinga 6% mai i te tau 2001
2016	Ka whakamanahia i roto i te Whare Pāremata te Ture Reo Māori 2016. Nāna ka tū ko Te Mātāwai, ā, māna te Maihi Māori. Ko te Maihi Karauna mā Te Taura Whiri me Te Puni Kōkiri
2019	Ka puta tā te Kāwanatanga rautaki reo, te Maihi Karauna 2019-2023
2019	Ka whakamoea Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori Ka puta te kohinga waiata reo Māori, <i>Waiata Anthems</i>
2020	Ka rewa te kaupapa <i>Kotahi Rau Pukapuka</i> Kō atu i te kotahi miriona te tokomaha o te hunga i whakanui i te reo Māori i Aotearoa i te pouputanga o te rā o te 14 o Hepetema Neke atu te tokomaha o ngā tamariki e ako ana i te reo Māori i te kura tuarua i te 30,000

Kupu whakamārama: He mea panoni ngā kōrero o Te Ara kei <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-tai/te-mana-o-te-reo-maori-timeline>

⁴³ Nō muri (1983) i kīia ko te Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival (ATMPAF). Nō te tau 2004 i whakaingoatia ai ko Te Matatini. Tirohia a <https://mch.govt.nz/taxonomy/term/1156>

⁴⁴ Nō muri mai ka karangahia ko Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi Marae.

⁴⁵ Broadcasting Assets Case.

Ko ngā kaupapa i noho hei tino pou i roto i te whakarauora reo i whakatū tuatahitia i ngā tau o te 1970, tae atu ki te puku o te 1980: ko Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975), he kaupapa whakawhanake i te ora o ētehi o ngā iwi e toru (Winiata, 2014; Winiata, 1979)⁴⁶; ko Te Wānanga o Raukawa (1981); ko te kaupapa whakaako i te pakeke ki te reo, arā, ko Te Ataarangi (1981) (Hond, 2013; Muller & Kire, 2014); ko te Kōhanga Reo (1982), hei whakaako i ngā tamariki, engari hei awahi hoki i ngā whānau (Milroy, 2014; Royal Tangaere, 2014; Skerrett White, 2003; Tangaere, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, 2012; Waka Huia, 2022a); ko te Kura Kaupapa Māori (1985) hei kura mō ngā tamariki i puta i te Kōhanga Reo (Harrison & Papa, 2005; May, 2004; Poutū, 2015; Tocker, 2015; TVNZ, 2015b; Waho & Walker, 2014; Waka Huia, 2010a, 2010b; WakaHuiaTVNZ, 2010); me ngā kaupapa pāpāho o te reo irirangi (Mane, 2014; Mataamua, 2006) me te pouaka whakaata (Middleton, 2010; New Zealand Government, 2000; WakaHuiaTVNZ, 2012) (Tūtohi 3). Ko ētehi o ngā kaupapa nā ngā rōpū Māori o te tāone i whakaara, pēnei i Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori (i Te Whanganui-ā-Tara), nāna nei te kerēme reo Māori i kawē ki te Taraipiunara o Waitangi (Te Ara, 2020), nāna hoki te reo irirangi Māori tuatahi, Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika i whakatū (RNZ, 2021d) tae atu ki Ngā Tamatoa (i Tāmaki), nāna te petihana mō te reo Māori i pīkau (Hokowhitu, 2010).

Te uru o te kāwanatanga ki te hāpai i te Reo Māori: 1987 – 2022, haere ake

He mea whakatū te Taraipiunara o Waitangi i te tau 1975, ā, ka puta tana pūrongo mō te Kerēme Reo Māori (Wai 11) i te tau 1986, ko tētehi o ngā kitenga o roto, ko te ‘noho taonga’ mai o te reo. Ka mutu, kīhai te Karauna i tiaki i taua ‘taonga,’ engari ia nāna tonu i haumate ai (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Koia tērā ko te tino kipakipa kia whakamanatia te reo Māori i roto i te ture hei reo ā-motu i te tau 1987,⁴⁷ kia āta tautokona hoki e te Karauna te ora o te reo. Ka tūtū haere ngā kaupapa a te kāwanatanga, pēnei i Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. Nā wai, ā, ka whakauruuru haere ngā ‘pou’ o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori ki roto i ngā whakahaere a te kāwanatanga, pēnei i te kōhanga reo, te KKM, ngā wānanga me ngā

⁴⁶ Ko Ngāti Toa, ko Ngāti Raukawa me Te Āti Awa.

⁴⁷ Te Ture Reo Māori 1987.

reo irirangi.⁴⁸ Ko te mana whakahaere, ko te oranga (ā-pūtea nei) hoki o aua kaupapa e taukumekumehia ana e ngā whānau mai i taua wā (RNZ, 2022d; Waatea News, 2022b; Waitangi Tribunal, 2012).

E kīia ana i roto i te rangahau nei, ko te tū tēnei o Te Whare o te Reo Māori, arā, ko te whakatūturuhia o ngā ‘pou whakarauora reo’ i roto i ngā ture, i ngā tikanga whakahaere, i ngā pūtea whakahaere hoki a ngā tari kāwanatanga, ā, me te aha, tūpoupou ana ngā kaupapa i runga i te karetao o ngā au piki, au heke e tere nei hoki te kāwanatanga, hāunga anō ngā karawhiu o te ao whānui tonu.

Arā anō ngā kauneketanga, pēnei i te tuhia o ngā tuhinga rangahau o roto i ngā whare wānanga ki te reo Māori tētehi hei whakatutuki i te tohu kairangi (Stewart, 2018b, 2019), te kaha ake o te whakamāorihia o te pukapuka reo Pākehā,⁴⁹ o te waiata reo Pākehā (Waiata Anthems, 2021) (Tūtohi 3).

Nā wai, ā, ka whakamāorihia ngā whitiata o Disney kia puta ai te kōrero kua ‘auraki haere’ te reo Māori (Roy, 2018), ā, i te kaha minaminahia mai ōna arā kē te roa o te rārangi tangata e hiahia ana ki te uru ki ngā kaupapa ako i te reo (RNZ, 2021f).

Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora

He “ahunga hou” Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, ko tāna, he “whakaahua i te pātui” o ngā “hoa tokorua” e “ārahi” ana i ngā kaupapa whakarauora i te reo Māori. Ko te tokorua nei, ko “ngāi Māori me te Karauna” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-b).

Nā te Mīnita mō ngā Take Māori, nā Pita Sharples o te Pāti Māori i mātua whakaoreore kia arotakehia te whakapaunga pūtea ki te reo Māori, te more o ngā niho o te Ture Reo Māori 1987 me ngā rautaki reo, e hoki atu ana ki te tau 2003 rā anō.

Nō te tau 2011 i puta ai te pūrongo a te rōpū arotake, arā, a Te Paepae Motuhake, ko *Te Reo Mauriora* (Lewis, 2014; Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011). Ko ngā tohutohu matua a Te Paepae Motuhake ko te “whakapūmau anō i te reo i roto i ngā kāinga”, ā, “mā te iwi

⁴⁸ Atu i Te Ataarangi me ngā kaupapa ā-iwi, pēnei i Whakatupuranga Rua Mano.

⁴⁹ Pēnei i Kotahi Rau Pukapuka. Tirohia a <https://www.kotahiraupukapuka.org.nz/>

tonu e ārahi ngā mahi whakatutuki whakarauora reo”, engari ko “tā te Kāwanatanga he āwhina i ngā iwi ki te whakatutuki i tērā whāinga” (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011, wh. 6). Arā anō ā rātou tohutohu, pēnei i te whakatūtanga ake o tētehi Mīnita mō te Reo Māori, ka tahi; ka rua, ko te whakatūnga mai o tētehi rōpū i tapaina ko Te Mātāwai, ko ōna tāngata nō ngā rohe, ā, ko tāna mahi he “tiaki” i te reo Māori, he mahitahi hoki ki te Mīnita ki te “arataki” i ngā tikanga katoa e pā ana ki te reo Māori. Ko te tuatoru, ko te whakatūnga mai o ētehi rūnanga reo hei whakarite i te hōtaka, te pūtea me ngā arotakenga i roto i ngā rohe.

Ko Te Ururoa Flavell te piki tūranga nāna nei i ārahi te mirimiringa o ngā tohutohu a Te Paepae Motuhake kia puta ko te Pire Reo Māori. Nō muri mai ka whakamanahia e te ture kia puta ko te Ture Reo Māori 2016. Ko Te Mātāwai me ngā rūnanga reo o ngā rohe i manaakihia mai i roto i te Ture; ko te Mīnita mō te Reo Māori, karekau kē.

Nā, i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, ko te Ture Reo Māori hei tekoteko, ā, o ngā taha e rua o te whare, ko tētehi mō ngā whānau, ngā hapū me ngā iwi, ā, ko tērā atu taha mō te Karauna (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015). Ko te Maihi Māori ko te rautaki reo Māori mō te iwi Māori; ko te Maihi Karauna ia ko tā te Karauna rautaki reo Māori. Ko te iwi Māori kei te tara iti o te whare hei “kaitiaki mō te reo Māori.” Ko ngā heke o te tara iti, ko Te Mātāwai, ā, ko ngā poupou o te tara iti ko ngā rōpū e ahu mai ai ana mema, arā, nō ngā rohe reo tae atu ki ngā rōpū pēnei i ahu mai i te ao mātauranga, pāpāho, hapori me ngā tāone nunui (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-b). Ki te taha ki te tara nui o te whare, ko ōna heke ko ngā Mīnita o te Karauna e “whai kawenga ana mō te reo Māori”, ā, ko ōna poupou ko ngā tari kāwanatanga, pēnei i Te Taura Whiri (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015).

Putau mai te Maihi Māori (2017-2040), me tana whāinga kia “ūkaipō anō te reo”, arā, kia “kotahi miriona tāngata, neke atu rānei, te nui e whakamahi ana i te reo Māori ki roto i ngā wāhi rumaki ki ngā hapori”, ā, kia “noho ko te reo Māori hei reo matua mō ngā tamariki, 25 ōrau te nui, i ngā tamariki Māori katoa (kāore e neke atu i te whitu tau)” ā te tau 2040 (Te Mātāwai, Kāore he rā).

Nā, nō te tau 2019 i puta ai te Maihi Karauna me tana whai “kia māhorahora te reo” mā roto atu o ngā ‘whāinga rongomaioro’ (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-a).⁵⁰ Ko aua whāinga rā e mea ana kia kotahi miriona (kia nui atu rānei) o ngā Aotearoa e mōhio ana, e māia ana hoki ki te kōrero Māori mō ngā mea māmā noa iho ā te tau 2040, otirā kia 150,000 ngā tāngata Māori kua 15 tau neke atu te pakeke e rite ana te kaha o tā rātou kōrero Māori ki te kaha o tā rātou kōrero Pākehā (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-b).

I te tau 2021, e tuhia ana tēnei tuingaroa, ā, e haere ana hoki tētehi arotake i te Ture Reo Māori 2016 (Waatea News, 2021d), ā, tērā ngā kōmuhumu e kaha rawa ana te haoa o ngā rawa, o te kaha e te Maihi Karauna, ko te Maihi Māori ia, he maramara kau te whiwhi. Ā, āia atu ana te hunga mātau ki te reo ki ngā kaupapa a te Maihi Karauna, marae puehu kē ana ērā o te Maihi Māori. Waihoki, ko te wairua o ngā kōrero a te tini o ngā manutaki o te kawau mārō o te whakarauora reo, pēnei i te tumuaki o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, e pōwhiri ana i a tauwiwi kia tomo i Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora (Marae, 2021; Te Upoko o Te Ika, 2021; Waatea News, 2021b), engari tē ai e rangona, e kitea rānei te reo pōwhiri i ngā mea Māori kāore anō kia tomo i te whare, engari e kīia ko tētehi o ngā “kaitiaki” o te reo.

E kitea ana i tā Roger Lewis rangahau i tātarihia rā e ia te wairua o ngā kōrero o ētehi pūrongo e toru e pā ana ki te whakarauoratanga reo i Aotearoa me Ahitereiria, ko *Te Reo Mauriora* tētehi, he hanga whakawehewehe ngā kōrero o *Te Reo Mauriora*, ānō ko ērā o tātou e ‘ngākaunui ana,’ e ‘whakapau kaha ana’ ki te reo e whakamihia ana, arā, e whītiki tauā ana te hunga o ‘roto’ i Te Whare o te Reo Māori.⁵¹ Ko ērā kei ‘waho,’ ko te Karauna me te iwi whānui tonu o Aotearoa (Lewis, 2014, wh. 209). Kāore i kīia ko ērā o tātou kāore anō kia ako i te reo, kei ‘waho’ Te Whare, engari ia rangona ana tērā wairua i te pātai a Scotty Morrison, kaitātaki o Te Karere, ki te heamana o Te Paepae Motuhake,

⁵⁰ Audacious goals

⁵¹ Hei tā Roger Lewis, “The ‘in-group’ identified in this report appears to include only those Māori who are seen as being committed to revitalisation of the Māori language.”

ki a Tāmami Reedy, “Me hōrapa taua pūtea ki ngā Māori katoa ki ngā anake rānei e ngākaunui ana ki te reo?” (Te Karere TVNZ, 2011).⁵²

Ko te whakahoki a Tāmami Reedy;

Ko te kōrero rā, ko te hunga kei te ngākaunui ki te reo, koinā te wāhanga hei tīmatanga mō te whāngai, engari tāria ake, ka titiro ake ko wai ake anō o tāua te Māori kei te aro mai ki te reo kātahi pea kia aro mai ki te reo, kātahi ka whāngai atu ai. (Te Karere TVNZ, 2011)

I te āhua nei e whakamātautauhia ana te kōrero he “whare piritahi” Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015).

Ko te pātai i a au nei nā, me pēwhea te nuinga o ngāi Māori kei waho kē o te whare e pātōtō atu ana ki te kūwaha, e whātaretare atu ana i te matapihi, e oke ana rānei i te oke kia puta ai i te korokoro o te parata? Kei roto pea i ngā puku o ētehi e matangurunguru ana: Koutou mā o roto i te whare me ō koutou hoa Pākehā, e kai mai nā koutou, he atua; mātou o waho i te whare, e noho atu nei, he tangata.

Ehara tēnei i te whakahē kurī noa iho i te hunga kua ‘angitū’ i roto i te reo Māori. Ko te mea kē, he take nui tonu te kōhukitia o ngā kōrero mō te reo Māori, ko te nuinga hoki nā te hunga whaimana i roto i te reo Māori, he awenga nui hoki tō rātou i roto i ngā kaupapa mō te reo, otirā i te whakapaunga pūtea mō te reo. Ko te ora, ko te mate rānei o ētehi kaupapa kei roto i ngā ringaringa, kei roto rānei i ngā kōrero a tēnei hunga whaimana.

Te tira hou

Poua ana ko ngā pou whenua, arā, ko ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo Māori i kōrerohia i runga ake nei; ko ngā pou tāngata ko ngā ringaringa, ko ngā waewae o aua kaupapa, tae atu ki ngā whānau i tahuri rā ki te whakaora ake i te reo i ō rātou kāinga. O te hunga

⁵² Ko tētehi o ngā whakataunga a Te paepae Motuhake me piki te whakapaunga pūtea ki ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo mai ki te \$600M. I whakapaetia ko tōna \$225M i whakapauhia ki te reo i te tau 2006. Engari he wāhanga nui o aua moni kāore i pau ki te reo ake, engari ki te tiaki tamariki (i te kōhanga reo), ki te whakaako rānei (i ngā kura) (Lewis, 2014, wh. 230).

nāna nei te huarahi i para kia tū ai te kaupapa, he tokomaha ngā mea kāore i mātau ki te kōrero i te reo.

Te tūnga mai o ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo, kitea ana e toru ngā tino whakareanga o te ‘tira hou’ o te reo Māori.⁵³

Tūtohi 4: Ngā tau i whānau ai ngā reanga e toru i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori

I mua i te 1959	I waenga i te 1958 - 1979	I muri mai i te 1979
Te reanga i whānau mai i roto i ngā kāinga Māori o te tuawhenua, ko te reo Māori te reo kōrero o ngā pākeke ki ngā tamariki, i waenga i ngā tamariki, i roto hoki i te nuinga o ngā whakahaere. Kīia ana he ‘native speaker’.	Te reanga tamariki Māori i whānau i ngā tāone, kāore i whāngaihia ki te reo. Ko ngā mea mātau ki te reo o tēnei reanga iako i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo.	Te reanga o te kōhanga reo, o te KKM, otirā o ngā kāinga whakarauora reo Māori. Ko ētehi ko te reo Māori te reo tuatahi.

Kupu whakamārama: Nā Lane (2020); nāku, nā te kaituhi i whakamaori.

Ko te hunga “i pakeke mai i roto i te reo Māori ētehi o ngā tino kaikōkiri i ngā kaupapa [whakarauora reo]” (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018, wh. 138). Karangahia ai taua hunga e ētehi he ‘native speaker’ (Rewi & Jankowska, 2018), ko te nuinga o rātou i whānau mai i mua i te tau 1959 (Lane, 2020). Tino whakaatuahia ana taua hunga nei, he kaha nō te tōmina o ngā mokopuna kia rite tō rātou reo ki te reo o aua kuia, koroua (J. King, 2019). Rangona ana tērā i ngā kōrero a Joe Williams mō Hēmi Hēnare, nōna (nō Hēmi) i kōrero rā i mua i te aroaro o te Taraipiunara o Waitangi i te wā o te kerēme mō te reo Māori (Wai 11), arā;

It was exquisite Māori, perfectly modulated, not a piece of grammar out of place and I was just blown away, I had never heard someone speak Māori like that... and there it was, it was just dripping off his [tō Hēmi Hēnare] tongue like honey. (Johnsen, 2020)

Heoi, hei tā Tīmoti Kāretu (2018) “kāore he mana” o ngā karangatanga pēnei i te ‘native speaker’ mō ngā “taumata o te reo.” He mea karanga kē nāna ko “ngā tāngata i pakeke

⁵³ Kua kaha te tīkina o ēnei kupu mō ngā ringaringa, mō ngā waewae o ngā kaupapa Māori o te manotau nei. Nō te waiata nei, *Pinepine te kura*, te kōrero: “Tēnei te tira hou, tēnei haramai nei.”

mai ki te reo Māori” ko te hunga “matatau” (wh. 138). Ahakoa tana taunaki i te whakaaro mō te noho “atua” mai o te reanga matatau, ko tana aroha ia ki te hunga i ako i te reo Māori tuarua;

Ko tāku e aroha nei ko ngā mea e kīia nei he *second language speakers*, ko rātou te momo kei te kawē i te reo. Kei te kaha ake te reo i waenganui i tērā karangatanga ākongā i te kaha o te reanga o ēnei hunga e kīia nei he matatau. Ko te hunga e kīia nei he matatau, he tere te huri ki te reo Pākehā. I ngā marae, i hea noa iho, i hea noa iho, ko rātou ngā mea ka kōrero Pākehā, ko ngā mokopuna ngā mea ka ū. Kua roa rawa e noho ana, ānō he atua rātou, te hunga matatau, engari kei te kitea atu e ēnei reanga te uku o ngā waewae. (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018, wh. 138)

Ko te hunga nei i mate ki te ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, e ai ki ngā tūhuratanga a Lane (2020), i whānau mai i waenga i 1959 me 1978 (Tūtohi 4). Heoi, ko nuinga noa atu o ngā mea o tēnei pakeketanga kāore i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, kāore hoki i ako i te reo Māori.

Tērā ia ngā tauira i puta mai i ngā KKM, otirā i ngā whānau whakatupu tamariki i rumakina ki te reo Māori. Ko te nuinga ia nō te tau 1979, nō ngā tau i muri mai rānei i whānau ai, ā, waiho ana ko rātou hei whakatinana mai i ngā ōhākī mō te whakarauora reo. Ko rātou tētehi wāhanga o te ‘tira hou’ e eke nei i te ‘ngaru hou’ o te wāhi ki te reo Māori me te mātauranga Māori ki Aoteroa i te tau tuatahi i whakanuia ā-motuhia ai a Matariki (Whakaata Māori, 2022, 24 o Hune), ā, kua whakatangata ētehi, kua pīrere, kua tau ki ngā tūranga hautū o te pouaka whakaata, o te whare wānanga, o te ao pāpāho, o ngā kapa haka, o ngā poari o Te Mātāwai, o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, o te Kōhanga Reo, o ētehi KKM hoki.

Koia tēnei ko tā Ani-piki Tuari, i kuraina ki te kura kaupapa Māori, i uru hoki ki Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori (RNZ, 2022f).⁵⁴ Hei tāna, waiho ana ko te tokoiti kōrero Māori hei ‘mana nui,’ hei ‘awenga nui’ (“superpower”) nā te kōrero Māori te take. Ko

⁵⁴ Ko Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori he wānanga i whakatūria i te tau 2004 e Timoti Kāretu rātou ko Te Wharehuia Milroy, ko Pou Temara hei awahi i te hunga kua matatau ki te reo kia tae ki tētehi anō taumata o te reo, otirā kia pai ai ngā pae o ngā marae. Ko te tikanga whakauru ki Te Panekiretanga, mā te pōwhiri rā anō o te kaiako, o tētehi rānei o ngā ika a Whiro, arā, tētehi o ngā tauira i puta tana ihu i te kaupapa. Nā Te Wānanga o Aotearoa te kaupapa i tāwharau, tae atu ki te whakamoenga atu ōna i te tau 2019. Kua kīia ki te reo Pākehā he ‘elite Māori language school’ (Middleton, 2020). Tirohia a Waka Huia (2006), a Gloyne (2014). Nō waenga i ngā tau 2004-2019 i tū ai.

tana “oranga” ko “te reo”, ā, nā konā ia i ‘ahurei’ ai, i tupu ai tana mana i te kore noa iho o ētehi atu e mōhio ki te reo. Inā ana kōrero;

...how much of a superpower it is to have te reo Māori, so much so that i ēnei wā nei, i tēnei wā tonu, you know, ko te reo taku oranga, like, I mean that’s the one superpower that makes me different, and... dare I say it, but it puts me above so many others, because it’s something that unfortunately they don’t have. (RNZ, 2022f)

Tēnā ko te reanga ahungarua, ko te tini o rātou kua mene atu ki te pō, pēnei i a Maori Marsden (Royal, 2003b) me te nuinga hoki o ngā kaituhi o *Te tū a te toka: He iere nō ngā tai e whā* (Hōhepa & Raven, 2006)– ko ngā ringaringa, ko ngā waewae ērā o Te Ātārangi, o ngā kōhanga reo, otirā o ngā kaupapa whakarauora o te 1970-1980 - kīhai kē te maha o rātou i āta kōrero mō te reo ake; i kōrero kē mō te āhua o te noho, mō te āhua o te whānau, o te hapū, otirā mō te ao i te wā e ohi ana rātou

I pēnei ai pea, he kore nō te reo i mahara nuitia, nā te mea e kōrerohia ana te reo huri noa i ō rātou kāinga, pēnei me te hau e pupuhi ana, pēnei hoki me te wai e rere ana i ngā manga. Kāore he kōrero mō te rangatira o te reo, mō te tapu o te reo, mō te mauri o te reo, mō te mana o te reo. Nō reira, mō rātou pea te kōrero: “He rerekē te ahurea i pakeke mai ai au – e kōrero Māori katoa ana ngā whānau, he mahi kai te whāinga nui” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008, wh. 8).⁵⁵

Kāore hoki i rerekē ake ināianeī, ahakoa te mana nui o te reo, otirā o te hunga kōrero i te reo, ko te tino oranga o te tangata, ko te kai, ko te whenua; engari ia, ko te ‘ahurea’ i noho ai taua reanga – te noho ā-hapū, me te āhei o te tangata ki te kimi oranga mōna i ngā hua o te whenua, o te moana – kua kore ināianeī. Ko te moni kē te atua e whiwhi ai te tangata ki te kai, ki tētehi kāinga noho i tēnei wā. Ko te moni hoki e whakaawe ana i

⁵⁵ He tauria kōrero tēnei mō te kupu nei, mō ‘ahurea’ i roto o te papakupu reo Māori katoa, o *He Pātaka Kupu*. Ko ‘ahurea’ tētehi o ngā kupu Māori hou o te āhua 35 tau ka taha nei he hua nō ngā mahi hanga kupu a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, a ngā kura (arā, ngā kaiako, ngā ohu marau, Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga me ngā kamupene i tonoa e ia ki te hanga rauemi, ki te tuhi pepa whakamātautau). Kua āhua tangata whenua a ‘ahurea’ hei kupu taurite mō te kupu ‘culture.’ Ko ōna whakamārama reo Māori a He Pātaka Kupu, e pēnei ana: “Ngā tikanga, ngā whakaponono, ngā toi, ngā tutukinga a tētehi iwi, ā tētehi rōpū rānei; te katoa o ngā āhuatanga o te noho a tētehi iwi, a tētehi rōpū rānei. Ki te upoko tuarima, upoko tuaono hoki kōrerohia ai ētehi o ngā mātāpono o te whakawhiti, o te whakauru rānei i ētehi kupu, otirā me ngā mātāpono i ahu mai ai taua kupu ki reo kē.

te 'whiwhi' o te tangata ki te reo; ka mutu, ko te reo ia e whakaawe ana i te whiwhi o te tangata ki te moni.

Kāti, kia huri ake te titiro ki ērā atu o te 'tira hou' o te reo Māori: ko te reanga i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua. Kei pōhēhē tātou, he ōrite katoa ngā hīkoitanga o te hunga i ako i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua. Ko te nuinga pea i whānau mai i waenga i te 1945 me te 1979 (Te Ipukarea, 2017c), arā, i ngā tau i riro ai te tini o tātou ki ngā tāone noho ai (Hond, 2013), pēnei i a Tainui Stephens (Stephens, 2020), i a Jeremy Tātere MacLeod (Marae, 2014). Ko rāua tahi e 'ahi teretere' ana, ka hoki ki te wā kāinga ki te tutungi i taua ahi rā kia kā, ko te ako i te reo tētehi o ngā mata i kikoha i tērā hokinga atu. He wāhanga nui hoki tō te whare wānanga e kikoha ai aua mata rā.

Heoi, ahakoa te reanga o te kōhanga reo, o te kura kaupapa Māori i whānau mai i muri i te tau 1979, ko te nuinga noa atu o ngā tamariki Māori i whānau i taua wā, kāore i haere ki te kōhanga reo, kāore rānei i haere ki te kura reo Māori i muri mai. Ko ētehi i ako i te kura tuarua, ka haere ki ngā momo whare wānanga, pēnei i a Hēmi Kelly (Whakaata Māori, 2020a). Ko ētehi kē atu ka tae ki te kōhanga reo, ki te KKM, engari kāore e ū ki taua ara, ka 'ngaro' te reo o te taitamarikitanga, pēnei i a Te Aniwa Hurihanganui (Hurihanganui, 2021).

Kāti, ko ngā mea kua eke ki te karangatanga 'mātanga' o te 'tira hou' kei te kaha hoki te kauanuanutia, te whakarangatirahia. Kīia ana rātou he 'mumu,' he 'hautupua' mō rātou i kaha ki te ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, ahakoa pea i whānau mai, i pakeke mai i Ahitereiria (Te Ao Māori News, 2019f), i whānau kore-reo mai rānei (Te Ao Māori News, 2020).

He aha koa nō tēwhea whakatupuranga e toru nei o te 'tira hou,' ko te tini o rātou he ihuputa nō te whare wānanga, kei ngā tūranga ngaio hoki, tūranga hautū kaupapa. He hunga tēnei kua pūkekotia: kua tākuta, kua ahōrangī, kua ruanuku, kua 'tā' (engari, he tokoiti kē atu kua 'kahurangi'). Kua huri ētehi ki te whakatū pakihi, ā, kei te pōwhiringia e ngā Mīnita me ngā tari kāwanatanga hei kaiwhiriwhiri kaupapa here. Kei te kawau mārō o te whakarauoratanga reo ko te 'mātanga reo Māori,' ā, ka mutu e whakaritea ana ngā tohunga takutaku i Te Matahi o te Tau 2022 ki ngā pūkenga, ki ngā wānanga ka uru ki ngā whare wānanga pēnei me Harvard nei (Kahawai Productions, 2022).

Ko tauiwi hoki tērā kei te ‘tira hou’ (Gildea, 2022). Ka mutu, e kaha ana te kauanuanutia, te tauawhitia i roto i te reo Māori pērā i a Jennifer ‘Te Atamira’ Ward-Leiland, kaiwhakaari, ringa tohu hoki mōna i ako i te reo Māori, ka tapaina ai ki tōna ingoa Māori. Eke ana hoki ia hei Pou Mātārae mō Aotearoa i te tau 2020 (Waatea News, 2020). Ko Ngā Rauawa o te Reo Māori hoki ērā kua uruuru haere ki ngā whare wānanga Māori (Te Ipukarea, 2013; Te Karere 2017). Tae atu hoki ki ngā kaiwaiata, pēnei i a Lorde, i manaaki nuitia rā e ētehi o ngā mātanga reo ki te whakaputa waiata reo Māori (Hayden, 2021).

Kei konā te tū o ngā pihi o ētehi, te matangurunguru kē rānei o ētehi, te tupu rānei o te hongehongea, o te maninohea i roto i ngā puku o ētehi o ngāi tātou mō te korenga o rātou i whai wāhi ki te ako tahi me ngā mātanga o te reo (Te Ao Māori News, 2022), otirā mō te whakamahinga o te reo Māori hei ‘meka whakapaipai mō te kaki’ (‘virtue signalling’) (Jones, 2021). Ānō nei, ahakoa te raupatuhia o ngā whenua, ko te huri tēnei o tauiwi ki te raupatu i te reo hei painga mō tana ngākau kaniawhea mō ngā hara o mua, hei painga rānei mōna i roto i te ao tauhokohoko nei. Kāti, ko te kūrakuraku hoki a ētehi o tātou i ahu mai i te whakaaro kei raro tonu rātou e putu ana, taha-whenua, taha-pūtea, taha-oranga, taha-reo, engari huri kē ana tāua te Māori – ngā mea mōhio ki te reo – ki te awhi i a tauiwi (RNZ, 2022b; Royal Society of New Zealand - Te Apārangi, 2022). Ko te urupare a te ‘tira hou’ o te reo Māori e pari kārangaranga nei o rātou reo ki te takiwā, nā te ‘tarahae’ kau i kore ai ētehi (Māori) i pai ki tēnei āhua, ā, mā te Pākehā ka ora te reo, mā te Pākehā rongonui e whaimana ai te reo Māori (Waiata Anthems, 2022). Heoi anō tā te hunga reo-kore he tohe, nāna, arā, nā te hunga kore-reo o Ngā Tamatoa, i mātua tohe kia whakarauorangia te reo (Ramari Jackson-Paniora & Connie Buchanan, 2022).⁵⁶ Tū atu, tū mai ngā taukumekume nei mō te āhua ki ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo.

E pērā ana hoki ētehi kūrakuraku mō te āhua ki ngā whakapaunga pūtea i roto i ngā kura. Inā hoki, kei te rau miriona tāra te rahi o ngā pūtea e whakapauhia ana ki Te Ahu o te Reo, e ākona ai ngā kaiako ki te reo Māori. Nō te tau tuatahi i aronuitia ko ngā kaiako i ngā kura auraki (arā, he Pākehā, he tauiwi te nuinga) (Ministry of Education, 2020; RNZ,

⁵⁶ He mea patu a Hana Jackson mō te kōrero Māori i a ia i te kura, nō reira ahakoa te kōrerohia e ana mātua, kāore ia i kōrero Māori.

2020b; Whakaata Māori, 2020b). Nō muri mai, aroa tonutia ana rātou, engari me te whai wāhi hoki o ngā kura kaupapa Māori ki taua pūtea rā.

Kia huri ināianei ki te whakatū i Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Tū mai rā Te Whare o te Reo Māori

I tēnei rangahau e whakaritea ana ngā mahi whakarauora reo Māori ki te whare, arā, he pou, he tāhū ō te whare i tū ai; he pou, he tāhū hoki ō te whakarauoratanga reo i tū ai, ka tahi. Ka rua, ko te whare hei āhuru mōwai mō te tangata, mō te hapū. Nō reira, ko te tupuna whare, arā, ko te ‘whare whakahekeheke kōrero’ a Tāne-whakapiripiri (McFarland, 2015), hei whakapiringa mō te iwi, ā, kei reira ngā ‘whakapapa kōrero’ (Smith, 2000) a te iwi e iri ana. E pērā ana hoki te whakarauoratanga o te reo: he ‘whakapapa kōrero’ ōna, he ‘tāhū kōrero’ hoki ōna e iri ana i roto i ōna ‘whare kōrero.’ Waihoki, he tikanga, he kawa ō te whare e mōhiotia ai ko wai mā e pai ana kia tomo atu, ā, he aha ngā tikanga whakahaere mō roto; ā, he pērā hoki Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Ko aua pou kaupapa, ko au pou tangata i kōrerohia i ngā kōwae takamua o tēnei upoko.

Ehara i te mea he tuatahitanga tēnei, te whakaritea o te reo ki te whare, kāo. Arā kē te ‘Whare Whakamana’ a Ian Christensen (Christensen, 2001), te ‘Whare Tāhuhu Kōrero o Hauraki’ a Korohere Ngāpō (Ngāpō, 2012), me ngā ‘whare kōrero’ a Agnes McFarland rāua ko Taiarahia Black (McFarland & Black, 2015; McFarland & Black, 2016). Kei konā anō hoki Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora e noho nei ngā tūmanako mō te reo Māori i tēnei wā (2023) (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-b).

Nā, kua oti taku tātai mai i Te Whare o te Reo Māori kia pai ai te whakaahuangia mai o ētehi o ana āhuatanga i ngā upoko 4-6. Heoi, e tū nei te whare nei i te ao hurihuri nei, e karawhiua ana e ngā hau pūkeri o te wā, e pariparia ana hoki e ngā tai o te wā, ā, e rahurahutia ana hoki e ngā kawekawe o te taniwha nei, o Tāmi. Ka huri au i konei ki te whakamārama i te taniwha nei, i a Tāmi-mata-tini.

Ko Tāmi-mata-tini

Nā te taniwha nei, nā Tāmi a tauwi i unga mai ki ngā moutere nei, he hiakai nōna ki te whenua, he hiakai hoki ki te tangata, he hiakai nōna ki te rawa, ki te moni (Comyn, 2022).

He nui ngā mata o Tāmi: ko Tāmi-kirimangu, ko Tāmi-wahine, ko Tāmi-wai-ake-rānei, engari ko tērā atu o ngā mata ko Tāmi-hao-rawa.⁵⁷ Inā hoki, ahakoa ngā tāmitanga kaikiri i a tātou te iwi Māori, me ngā iwi kirimangu, iwi taketake hoki o te ao, he ritenga ērā e tāmia ai ō konei iwi kia pai ai tana muru i te whenua, me tana hao i ngā oranga katoa, he whakataurekareka hoki i te iwi tangata whenua (Bulhan, 2015).

Ehara i te mea nō nehe noa iho ngā mahi a Tāmi, engari e rahurahu tonu nei, e rahurahu tonu nei, arā;

The first assault was on the world of things, particularly the land of conquered non-European peoples to exploit gold, silver, and other commodities. The second assault was on the world of people for obtaining free labor and carrying out sexual exploitation. The third assault was the world of meaning by changing indigenous religions, knowledge and identities. (Jackson, 2020b, wh. 242)

Ko te tuatoru o ngā ngaunga mai o Tāmi kei runga i ō tātou whakapono, ō tātou mātauranga, me ngā taura herehere i a tātou ki a tātou anō. Hei tā Hinurewa Poutū, nā wai i “taipūwhenuatia” mai ngā motu o Aotearoa, o Te Waipounamu, ka “taipūhinengarotia” ōna iwi (Poutū, 2015, wh. 212). Engari i taipūtia hoki ngā tinana, ngā tikanga, tae atu ki te reo ake.

Katoa ngā mata o Tāmi he mata whakatuanui e takahia ai te mana o tētehi iwi, kia piki ai te mana o tētehi iwi kē (he iwi kiritea nō Ingarangi, nō Ūropi), ā, i reira ka riro ngā whenua i te iwi ringa kaha (mau pū), engari ka riro hoki ō tātou tinana hei ringa raupā, hei tuarā maitai, hei pokowhiwhi kaha i runga i aua whenua i riro rā i te Pākehā. Koia i kīia ai;

Māori constituted the working class of New Zealand’s capitalist economy: New Zealand evolved as a colony within a capitalist world economy, where British settlers destroyed Maori society in their lust for land, and where class exploited, and exploits, class for profit. (van Meijl, 2020, wh. 84)

⁵⁷ Ko ‘angahaorawa’ te kupu a PaeKupu mō tēnei mea te ‘capitalism.’ He kupu Māori hou tēnei i hangaia mai mō te wāhanga Tikanga ā-Iwi o Te Marautanga o Aotearoa. Tirohia a www.paekupu.co.nz

Ka mahi hoki te mihingare me te kura ki te tāmī i te reo, i te mātauranga, i te tikanga (Mikaere, 2011, wh. 218-9 & 245-9; Mikaere, 2016; Petrie, 2002b; Simon et al., 2001).

Nō reira, ko te mahi a te taniwha hao rawa he muru i ngā rawa o tētehi iwi, kia riro ai i tētehi atu iwi, otirā kia tau mai ko ētehi tikanga kē atu e 'ora' ai te tangata (Rosamund, 2018).⁵⁸ Nā te taniwha hao rawa hoki i kawea mai ai te moni, ā, nāna i wetekina ai te here o te rangatira me tana hapū ki ō rātou whenua – ngā whenua kīhai i mātua raupatuhia – ka kīia nō te tangata ake tētehi poraka whenua.⁵⁹ Ko te whenua te oranga o te tangata, nō reira ko te hunga i motu mai i te whenua, motu mai ana hoki i ngā mahinga kai, i ngā pātaka kai, motu mai ana hoki te taura here tangata (Penetito, 2010, wh. 116-7).

E ai ki a Haunani Trask, i kawea tahitia mai e Kāpene Kuki te Hao-rawa, ngā momo whakaaro o ngā iwi o Te Uru, pēnei i te tākirikiri i ngā here o te tangata ki ētehi atu kia tū tāhanga ai ia ko tōna kotahi, hei kai mā te taniwha kaitangata me te whakapono Karaitiana (He mea kite i roto i a L. T. Smith, 2012, wh. 20).⁶⁰ Me kōrero hoki tētehi atu take o ngā pōkaitanga whenua a Kāpene Kuki: ko te mātauranga pūtaiao.⁶¹ Ēnei āhuetanga katoa, kāore e taea te wehewehe, engari e kāwitiwiti ana, e kātoatoa ana i roto i ngā mahi tāmī (Stewart, 2007, wh. 46).

Ko te tai i pari mai ai a Tāmī-hao-rawa, ko te kaupapa e kīia nei ko te *Liberalism*. I pari tuatahi mai te *Liberalism* i roto o Ūropi i te heke haere o te mana o te ariki (o te kīngi, o te kuīni rānei), kia eke te whakaaro he mana tō ia tangata, tō ia tangata, ahakoa ko wai.⁶² Ko te tohu o taua mana, ko te āhei o te tangata (arā, ko tana whaimana, ko te wātea

⁵⁸ E kōrerohia ana te “accumulation by dispossession.” E ai ki a Ben Rosamund, “The power of rangatira is that which was dispossessed by British settlers in order to establish a sovereign state and the capitalist mode of production” (Rosamund, 2018, wh. 3).

⁵⁹ Nā te Ture Whenua Māori 1865 i whakatauhia ai kia kaua e neke atu i te 10 ngā tāngata o roto i tētehi poraka whenua, kia pai ai te whakapūngurutia o ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te whenua, otirā kia māmā ake ai te whakatākirihia o ngā honohono o te rangatira me tana hapū ki te whenua. Tirohia a <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/native-land-court-created>

⁶⁰ I kōrero a Haunani Trask mō te “predatory individualism.”

⁶¹ Ahakoa ngā tikanga matahuhua o te kupu ‘pūtaiao,’ e whakamahia ana i konei hei kupu Māori mō te ‘Science.’ Tirohia ngā tuhinga a Georgina Tuari Stewart (2007, 2010).

⁶² E kōrerohia ana ngā “universal human rights.”

hoki ōna i ngā here) ki te ‘pupuru’ i tētehi tūtanga whenua, otirā ki te whakamahi, ki te hoko atu rānei i taua whenua rā.⁶³

British ideas for reform had more appeal for some sections of Māori society than others, and incentives for adopting them were greater for those chiefly leaders most courted by government or demoninational interests. Government, missionaries, and settlers, however, were motivated by other incentives. By reconciling capitalism, property rights, Utilitarianism, and colonisation with Christianity, the ideas of thinkers such as Locke, Richard Whately, and J. S. Mill has appeal for most of those involved in colonising New Zealand. (Petrie, 2006, wh. 82)

He āhuetanga tēnei nō te *Liberalism*, otirā nō te ao o te Hao-rawa. Hei tā Grant Duncan (2007) mō te *Liberalism*: “The freedom to personal ownership of property (especially land, but including any material asset) and the right to use of sell that property as one sees fit are fundamental to modern capitalist economics” (wh. 46). Waihoki, ahakoa te whānui o ngā tirohanga o te hunga nā runga mai o te tuarā o *Liberalism*, e kotahi ana rātou i te whakaaro e pā ana ki te ‘mana ōrite,’ te ‘ture’ me te ‘noho here-kore o te tangata’ (Fukuyama, 2022).

Hei tā John Grey (i roto i a Fukuyama, 2022) mō te *Liberalism*:

It is individualistic, in that it asserts the moral primacy of the person against the claims of the social collectivity; egalitarian, inasmuch as it confers on all men the same moral status and denies the relevance to legal or political order of differences and moral worth among human beings; universalist, affirming the moral unity of the human species and according a secondary importance to specific historic associations and cultural forms, and melliorist, in its affirmation of the incorrigibility and improvability of all social institutions and political arrangements. (Fukuyama, 2022)

Heoi anō te mate, kīhai te ‘mana ōrite’ i tae ki ngā iwi ehara i te kiritēa, kīhai i tae ki te wahine, ā, roa noa, kāore i tae ki te tūtūā kāore nei ōna whenua.⁶⁴ Ko ōna kawekawe ērā e toro ana ki roto i ngā ture whenua Māori, arā;

⁶³ Ko te ‘pupuru’ i te whenua (land ownership) he āhuetanga kāore e tino taea e te reo Māori te kapo.

⁶⁴ Nō te tau 1853 i tū ai te pōti ā-motu tuatahi i Aotearoa nei, engari ko te tāne ‘pupuru whenua’ anake i whakaaetia ki te pōti. Nō te tau 1879 rā anō i whakamanatia ai te ture kia āhei ngā tāne katoa ki te pōti. Engari i maha ake ngā pōti a te hunga ‘pupuru whenua.’ Nō te tau 1889 rā anō i whakakahorengia taua tikanga rā, kia puta te kōrero, ‘He tāne kotahi, he pōti kotahi.’ Ā, nō te tau 1893 i whakaaetia ai tā te wahine pōti, kia puta ai te kōrero, ‘He tangata kotahi, he pōti kotahi.’ Heoi, i te tau 2023, kāore tonu e taea ana e ētehi mauhere o Aotearoa – neke atu i te hāwhē o rātou he Māori - te pōti (Atkinson, 2015).

The Native Lands Acts were driven by a particular ideology, one that arose from that array of ideas, ideals and rhetoric which, for convenience, we call 'liberalism.' One important component of the liberal brew was a belief in the social and economic benefits of individual – rather than corporate, or collective – ownership of land. (Boast, 2015, wh. 249)

I tēnei rangahau, e tōmenehia ana te rahurahu o ngā ihomatua o te *Liberalism* me te taniwha nei, me Tāmi-hao-rawa, ki ō tātou whakaaro e pā ana ki te hunga kei roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori me ērā kei waho (upoko tuawhā), tae atu ki ētehi kupu e rua kua urutomo mai ki te reo Māori (upoko tuarima, tuaono hoki).

Te Whare Whakahirahira

He mea nui kia āta miramiratia ngā kawekawe o Tāmi, nā te mea i taku tūhuratanga i ētehi āhuatanga o Te Whare o te Reo Māori, rokohanga atu e āta rahurahu ana aua kawekawe i ōna kōrero, i ōna mātāpono. Me te aha, tērā te puta o te kōrero, mehemea ko *Te Whare Whakahirahira* tērā hei tauira mō te 'ao Māori' (Tirohia a Te Whare Whakahirahira i wh. 33 o te Upoko Tuarua), kāti, e rahurahutia ana ngā ruruku o taua whare.

Kitea ana ngā hua o Tāmi-haehae-taura-tangata ki te noho ā-hapū i ngā kupu a Tīmoti Kāretu;

Ko te mea hoki i tipu mai mātou o tōku nā reanga i tētehi ao Māori rere kē noa atu i te ao Māori o ēnei wā. Ko te rerekē nui o ērā wā, ka noho tōpū tonu te marae, noho marae hoki. Pakeke mai (au) i runga i te marae. Katoa ngā whare e karapoti ana i te marae rā, ka noho hei kāinga mōu. Ko ngā tāngata o roto i ērā whare, ka taea e koe te rīri(a) mai e rātou, ka taea e koe te whāngai(hia) mai e rātou. Ērā āhuatanga katoa. Kua kore i pērā te ao Māori o ēnei wā. Ko te mate o te ao Māori o wēnei wā - ētehi rā - o ngā mātua o ngā tamariki Māori o ēnei wā, kāore e whakaae kia patua e tētehi atu. Ki te patua e koe tā rātou tamaiti, a! Tū mai ana ngā pihi. Nō reira, he rerekē te titiro a te ao Māori o ēnei... nā te mea kua kaha te Pākehā o te noho a te Māori o ēnei wā, kua Pākehā kē te titiro ki a ia anō, kua kore i Māori, ki tāku titiro. He aha te hua o te reo ki te kore he tikanga? (Whakaata Māori, 2018b)

Ko tā te matua he "patu" i ōna wā, he "whāngai" i ōna wā, kia pai ai te tupu o te tamaiti. Heoi, kāore noa iho ia i pērāhia e ana mātua ake, engari i 'matua rautia.' Hei Tā Wharehuia Milroy;

Mōku tonu nei, nā taku pakeketanga i te taha o taku koroua, o taku whaea me aku pāpā, me aku whaea, o roto i tōku iwi, o tōku hapū anō, i riro ai au

mā te tokomaha e poipoi, e ārahi, e whakakōrero i roto i te ahurea a te Māori ka kīia ai i matua rautia taku noho. (Milroy, 2014, wh. 197)

Nā konā anō pea i waiatahia rā e Hīrini Melbourne te “pōteretere” o te iwi Māori i te ao hurihuri nei, ki tana waiata, *Pōteretere ana au*, me ngā “mate” e “taupokitia” ai te iwi Māori kei ngā tāone e noho ana;

*Kātahi au ka kite i te hē
I te mate e taupokitia nei
e te pō uriuri ē*

*Tāhūhūhū kau ana te hunga
kia puta ki te whai i ahau
ki te ao mārama ē (RNZ, 2010b)*

Ko tā Hīrini whakamārama ki a Piripi Walker mō tēnei o ngā waiata, arā, mō te tūtakarerewa o te Māori;

[Ko] te titiro a te Māori ki tōna ao me ngā hereherenga, ngā paiherenga o te ao...o tangata ki tōna ao, o te tangata ki ngā uri e noho nei i runga i a Papatūānuku, otirā e noho ana i runga i te whakaaro he whanaunga kotahi. Engari kua tāwhitiwhiti ēnei mea i roto i a tātou. Kua hūtia mai tātou i te pūtake o ō tātou tūrangawaewae, kua whakatōhia ki ētehi wāhi noa atu, ānō nei ko ngā purapura i ruia nei ko ētehi i taka ki te one pai, ko ētehi i taka ki te koraha. Kei te māharaharaha noa iho ake rā e Piripi. Koinei te āhuetanga o ngā whakaaro kei roto i ngā waiata. Engari he kaupapa taumaha tēnei... (RNZ, 2010b)

Ko tā Ruakere Hond he rangahau i ngā āhuetanga e pā ana ki te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori me te ora o te ‘hapori reo,’ ā, i tapaina te ingoa ki tana tuhingaroa, ko “Matua te reo, matua te tangata” (Hond, 2013). Ko tētehi mātāpono nui i roto i tēnei rangahau āku, ko te whai i tērā o ngā whakaaro o Ruakere, arā, e haere tahi ana te ora o te reo Māori me ora o te iwi Māori. E whai ana hoki i tā Hīrini kōrero mō *Te Whare Whakahirahira*: mehemea ko te tāhuhu o te whare ko te reo me ngā tikanga, mā te iwi rā anō e toko ake, nō reira kāore e taea te whakaora i te reo ki te kore te iwi e ora.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga

E kīia ana tātou he iwi e “taupokitia ana e ngā pokenga o te ao,”⁶⁵ pēnei i te rawakoretanga, me ngā āhuatanga katoa ka . Engari kāore tonu i ōrite te ngau o ngā rawakore ki te katoa o tātou . Nā te waimarie noa iho pea, nā te aha kē rānei i taka ai ētehi ki te ‘one pai’ (wh. 70), ā, tupu haumarua ana i roto i te tōnui ā-whānau; ko ētehi ia i wairuatoa, ka tau ki te ‘koraha.’

Ko te koraha nei, ko te ‘kore-kai,’ ko te ‘kāinga-koretanga,’ ko te ‘auhi’ (McIntosh, 2006).⁶⁶ Ko te tini o ngāi tātou i āta kāwhakina e ngā tari kāwanatanga ka mauherea ki ngā whare herehere mō ngā rangatahi (arā, ngā ‘borstals’), ka tūkinohia. I pērāhia rānei i rō kura, i rō whare ‘atawhai,’ i ngā whare mō te hauā, mō te wairangi i waenga i te 1950 me te 1999 (Brankin, 2020). Ki tā Donna Matehaere-Atariki, “We lost a huge part of our demographic to state care – our people, our human capital – and they’ve been returned to us wounded, angry and disenfranchised” (Brankin, 2020, wh. 17).

Hei tā Tracey McIntosh (2021c), e mahitahi nei ki te mauhere Māori, ki te kēnge Māori hoki – ngā mea tāne, mea wāhine hoki – me tana kī ake, e kite ana ia i te taha tamariki ēnei huanga o tātou, he tamariki pāmamae: “I’m with hard, hard case men, hard case women. And so often I see that child within. That hurt child, damaged child within.”

E mea ana hoki ia me āta whakaaro ake tātou ki te take i tae ai tātou ki te wāhi e tū nei tātou, ahakoa kei te whare herehere, ahakoa kei tētehi tūranga whaimana, arā, “Everyone should know why they where they are: whether that be in prison, whether that be in a place of privilege, to understand the place of context” (Whakaata Māori, 2021c). He wā e rangona ai ētehi paku kōrero mō te waimarie o te hunga kōrero Māori o te tira hou nei, engari ko te kōrero nui kē ia, mā te tangata anō ia e kuhu e mau ai i a ia te reo.

⁶⁵ Tirohia te waiata a Hīrini Melbourne i wh. 70.

⁶⁶ Hei tā Tracey McIntosh: “Hunger, homelessness and hysteria” (McIntosh, 2006).

Waihoki, tērā ngā kōrero mā te ako kau i te reo Māori ka ea ngā pōrarururutanga (Poata-Smith, 1996). Engari, ko te urupare a Tracey McIntosh (2021c), kei te rawakoretanga me ngā tikanga tāmi kē te tino pūtake o ngā mate e ngau tonu nei;

We can't just always look for cultural solutions to structural problems. That's a part of our healing element, but it's the structural solutions we need to look for. Poverty is slow violence. Marginalisation is slow violence. The constant narrowing of opportunities. These are slow violence. (Whakaata Māori, 2021c)

Inā hoki, ehara i te mea kei runga tātou katoa i te waka reo kotahi, kāo; arā ngā wehewehenga o te iwi Māori i roa ake ai te mau o ētehi ki te reo, ko ētehi kē ia, e whā, e rima whakatupuranga pea e ngaro ana. Ā, ka mutu, ko ngā wehenga o mua, nā te whakapapa, nā te āhuetanga rānei o te noho ā-hapū i ngā kāinga kāore i tino whakaekengia e tauwiwi, pēnei me ērā o Te Urewera, o Te Tairāwhiti hoki (Benton, 1997). Engari ko ngā wehewehenga pea o nāiane, ko te whai rawa, ko te kore rānei; ko te whai tohu, ko te kore rānei; ko te whai wāhi ki ngā kaupapa reo, ki ngā whare reo Māori, pēnei me te Kōhanga Reo me te KKM (te kura reo Māori rānei), ko te kore rānei.

Te mate ā-moni, te ora ā-moni

Ko te ora o ngā kaupapa pēnei i te Kōhanga Reo, o Te Ataarangi, me ētehi pea o ngā kura kaupapa Māori i ngā tau tōmua i tū ai, i ora i ngā kuia, koroua o taua wā, he matatau kē ki te reo, engari kāore hoki e pōkaikaha ana ki te kimi oranga mō rātou;

Te Ataarangi thrived in its early years, moved mainly by the voluntary elders who were retired, well established in their homes, with relatively low levels of financial burden, and who had time available to provide support. Costs for travel, resources and running learning hui were paid for mainly by fundraising. (Hond, 2013, wh. 211)

Arā anō ngā kaupapa pērā, nā ngā kuia, koroua i waha, ā, nā te mahi moni a te iwi i ora ai, pēnei i ngā kōrero a Piripi Walker mō Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika (RNZ, 2021d).

Heoi, pau ana tōna tekau tau nei o Te Ataarangi, ka kitea ngā āki o te oranga ā-pūtea ki ngā mea taitamariki ake o te kaupapa, e whakatupu tamariki ana, e hoko whare ana;

Younger practitioners, with young families and establishing their homes, found it difficult to maintain their participation without associating their work to some form of employment. Many of these kaiwhakaako were frustrated that the high level of oral proficiency achieved in Te Ataarangi was

seldom recognised by employers. They often found work only as assistants to graduates of programmes with formal qualifications but who lacked the oral proficiency. The underlying problem for Te Ataarangi was due less to the need for qualifications and more to the result of a chronic shortage of resourcing. Government funds were only being made available to formal bodies that delivered accredited programmes and approved qualifications. As a result, increasingly the kaupapa shifted away from an emphasis on community-based learning and towards the provision of well-resourced qualification-bearing programmes with formally enrolled students. (Hond, 2013, wh. 213)

E ai ki a Ruakere Hond (2013), ko te aronga nui o te kāwanatanga he whakapakari i te reo kōrero o te tangata hei taonga māna ake, arā, hei whakaora i a ia anō, he āhuetanga i tino whakawhenuatia i roto i ngā kaupapa here i ngā tau whakamutunga o te 1980. Tēnā ko ngā kaupapa hei painga mō te iwi nui tonu, kīhai i tino manaakitia;

The emphasis given to oral proficiency in Māori language as a private good to derive personal gain has been a strong theme of government policy since the late 1980s in a shift towards market-driven education. Accordingly, community-based learning for public good objectives has been less well supported. (Hond, 2013, wh. 213)

Ko ngā 'raruraru o te kāinga' ēnei (Smith, 1997) i tīmata te pā mai ki a tātou i ngā mahi tuatahi a Tāmi, engari nā wai i toimaha, ka toimaha kē atu i ngā kaupapa hao-rawa o ngā tau o te 1980, nāna nei i tau ai a Te Ataarangi me ērā atu o ngā 'pou' o Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Kia whakamau te titiro ki ētehi āhuetanga e whaipānga ana ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori i te tau 2022.

He kaupapa Māori, he Kaupapa reo Māori rānei?

Ko tētehi kaupapa nui i tēnei tuhingaroa, ko te whakangangahu ake i te rerekē o te kaupapa 'reo Māori' i te 'Kaupapa Māori,' otirā o te kaupapa whakarauora reo i te kaupapa whakarauora, whakamana hoki i te tangata Māori.

Tērā te whakaaro o Hana-Rāwhiti Maipi-Clarke mā te whakamāori i te ingoa o te tiakarete, mā te whatu rānei i ētehi paraikete Māori he nui ake te hāwhe o te pūtea e

whiwhi ana te tangata Māori i te tau 2022 (Tatauranga Aotearoa-StatsNZ, 2023)⁶⁷ e pai ai te kī e ‘tere ana te waka’ o te reo Māori rānei, o te iwi Māori rānei ‘i roto i ngā ao e rua’ (Dunlop & McCaull, 2022).⁶⁸ Tērā hoki te whakatau a te kaunihera o ngā kaiako, a Matatū Aotearoa⁶⁹ mā te mātau ake o ngā kaiako ki te reo me ngā tikanga e whakamutua ai te tūkinō tamariki Māori i roto i ngā whare ‘atawhai’ o te kāwanatanga (RNZ, 2022a).

Kei te iho o tērā whakaaro, ko ngā whanaketanga o te reo Māori e tohu ana i te ‘piki ake ai tātou i ngā raruraru katoa o te kāinga,’ ā, mā te mōhio rānei o te kaiako (ahakoa nō whea ia) ki te reo Māori ka tupu te aroha i roto i a ia ki te tamaiti Māori, ā, ka mutu ngā tūkinō i roto i ngā kura.

Heoi, hei tā Heather Johnson (2014), e pōhēhēngia ana ‘te take o ngā mate e pā kino nei ki te Māori, ko tō rātou kore i mātau ki te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori, ahakoa ko te mate kē ko ngā momo takahanga o te mana Māori,’⁷⁰ ānō nei ko te rongōā mō ngā mahi tūkinō a te kāwanatanga i ngā tamariki Māori he whakamāori i te ingoa o te tiakarete, he whatu paraikete rānei kāore e taea e te nuinga o ngā Māori te hoko, he nui rawa nō te utu.

Tērā hoki ngā kōrero o roto ake o te Whare Pāremata. Hei tā Shane Jones, me mutu pai noa iho ngā kaupapa whakawehewehe e patipatihia ai ngā pōti a ngā rōpū maunawe mō te korenga o rātou i whaimana, kāti hoki ngā kōrero whakawehewehe i ngā iwi, engari ia me aro kē ki te ora o te tangata (Jones, 2022; RNZ, 2021e).⁷¹

Ko te whakamahara mai a Heather Johnson i te kaha o te tetē o ngā niho o te taniwha kaitangata nei a Hao-kai-tangata (Tirohia: Ko Tāmi-mata-tini, wh. 65), more kau ana ngā

⁶⁷ E \$46,579 te pūtea ka whiwhi te Māori (ko te pūtea toharite tēnei, ānō ka whakaemihia te katoa o ngā moni ka utua ki ngā Māori katoa, kātahi ka tohaina ki te katoa kia ōrite ai tā tēnā, tā tēnā e whiwhi ai). Ko te rite tēnei ki te \$895.75 i te wiki. Kei te takiwā o te \$500 te utu mō ngā paraikete a *Noa*.

⁶⁸ Hei tā Hana-Rāwhiti ki te hunga i whakarauika atu ki te Whare Pāremata ki te whakanui i te 50 tau mai i te kawenga o te petihana mō te reo Māori ki reira, he whakanui i ngā kauneketanga o te reo Māori i roto i aua tau rā, ka mea, “Māori Health Authority, Māori wards, Matariki, kura kaupapa, kōhanga reo, Te Matatini. We're even decolonising our blankets and chocolate.” Ko tāna anō, “I'll leave the decision with you whether you want to jump on our waka or not, because with or without you we will sail in both worlds.”

⁶⁹ Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand.

⁷⁰ Hei tā Heather Johnson (2014): “[A] cultural deficit explanation for Māori inequality” (wh. 25).

⁷¹ Hei tā Shane Jones ki te Pirīmia o Aotearoa, ki a Jacinda Ardern, “Stop the forays into identity politics, de-colonisation and global posturing, St Jacinda. We must focus on economic essentials.”

niho o te Kaupapa Māori. Ākuanei pea āminehia ana te uru atu o te reo Māori me ētehi tikanga Māori ki roto i ngā tikanga whakahaere a te kāwanatanga, engari anō te tino rangatiratanga o te iwi Māori, he aha hoki. Ā, tāpiri atu ki tērā, mate ana te iwi Māori ki te whakaeke atu ki te marae o Hao-kai-tangata,⁷² nāna nei i pōkaikaha ai te noho a te tini o ngā whānau Māori;

[B]iculturalism under neoliberalism is largely ‘soft’ – centring on culture, light on tino rangatiratanga, and assimilating iwi into a capitalist corporate ethos – and that neoliberal economics actually worsens the situation for many Māori individuals and families. (Johnson, 2014)

Hei tā Heather Johnson anō, he warea nō ētehi o ngā pāti o te Whare Pāremata ki ‘te reo me ngā tikanga’ (‘culturalism’) i runga i te whakaaro koia rā te taura e whiria ai te iwi Māori hei iwi kotahi, whakawarewaretia ana te whairawa o ētehi, te rawakore o ētehi hei take e tūwehewehe ai te iwi Māori. Hei tāna, ko te Pāti Māori tērā, e warea ana ki te kōrero mō te reo me ngā tikanga e noho nei hei ‘tikitiki mō ngā mähunga’ o ngā whairawa, whaimana hoki o te iwi Māori o nāianei, he āhuetanga i hua ake i ngā tikanga hao;

The Māori Party falls into the trap of allowing its focus on Māori unity to detract attention from growing class inequalities. It is essentially the party of the Māori elite who, as the literature shows, have benefitted from the conditions and setting of neoliberal bilculturalism. Mana [Party], in contrast, manages to be both a Māori-centred and a working-class centred party. (Johnson, 2014)

Nā whai anō i tōtara wāhi rua ai aua pāti ngā pāti Māori e rua, te Pāti Mana me te Pāti Māori: ko tētehi he tohe i te mana o te ‘miro pango,’ ko tētehi kē he tohe i te mana o te ‘miro whero,’⁷³ kāore aua miro rā e kuhuna ana ki te kōhao kotahi. Inā hoki, ahakoa te kī taurangi a Tāriana Tūria, kāore te Pāti Māori e tū ki te taha mauī, kāore rānei e tū ki te taha katau, engari ia ka tū i tā te Māori tū, i te mutunga atu he hiahia nō rātou ki te ‘noho tahi i te tēpū o te kāwanatanga i noho ai a Nāhinara’ i whiua ai rātou ki te heitara,

⁷² He wā kua kīia tēnei ko te ‘possessive individualism’ (G. H. Smith, 1997)

⁷³ “Kotahi te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro pango, te miro whero me te miro mā. I muri i a au kia mau ki te aroha, te ture, me te whakaponu.” He whakatauaikī tēnei nā Pōtatau Te Wherowhero i tana whakawahinga mō te kotahi o te miro pango (te tūtūā), te miro whero (te ariki, te rangatira), me te miro mā (te whakaponu Karaitiana).

he huri i te tuarā ki ō rātou karawa o te iwi Māori (“selling out”) e raupā nei ngā ringaringa, e pahore nei ngā tuarā, ka manaaki kē ai i ngā hiahia o te ‘kāhui kahurangi’ (“privileged elite”) (Johnson, 2014).

E taunaki ana hoki a Stephen Webster (1993; 1998), ka mea ake, ahakoa ngā kōkiritanga a te iwi Māori i ngā tau o te 1970 mō te mana Māori motuhake, hāunga tētehi tokoiti i puta ngā ihu i te ngau o te pōharatanga me ērā atu o ngā pokenga o te ao nei, ko te nuinga tonu kāore i piki haere te ora, engari ia i kaha kē atu te pokea.

Hei tāna;

Census data and other government reports indicate that in terms of employment, income, child health, education, and justice, the actual social conditions accompanying the Māori 'Renaissance' have gravely disadvantaged the Maori. Relative to Pākehā, in 1990 they were no better off than in the 1970s, and often they were worse off. Māori have continued to bear the brunt of rapidly rising unemployment since then. Meanwhile, the state and public policy of promoting Maori culture in order to reduce social inequalities during the 1970s and early 1980s has been replaced by a more subtle and sometimes conscious policy of fostering the token appearances of a bicultural society and an upwardly mobile Māori middle class. (Webster, 1993, wh. 226)

Heoi, whenumi ana ngā kōrero mō te ‘oke’ o te iwi Māori i ērā mō tētehi ‘ao Māori,’ i taua ao rā e ora ana te puku o te Māori i te reo me ngā tikanga.⁷⁴

Nā, hei tauira mō te rerekē o te Kaupapa Māori i te kaupapa reo Māori ka torona ngā kōrero mō Ezra Hirawani rāua ko tana hoa, ko Ben Armstrong me tā rāua kamupene, *Nau Mai Rā*, ehara kau noa i te kamupene hiko Māori tuatahi (TVNZ, 2022), engari ia ko te kamupene ‘kaupapa Māori’ tuatahi (Nau Mai Rā, n.d.). Inā hoki, i pū mai tā rāua nā kamupene i te aroha ki te hunga pōhara, kāore nei e kaha ki te utu i te nama hiko, ko te maha noa atu o taua hunga nei, he Māori, engari kāore e whāiti ki te Māori anake (TVNZ, 2022), nō reira e māhorahora ana te kaupapa ki te hunga rawa-kore, ahakoa ko wai;

⁷⁴ Hei tā Stephen Webster, “Maori society is constituted primarily by its specific history of land and social relations, but also by a specific history of their 'culture' in the sense of their own and others' ideas (or representations) about themselves. Currently, these ideas have come to obscure the history as a history of *struggle*.” (wh. 224; Nāku anō i miramira)

There's 100,000 people living in power poverty here in Aotearoa. They're not all Māori. And, for a very long time, it felt to us that no-one really cared about them. And then, what adds to that shock is it feels no-one else was doing anything. You know it's a question that we ask some of the big... the bigger power companies was, 'How often do you talk about vulnerable consumers? How often do you talk about power poverty?' But it was almost like we felt obliged to. Once we knew, once we saw, once we understood what was happening and understanding no-one was gonna go back for them (TVNZ, 2022)

Ki taku titiro, ko te tino tohu tēnei o te kawē kē a te Kaupapa Māori i ētehi katoa o ngā kaupapa mō te 'ahurea,' pēnei i te whakarauora i te reo me ngā tikanga Māori i kōrerohia rā e Tracey McIntosh: ko te manaaki i te tangata rawa-kore, ko te turaki i ngā taero e ora ai te tangata i te kai, i te hiko, i te whare, otirā te whai i tōna anō tino rangatiratanga, i tōna anō mana motuhake.

Ka mutu, kāore he wairua whakawāwā i te hunga e pōkaikaha ana i te nui o ngā utu, engari i tua atu i te whakamāmā i ngā toimahatanga o te utu hiko, whakahokia ana e *Nau Mai Rā* ētehi o ngā huamoni ki ngā kāinga, ki ngā hāpori, otirā ki te iwi whānui tonu. Inā ngā kōrero a Marae TV (2022), "*Nau Mai Rā* is the only energy retailer in Aotearoa designed to solve energy hardship. No credit checks. And, with a portion of profits going back to marae, community and vulnerable customers." Ko ā Ezra whakamārama i tēnei mea te kaupapa, e puna ana ko ngā mātāpono mō te tika o te whai hiko o ia tangata, o ia tangata, kāore noa iho e riro hei taonga mā te tokoiti, kāore hoki e taparere ki te moni, engari he aroha atu, he aroha mai, he hoatu, he homai;

The difference between a power company and a power kaupapa is, yes, we both sell power, but as a power kaupapa, we focus on what we can give, rather than what we can take. That's simply because of our beliefs, you know, power is a right and not a privilege. (TVNZ, 2022)

Waiho ana hoki ko te whakataukī, "Nā tō rourou, nā taku rourou ka ora te iwi" hei tūtohu mō te kaupapa.

Kāti, ehara i te mea kāore nei a Ezra i te aro ki te reo Māori, ki ngā tikanga Māori, inā hoki, tērā anō ana kōrero mō te whakamā i pā ki a rāua ko tana wahine i tō rāua kūware ki te reo Māori, ki ngā tikanga Māori, otirā ki ngā hītōria mō te Tiriti o Waitangi;

Me and my wife come home, and we just decided we wanted to be part of kaupapa that helped us draw closer to who we were. And I guess ride our

waka into te ao Māori. And we wanted our kids to learn te reo. We wanted all those things, you know, just to gain a stronger connection, so we never run into that situation again [te whakamā i te kore e mōhio ki te reo Māori]. (TVNZ, 2022)

Ko Ezra tētehi o te tini o tātou i riro ki Ahitereiria noho ai, engari me te tini hoki o tātou kua motu ngā taura here ki ō tātou toi whenua, kua teretere nei ngā ahi. Ā, ka mutu, e kōingo ana te ngākau o ētehi ki te rongō ki te reo pōwhiri o te hau kāinga kia pai ai te toutoua o te ahi, o te whiria anō o te taura here tangata;

The name *Nau Mai Rā* came from the words that both Ben and I desired to hear when we went back home to our marae. Like we wanted to feel like, 'Well done,' you know. Like 'Welcome home.' One day our aspiration was to be able to sit on the pae and kōrero... whaikōrero. We're not there yet. So, it's more an aspirational name that after everything that we've done we wanted our whānau to welcome us home, you know. To say those words to us. 'Nau mai rā.' (TVNZ, 2022)

i roto i tana reo Māori, nō reira ehara i te mea e whakataetae ana te Kaupapa Māori ki te taha ki te whakarauora i te reo me ngā tikanga, ahakoa e toro tonu ana i ana kāwai ki 'te ao Māori,' e mārāma ana ki ngā kawenga o te raupatu whenua ki te rawa-kore o te iwi Māori ki te utu i te nama hiko,

When we understood, you know, that a lot of the assets that create energy are built on a lot of whenua Māori. For us it didn't make sense that a lot of our whānau we also living in energy hardship or in a position called power poverty. And when we found that out, the kaupapa changed. (TVNZ, 2022)

E ai ki a Ezra, he whakamana i te whānau te kaupapa a *Nau Mai Rā*, inā hoki, ko te kāinga te puna o te ora e tangata ai te tangata. Ā, ka mutu, ahakoa ngā mahi o waho mai o te whare, kāore he take ki te mea kāore e ora ana a roto;

Kaitātaki: For Ezra it's not just about restoring power. It's about giving mana back to whānau.

EH: And that's where real change is created. It's within the walls of your home... in that, you can achieve anything you want outside the whare, but if inside the whare is not doing too well, then it won't mean anything. And so when people ask me, you know, what's my biggest ambition in life, sometimes they often laugh when I say, 'It's just to be a good dad. You know, be there for my girls. To be there for my wife when she needs me.'

Ko tētehi o aku whāinga i roto i tēnei rangahau ko te whakarau kakai i ēnei momo whakaaro e pā ana ki te reo Māori, arā, he aha ōna kaupapa e whakaaweawe nei i te whakarauoratanga o te reo: he kaupapa rānei e arohaina ai te tangata i runga i te whakaaro, he 'mōtika' te reo (nō te Māori), arā, e tika ana kia ākona te katoa ki te reo? He kaupapa rānei e meinga ai ko te reo hei taonga mā te tokoiti anake? He kaupapa rānei e arohaina ai te tangata i runga i te aroha ki ngā mamae, ki ngā toimahatanga e pākaha tonu mai nei ki te tini noa o te iwi Māori? He kaupapa rānei e mate ai te tangata ki te whakataetae mō te reo, e kīia ai rānei nōna te hē i tana kore i kaha ki te ako?

Kāti, he kaupapa rānei e whakaae ai tātou me mātua ora ō tātou whānau e whai kaha ai rātou ki te torotoro i ngā kaupapa hei oranga mō te ngākau, pēnei i te ako i te reo me ngā tikanga Māori.

And so, in terms of *Nau Mai Rā*, you know, yes, we sell power, but it allows mothers and fathers to be better mothers and fathers, because it allows them to have Sunday kai together. It allows them to heat their home. It allows them to do the basic things. That if we do the basics right, then it empowers individuals to be able to go out there and give their best, do their best. I know for me and my whānau when we're really strong and things are going really well I feel like I wanna go out there and give a good days work. (TVNZ, 2022)

Kia hokia i konei ngā mātāpono o te te Kaupapa Māori (wh. 40): ko te tino rangatiratanga, ko te piki ake o te whānau i ngā raru o te kāinga, ko te ako hoki i te reo me ngā tikanga. Kāti, he nui noa atu te Kaupapa Māori i te kaupapa reo Māori. Ko Ezra rāua ko tana hoa kei te tauira mai i tērā.

Te Whare o te Reo Māori: He whakarāpopototanga

I tēnei upoko i whakatūria mai Te Whare o te Reo Māori hei 'ariā' mō tēnei tuhingaroa.

I tīmata mai i te wā e kīia ana te reo Māori he 'marae puehu', he 'waka pakaru kino' i ngā tau o te 1970. Ka tīmata ngā oreoretanga kia āta whakarauorangia mai te reo Māori, ka kōpoua ōna pou e te tira hou o te reo, otirā me ngā āwhina mai a te kāwanatanga i ōna wā, me ngā whakapōrearea mai a te kāwanatanga i ōna wā.

Tae rawa mai ki tōna 50 tau e tū ana mai i te petihana reo Māori i te 1972, kua kitea kāore anō kia ea ngā tūmanako o te petihana, engari e tū tonu ana te whare. Heoi, ko

taua tū rā he tū i roto i ngā ākinga o te wā: mahi nei, mahi nei te taniwha kaitanga nei a Tāmi i te iwi Māori. Me te aha, ko te iwi Māori e tika kia noho ki te tara iti o Te Whare o te Reo Māori, e whai tonu ana kia 'piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga.'

Nō reira, e whakamahara ake ana ki te 'kaupapa' o tēnei tuhingaroa, arā te Kaupapa Māori, ehara mā te ora o te whānau, mā te ora o te tangata, o te whānau, ka ora ko te reo Māori.

Upoko Tuawhā: Mō wai te reo Māori?

Hei te upoko nei tūhuratia ai ētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori e pā ana ki te hunga kōrero Māori (kei 'roto' i te whare), me ērā kāore e kōrero (kei 'waho' o te whare).

Tērā te whakataukī, "Kei runga te kōrero, kei raro te rahurahu."⁷⁵ Nei koa, ko tētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero kei 'runga,' ko tērā e mea nei nā te 'pīkoko,' nā te 'whakaheke werawera' hoki o te tangata i pai te tomokia o te whare, otirā nā te 'hūkore' i kore ai. Heoi, ko au tēnei e whakapae nei kei 'raro' kē e 'rahurahu' ana i tā te tangata tomo i Te Whare o te Reo Māori ko te 'waimarie' o te tangata, ko te kore rānei i 'waimarie.'

Nā te mea e tūhurangia ana aua kupu rā, ka tohungia ki ngā tohu 'pēnei nā,' to i ngā kōrero. Kei te wā e whakahuangia ana ngā kupu a te tangata, ka takoto tītaha kē te kupu, pēnei: *pīkoko, hūkore, waimaria, whakaheke werawera* rānei.

Ko te kōrero kei runga: Mō te 'pīkoko' te reo Māori

He kimihanga, he hāhautanga tēnei i ngā kōrero mō te hunga e kīia ana he 'pīkoko' ki te reo Māori, inā hoki kua waiho nei ko tēnei hei kōrero mō te hunga e āta ako ana i te reo Māori, e kōrero ana i te reo Māori, ki tā ngā kaute, kei te kotahi o roto i te ono, o te rima, o te whā rānei o ngāi tāua te iwi Māori (Stats NZ-Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2022; Te Wake, 2022).⁷⁶ Tēnā ko te hunga kāore nei i te āta ako, āta kōrero rānei, kīia ana e te 'tira hou' o te reo Māori kāore i te 'pīkoko' ki te reo, engari kei te 'hūkore' kē.

Hei tā Korohere Ngāpō, nōna i whakatū ai i 'Te Whare Tāhuhu Kōrero o Hauraki,' arā, tana rangahau, tana tuhi i ngā kōrero hei whakatutuki i tana tohu paetoru mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori me ngā tikanga i roto o Hauraki (Ngāpō, 2012);

⁷⁵ Tirohia a Mead & Grove (2003, wh. 204).

⁷⁶ Nō te tau 2022 i puta ai te kōrero e kaha haere ana te reanga taiohi (15 – 44 tau) ki te kōrero Māori (Te Wake, 2022), ā, tata tonu te kotahi o roto i te tokowhā (23%) i kī ake ko te reo Māori tō ratou reo ūkaipō, he pikinga ake i te 17% i te tau 2018 (Stats NZ – Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2022).

Ko te tūmanako, ka mātua āwhina tēnei tuhingaroa ki te kōiti o Hauraki e noho *pūkoko* ana ki te reo Māori me ngā tikanga hoki. (Ngāpō, 2012, wh. 183)

Engari ko wai mā taua ‘kōiti pūkoko,’ ā, nā te aha i ‘pūkoko’ ai, i kīia ai rānei he ‘pūkoko’? He aha rānei te tohu o tana ‘pūkoko’? He aha hoki ngā hua o te kīia he ‘pūkoko’?

Me he ia mā te ‘pūkoko’ e tahuri ai te tangata ki te ako i te reo (me ngā tikanga) Māori, ā kāti, he hirahira anō te whaka-pūkoko i te tangata e whakarauoratia ai te reo Māori, nē? He pōhēhē noa iho, he kimikimi noa iho rānei kei roto i te whakaaro kia whakawehewehea te iwi Māori i roto i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo: ko ngā ‘pūkoko,’ ko ngā ‘pūkoko-kore’?

E whai ake nei ko tētehi kōrero nā Stephanie, tētehi o ngā raukura⁷⁷ o Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi Marae, i uia rā e Jennifer Martin nōna i rangahau rā, i tuhituhi rā i ngā ‘kura’ o te kura kaupapa Māori,⁷⁸ arā, ōna hua, ōna angitū, ōna taumata kua ekea i tana tuhinga rangahau mō te tohu paetoru;

Nōku te *waimaria* i rangona e taku whaea te whāruarua i roto i a ia i tana korenga e whai wāhi atu ki te ao Māori. Koirā tāku e whakapono nei. He Pākehā a Pāpā, he Māori a Māmā, heoi, kāore a Māmā i whakatupuria ki te ao Māori, kāore i haria ki te marae, kāore i tūpono atu ki te tangihanga, kāore i whakaakona ki te reo Māori, ki ngā tikanga, anō nei he Pākehā ā-toto, ā-wairua, ā-whakapono, ā-aha rānei. Engari, hāunga rā tēnā korenga, nōna e tupu ana ka rongo ia i tētehi mokemoke i roto tonu i a ia anō. Ana, ka pakeke ana ia, ka tino ongeonge ia ki tana ao Māori, ka tino *pūkoko* nui atu ki te ao Māori. Ana, ka rongo ia mō tēnei marae [Hoani Waititi Marae], ka kite ia i te āhua o te kōhanga reo, i te noho tahi atu a ngā kuia ki ngā mokopuna, ana, ka tino *pīrangī* taku māmā kia rongo anō ahau i tēnā *mahana*, i tēnā noho *āhuru*. Nā reira au i tukuna atu ai, hāunga rā ngā whakahē mārika nei a ētehi o tōna whānau tonu. Kāore ia mō te aro atu i te mea i roto tonu i a ia tētehi *kōingo* nui nei kia mōhio ai ia, kia mōhio ai ahau ki tēnei mea te ao Māori. (Martin, 2013, wh. 214)

Kei roto i ngā kōrero a Stephanie ko te take i oti ai i tana māmā te whakatau kia haere atu ia (a Stephanie) ki te kōhanga reo, otirā ki Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi Marae, ko tana (tō te māmā) “pūkoko” ki te ao Māori, he kore nōna i tupu mai i taua ao rā, ā, nō

⁷⁷ Ko te ingoa mō te tauira kua puta i tētehi KKM ko Te Aho Matua te tūāpapa (Martin, 2013).

⁷⁸ Ko te kura kaupapa Māori Te Aho Matua tētahi o ngā momo kura kaupapa Māori, ko Te Aho Matua tana kaupapa, he kura ārahi i ngā whānau ki te whakahaere i te kura. Tirohia ngā rangahau a Kīmai Tocker (2007, 2014, 2015, 2017), a Jennifer Martin (2013), a Hinurewa Poutū (2015).

reira mai hoki te “whāwhārua” i roto i a ia. Hei tā Stephanie, mōkōri anō tā tana māmā rongo ki taua whāwhārua, i “waimaria” ai a Stephanie i tana haere ki te kōhanga reo, ki te KKM. Ka mutu, ko te “mahana”, ko te “āhuru” o te “noho tahi a ngā kuia ki ngā mokopuna” o te kōhanga reo hei whakamāuru i te “mokemoke”, i te “onongeonge”, otirā hei whāngai i te ngākau “pīkoko” ki te ao Māori.

Nō reira, ko te ‘waimaria’ o Stephanie he hua tonu nō te ‘pīkoko’ o tana māmā. Heoi, ko taua ‘pīkoko’ rā, he nui noa atu i te ‘pīkoko’ ki te reo Māori; he ‘pīkoko’ kē ki te ‘ao Māori,’ ā, ko te ao Māori i ‘waimaria’ ai a Stephanie ko te ‘mahana’ me te ‘āhuru’ o te noho tahi atu ki ngā kuia o te kōhanga reo.

Huri rawa ake ki ngā kōrero a Louis Armstrong (2015) i roto o *He Muka*, te mātārere a Te Taura Whiri, i mea ai ia, mō te ‘ao pīkoko ki te reo Māori’ tērā o ngā tū kura whakaako i te reo Māori, arā, te kura reo. Inā tāna: “Ko te 12 o Paengawhāwhā te rā, ko Te Papa o Te Aroha te marae, ko ngā karangatanga maha o te ao *pīkoko* ki te reo Māori te tira whakaeke, ko te Kura Reo o Raukawa te kaupapa” (Armstrong, 2015).

Ko te kura reo he kaupapa e rumakina ai te tangata ki te reo mō te wiki (arā, te rima rā). I mātua whakatūria te kura reo e Te Taura Whiri ki Waimārama, i Te Matau a Māui i te tau 1989 (Kāretu, 2014; Winitana, 2011), mō ngā kaiako me ngā kaipāho reo Māori kia pakari ake ai rātou ki te kōrero i te reo. Koinā hoki i whakatūria ai i ngā hararei kura. Mai anō i te mea tuatahi i Waimārama, tū mai ana ko ētehi atu i roto o Rotorua, o Ōtaki, o Tokoroa, o Ōtautahi, o Ngāti Kahungunu, o Te Whakatōhea, o Ngāti Hauā, o Te Taitokerau me ōna wehewehenga, o Rangitāne, o Ngāti Whātua anō hoki, tae atu ki tētehi mō te hunga rōia Māori (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2018), ngā pakihī (Tebbutt, 2019) me te rāngai tūmatanui (arā, ngā tari kāwanatanga me ngā whare e toko ake ana i te kāwanatanga) (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori & Te Paetawhiti Ltd, 2022).

Ko ngā kaiako tuatahi o ngā kura reo ko ngā mōrehu kuia, koroua i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, arā, kāore i motu te tuku ihotanga o te reo i ō rātou mātua tūpuna. Ko te nuinga o rātou kua mene atu ki te pō, tae atu ki te reo me ngā tikanga o te wā i a rātou. Riro atu ana: ko Anita Moke, ko Te Heikōkō, ko Ngāhinatūrae, ko Mate Kaiwai, ko Wiha Te Raki Hāwea, ko Materoa Haenga, ko Te Wharehuia Milroy. Ka tangi te ngākau mō te reo o te rūruhi ka riro atu ki te pō.

Mohoa nei, kua noho ko ētehi o te whakareanga i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua i te whare wānanga, pēnei i a Scotty Morrison (Te Manahau), hei kaiako i te kura reo.⁷⁹ Ā, he tōmina nō te tangata pēnei i a Pētera Hakiwai kia rite tana reo ki tō Te Manahau i haere atu ai ia ki te kura reo ;

I tino hiahia ahau ki te whakapakari i taku reo kia rite ki te hunga pēnei i a Te Manahau mā, nō reira ka rēhita au mō tētehi kura reo i toku hau kāinga, i Te Matau a Māui. Nā Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi ngā karahipi i tuku mai - nō mātou te hōnore nui. I tēnei kura reo i tuwhera ōku whatu ki te ao whānui o te reo Māori me ōna āhuatanga katoa. (Hakiwai, 2018)

Hei tā Petera ko te kura reo te ara poutama i kakea rā e ia, ā, taea noatia Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori (Hakiwai, 2018).⁸⁰

Nā, e “whakamīharotia ana” a “Te Manahou” me ētehi atu o ngā kaiako o te kura reo o te tira hou o te reo Māori “e te ao Māori”, te take, i “ekea” rā e rātou “ngā taumata” o te reo Māori, ahakoa “nā te reo Pākehā i whāngai i te tuatahi” (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018, wh. 136-7). Ā, e kīia ana ko tō rātou eke ki “ngā taumata o te reo”, nā te “pīkoko”, otirā nā te “whakapau kaha” (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018, wh. 136-7).

Ko te nuinga ia o ngā kaiako o te kura reo o te reanga o nāiane, he tāne.

Nā, i a au i haere tuatahi atu ai ki tētehi kura reo i te tau 2001, e \$250 pea te utu, ā, e \$50 pea te utu mō te tamaiti. Mohoa nei, kua eke ki te āhua \$450 - \$500 te utu. Ko te āhua ki ngā tamariki, he wā tōna i piki haere ai te utu ki te \$100 - \$150, ā, whakaritea ana hoki kia āta tiakina ngā tamariki i a ngā mātua e ako ana. Heoi, ka roa, ā, ka whakatauhia kia kua te tamariki e haere ki te kura reo, he nui rawa pea nō ngā whakapōrearea.

Arā pea ngā tikanga whakahaere kē o ngā kura reo ā-iwi, i tāku i whakamārama ai i mua tata ake nei. Pēnei, ko tā Ngāti Hauā kura reo kāore he utu, ā, ka mutu, whakawehea ana tētehi wāhanga mō te pakeke, tētehi wāhanga mō te taiohi. Kāore au i te mōhio, āe

⁷⁹ Ko ngā kōrero mō tā Scotty Morrison ako i te reo Māori kei Waka Huia (2013c).

⁸⁰ Tirohia ngā whakamārama mō Te Panekiretanga o te Reo kei ngā kupu takararo o wh. 73.

rānei e pai ana kia haere atu ko ngā tamariki e whakangotea tonutia ana, e piri panekoti tonu ana rānei.⁸¹

Ngā mata o ‘Pīkoko’

I tā Matiu Rātima rangahau i ngā tūāhuatanga e kakea ai e te tangata kua pakeke kē nei ki te karangatanga matatau ki te reo Māori, ka uia e ia ētehi o ana hoa 17 nei i tūtaki ai ia i roto i ngā kaupapa reo Māori mō tana rangahau tohu paetoru (Rātima, 2013a). Ko Matiu anō tērā kua whakatangata kē ka huri rā ki te ako i te reo, ā, eke noa ki te karangatanga matatau.

Tūtohi 5: He kōrero mō tētehi hunga 17 nei kua pakeke kē ka tīmata rā ki te ako i te reo, ā, ka eke ki te karangatanga matatau

Te hunga i uia	Te tokomaha (te paihēneti)
He tāne	13 (76%)
He wahine	4 (24%)
Te taumata teitei katoa o te whare wānanga i taea	
Te tohu paetahi	7 (41%)
Teitei ake i te tohu paetahi	10 (59%)
Te huinga pūtea i whiwhi i te tau	
\$25000-\$45000	3 (18%)
\$45000-\$55000	4 (24%)
\$55000-\$65000	0 (0%)
\$65000+	10 (59%)
Te pakeke	
18-25	3 (18%)
26-45	12 (71%)
46-55	1 (6%)
55+	1 (6%)

Kupu whakamārama: He mea tiki ake ēnei tatauranga kōrero i a Matiu Rātima (2013a, wh. 26)

Ko ētehi o ana pātai ki ana hoa he pātai mō ngā āhuatanga o tā rātou noho i te ao,⁸² ko ētehi pea ka kīia ko te tohu o te angitū, pēnei i te taumata teitei i taea e rātou i roto i te whare wānanga, me te huinga pūtea e whiwhi ana rātou i te tau (**Tūtohi 5**).

⁸¹ <https://ngatihauaiwitrust.co.nz/tekurareo/>

⁸² Arā, te ‘demographics.’

He tāne, he whai-tohu, he ora ā-pūtea

Kāti, e kōtūre mai ana ētehi āhūatanga o ana hoa e matatau ana ki te reo. Tuatahi, he nui noa atu te tāne i te wahine. Tuarua, katoa taua hunga i mātua whai tohu i te whare wānanga, ā, tata tonu te 60% o rātou kua whiwhi ki te tohu teitei ake i te tohu paetahi. Tuatoru rawa, ko te nuinga (59%) o te hunga matatau i uia e Matui, kei te pae teitei o te utu ā-tau (neke atu i te \$65,000 i te tau). Ko te tokotoru o te 17 (18%) noa iho kei te pae o raro (\$25,000-\$45,000 i te tau).

Ki te whakatauritehia tēnei ki ngā tatauranga mō te iwi Māori whānui tonu, o te 439,500 o ngā Māori (pakeke ake i te 15 tau) i uia i te rangahau *Te Kupenga* i te tau 2013:

- E 9,500 (2%) noa iho o tātou nei i mea ake he matatau ki te kōrero,⁸³ ā, kua whiwhi ki te tohu paetahi, tohu teitei ake rānei;
- Ko te nuinga hoki o te hunga matatau ki te reo, he wāhine. (Stats NZ - Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2020)

Nā, he mea āta whakamārama nā Matiu Rātima (2013a), ko te hunga i uia e ia, he hoa kōrero Māori nōna ake, nō reira me pēwhea hoki e kore ai e āhua rite ki a ia: he tāne kua whiwhi nei ki ngā tohu teitei ake i te tohu paetahi? Heoi, tērā tonu ngā pātai e taupua ana: āe rānei, he nui ake ngā mea tāne e eke ana ki te karangatanga matatau ki te reo tēnā i ngā wāhine? Ā, e haere tahi ana ko te matatau o te tangata me tana kaha ki te eke ki ngā taumata o te mātauranga? Nā te matatau rānei o te tangata ki te reo i tino ora ā-pūtea ai ia, nā te ora ā-pūtea rānei i kaha ai tana whai i te mātauranga me te ako i te reo Māori ki te taumata o te matatau?

Kāti, ahakoa te kōrero a *Te Kupenga* mō te maha ake o ngā wāhine matatau ki te reo tēnā i ngā mea tāne (Stats NZ - Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2020), titiro rawa ake ko wai mā te hunga e kīia ana e *Te Ao Mārama o Whakaata Māori* he 'mumu reo,' he nui ake ngā tāne (6) i ngā wāhine (2) (Te Ao Māori News, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2019e, 2019f, 2019g, 2020; Te Ao Māori News Official, 2019). Āpiti atu ki tērā, i te tau tuatahi o *Ki Tua*, he kaupapa e uia ai te hunga kōrero Māori e pā ana ki ētehi kaupapa i puta ai ō rātou

⁸³ 'Can speak very well/well.'

ihu, engari ko te kōrero Māori tētehi o ngā take, 15 ngā mea tāne i uia, ā, e rima noa iho ngā mea wāhine. Huri atu ana ki ngā kaituhituhi mō te pukapuka *The value of the Māori Language - Te hua o te reo Māori* (Higgins & Rewi, 2014), ahakoa te āhua kātata ake, he nui ake tonu ngā mea tāne (18) i ngā mea wāhine (12). Ā, tae kau atu ki te whakarewatanga ake o te kaupapa, tokowhā ngā mea wāhine, ā, tokowhitu ngā mea tāne hei mata mō “te hua o te reo Māori” (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, 2014a, 2014b).

Nā, auraki rawa atu ki te taha pūtea, he aha koa pea kāore e taea te āta whakarite rawa ngā kōrero a Matiu Rātima ki ērā o Tatauranga Aotearoa (**Whakaahua 1**), he rerekē nō ngā wehewehenga taumata utu, tere tonu te kitea atu:

- Neke atu i te 50% o ngāi tātou kei raro kē i te \$25,000 i te tau te utu ā-tau;
- Ko te paihēneti o tātou e utua ana ki te \$70,000 i te tau, neke atu rānei he 10.3%, ā, ki te whakaheke atu ki te \$60,000 i te tau, neke atu, ka 15.3%. Ahakoa pēwhea te kārawarawahia o aua whika, kei raro noa atu i te 59% o ngā kōrerohia rā e Matiu Rātima i tana rangahau.

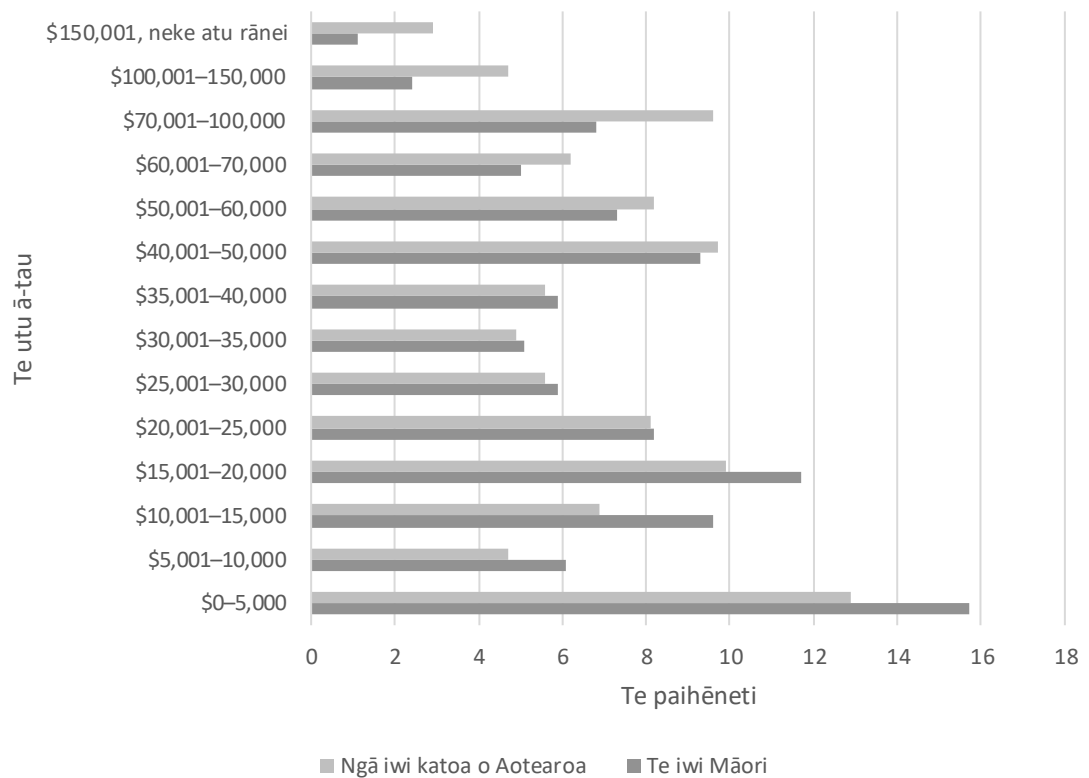
I tua atu i ērā tatauranga, ko te nui ake te paihēneti o ngā wāhine i ngā tāne Māori e mahi ana i ngā mahi a te ‘ngaio’ (‘professional’), engari he maha ake te paihēneti o ngā tāne e eke ana ki ngā tūranga manatia.⁸⁴

Kāti, i tā Elisa Duder rangahau mō te tohu paetoru, *Mana reo*, i rangahau ai ia i ngā ‘ao’ o te hunga i ako i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua, ka kōrero hoki ia mō te kore o Matiu Rātima i arotahi ki te āhua whairawa tonu o ana hoa matatau ki te reo i rangahautia e ia;

In the outline of his participants, Ratima (2013, p.25-26) does not comment that most of his participants are in a higher socioeconomic bracket than most New Zealanders (the median income in New Zealand of \$37,100, but for Māori is \$22,500 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). He does acknowledge that most of the participants are male and notes too that many of his participants are Māori language teachers or employed in jobs that used their Māori language knowledge (Ratima, 2013, p. 27). Of the three participants he names, all were university-educated. (Duder, 2017, wh. 65)

⁸⁴ <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-ethnic-group-summaries/m%C4%81ori>

Whakaahua 1: Te utu ā-tau ki te Māori, e whakaritea atu ana ki te utu ki ngā iwi katoa o Aotearoa



Kupu whakamārama: He mea tiki ake ngā taturanga nei i <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-ethnic-group-summaries/m%C4%81ori>

He upoko pakaru

Kia hoki anō ki tā Matiu Rātima whakamahuki i te take i matatau ai ana hoa: nā te ‘upoko pakarū,’ nā te ‘mairanga i te angitū,’ nā te ‘tōngakingaki.’ Inā tāna: “In spite of the fact that most had made extraordinary sacrifices and some had suffered harrowing hardships in order to remain true to their hearts’ desires for te reo, they never surrendered their spirit of indomitable optimism” (Rātima, 2013a, wh. 174).

Ka mutu, riro ana a Matiu i te whakaaro, nā tana whakakiriūka i taea ai e ia te reo te ako, arā;

[T]he commitment to developing proficiency in the Māori language requires nothing less than total dedication. To become proficient in te reo Māori, I had to change my entire lifestyle. I moved to a new town. I enrolled in a full time, full immersion course; I developed new friendships and new circles of socialisation that would support my desire to become a proficient Māori speaker. This is not something that can be done halfhearted or part time. If the learner is not up for a radical change then they cannot expect radical results. The hardest part I believe is getting started. Once I made the decision to commit and take action to change, I was overwhelmed with support from friends, teachers, mentors and whānau. That support continues to this day and it provides a never ending source of inspiration to keep learning and keep developing. The pathway to te reo is fraught with challenges, but I know of nothing more motivating than the opportunity to cultivate an ever deepening understanding of oneself and one's ancestors through speaking te reo Māori. (Rātima, 2013a, wh. 4)

Kāti, ehara tēnei i te kī ake, kāore te hunga pakeke kua ako i te reo hei reo tuarua i whakakiriūka. Heoi, ko te hunga e warea ana ki te whakaaro, nā te 'hekenga werawera' kau anō i eke ai, ka mahue pea tana āta whiriwhiri i te pātai he aha nō tana ao i pakeke ai ia, i whakatangata ai ia, i noho ai rānei ia, i taea e ia te arotahi ki te ako i te reo.

He ruānuku, he tohunga

Rangona ana i ngā kōrero a Tātere Macleod [TM] ki a Scotty Morrison [SM], kaiuiui o *Marae*, tekau tau rawa a ia (a Tātere) e whai ana i te reo i roto i ngā whare wānanga. Ā, nā wai i kore-mōhio, ka eke ki te karangatanga "ruānuku", otirā ki te tūranga pou arataki reo o Ngāti Kahungunu (Marae, 2014);

[SM]: Tīmata mai koe i te korekore o te mōhio ki te reo Māori. Ināianei he ruānuku koe, he tohunga koe ki te reo Māori. Me kī pēnei au, Tīmoti Kāretu: "Kia tūpato, e haere atu nei a Tātere." He aha te huarahi i whāia e koe kia mau ai i a koe tō reo?

[TM]: Taihoa ake pea e kīia he tohunga. Engari, kua tekau tau au e ako ana i te reo. I tīmata au ki te ako i te reo i te marama o Pēpuere i te tau 2004. I neke mai au ki Aotearoa nei. Nā reira, i tīmata ahau i Te Whare Takiura o Kahungunu – EIT Hawkes Bay. Ka whā tau i reira. Kotahi tau i Te Panekiretanga. Ko te tau tuaono i riro i a au taku tohu paetahi hōnore. Te tau tuawhitu i kuhu ai tāua ki Te Matapūnenga. Te tau tuawaru – tekau – tuaiwa, e whakaoti nei au i taku tuhingaroa mō taku tohu paerua i Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Engari ko te reo Māori tonu te kaupapa o waku mahi katoa i roto i ngā whare wānanga. (Marae, 2014)

Ā, mai i taua wā, oti ana i a Tātere te tohu paetoru mō te reo Māori (Waatea News, 2022a).

Me kōrero rā pea te ngākau whakakiriūka o te tangata pēnei i a Tātere, i a Matiu rānei, engari hoki iho i te 1% o te iwi whānui tonu ka eke ki te taumata o te tohu paetoru, ā, ki te tirohia ngā whika mō ngāi tāua, kei raro kē anō i te haurua o te hauwhā o te kotahi paihēneti.⁸⁵

Nō reira, ko te whakatairangahia ake o te whakaaro me ‘pau tō tātou katoa ki te reo’ pēnei i a Tātere (Marae, 2014),⁸⁶ ākuanei pea ka riwha i te tokoiti o tātou he ‘wae kai kapua’ (wh. 38), engari ko te nuinga tonu o tātou e kai pakiaka kē nei ō tātou waewae, arā, e warea ana ki te karo i ngā tūtukinga waewae o te ao, ā, waiho ana hei tūmanako noa iho pea te takahi i te ara i takahia rā e Tātere (Tirohia a wh. 38).

E whakapae ana ahau, ko te āhuetanga e kōrerohia ana i runga ake nei e pā ana ki te kaha ake o te kanohi kitea o te tāne i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori tēnā i te wahine, he āhuetanga ko ōna pūtaka kei roto i ngā pikaunga a te wahine ki te taha ki te whakatupu tamariki, ki ngā mahi o ‘muri,’ otirā ki ngā mahi kāore e tino kitea, e tino whakamihia, kāore hoki e utua, e kaha rānei te utua (RNZ, 2020c). Kitea ana tērā i ngā tini tohe kia whakapikia ngā utu ki te kaiako, ki te tapuhi, ki te hunga manaaki i ngā rūruhi me ngā koroheke hoki. Heoi, mō te āhua ki te reo, ko ngā kaupapa pēnei i Te Ātaarangi me te Kōhanga Reo, ko te wahine te kaiamo (Higgins et al., 2017a),⁸⁷ ā, koia ēnei ko ngā kaupapa i tūai i roto i ngā tau i te ngaringari o te pūtea (Hond, 2013; TVNZ, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). Ka mutu, i te whakanuitanga o te 40 tau o te Kōhanga Reo, ahakoa ngā kōrero mō ngā kuia, mō ngā whaea o te kaupapa, ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero nā te tāne tonu (Waka Huia, 2022a, 2022b).

⁸⁵ E ai ki te tatauanga ā-motu o te tau 2018, o te 3,776,355 o te iwi whānui o Aotearoa/Te Waipounamu nei he pakeke ake i te 15 tau, 29,793 (0.79%) ngā mea i whai i te tohu paetoru. Ko ngā tokomaha o ngāi tātou te iwi Māori i whai i te tohu paetoru i taua tau rā, o taua pakeketanga rā hoki ko te 1,197 o roto i te 527,058, arā, he 0.23%. I tīkina atu ngā tatauanga nei i Stats NZ, arā, <https://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE8303#>

⁸⁶ Ko te whakaupokotanga o te pūrongo, i pēnei: “Te reo advocate says to give te reo our all.”

⁸⁷ E ai ki a Higgins mā, “He wāhanga a Whaihua nō Te Kura Roa, he kaupapa rangahau i te hua o te reo Māori ki te motu. Ko tōna whāinga nui, ko te rapu i te hua o te reo Māori ki waenganui i ngā whānau o Te Kōhanga Reo, o Te Ātaarangi” (Higgins et al., 2017, wh. 3). Ko te whakakitenga matua kei te ingoa o te pūrongo tuatahi: “He whenua haumako.” E 775 ngā tāngata i uia rā i te tau 2010; 128 (16.5%) o rātou he tāne, 634 (81.8%) o rātou he wāhine, ā, e ngaro ana ngā kōrero mō te tāne, mō te wahine rānei o te 13 (1.7%) o rātou (wh. 7).

Kia huri te titiro ki te Kōhanga Reo.

Te Kōhanga Reo: He whenua haumako rānei

E ai ki a Daniel Proctor, tata te hāwhe o te hunga kōrero Māori i te tau 2022, he hua nō te Kōhanga Reo (Waka Huia, 2022a, 2022b), nō reira ākuanei e tika ana kia kīia ko ngā whānau o te Kōhanga Reo he ‘mata’ nō te hunga e ‘pīkoko’ ana ki te reo Māori.

Heoi, ahakoa te kīia he ‘whenua haumako’ ki te taha ki te reo (Higgins et al., 2017a), nōnakuanei noa iho nei i rahi ake ai te pūtea e utua ana ki ētehi o ngā kaimahi (wāhine nei) o te Kōhanga Reo ki te utu mōkito, otirā e āta utua ai ngā kaimahi kīhai i utua i mua, nā runga i te kōrero ko te ‘aroha’ te utu, arā, he mahi kaitūao (Desmarais, 2019; Hurihanganui, 2020).⁸⁸ Āpiti atu ki tērā, he wā anō kua kore noa iho i rahi ngā pūtea hei utu i te kaiako, nō reira ko taua āhua anō rā: ko tō rātou aroha ki te kaupapa kē te utu. Koia ērā ko ngā kōrero a Gaylene Collier o Te Kōhanga Reo o Tāneatua, “E rua wā kāre mātou i utua mō tētehi rā, nā te kore pūtea. Nā reira, i runga i te aroha ka mahi tonu mātou” (Te Karere, 2022).

He mea whakarite nā te māngai o Te Riu Roa, nā Rīpeka Lessels te rerekē o te utu ki te kaiako o te Kōhanga Reo tēnā i te kaiako o te kura tuatahi ki te hōhonu, ki te whānui o te moana uriuri: "Kātahi ka kite atu ahau te utu a te kaiako i roto i te Kōhanga ki ngā utu a te kaiako i te kura tuatahi. Pēnei i te Grand Canyon te tawhiti o te utu", me tana whakatūpato ake, "Ki te kore tātou e āta titiro ki te taha ki te pūtea mō ēnei kaiako ka kore rā ā tātou tamariki e hiahia haere ki roto i te Kōhanga whakaako ai" (Te Karere, 2022).

Ahakoa e kīia ana ko te take o te utu nei nā te kore o te Tohu Whakapakari a ngā kaiako o te Kōhanga Reo, he tohu i āta whakamanahia e Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga (NZQA) i te paunga o te 20 tau o te whaimana o taua tohu rā i roto i te Kōhanga Reo ake, ko te “āwangawanga” o ētehi o ngā kaiako o te Kōhanga Reo ehara i te mea mā reira anake e

⁸⁸ I tā Desmarais (2019) pūrongo mō te whakapikinga pūtea ki te Kōhanga Reo: “\$21.4m - Increasing pay rates for kaiako and kaimahi (workers) to the Government's promises 2021 minimum wage, pay volunteers working in roles that would normally be paid.”

piki ai ngā utu kia ōrite ki tērā ki ngā kaiako o ngā “whare kōhungahunga auraki” (Te Karere, 2022).

Nō reira mehemea rā ko te Kōhanga Reo tētehi o ngā tino ‘mata’ o te hunga ‘pīkoko’ ki te reo, e kaha ana hoki te whakatairangahia ōna i roto i ā tātou kōrero mō te whakarauora reo (Higgins et al., 2017a), he aha i whiwhi ai ana kaimahi wāhine, ki ngā “maramara” (T. Black, 2021)?

Tūtohi 6: Ētehi taumata utu ki ngā kaimahi i roto i te reo Māori

Kaupapa reo Māori	Utu ā-hāora	Utu ā-tau
Kōhanga Reo	\$20	\$41,600
Kaiako KKM	\$26.60 - \$47.12	\$51,358 - \$90,000 + MITA ⁸⁹
Kaiako o Te Ahu o te Reo	\$150	

Kupu whakamārama: He mea tātai ēnei whika i runga i ngā utu ā-hāora mōkito mai i te 1 o Āperira 2021⁹⁰ (mō te Kōhanga Reo); me te pūtea ā-tau ka utua ki te kaiako i te tau mai i te 1 o Hūrae 2021⁹¹ (mō te Kaiako o te kura rumaki reo Māori). E noho tapu ana te utu ā-hāora ki te kaiako o Te Ahu o te Reo i roto i ngā ritenga o te kirimana, engari nō roto mai i taku whānau te kōrero nei, me ngā kōrero mai a Tangaroa-piri-whare mō ngā utu e utua ana ki te hunga matatau ki te reo.

Ko te utu ā-hāora mōkito nei i tau 2021, ā, koinā te utu i whakaritea hei pae raro mō ngā utu ki te kaiako o te Kōhanga Reo, he \$20 i te hāora (T. Black, 2021; Desmarais, 2019). Mehemea rā he 40 ngā hāora e mahi ana te tangata ka whiwhi ia ki te \$41,600 i te tau (i mua i te tangohanga o te tāke) (**Tūtohi 6**).

⁸⁹ Ko te Māori Immersion Teaching Allowance (MITA), he pūtea e utua ana ki ngā kaiako o roto i ngā kura, i ngā karaehe rumaki, i whakatauhia rā e te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga ko te 80 – 100% o ngā whakaakoranga kei roto i te reo Māori. Ko te nui o te utu MITA, tīmata ake i te \$4,000 i te tau, ka piki ki te \$6,000 ki te pau i te kaiako te toru tau e whakaako ana i roto i te kura/karaehe rumaki kāore e motu aua tau rā. Ka tae ana ki te ono tau o te kaiako e whakaako ana, kāore nei e momotu aua tau, ka piki te wāriu o te MITA ki te \$8,000 (<https://www.education.govt.nz/>).

⁹⁰ <https://legislation.govt.nz/regulation/public/2021/0024/latest/whole.html>

⁹¹ <https://assets.education.govt.nz/public/Documents/School/Collective-Employment-Agreements/Primary-Teachers-Collective-Agreement/Primary-Teachers-Collective-Agreement-2019-2022.pdf>

Kua whakatakotoria atu ki **Tūtohi 6** te utu e utua ana ki te kaiako KKM i te tau hei whakatauritenga atu. Ā, kei reira anō te utu ā-hāora e utua ana ki te kaiako i Te Ahu o te Reo, arā, te \$150 i te hāora.⁹²

Kāti, ahakoa ehara tēnei utu ā-hāora i te mea i āta whakaputaina e tētehi kamupene, he mea āta whāki kē mai nā tētehi o roto o taku whānau e mahi rā i taua mahi. Ka mutu, e hoki ana aku mahara ki ngā utu ā-hāora nā te kāwanatanga i whakatau i ngā tau ki muri, i te takiwā o te \$80 i te hāora, engari me taku rongoi i ngā kūhumuhumu mō ētehi tāne i tono kia utua ki te \$150 i te hāora, ahakoa te ōrite o ngā mahi hei kaituhituhi Paerewa Paetae hou hei kawekawe mō *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (TMoA). E ai ki te Manatū Wāhine, ahakoa ko te toharite o te nui ake o te utu ki te tāne tēnā i te wahine, kei te 8.6%, he neke atu i tēnā mehemea e tirohia ana ngā wāhine Māori, o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa rānei (Manatū Wāhine - Ministry for Women, 2023).⁹³

Nō reira, kāore au i hanepī i te rongonga atu ki te taumata utu e utua ana ki te kaiako o Te Ahu o te Reo. Nā, e tika ana kia kiā ake kei tēnā kamupene ana pae utu, kei tēnā kamupene anō pea āna, nō reira arā pea ngā utu ā-hāora kei kō atu, arā anō ngā mea kei kō mai o te \$150 i te hāora. Waihoki, ko te āhuratanga hoki ki te mahi kirimana, kāore e pūmau ana ngā hāora mahi pēnei i te kaiako o te kura, o te Kōhanga Reo rānei, nō reira, kāore e taea ana te utu ā-tau te āta whakataurite atu ki te utu ā-hāora.

Engari e tika ana te kōrero kua rāngai haere atu te hunga matatau ki te reo Māori – pēnei i te momo tangata i rangahautia e Matiu Rātima – me ā rātou kamupene ki te kai i ngā tahua nui e hora ana mō te reo Māori, pēnei i ngā pūtea a Te Mātāwai, a Te Ahu o te Reo hoki. Waihoki, kua noho atu ki ngā poari, ki ngā pae o Te Mātāwai, o Te Taura Whiri

⁹² Ko Te Ahu o te Reo he kaupapa whakapakari i te kaiako, i te kaimahi hoki i roto i te kura ki te kōrero i te reo Māori. Nā Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga te kaupapa nei, ā, nō te tau 2021 i tīmata ai. Tukuna ana e Te Tāhuhu mā ētehi kamupene te kaupapa e whakahaere ki ngā rohe. I tōna tau tuatahi \$12.2M te nui o te pūtea hei whakahaere i te kaupapa i roto i ngā rohe e whā. I muri mai tāpuia atu he \$108.4M hei kawe i te kaupapa ki roto i ngā rohe katoa mō ngā tau e whā. Ko te whāinga kia 10,000 ngā kaiako/kaimahi ka uru ki te kaupapa i ia tau, i ia tau o aua whā tau rā. Tirohia a <https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/overall-strategies-and-policies/te-ahu-o-te-reo-maori-fostering-education-in-te-reo-maori/>

⁹³ Hei tā Te Manatū Wāhine: “The gender pay gap in Aotearoa New Zealand has reduced steadily from 16.3% in 1998 but has fluctuated over the past decade. It is currently 8.6%. The gender pay gap for wāhine Māori, Pacific and Asian women, and disabled women is significantly higher than the overall gap.”

i te Reo Māori, he tūranga whaimana, he tūranga whai utu hoki.⁹⁴ Nā konā tēnei whakataua āku, kāore pea te hunga ‘pīkoko’ i te pīkoko kai, pīkoko rānei ki te oranga o te kikokiko, hāunga pea ko ngā kaiako o te Kōhanga Reo, engari ia e tino ora kē ana ngā puku o te hunga matatau.

Ko Ngāti Pīkoko kei roto i te whare, ko Ngāti Hūkore kei waho

Ākuanei pea ko te otinga atu o te karangahia o tētehi hunga he ‘pīkoko,’ ko te pōhēhē ko te hunga kāore e uru ki te karangatanga ‘pīkoko’ he ‘hūkore,’ he ‘kawa,’ kāore noa iho rānei i te ‘aro atu.’ Pēnei i ngā kōrero a Hana O’Regan (2015);

Ki ētehi, he moumou wā te whai whakaaro ki te *huka kāore i te aro atu* ki te kaupapa, ā, he tika ake te whakaaro kia waiho atu rātou ki a rātou anō, i tō rātou ao kore reo. Ā, me mātua aro kē atu tātou ki te *huka pīkoko* ki tō tātou reo, hai reira *whakaheke tōtā* ai ki kā mahi hai āwhina i a rātou. (O’Regan, 2015, wh. 2)

I roto i ēnei kōrero kei te kitea atu te whakawehenga mai o te hunga ‘pīkoko’ me te hunga “kāore i te aro atu.” Ānō te āhua kei te kīia, ko Te Whare o te Reo Māori, mō te hunga ‘pīkoko’ anake, ā, me “whakaheke tōtā” ngā kaupapa whakaora reo ki a rātou, ko te hunga kāore e pīkoko, mahue kau ana ki waho o te whare. E pērā ana anō te wairua o ngā kōrero a Tīmoti Kāretu, i noho rā hei toihau mō Te Taura Whiri i mua,⁹⁵ ā, i noho hoki hei kaiako i ngā kura reo a Te Taura Whiri me Te Panekiretanga o te Reo: “[K]o te kore i aro mai o te ao Māori [ki te reo Māori], nā reira kua tātou e whakapau kaha ki ērā” (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018, wh. 193-4)

I tana pukapuka *Toku reo, tōku ohooho*, mō te “ara i whāia ai i ngā tau mai i te 1972 ki 2008 hei whakaputa i te ihu [o] tō tātou reo rangatira” (Winitana, 2011, kei te uwhi o roto) ka uia e Chris Winitana te pātai, “He aha te nuinga o ngāi Māori mā e kore ai e ako i te reo Māori?” (wh. 248). Kātahi ia ka whiu atu i taua pātai ki a Tīmoti Kāretu;

⁹⁴ Ko ngā toihau tokorua o Te Mātāwai i utua ki te \$36,540 i te tau i ngā tau 2019 me 2020. Ko ētehi anō o ngā mema o ngā poari i utua ki te \$22,470 i te tau mō aua tau e rua. 13 katoa ngā mema o te poari, ā, i te āhua nei kei te nui o ngā hui ā-marama e tae atu ai te mema te nui o te pūtea e utua atu ai (Te Mātāwai, 2019-2020).

⁹⁵ Mai i tōna orokotūtanga ake i te tau 1987 ki te Nōema, 1990, ā, mai i a Hune, i te tau 1992 ki a Hūrae, i te tau 1999.

I pēnei te rewatanga mai o tērā pātai ki mua i a Tīmoti, ‘... i tētehi huinga inātata nei i tae ake ai au ... ka mea mai te kaikōrero, ‘Kotahi noa iho te take e mimiti ana te reo Māori, *he kore hiahia* nō te iwi Māori ki te kōrero. Kāore nei he take o te whakarare atu nō te hītoria, nō ōu nā mātua rānei te hē. Kei ia tangata, e whakatau ana he Māori ia, tōna whai wāhitanga ki te ako i te reo, engari kāore tonu e ako.’ (Winitana, 2011, wh. 248)

Ko te wairua o ā Tīmoti kōrero, kei te tangata ake te tikanga ki te ako i te reo, ā, ko te hunga kāore nei e ako, nā rātou nei anō tō rātou nā mate i kimi. He wā tōna kua kīia te hunga “kore hiahia” nei he ‘aro-kore,’ he ‘hūkore’ rānei.

Hei tā Korohere Ngāpō, ko tētehi o ngā kaupapa “whakamārari i te reo o Hauraki” ko te kore o te “paku hiahia ki roto i ngā tāngata kia akona te reo Māori” (Ngāpō, 2012, wh. 83).

Ā, ko Parekura Pēwhairangi tērā i kōrero mō tana “mōhio” ki “ngā pānga o te *hūkore* ki te reo, o te *hiakai* anō hoki ki te reo” (Pēwhairangi, 2020, wh. 44), engari “i tino ora [ia] i te noho piri atu ki te hunga e *pīkoko* nei, e hīkaka nei ki te whakahaumanu i te reo” (wh. 30).

He wā kua kōrerohia te ‘kōwhiri’ i te reo, te ‘kore rānei e kōwhiria o te reo.’ Hei tā Rāwinia Higgins: “As the numbers show, Māori people live mostly outside of the language and *choose not to* see the relevance of te reo to themselves because it appears to lack any relevance to society” (Higgins, 2011). Engari he aha koa tana kaupapa ko te ‘kōwhiringa reo,’ hei tāna, nā ngā āhuatanga tautoko i te kōrero reo Māori a te kaikōrero rānei, a te kaiwhakarongo, a tangata kē rānei i ‘kōwhiringia’ ai te reo Māori, ā, nā ngā āhuatanga tāmi i te kōrerohia o te Māori i kore ai i ‘kōwhiringia’ te reo Māori. Ehara i te mea ka noho noa iho te tangata ka whiu i tana kapa me te karawhiu i te pātai, “Me ‘kōwhiri’ rānei au e au te reo Māori, me kua rānei?”

Ākuanei, ko te hunga i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, pēnei i a Tīmoti Kāretu, he matatau rānei ētehi o te whānau nō reira he māmā ake ki te ako, pēnei i a Rāwinia Higgins, kāore e mārāma ana ki te uaua o tā ētehi ako i te reo, otirā o te whai wāhi ki te kōrero i te reo, ka mea nā te ‘aro kore,’ nā te ‘hūkore’ noa iho rānei.

Hei tā Jennifer Martin;

I tua atu, tā tēnei kōwhiringa [kia reo Māori te reo o tana tuhinga whakapae tohu paetoru] he whakatenatena i te Māori kia aro mai ki tōna reo; kia kitea tōna pito mata, kia rangona ōna reka. E hia kē nei tātou e *noho taharangi* ana, e *hūkore* ana ki te reo Māori, otirā, e kaha āmine atu ana ki te whakapae he reo hua kore kē. Me uaua ka kitea, ka rangona tō tātou reo i ngā horopaki huhua i waho atu o te marae, o ngā kaupapa ōkawa rānei. Me uaua hoki ka kitea tō tātou reo i ngā tuhinga whakapae pēnei, ahakoa te huhua o ngā kaupapa e aro nei ki a tātou te Māori. (Martin, 2013, wh. 3)

Ko ia tērā i kōrero rā mō tana ‘waimaria’ i rangona e tana whaea te “whāruarua i roto i a ia i tana korenga e whai wāhi atu ki te ao Māori.” Me te aha, ka ‘pīkoko’ tana māmā ki te ao Māori, ka tahuri ki te Kōhanga Reo, ki te KKM, ā, ka tupu ake a Jennifer i roto i te reo Māori (wh. 82). Engari, huri rawa tana titiro ki tangata kē, puta ana te kōrero mō te “noho taharangi”, mō te “hūkore” o te tangata ki te reo Māori i runga i te whakapae he “hua kore” te reo.

Ko taua āhua anō rā tērā e rangona ana i roto i ngā kōrero a te tumuaki kairiwhi o Te Taura Whiri o mua, nā Poia Rewi, nāna nei te kī, “Ka pai kē ake te aro mai o Ngāti Horokukū, o Ngāti Pāremoremo, o Ngāti Whakatōngā, o Ngāti Whakatakē, o Ngāti-Kawa, o Ngāti Whakahē, o Ngāti Whakakeke me aua momo nui tonu e whakauaua nei i te whakamanatanga o te reo” (Rewi, 2015). Hoki atu, hoki atu ko aua kōrero anō rā mō te hunga kei waho o Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Engari nō whea mai ngā whakaaro āhua whakakaitoa nei mō ērā o tātou? Nā wai oti i kī e ‘hūkore’ ana te hunga nei ki te reo? Inā hoki, ko te hunga e kīia ana he ‘pīkoko’ kei te uta i te kōrero nei ki runga ki a rātou.

Ngā mata o Hūkore

Kāore te pēpi, kāore hoki te tamaiti nohinohi e ‘pīkoko,’ e ‘hūkore,’ e ‘kōwhiri’ rānei i tētehi reo, engari ka ako, ka kōrero i te reo ka rangona, ka kōrerohia ki a ia i tana tamarikitanga. Nā te mutu o te tukuihotanga o te reo, ko te nuinga pea (neke atu i te 75-80%) o ngāi tātou kīhai i whāngaihia ki te reo i te whānautanga mai, kīhai i tukuna ki te kōhanga reo, ki te KKM kia ākona ki te reo i te tamarikitanga, kīhai rānei i ako i te reo i te pakeketanga, pēnei i a Matiu Rātima (wh. 85). Ko te hunga tēnei e utaina ana ki te kōrero he ‘hūkore,’ he ‘kore hiahia,’ he kore rānei e ‘kōwhiri’ i te reo. Tēnā, kia wetekina tērā o ngā tāhū kōrero.

Me tīmata au ki te kōrero mō ngā mea o taku whānau, o aku hoa.

Kua tata te 80 tau o taku hungarei, ā, kei te hiahia tonu ia ki te ako i te reo. He wahine whakaheke werawera ia mō ngā kaupapa o tana kāinga, he tautoko hoki i ngā rōpū rumaki i te wā e kura ana ana tamariki, ā, he tautoko i te kōhanga reo, i te KKM i te wā o ana mokopuna.

Ko taku hoa tāne, kua uru ki ngā karaehe o Te Ataarangi, kua hoko i ngā pukapuka a Scotty Morrison,⁹⁶ kua noho hoki i tō māua kāinga e kōrero Māori nei māua ko taku tama mō te 15 tau. I wehe ia i te kura i te wā 15 tau tana pakeke, ka haere ki te hī ika. He tangata pakari te tinana, ko tana tinana tonu tana oranga. Kāore hoki ia i pakeke mai me te mōhio ki ana kāwai whakapapa ki tana iwi, ki ana hapū, engari kei te ako haere ināianei.

Arā tētehi o aku hoa pirihonga, he wahine i tūtaki rā au i taku tau tuatahi e kura mahita ana. Ko ia tērā e tiaki ana i te taha pūtea o te kura. Kāore ia i kōrero Māori i taua wā, engari i tukuna e ia ana tamariki tokotoru ki te KKM. I muri mai ka haere ia ki tētehi o ngā kaupapa reo o Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Ka pai tana whai i ngā akoranga mō ētehi wāhanga o te tau, engari eke ana ki tētehi taumata, ka mea mai ia, e mahue haere ana ia ki muri i te tere o te haere o ngā whakaakoranga. Kīhai i roa i muri mai, ka mutu tana whai i taua kaupapa rā. Ināianei, ko ētehi o ā māua kōrero kei te reo, engari he kaha ake tana whai māramatanga ki te reo i tana mōhio ki te whakaputa kōrero.

Ko tētehi o aku huanga, kua hiahia kia whakatūria e au tētehi kura mō ana mokopuna he kore nō ngā KKM i tana kāinga i whakaae kia uru atu rātou, he kore nō rāua ko tana wahine i kōrero Māori. Hei tāna, e hanga whakahihī ana te hunga kōrero Māori o nāianei, ā, kāore i te tino aroha ki te hunga kore-reo. He tangata manawawera ia, ka mea mai 18 rawa ana tau e mahi ana ki te whakahaere i tana kamupene kerī, kāore nei ia i waimarie i ngā momo tautoko ki te ako i te reo e kitea ana i roto i ngā momo whare o te tangata noho-tari, mau hāte-mā nei. He tangata marae, he tangata whakatairanga i te reo Māori i tana kamupene.

Kia tirohia ētehi atu kōrero mō te hunga e kīia nei he 'hūkore' ki te reo.

⁹⁶ Ko ngā pukapuka e kīia nei ko *Māking Māori Easy*.

Ngā taero a Kupe

E ai ki te rangahau *Manawa Ū ki te Reo Māori*, e whā rawa ngā uauatanga o te ako i te reo Māori, arā, ko:

- te kaikiri;
- ngā mamaetanga i heke iho i ngā mātua, i ngā tūpuna ('intergenerational trauma');
- ngā toimahatanga kei runga i te tangata ake ('personal constraints');
- ngā uauatanga nā ngā āhuetanga ako te take ('educational constraints') (Te Huia, 2022).

Ahakoia te whā o ēnei take, kāore e kore e whīwhiwhi ana ngā take nei, arā, he wā pea nā te kaikiri me ngā mamaetanga o ngā whakatupuranga o mua i toimaha ai te tangata, i uaua ai hoki pea ngā āhuetanga o te ako.

Ko tētehi o ngā uauatanga ko te whai wāhi atu ki ētehi kaupapa reo.

Kitea ana i ngā kōrero a Whitiao Scarborough te uaua o te tana whai tonu i te reo i ako ai ia i te kōhanga reo, inā hoki, kāore he KKM e tata ana ki tana kāinga i Onehunga;

I went to kōhanga, and the reason I didn't go to kura was because it was too far for my mum, so a part of my reo journey as a kid and as a teenager is wrapped up in just the realities of trying to get your kid across the city. (Tukiri, 2022)

Ko Te Āniwa Hurihanganui hoki tērā i tae ki te kōhanga reo, ki te KKM hoki. He aha rā, ka whakawhiti ki te kura auraki, me te aha, ngaro ana te reo i mātua mau i a rātou (Hurihanganui, 2021). E mahi ana te whakaaro i roto i ētehi whānau, ka eke ana te tamaiti ki tētehi taipakeketanga, me whakawhiti ia ki te kura auraki kia pai ai tana hopu atu ki te reo Pākehā, otirā ki ngā momo whakaakoranga o te kura auraki e 'angitū' ai ia i tēnei ao.

Ko Moana Maniapoto hoki tērā i kōrero mō ngā uauatanga o te noho hei 'manene' mō te āhua ki te reo, i mate ai ia ki te taraiwa i tana tamāhine ki tērā atu taha rā anō o Tāmaki e tae ai ia ki tētehi kura e ākona ai tana tamāhine i roto i te reo Māori

(Maniapoto, 2017).⁹⁷ I te mutunga iho, riro ana mā te whai wā ki te taraiwa, mā te whai pūtea hoki ki te hoko pēnehīni e tae ai tana tamāhine ki tētehi kura reo Māori. Ko Whitiao rāua tahi ko Moana i ‘pīkoko,’ engari ko te mea kotahi noa iho o rāua i kaha ki te whakaea i taua ‘pīkoko’ rā.

Kua waiho hoki ko tupu ahi teretere mai o ētehi o tātou hei take e kore ai pea e kaha whai wāhi ki te ako i te reo me ngā tikanga i roto i ngā whare wānanga, ahakoa kāore i te tamaiti te tikanga ka pēwhea rā tana tutungi i te ahi kia whitawhita. Hei tā Tracey McIntosh;

Recently, I was speaking to someone who was assembling a panel to interview students for a preferential placement in a university programme. I asked what criteria she used. She said that she tested to see how Māori they were. Her criteria were whakapapa, evidence of meeting cultural obligations and how often they visited their marae. She told me that she had declined a young student because ‘though *she looked the part* she had only visited her marae as a very young child.’ I am saddened by criteria that test Māoriness on things that may be well out of the control of the individual. Who knows why the girl’s family had ceased visits to the marae; should someone who identifies as Māori be excluded due to familial or structural dynamics in which she may have little influence? Again, my own experience is that *a number of students discover or rediscover their Maori roots in the academy, some of them then going on to make very real contributions to Māori communities.* (McIntosh, 2006, wh. 81-2; Nāku anō i miramira)

Hei tā Tracey McIntosh, tokomaha tātou o te iwi Māori nā te whare wānanga tonu i tāmōre anō ai ngā pakiaka ki tō tātou ‘Māoritanga.’ Inā hoki, ko Vini Olsen-Reeder tērā i kōrero mō tana haerenga tuatahitanga atu ki tana marae, i tana taenga ki tana tau tuawhā, tuarima rānei i te whare wānanga e ako ana i te reo Māori (RNZ, 2021c). Hei tāna, e whia nei te roa ōna e whakatenetene ana ki te haere ki tana marae, me te whakaponono anō, me mātua ako ia i te reo Māori. Heoi, te taenga atu ki tana marae, ko ia tētehi o te tokoiti e mātau ana ki te reo.

He mea kōrero tēnei tūāhuatanga e Thomas King, nō ngā tātai whakaheke o te iwi Cherokee ki te taha ki tana pāpā. Ko tātou tonu kei te whakawā i tō tātou Māoritanga (i tō tātou iwitanga, tangata whenuatanga rānei);

⁹⁷ Ko tā Moana Maniapoto, he ‘reo refugee’ rātou ko tana whānau.

Native is an idea that an individual has of themselves... acknowledging that language and narrow definitions of culture are not the only ways identity can be constructed. Yet, in the absence of visual confirmation, these “touchstones” – race, culture, language, blood – still form a kind of authenticity test, a racial-reality game that contemporary Native people are forced to play. And here are some of the questions.

Were you born on a reserve? Small, rural towns with high Native populations will do. Cities will not.

Do you speak your Native language? Not a few phrases here and there. Fluency is the key. No fluency, no Indian.

Do you participate in your tribe’s ceremonies? Being a singer or a dancer is a plus, but not absolutely required.

Are you a full-blood?

Are you a status Indian?

Are you enrolled?

You may suspect me of hyperbole, but many of these were questions that I was asked by a selection committee when I applied for a Ford Foundation Grant for American Indians in order to complete my Ph.D. I’ve told this story a number of times at various events, and each time I’ve told it, one or two non-Natives have come up to me afterwards and apologized for the stereotypical attitudes of a few misguided Whites. But the truth of the matter is that the selection committee was composed entirely of Native people. And the joke, if there is one, is that most of the committee couldn’t pass this test, either, for these questions were not designed to measure academic potential or to ensure diversity, they were designed to *exclude*. For the real value of authenticity is in the *rarity* of the thing. (King, 2003, wh. 55-6; Nāku anō i miramira)

Hei tā Thomas King (2003), he tikanga whakawehewehe kē te whakamātautau i te ‘tūturu’ o te tangata kia ‘kore ai e pai tana tomo atu ki te whare’.⁹⁸ Ko te aronga o tana pukapuka, ko ngā whare kōrero ka hangaia mai e te tangata, e te iwi rānei. Ā, hei tāna, ko te ao tonu o te tangata, ko tana whare kōrero.⁹⁹ Heoi anō te pātai, he aha ngā kōrero kei ngā pou o ngā whare kōrero o te wā mō te āhua ki te hunga kore-reo? Ko te kōrero

⁹⁸ Arā, “to exclude.”

⁹⁹ The truth about stories is that’s all we are.

nui a te hunga o roto i te whare, nā te hūkore noa iho i kore ai te nuinga o te iwi Māori e mātau ki te reo Māori, kua nā ngā taero a Kupe.

Kia mataara koe e te kiri waitutu

Auraki rawa ki te kōrero a Tracey McIntosh o runga ake nei mō te ‘hanga o te tangata,’¹⁰⁰ mehemea e kōrerohia ana te ‘hanga,’ kiri waitutu nei, kauwae tehe nei, kurumatarērehu nei, kāti, koia tonu ngā mea o tātou ka kaha ake te ngaua e ngā niho tetē o te kaikiri.

I a te kaiwhakawā Māori tuatahi o te Kōti Matua, i a Joe Williams e kōrero ana mō tana tuakana i roto i te Māpu Mānguru, ka mea ia, nā te hanga o tana tuakana – he kiri waitutu, he kaitā – i rite ai tētehi ara mōna, he ara i tae ai ia ki te kēnge. Takoto ana ko ngā taero, pā atu ana ko ngā whakawhiu hoki o te ao e whakakinokino nei i te kirimangu; ko Joe ia (he kiritea), i haere atu ki te whare wananga, ka uru ki tētehi kamupene rōia. Koia ngā kōrero a Moana Maniapoto [MM] ki a Joe Williams [JW];

[MM]: Was your brother in the mob?

[JW]: Yes. It’s not unusual for families to have some go off in one way and some go off the other way. No.

[MM]: How do you explain that... yourself?

[JW]: Um... He was a – can I say? – a very successful mobster and when I was younger he had the “menace” tatoed across his forehead. And, you know, big, hulking guy.

To us he was a gentle, loving, loyal brother. He was well-raised, well-loved, doted on, in fact. He’d had a bit of cheek about him. You know what I think was the biggest problem for him? *He was big and black. He was very dark...and very big. And that put him in the stereotype. And the system treated him that way.*

I told him that I was going to go to law school and he looked at me. He didn’t look very happy. And he said, “Are you going to be a f***’n pig?” He didn’t know the difference between law school and police school? And I said to him, “Oh no, no, no. I’m going to be a lawyer, not a policeman.” And he was happy at that. And when I stated working at Kensington Swan he came and visited me. Walked past reception to the lift. I told him to push the button, go to floor 11. By the time he got to the litigation floor, they’d called the police. [MM: I knew you were gonna say that]. And people were just freaking out.

¹⁰⁰ Arā, “looked the part.”

And I said, “It’s okay, he’s my brother. It’s fine.” What I loved, was he was proud. He said to me, “I’m really proud. You’ve done this.” Yeah. (Whakaata Māori, 2021b)

Nō reira, ko ngā ara ka takahia e te tangata, ehara i te mea he mea āta kōwhiri nāna, he ‘hiahia’ nōna ki taua ara, engari ka nui ngā tūtukinga waewae. Ā, he nui atu ngā tūtukinga waewae ka tūponohia atu e ētehi, nā ngā āhuetanga o te ao hurihuri nei.

Nā te moa i takahi te rākau

Kāore i kotahi te ara i parangia e ō tātou whanaunga ki roto i ngā kēnge, engari ki tā te kōrero i tīmata ngā kēnge i ngā tau o te 1950-1970 i ngā taitama i hāmenetia e te ture, i noho ki ngā whare mō te taiohi (Gilbert, 2013; McIntosh, 2006),¹⁰¹ ā, nā wai rā ka tupu, ka whānau hoki ngā tamariki, mokopuna hoki a aua mema tuatahi rā.

I karangahia ngā whare mō te taiohi he whare ‘tiaki’,¹⁰² engari karekau kē rātou i āta ‘tiakina’ – he mea tūkinō kē (Gilbert, 2013; McRae, 2020; RNZ, 2021a; *Tāwharautia: Pūrongo o te Wā - Interim Report, 2020a; Tāwharautia: Pūrongo o te Wā - Interim Report, 2020b; Waatea News, 2022c*).¹⁰³

Āhua tūmeke ana au i te putanga o te kōrero a Te Kaunihera mō ngā Kaiako,¹⁰⁴ mā te ako i te reo Māori ki ngā kaiako e rongoātia ngā hara o mua kia kore ai e pā kaha anō ki ngā tamariki Māori (RNZ, 2022a). Ehara i te mea e whakahēngia ana tērā o ngā whakaaro e pā ana ki te reo, engari e āhua hanepī ana i te whakaaro, ko te reo Māori hei rongoā mō ngā tūkinō i pū kē mai i te whakaaro, he iwi taurekareka te iwi Māori. Koirā kē te whakaaro me rongoā.

Tētehi whakaaro pōhēhē noa iho tērā mā te ako i te reo me ngā tikanga ki ngā kaiako e rongoāhia te pōhara, te kaikiri, me ērā atu o ngā raruraru i pūtaka mai i ngā mahi aupēhi whānui tonu a te kāwanatanga, arā;

¹⁰¹ Ko te ‘borstal’ me te ‘boys home’

¹⁰² ‘State care’

¹⁰³ E ai ki a McRae (2020), e whakapaetia ana i eke ki te āhua 250,000 tāngata te tokomaha i tūkinohia i roto i ngā whare atawhai, whare manaaki a te Kāwanatanga, a ngā hāhi anō hoki.

¹⁰⁴ Ko te ingoa Māori ko Matatū Aotearoa. I konei e mārāma ake ana pea te kīia ko ‘Te Kaunihera mō ngā Kaiako o Aotearoa,’ he kore pea nō te nuinga o tātou – tae rawa mai ki a au, kaiako nei – e mātau ki tērā atu ingoa ōna.

[T]he struggle for equality is reduced to a fight against prejudice, against individuals and attitudes (e.g. of school teachers), a fight against institutions and practices, but not necessarily against the state structures that introduced and perpetuate the inequality. Cultural explanations for Māori inequality assume, in other words, that the conflict between Māori and Pākehā in wider society is based on the incompatibility of the underlying values of the two ethnic groups. Such a view is fundamentally problematic because it involves an abstraction of culture from its material context. (van Meijl, 2020, wh. 85)

Heoi anō, o ngā rau mano nei o ngā ‘mahuri tōtara’ i ‘takahia e te moa,’¹⁰⁵ ko ētehi i huri ki te kēnge hei oranga ngakau, hei oranga tinana mō rātou.

Tērā a Genesis Te Kuru White, o te Mangu Kaha i Whakatāne: he kōrero Māori, he tau ki te haka, he kanohi kitea i ana marae, ā, he aroha ki tana iwi, ki a Ngāti Pūkeko,¹⁰⁶ ā, e whai ana i tētehi tohu i Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Ko tana pāpā tētehi o te tokorua o ngā upoko o te Mangu Kaha mō te motu whānui i tōna wā (Jackson, 2021).

I tā Moana Maniapoto [MM] uiui i a ia ka puta ko ngā kōrero a Genesis [GTKW] mō te ara i takahia e tana pāpā, he ara tāpokopoko, he ara mā te pākaha rā anō ka puta, ka ora te tangata. Engari i te paunga o te 30 tau, ka ea ngā tūmanako o tana pāpā kia hokia tō rātou “taha Māori”, arā, kia “tangata whenua” anō ai;

GTKW: He [tana pāpā] was a hard man. But you know with that hardness, you know, came a lot of good things. He was from that era, from the ‘70s. You know, all the killings and [that] sort of stuff. He was from that line.

The last time he went to jail he was told by one of his uncles that he was gonna be very, very instrumental in the coming together of the Black Power and the Mongrel Mob... [MM: OK? Yeah] ...told that in 1986. My father was sitting in Parry [Pāremoremo Prison] going, “Huh?” He couldn’t see what his uncle could see.

So, he met my mum. It was around 1992 when our people were in a place that was not very good. So, they called a hui and they came together. And the kaupapa of this hui was: “Where to from now? All our people are running away. The way is too hard.”

¹⁰⁵ I *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna* Mead, e pēnei ana te whakataukī: “Nā te moa i takahi te rātā” Mead rāua ko Grove, 2001, wh. 317). Kei te whakamahia i konei te whakataukī i rongo rā ahau i tētehi kura reo, e ōrite ana te wairua o te kōrero.

¹⁰⁶ Hei tā Genesis te Kuru White: “Ngāti Pūkeko hard!”

So, every rangatira who was sitting at that hui had the opportunity to share to feed into the conversation. Anyway, my father saved himself for last and when it finally come to his turn he stood up and he goes, “Let’s try something that belongs to us, but we’ve never gone there before.” And they said, “What’s that?” And he goes, “Taha Māori.” [MM: Yeah]. “Our taha Māori.” They looked at him and went, “Aye?!” ‘Cause, as you can imagine in that time, in that generation, “Eoww, f**k the world society! Rape, pillage and plunder!” Koirā te whakamina... Koirā hoki ngā whakaaro... of that time.

So, for my pāpā, it was about, “OK. We’re in this situation. What are we gonna do?” He said, “I’m gonna commit myself, my wahine, my whānau to go and seek the knowledge and we’re gonna bring it back.” 30 years later, it’s come back full circle. So, part of that journey, that learning was learning who he was as a Māori, as a tangata whenua.

MM: How do you see yourself?

GTKW: I see myself as a tangata whenua – he Māori. I don’t identify as a ‘gang member.’ Nor do I participate in those things, so my role within Black Power Movement ki Whakatāne is to ensure that the platform is there so that our people have the ability or have the opportunity to be able to nurture and develop themselves. (Whakaata Māori, 2021c)

Nō reira, ahakoa te takahia o ngā mahuri tōtara i te wā o tana pāpā, ko ngā mahuri o nāiane, arā, ko Genesis me ana tamariki, kua whai hua i ngā mahi a tana pāpā e 30 tau ki muri. Me toro pea te kōrero a kui, a koro mā, “E tata tapahi, e roa te whakatū.” Inā hoki, ko ngā ‘rākau’ i ‘takahia,’ i ‘tapahia’ rānei, kāore e tere te whakatūria ake, te whakatupuria ake anō.¹⁰⁷ Engari, ki te kore e takaia aua mahuri tōtara rā, engari whakamarumaruhia ana, ā tōna wā anō ka tōtara haemata, ka ora, ka pakari.

He mea uiui hoki nā Moana Maniapoto a Wī Waikari, he mema nō tētehi kēnge i mua. I a ia i te whare herehere i Pāremoremo, ka tahuri ia ki te ako i te reo me ngā tikanga. Hei tāna, “I pursued what I always wanted to pursue... te reo. And I kind of wanted to fall in love with being Māori again without the gang thing and I achieved that. I love it” (Whakaata Māori, 2021c). Nā wai, ā, ka hoki ia ki te whakauru i ngā kēnge me kore noa ka kitea hoki he oranga mō rātou. Heoi, e āhua kaumātua kē ana, kātahi anō ia ka whakatatū i tērā ara mōna.

¹⁰⁷ Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2001, wh. 47).

Ma te whare e whakatipu te tangata

Ko tētehi o ngā taero nui o te ako i te reo ko ngā ‘raruraru’ tonu o te ‘kāinga,’¹⁰⁸ arā, ko te kore-kāinga, ko te nui o te utu mō te rēti whare, otirā mō te hoko whare. Ko tātou, te iwi Māori e kaha pā kinotia ana e te mate tārūrū nui nei (Aikman, 2022; Koopu, 2021; Lee-Morgan & Nana, 2022; Newshub, 2023a; RNZ, 2022e; Rout et al., 2022; Whitehead & Walker, 2021). Kāti, kitea ana hoki ko te kaha ake o te Māori o te hanga o te tangata, ko te heke iho o te tūpono nōna ake tōna whare (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015).

Kāore e āta kōrerohia ngā ‘raruraru’ nei i a tātou e kōrero ana mō te ‘pīkoko,’ mō te ‘hūkore’ o te tangata ki te reo.

Me kōrero rā a Bruce Stewart nāna nei a Tapu-te-ranga i hanga. Nōna i tae tuatahi atu ai ki te kura kātahi anō ka whakamōhiotia atu he Māori ia i te āhua pea o ngā kaiako me ērā atu tamariki ki a ia (RNZ, 2019b).¹⁰⁹ Hei tā tana tamāhine, hei tā Pare, he rimu pae noa tana pāpā,¹¹⁰ ā, koia hoki ia i tapatahi ai ki te kimi tūrangawaewae mōna anō.

Tāpokopoko kau ana tana haere, he wā ka paheke atu ki te hē, tau atu ana ki roto i te whare herehere i Remutaka. I reira ka kite ia i tētehi āhuetanga hou katoa ki a ia: ko te whare whawhao o te Māori. Me te aha, i reira, ka tatū ana whakaaro kia huri anō ia ki te kimi i tana ‘taha Māori.’ Neke atu i te 40 tau tana pakeke i taua wā (RNZ, 2019b).

Ā, i te whare herehere tonu ka tūtaki atu a Bruce ki a Amster Reedy, he kaumātua nō Ngāti Porou i haere atu ki te whare herehere ki te ako i a Bruce mā ki te haka. Ko ia te tangata Māori tuatahi i tūtaki ai a Bruce e tū tangata ana, he tū Māori taua tū, ā, kāore ia i roto i te whare herehere (RNZ, 2019b).¹¹¹

Nā wai, ā, ka tīmata tā Bruce kimi i ngā kōrero mō te ao Māori, ka tūpono ki ngā kōrero mō tēnei mea mō te marae i roto o *Te Ao Hou* i te whare pukapuka o te whare herehere tonu. Ko te marae hei whare mō te tangata i tōna whānautanga mai, ā, mate noa. Waihoki, he whare taonga, he whare toi, he whare ako, he whare wānanga hoki. Ka

¹⁰⁸ Tirohia Te Kaupapa Māori: Ōna mātāpono (wh. 54). Ko tētehi o ana mātāpono ko te ‘piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga.’

¹⁰⁹ Hei tā te tamāhine a Bruce Stewart, “They made it known he was Māori.”

¹¹⁰ “He was extremely disconnected.”

¹¹¹ “He was the first person Bruce ever met that was proud to be Māori and wasn’t in prison.”

hinātore ake i ngā mahara o Bruce ko te marae te mea ngaro i aua atu te wā e kimihia ana e ia. Ā, ko te haeatatanga mai tērā o te whakaaro mō te marae hei tūrangawaewae mō ngā Māori o te tāone i tēnei ao hurihuri (RNZ, 2019b).

Ko te whakatinanatanga mai o tērā whakaaro ko te marae o Tapu-te-ranga i Pōneke, nā Bruce rātou ko ngā kēnge, ko ngā Māori o Pōneke i hanga hei kāinga mō rātou i te tāone. Engari i tua atu i te hanga i ā rātou ake whare, i ‘hanga mai hoki rātou i a rātou a nō’ mā roto atu i te hanganga mai o te whare (RNZ, 2019b).¹¹²

Koia i pepehatia ai te kōrero mō Tapu-te-ranga:

Ko te ringa tangata i hanga i te whare; ko te tuarā o te whare i whakatipu i te tangata. (RNZ, 2019b)

Ā, ka kōrerohia ngā tikanga hanga i te whare: he ketuketu haere rā anō ki te kimi i ngā toenga poro rākau i ngā kura rāpihi, ā, me whakamahi anō ko ngā nērā kōnukenuke. Ko tā Pare whakamārama, ko te oke tērā mō te ora. Ā, ko te ora ko te kai, ko te rongōā i ngā mamae, ko te whare (RNZ, 2019b).¹¹³

Nei koa ko ngā uauatanga ka pā ki ngā marae pēnei i a Tapu-te-ranga, ehara i te marae ā-hapū, ā-iwi rānei, engari nō te hunga e kīia ana he taura here. Me te aha, kāore noa iho i ora i ngā pūtea e ora ai ngā marae o ngā hapū me ngā iwi (RNZ, 2019b).¹¹⁴ He aha koa rā, e mahana ana ōna whare i te tangata, arā, he marae tangata tonu. E pāoro mai ana ngā reo waiata o te kapa nō tētehi kura tuarua e parakitihi ana mō te whakataetae kapa haka mō ngā kura tuarua o Te Upoko-o-Te-Ika. Ā, hei tā Pare, uaua ana tērā te pahure o tētehi rangi kāore ngā whare o Tapu-te-ranga e takahia e te waewae tangata o tēnā rōpū, o tēnā kaupapa (RNZ, 2019b).

Arā ngā piki, ngā heke i roto i te āhua 50 tau mai i te wā i tīmata ake te hanganga mai o Tapu-te-ranga, me te āhua 90 mai i te whānautanga mai o Bruce ki te ao i kaha ai te

¹¹² “People are building their houses, but more than that they’re building themselves... through creativity.”

¹¹³ “It wasn’t called sustainabile living then. It was just called surviving. But you’ve gotta feed your whānau. You’ve gotta heal them. You’ve gotta house them.”

¹¹⁴ “A lot of the grants that iwi-affiliated marae [received] didn’t apply to us.”

whakakinohia o ngā mea Māori katoa, engari tupu whakaritorito haere ana te pā harakeke o Bruce, ā, tū tonu ana a Tapu-te-ranga hei āhuru mōwai mō te iwi Māori i Pōneke. Ā, ahakoa he kupu ruarua noa iho, ko ngā kupu a Pare ki tana tamaiti e toru tau nei te pakeke, he kupu Māori tonu, “Kia ora Son. Son, mihi atu” (RNZ, 2019b).

Ko te ara roa tēnei ki te whakaoranga o te reo, he ara e mātua whakaorangia ai te tangata, arā, tata tonu te 100 tau, e toru rānei whakatupuranga te roa o taua ara.

I te tau 2022 i toro te marae o Tapu-te-ranga i te ahi, pau noa.

Me mātua whāngai te pīkoko reo, te pīkoko kai rānei?

Hei tāpiri atu ki ngā ‘raruraru o te kāinga’ ki te taha whare, ko ngā toimahatanga rukuruki o te rawakoretanga (Eketone, 2022; Perry & Ministry of Social Development, 2022; RNZ, 2020a, 2022c; Rua et al., 2022) me te kaha teitei o te utu mō te kai (Dimitroff, 2022a, 2022b), mō te hiko hoki (TVNZ, 2022).

Ko ngā mahi a te Māori ērā ka whakakāhorengia i te wā o te porotaitaka (Eketone, 2022), ā, ahakoa e whai mahi ana ētehi, ko ngā mea he kongakonga noa te utu, kei te pōhara hoki (RNZ, 2023; Strongman, 2018). Ka aroha kē ngā mea kāore noa e tae ki ngā tangihanga o te whānau i te kaha ngau o te pōhara (Cram, 2011; Strongman, 2018).

Ko te tamariki te tino papa o te rawakoretanga, ā, ko ngā tamariki Māori ērā he kaha ake te tūpono ka noho i te pōharatanga (Hancock, 2021; Henare, 2014; Rashbrooke, 2013; RNZ, 2020a). Ka mutu, ko ētehi o ngā mate, pēnei i te pōkaikaha o te māmā i te wā o te hapūtanga, i te kore kai rānei i te taitamarikitanga he āhuetanga ka mau tonu, pakeke noa (Hambrick et al., 2019).

E kaha ana hoki te pareā o te tuarā ki te hunga pōhara (Cram, 2011).¹¹⁵ E ai ki a Fiona Cram (2011), e whīwhiwhi katoa ana te kaikiritanga, te noho tūtakarerewa i te kura, te kore e uru ki ngā whare wānanga, te kore e whai tohu, te whiwhi ki ngā mahi e utua ana ki te ngaringari, me te pōharatanga o te tangata, ā, ko tōna otinga atu, pareā ana te tuarā ki a ia, whakangongoa ana. Hei tāna, mā te āta ruirui i te whakaaro i roto i ā tātou

¹¹⁵ Kei te kōrerohia e Fiona Cram te “social exclusion.”

kōrero mō te 'ora o te whakapiri,' mō te whītiki tauā,' otirā mō te tauawhi i te rawakore, i te hiakai, i te hunga māuiui me ērā o tātou e toimaha ana e piki ai tō tātou ora ā-iwi nei, arā, e piki ake ai tātou i ngā 'raruraru o te kāinga' (Tirohia a wh. 40).¹¹⁶

E ai ki a Mānuka Hēnare (2014) kei roto i ngā mātāpono me ngā tikanga whakahaere o te haorawa¹¹⁷ te whairawa o ētehi, te rawakore o ētehi. Ka mutu, mai i ngā tau 1980 i kaha ake ai te haoa o ngā rawa e te tokoiti, ā, me te aha, nā wai i tawhiti, i tawhiti, te hunga whairawa i te hunga rawakore (BERL, 2020; Kīngi, 2014; Poata-Smith, 2013; Rashbrooke, 2021).

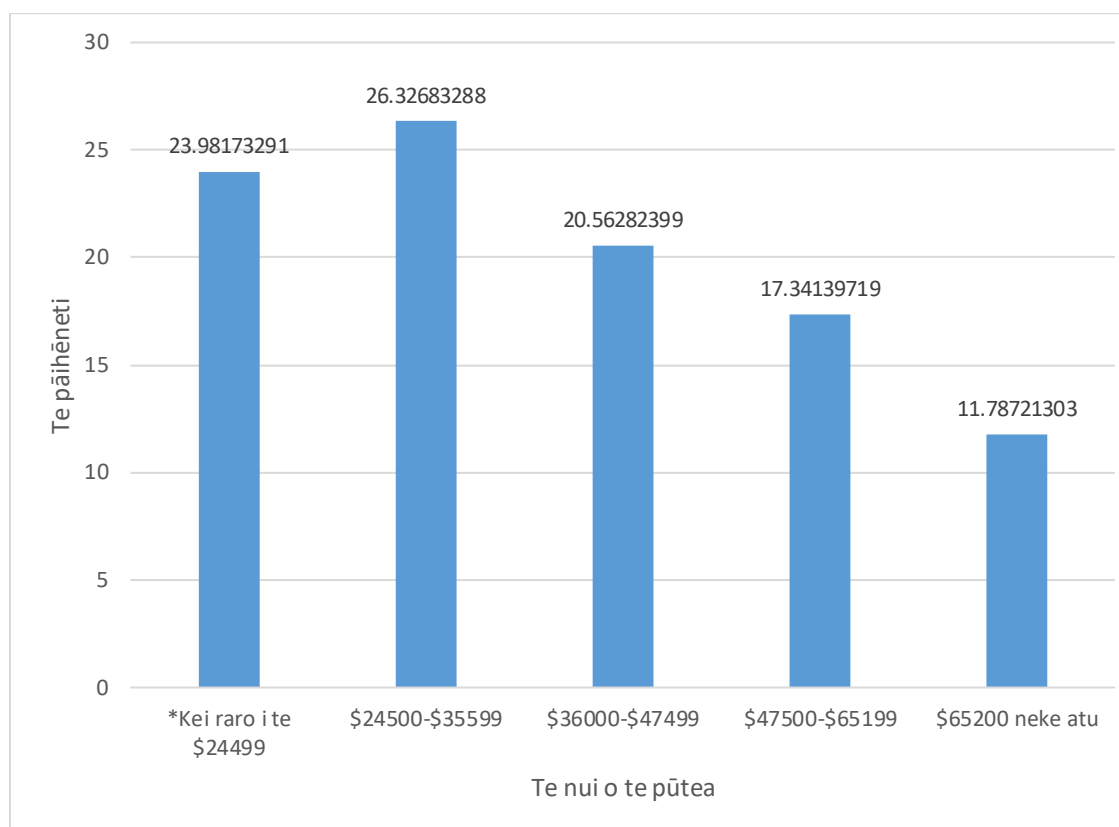
E kaha ana te kīia ko te Pākehā kei te whairawa, ko te Māori kei te rawakore, ā, e tika ana tērā, he āhuatanga i tīmata mai anō i te wā o ngā raupatu whenua (ActionStation Aotearoa, 2023; Borell et al., 2018; Comyn, 2022; Scobie & Sturman, 2024). Heoi, me uaua kē ka kōrerohia ngā wehewehenga i waenga i a tātou (Poata-Smith, 2004).

Nei koa, te tirohanga atu ki ngā kāinga katoa i Aotearoa i ngā tau 1982, 1986, 1991, me 1996, whakawehea ana i runga i te nui o te pūtea i aua whare rā, kei te takiwā o te 75% o te iwi Māori e noho ana ki ngā haurima e toru o raro (Poata-Smith, 2004, wh. 66). Huri rawa ake te titiro ki ngā tatauranga o te tau 2020 (**Tūtohi 7**), kitea ana, āe, kua piki te tokomaha o tātou kei ngā haurima teitei e rua mō te nui o te pūtea (kei te āhua 28%), engari ko tētehi atu āhuatanga e kōture mai ana ko te kāinga Māori i whiwhi ki te haurima o te pūtea nui katoa i te tau (neke atu i te \$65200), kua piki ki runga ake o te 10%. Kāore tonu i ōrite ki a tauwiwi, heoi, he āhuatanga tēnei kīhai i kitea i ngā tatauranga a Evan Poata-Smith (2004, wh. 66), ā, he tohu hoki nō te puta haere o ētehi o tātou i ngā matikara o Rawakore, kia karangahia he hāneanea te noho, he whairawa rānei.

¹¹⁶ Hei tā Fiona Cram, "Māori development can only happen within a *discourse* of social inclusion that acknowledges and upholds indigenous rights within this country" (wh. 161; Nāku i miramira).

¹¹⁷ Tirohia ngā kōrero mō te haorawa i wh. 79.

Tūtohi 7: Te pūtea e utua ana ki ngā tāngata o tētehi kāinga, he kāinga hoki i nōhia rā e te Māori i te tau 2020



Kupu whakamārama: He mea tiki ake ngā tatauranga nei i te Household Economic Survey o te tau 2020 i Tatauranga Aotearoa (www.stats.govt.nz), i raro i te wāhanga: Household equivalised disposable income in New Zealand, Ethnic Group Māori. He mea whakarite ngā whika nei ('equivalised') kia taea te whakataurite ahakoa te rerekē o te tokomaha o ngā tāngata kei tēnā kāinga, kei tēnā kāinga e noho ana. Ko te nui o te pūtea, ko tērā e toe mai ana i muri i te tangohanga, i te whakawhiwhinga rānei ki te tāke, i te utu i a ACC rānei ('disposable income'). E tātaihia ana te huinga pūtea e whiwhi ana te hunga 15 tau, pakeke ake rānei.

Waihoki, ahakoa te heke o ngā haurima e toru o raro, kei reira tonu te nuinga o ngāi tātou (āhua 69%), ā, ko tōna 50% tonu o tātou kei ngā haurima e rua o raro rawa. Hei tā Glenis Philip-Barbara, kōmihana tuarua mō ngā tamariki Māori ko te 'whiore parauri roa' tērā o Tāmi (Jacobs, 2022).

Ehara pea i te kerewa tiki

I wh. 85 i kōrerohia ai ngā 'mata' o te hunga e kīia nei ko te hunga 'pīkoko' ki te reo, ā, ko ētehi o ōna tohu, ko te tohu mātauranga o te whare wānanga. Kāti, ki konei kōrerohia

ai te pānga o te ‘koretake’ o te tangata ki te ako ki tana whiwhi, ki tana whiwhi-kore rānei ki te reo.

Hei tā Ruakere Hond mō te hunga kore-reo;

Ko te mea nui ka kī atu, kāore tētehi tangata i tēnei ao, e kore e kaha ki te ako i te reo Māori. Koirā. Ahakoa te tini o ngā tāngata kua kī atu, “Oh. Kāore au i te kaha ki te ako i ngā reo”, nē. “He koretake nei au ki tēnei momo mahi.”

Nō reira, i ētehi wā, ummm, ko ngā pakanga nei o te hunga tē hiahia nei te whai i ēnei mea, ehara i te mea ko te kore hiahia ki te tautoko, engari ko ngā mea pēnei i te whakamā, pēnei i te matakū, tēnei te kore pono ki a rātou anō e kaha nei te whai. Nō reira, koirā tētehi o ngā take, ngā painga o Te Ātaarangi nei, he māhaki nei te āhua o te tō mai i tērā hunga. (Māori Television, 2022)

Nō reira, ko te kīia o ētehi he ‘kore hiahia ki te tautoko, nā runga kē pea i te “whakamā”, i te “matakū”, i te “kore pono ki a rātou anō” e “kaha [ana rātou ki te] whai.” I nui hoki ngā mea o tātou i whakakūwaretia i te kura, ā, mau tonu ana ētehi ki tērā whakaaro. Ko ētehi anō kīhai i noho roa atu ki te kura i tō rātou kino ki taua ao rā, ā, me te aha anō, ko ētehi o ngā mātauranga hei tūāpapa mō te ako ā-pukapuka nei, kīhai pea i mau (Penetito, 2010; Simon et al., 2001). Ko ētehi tini o tātou i whakaakona noatia “ō rātou ringaringa” kua ko “ō tātou hinengaro” (Tirohia a wh. 43).

Hei tā Ruakere anō;

Arā anō ngā whanaunga kāore i rata ki te kura, kāore i hiahia ki tērā ao. Nō reira, he nui anō te mahi whakaratarata i a rātou kia kaha anō te whai [i te reo]. Nā, i ētehi wā ko te hunga e whakahē mai ana, e whakatūtū taupā ana, ko ngā mea kāore i te pono ki a rātou anō, kāore i te pono e taea ai e tātou tō tātou reo te whakaruora. Nō reira, kotahi te tino huarahi: me whakaatu e taea ana. (Māori Television, 2022)

Kāpā, ko ngā ‘kerewa tiki,’ mau rere ana i a rātou te reo. Ko te mate kē, takitahi noa iho nei aua ‘kerewa tiki’ rā.

Hei tā Ruakere;

Arā anō ngā kerewa tiki nei, ana haere, kotahi wānanga kua mau e hia nei ngā waiata, ngā karakia, engari ehara tērā i te tini o ngā tāngata nei i roto i a tātou. Ngā whānaunga nei. (Māori Television, 2022)

Waihoki, ka hua ake te pātai, nā te aha i 'kerewa tiki' ai. Nā te 'pīkoko' noa iho rānei? Ākuanei pea nā te taunga ki te ao o te kura. Engari i tua atu i tērā, e ora ana pea te puku, e āhuru ana te noho i tētehi kāinga, i roto hoki i te awhi a te whānau; kāore pea i rite ki a Bruce Stewart (wh. 105), ki te pāpā o Genesis (wh. 103) , ki a Wī (wh. 104) i te wā o te ohinga.

E ai ki a Maslow (Tirohia a wh. 3) me mātua whakaea ngā hiahia o te tinana, kātahi anō te tangata ka whakaea i tā te ngākau, i tā te wairua i hiahia ai, ā, kei te tihi rā anō o ngā hiahia ko tā te hinengaro i 'pīkoko' ai, pēnei i te ako i tētehi reo hei reo tuarua.

Tērā hoki ngā kōrero a Mānuka Hēnare mō ngā 'āheinga' tekau i whakarārangiā rā e Amarta Sen rāua ko Martha Nussbaum hei tohu i te ora, i te whaimana, otirā i te tau o te mauri o te tangata (Henare, 2014, wh. 52). Ko aua āheinga rā ko:

1. Te ora o te tangata, ā, kaumātua noa
2. Ngā oranga ā-tinana
3. Te whai tikanga te tangata i te āhua o tana tinana
4. Te oranga ā-hinengaro
5. Te oranga ā-ngākau
6. Te whaimana o te tangata ki te para i tōna anō ara i te ao
7. Te noho tōnui ā-whānau, ā-iwi
8. Te noho tōnui i roto i te ao tūroa
9. Te ngahau, te rēhia me te rongu ki te rekareka
10. Te whaimana i roto i te ao, arā, i roto i ngā tikanga whakahaere a te iwi, i roto hoki i tana kimi oranga mōna i te whenua (Henare, 2014, wh. 52).

Hei tā Mānuka Hēnare, ko te tamaiti Māori e noho pōhara ana, kāore e paku eke i roto i te nuinga o ēnei o ngā tohu o te ora. Ākuanei ko ngā honohono ā-whakapapa ka pūmau tonu, engari i tua atu i tērā, ka haere i te ara o te pōhara i te tamarikitanga, ā, pakeke noa. Ā, ka mutu, ka pakeke ana te tangata kua kore pea he tirohanga kētanga ki te pōharatanga, kua waia kē ra hoki ia ki tērā āhua.

Arā;

A poverty trail [...] will affect capabilities of learning in early childhood education, primary school, and secondary school, polytech and university. As potential adults, a life of inequality, destitution and deprivation will, from their point of view, be considered as normative. (Henare, 2014, wh. 53)

Nō reira, ākuanei kei te whakapapa o te 'kerewa' o te tangata ki te ako i ngā rohu ora nei, ā, he pērā hoki te kore o te tangata i ako i te reo. Kāore e taea te kī, nā te pīkoko' noa, nā te 'hūkore' noa rānei.

He momo 'waimarietanga' anō tērā ka tau ki te tangata i te āhua o te ao e whānau ai ia, pēnei i te 'purapura' ka tau ki te 'one pai' (wh. 70), ā, ka pakari tana tana tipu, ā, taea noatia ngā puhikaioreore o te wao. I roto i te āhuatanga o te reo, ākuanei ko te 'kerewa tiki' nei i āhua māmā ake tana uru ki ngā kaupapa e ākona ai te reo hei reo tuarua.

Ahakoia pātōtō atu ki te kūwaha o te reo, auare ake

He mea whakairi ngā kōrero a Nadine Hura (e mōhiotia nei hoki ko Nadine Millar) mō ana takitakinga i roto i te reo Māori ki *E-Tangata* (Millar, 2015, 2016, 2017). Ka kōrero ia mō tana tono kia uru tana tama ki te Kōhanga Reo. Engari kīhai i whakaaetia, ahakoia te wātea o ētehi tūranga. Hei tāna, i tana taenga atu ki te pae o te ao Māori, tōia ana te kūwaha kia kati;

I felt like I'd knocked on the door of te ao Māori and had it slammed in my face. I felt inadequate on so many levels. I had failed to become fluent in Māori before I had children and now my boy was being punished for it. I felt guilty and, worse still, embarrassed that I'd even tried. (Millar, 2015)

Nō reira, ahakoia tā tātou whakatairanga i te reo Māori me ngā kōrero akiaki i a tātou ki te ako i te reo, ehara i te mea kei te āta pōwhiringia, kei te āta aratakina te katoa ki roto ake i Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

He wā anō i kōrero ai a Nadine mō tāna anō takahi haere i te ara o te ako i te reo Māori. Ko taua ara rā he ara kōpikopiko, he ara tāpokopoko, ehara i te ara poka tata noa iho nei. Hei tāna ehara i te mea nā te mate wheke i kore ai i eke, engari kāore tonu e taea te kī he 'kai parāoa' noa iho;

It wasn't like going to the shops and picking up a loaf of bread. I'd studied Māori at school, done three university courses, been to marae immersion

weekends – the works. It wasn't lack of will holding me back. (Millar, 2017, wh. 89-90)

Waihoki, hei tāna, tērā te whakamahia o te matatau o te tangata ki te reo, te kore rānei hei rākau patu i te ngākau o te tangata;

The tendency to use fluency, or some other fact, as a weapon against our own people, doesn't make sense to me. Not only does it go against the essence of the language itself, it also fails to recognise that learning Māori for many of us isn't just an intellectual exercise. It's emotional and spiritual, too. We inherit the mana of our tūpuna, but sometimes, we also inherit their fear and pain. (Millar, 2016)

Āpiti atu ki tērā, ko tā Nadine he kōrero mō te heke mai o ngā mamaetanga o ō tātou mātua tūpuna ki a tātou. Nō reira, ko te ako i te reo Māori, kei tua kē i te ako o te hinengaro i ngā ture o tētehi reo kei roto i te pukapuka e takoto ana.

Hei tāna anō, he wā ōna e toka ai tana arero i roto i te waha, nā te marū o tana ngākau i ngā tātā, i ngā whakawākanga me ngā whakaparahako a te hunga matatau ake i a ia ki te reo, tae atu ki ana hoa, i mea rā, nō nakua noa iho nei ia i Māori ai;

...I still struggle to speak sometimes. Shame creeps up on me like a vine whenever I need to find my voice. And, much like Willie Jackson, I've been judged harshly at times, by those with more knowledge than me. I've been called a "born-again Māori" — and that's just by my friends. (Millar, 2016)

Kāti, kia huri te aro ki te whakamā: he wā tōna ka ngau i roto i te puku, he wā ka patu mai i waho.

Ka patua e te whakamā, ka patua rānei ki te whakamā!

Ko Shelley Burne-Field tērā i tuhi kōrero mō te ngau kino o te mamae, o te whakamā i te korenga ōna i matatau ki te reo, ahakoa ehara i te mea nāna i ngaro ai tana reo, ā, ka nui te wā, ka nui hoki te kaha me pau ki te ako;

The taonga of te reo Māori belongs to us all, in all eras, for poor and rich, on every level of learning, body and soul. Yet if you've never learned, be understanding of your why. It's gonna take time — lots of time. Some of my generation may never receive the precious gift of time and energy to learn te reo Māori. This doesn't mean it doesn't hurt. This doesn't mean it doesn't cut deeper each day. (Burne-Field, 2021a, 2021b)

He mea āta arohirohi nā Jamie Cowell te whakamā i tana atikara, ‘Tūwhitia te hopo, mairangatia te angitū’ (Cowell, 2017).¹¹⁸ Ka toro ia ki tā Vini Olsen-Reeder i kī ai, “Kotahi tonu pea te taniwha hiku roa e rere ai te mauri o te reo rua Māori, arā ia ko te whakamā” (Olsen-Reeder, 2017: He mea kite i roto i a Cowell, 2017, wh. 289).

I roto i ngā kōrero a Jamie Cowell, he hoa haere a ‘Whakamā’ rāua ko ‘Mamae’ (Cowell, 2017).

Ka ketua ake hoki e ia tā Joan Metge mō te whakamā, arā, “Ko te whakamā, he tohu kua ngoikore te mana o te tangata, o te rōpu, ahakoa nōna te hē, nō tētahi atu rānei (1986; He mea kite, he mea whakamāori hoki nā Cowell, 2017, wh. 291). Nō reira, ko te ‘ngoikore,’ ko te ‘heke’ rānei o te mana o te tangata tētehi take i whakamā ai.

Arā te kōrero mo Te Tahī-o-te-rangi, nāna i whakataukī ake, “Waiho mā te whakamā e patu. Waiho hai kōrero i a tātau kia atawhai ki te iwi” (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 418). I konei kei te kōrerohia te ‘whakamā’ i pā ki tana iwi mō te ‘hē’ o tā rātou whakarere atu i a ia ki Moutohorā, he wehi no rātou ki taua tohunga rā. Ka mea a Te Tahī ki ngā taniwha nāna ia i whakahoki ki uta kia kua ngā waka o tana iwi e whakatakahurihia, engari ia mā te whakamā kē hei ‘patu.’ Nō reira, ko te ‘whakamā’ tētehi o ngā utu mō tētehi ‘hē,’ ā, me mātua mōhio pea te ao ki taua hē rā.

Heoi, e kī ana a Shelley Burne-Field, ehara i a ia te ‘hē’ i ngaro ai tana reo (Burne-Field, 2021a, 2021b). Ā, e pērā ana hoki te kōrero a tētehi o ngā wāhine i tū ki te kōrero mō te Pire Reo Māori, ka kōrero mō te “koretake” o tana reo, “Ehara nāku te hē. Ehara aku mātua te hē. Nā te Karauna kē te hē” (Te Hiku Media, 2015).

Nō reira, ko au e whakapae ana, e rerekē ana te ‘mamae’ o roto i te tangata mō te korenga ōna i ākona ki te reo, i whāngaihia ki te reo, i whiwhi rānei ki te taonga nei o te reo, tae atu ki te tangi, ki te riri hoki mō ngā hē o tētehi atu i kore ai te reo i heke iho ki a ia. Engari ia, ko te ‘whakamā’ he āhuatanga ka ahū mai i ‘waho,’ arā, he momo ‘takahi,’

¹¹⁸ Ko te whakataukī nei, “Tūwhitia te hopo, mairangatia te angitū”, ko tā Te Wharehuia Milroy whakamāori i te kōrero, “Eliminate the negative, accentuate the positive.” Tirohia te whakamārama mō ‘Te Whare o Rongomaurikura’ i *Te Aka Māori Online Dictionary* (www.maoridictionary.co.nz). Hei tā ētehi, ko tōna rite kō tēnei nā: “Feel the fear and do it anyway!” Tirohia a <https://kupu.maori.nz>

whakaheke rānei i te mana o te tangata pēnei i ngā “whakawākanga” a tētehi atu (Tirohia wh. 113), i te ‘tōanga’ rānei o te ‘kūwaha’ kia ‘kati’ (Tirohia a wh. 112), i te whakamahinga rānei o te kore-mōhio o te tangata ki te reo hei ‘rākau patu’ i a ia (Tirohia a wh. 113), otirā hei whakamanamana mā ētehi he nui ake te mōhio.

Nō reira, ahakoa e mihi ana ki ngā momo whakaaro whakamanawanui i te hunga e ako ana i te reo, kia māia, ākuanei ehara i te mea kei te tangata e tomo ana ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori te tikanga ki te ‘tūwhiti i te hopo,’ engari me mahara ake hoki te hunga kei roto i Te Whare o te reo Māori ki tērā atu o ngā whakatauki: “Tangata takahi manuhiri, he marae puehu.”¹¹⁹ Inā hoki, mehemea ko tō tātou hiahia kia ‘marae tangata’ te marae o te reo Māori, me kua e takahia te mana o taua hunga e kuhu mai ana, engari me manaaki. Ki te kore, kāti, ka ‘marae puehu’ tonu pea.

Kei ngā kaupapa kē rānei te hē?

Nei koa, hei tā Te Waihoroi Shortland, ehara kau i te hiakai te mate o te hunga kore-reo; ko te mate kē, ko ngā kaupapa ako i te reo (Te Hiku Media, 2015, 18 o Hune). Hei tāna, ko te nuinga ia o ngā kaupapa, he mea āta whakarite hei painga mō te ‘momo’ tangata pēnei i a Peter-Lucas Jones, kaiuiui o Te Hiku Media, arā, mō te hunga kua “whiwhi-kē” ki te reo, otirā mō ngā momo o te “wānanga nui”, o te “tākuta”, kāore nei he “haukoti” o tā rātou piki ki “ngā taumata katoa o te reo.”

Hei tā Te Waihoroi;

Koirā te hunga e ora ai te reo, ehara ko te hunga kua whiwhi kē. Te mate nui o tēnei... o ngā kaupapa o tō tātou reo i tēnei wā..., ngā mea katoa kei konei hei whāngai i te hunga kua whiwhi kē.

Pēnā i a koe nā: I whiwhi koe. Nō reira, ina hiahia koe e taea e koe ngā taumata katoa o tēnei reo te piki. Nā te mea i whakaritea mai ngā akomanga e tae koe ki ngā wānanga nui, e piki koe hei tākuta, hei aha atu, hei aha atu, mō te reo nei.

Nā te mea kua whakaritea mai ōna takitakinga mō te hunga kua whiwhi kē pēnā i a koe nā. Nō reira, kāhore he haukoti mō tōu momo. Ko te momo e

¹¹⁹ Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2001, wh. 360).

kore e eke, ko te hunga i whānau mai, kihai i whiwhi reo. Kihai i tūtaki ki te reo, pakeke noa. (Te Hiku Media, 2015, 18 o Hune)

Ko taua ‘momo’ rā, arā, ko ngā manutaki o te kawau mārō o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori, e kaha ana te kitea o te ‘tākuta,’ o te ‘ahorangi,’ o te pūkenga o te whare wānanga, otirā o te ‘tākuta,’ pēnei i a Matiu Rātima me ana hoa i rangahautia e ia (Tirohia a wh. 85), tae atu hoki ki a Tātere Macleod (Tirohia a wh. 89).

Hoki ake ana ki a Te Waihoroi, hei tāna, ko te mate kē, hei “te wā tuatahi e tuki ai te waewae ki tētehi mea, e purutūtuki ai ia ki raro, he rahi e kore e tū ake anō” (Te Hiku Media, 2015, 18 o Hune). Engari, hei tāna, “kei ngā kaupapa ako te hē. Ehara kei te tangata e hiakai rā, kei tana kūaretanga. Kei te āhua o tā tātou ako.”

Kei te āhua tautoko ngā kōrero a Ruakere Hōd i ā Te Waihoroi mō te āhua ki te kaupapa whakaako i te tangata. Hei tāna, he “māhaki te āhua o te tō mai” o Te Ataarangi i te hunga whakamā, kore pono ki a rātou anō (Māori Television, 2022).

Hāunga anō te āhua o te whakaakona o te reo, ko tētehi āhuatanga e pā ana ki ngā kaupapa reo, ko te utu tonu. Hei tā tētehi, “[I] haere ahau ki te whare wānanga. Nāku i hoko taku reo. Nāku i utu kia kōrero taku reo engari he tino koretake taku reo Māori” (Te Hiku Media, 2015). Ko ētehi ia, ka waimarie i te utu a te iwi i te nama ki te haere ki te kura reo (Hakiwai, 2018), engari ki te ‘ahi teretere’ te tangata, kāore pea e waimarie i ngā awahi ā-pūtea (Tirohia ngā kōrero a Tracey McIntosh i wh. 99).

Ko ētehi kaupapa, he mea āta whakatū mā te hunga e mahi ana i roto i ngā kamupene pēnei i TVNZ (Te Karere TVNZ, 2018b), i ANZ (Te Karere TVNZ, 2018a), me te hōhipere o Te Rakipaewhenua (Te Karere TVNZ, 2019), ā, kāore he utu. Ko te nuinga o ngā kaimahi o ngā kamupene nei, o ngā whare nei ehara i te Māori. Pēnei i a Paula Hall, kaimahi o te hōhipere o Te Rakipaewhenua, i mea rā;

I would probably never have stepped out of my comfort zone and learned it on my own, but here it is, on my doorstep, two minutes away from my office. And I can do it. And I think if everybody gave it a try it would be a really good thing. (Te Karere TVNZ, 2019)

Kāti, e mihi ana ki te whakaaro kia whakaakongia te reo Māori i roto o ēnei o ngā whare mahi, heoi, e ariari mai ana te kore o te wahine nei i āta ‘pīkoko’ ki te reo, engari nā te māmā noa iho o tana ako, kātahi anō ia ka paku whakaoreore i a ia anō ki te whai.

Ka hua hoki ko te pātai, āe rānei e whakatūria ana e ētehi atu kamupene, whare mahi rānei e mahi nui nei te iwi Māori ētehi kaupapa reo utu-kore? Mate ana rānei te Māori ki te utu ki te haere ki te whare wānanga, ki te kura reo rānei. Ko ngā wā ako ko ngā hararei kura, ko ngā ahiahi, ko ngā mutunga wiki rānei. Me āta haere rānei ki te whare wānanga, me te kore e āhei ki te mahi moni i taua wā.

Ko taku hoa tāne tētehi. Kāore i whakaetia tana uru ki te kaupapa reo a te iwi kāinga o te rohe e noho nei māua, ehara hoki māua i te tangata whenua i tēnei rohe. Waihoki, nā te mea ko ana ‘ringaringa’ kei te utua mō ana mahi – kaua ko tana arero – ahakoa ko te nuinga o ana hoamahi he Māori, kāore e āta whakaritea mai he kaupapa whakapakari reo i tana rātou whare mahi kia rua mēneti noa ai te tawhiti atu o te reo Māori. Mate ana ia ki te kimi i ētehi atu kaupapa i waho o ngā hāora mahi, o te taraiwa rānei mō e whia hāora ki tōna anō rohe kainga.

Hei tā Rīhari rāua ko Nina Benton i kī ai e ora ai te reo me whaitake i roto i ngā kaupapa e mahi nei te iwi Māori, e takatū nei te iwi Māori, otirā i ō rātou kāinga (Benton & Benton, 2001).¹²⁰

Ka mihi rāua ki ētehi o ngā kaupapa e aro nei te whaipānga o te oranga ā-moni nei o te tangata ki te oranga o te reo, pēnei i tā Ngāi Tahu whakamāmā i ngā utu mō *Kotahi Mano Kāika*, me *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* tērā o ngā kaupapa a Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa me Te Āti Awa.

Ko *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano*, kāore noa iho e aro ki te whakarauora reo, engari ia e aro ana ki te oranga ā-hapū, ā-iwi hoki. Inā hoki, haere tahi ana ko ngā kaupapa pēnei i te mahi, te pūtea, te reo me ngā tikanga, te taiao, te whai i te mātauranga, otirā me

¹²⁰ He mea toro nā Rīhari rāua ko Nina Benton ngā kōrero a Séan de Fréine e pā ana ki te reo Airihi, “[T]he channels of communication which sustain the life of a language and culture within a community ‘need to be embodied in permanent institutions and customs whose role is thus *primarily functional*’ (Nā rāua anō i miramira).

ētehi tini āhuetanga kē atu e ora ai ngā hapū me ngā marae o aua iwi (Winiata & Luke, 2021).

He mea whakamihī nā Rīhari rāua ko Nina Benton a Ngāi Tahu rāua ko Ngāti Raukawa mō rāua i kaha ki te hāpai i ngā kaupapa whānui i tua atu i ērā mō te reo;

Some attention does seem to be given to the extra-linguistic goals of this aspect of community development by at least one of the very large tribal confederations (Ngāi Tahu), which has also sponsored concentrated language-immersion courses for adults. Even more work along these lines has been done by the much smaller Ngāti Raukawa tribe at Ōtaki, near Wellington, which has also set up its own higher educational institution, and supported grass-roots radio stations and other ventures which have had language and cultural objectives linked to the economic ones. (Benton & Benton, 2001, wh. 444)

Nō reira, hāunga te pai o tā te kaupapa whakaako i te reo ki ngā momo tāngata katoa, me pai hoki te whakatūria o ngā kaupapa ki ngā whare mahi, ki ngā kāinga hoki e whai wāhi atu ai te iwi Māori, me te whai whakaaro ake ki te whakaū i te reo ki ō rātou ao, ki ā rātou mahi, otirā ki ō rātou kāinga, engari kia whakapikingia hoki rātou i ngā 'raru o te kāinga' (Tirohia a wh. 40).

Ko te rahurahu kei raro: Kei te hunga 'waimarie' te reo

I te tīmatanga o tēnei upoko, i wherawherahia tētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori mō te pūkoko' o te hunga o roto me te 'hūkore' o te hunga o waho. I waenga i aua kōrero rā ko tētehi atu whakaaro e āhua nunumi ana: Nā te 'waimarie' tonu pea i tomokia ai e ētehi te whare.

Ngā mata o Waimarie

Ko tēnei mea te 'waimarie' ko te tau o tētehi āhuetanga ki runga ki te tangata (ko te tūpono rānei o te tangata ki tētehi āhuetanga) e hua ai ko te pai, ko te ora ki a ia. Waihoki, ko te wairua o te waimarie, he āhuetanga i tūpono noa iho, ehara i mea te mea nā te tangata ake i āta whakarite mai e kīia ai, ka waiho hei take whakamihī i te tangata. Pēnei: ka wini i ahau te miriona tāra i te Rōtō. Kāore e tika ana kia whakamihia ahau mō taku pukumahi, mō taku atamai, mō taku mārohirohi, kāo. Engari ākuanei pea me whakamihī kē ko taku waimarie.

Tērā te whakataukī a te Pākehā, ‘Nā te tangata anō tana waimarie.’ Heoi, kei tua o taua whakataukī rā, ko ngā kawekawe o te taniwha e rahurahu ana, nāna nei i haoa ai ngā rawa ki ngā ringaringa o te tokoiti.¹²¹ Ā, e kauparea atu ai e Whairawa ngā taki ki taua taniwha rā e Rawakore, e Ohaoha, e kī nei: ‘Kia kaha ake tā tātou ohaoha kia ora ai te katoa, kua ko te tokoiti anake.’ Ko te whakahoki a Whairawa, ‘E! Nā te werawera o taku rae i whairawa ai ahau’ (Sandel, 2020).¹²² Ko te urupare a Rawakore, ‘E tama, nā te waimarie noa iho nei koe i whairawa ai.’ Ko te whakahoki a Whairawa ki tērā, ‘Nāku anō taku waimarie’ (RNZ, 2019a).

Koia tēnei ko te taukumekume i roto i te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori: Ko te kōrero kei runga, nā te ‘pīkoko,’ nā te ‘whakaheke werawera’ o te tangata i tomokia ai e ia Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Heoi, ko te kōrero kei raro, nā te ‘waimarie’ kē. Ākuanei pea e tika kē ana te kī, nā te ‘waimarie’ rāua tahi ko te ‘pūmanawa,’ ko te ‘pūkenga’ rānei i taea ai te tomokia atu (Kahneman, 2013).¹²³

Kāti, kia huri te titiro ki ngā mata o te waimarie.

He waimarie nā te wā, nā te wāhi i tohu

Ahakoā ngā karawhiu o te āhua 200 tau ka mahue nei i te rironga atu o te whenua, me te heke o te tupu o te iwi Māori, tae atu ki tō tātou reo me a tātou tikanga, kāore i rite te pā o te mate ki tēnā kāinga, ki tēnā whārua, ki tēnā raorao o ngā motu nei, ā, kāore hoki i ōrite i te takanga o te wā.

Nō Te Wharehuia Milroy, kaiako o Te Panekiretanga, i uia ki te pātai, “Nā wai te reo i whakaako ki a koe?”, pēnei ana tana whakahoki;

Nā te Atua. Kāo [ka pukukata]. I whānau mai au i roto i taku iwi koirā anake te reo – atu i te reo o taku pāpā – koirā anake te reo e rangona ana, ko te reo Māori. Nā reira, me kī, āe, i noho tangata whenua tonu mai te reo mai i te wā i whānau mai ai au, ā, tae noa mai ki tēnei wā i roto i a au.

¹²¹ Ko te taniwha nei, i karangahia e au ko Hao-rawa, ko Tāmi-hao-rawa rānei. Tirohia te wāhanga: Ko Tāmi-mata-tini (wh. 77).

¹²² He wā tōna i kīia ai, ‘Nā aku toto rangatira, toto ariki i whairawa ai ahau.’

¹²³ E ai ki a Daniel Kahneman, “Luck plays a large role in every story of success; it is almost always easy to identify a small change in the story that would have turned a remarkable achievement into a mediocre outcome.”

Tōku *waimarie* rā. Tōku *waimarie* i pērā ahau. Nā te noho tonu i roto i te mātotorutanga o tō mātou nā whārua i Ruātoki, koirā anake te reo e kōrerotia ana ia rā, ia rā mai i te ao ki te pō, mai i te ao ki te pō. Āe. Nā reira, nō reira mai taku mōhio, me pērā anake taku whakautu ki tō pātai. (Waka Huia, 2006, nāku anō i miramira)

Ko te whakahoki a tētehi atu o ngā kaiako o Te Panekiretanga, a Tīmoti Kāretu ki taua pātai, i āhua pērā anō, “Kāore au i whakaakona ki te reo, ko te reo o ōku koroua ko te reo Māori. Koirā kē taku *waimaria*” (Waka Huia, 2006, nāku anō i miramira).

Āpiti atu ki ngā kōrero o runga, he mea whakamārama nā Tīmoti, hāunga rā ōna koroua, ko te reo Māori te reo o ngā kāinga katoa o tērā iwi ōna, arā, o Tūhoe i te wā e whakatangata haere ana ia;

I tērā wā ko tērā rohe katoa [Waikaremoana] he kōrero Māori.

Katoa ērā wāhi [ngā kāinga o Tūhoe, arā, ko Waikaremoana, ko Ruatāhuna, ko Te Waimana, ko Ruātoki] i taua wā rā he kōrero Māori katoa. (Waka Huia, 2006)

Ehara i te kōrero hou te toitū roa nei o te reo i Matawaia, i Ruātoki hoki (Benton, 1997; Liu & Temara, 1998). Ko tētehi o ngā uri o Matawaia ko Te Waihoroi Shortland, ā, ko ia tērā i eke hei Tumuaki mō Te Mātāwai (RNZ, 2020e).

Heoi anō, ko te ‘waimarie’ pea o Te Wharehuia, o Tīmoti, o Te Waihoroi, he mea ‘whāngai’ tonu rātou ki te reo, ehara i te mea i ahu mai i roto i a rātou te ‘pīkoko’ ki te āta ako i te reo, engari i ‘waimarie’ i whānau mai i te wā, i te wāhi hoki e whāngaihia ana te reo ki ngā tamariki. Koia hoki te kitenga a ētehi, ko tēnei mea te ‘waimarie’ ko te tūpono noa o te tangata ki wāhi tika i te wā e tika ana (McNamee & Miller, 2013, Upoko 6).

Heoi, ko te nuinga atu o te hunga matatau ki te kōrero Māori, kāore i whai oranga ā-pūtea nei i te reo i mua i te uru o te kāwanatanga ki ngā mahi whakarauora reo (Tirohia te wāhanga: Te uru o te kāwanatanga ki te hāpai i te Reo Māori: 1987 – 2022, haere ake, wh. 55). Tokomaha tonu e utua ana ō rātou ringaringa i ngā whare patu mīti, i ngā mīra, i ngā wheketere, i ngā tauranga herenga waka (Locke, 2010).

Nō muri mai, kātahi anō ka kimihia te hunga matatau ki te reo i te tāone, hei reo mō te reo irirangi Māori, mō Te Ataarangi, mō te Kōhanga Reo, mō te KKM. Heoi, āhua roa tonu pea ka whai oranga ā-pūtea rātou i tō rātou mōhio ki te reo Māori, he nui nō ngā kaupapa nā te aroha o ngā kuia, koroua, tae atu ki ngā mea rangatahi i ora ai (Benton & Benton, 2001, wh. 441, 448-9; Boshier, 2015; King, 2007, wh. 19; Muller & Kire, 2014, wh. 293; Robbs, 2017, wh. 24, 213, 231; Waitangi Tribunal, 2012).

E whakapae ana hoki ahau, i tua atu i te whāngaihia o te whakatupuranga o Te Wharehuia mā ki te reo, nā te mea e noho ā-hapū tonu ana rātou i taua wā, kāore i tino uru ngā whakawai o te reo Pākehā nāna nei ngā mea noho mararā i te tāone i whakawai (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, wh. 10). Kāore anō hoki pea kia tae mai te pouaka whakaata e uru tika atu ai te reo Pākehā ki ō rātou kāinga (me te ao o te reo Pākehā o taua wā rā). Ā, ka mutu, e mārō tonu ana ngā taura here o te tangata, ko te nohotahi, ko te mahitahi, ko te kōrero tahi (i roto i te reo) te kaiwhakatānekaha i taua taura.

Waihoki, ko tētehi mea nui, ko te āhei o te tangata ki te whai oranga i ōna anō whenua. Kia tōmenetia tēnei o ngā whakaaro.

Honoa ana te pito mata ki te pito māoa

Kāti, he aha koa ngā kōrero a Matiu Rātima nā te ‘whakapono’ o te tangata i eke ai ia ki te taumata matatau o te reo, i muri mai ka puaki tana kōrero mō ētehi tūāhuatanga e toru i taea ai, arā, nā te:

- tū tangata, tū Māori (‘a strong and positive sense of themselves as Māori’);
- tū i te ‘uru kahikatea,’ arā, te whakawhirinaki atu ki ētehi atu e matatau ana ki te reo (supportive relationships with other Māori speakers);
- taunga ki te piki ki te taumata i roto i tētehi atu āhuatanga o tō rātou ao (‘transferable skills from some other aspect of their lives where they had experienced success’) (Rātima, 2013a, wh. 248).

Hei āpiti atu ki tā Matiu Rātima mō te taupuhipuhi o te hunga matatau, tērā hoki te kīia o te hunga matatau ko ngā ‘pito mata’ i hono ki te ‘pito māoa.’¹²⁴

Nā konā i hua ake ai tana pātai: Ka pēwhea oti te hunga kāore nei e pērā te tū i tēnei ao? E taea ana e rātou te taumata o te matatau ki te reo? Mō te katoa rānei te reo, mō te tokoiti o te karangatanga ‘hautipua’ anake rānei? (Rātima, 2013a, wh. 248).

Te iwi nōna tōna whenua, nōna hoki tōna reo

Kei te āhua 5000 - 6000 noa iho ngā kaikōrero i te reo Nafsan, te reo o te iwi kāinga o Erakor, i te motu o Vanuatu. He maha tonu ngā reo o taua motu, heoi, e kīia ana te reo Nafsan he reo ora, nā te mea e kōrero tonutia ana e te reanga taitamariki. Engari i tua atu i tērā, e noho tōnui ā-whānau ana ōna kaikōrero i runga i ō rātou anō whenua ki te mahi kai, ki te aha, ki te aha, arā, e whai mana motuhake ana rātou (Te Ipukarea, 2022).

Hei tā Nick Thieberger, kairangahau reo nāna nei taua hapū i āwhina ki te hanga papakupu mā rātou, he mea nui te mana motuhake, e ora ai te tangata i te whenua, i te kai, ā, he oranga reo hoki te hua;

I think there’s a difference in the context of Vanuatu [i rerekē ake ai i ētehi atu iwi taketake e haumate nei ō rātou reo] which is land ownership, and so the means of food production are still held by the village in an independent nation. (Te Ipukarea, 2022)

Kei te rangatira o Erakor tonu te mana arahi i te hapū, kāore nei e rite ki ngā iwi nō Ingarangi mai ngā tikanga, pēnei i Ahitereiria, i Amerika rānei (Te Ipukarea, 2022).

Koia pea tērā ko te āhua o te ‘matemateāone’ i kōrerohia rā e James Liu rāua ko Pou Temara: kei roto i taua kupu rā ngā honohono ki te tangata, ki te whenua, ki te reo me ngā tikanga i roto o Ruātoki me Ruatāhuna. Kāore he mana, he oranga o te rangatira, o te hapū hoki ki te kore tētehi o ēnei.

Mā te kātua ka ora ko te pīpī

Ko tētehi o ngā kitenga a Hinurewa Poutū (2015), e ‘tiori ai ngā pīpī’ o te KKM Te Aho Matua, ko te ‘pakari’ ake o te pīpī i ana mātua ki te kōrero kia noho ko ia hei hāpai i te

¹²⁴ Tirohia te whakataukī: ‘Honoa te pito mata ki te pito māoa’ (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 142).

whānau ki te taha ki te reo. Heoi, ko tētehi o ngā kaupapa here i roto i te KKM TAM ko te noho o tētehi pou reo ki roto o te whānau hei taituarā mō ngā tamariki, nō reira ahakoa pea i te mutunga atu ko te ‘pīpī’ tērā ka pakari ake, “[h]e mahi nui [tonu] tā te matua ki te whakangungu, ki te whakapakari kia taea tonuhia e ia te reo te whāngai ki tāna tamaiti” (wh. 368).

Ka āpiti atu ia i tā Christensen (2001) i mātua tūtohu ai, arā, ko “te uaua [...] kia whai wā ai te tangata, kia utu hoki i ngā kaupapa whakangungu. [Inā hoki, e]hara i te mea ka taka noa te reo i te rangi, ka mutu, he nui te utu ā-wā, ā-nama hoki ki te aro ki te reo Māori – me pakaru te werawera” (wh. 368).

Nō reira, ko ngā pīpī o te KKM e ‘waimarie’ ana i te reo e ākona ana rātou ki te reo, engari e ‘waimarie’ ana hoki ērā i e kaha ana ō rātou mātua ki te whāngai i te reo i te reo ki a rātou, ahakoa he mea ako te reo hei tuarua, ahakoa rānei ko ngā kātua i āta whāngaihia ki te reo i a rātou e pīpī ana.

I pēnei tō mātou ko aku tuākana, teina ‘waimarie.’ I tīmata te ako o ō mātou mātua i te reo i a mātou e tamariki ana, ā, ka whakatau hoki rāua kia kuraina mātou ki ngā kura e kaha ake ana te kitea o te kaiako Māori, o te tamariki Māori, o ngā mahi Māori. Ka mutu, ko aku tēina i ‘waimarie’ i te Kōhanga Reo, o te KKM i whakatūria mai he whare whakaruruhau mō rātou.

E tika ana kia kōrerohia hoki te whai wāhi atu o aku mātua ki te haere ki te whare wānanga, i reira rā ngā kaiako pēnei i a Tīmoti Kāretu, i a Te Wharehuia Milroy, i a Te Haumihiata Mason, i a Hīrini Melbourne, otirā i manaakihia hoki e ētehi atu tino pūkōrero e pā ana ki te reo. Ko ngā tamariki o te KKM, he pīpī nā te reanga o ngā kātua i uru ki te whare wānanga, pēnei i a Graham Hingangaroa Smith (Kōmako: A bibliography of writing by Māori in English, Kāore he rā,), i a Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Husband, 2015b), i a Cathy Dewes (Husband, 2018), me ētehi atu (Waho & Walker, 2014, wh. 227). Ka mutu, ko te tokorima o te tokoiwa o te ohu nāna nei te KKM i takitaki ki roto o te Whare Pāremata, i kahurangi, i ahurangi, i tākuta.

Nō reira, ko ngā momo 'waimarie' o ngā kātua, i te 'hono o te pito mata, ki te pito māoa,'¹²⁵ i te whai wā, whai moni hoki ki te haere ki te whare wānanga, otirā i te uru ki te whare wānanga he mea i heke iho ki ngā pīpī.

Tū ana te ure

He nui ngā tāne atamai i haere atu ki ngā kura Māori, ki a Hato Tīpene, ki a Te Aute hoki mai i te rautau 1800, ā, na wai rā, ko te tini i tae ki ngā whare wānanga. Ko te piki amokura tērā o tērā whakareanga i eke ai hei tumu whakarae i te ao Māori, me te mau hoki o te nuinga ki te reo Māori (McKinley, 2003, wh. 73).¹²⁶

Heoi, ko te wahine Māori atamai, kīhai i pērā. Hei tā Elizabeth (Liz) McKinley e ōrite ana te eke o ngā taitamawāhine o Hukarere ki ērā o ngā mea tāne i Te Aute. Hei tāna;

Being 'intelligent' and achieving well, the fundamental assumptions of the discourse of meritocracy, did not enable these Maori women to attend university. Instead some of them became 'teachers' in the Native or Māori boarding schools, nurses, did missionaries work or simply returned to their native communities to live (Jenkins & Matthews, 1995; Simon & Smith, 2001). At the same time, being Maori did not stop the Te Aute men attending university and qualifying in medical sciences (Fitzgerald, 1970). The point here is that Māori boys had access to science as a school subject which enabled them to continue in science professions, whereas the Māori girls were given 'home science' in order to make them better wives. Being a 'bright, Māori girl' in the social context of the nineteenth century schooling was the issue. (McKinley, 2003, wh. 74)

Nō reira, kāore pea he take o te 'atamai,' o te 'pīkoko,' o te 'whakaheke werawera' o te wahine, mehemea rā ko te tāne anake e whakaaetia ana kia kuhu atu ki ngā whare wānanga.

Nā, ahakoa nō mua atu tēnei i te 50 tau o te whakarauoratanga reo, kei konā tonu ngā tohu o te 'tū o te ure' i roto i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo. Kua kōrero kētia ko te taha ki te korekore o ngā moni hei oranga mō te Kōhanga Reo me Te Ātaarangi e amohia nei e te wahine, otirā ki te kaha ake o te aroha o te wahine ki ngā kaupapa, kāore noa iho e utua ki te moni (wh. 91).

¹²⁵ Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2001, wh. 142).

¹²⁶ E ai ki a Liz McKinley: "Sir Apirana Ngata, Dr. Peter Buck (Te Rangihīroa), Dr. Maui Pōmare, Dr. Tūtere Wīrepa and the Reverend Rēweti Kōhere all became very influential in various ways" (wh. 73).

Tērā hoki te kaha ake o te whakatūria o te tāne hei kanohi, hei māngai mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo, ahakoa ki te tirohia a ‘muri,’ ko te nuinga ia he wahine.

Kei ‘raro’ kē pea ngā ‘rahurahu’ mō te take i tū ai te tāne hei ‘mumu reo,’ hei ‘hautipua’ (Tirohia a wh. 63mumu), i tonoa rānei ko ia hei māngai mō tētehi kaupapa. Engari ko ētehi tonu, e ariari mai ana. Nei koa ko te eke o Tātere Macleod hei ruānuku (wh. 89), he huarahi i wātea noa iho ki te tāne (Te Ao Māori News, 2013).¹²⁷

Nō reira ākuanei ko te urupare ki a Tātere Macleod, i mea rā, me ‘pau tō tātou kaha katoa ki te reo’ (Marae, 2014), ko te kī ake, kei te ‘pau’ kē ‘te kaha katoa’ o ētehi wāhine ki te reo, tae atu ki ērā atu kawenga a te wahine. Engari kāore tonu e eke ki te karangatanga ‘ruānuku.’ Nā te tāne te whakatau, mō te tāne anake taua mahi rā.

Tērā te kōrero mō te kore o ngā wāhine o Ngāpuhi i whakaaetia kia tū ki tō rātou anō marae i te rā o Waitangi, ahakoa whakaaetia ana te tū a te wahine Pākehā (te Pirimia) (BrettKelly, 2021; Taonui, 2020; Waatea News, 2021a). Engari taihoa e kīia he tarahae noa iho nō te wahine i tū ai ngā pihi.

Hei tā Titewhai Harawira i te tau 1998 i aukati ai ia i te tū a te Pirimia wahine nei, a Helen Clark ki te kōrero i Waitangi, ehara tāna i te whakahē i te Pirimia, heoi anō kē tāna he whakatakē i ngā mea tāne, e takahi nei i te mana o ngā wāhine (o Ngāpuhi), arā, “It wasn’t a case about Helen at all. It was the way in which our men manipulate her and the way in which they ignore us, as Māori women” (BrettKelly, 2021). Hei tā Titewhai anō, kāore ia e whakaae he nui ake te mana o te tāne i tō te wahine, arā, “I am very firm about taking second place to men’s games.”

Taka rawa ki te tau 2018 ka tū ko te Pirimia wahine Pākehā nei, a Jacinda Ardern, ‘me te rere o ngā matangurunguru, he aha i pai ai te wahine Pākehā kia tū, engari anō ngā wāhine o te hau kāinga, horekau kē?’ (BrettKelly, 2021).¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Ko te rōpū tuatahi i tautohungia he tāne, ā, e whia te roa e whāiti ana ki taua hunga, kātahi anō ka takitahi haere te uru o ētehi atu tāne. Nō te tau

¹²⁸

Kei te kīia te kōrero nā te tikanga, nā te kawa i kore ai i pai tā te wahine tū ki te marae ātea. Heoi, hei tā Rīpeka Evans i tū anō ngā rangatira wāhine o mua ki te kōrero, arā;

A lot of this tikanga, of this colonised idea of women not being able to speak on the marae is very, has become very distorted by colonisation and I think a lot of our men have bought into it.

It really is an 18th century idea. Ana Hamu and the women that signed the Treaty: they damn well spoke alright. They asserted authority. I mean, yeah, it just sort of beggars belief that men can still, you know, have their heads up their jacksie about this. (Brett Kelly, 2021)

Nō te tau 2020 i tū ai a Mere Mangu ki te kōrero i te rā o Waitangi. Nō Ngāpuhi a Mere, ā, he wahine e tū nei ki ētehi o ngā tūranga rangatira. Ka kīia ia e ngā mea tāne o te 'taumata' kia noho, engari ka tohe tonu ia ki te kōrero (Brett Kelly, 2021).

Nā, huri ana te titiro ki tā te Rōpū Wāhine Toko i te Ora kerēme mō te takahanga o te mana wahine. E 28 tau rawa i muri i te kawenga atu ki te aroaro o te Taraipiunara o Waitangi kātahi anō ka whewherahia ngā take o tā rātou kerēme (Duff, 2021). Te take i pakaru ai te riri o te wahine, mō runga i te ekenga o Shane Jones hei kaikomihana mō Te Ohu Kai Moana, ki runga ake i a Mira Szaszy, he rangatira, he wahine.¹²⁹

Ahako koia tērā ko te pūtake o te kerēme, he huhua tonu ngā take o roto: ko te kore o ngā rangatira wāhine i whakaaetia kia haina i te Tiriti o Waitangi, ko te iti o te utu ki te wahine Māori, ko te kāwhakanga o ngā tamariki a te wahine Māori, ko te pā o te ringa kaha ki te wahine Māori, ko te kaha o te ngau o te pōharatanga ki te wahine Māori. Heoi tā Leonie Pīhama, "The amount of Māori women now living in poverty is phenomenal. We are collectively dealing with these things in our daily life. It was not an event that happened with Captain Cook. It's an ongoing structural issue today" (Duff, 2021).

¹²⁹ Hei tā Michelle Duff, "Their claim was sparked in 1993, after Dame Mira Szaszy was passed over for an appointment on the Waitangi Fisheries Commission. A highly-qualified and renowned leader, Szaszy was also the only woman. She was replaced by Shane Jones. This led to a groundswell of protest and the writing of the first claim of which would become Wai 2700."

Nō reira, ki a au nei, ka nui ngā waimarietanga ka tau ki runga i te tāne Māori, kāore nei e tau ki runga i ngā wāhine Māori, ā, he āhuetanga tēnei ka kitea i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori, i roto hoki i te ao pāhekeheke nei.

Ehara tēnei kōrero āku i te hakune noa a te wahine.

Tino whakaūngia ai te ora o te tangata i te whakairatanga mai ōna i te kōpū o tana whaea, taea noatia tana rā 1000 (Wallander et al., 2021). Ko te wā hoki tērā e pai rawa ai te whāngaihia o te reo (Hunia, 2016; Vincent Olsen-Reeder, 2017).¹³⁰ Ā, ka mutu, ko te pakari ake o te reo o te whaea, ko te pakari ake o te reo o te pīpī (Reese et al., 2018). Ko te whaea hoki te kaiwhakaruruhau i te pihinga, o te mahuri, e kore ai e ‘takahia e te moa’ (Tirohia te wāhanga: Nā te moa i takahi te rākau i wh. 102).

Nō reira, mehemea ko te wahine te ‘whare tangata,’ te ‘ūkaipō’ o te whānau, o ētehi hoki o ngā kaupapa reo Māori, pēnei i te Kōhanga Reo, ā, kei te hiahia tātou kia ‘ūkaipō anō ai te reo,’¹³¹ kāti, me ora rā te ‘ūkaipō,’ me ora pai te wahine Māori, me whaimana hoki te wahine ki te whakatau tikanga mōna, otirā mō ngā āhuetanga ka pā ki a ia, ki tana whānau.

Te waimarie o te Pākehā

Kua kōrero kē au mō aku mātua: ko taku māmā, nō Waikato, ko taku pāpā, he Pākehā (Tirohia te wāhanga: Ngā hau i pū mai nei ki taku kirii wh. 1). He āhuetanga kē tō taku pāpā me ana tūmanako mō mātou tēnā i tō mātou māmā. Kāore au i te kī kāore tō mātou māmā i aroha mai, i hiahia kia ora mātou, kia pakari mātou, kia rangatira mātou. Engari ko tō mātou pāpā tērā i kaha ki te āki i a mātou ki te haere ki te kura, ki te whare wānanga, ki te ako i ētehi reo kia reorua, kia reotoru ai. Kāore he mutunga o tana hiahia kia piki haere mātou i te ara poutama o te ao mātauranga. Ko taku māmā ia, ākuanei pea ko ia te mea tuatahi o tana whānau ki te haere ki te whare wānanga.

Ki a au nei, ko tērā āhua o taku pāpā, nā te ‘waimarie’ o te tāne Pākehā i pakeke ake i roto i tētehi whānau i te kapu o te ringa ngā mea katoa o te ao hei naomanga atu. Ehara

¹³⁰ Hei tā Vini Olsen-Reeder (2017), ka “mātau ake te reo rua ki tōna reo tuarua ki te ākona i te tāitamarikitanga, tērā i te ako i ngā tau pakeke” (wh. 52).

¹³¹ Ko te whāinga o te Maihi Māori, ‘kia ūkaipō anō ai te reo.’ Tirohia a wh. 71.

i te mea he whānau tino whairawa, kāo. Engari ko ana mātua i haere ki te whare wānanga, ka puta tana māmā hei nāhi, ko tana pāpā i whiwhi ki te tohu pūtaiao, ka mahi i roto i ngā maina o Te Tai Poutini ki te kimi haere i ngā wāhi i putu ai te waro. Nō reira ko te ao o taku pāpā me tana whānau he ao kē noa atu i tērā o taku māmā me tana whānau.

Nā, mai anō i te whakatūnga ake o te ture i roto i te Whare Pāremata o Aotearoa, arā, te *English Acts Act 1854*, i ū ai te ture Pākehā hei tūāpapa mō te ture i Aotearoa, ko te tikanga Pākehā hei tūāpapa mō te tikanga i Aotearoa (Borell et al., 2009). He aha koa rā, kāore te Pākehā e kite, e whakaae, e 'waimarie' ana rātou. Ū ana te whakaaro i roto i a rātou, ko te ao he ao Pākehā. Me te aha, ehara i te mea me āta pātōtō atu ia ki te kūwaha (e uru ai ki nga whare pēnei i te whare wānanga), kāo, me kuhu noa iho (Borell et al., 2009).¹³²

Waihoki, nā te kore o te 'waimarie' e āta kitea (e te hunga 'waimarie'), ahakoa 'kei raro kē e rahurahu ana,' ka ara kē ko ngā momo 'kōrero kei runga': nā te 'pīkoko,' nā te 'whakaheke werawera' o te tangata i eke ai ia, ā, ka mutu, nō te tangata tonu te hē, nā tana 'māngere' rānei, mēnā kore ia i eke. Arā;

Then invisibility of conferred privilege supports and perpetuates disparities by allowing those who have advantage to assign their fortune to merit and others' disadvantage to personal blame, bad luck or lack of hard work rather than acknowledging and understanding structural forces. (Borell et al., 2009, wh. 35).

Ka mutu, e iri ana ēnei 'tāhū kōrero' i roto i ō tātou 'whare kōrero'¹³³ i Aotearoa, i Ahitereiria hoki, ko te Pākehā te iwi whakatuanui, iwi whairawa hoki; ko ngā iwi taketake ia, rawakore ana, toimaha ana (Borell et al., 2009).¹³⁴

¹³² Hei tā Belinda Borell mā, "This established a system that entrenched and enforced Pākehā culture, beliefs, concepts, practices, and processes in all domains of society that continue into the present day. For most Pākehā, however, this remains invisible and stands as the natural order which supports them without their active striving for inclusion. The normalisation of the dominant [Pākehā] culture through the political and social systems presents a fundamental privilege that is invisible and unquestioned."

¹³³ Tirohia a wh. 76 mō ngā whakamārama mō te 'tāhū kōrero' me te 'whare kōrero.'

¹³⁴ Hei tā Belinda Borell mā, "These explanations are reoccurring in the dominant every day talk around inequality and disadvantage in New Zealand and Australia."

Takahurihia ana te kōrero, mehemea koe kei 'waho' o te whare, ehara i te mea nā ngā aukati i pērā ai, engari nāu tonu, nā tō koretake noa iho. Engari he pōhēhē nui tērā te kī ake a te hunga o roto i te whare ki te hunga o waho, 'E! Me rite noa iho koutou ki a mātou ka pai ai tā koutou tomo mai,' arā;

Lack of membership in privileged groups was characteristically viewed as a lack of effort. Therefore, the belief was that those denied power, access, or visibility must, by definition, have earned their exclusion and oppression because of some personal defect. This belief is often referred to as the "myth of meritocracy" whereby a culture communicates that the oppressed could earn society's privileges if they were just different (ie. more like the privileged group). (Black rāua ko Stone 2005: 243; He mea kite i roto i a Borell et al., 2009, wh. 35)

Ahakoia te puta o ēnei kōrero mō te 'waimarie' o te Pākehā, arā anō te hunga 'waimarie' kua kōrero kētia, pēnei i te 'waimarie' o te tāne (Tirohia te wāhanga: Tū ana te ure i wh. 124), o te hunga whaitohu hoki (wh. 86).

Ko tētehi atu āhuetanga me āta kōrero, ko te kōkuhu mai o te whakaaro i pari mai i ngā tau o te 1980: mā te tangata anō ia e kuhu, ka puta, ka ora i te ao, me ngā momo whakamārama e mea ana, he ōrite te mana, te kaha o ia tangata, o ia tangata, nō reira nā te rerekē noa iho o ngā 'kōwhiringa' a te tangata i rerekē ai tana whairawa, tana ora i tō tētehi atu (Borell et al., 2009, wh. 34-5)¹³⁵

Kitea ana te 'tuwhera' o ngā kūwaha ki te Pākehā i te whakatūnga ake tērā o te wahine Pākehā kōrero Māori hei 'Pou Mātārae mō Aotearoa' i te tau 2020 (Tirohia a wh. 64) me ngā kupu whakapuhi, whakamōkai rānei i ngā Pākehā, pēnei i a Jennifer Ward Leiland, i a Lorde, i a Jack Tame (Te Ao Māori News, 2022; TVNZ, 2017). Ehara tēnei i te tātā i taua hunga; heoi anō tēnei he kī ake, he aha tātou e tahuri nei ki te mihi ki a ratou, otirā ki te whakamāmā ake i te ara ki te hunga kua māmā kē te ara ki a rātou, engari, ka huri ki ō tātou anō huanga kore-reo, whakakaitoahia ana?

¹³⁵ Hei tā Belinda Borell mā, "Popular contemporary explanations of current disparities draw upon an egalitarian of equitable social relations (Bell 1996, Humpage and Fieras 2001; McCreanor 2005; Poata-Smith 2005) to emphasize the responsibility of individuals for their life choices and experiences in ways that match the neo-liberal political climate that has been established over the last 20 years (Kelsey 2002; Witten et al. 2003)."

Mehemea e pīkoko ana, whāngaihia; mehemea e hūkore ana, pareā te tuarā Ehara i te mea he kupu kau noa ngā kōrero nei mō te ‘pīkoko,’ me te ‘heke o te werawera’ o te hunga kōrero Māori. Inā hoki, mā aua tāhū whakaaro rā o roto o Te Whare o te Reo Māori ka whai āhua mai ētehi kaupapa reo Māori, otirā me ngā pūtea whakatutuki i aua kaupapa rā, e kōkirihiā ana e te hunga o roto i te ‘whare,’ nā rātou nei ngā tāhū o te whakaaro i whakatū.

Nō Scotty Morrison (Te Manahau), kaitātaki o *Te Karere* i ui rā i a Tīmoti Kāretu me pēwhea te whakapauhia o te \$200 miriona hei whakarauora i te reo, ko tana whakahoki i pēnei nā;

Whakapaua ki a tāua, ki ngā mea kei te *heke ngā werawera* Te Manahau. Ki a tāua me tō tāua momo o roto i tēnei reanga, ko tēnei te reanga kei te kaha. Ko te reanga ki ō rātou mātua, *kāore he take* ki ērā, engari ko tēnei reanga, ahakoa kāore rātou i pakeke mai ki te reo, ko rātou kei te *whakapau i ō rātou kaha* kia ora ai te reo nei. Nō reira, whakapaua ki reira. (Te Karere, 2014)

Kia tahuri i konei ki tētehi tirohanga kētanga atu i a Te Waihoroi Shortland. He tirohanga kētanga tāna ki te hunga kōrero Māori rāua ko te hunga kore-reo; he tirohanga kāore e tino rangona i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori e mea nei nā te ‘pīkoko,’ nā te ‘hiahia,’ nā te ‘whakaheke werawera’ i kōrero ai ētehi; kāpātau, ko te hunga reo-kore, nā te ‘hūkore’ i pērā ai.

Hei tā Te Waihoroi;

I rongo au i tētehi kōrero i tērā wiki i puta i a Tīmoti Kāretu. Hei tāna, “Homai ngā pūtea ki te hunga e aro nui ana ki te reo. Whāngaihia ko te hunga e aro nui ana.” (Te Hiku Media, 2015, 18 o Hune)

Ina hiahia tātou kia ora tēnei reo, ehara tērā i te rongoā. Tērā mea he whāngai noa iho i te hunga kua tata kē te pahū o ngā puku i te kainga i te reo nei. Mehemea tātou e whakaaro ana me pēhea e ora ai te reo nei, whāngaihia ki te hunga kāhore he reo.

Koirā te hunga e ora ai te reo, ehara ko te hunga kua whiwhi kē. Te mate nui o tēnei... o ngā kaupapa o tō tātou reo i tēnei wā..., ngā mea katoa kei konei hei whāngai i te hunga kua whiwhi kē. (Te Hiku Media, 2015, 18 o Hune)

Nō reira, whai āhua mai ai ā tātou tāhū kōrero, pēnei i te tāhū o te whare o te ao kikokiko tonu, ehara i te mea kei te tara ā-whare noa iho e iri ana.

Mēnā ki te eke te whakaaro o Tīmoti, kua whakapauhia te pūtea ki te hunga pēnei i a rāua ko Scotty Morrison, e kīia ana kei te ‘whakaheke werawera’ mō te oranga o te reo; mehemea rā ki te eke te kōrero a Te Waihoroi, kua whāngai kētia ki te hunga kore-reo.

Koia tērā ko te āhua o te tāhū whakaaro, ka taukumekumehia e te te tangata, kia toi tupu ai tētehi, kia toi heke ai tētehi.

Ō roke hoki! Tupu ana te ngako!

Ko ngā kōrero mō te ‘pīkoko’ o te kōrero Māori me te ‘hūkore’ o te kore-kōrero, nō roto mai o Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Ko ētehi o waho kei te rongu ki ēnei whakaparahako, ā, kei te whakapōhane atu, kei te whakatara atu, kei te kī atu, “Ō koutou roke hoki. Kei te tupu te ngako.”

Koia tērā te wairua o tā Kajun Brooking tīhau (**Whakaahua 2**). Tīkina atu ana e ia te whakaahua o tētehi kāhui kahurangi nō Ūropi o raurangi, e whakatarapī ana, e tū ana ō rātou ihu ki ngā kaihākere, ka āpiti ai i te kōrero, ‘E pēnei ana te tū mai o ngā ihu o te Māori kōrero Māori ki a mātou ngā Hōri.’¹³⁶

Ko te mahi a Kajun he whakahangareka, engari i āhua tūmeke tonu ia i te tū o te heihei, arā, i te tōtara-wāhi-rua o te hungi pānui atu rā i tana tīhau (The Hui, 2022).¹³⁷ Ko ētehi, hinga te i katakata, wehe ana i te rekareka; ko ētehi kē atu ia, whakatōngā ana i runga i te whakaaro he tao kī tērā e whiua ana ki a rātou anō. Engari, hei tāna, he pai tonu kia rakua e tātou, e te iwi Māori, te mangeo nei, arā, kia āta whiriwhirihia te take nei, koirā hoki te mahi a te whakahangareka: he kōrero kei runga, he rahurahu kei raro.

¹³⁶ He mea karanga te Māori e te Pākehā he ‘hori’ i te puku o tērā rautau. He kupu taunu tēnei. Heoi, nā wai rā, ka tīmata te whakamahia e te iwi Māori hei whakatoī rānei, hei tāwai rānei i tētehi atu Māori.

¹³⁷ Hei tā Kajun Brooking, “It kinda split the room”

Whakaahua 2: Te tīhau a Kajun Brooking



He kupu whakamārama: He mea tiki ake i <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2022/07/comedian-kajun-brooking-shocked-by-reaction-to-his-te-reo-meme.html>

Kātahi ia ka kī ake, e ngau kino ana te whakamā ki te hunga kore-reo. Engari, e rua ngā momo whakamā i kōrerohia rā e ia: “There’s a shame or a stigma attached.” (The Hui, 2022). Ko te whakamā o roto (‘shame’) me te whakamā o waho nā tētehi atu i whakamau atu (‘stigma’). Koinā te āhuetanga i kōrerohia i mua arā, he wā ka ngaua tātou e te taniwha-kai-rā-roto nei, e te whakamā; he wā anō kua patua tātou *ki* te whakamā, ā, ko te kaipatu ko te tangata tonu (Tirohia te wāhanga: Ka patua e te whakamā, ka patua rānei ki te whakamā!, wh. 113).

Ko tana kōrero whakamutunga mō te uaua o te ako i tēnei ao e tanuku nei te tuarā i ngā tini pīkaunga o te tangata, me te īnoi mai kia manawanui atu tātou ngā kōrero-Māori ki

te hunga kore-reo (The Hui, 2022). Waihoki, hei tāna, e ‘tino waimarie ana te tangata i pakeke mai e haumiria ana ki te reo... tino waimarie rawa atu nei’.¹³⁸

Ka mutu ana kōrero, ka huri a Mihingārangi Forbes ki tētehi pae kōrero ki te whiriwhiri, ki te wewete i te take nei. Ko rātou katoa nō roto ake o Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Inā hoki, ko te tokorua i ngā tūranga teitei i roto i te reo Māori e noho ana: ko Bernie O’Donnell (tētehi o ngā heamana o Te Mātāwai) rāua ko Mātairangi Smith (kaipāpāho, ika a Whiro hoki o Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori). Ā, ko te tuatoru o rātou ko Tākuta Kiri Waititi-Tāmihere (he raukura nō te KKM, he kaimātai hinengaro, ā, he wahine, he tamāhine hoki nā ētehi Mema Pāremata o mua, o nāiane hoki).

Hei tā Mātai Smith nōna ka kite tuatahi i te tīhau a Kajun, ka tikoro noa ana karu, kātahi ka toko ake te whakaaro ki te mamaetanga o te kore-reo.¹³⁹

Kātahi a Mātai ka mea;

...A lot of our people do have language trauma. They are whakamā: this taniwha we call whakamā is still ever much prevalent. Even though I’m ever much the optimist when it comes to te reo Māori and as you say I’ve been broadcasting in both languages some 26 years now and I’ve seen a growth spurt in both Māori and non-Māori coming into our reo and our reo world. And we see it everywhere: on the rugby field now, on our television sets, online. So, as I say, I’m the optimist, but I know that there are so many people, like Kajun, that have language trauma. (The Hui, 2022)

I te āhua nei e ‘turi’ ana ngā taringa o Mātai, e whakaturi ana rānei ia i ana taringa, koia i kore ai i rongu ki te matū o te kōrero a Kajun: Kāore ia i te kōrero mō te mamae o te kore kōrero Māori; e kōrero kē ana ia mō te mamae o te takahi a te hunga kōrero i te hunga kāore e kōrero, pēnei i te tū o te ihu o te tangata i a ia ka hipa i te tangata kāinga-kore e noho nei, e pīnono nei pea i te ora i te tiriti. Ko te wairua whakakaitoa a te hunga kōrero tā Kajun i kōrero ai.

¹³⁸ Hei tā Kajun Brooking, “For those that can speak the reo: Be kind to those that can’t. Be nice. We’re trying. In today’s busy lifestyle... it’s actually kinda hard to find the time. Those who have grown up around the language... really fortunate. Very fortunate.”

¹³⁹ Hei tā Mātai Smith, “When I first saw it I may have rolled my eyes at first, but, at the same time I got thinking about this thing we call language trauma.”

Engari, hei aha mā Mātai; e ‘whitikina ana ia e ngā hihi o te rā, kāore he kapua kotahi o te rangi hei whakapoururu i tana ao.’

Ka ui a Mihingārangi [MF] ki a Mātai Smith [MS] ‘nō tērā o ngā whakatupuranga a Mātai e pīkau nei i ngā tūmanako mō te reo’ mō te wāhi ki Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori hei whakarauora i te reo. Hei tā Mātai;

[MF]: ... I feel you are that generation we put everything on you and said, ‘Now we’ve got this generation of reo speakers.’ How important is it that we have Panekiretanga o te Reo so we lift the bar, like Mason Durie used to say, ‘Don’t be the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff’? In hauora obviously, but push it up?

[MS]: Nōku te whiwhi i whai wāhi atu au – ko au tētehi o ngā tauira tuatahi i puta mai i Te Panekiretanga o te Reo, so the Institute of Excellence in Māori Language was set up some years ago by Tā Timoti Kāretu, by Tā Pou Tēmara and the late, great Wharehuia Milroy. Now, those three names in itself scare the bijingers out of me. And so when I got a letter saying, ‘Please come and bring your reo skills to the yodas of te reo. Here’s this young, little jedi at the time, trying to better my reo. But... And there is this perception around Te Panekiretanga o te Reo that it is elitist. But it’s about par excellence. And why shouldn’t we go for excellence in the Māori language? So that was... Nōku te whiwhi... I was fortunate enough to be there at the ankles of those koroua to grab those skills, grab that knowledge and take it back to my iwi and my tribes back in Tūranga. (The Hui, 2022)

Hei tā Mātai, ahakoa te uaua o te ako i te reo, ko te mea nui kia whai hoa ako ia e ‘ōrite’ ana ngā whakaaro, ā, mā te ‘heke o te werawera,’ mā te ‘whakakiriūka,’ mā te ‘manawanui’ ka eke.¹⁴⁰

Nō reira, ahakoa tana kōrero mō tana ‘waimarie’ (“Nōku te whiwhi”) i hono ai ia, te ‘pito mata,’ ki te ‘pito māoa’ o ngā koroua o Te Panekiretanga, ka tere tahruri ia ki te kī ake, mā ngā āhuatanga o roto ake o te tangata e ākona ai te reo.

¹⁴⁰ “But, whatever level you are at, as long as you have some like-minded people around you you are gonna fail. But, you know: the three ‘p’s: perspiration, perserverence and patience.”

He mana whakaheke, he mana whakatupu

Uia ana e Moana Maniapoto te pātai ki a Timoti Kāretu, ‘He aha tō urupare ki ngā whakatakē a ētehi, e whakaatuahia ana ia (me ētehi atu o te hunga matatau ki te reo)? (Maniapoto, 2021),¹⁴¹ ko tana whakahoki;

We are a society that believed in elitism. We had rangatira status and we had slave status. People who speak Māori these days are an enviable lot. People envy them. So through no fault of their own, they are considered to be elitist. They just put in the effort, they spent the time, they made the commitment. So they deserve to be praised. And if it’s called being elitist, so be it. (Maniapoto, 2021)

Nā, e tika ana anō tērā kōrero: i ngā rā o nehe, tērā te rangatira, tērā te tūtūā, arā, te ‘tangata māori,’ tērā hoki te taurekareka me ērā atu wehewehetanga o te hapū i runga i te mana whakaheke, i te mana whakatupu rānei.

Engari he ao kē taua ao: katoa ngā rangatira, ngā tūtūā, ngā taurekareka, i whānau mai i roto i *Te Whare Whakahirahira* i whakaahuatia mai rā e Hīrini Melbourne (Tirohia a wh. 33, wh. 69 hoki), arā, i roto i te reo Māori. Kia hokia te kōrero mō taua ao: “He rerekē te ahurea i pakeke mai ai au – e kōrero Māori katoa ana ngā whānau, he mahi kai te whāinga nui” (wh. 62). Kāti, me pēnei kē pea te kōrero mō te ao ināianei: “He rerekē te ahurea e pakeke mai nei au – kaore ngā whānau i te kōrero Māori, ko te mahi kai tonu te whāinga nui.”

Ko ētehi e ū ana ki te whakaaro, ko te ‘elite’ ko ngā whare kāhui ariki o mua, pēnei i a Kiri Waititi-Tāmihere i kī rā;

We need to be cautious about applying Pākehā terms and labels to Māori experiences. So, when we hear this term ‘elitist,’ like, as far as I’m concerned there are only two elite Māori in this country and that’s Kīngi Tūheitia and ariki Tumu Te Heuheu, so I think we have to be very careful about this new language and this labelling happening. This new ‘white passing’ kōrero being bandied about really serves to divide us and it becomes a coloniser in itself. ...we need to be very careful about the language of oppression to revitalise our reo because all we’re gonna do is put barriers up. (The Hui, 2022)

¹⁴¹ “How do you respond to criticisms of elitism?”

Engari, i aua wā rā ko rātou katoa i kōrero Māori. Ko te pātai ia, mō wai te reo Māori, arā, ko wai mā te hunga me tomo ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori? Mehemea tātou kei te hiahia kia noho noa iho ko ngā mea e kīia ana ko ngā ‘rangatira’ o nāianei ki roto i te whare, kāti, ko tōna otinga atu pea, ko te nuinga tonu ka noho ki waho tonu.

Ko te ao e noho nei tātou kāore i te rite ki te ao o te rangatira, o te tūtūā. Hāunga ngā raupatu whenua, engari ko ngā rawa i whakahokia mai ki ngā iwi hei ‘muru,’ he ‘

Annette Sykes corroborates with further statistics, stating that even after Treaty settlements, only about one-third of Maori benefit from land holdings, and returns on shareholdings to iwi members from even the wealthiest corporations, such as Maori Fisheries, Te Ohu Kaimoana, are well under \$1,000 per year (Sykes 2010, 3). Sykes is unequivocal that Maori adoption of Western free-market liberalism is a case of history repeating itself:

The process that is now being adopted to remedy prejudices that flow from injustices inflicted upon Maori is a process of transferring assets from collective Maori ownership to control by an elite – a process that has been repeatedly criticized for the intergenerational impoverishment that it imposed upon Maori in the past. (Sykes 2010, 15) (Kennedy, 2017; Warne, 2021)

Ehara ēnei i kōrero hou. Tērā hoki te kōrero a Scotty Morrison mō te hunga e kīia ana he ‘elite,’ arā, ki tā Scotty, he ‘iwi pakipaki’ (Waka Huia, 2013a, 2013b).¹⁴²

Ko a Elisa Duder tērā i toro atu ki tā Jeanette King (2007) rangahau mō te tohu paetoru, *Eke ki runga i te waka*, i rangahaua rā e ia ngā kupu whakarite i whakamahia e te hunga nō te taipakeketanga i matatau haere ai ki te reo. Hei tā Elisa;

J. King refers to this in her discussion on the role of elites (J. King, 2007, p. 24) and confirmed a ‘perception’ of a growing educated middle-class from Census data (p. 25). King shies away from any depth of this topic. She points to recent public discussions in mainstream media and the interesting

¹⁴² I puta tēnei kōrero āna i te kaupapa Te Reo ki Mātāhauariki i tātaki i Te Wiki o te Reo Māori i te tau 2013. Ko tētehi o te whakaminenga i tae atu ki taua hui rā ko Stephanie Pohe, he kaiako. Nō Scotty ka uiui i a Stephanie, ka puta tā Stephanie kōrero mō te kaiako ‘waimarie,’ ā, whakapākehātia ana hei pānui mā te hunga mātakitaki, ko ‘elite.’ Ko te kupu ‘pakipaki,’ ehara i te kupu e rangona whānuitia ana, engari he kupu taharangi nō roto i te papakupu a Te Wiremu, ko tana whakamārama ko ‘celebrated, famous’ (Williams, 1971, wh. 253).

observation that one wellknown paper removed a section on elites, but she does not say why. (Duder, 2017, wh. 65)

Ānō te wairua o te kōrero e korongatā ana te tangata ki te āta wewete i te take nei.

Tū mai rā ngā rangatira o te ao hou nei: Te hunga kua whiwhi ki te reo

I puta ngā kōrero a Rīhari Benton mō te ara ake o tētehi tokoiti whaimana mō runga i te matatau ki te kōrero Māori, ā, ahakoa ko roto anake i te karaehe kōrerohia ai te reo i ngā kura, mā reira rawa te whakaakongia whānuitia ai te reo ki ētehi katoa o tātou. Te take, hāunga te tokoiti o ngā mōrehu i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, kāore i a tātou, te iwi Māori te oranga ā-pūtea, ā-whenua, ā-mahi nei ki te whakaora i a ia i roto i ngā kāinga Māori, ki te kore he āwhina. Hei tā Rīhari Benton;

By itself, bilingual education can only ensure the survival of the Maori language within the classroom. However, without bilingual education, only a small elite will be able to obtain sufficient mastery of the language to use it easily and creatively in a wide range of circumstances. The community itself can no longer undertake this task – Māori people do not have the economic resources or sufficient numbers of leisured native-speakers of the language to maintain it unaided even in predominantly Maori communities. (Benton, 1984)

E 40 tau i muri mai ka whakaohiti anō a Tainui Stephens kei aukatihia te tomokia o Te Whare o te Reo Māori i roto i te 50 tau e tū mai nei, kei taparere ki te tokoiti e haere ana ki te kōhanga, ki te kura [kaupapa Māori];

There is now a new mood upon the land. The Māori language is here to stay. Māori television and film are everywhere. The tribes are on the move. The next 50 years must see access to the language provided for the many Māori children who don't yet go to kōhanga or kura.

If we don't achieve this, I see a new status quo evolving, where speakers of the language become a new *elite*.

It's the comfort and the will of the *elites* in any society that define and decree the way things are going to be — until someone who dwells outside the comfy box comes along with a different story and demands to be heard. (Stephens, 2022)

I roto i te 40 tau o ngā KKM, kāore anō kia ea te tūmanako i tuhia i roto i te petihana reo Māori kia whakaakona te reo ki ngā tamariki Māori, arā, kei tōna 20% – 25% o tātou kua

‘eke ki runga i te waka,’ kua ‘tomo rānei i te whare.’ Ko taua hunga rā he hunga kua whaimana rā runga i te whiwhi ki te ‘taonga’¹⁴³ kāore nei i ētehi atu.

Ko te pātai ia, he aha tā te hunga i waimarie i te reo i ākona ki a rātou i te kura, otirā i ērā atu kura mō te reo Māori?

Ki te mea ka pērā, ka riro mā te hunga i waimarie i ngā whakatōkanga a Raeroa mā e whakatau tikanga mō te āhua ki te whiwhi, ki te kore-whiwhi ki te reo me ōna tikanga, otirā ki te tomokia o Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Mō wai te reo Māori? He kupu whakarāpopoto

I tēnei upoko nei i haehaetia ai tētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori: nā te ‘pīkoko,’ nā te ‘whakaheke werawera’ i whiwhi ai te hunga kōrero Māori o nāianei ki te reo; tēnā ko te hunga kāore i te kōrero Māori, he ‘hūkore’ kē nō rātou i kore ai i whiwhi.

I wetekina hoki tētehi atu o ngā tāhū kōrero kei ‘raro’ kē e ‘rahurahu’ ana: he wāhi nui kē tō te ‘waimarie’ i roto i tā te tangata tomo ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori, ka mutu, nā te nui o ngā ‘raru o te kāinga’ e pā kaha nei ki te iwi Māori, waiho ana ko tēnei hei taero nui i roto i te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori.

Hāunga rā, hei tā ētehi, e āhua tupu ana te ngako o te hunga kōrero Māori, e whakakaitoa ana hoki ki te hunga kore-reo. Ko ēnei tāhū whakaaro, tāhū kōrero nei, e whakaaweawe ana i ngā rautaki reo Māori o te wā, i Te Whare i te Reo Mauriora.

Ehara i te mea e whakautua ana te pātai nei, ‘Mō wai te reo Māori?’ i tēnei upoko, engari ko te tūmanako, he taki, te tute, he whakaongaonga ana kōrero i ō tātou whakaaro, tātou kei roto kē i Te Whare o te Reo Māori: he aha tā tātou e pai ake ai te tomokia o te whare e te iwi Māori katoa?

¹⁴³ Kei roto katoa i te āhuatanga o te ‘taonga’ e whakatupu nei i te mana o te tangata e kīia nei ko te ‘social capital’, te ‘cultural capital’ me te ‘economic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1986, He mea kite i roto i a Ivory et al., 2013).

Upoko Tuarima: He aha kei tua o te kiri Māori?

I tā rātou pātere i waiatahia rā i Te Matatini ki te Ao i tū i te marama o Huitanguru i te tau 2019, i whakapuakina mai e te kapa haka o Ngā Tūmanako te kōrero, “He kirimoko tō Māoritanga.” Ko te ingoa o tā rātou pātere, ko “Kei moumou”, ko tā Ngā Tūmanako he whakapātaritari i a “Māori mā” kia “kōrero Māori ki ā tātou tamariki” kei “moumou” noa iho te reo o te hunga mōhio ki te kōrero (Ngā Tūmanako, 2020). Ko tā tētehi o ngā kaitito, ko tā Māhanga Pīhama, e tau ana ngā kupu o tā rātou pātere ki runga i ērā o tō rātou whakatupuranga i waimarie i tā rātou haere ki KKM kia ākona ai ki te reo Māori me kore noa ka kaha ake rātou ki te kōrero Māori ki ā rātou anō tamariki, kei ‘moumou’ ngā mahi i mahia mai hei painga mō rātou (Whakaata Māori, 2020c).

I tēnei wāhanga o te rangahau nei tūhurangia ai ngā tāhū kōrero e pā ana ki te ‘kiri,’ te ‘Māoritanga,’ me te reo Māori. Ko ēnei whakaaro kua kākahuria ki te kupu e tauākī nuitia nei i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori: ko te kupu ‘tuakiri.’ He kupu Māori ‘hou’ tēnei, arā, he mea āta whakamoe atu nā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori ki te kupu ‘identity’ i tana papakupu, i a *Te Matatiki* nō te tīmatanga o ngā tau 1990 i puta ai (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c, 1996).

Ko te pātai o te upoko nei, ‘He aha kei tua o te kiri Māori?’, he rapunga whakaaro ki tēnei mea te ‘tuakiri.’ He aha ianā te ‘tuakiri,’ ā, he aha i kaha ai te kōrerohia ōna e pā ana ki te reo Māori i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori? He aha te ‘mahi’ a te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i roto i te noho a te Māori, otirā i roto i ngā tikanga Māori? Koia tērā hei tūhuratanga i tēnei wāhanga o te rangahau nei.

Ka mātua hōparangia ētehi o ngā momo kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori mō te ‘tuakiri.’ Kātahi ka tirohia te whakapapa o te kupu ‘tuakiri,’ me ōna take i roto i te kupu ‘identity’ tae atu ki ngā tikanga hanga kupu ‘hou’ a Te Taura Whiri i ngā tau o te 1990. Ka kimihia, ka rangahaua ngā kāwai whakapapa i heke mai ai a ‘identity’ ki ‘tuakiri’ me ōna kōpikopikotanga mai i te wā i orokoputa ai i Ūropi, i Ingarangi i te wā tonu o te Hao-rawa i te rautau 1600, mohoa nei. Ā, hei whakakapi ake i tēnei upoko ka kōhukitia te pātai, he aha te pānga o te kōkuhutanga mai o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ ki te reo Māori?

Kāti, e whakahahakitia ana, e tātarihia ana te kupu nei, a ‘tuakiri’ (me ‘identity’ anō hoki), koia i tohungia ki ngā tohu ‘pēnei nā’ i roto i ngā kōrero. Kei te wā e whakahuangia ana ngā kupu a te tangata, ka takoto tītaha kē te kupu, pēnei: *tuakiri*.

Te ‘tuakiri’: Ngā kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori

I te putanga tuatoru o te hōtaka reo Māori, o *Whiua te Pātai*, i uia te pātai: ‘He aha nei te hanga nei, te Māori?’ (“What is a Māori?”). Hei tā Hana Mereraiha White, tētehi o te hunga i uia;

Ki a au nei, ko te reo, ko ngā tikanga te tāhuhu, te iho matua o ngā *tuakiri*. Ka mutu, ko ētahi atu pou, ko te whakapapa, ko tō mōhio ki tō taiao, Māori nei. Ērā pou katoa, he pou tautoko i te tāhuhu, ko te tikanga, ko te reo. Koirā pea te... āe. Koirā pea te pou e here ana i a tātou ki tō tātou Māoritanga. (Whakaata Māori, 2018b)

I konei, e rua, e rua pea, ko te ‘tuakiri,’ ko te ‘Māoritanga,’ ā, e whakaritea ana ki te ‘whare’ (he “pou” ōna, he “tāhuhu” tōna), ki te “iho” rānei, arā, ki te wāhanga whakaroto rawa o te rākau e pakari nei te tū o te rākau, ko te “iho” rānei tērā e rere ai ngā pūtoto ki te tamaiti i roto i te kōpū hei oranga mōna. Hei tā ētehi anō ko te “iho matua” he tikanga tapu, nā te mea i heke mai i ngā atua (Temara, 2011).

I te putanga tuarima o *Whiua te Pātai*, e arongia ana ko te reo. Ko Hana Mereraiha anō tērā i tahuri ki te kōrero mō te reo hei ‘tuakiri’ mōna, arā;

E aroha ana ahau ki tōku reo Māori. Ko tōku reo, ko tōku *tuakiri*. He mea e haere ngātahi ana ērā āhuatanga e rua. Nō reira, mōku ake, e tino aroha ana au ki tōku reo, engari e aroha ana ahau ki te hunga kua kore e whai wāhi mai ki te ako i tō tātou reo. (Whakaata Māori, 2018a)

Ko te hunga i ‘whiua ki te pātai’ ko ētehi o te ‘tira hou’ (Tirohia: Te tira hou, wh. 59) e kaha ana te kitea i ngā kaupapa reo Māori, arā, i *Whakaata Māori*, i Te Panekiretanga o te Reo, i *Te Karere*, i whea ake. He kaitātaki, he ringa tohu rānei ētehi mō te pouaka whakaata, he kaiwhakamāori ētehi, he kaiako anō hoki. Ko ētehi he kuia, koroua nō te tuawhenua i pakeke mai i roto i ngā kāinga e kōrero tonutia ana te reo i roto i aua kāinga rā. Ko ētehi kē atu i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, ā, ko ētehi nō te reanga i pakeke mai i roto i te kāinga whakarauora reo, otirā i te kōhanga reo me te KKM.

Ko Hana Mereraiha White tētahi o te reanga rangatahi i whakapakekehia mai i roto i te Kōhanga Reo, i te KKM, ā, nō natata nei i uru ai hei kaiwhakamāori i ngā waiata o *Waiata Anthems* (Waiata Anthems, 2021). Inā hoki, ko ia tētehi o ngā kaiwhakamāori nāna nei ētehi o ngā waiata a te kaiwaiata Pākehā, a Lorde, i whakamāori (Hayden, 2021). Hua ake ana te pātai, me he ia ko te reo Māori hei ‘tuakiri’ mō Hana Mereraiha White, he aha te wāhi ki te reo Māori i te ‘tuakiri’ o te Pākehā? Taihoa whewherahia ai ētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero mō te wāhi ki te reo Māori hei tuakiri ā-motu mō Aotearoa me te wāhi ki te Pākehā i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori i tētehi atu wāhanga o te upoko nei.

Huri kau ake ki tētehi o te reanga i pakeke mai i roto i te reo, ki a Te Wharehuia Milroy; kei tana ruri mō te reo Māori ko ngā kupu nei. Ko ngā kupu, pēnei ana nā;

Nā te manawa popore tēnei tangi kia kaua te Māori e ngaro, ko tōku mana motuhake tonu hoki tōku reo.

Ko tō tātou reo Māori taku tīmatanga mai, taku *tuakiri*, taku rangatira, taku hoa tautohe, taku piki, taku taupua, taku manawa, taku taunaki, taku kirimoko, taku whānau, taku hapū, taku iwi, taku waka, taku awa, taku maunga, taku wai tuku kiri. (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018, wh. 204)

Noho ana ko te reo hei ‘tuakiri’ mō Te Wharehuia, otirā hei whakawhirinakitanga atu māna (he “taupua”, he “piki”, he “taunaki”), hei whakamāui i a ia (he “wai tuku kiri”), hei oranga hoki mōna (ko tana “tīmatanga”, ko tana “manawa”). E whakaritea ana te reo ki te tangata (he “rangatira”, he “hoa tautohe”), ki ngā āhuetanga e tātaihia ai ngā hononga ki te tangata, ki te whenua anō hoki (ko tana “maunga”, ko tana “awa”, ko tana “waka”, ko tana “whānau”, ko tana “hapū”, ko tana “iwi”), tae atu ki te āhuetanga e mōhiotia ai ia (ko tana “kirimoko”).

Nō reira, he hirahira tonu te ‘tuakiri,’ ā, e whakamahia nuitia ana hei whakaahua i te hirahira o te reo Māori. Tēnā, kia tirohia ake ētehi o ngā kōrero mō te ‘tuakiri’ i roto i ngā rangahau reo Māori.

Te tuakiri i roto i ngā rangahau reo Māori

Ko ngā tuhinga rangahau reo Māori tētehi o ngā kokoru o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori e whakauruuru nei te kupu ‘tuakiri.’

Ko tā Taiarahia Black rangahau i ngā waiata tawhito o Tūhoe (Black, 2000), te mea tuatahi i tuhia ki te reo Māori ki te taumata o te tohu paetoru (Stewart, 2019b).¹⁴⁴ I tana tuhingaroa i kaha tonu tā Taiarahia kōrero e pā ana ki tēnei mea te ‘tuakiri,’ pēnei i tana kī ake, “Mā te reo [o] ō tatau tīpuna nei e tau ai te *tuakiri*, te matatau e au ai te rongō ki ngā uara ki te kiritau o te tangata” (Black, 2000, wh. 212).¹⁴⁵

Āhua ohorere ana tēnei, i te mea hoki, ko Taiarahia Black tētehi i pakeke mai i roto i te reo Māori, ā, nō tētehi kāinga kāore i motu te tukuihotanga o te reo.¹⁴⁶ Nō reira te whakaaro i a au nei nā, ākuanei pea kāore ia e warea ki te ako i ngā kupu hou e whakaputaina ana e Te Taura Whiri i ngā tau ruarua noa iho i mua i tāna whakaoti mai i tana tuhingaroa. Ka mutu, ko ētehi tonu o taua hunga rā e kūnanunanu ana i te korenga o rātou i mārama ki te tini o ngā kupu Māori hou (Harlow, 1993; Te Ao Māori News, 2014).

Kia kaikanohi (RNZ, 2010a) atu tāua ki tētahi atu o ngā rangahau reo Māori tōmua, ki tā lan Christensen, e pā ana ki te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori i huaina ai rā e ia he ‘whare whakamana’ (Christensen, 2001). Ko tētahi o ana whakakitenga matua, “Ko te whakatairanga i te *tuakiri* Māori kei te hiki i te reo” (Christensen, 2001, wh. 190). He mea whakaputa nā lan tana rangahau ki ngā reo e rua, arā, ki te reo Pākehā rāua tahi ko te reo Māori, ā, he mea āpiti nāna tētahi kuputaka e rārangi ai ētahi o ngā kupu Māori i whakamahia e ia me ngā kupu Pākehā hei kupu taurite i te taha. Ko te kupu ‘tuakiri’ tētahi o aua kupu Māori, ā, ko tōna hoa reo Pākehā ko ‘identity.’

¹⁴⁴ Ko Ruka Broughton tērā i mātua tuhituhi i tana tuhingaroa ki te reo Māori, engari ka hurumutu ia i mua i te āta whakaputanga mai o taua tuhingaroa rā. Tirohia ngā whakamārama a Poutū (2015).

¹⁴⁵ I tua atu i te kupu ‘tuakiri,’ ko ‘kiritau’ anō tētehi kupu ‘hou’ a Te Taura Whiri i oti mai i te tūhonotanga atu o ngā kupu ‘kiri’ me te ‘tau’ hei kupu taurite mō ‘self-esteem.’

¹⁴⁶ Tirohia ngā kōrero a Te Wharehuia Milroy rāua ko Timoti Kāretu i wh. 119-120. Tērā hoki ngā kōrero a Te Wharehuia Milroy mō te reo o Tūhoe i ngā tau o te 1950, “It was a time when the language itself was – and I’m talking about the Tūhoe dialect – was very, very strong and still in its raw state [...] By raw, I really mean in a traditional state. It hadn’t really been influenced by contact with Pākehā[s] at that stage. It was much later that the language began to adopt... was accepting, I think, of new words that were coming in and they were Pākehā words, which became part of the Tūhoe dialect at that stage. Not that they were forsaking their own dialect, but that for convenience’s sake some English words slipped in” (RNZ, 2010a).

Arā kē anō ana toronga ki te 'tuakiri': ko te 'tuakiri ahurea,' ko te 'tuakiri tangata whenua,' me ngā 'tuakiri ā-iwi,' arā, te 'tuakiri Māori,' te 'tuakiri Tonga,' me te 'tuakiri māia o te iwi [Katarana] i roto i ā rātou ake tikanga ā-iwi, ā-whenua hoki' (wh. 73).¹⁴⁷

E takamua ana te wāhanga reo Pākehā o tā Ian Christensen tuhingaroa, ā, kitea ana hoki te whakaawe mai o te tuhinga reo Pākehā; tuponohia atu ana ngā momo 'identity,' pēnei i te 'ethnic identity' me te 'cultural identity,' titiro rawa ki te tuhinga reo Māori, kite rawa ko 'tuakiri' tērā hei kahu reo Māori mōna.

Nā, i tā Wayne Ngata rangahau i te mōteatea hei "mataaho ki te pā o te hinengaro Māori, ki te ao Māori" (Ngata, 2009), kotahi noa iho te tūponotanga atu ki te kupu 'tuakiri.' Heoi, titiro rawa atu, kitea ana kei roto i ngā kōrero a tangata kē atu, he mea tiki nā Wayne Ngata hei whakamārama i te wāhi ki te reo Māori i roto i tana kaupapa. Ko aua kōrero rā, nā Tīmoti Kāretu kē;

Ki a au nei, ko tōku reo, ko tōku mana. Ki te kore tōku reo Māori, he Māori tonu ahau? Kāore pea. Nā tōku reo tonu, ka whai au i tōku mana, koirā hoki tōku āhua motuhake. Arā kē ngā wā, kua pōhēhē te tangata nō iwi kē ahau – i Aotearoa tonu – engari i tua atu i te toto o ōku tīpuna Māori, ko tōku *tuakiri* Māori, ko tōku reo, tōku urunga ki tōku ao, āna waiata, āna whakataukī, ōna ariā, me āna toi reo. (Kāretu, 1990a, 7(3), wh. 19; He mea kite i roto i a Ngata, 2009, wh. 58)

Heoi, ko tā Tīmoti (Kāretu, 1990) he mea tuhi kē ki te reo Pākehā, ā, ko ngā kupu o runga ake nei, ko ērā nā Ian Christensen (2001) i whakamāori mai. Ko ngā kupu nā Tīmoti Kāretu ake, hāunga ngā kupu tāpiri a Ian Christensen hei āwhina i te kaupānui kāore pea e mōhio ki te tikanga o te 'mana,' o Aotearoa hoki, he pēnei kē;

For me, language is central to my mana [prestige, power, authority]. Without it could I still claim to be Maori? I do not think so for it is the language which has given me what mana I have and it is the only thing which differentiates me from anyone else. I have been mistaken for many other nationalities - even here in Aotearoa [New Zealand] - but what makes me Maori apart from the blood of my Maori ancestors which courses through my veins, is my language, the key to the song, proverb, legend, philosophy and rhetoric of my Maori world. (Karetu 1990a, wh. 19; He mea kite i roto i a Christensen, 2001, wh. 1)

¹⁴⁷ "... a strong sense of ethnic identity of the Catalan people."

E ai ki a Tīmoti ko te reo Māori tōna “mana”, ā, ‘nā konā ia i Māori ai.’ Ko te āhuetanga i Māori ai ia, arā, ko te reo Māori, he mea whakamāori nā lan ko tana ‘tuakiri’.

Nā, ehara i te mea he aha, heoi anō te ui mākihoi, he aha rā te awenga o te whakawhiti i te kōrero reo Pākehā (“what makes me Māori”) ki te reo Māori (‘ko tōku *tuakiri* Māori’)? Me e kōrero Māori ana te tangata, kāore e tīmata mai ana i te kōrero reo Pākehā, ka pēwhea kē te kawea o taua whakaaro? Hei te wāhanga I mua i te ‘tuakiri’ i wh. 191 tūhurangia ai ngā momo kōrero, kupu, tikanga hoki o te reo Māori, otirā o te ao Māori i mua i te orokoputanga mai o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ hei kākahu mō te kupu Pākehā nei, mō ‘identity,’ otirā hei whakaatu mā te tangata nā wai ia, nō whea ia.

Kāti, ahakoa kāore pea e āta whakawhitia ngā kōrero reo Pākehā kia reo Māori kē, mehemea ia ko te reo Pākehā te reo tuatahi o te tangata, ākuanei pea ko te aroaro whenua o ana whakaaro kua oti kē te tārai, te tātai rānei ki ngā momo whārua, ki ngā momo taukahiwi o te reo Pākehā me ōna momo kārawarawa i te ao, tapa i te ao, whakaahua i te ao ki ngā kupu pēnei i te ‘tuakiri/identity.’ Inā hoki, tērā te kōrero a Rāwinia Higgins (2011) mō te whakaawe o tana reo tuatahi, o te reo Pākehā i tana reo Māori:

[K]ua tokomaha ake te hunga reo rua, [...] i pakeke mai i roto i te ao Pākehā, ā, ko te reo Pākehā te reo tuatahi... E mōhio ana au ina pānuhia aku kōrero nei e taku koroua ka kī[i]a ko au tonu tērā kei te whakawhirinaki ki te reo Pākehā. Me pēwhea e taea te karo nā te mea koinā taku reo tuatahi? Nā reira me whakaaro tātou te iwi Māori, ko tēhea te reo me whakaora, ko te reo kei te reanga i pakeke mai i roto i te reo? Me tuku rānei i taua reo k[a] whai i te reo o te hunga reo rua? (Higgins, 2011)

Hoki rawa ki ngā rangahau reo Māori, ko tā Dean Mahuta rangahau ko te ‘tuakiri ā-iwi,’ arā, te ‘tuakiri’ o tō māua iwi, o Waikato (Mahuta, 2010). Tīmata ai tā Dean tuhingaroa ki tana pepeha, he “wāhanga matua nō te āhua o Waikato, te *tuakiri* o Waikato” (wh. 1). Heoi, nōna e ui ana i tētehi o ana pākeke, “He aha te *tuakiri* o Waikato?”, tē āro i taua pakeke rā te tikanga o te kupu ‘tuakiri.’ Waiho ana hei kupu hou ki a ia (D. Mahuta, he mea kōrero ā-waha mai, 12 o Hūrae, 2023). He mea wewete nā Dean te ‘tuakiritanga taketake’ me te ‘tuakiri,’ me te aha, tūtohungia ana e ia e toru rawa ngā “tikanga matua e hanga nei i te ‘tuakiri’ o te tangata”:

Tuatahi, ko ngā tikanga tuku iho o tōna iwi, arā, ko aua tikanga, ko aua ture, ko aua āhuetanga katoa e noho ana ki te hinengaro o te tangata, e whakahaere nei i tōna ao. Hei tauira pea i ngēnei tikanga, ko te whakapapa tērā, ko te tūrangawaewae tērā. Tuarua, ko te whenua, arā, ko Papa-tū-ā-nuku, te atua e whāngai ana i te tangata. Ko te ūkaipō tēneki o te tangata, ko te hononga i waenga i te ira tangata me te ira atua. Tae atu hoki ki te tikanga whakamutunga, arā, ko te reo tēnā. Ko te reo e kaw[e] ana i ngā whakaaro o te tangata, ko te reo e whai kiko ai ngā tikanga tuku iho, me kore te reo, kua noho kūware te iwi, kua noho ngako-kore tōna *tuakiri*. (Mahuta, 2010, wh. 22).

Ka tātaki haeretia e Dean ngā āhuetanga katoa i “pā ki te *tuakiri* o te tangata” i te taenga mai o te Pākehā me ana tikanga, ana ture: ko te raupatu whenua, nā te pū, nā te ture hoki (pēnei i te *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863*); ko te pēhi i te tikanga Māori (nā te *Tohunga Suppression Act 1907*), me ngā tikanga tāmi i te kōrerohia o te reo i te kura (nā te *Native Schools Act 1867*). Nā konā i “ngako-kore ai te *tuakiri*”, otirā i “rite tonu ai te kimi a te tangata i tōna *tuakiritanga*” (Mahuta, 2010, wh. 24).

I tā Wahineata Smith rangahau i te whakapapa me te ‘tuakiri’ o ngā Māori i whakapakekehia mai i te tāone (W. Smith, 2012), ka uia e ia te pātai: “He *tuakiri* tō te tangata ki te kore ia e mōhio ki tōna whakapapa?” Nō Waikato hoki a Wahineata, pēnei i a māua nei ko Dean, otirā nō Ngāti Ranginui anō hoki, engari kīhai i whakapakekehia i waenga i ana hapū, i ana iwi, koia nā te take o tana rangahau.

Nā, i te whakarāpopototanga o tana tuhingaroa, i tuhia rā ki te reo Pākehā, ka mea ia e ōrite ana te ‘tuakiri’ ki te ‘whakapapa,’ engari whakamoea ana hoki e ia te kupu ‘tuakiri’ ki te kupu ‘identity’: “The terms *whakapapa* and *tuakiri* are synonymous in a traditional Māori setting. In fact, the term *tuakiri* has acquired a contemporary meaning equivalent to identity” (W. Smith, 2012, wh. xii; Nāna anō i miramira).

Titiro rawa ake a Wahineata ki [T]e *Pātaka Kupu* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008), rokohanga atu, he kupu hou a ‘tuakiri,’ ā, “whakamīharo” ana a Wahineata i tērā, heoi, e “tautoko” ana tērā kitenga āna i tāna i whakapae ai nō te taenga mai o te Pākehā te putanga o te ‘tuakiri’ (W. Smith, 2012, wh. 150).

He mea ui nā Wahineata te pātai ki a Joseph Te Rito: “He aha te *tuakiri*?”, ā, pēnei ana tā Joseph whakahoki;

Tuakiri? He kupu hou tērā ki a au nō ngā kupu o te Taura Whiri. Kāore au i te mōhio he aha te tikanga o tēnā mea te tuakiri...ko te whakapapa te *tuakiri*, ki a au, ki te whakaaro Māori kāre i tua atu i te whakapapa, e tohu ana i a koe i tō *tuakiritanga* katoa...ki ahau nei he whakaaro Pākehā, arā, kua rapua e ngā tohunga o tō tāua reo te kupu e aro atu ki tēnā whakaaro Pākehā, engari, ka tīmata atu ka mutu mai i te whakapapa (Joseph 2010:Uiui). (W. Smith, 2012, wh. 150-151)

Tē āro i a Joseph te tikanga o te kupu ‘tuakiri,’ ā, ka mutu, hei tāna ko te whakapapa kē tērā. Heoi, he mea toro hoki nā Wahineata ngā kōrero a Joseph Te Rito ki wāhi kē atu, i kī rā ia, he mea nui kia mōhio te Māori nō whea ia, nā wai ia, arā, ki ngā “hereherenga” ki te ao, ki ōna uri, ā, ko ngā mea o tātou e noho tāone ana kua “hūtia mai i te pūtake o ō tātou tūrangawaewae, kua whakatōhia ki ētehi wāhi noa atu” (RNZ, 2010b), me te aha, motu ana te taura here tangata, kimikimi noa, pōrarauraru noa (Te Rito, 2007, wh. 4; He mea kite i roto i a W. Smith, 2012, wh. 150).¹⁴⁸ Ko ā Joseph kōrero, he mea tuhi ki te reo Pākehā, ā, ko tāna i kōrero ai ko te ‘identity’ me te ‘whakapapa.’ Engari, huri rawa ia ki te reo Māori, kāore he take o te kupu ‘tuakiri’; ea kē ana i te kupu ‘whakapapa’ tērā whakaaro.

Heoi anō, hāunga rā ngā kōrero a Joseph Te Rito, ko te kupu whakatepe a Wahineata i tana rangahau, hei tā te nuinga o te hunga i uia rā e ia, “he *tuakiri* tō te tangata ahakoa kāore rātou e mōhio ana ki ō rātou whakapapa ake” (W. Smith, 2012, wh. 221).

Huri atu ana ki te rangahau a Korohere Ngāpō i Te Whare Tāhuhu Kōrero o Hauraki, arā, te whakarauorahia ake o te reo ‘tūturu’ o Hauraki (Ngāpō, 2012),¹⁴⁹ he pēnei tana kōrero mō te reo Māori: “Ko te reo te taura here i te tangata ki tōna ao, ki tōna *tuakiritanga*. Ko te reo te whītau rangitāmiro i te tangata ki tōna taiao, ki āna tikanga, ki tōna mātāpono ki tōna ao” (Ngāpō, 2012, wh. 13).

¹⁴⁸ “Knowledge of and sense of *identity* are very important to Māori. There appears to be a consensus of opinion among Māori that is voiced on marae, and in Māori radio and television interviews with the likes of Māori Party co-leaders Tāriana Tūria and Dr. Pita Sharples, that the ‘loss’ of such *identity* and whakapapa connections by urban Māori has been a contributing factor to Māori being over-represented with regard to the ills of present society.” (Te Rito, 2007, wh. 4; He mea kite i roto i a W. Smith, 2012, wh. 150)

¹⁴⁹ “Revitalising the ‘traditional’ Māori language of Hauraki.”

Hei tā Valance Smith, “[h]e taonga te waiata e puta ai te *tuakiritanga* o te tangata, [hei] pupuri [...] hoki i ngā kōrero tuku iho” (Smith, 2014, wh. 1). Ko tā Valance i rangahau ai ko te waiata Māori hei waka whakatere i te reo Māori. Hei tāna “ko te reo te huarahi hei ako i te mātauranga, i ngā kōrero o mua ki ngā uri whakaheke. Otirā ko te reo Māori he kawenga tikanga, he kawenga *tuakiri*” (wh. 7).

Āpiti atu ki tērā, e mea ana ia mā te waiata e “tūhonohono [a]i te tangata ki te *tuakiritanga ā-iwi*” (Smith, 2014, wh. 25), otirā e “puta ai te *tuakiritanga* o te tangata” (wh. 38); ā, “mā te wairua te waiata e kawē, māna anō te *tuakiri* Māori e kawē” (wh. 41).

Kōrero ai hoki a Valance mō tā te waiata “*whakatuakiri*” i te tangata. Ko tana whakamāori tērā i ngā kupu a te kaiwaiata, a Tama Waipara, mō tētehi o ana waiata: “There was a song [...] called *Korowai* which you know I think was me again just trying to reach out to *who I am and where I come from*” (Smith, 2014, wh. 41). Na whai anō i kīia rā e Valance, mā te pepeha e “mana ai te *tuakiritanga* o te iwi, o te hapū me te whānau” (wh. 35).

Tērā hoki ia te kōrero mō te “*tuakiri* wahine Māori” o te kaitito waiata, o Marie Sheehan, i mea rā, (ki tā Valance), “ahakoa [t]e reo Pākehā, [te] reo Māori rānei [o] te titonga” ko tana tito waiata he *mana* i heke i ana tūpuna, he “*mana* Atua” (Smith, 2014, wh. 42).

Hei kōrero whakamutunga mō te ‘*tuakiri*’ i te rangahau a Valance, ko tāna mō te “tānoanoa[tanga o] te reo Māori”, i whakapuakina rā e ia te kōrero mō te “tūkinō” me te “whakawaimeha” i te “*tuakiri* Māori” (Smith, 2014, wh. 72). Heoi, he “tangi motuhake tō te Māori” e “wawara tonu” nei i roto i “ngā waiata hou o ēnei rā”, hei tāna, nāna i “panoni” ai “te *tuakiri* Māori” (wh. 106).

Nā, nō te reanga taitamariki o te whakarauoratanga reo a Hinurewa Poutū, i mate ai ana mātua ki te ako i te reo hei whāngai atu ki a ia, ā, i uru ai hoki ki te hāpai i kōhanga reo me te kura kaupapa Māori (Poutū, 2015). I tana rangahau, uia ana e ia te pātai, “Mā te

aha e kōrero Māori ai ngā taitamariki o ngā wharekura o Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa?”¹⁵⁰

Ko tā Hinurewa he whakamihī i a Korohere Ngāpō mō ēnei whakaaro, tēnei kōrero:

Ko te kākano o te reo Māori i tiritiria i neherā, nō tuauri whāioio, nō te kāhui atua, heke iho ki te ira tangata. He aho tāngaengae e paihere nei i te tangata, i te iwi ki ngā mātua tūpuna, ki tōna *tuakiri*, ki te taiao, ki te ao tukupū tonu. (Ngāpō, 2011, wh. 13; He mea kite i roto i a Poutū, 2015, wh. 1)

Heoi anō, i te āhua o ngā kōrero a Hinurewa, ehara te hono o te reo ki te ‘tuakiri’ i te āhuatanga motuhake ake nō tāua, nō te Māori, engari ia ahakoa te iwi, waiho ana ko te reo hei tohu i te ‘tuakiri’ o te tangata. Inā hoki, hei tāna, “ko te reo te wai whakaata i te *tuakiri* o te kaikōrero” (Poutū, 2015, wh. 29).

He mea tūtohu nā Hinurewa ētehi āhuatanga huhua o te ‘tuakiri’ e whaipānga ana ki te kōrero Māori rānei, ki te kore rānei e kōrero Māori a ngā tamariki o ngā KKM Te Aho Matua.

Inā hoki, tērā tā Te Aho Matua mō te “*tuakiri* o te tangata” (Mataira, 2011, wh. 6: He mea kite i Poutū, 2015, wh. 65), me ōna “wāhanga” (Te Kāhiti Nui o Niu Tīreni, 2008 me Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008; He mea kite i Poutū, 2015, wh. 65). Ko aua ‘wāhanga’ rā, ko ētehi o ngā tino iho matua o te ao Māori e whai niho ai ngā tikanga me ngā kawa (Temara, 2011), pēnei i te “tapu”, te “mana”, te “mauri”, me te “iho matua” tonu.¹⁵¹ Hei tā Hinurewa, “[k]oia nei ngā taha katoa o te *tuakiri* o te tangata, ko te mātāpuna o huatau, o kare ā-roto, o whanonga” (Poutū, 2015, wh. 229). Ko Te Aho Matua

Waihoki, hei tāna, he “tuakiri matahuhua” ō te tangata (wh. 85), he tuakiri whānui [t]ō te motu (wh. 100), he ‘tuakiri’ tō te “taiohi” (wh. 175-6, 191), te “taiohi o te wharekura” (wh. 271), te “pīpī o Te Aho Matua” (wāhanga 7.3, wh. 330), he ‘tuakiri’ “kākano-rua” tō

¹⁵⁰ Ko Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori. Tirohia Te Kāhiti o Niu Tīreni - New Zealand Gazette (2008).

¹⁵¹ 11 katoa “Ngā Wāhanga o te Tuakiri o Te Ira Tangata”: ko te mauri, te iho matua, te tapu, te ihi, te mana, te wehi, te ngākau, te hinengaro, te pūmanawa, te whatumanawa, me te auhatanga me te puna waihanga.

te reorua (wh. 193, wāhanga 7.33), “kāore te tuakiri Māori e uara nuitia i te wao tū nui o Niu Tīreni whānui” (wh. 198), ā, he “tapu” (wh. 230), he “motuhake” (wh. 244, 270), he “ahurei” hoki (wh. 346) te ‘tuakiri.’

Nā, ko tētehi o ngā “tohu” o te “reo ora”, e ai ki a Hinurewa, “[k]o te mita o te reo [e] tohu [nei] i te whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi, otirā, i te *tuakiri* motuhake o te tangata” (Tūtohi 4.2, wh. 150). Ka mutu, ko te ‘tuakiri’ tētehi o ngā “Whakaawenga Tāpua e Kōrero Māori ai ngā Pīpī” (Tūtohi 9.2, wh. 397).

Koia nei, e whai ake nei ko ngā kōrero a Vincent Olsen-Reeder mō te ‘tuakiri,’ nāna nei ngā kōwhiringa reo o te iwi kōrero Māori i tūhura: “Mai rā anō, e kāpuia ana te reo Māori me te *tuakiri* Māori” (Vincent Olsen-Reeder, 2017, wh. 129). Hei tā Vincent, he reorua katoa te iwi kōrero Māori, arā, he mōhio tahi ki te reo Māori, ki te reo Pākehā¹⁵², nō reira, ko tana kōrero i te reo Māori he “kōwhiringa” tonu. Hei tāna anō, “ko te *tuakiri* hei ārahi i te kōwhiri reo e hāngai ana ki te whakaaro o te whai tūranga i roto i tētahi hapori, kia whai mana te tangata i roto i tētahi rōpū” (wh. 76).

Kōrero ai hoki a Vincent mō te “whakamā [o te tangata] [i] t[ana] *tuakiri*”, arā, mō ērā o tātou kāore e mōhio ki te reo, ā, nā whai anō i “nui [ai] ngā tāngata Māori e ako ana i te reo mō te *tuakiritanga* te take” (Te Huia, 2015, wh. 18; 2013, wh. 118; He mea kite i roto i a Olsen-Reeder, 2017, wh. 130). Heoi, hei tāna, mā te ako i te reo, ka “tūturu” te ‘tuakiri’ o te tangata (wh. 13). Kō tētehi atu tūāhuatanga i kī rā a Vincent e whanaunga katoa ana ko te “ngoikore” o te reo, ko te “ngoikore” o te ‘tuakiri,’ me te “whakamā” (wh. 176). Heoi, ko tētehi o ana tohutohu “[e] patua ai te whakamā [e ngau nei] ki te *tuakiri*” ko tana “akiaki” i te reo rua¹⁵³ “kia whakawehe i te reo Māori i tōna *tuakiri* kia motuhake te ako i te reo mō te ako noa iho” (wh. 175).

¹⁵² Hāunga pea “ngā tamariki e whakatipuria ana ki te reo Māori hei reo tuatahi” (Olsen-Reeder, 2017, wh. 2, Kupu takararo). Heoi, i te kaha tāmōre o te reo Pākehā hei reo matua i te whenua nei, me te reo tahi o te tokomaha o te iwi e noho nei ki ēnei moutere, uaua ana tērā te kore o ngā kawekawe o te reo Pākehā e toro ki te ao o te tamaiti, ānō ko te waokū ka whakaekea e ngā taru tawhiti, ka tae ana ki te pakeketanga e mutu ai te kai waiū, te piri ki te panekoti o te whaea.

¹⁵³ Kōrero ai a Vincent Olsen-Reeder mō te reo rua, he tangata e rua nei ōna reo kōrero, he tūāhuatanga rānei e rua ai ngā reo e whaitake atu ana, pēnei i te reoruatanga (Olsen-Reeder, 2017, wh. 50).

Ko tā Enoka Murphy i rangahau ai ko ngā matawhāura o te rautau 1800. I te ariā tonu o tana tuhingaroa, ka kōrero ia mō te whai pānga o te hītori ki te ‘tuakiritanga’ me te ‘ahurea’:

Ko te whakaohoho, ko te whakamataara i a Ngāi Māori, i a Ngāi tauwi otiā, i a Ngāi iwi taketake ki te nōhanga mai o te hītori ki te ahurea o te whenua, ki te ahurea o te tangata, ki ōna *tuakiritanga* (Murphy, 2017, wh. i).

Kātahi a Ēnoka ka kōrero mō te reo hei “hari” i tana rangahau, arā, he takahi i te ara “whakarauora i te reo”, tae atu ki te “*tuakiri*”, ki te “mana Māori motuhake”:

Ko te hari i t[ana] kaupapa [rangahau] mā roto tonu i te reo ake a te kōrero, i te reo ake o te whenua. Ko te takahanga i te ara o te whakarauora i te reo, i te tikanga, i te *tuakiri*, i te mana Māori motuhake (Murphy, 2017, wh. i).

Kāti, hāunga rā a ‘tuakiri,’ me kōrero rā hoki te kupu ‘ahurea’¹⁵⁴, ko tētehi atu anō o ngā kupu ‘hou’ i māpuna ake i *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, ā, kua ururua i roto i te reo Māori o nāianei.

Ko te ‘tuakiri,’ ko te ‘ahurea’ hoki i kōrerohia rā e Jeremy Tātere MacLeod;

He aha e whakarauorahia nei te reo Māori? Ko te whakautu māmā pea ki te urupounamu nei, ko te whakaū i te oranga tonutanga o te Māori. Ko te reo te tino poutokomanawa o te *ahurea* (Browne, 1996, wh. 7). Ko te reo te poutokomanawa o te *tuakiri* o te tangata, o te whānau, o te *hapori*, o te iwi anō hoki. (MacLeod, 2021, wh. 33)

Nā, ko tā Tātere i rangahau ai, ko te hītori, ko te whanaketanga, otirā ko te ahunga whakamuatanga o te mita o Ngāti Kahungunu i roto anō i ngā kōkiritanga kia whakarauoratia te reo ‘Māori’ ake (MacLeod, 2021).

Hei tā Tātere, “Me waihanga tētahi tūreo hou hai tohu *tuakiritanga* mō Ngāti Kahungunu kia riro ai mā ētahi tū āhuetanga o tōna reo hai whakaatu atu nō Kahungunu te tangata e tū atu nei” (MacLeod, 2021, wh. iv). Hei tāna nā ngā “nekehanga’ o ngā iwi ki ngā tāone noho ai i muri i Te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao i motu ai ngā taura here o te tokomaha ki ō rātou marae kāinga, ā, “hua ake [ana] tētahi *tuakiritanga Māori hou*, he reanga hou i

¹⁵⁴ He kupu hou tēnei i waihangatia mai hei kupu Māori taurite mō te kupu nei, mō ‘culture’ (*Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, 2008, wh. 8).

kaha ake te aro ki te *tuakiritanga Māori whānui* tēnā i te aro ki ō rātau ake iwi” (MacLeod, 2021, wh. 13).

I tā Jamie Huia Rolleston tuhinga paerua i ngā hua o te ako i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua mō te hunga pakeke ake i te 18 tau, i kīia rā ko “Taku manatawa, taku manapou”, i puta ai tana kōrero: “[K]o te reo te aho e tuitui ana i a rātou ki ō rātou *tuakiri* Māori. Nā tēnei māramatanga hou ki te ao Māori, kua riro i a rātou he hua ā-wairua, ā-whānau, ā-tinana hoki” (Rolleston, 2015, wh. 2).

He whakarāpopototanga

Mai anō i tā Taiarahia Black neke atu i te 20 tau ki muri (Black, 2000) i kaha ai te takarurehia o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i roto i ngā tuhinga kairangi reo Māori. Ahakoa ko ētehi he rangahau mō te waiata, te mōteatea (Black, 2000; Ngata, 2009; Smith, 2014); ko ētehi mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo (Christensen, 2001; Vincent Olsen-Reeder, 2017; Poutū, 2015); ko tētehi, mō te noho a te Māori i te ao hurihuri nei (W. Smith, 2012); ko ētehi kē he rangahau e pā ana ki tētehi iwi (MacLeod, 2021; Mahuta, 2010; Ngāpō, 2012), ki te hītori rānei (Murphy, 2017); katoa ngā tuhingaroa nei he ‘pou’ i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori, arā, ko te kōpoutanga o te reo i roto i ngā whare wānanga he mahi ‘whakahirahira’ mō te reo, mō te kairangahau, mō te whare wānanga anō hoki (Stewart, 2019).

Ehara i te mea he kaupapa hārō te kōrerohia o te ‘tuakiri’ e te hunga tuhi i te tuhinga kairangi ki te reo Māori, engari e putuputu haere nei, e putuputu haere nei. I te nuinga o aua tuhingaroa, e tūponohia atu ana te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i ngā whārangi takamua. Ka mutu, hei tā Georgina Tuari Stewart, nāna nei ngā kairangahau i tuhi i ngā tuhinga kairangi ki te reo Māori i uiui, “Te reo Māori is central to Māori *identity*, so the practice of writing a doctoral thesis in te reo makes a strong assertion of the right to identify as Māori” (Stewart, 2019a, wh. 87).

Heoi anō te pātai, he aha te whakaawe mai o te whakamāoritanga o te kupu ‘identity’ i ngā tuhinga rangahau nei? Inā hoki, e ai ki tētehi tonu o ngā kairangahau i mate ki te tuhi i tana tuhinga kairangi ki te reo Pākehā, ahakoa tana hiahia ki te tuhi ki te reo Māori, “[I]t’s one thing to conceptualise something in te reo Māori but then having to

reconceptualise how that would be framed in English is almost like writing another doctorate” (Stewart, 2019, wh. 81).¹⁵⁵

Kia huri atu ināiane ki ētehi kōrero nā te rangatahi mō te ‘tuakiri.’

Ngā ‘tuakiri’ o te rangatahi Māori

Nō ngā rangatahi o te hōtaka reo Māori o Whakaata Māori, o *Rage against the Rangatahi*, i uia ki te pātai, “He mea nui te reo Māori ki a koe?” ko te whakahoki a te mea tuatahi o ngā rangatahi, i pēnei;

E mea ana koe? He wāhanga nui te reo Māori o tōku *tuakiritanga*. Otirā, koinei tōku reo tuatahi i taku whānautanga mai ki tēnei ao, āe. (Whakaata Māori, 2020d)

Ko ngā rangatahi nei, ko te reanga o te manotau 21 nei i āta whāngaihia ki te reo Māori i te kāinga, i te kura hoki i roto i ngā tau o te whakarauora i te reo Māori. Ā, he mea nui te reo, ko tō rātou reo tuatahi hoki.

Hei tā tētahi atu o ngā rangatahi;

He mea nui rawa ki tō mātou whānau, ki tō mātou kura me ērā atu mea hoki. He mea nui rawa te reo Māori.

Ko tēnei taku ao: te reo Māori. Me kai au i ngā wā katoa. Ko te reo Māori taku reo tuatahi, ko te reo Pākehā taku reo tuarua. He kōrero Māori au i ngā wā katoa. Kāore mō te tino mōhio ki wētahi kupu Pākehā. (Whakaata Māori, 2020d)

Ko ērā atu o ngā rangatahi, kīhai i kōrero mō te ‘tuakiri’ ake, engari katoa rātou i kōrero mō te hirahira o te reo Māori ki te “ao Māori”, otirā mō te reo Māori hei “reo tuatahi.” Otirā hei tā tētahi, “He mea nui te reo ki a au. Ko taku whakapapa tērā. Ko taku kuia tērā. Ko aku kuia tērā” (Whakaata Māori, 2020d).

¹⁵⁵ E ai te kōrero a te tauira tuatoru i uia e Georgina Tuari Stewart, kāore anō i whakatauhia tētehi tikanga tuhituhi i te tuhinga kairangi ki te reo Māori i tana whare wānanga i taua wā, ā, puta ana te kōrero, mehemea ia i hiahia ki te tuhi i tana tuhinga kairangi ki te reo Māori, me mātua whakapākehā e puta ai i ngā whakamātautau o taua whare wānanga rā. Ko tā te tauira urupare, me whiwhi rawa ia ki te rua o ngā tohu kairangi, nā te mea he tāhū whakaaro kē tō te rangahau ka tuhia ki te reo Māori, he tāhū whakaaro kē anō tō tērā ka tuhia ki te reo Pākehā (Stewart, 2019b, wh. 81). E hara i te hanga noa iho te whakawhitinga o ētehi whakaaro, o ētehi ariā mai i tētehi reo ki reo kē.

Hei tā tētehi kē atu, “[K]o te reo te pito o te ao Māori. Koirā kē te hononga o ēnei mea ko te tikanga, te whakawhanaunga i roto i tēnei āhuetanga katoa” (Whakaata Māori, 2020d).

Ko tētehi anō i kōrero mō te reo o tana iwi, o Ngāti Porou:

Ehara ko te reo Māori, engari ko te reo ake o Ngāti Porou. He mea [...] kua titia rawatia ki taku ngākau. Mai i taku pēpitanga i tipu mai au i roto i te reo ake o Ngāti Porou. Ko taku kuia, kaha rawa te mau, te hari atu au, te tōtō mai i a au ki roto i ngā hui i runga i ngā marae tou i te taha o ngā kaumātua. Nō reira, ko te reo ake o Ngāti Porou kua tipu mai au i roto i te reo. Nō reira, [...] he wāhanga matua ki a au, nō te mea nō Ngāti Porou awau. Nō reira, ko tāku i roto i tēnei oranga [...] ko te whai i te taumata tiketike o te reo ake o Ngāti Porou. (Whakaata Māori, 2020d)

Ko te whakahoki a tētehi atu o ngā rangatahi ki te pātai nei, tāoitia ana e ia ngā kupu a Hēmi Hēnare, ka mea, “Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori”, ā, hei tāna, “Kāore he āhuetanga i tua atu ko te reo Māori.” Waihoki,

[m]e mōhio rawa te tangata ki te reo Māori e mōhio ai ia ki tōna ao Māori, nē. Āe, ko tētahi raru nui, tōia kētia te ngākau o ngā rangatahi Māori ki te kapa haka, engari anō te reo Māori. Ana, he raru nui tērā, nē. Ko tāku he āki tonu i taku whakareanga, ngā mea e hiahia ana ki te reo Māori: Kia kaha. Kia upoko pakarū mō tō tātou reo te take. (Whakaata Māori, 2020d)

Nō te reanga o te kōhanga reo, o te KKM a Te Kuru-o-te-Marama Dewes, arā, nō te whakawhakaturanga o te “tukuihotanga o te reo” i roto i te whānau “mai i ngā mātua ki ngā tamariki, ā, tae rawa iho ki ngā mokopuna” (Dewes, 2017, wh. 85). Hei tā Te Kuru, “Nā runga i te whakaaro kei te mōrearea tonu te reo Māori, kua herea [te tukuihotanga o te reo] ki te ahurea me te *tuakiri* Māori, te mana motuhake me te tino rangatiratanga” (wh. 85).

Huri kau ana a Te Kuru ki te whiriwhiri whakaaro e pā ana ki te tahuri o te rangatahi ki te kōrero Pākehā, ka mea ia, “[K]i te whao[a] [...] ngā horopaki e tūtaki ai ngā rangatahi i roto i te reo Māori, tērā pea ia te reo Māori ka mau hei tūāpapa mō te *tuakiri* o tērā rōpū” (Dewes, 2017, wh. 88).

Ko tā Arama Rata he rangahau i te waiora o ngā rangatahi Māori i roto i ngā kura tuarua (Rata, 2012). He mea tuhi e ia tana tuhinga kairangi ki te reo Pākehā, heoi, hāunga anō

te whakaupokotanga o tana tuhingaroa, me te tauira i hangā rā e ia, i huaina rā ko “Te pītau o te tuakiri”¹⁵⁶, ko te ‘identity’ kē tērā i kōrero nuitia rā e ia.

Hei tā Arama ko te ‘tuakiri’ te kupu Māori mō te ‘identity,’ ā, he mea toro nāna ngā kōrero a Hīrini Moko Mead rāua ko Meihana Durie i mea rā, ko te ‘tuakiri/identity’ o te tangata ko ngā āhuetanga o te ao e noho nā te tangata, arā, ko ‘waho’ kē i a ia, kua ko ‘roto’.¹⁵⁷

Nā, ko te take o tā Arama rangahau ko te āhua o tana whakapakeketanga i waenga i te mātotorutanga o te Pākehā, me ngā whakaaro whakataurekareka, whakaparahako i te Māori. Me te aha, huri ana a Arama ki te huna i tana taha Māori i te kura (he taha Pākehā hoki tōna, ki te taha ki tana māmā), ā, pau ana ētehi tau i te whare wānanga, me te puta haere o tana ihu i reira, kātahi anō tana ‘taha Māori’ ka ‘manaakitia,’ ka ‘whakamihia’.¹⁵⁸ Mātūtū ana te whakaaro i a ia nō te kura i ‘piko ai te māhuri, koia te tupu o rākau’.¹⁵⁹ Engari, nō te putanga ōna ki ngā puhikaioore kia whitikina e ngā hihi o te rā, kātahi anō ka whakanuia tana Māoritanga.

Te tuakiri Te Aho Matua

Kia tiapu rā te titiro ki te ‘tuakiri motuhake o te pīpī o Te Aho Matua’ e takoto nei ngā mātāpono, ngā ariā me ngā aratohu i ngā āhuetanga motuhake o ngā KKM (Poutū, 2015, wh. 60).

¹⁵⁶ Ko te roanga atu o te ingoa o tā Arama Rata tuhingaroa, ko “Te pītau o te tuakiri: Affirming Māori identities and promoting wellbeing in state secondary schools.”

¹⁵⁷ “[T]he Māori term for identity, ‘tuakiri,’ literally means all that exists externally of the individual (Mead, 2003). Commenting on the contrast between Western and Māori notions of identity, Professor Sir Mason Durie notes “Identity is not primarily an inner experience or personal conviction, rather it is a construct derived from the nature of relationships with the external world” (2003b, p. 50) (Rata, 2012, wh. 7-8)

¹⁵⁸ Hei tā Arama, “When I started to achieve academic success, the institution became interested in my Māori identity. In order to succeed in education I felt I had to abandon a Māori identity, so I felt it was ironic that once I had become successful in education, my educational institution began to value my Māori identity.” (Rata, 2012, wh. vii)

¹⁵⁹ Tirohia te whakataukī: ‘Ko te piko o te mahuri, koia te tipu o te rākau.’ Tirohia hoki: ‘Nā te moa i takahi te rākau’ i wh. 100.

He mea tuhi Te Aho Matua nā Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira, rātou ko te Ohu Kura Kaupapa Māori” i te torengetanga o te tau 1988 (Poutū, 2015, wh. 110). Heoi, nō te tau 1989 rā anō i whakaurungia ai te KKM ki te Hekihana 155 o te Ture Mātauranga 1989, ā, “kīhai Te Aho Matua i whai wāhi atu ki taua ture tae atu ki te tau 1999” (Poutū, 2015, wh. 110). Āpiti atu ki tērā, ka taka atu ki te tau 2008, kātahi anō ka āta whakaputaina e te Kāwanatanga (Te Kāhiti o Niu Tīreni - New Zealand Gazette, 2008).

Nā, e ono ngā wāhanga o Te Aho Matua. Ko:

- Te Ira Tangata
- Te Reo
- Ngā Iwi
- Te Ao
- Āhuatanga Ako
- Ngā Tino Uaratanga

Kei ia wāhanga ōna kōwae e takoto ai ngā mātāpono. Ko te kōwae tuatahi o *Te Ira Tangata*, e pēnei ana:

Nō ngā Rangi Tūhāhā te wairua o te tangata. I tōna whakairatanga ka hono te wairua me te tinana o te tangata. I tērā wā tonu ka tau tōna mauri, tōna tapu, tōna wehi, tōna iho matua, tōna mana, tōna ihi, tona whatumanawa, tōna hinengaro, tōna auahatanga, tōna ngākau, tōna pūmanawa. Nā ka tupu ngātahi te wairua me te tinana i roto i te kōpū o te whaea, whānau noa. (Te Kāhiti o Niu Tīreni - New Zealand Gazette, 2008, wh. 735)

Kei konei ngā tino ruruku o *Te Whare Whakahirahira* (Tirohia a Te Whare Whakahirahira, wh. 33), arā, te ‘mauri,’ te ‘tapu,’ te ‘mana’ e “whai niho ai ngā tikanga iho atua” (Temara, 2011), me ētehi atu āhuatanga o te tangata e ai ki a tātou, te iwi Māori: ko te ngākau, te hinengaro, te aha, te aha.

Kāti, kīhai i roa i muri mai i te tānga o Te Aho Matua ki *Te Kāhiti*, ka puta ko tā Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira pukapuka, *Mauriora: He kaupapa hei hiki i te ora o te Māori* (Mataira, 2011), i reira ka takoto atu te ‘tuakiri o te tangata.’

Ki te whakatauritehia te kōwae tuatahi o *Te Aho Matua* ki *Te Tuakiri o te Tangata* (Poutū, 2015, wh. 65), kitea atu ana, hāunga te whakaurutanga atu o te ‘puna waihanga’ hei

whakakapi i te 'auahatanga,' ko ngā āhukatanga o te 'tuakiri' o te tangata e ōrite ana ki ngā āhukatanga o te tangata ka 'tau i tōna whakairatanga mai' e kōrerohia ana i te kōwae tuatahi o Te Aho Matua. Nō reira, i roto i te āhua 20 tau ko te 'āhua' o te tangata, waiho kē mai ana hei 'tuakiri' mō te tangata.

Ki wāhi kē atu o tana tuhinga rangahau, kōrerohia ai e Hinurewa te 'tuakiri,' he mea whakamāori nāna ngā kupu i mātua tuhia e tangata kē ki te reo Pākehā.

Ko tētahi o aua kōrero rā, ko ngā kupu a Mason Durie, e ai ki a Hinurewa, e hāngai ana ki ngā mātāpono o te wāhanga o Te Aho Matua, arā, o Te Ao. Ko tā Hinurewa whakamāori i ngā kōrero a Mason Durie (2003, wh. 3), he pēnei: "Kia ita te *tuakiri* o te Māori...me taunga ki tōna ao Māori, me taunga anō ki te noho hei kirirarau o te ao" (Poutū, 2015, wh. 64).

He mea whakamāori ēnei kōrero na Hinurewa i runga i te whakaaro mā reira e "urutapu ai te takoto o te reo" (Poutū, 2015, wh. 29). Nā, hāunga anō te taupatupatu o te whakaaro kia "kaua e kōrero māwhitiwhiti mai i tētahi reo ki tētahi" (wh. 28) me te "whiriwhiri kia kaua [ia] e whakamāori i ngā kōrero a [te hunga i uia e ia ko ā rātou whakahoki i roto i te reo Pākehā], i te mea nō rātou ērā reo, koirā te momo i maringi mai i a rātou e whakapuaki ana i ō rātou nā whakaaro" (wh. 29).

He aha koa ērā taukumekume, mō te 'whakaurutapu' i tētahi reo, mō te whakaurutapu rānei i ngā kōrero ake a te tangata, kitea ana ko te 'rongoā' mō tērā o ngā uauatanga, he whakamoemoe noa i te kupu Māori ki tōna hoa taurite i te reo Pākehā kia pai ai te kīia ake, e reo Māori ana ngā kōrero. I konei e punarua ana ko te kupu 'tuakiri' he punarua nō te kupu 'identity'.

Hāunga te āta whakamāori ā-kupu nei i te kupu 'identity' kia 'tuakiri,' ātaahua ana tērā te toro a Hinurewa ki te moko hei ritenga mō te 'identity,' e tohu nei i ngā momo whakaaro Māori hei 'kawe' i tērā o ngā huatau;

Ki a Shohamy, "ko tā te reo he whakaatu i ngā *tuakiri matahuhua* o ngā tāngata rerekē." He rite anō ki te moko whakarākei i te mata, ko ōna nikoniko, me ōna nakonako hei tohu i te whakapapa, i ngā pūkenga me ngā pūmanawa nahenahe o te kaikōrero. (Poutū, 2015, wh. 85)

Nō reira, kua urutomo haere te 'tuakiri' ki ngā tino 'iho matua' o te ao Māori, ahakoa tōna rite nei ki te 'mana,' ki te 'whakapapa,' ki ngā 'pūmanawa,' ki ngā pūkenga o te tangata.

Ngā waiata o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori

Kei ā tātou waiata o te manotau hou nei hoki te kupu 'tuakiri' e mahi ana, kīhai i kitea, i rangona i mua. Ko Origin Roots tērā me tā rātou waiata, me *Tuakiritanga* (Origin Roots Aotearoa O.R.A, 2021).

Koia ēnei ko ngā kupu o te waiata:

*Kimihia rā he mana toa
E wawatatia nei e te ngākau
Hei oranga tinana
Hei oranga ngākau
Tuakiritanga
Nō roto i ahau
Nō roto i ahau
Puritia kia mau*

*I takea mai tō mana
Tō mana nō tuauki
Hei oranga tinana
Hei oranga ngākau
Tuakiritanga
Nō roto i ahau nō roto i ahau
Puritia kia mau
(Origin Roots Aotearoa O.R.A, 2021)*

Ko te 'tuakiritanga,' e ai ki a Origin Roots, he 'kimihanga mana,' he 'wawatatanga oranga ngākau, oranga tinana' nō 'roto' i te tangata, ā, me 'pupuru kia mau'.

Tērā hoki te waiata reorua a Nikau Grace, nō Ngāti Tūwharetoa, *Tōku Tuakiri* (Waiata Anthems, 2023). Ko ngā whakamārama a Nīkau mō te titonga o tana waiata:

I grew up on my mainly Pākehā side of the family and then it wasn't until I went to Rotorua Intermediate. All the kids could speak te reo or were assertive in who they were and knew who they were, 'cause of their whakapapa. And for me, I was still learning my whakapapa and I couldn't speak te reo. So, I think, having kids say, "Why are you here? What are you doing? You're white. You're not Māori." That kind of stuff really helped me want to be like, "Actually, no. I am from Te Arawa. I am from Ngāti

Tūwharetoa. I am from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. I am Māori. I have Māori blood in my veins. It runs through me, no less, no more than you.

It kind of started, as a song, for me, about knowing who I am and not letting other people may say change that. (Newshub, 2023b)

Nā tana kaiako kapa haka ngā kupu o tana waiata i whakamāori, ā, he mea 'hirahira' tonu ki a Nīkau kia reo Māori tana waiata (Newshub, 2023b).

Ko te wairua o ngā kupu, e āhua ōrite ana ki tā Origin Roots Aotearoa waiata: kimikimi kau noa te tangata i tōna taunga, i tōna tūrangawaewae i tēnei ao hurihuri. Engari purutia te 'tuakiri' kia 'mau,' kia 'ū, kei 'kāwhakina atu.' Ka mutu, ko te 'tuakiri' he 'ia' e 'puāwai' mai ana 'i roto.'

*The world is bigger than we can see
And not much in this life is free
Times, they change, and people do too
It can make you feel alone, not knowing what to do*

*Where do I fit in this world as it turns
So many changes, many lessons to learn
I was struggling to see where I fit
I thought it would be easier to quit*

*Then one day it dawned on me
I have something no one can take away from me
My identity, the one thing that will always be free
I need to hold on tight to my identity*

*Whānui ake te ao i ahau
Mauri tū, mauri ora, mauri tau
Ōku marae, ōku iwi katoa
Whakangāwari i te noho tāhanga*

*Kātahi ka puāwai
He ia ki roto i ahau
Tōku tuakiri, ko au ko koe, ko koe ko au
Pupuru kia ū, tōku tuakiri*

*With my ancestors right by my side,
I grow strong with every breath and each stride
I can do anything, it is clearer to see
Their belief in me is their legacy*

*Kātahi ka puāwai
He ia ki roto i ahau
Tōku tuakiri, ko au ko koe, ko koe ko au
Pupuri kia mau, tōku tuakiri*

*Tōku tuakiri
(Waiata Anthems, 2023)*

Kia tōmenehia ināianei ētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori e pā ana ki te ‘tuakiri ā-motu.’

He tuakiri ā-motu

Nō te tau 2016 i puta ai te rautaki reo Māori, arā, *Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora*, ko tōna tekoteko ko Te Ture Reo Māori 2016 (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-b). Ko te tuatahi tērā o ngā rautaki i noho tahi ai te iwi Māori rāua ko te Karauna i roto i te ‘whare whakarauora reo.’

Nā, ko ōna maihi e rua, tētehi ko te Maihi Māori, tētehi ko te Maihi Karauna (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015). Ka mutu, ko tā te Maihi Māori whai, “kia ūkaipō anō te reo.” Tēnā ko te Maihi Karauna, he whai kē “kia māhorahora te reo” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2021).

Waihoki, e toru katoa ngā ‘whāinga rongomaioro’ o te Maihi Karauna, ko tētehi e whai ana “kia 85 ōrau (kia nui atu rānei) o ngā tāngata o Aotearoa e kaingākau ana ki te reo Māori hei wāhanga matua mō te *tuakiritanga ā-motu*” “[i] mua i te tau 2040” (wh. 12).

Ko tā Te Puni Kōkiri, nāna nei te Maihi Karauna i whakaputa, mō te ‘māhorahora o te reo’:

Ko te reo Māori tētahi wāhanga taketake o te *tuakiritanga ā-motu* o Aotearoa, hei kaingākoutanga, hei whakamahinga mā Aotearoa whānui. Ko te whāinga *Kia Māhorahora te Reo* te whāinga tāhuhu a te Karauna, e whakaatu nei i tāna mahi kia ū ngā tāngata o Aotearoa ki te whakamahi, ki te ako i te reo, kia kaingākau hoki ki te reo Māori. Kia tutuki te whāinga tāhuhu nei, i tōna tikanga ka noho ko te reo Māori hei wāhanga māori noa i ō ngā tāngata o Aotearoa whānui ao o ia rā e whakamahia nei te reo e ngā tāngata katoa, i ngā rā katoa, mā ngā huarahi katoa, ki ngā wāhi katoa hoki. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2019, wh. 9; Nā te kaituhi tonu i miramira)

Kei te rangona te whakaaro mō te reo Māori hei tohu mō “tō tātou Aotearoatanga” i ngā kōrero a te Tumuaki o Te Taura Whiri, a Ngahiwi Apanui:

Kaua tātou e mea ana ko Aotearoa, ko te reo Māori ētahi mea kē atu. Ko te reo Māori, ko Aotearoa. Ko Aotearoa, ko te reo Māori. Ko te reo Māori kei te ngākau, kei te manawa rānei o tō tātou Aotearoatanga. Kaua tātou e pōhēhē he āhuetanga tua atu i tērā. [...] Kaua tātou e pōhēhē ko te reo Māori i haramai i wāhi kē... i taketake mai i konei tonu i Aotearoa, i mua noa atu i te taenga mai o te Pākehā ki konei. Ko tēnei āhuetanga i puta i te kūware, i te pōhēhē o te tokoiti. (Waatea News, 2021c)

Ehara tēnei i te whakaaro nō nāianei noa iho. I tā Te Taraipiunara o Waitangi pūrongo mō te kerēme reo Māori, Wai 11, ko te whakamanatanga o te reo Māori i roto i ngā ture o Aotearoa, he whakakotahi mai i ngā iwi katoa, arā, “The principal reasons for declaring Maori an official language of New Zealand are national *identity* and national unity” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, wh. 44). Ko tā Hinurewa Poutū whakamāori i tēnei nā, he pēnei nā: “He taonga whakahirahira te reo Māori i Aotearoa, i te ahurea me te *tuakiri whānui o te motu*” (Poutū, 2015, wh. 99-100).

E kitea ana hoki te aronga nui ki ngā whāinga o te Maihi Karauna i Te Ahu o te Reo Māori (RNZ, 2020b, 2020d; Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2018), he kaupapa nā Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga “hei whakapiki i te kaha o ngā kaiako katoa ki te kōrero Māori”, hei “tautoko [hoki] i te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori ki roto i ngā kura katoa” (Whakaata Māori, 2020b).

He mea “karanga” ētehi “mātanga reo i roto i te ao mātauranga” hei “kāhui”¹⁶⁰ e wānangahia ai ngā pātai a te Mīnita Mātauranga Tuarua, a Kelvin Davis: “Ina hiahia te kāwanatanga kia noho te reo Māori hei kaupapa ako i roto i ngā kura katoa o te motu, me aha e taea ai? Me aha e taea ai tērā whāinga? Me aha e piki ai te kaha me te mō hio o ngā kaiako i roto i te kura ki te whakatutuki i tērā whāinga?” (Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2018; Whakaata Māori, 2020b).

¹⁶⁰ E rua ngā hui i karangahia. I tētehi 13 katoa ngā mātanga o Te Kāhui: tokoiwa ngā mea tāne, tokowhā ngā mea wāhine; i tērā atu tokoiwa ngā mea tāne, tokotoru ngā mea wāhine. Nō te upoko tuawhā i kōrerohia ai te kaha ake o te whakatūhia o te tāne tēnā i te wahine hei kōrero i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo, ahakoa ko te wahine te mea kaha ake ki te amo i ngā kaupapa whakarauora i te reo. Katoa ngā tāngata o Te Kāhui he tākuta rānei, he “mumu reo” rānei (wh. 75 & 110), he ika ā-whiro rānei nō Te Panekiretanga o te Reo (Gloyne, 2014, wh. 305-17). Kāore tahi hoki he kaiako e mahi tonu ana i roto i te kura.

Uia ana a Kīngi Kiriona, i “karangahia” rā hei “mātanga reo” mō roto i Te Kāhui, i “tohua” hoki hei “kaiarataki”, hei “kaihautū” i te kaupapa ki roto i te rohe o Tainui e Kereama Wright o te hōtaka *Ki Tua* e pā ana ki Te Ahu o te Reo Māori (Whakaata Māori, 2020b). Ka mea a Kereama, ko tāna i kite ai, “muia ana te whare [i tū ai tētehi o ngā whakaakoranga o Te Ahu o te Reo] e te Pākehā.”

Ka whakamāramahia e Kīngi;

I wānanga nei mātou katoa kei hea te kōhao nui, te ngoikoretanga nui rānei i roto i te kāhui kaiako whakaako. Nā mōhio tonu, ko te whakautu ki tērā pātai, kei roto i ngā kura auraki, nē. [...] E waru tekau ōrau, neke atu te nui o ngā tamariki Māori kei roto i ngā kura auraki. Nō reira i whakaaro mātou, nā te mea he whakamātautanga tēnei, ā kāti, me aro mātou ki tērā hunga, ki ngā kaiako e mahi mai nei i roto i ērā kura, ko te nuinga o ērā kaiako, he Pākehā.

Ka mea hoki ia, “Kei te werohia mai mātou... māua [ko Paraone Gloyne, tērā atu o ngā kaiarataki o Te Ahu o te Reo i roto o Tainui] e ngā kaiako kei roto i ngā kura reo Māori (Whakaata Māori, 2020b).

Hei tā Kereama;

Ko taku whaea, ko Aunty Cathy [Dewes] tētehi e kaha tohe ana i tā te Māori whakaako i te Pākehā ki te kōrero Māori. Hei tāna, kāore i te tika. Ehara i te mea i pakangahia e rātou te reo Māori, te Pire Reo Māori kia whakaakona te reo Māori ki te Pākehā. He aha tāu ki wērā momo kōrero? (Whakaata Māori, 2020b)

Hei tā Kīngi, e “mārama ana” ia ki “ērā momo whakaaro.” Engari, hei tāna, “e kore e taea te whakahē ngā tatauranga e mea ana waru tekau ōrau o ā tātou kei roto i ngā kura auraki.” Koia rā rātou ngā kaihautū o Te Ahu o te Reo i “aro” ai ki “ngā kaiako e mahi mai nei i roto i ērā kura ko te nuinga [...] he Pākehā” (Whakaata Māori, 2020b).

Ka mutu, hei tā Kīngi, “Me aha tātou e kite ai rātou, e rongō ai [ngā tamariki Māori kei ngā kura auraki] i te reo i roto i ō rātou kura? Me aha tātou e piki ai te kounga o te reo e rongō ai rātou i ō rātou kura?” (Whakaata Māori, 2020b).

Koia ēnei ko ngā tāhū whakaaro e rahurahu nei i ngā whāinga mō te ‘tuakiritanga ā-motu,’ otirā mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori. Me mātua “ahu” rānei te reo Māori ki te kaiako Pākehā o te kura auraki tēnā i ngā kaiako o ngā kura Māori kua roa e

“pakanga” ana mō te reo? Ka riwha rānei i ngā kura auraki, otirā i te kaiako Pākehā te manaakihia o te reo Māori me ngā tamariki Māori, ahakoa ngā kōrero mō te kura he takahi i te mana o te tamariki Māori, o te reo Māori (Penetito, 2010; Simon et al., 2001), koirā hoki tētehi o ngā tino take i whakatūria ai te KKM, kua mō te reo anake, engari kia “rangona [ai] t[e] ihi, t[e] wehi, t[e] tapu” o te tamaiti, otirā kia “tupu [ai] tōna mana me tōna rangatiratanga, kia “ita [ai hoki] tōna mauri” (Te Kāhiti o Niu Tīreni - New Zealand Gazette, 2008, wh. 730: Te tino uaratanga).

Tērā te whakaaro o ētehi kua “huri kē te tai”, arā, kei te “whānau” mai tētehi Aotearoa hou. Ā, whānau rawa mai taua Aotearoa hou nei ki te ao, hāmama ana te waha ki te tangi, ko te reo Māori tērā ka pāorooro i te takiwā. Inā hoki, hei tā Jeremy Tātere MacLeod i te Rā o Waitangi i te tau 2022;

Ahakoa tātou e kōrero nei mō ngā tini raruraru o te wā, ko ‘hau e titiro ana, he nui ngā kaupapa papai i Aotearoa nei. He rahi tonu wā tātou mahi... huhua tonu wā tātou mahi, engari ‘hau tēnei e mea nei, e huri haere ana te tai, ā, e whanake haere nei te reo, e tipu haere nei te reo, e rerekē haere nei te reo, ā, engari ko te mea, ki ahau, ko te whanaketanga o Aotearoa. Arā, e kite ake nei au i ngā mea e whakahē nei, e amuamu nei, e komekome nei i te taha o te reo, e hōhā nei, i te whakaaro kia hurihia te ingoa o te whenua nei ki tōna ingoa taketake, engari ki aua nei he whakamamaetanga noa iho wērā, pēnei i te whaea me ōna whakamamaetanga o te whakawhānau pēpi, ki aua nei e huri ana a Aotearoa ki tētahi ao kē. (Te Hiku Media, 2022)

Kāore a Tātere e āta kōrero ake mō te ‘tuakiri,’ engari ko te wairua o ana kōrero ānō kei tērā whakaaro: he ‘waka eke noa’ te reo Māori, ā, kei te eke a Aotearoa nui tonu ki runga. Hei tāna, “Ko ‘hau e kite nei, ko ‘hau e rango nei i te huringa o te tai... e huri haere ana te tai. Ko te kanohi o Ōrīni [Kaipara, kaipāho, kauae tehe] tērā e kitea nei i te mata o te pouaka whakaata [TV3], ko te kaihautū o ngā waka rererangi kua kōrero Māori nei. Ahakoa huri koe ki hea i Aotearoa nei, ka kitea, ka rangona te reo.” (Te Hiku Media, 2022)

Nō Āperira o taua tau tonu i whakaturehia ai ko te rewatanga ake o Te Kahui o Matariki¹⁶¹ i te pae hei ‘hararei tūmatanui’ i Te Ika-a-Māui me Te Waipounamu (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, 2022; Te Manu Korihi, 2022). Nā, hei tā

¹⁶¹ Ki ētehi ko te aranga o Puanga i te pae te tohu o te tau hou, ko te whekawhenuatanga rānei o Rehua, engari ko te hararei e kīia ana ko te Ture mō te Hararei Tūmatanui o te Kāhui o Matariki 2022: Te Kāhui o Matariki Public Holiday Act 2022.

Rangiānehu Mātāmua, tumuaki o te rōpū tohutohu, arā, te Matariki Advisory Group, ko te Hararei Tūmatanui o Te Kāhui o Matariki hei poutokomanawa mō te ‘whare whawhao’ o Aotearoa nui tonu (Te Manu Korihi, 2022).¹⁶²

Heoi, arā anō ētehi o tātou e matangurunguru nei mō te ahu o te reo Māori ki a tauwi, me te rere o te kōrero ki a rātou: ‘E! E kai ana mai koe he atua, noho ana au he tangata.’¹⁶³ Inā hoki, nō te whakaputanga mai o ngā waiata reo Māori a Lorde (Godfery, 2021; Gray, 2021; NZ Herald, 2021; RNZ, 2021b; Waiata Anthems, 2022) ka pakaru mai te pirau o te whēwhē nei, arā, te wāhi ki a tauwi i roto i te whakarauoratanga o te reo (Te Huia, 2022, wh. 194-200). Hei tā ētehi mō tā te Pākehā whakamahi i te reo: hei meka whakapaipai noa iho mō te kakī, arā, he whaihua noa iho hei taonga hokohoko māna. Engari ‘pū ana a roto, kē ana a waho.’¹⁶⁴ Ko te kupu Māori pea ka makere i te matamata o te arero, engari kāore he aroha ake ki te tangata Māori me ngā taero a Kupe i uaua ake ai tana whaioranga, tae atu ki tana ako i te reo Māori.

Ka mutu, kāore ō te Pākehā tūtukinga waewae, pēnei i ō te iwi Māori me ngā tini haukoti i tana ako (nā ngā mahi a te Pākehā tonu), kaha ake ana te puta o ō rātou ihu i te kura, me te aha, ka eke ki ngā tūranga mahi rangatira, ka nui ake te moni utu, ka kaha ake ki te tomo ki ngā whare wānanga, ā, ka wātea ake hoki ki te ako i tētehi reo hei ‘tikitiki mō te māhunga.’ Kāti, me te whakapae anō a ētehi ko tā tauwi ako i te reo he tou areare noa iho ki te tahua o te reo Māori hei whakangata i tō rātou hiahia, kia kīia ai he iwi aroha, engari ko te aroha e tae ki te iwi Māori ake kāore anō ‘kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga,’ he aha hoki! (Mahi Tahī Media, 2020b; Te Huia, 2022; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2020)

Hei tā ētehi atu, te hia waimarie o Lorde, kāore nei i raupā ana ringaringa, i pahore rānei te tuarā mō te reo te take, pēnei i ētehi atu. Arā ētehi atu kaiwaiata Pākehā i whakamāorihia rā ā rātou waiata, engari i morimori anō i te Māori, pēnei i a Dave

¹⁶² Hei tā Rangiānehu Mātāmua: “It’s is really about this being a marker and a pillar of our *identity* and *who we are as a nation*. And I think you can really tell, you know, what people [...] by what they choose to celebrate is a real indicator of who a nation is and I think the wonderful value[s] that are associated with this holiday really I’m hoping will help us forge our nationhood and really become the key thing we think about as we celebrate Matariki.”

¹⁶³ “Kai ana mai koe he atua, noho ana au he tangata.” Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2003, wh. 157).

¹⁶⁴ “Pū a roto, kē a waho.” Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2003, wh. 346).

Dobbyn nei i kuhu ki ngā whare herehere (Songs from the Inside, Kāore he rā,; Te Huia, 2022). Ā, tērā hoki te tini noa atu o te iwi Māori i tōtā te rae ki te ako, ki te whakaako, ki te manaaki i ngā kaupapa reo Māori, kāore tonu i whai wāhi atu ki ngā whakaakoranga a tētehi tohunga o te reo Māori, pēnei i a Tīmoti Kāretu (Maniapoto, 2021; Whakaata Māori, 2021a).

Putana ana ngā kupu whakatara a ētehi o ngā kaiwhakahē i a Lorde me ana waiata, ā, ‘tara ana te wai’¹⁶⁵ i ngā pae pāpori. Tū ana ngā pihi o ētehi o tātou mō te tau o te kupu whakaparahako ki runga ki ngā kaiwhakamāori whaimana nei. Puku ana te rae o ētehi mō ngā mamaetanga e pā ana ki te reo. Rere ana te tao kupu, ā, tū-ā-kiri ana ngā taha e katoa. Ko te hunga kore-reo i ngākau marū i te whakapae nō rātou te hē i reo-kore ai, he kore nō rātou i whakapau kaha ki te ako, nō reira kāti te tangi kurī noa iho (Te Huia, 2022).

Heoi, hei tā Awanui Te Huia, kanohi kai mātārae, taihoa e pere i te kōwhatu, engari kia āta nohopuku tātou ki te wānanga, otirā ki te wewete i te take nei:

[I]f we are to achieve language normalisation the path towards it must be critical, reflective and considered. The path is not only about more Pākehā speaking te reo, but about breaking down the political structures that favour Pākehā and increase inequities in our society. (Te Huia, 2022, wh. 199-200)

Ko ngā āhuatanga e kōrero nei a Awanui, ko te kaha ake o te ngau o ‘ngā raru o te kāinga’ ki te Māori tēnā i te Pākehā, pēnei i te nui ake o te pūtea ka utua ki te Pākehā tēnā i te Māori (Te Huia, 2022, wh. 133 & 143), ko te tūtakarere o te noho a te Māori i te kore-whare (wh. 186), ko te utu, ko te wā me ētehi atu take e noho nei hei taero ki te ako i te reo (wh. 136), katoa ēnei āhuatanga i hua ake i te murunga o ō tātou whenua (wh. 142).

Nā, hei kupu whakamutunga mō ngā maihi e rua o Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, ko tēnei nā. Nō te tau 2021 i arotakehia ai e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori rāua ko Te Puni Kōkiri te āhua o te mahi tahi o te Maihi Māori, o te Maihi Karauna i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora (Waatea News, 2021d). Heoi, kāore anō kia āta whakaputaina te otinga atu o taua arotakenga ki te iwi nui tonu.

¹⁶⁵ “Nā wai i tara ai te wai?” Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2003, wh. 320).

He kupu whakatepe

He mea nui kia wānangahia ngā kawa me ngā tikanga o Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, arā, te pēwheatanga o te nohotahi, o te kaitahi, o te mahitahi a te iwi Māori me te Karauna i roto i te 'whare' kia ea ai ngā whāinga katoa mō te reo. Ko tētehi o ngā uauatanga, ko te nui haere o ngā mea o tātou kei te taha o te Karauna e mahi ana (Stephens, 2017). Waihoki, ehara i te mea e whītiki tauā ana ngāi tātou te iwi Māori mō te āhua ki te whakarauoratanga o te reo, engari he tirohanga tā tētehi, he whakaaro tō tētehi e pā ana ki te tomokanga o Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Heoi, mehemea rā ki te kaha ake te uaratia o te whāinga mō te reo hei 'tuakiri ā-motu' tēnā i te whakaaro ko te reo Māori hei 'taonga tuku iho' ki te iwi Māori, ka kaha kē ake tā tauwi ako, engari me te pateko noa iho o te tokopae o tātou e ako ana. Me te aha, he wā pea ka pahawa ko ngā poupu o te tara nui e kōrero ana, ko ērā o te tara iti o te whare, mū ana.¹⁶⁶

Te iho ngaro: He 'tuakiri' hauā, he iwi kāinga kore

I roto i te kōrerohia o te 'tuakiri,' tērā hoki te kōrerohia o ngā mate o te 'tuakiri.'

Inā hoki, ko te 'iho ngaro' te ingoa i utaina atu e Tīmoti Kāretu ki runga ki te hunga kua kore he tūrangawaewae, kua kore i ita te 'tuakiri,' kua motu rānei te iho tāngaengae (Kāretu, 1990; he mea kite i roto i a Coates, 2008, wh. 34-5). Hoki rawa ki te kōrero a Tairahia Black, mō te 'tuakiri' e kore ai te tangata e 'tauria e te kōrero he kāinga kore' (Black, 2000, wh. 28) (Tirohia te wāhanga: Te iho ngaro: He 'tuakiri' hauā, he iwi kāinga kore i wh. 165). Nō reira, mā te whai 'tuakiri' e pai ai te kī he kāinga tō te tangata, he tūrangawaewae tōna.

Tēnā ko Korohere Ngāpō, ahakoa kāore ia i āta kōrero mō te 'tuakiri' ake, hei tāna, "[K]o te iwi kāore e mōhio ana ki tōna reo tūturu, he iwi manawa-kore" (Ngāpō, 2012, wh. 13). Ehara tēnei whakaaro nō nāiane noa iho, engari puta ana hoki te whakaaro i a Apirana

¹⁶⁶ I roto i Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, ko te Karauna kei te tara iti; kei te tara nui o te whare ko ngā whānau, hapū, iwi. Tirohia a <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/te-whare-o-te-reo-mauriora.pdf>

Ngata, me he kāore te tangata e kōrero Māori, ehara ia i te Māori.¹⁶⁷ Ka mutu, nō ētehi tauria Māori i te hui ā-tau o Ngā Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora i te tau 1967 i uia rā ki te pātai, 'He aha ngā tino tohu o te Māori?',¹⁶⁸ ko tā rātou whakahoki, pēnei ana: 'Ko te tangata Māori, he tangata nō ngā iwi Māori o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, engari ko te Māori tūturu ko te tērā e mohio ana ki te reo me ngā tikanga' (Te Ao Hou, 1967).¹⁶⁹

He mea nanao atu nā Joanne McNaughton ngā kōrero a Te Whihimana, a Huirangi (Waikerepuru), a Ruakere (Hond), ka whakatau iho, he 'hua kino' ki te 'tuakiri' o te tangata te kore ōna i mōhio ki tōna reo, pēnei i te 'hauā' o te tangata i roto i te ao Māori;

E ai ki a Fishman (1991) he kaitā ngā hua kino ki te ahurea me te *tuakiri* o te tangata mēnā kāore i a ia tōna reo. Hei tā Waikerepuru i roto i tā Hond (2013) tuhinga whakapae, tokomaha ngā tātanga Māori tē taea te kōrero Māori, ā, kei te mōhio mārika rātou ki tō rātou ake kore mōhio, arā, ka kore te reo i te tangata kua hauā, hauā rawa i roto i tōna ao Māori. Nā reira, ko te whakarauora reo he rautaki whakatika i ēnei momo raru. (McNaughton, 2018, wh. 22)

Ko taua wairua anō rā kei ngā kōrero a Hēmi Kelly, nāna te kī, "Kei te hapa tētahi wāhanga o te tangata kāore ōna reo Māori. Whakapono ana ahau ki tērā" (TVNZ, 2015a).

Nō Tīmoti Kāretu i *Whiua [ki] te Pātai*, "He aha tātou e pōkaikaha nei...? Kāore te ao e hinga ki te ngaro i a tātou tō tātou reo...", ko tana whakahoki;

He tika tērā. Kāore te ao e hinga. Engari me pēhea koe e Māori ai ki te kore he reo? Ko ahau nei, ki a au nei, e Māori ai au, me kōrero Māori au. E kōrero ana au mōku anō. Nā reira, ko ngā mea o tātou e pērā ana te whakamāori o ō rātou whakaaro, ā kāti, ka whai mai i tāku. Me mātua kōrero Māori mēnā kei te pīrangī koe kia kīia koe he Māori e koe anō, kua mā ētahi atu, engari e koe anō. (Whakaata Māori, 2018a)

Kei runga te kōrero, kei raro hoki te whakaaro e rahurahu ana, mā te kōrero Māori rā anō e Māori ai te tangata.

¹⁶⁷ Ahakoa tēnei kōrero a Āpirana Ngata, huri kaweka ana ana whakaaro i ērā o mua i mea ai ia me kaha tā ngā tamariki Māori ako i te reo Pākehā i te kura hei oranga mō rātou i te ao hurihuri, ko te reo Māori ia hei reo mō te kāinga. Heoi, nā wai rā, ka tini haere ngā tamariki kāore i mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, ā, nā konā tēnei kōrero.

¹⁶⁸ "How do you define a Māori?"

¹⁶⁹ "A Māori is usually defined as a Polynesian, but a real Māori is a Polynesian *with* his culture." (Nā te kaituhi anō i miramira).

Heoi, ahakoa te kī a Wahineata Smith, “I ēnei rā nei, kāore i ārikarika ngā tāngata kāore e mōhio ana ko wai rātou, nō whea hoki rātou, arā, tō rātou whakapapa ake”, engari he mea whakaū tonu nāna te whakaaro mō te Māori ahi teretere o te tāone “he tuakiri [tonu] t[ōna], he whakapapa [tonu] t[ōna]” (W. Smith, 2012, wh. xii).

Waihoki, hei tā Paula Bennett i *Matangireia*, te kaupapa i uia ai ētahi o ngā Mema Pāremata Māori o mua, ko ia tonu tētahi o te mahi a te Māori ‘iho ngaro’ o te uru o Tāmaki, ā, e tū whakahīhi ana ia hei māngai mō te hunga pēnei i a ia nei, eke ana rāpea ki te tokomaha o te hunga e whakakanohitia nei e Tāriana Tūria, kaiārahi o mua o Te Pāti Māori;

I also genuinely felt though a sense of urgency to represent other urban Māori that feel disconnected. And I used to have some amazing conversations with Tariana [Tūria] and she would say, “You almost represent more Māori than I do.”

You know, there’s more Māori in West Auckland that don’t know where they’re from, that don’t understand their connections, yet feel a bit lost and don’t know what to do with that. And so, I kinda decided when I came in here, that I would wear that proudly. And so I can’t be who I’m not, I can change what happens in the future and what I learn. But equally, there’s a lot of Māori like me. A lot. And I felt a sense of responsibility when I came here to speak for them. (Matangireia, 2021)

Kāore a Paula i whakahua ake i te kupu ‘tuakiri,’ engari kei roto i ana kōrero ko te pātai e iri ana mō ngā Māori o te uru o Tāmaki: ‘Nā wai rātou? Nō whea rātou?’

Heoi anō rā, ko ētehi o ngā Māori e noho ana ki te uru o Tāmaki, ehara i te mea e kīia ana he ‘iho ngaro,’ engari i whakaahurutia i roto i ngā marae o te tāone, ā, ka noho hei kāinga tuarua mō rātou i tawhiti i ō rātou kāinga ‘tūturu’ nei. Ko Reikura Kahi (RK) tērā i whakaahurutia i Hoani Waititi Marae, i te uru o Tāmaki. Hei tāna;

Ka mate atu a Hoani Waititi, ko taku nanny me ētehi o ngā wāhine nō roto mai i te hauāuru o Tāmaki i whakaaro ake, “Me whakatū mātou [i] tētahi marae hei tohu maumahara ki tēnei tangata māia, hei āhuru mōwai hoki mō tēnei hapori e noho ahi tere ana.” Ko te nuinga i Te Atatū, te wāhi nei i tipu mai māua ko [taku tungāne, ko] Kawariki. He nui ngā tāngata nō Ngāti Porou, nō Ngāpuhi i hūnuku i ā rātou whānau, ō rātou whānau ki te uru o Tāmaki ki reira noho ai, ā, ko rātou i noho tahi ki te whakatū i te marae o Hoani Waititi. Ko Pāpā Pita [Sharples] hoki tēnā. (Indigenous 100, 2019)

Hei tā tana tungāne, hei tā Kawariki Morgan (KM), ahakoa riro te whakatupuranga o tana tupuna wahine ki te tāone, i haere Māori atu, ā, i hiahia kia Māori tonu te noho, arā,

KM: Ko tāna, ko te kī mai a taku kuia ki a au, i hiahia rātou ki te tō mai i ngā āhuatanga o ō rātou ake kāinga ki te tāone. Tērā noho tahi.

Kaiuiui: Ki te wāhi e noho nei rātou?

RK & KM: Āe.

KM: Kia noho Māori tonu rātou. Koirā tētahi kaupapa nui i tū ai a Hoani Waititi Marae he wāhi āhuru e Māori ai te tangata. E pai ai tana tū hei Māori. Tana noho i roto i te reo Māori. Mōhio tātou ehara i te mea ko... he wāhi pai te tāone mō te Māori o aua wā rā. Nō reira, tā rātou, āe, whakatū wāhi ka taea e te Māori te tū hei Māori i roto i te tāone. Nō reira, i waimarie māua, mātou te reanga i tipu i runga i te marae o Hoani Waititi ki tērā matakite o rātou. (Māori Television, 2022)

Ka tū mai a Hoani Waititi Marae, ā, ka roa, ka whakatūria mai tōna kōhanga reo, tōna KKM, tae atu ki ōna kapa haka, whare tū tauā anō.¹⁷⁰ Koia a Reikura rāua ko Kawariki i “waimarie” ai i ngā whakatupuranga o mua atu, i “āhurutia” ai rāua kia “tū ai hei Māori”, arā, kia whai tūrangawaewae ai, kia whāngaihia ai hoki ki te reo Māori ahakoa te noho taone.

‘Tuakiri’: He kupu nō te matatiki o ngā kupu Māori hou

He mea “whakarārangi” nā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori ngā kupu i “kitea mai” e ia mai anō i tōna orokohanganga i te tau 1987 ki roto o te papakupu nei, o *Te Matatiki* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c) kia “noho mai ai he[i] kupu hou ki te reo Māori” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996, wh. v).¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Tirohia a <https://hoaniwaititimarae.co.nz/our-history/>

¹⁷¹ Ko *Te Matatiki* tētehi o ngā papakupu i hangaia mai e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori mō ngā kupu Māori hou. E rua ōna putanga: ko te tuakana, *Te Matatiki: Ngā kupu hou*, nō te tau 1992 i puta ai, ā, nā wai, ka puta ko te teina, ko *Te Matatiki: Contemporary Māori words*, i te tau 1996. I mua i te whakaputanga mai o *Te Matatiki*, e puta haere kē ana ētehi kupu hou mā te pānui a Te Taura Whiri, arā, mā *He Muka*. Ā, he mea whakaputa hoki ētehi kuputaka mō ngā wāhanga ako o ngā kura, pēnei i *Ngā kupu tikanga pāngarau = Mathematics vocabulary*, nā Te Taura Whiri, Learning Media me Bill Barton hoki i te tau 1991, tae atu ki *Ngā kupu tikanga pūtaiao = A Selective Māori science vocabulary*, nā Te Tahuhu o te Mātauranga me Te Pou Taki Kōrero i te tau 1992. I te tau 1993 i puta te kōrero mō te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa, her mea

I pūtake mai aua kupu i ngā kaupapa pēnei i te hākinakina, i te hauora, i te pāngarau, i te pūtaiao. Heoi, ko ētehi anō i kitea mai e Te Taura Whiri i runga i ngā tono a ngā iwi, i runga rānei i tō rātou ake hiahia (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c).

Engari he aha rātou i mate ai ki te ‘kimi’ kupu Māori hou? I pērā ai i runga i tētehi whakaaro i roto o Te Taura Whiri;

Heoi anō tētehi o ngā raruraru kei te pā mai [ki te kōrerohia o te reo Māori ki ngā wāhi katoa], ā, kāore hoki i pērā te reo Pākehā me ētahi atu reo e kōrerotia ana e te nuinga o ōna iwi anō, kāore te reo Māori i whai tonu kia whakawhānuitia āna kupu kia taea ai ngā āhuatanga o tēnei ao te whakaahua. Nō konei, ko tētehi o ngā uaratanga nui o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori ko te kimi mai i ngā kupu hou e taea ai te kōrero Māori, ahakoa ki hea, ahakoa te kaupapa, kia hoki anō ai ki ōna tāpuhipuhi i te wā i a rātou mā, i tōna ūkaipō. (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c, wh. 4)

Nō reira, ko te mātāpono e whakapakiaka ana i roto i Te Taura Whiri i taua wā, ki te kore te reo Māori e rite ki te reo Pākehā (me ētehi atu reo), e “raruraru” ana ia (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c). Me te aha, mā te “whakawhānui” rawa i te reo Māori kia rite ai ki te reo Pākehā te whānui, ka ora ai. Nō konā, ka tīkina atu ko ngā “kuputohu” o te reo Pākehā, ā, ka kimihia he kupu Māori e ‘taurite’ ana ki a ia (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c, wh. 6).¹⁷²

Koiane te āhuatanga i “whakaohongia” ake ai te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i “roa e moe ana” i roto o *Te Wiremu*, me tō reira whakamārama:

1. *Wall of a house*
2. *Person, personality* (Williams, 1971, wh. 445).

Ko ngā tikanga e rua nei o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i tauratia ki ētehi rerenga nō te pukapuka *Ngā Moteatea* (Tirohia a Apitihanga 1: Te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori, wh. 301).

whakamāori nā Kāterina Mataira i whakamāori, ā, ka whakaaehia te tuhia mai o tētehi marautanga mō ngā kura Māori. Ka roa, ka kaha ake te riro mā te hunga e whai wāhi ana ki te tuhi i te marautanga me ōna rauemi ngā mahi hanga kupu hou.

¹⁷² E kīia ana ngā kupu Māori ‘hou,’ he “recently coined Māori equivalents.”

I *Te Matatiki* ka āpitiria atu ko “(personal) identity” hei tikanga anō mō ‘tuakiri’ (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996, wh. 251).

Koia i kīia ai e Tīmoti Kāretu;

What became the policy of the Māori Language Commission [Te Taura Whiri] along with my very active and unshamed encouragement was what is referred to as broadening by linguists. That is, extending the meaning of a particular word as long as its original meaning *approximated* that of the new term being coined or sounded like the new word term being sought. (Te Ipukarea, 2017b)

Waihoki;

As a consequence of th[e] broadening philosophy many words extant in the language, but long unused, particularly as generations of fluent speakers – who would have employed those words – passed on, were revived, dusted off and were exposed to the light of a new day, thereby giving life once more to said words, as well as adding further definitions, where appropriate. (Te Ipukarea, 2017b)

Ko tētehi o ngā pārekereke i marotiritiria rā ngā kupu Māori ‘hou’ ko *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* me ōna rauemi, papakupu hoki.

Te Marautanga o Aotearoa

Kāore ngā kupu hou o *Te Matatiki* i pihia noa ake i te whenua, engari, pēnei i ngā kōrero a Tīmoti Kāretu o runga ake, he mea āta marotiritiri i te āhua 30 – 40 tau ka taha nei. Hāunga Te Taura Whiri, ko Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga tētehi atu kaimarotiritiri i aua kupu rā, ā, ko ngā kaihuahake i te kupu Māori hou ko ngā tamariki o ngā kura reo Māori.¹⁷³

Nō te ngahurutanga tau o te 1980 te unuhanga mai o te taniwha kaitangata nei i roto i te Whare Pāremata, i reira ka whakaūngia ētehi mātāpono, ētehi ture, ētehi kaupapa here anō hoki i roto i ngā whakahaere ā-motu. Ko tētahi o ngā kawekawe o taua taniwha

¹⁷³ Hīpokina ai e Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga ngā kura katoa e noho ai te reo Māori hei reo whakaako ki te karangatanga ‘kura reo Māori’ (Māori medium education), ahakoa te huhua o ngā momo kura i te āhua o te nui o te reo e kōrerohia ana, i runga hoki i te taparere o te reo ki tētehi, ki ētehi rōpū rānei, ki te kura whānui tonu rānei, otirā i runga i ngā kaupapa a te kura. Tirohia a <https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/maori-language-in-schooling>

rā i rahurahu atu ki ngā kura, ā, ko te whakatau kia whakaputaina tētehi marautanga ā-motu hou (Stewart et al., 2017).¹⁷⁴ I reira ka nonoi ngā kura reo Māori me ngā KKM kia tuhia mai tētehi marautanga, ā, tūmeke ana, ngākau whakapuke ana hoki i te whakaaetanga o taua tono rā, ko te whakairatanga mai tērā o *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*.¹⁷⁵ He aha rā, ka whakahaua ngā kaituhituhi kia whakamāori noa i ngā whāinga paetae o te marautanga mō ngā kura o te motu whānui, arā o te *New Zealand Curriculum*.¹⁷⁶

I roto i ngā “murakehu” a te kaituhi o *He Muka*, mea whakaputa nā Te Taura Whiri mō Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa, i pērā hoki te kōrero, ka mea, “Nō te tuhinga Pākehā te hē [i maroke ai ngā marautanga e rua, i te mea koinā te mea i tuhia tuatahitia me te whakahau anō i te taha kia hāngai pū te whakamāoritanga ki tērā, kia kaua e tukua a wairua Māori kia rere, kei whenumi te tikanga o te kōrero” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1993a).

Ka āpitiria atu e ia te whakamārama, “Ehara i a Te Taura Whiri te whakamāoritanga, ehara hoki i a mātou ngā kupu hou, engari i tae mai te tono kia āta tirohia, kia whakaaetia e konei ngā kupu nā ētahi kē i kite mai” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1993a).

Heoi, hei tā te kaituhi anō, ehara i te mea i te mea i “hanga hua kore” Te Anga o TMOA, engari ia he “kōrero whai tikanga tonu.” Heoi anō tāna e whakaatu ana

ehara te whakamāori kōrero i te mahi waingōhia. I ētahi wā he māmā noa iho, engari he wā anō me uaua kē ka kitea mai tētahi kupu ataahua kotahi, me taku whakapae anō ko te whakamāoritanga o te Anga Marautanga nei e kātata ana ki te tuarua o ēnei. (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1993a)

¹⁷⁴ Ko te ‘marautanga’ hoki tētehi kupu hou e whakamahia ana hei kupu taurite mō te ‘curriculum’ (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1994, wh. 189). Ko te tikanga o te kupu ‘marau’ e ai ki *Te Wiremu*, ko *subject of talk* (Williams, 1971, wh. 181).

¹⁷⁵ Ko te Pāngarau me te Pūtaiao ngā wāhanga ako tuatahi o TMOA i tuhia.

¹⁷⁶ Hei tā Georgina Stewart mā, “For those involved in the writing groups for Pāngarau and Pūtaiao, initial excitement was tempered by the detail of the contract, which required the structure of the document to mirror the English-medium curriculum by including all its achievement objectives across eight curriculum levels. Despite these restrictions, the Māori-medium curriculum writing teams used the opportunity to advance Māori goals for te reo such as lexicon development, as part of the wider language-revitalisation movement” (Stewart et al., 2017, wh. 10).

Nō reira, ko te matū o ngā kōrero o roto o TMoA, kāore i ahu mai i roto i te Kaupapa Māori, i te mātauranga Māori rānei, engari kākahuria ana te NZC ki te reo Māori (Dale, 2016; Durie, 2001; Stewart et al., 2017). Heoi, kei kīia au he warea ki te tātā i TMoA, me kōrero rā te taunonaronā o ngā whāinga mō TMoA. Ko tētehi whāinga kia whakamanahia te reo Māori hei whakaea i ngā āhuatanga ‘tātāmi’ i a ngāi tātou i roto i ngā kura i mua. Tēnā ko tēnei, whāia ana hoki te putanga o ngā ihu o ā tātou tamariki i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te ao hurihuri e whāia ana e ngā kura katoa.

He whanake tahi te reo me te mātauranga, nō reira mehemea rā ko TMoA ko te whakamāoritanga o ngā mātauranga o te NZC, kāti me whai kupu Māori mō ōna tini ariā. Ka whati ngā kō e onokia ai ētehi kōpura kupu ki te māra nei o TMoA, puta ana ōna mano tini mō te pāngarau (Barton et al., 1995a, 1995b), te pūtaiao (Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 1992), te hangarau. Heoi, ko ētehi wāhanga ako, ki a au nei, e taea ana te ako, pēnei i te hauora (Heaton, 2018) me te tikanga ā-iwi (Dale, 2016). Ā, mai i te putanga tuatahitanga o ngā tauākī o TMoA i ngā tau 1992 – 2000, ā, i whakahouhia ai i ngā tau 2007 – 2008 kia hiato ai ngā wāhanga ako katoa.¹⁷⁷

I muri mai whakaputaina mai ai ko ngā “rauemi āwhina” e “eke ai [ngā] tamariki i ngā taumata o [ngā] wāhanga ako o te marautanga, me ngā taumata o tō tātou reo kāmeheheha” (Paulin, 2022). E hanumi ana ngā whāinga mō te reo, mō te mātauranga, taukumekume ana te mana motuhake ki te mana ōrite, te mātauranga Māori ki te mātauranga o te ao anō hoki.

¹⁷⁷ *Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa* (1994), *Pūtaiao i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (1994), *Pāngarau i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (1996), *Te Reo Māori i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (1996), *Hangarau i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (1999), *Tikanga ā-iwi i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (2000), *Ngā Toi i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (2000), me *Hauora i roto i Te Marautanga o Aotearoa - He tauira* (2000). I puta haere *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* me ōna tauākī i muri i te putanga o te *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* me ōna. E ai ki a Arohia Durie, ko te mea Toi anake kāore i mātua tuhia ki te reo Pākehā mō te kura Pākehā, ko ērā atu, ko te 80% o te *New Zealand Curriculum* i whakamāorihia mai (Durie, 2011, wh. 296).

Kei te takiwā o te 14,000 ngā “kupu mātāmua” o *PaeKupu*, ā, e “haere tonu ana” te “utaina atu” anō o ētehi. Heoi, ehara i te mea he mea ‘hou’ katoa (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).¹⁷⁸

Ko ētehi mātāpono e mahi ana i te hanganga mai o te kupu ko tēnei nā:

- E taukumekume ana te whakaaro kia ‘ōrite’ te kupu mō tētehi tūāhuatanga ki tērā o te mau tonu ki te reo ā-iwi. “He whaihua tonu ki ā tātou ākongā mēnā e ōrite ana ngā kupu motuhake o ia wāhanga ako i roto i ō tātou kura reo Māori ōrite te kupu” engari anō “e whakahautia ana ngā kura ki te mahi tahi me ngā mātanga reo o te rohe ki te āta wānanga i ngā kupu ake o te iwi e hāngai ana ki ngā wāhanga ako o te marautanga.” E rua ngā whāinga matua i konei, kia ora tonu te reo ā-iwi; kia mārama, kia tika anō hoki te reo whakaako i ngā wāhanga ako.
- Kāore e tino paingia ana ngā kupu whakawhiti, e karangahia nei e ētehi he kupu ‘mino.’ Kei te pae ipurangi PaeKupu te kōrero, “He wā ruarua noa iho, ka whakawhitia te kupu Ingarihi ki ngā oro o te reo Māori. Hei tauira, ko te ‘hāona’ hei kupu mō te ‘horn,’ ko te ‘kānawehi’ hei kupu mō te ‘canvas.’” (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).¹⁷⁹
- Nā, hāunga TMOA me ana rauemi, tērā hoki ngā kupu i puta mai i ngā whakamātautau i whakamāorihia mai mai i te tau 2002 i tau mai ai a NCEA.¹⁸⁰ Nō mua atu i tērā i whakamāorihia ai ngā whakamātautau pāngarau, pūtaiao hoki i raro i te Kura Tiwhikete. Heoi, i raro i a NCEA, e taea ana e te kura te tono kia whakamāorihia mai ngā whakamātautau, heoi anō te uauatanga o tērā, ko ngā kupu mō ngā whenu o te pūtaiao ki te Taumata 6 – 8 o TMOA, kāore i roto i Te Reo Pūtaiao, nō reira he nui ngā kupu i tupurangi noa, i matapōkere noa te

¹⁷⁸ Ko ngā papakupu o ngā wāhanga ako e waru ēnei kua puta i roto i ngā tau, ā, nō te tau 2018 i whakairihia ai ki *PaeKupu: Te Reo Pāngarau* (2004, 2010), *Te Reo Pūtaiao* (2009), *Te Papakupu o Te Reo Matatini* (2018), *Te Reo o Ngā Toi* (2018), *Te Reo Hangarau* (2022), *Te Papakupu o Te Tikanga ā-Iwi* (2023), *Te Reo Hauora* (2024).

¹⁷⁹ Ehara tēnei i te āhuatanga hou, engari ia kua kōrero kētia e Ray Harlow (1993, 2003a, 2003b, 2005), Keegan (2000, 2005) me Te Murumāra.

¹⁸⁰ Tērā tana ingoa Māori ko ‘Ngā Taumata Mātāuaranga ā-Motu ka Taea,’ engari tino kore nei tēnei karangatanga i roto i ngā kura Māori.

whakamāorihia mai e te kaiwhakamāori nā Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga i tohu i raro i ngā tikanga muna o te kirimana.

I mua i te whakarauoratanga reo Māori

Ahako te takoto atu o te kupu 'tuakiri' ki roto o te papakupu a *Te Wiremu*, ā, ko ōna take i reira nō roto ake o *Ngā Moteatea*, ruarua noa iho ngā makenu o te 'tuakiri' i roto i te reo Māori o mua atu i ngā papakupu hou nei, pēnei i ā *Te Taura Whiri*, arā, i *Te Matatiki*, me ō muri mai, arā, me *[T]e Pātaka Kupu*. Inā hoki, tē ai he tūponotanga ki te 'tuakiri' i roto i *Te Paipera Tapu*.

Me paku whakamārama ake i konei, nōku i tiro tiro i *Ngā Kohikohinga Niupepa* (New Zealand Digital Library, n.d.), e 39 ngā tūponotanga atu ki te kupu 'tuakiri,' heoi, ko te nuinga noa atu kitea ana i runga i te wairua o te kupu 'tūākiri' kē, arā, ko te 'taotūtanga'.¹⁸¹ I te korenga o te tohutō i te wā i tuhia ai aua niupepa i roto i ngā tuhinga o ngā tau atu ki te 1932 (New Zealand Digital Library, n.d.), kāore i rerekē ake te takoto o 'tuakiri' me 'tūākiri,' hāunga anō tā te kaituhi mōhio ki tāna i tuhi ai, me tā te kaipānui mārama ki tāna i pānui ai i runga i te wairua o te korero.¹⁸²

Pērā hoki i ngā kōrero o te Whare Pāremata i te wā i a Āpirana Ngata mā, kotahi noa iho te tūponotanga atu ki te 'tuakiri,' engari e kōrerohia ana ngā hōia i hoki 'tūākiri' mai i Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao.¹⁸³

Hoki ana ki ngā niupepa, e rua anō ngā tānga o te kupu 'tuakiri,' e kōrerohia ai te 'pakitara o te whare.' Ā, kotahi noa iho nei te takotoranga o te kupu 'tuakiri' i roto i e anga atu ana te wairua ki te 'kiri,' 'personality' nei, ā, koia tērā ko te rerenga korero i tauratia i roto o *Te Wiremu*.

¹⁸¹ E 34 ngā niupepa Māori i tāngia i waenga i ngā tau 1842-1932 kei te Kohikohinga Niupepa Māori i whakaemihia e te Alexander Turnbull Library. Ko te nuinga (70%) kei te reo Māori, ā, ko ērā atu kei te reorua (27%), ā, ko te toenga (āhua 3%) kei te reo Pākehā. Ko ngā kaupapa matua o ngā niupepa nei: ko te 'hāpainga kāwanatanga,' ko ngā 'pānui a ngā iwi Māori,' ko ngā 'kupu whakapono o ngā hāhi.

¹⁸² Ko te tau 1932 tērā i whakaputaina ai te mea whakamutunga o ngā niupepa o roto i ngā Kohikohinga Niupepa Maori.

¹⁸³ Ko ngā kōrero o te Whare Pāremata kei <https://atojs.natlib.govt.nz/>.

Nō reira, e kitea ana te āhua taharangi o te kupu 'tuakiri' i roto i ngā tuhinga tawhito. Engari tae rawa mai ki te manotau hou, kāore i ārikarika te kaha kōrerohia o te 'tuakiri'.

Kei tua mai, kei tua atu rānei o te kiri?

I tā Natalie Coates (2008) haehae i tā te ture whakatau i ngā tohu e kīia ai te tangata he Māori, ka toro ia ki te kupu 'tuakiri' me te kī ake;

Even the Māori word for identity itself, *tuakiri*, somewhat reflects the complex nature of determining a Māori identity. According to *Te Aka*, Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index (2005, wh. 178, 570) the word *tua* translates as 'beyond' whereas the word *kiri* is synonymous with the Pākehā word 'skin.' *Tuakiri* thus literally translates as that which extends beyond the skin. This term aptly conveys the expansive terrain involved in the shaping of an identity. Given that determining a Māori identity therefore does not seem to be a straightforward issue, questions arise as to whether there are parameters of a Māori identity and if so, what are they? (Coates, 2008, wh. 2)

Hāunga rā nga 'tohu' o te 'Māoritanga,' o te 'tuakiri Māori' rānei, ko te mea i mahue i a ia e pā ana ki te kupu 'tua,' ko te kī ake, tērā tētehi mea te noho ki 'tua atu' o te kiri, tērā rānei te noho ki 'tua mai' o te kiri. Ko tētehi o ngā wāhanga o tā Hīrini Moko Mead (2003) pukapuka mō te tikanga Māori, ko te upoko e kīia nei ko *Te Tuakiri, Te Whenua: Identity and Land*. Hei tāna, kei 'tua atu,' arā, kei 'waho atu' o te kiri o te tangata ngā āhuetanga e tangata ai ia, arā, ko ōna maunga, ko ōna awa, ko ōna roto, ko ōna moana e whakawhenua nei i te tangata, e takahia nei e te tangata, e kauria nei e te tangata, e hoea nei e te tangata;

Tua means to be on the farther side of something, and *kiri* is skin. *Tuakiri* probably refers to the elements away from the body that help define the identity and personality of a person. That far side is probably the land, the mountains, rivers, lakes, the ocean front, the islands and the sea, all of which ground a personality to a place. (wh. 290)

Heoi, e mahara ake ana ahau ko ngā āhuetanga ērā o 'tua' i te 'kiri,' arā, ko ērā i ahū mai i a Hineroto, i a Tamaroto. Ko ngā āhuetanga ērā e whakaatahia ai a roto o te ngākau, o te puku, o te manawa rānei (pērā i tā ngā kupu nei whakaatu i ngā kare ā-roto, i ngā āhuetanga rānei o Hineroto, o Tamaroto, i a *kiriweti*, i a *kiri kawa*, i a *kiri wera*, i a *ngākau māhaki*, i a *pukukata*, i a *pukutākaro*, i a *manawanui*, i a *manawa kai tūtae*).

Koia au e mea nei ko te 'tuakiri' he anga ki 'tua mai' o te kiri, ki roto ake o te tangata. Inā hoki, mehemea e tirohia ana te tangata e tētehi atu, ko 'tua atu o tana kiri, ko roto i a ia, arā, ko ngā āhuetanga o roto i te 'puku,' i te 'ngākau,' i te 'manawa.' He wā tōna kei te kiri tonu te āhua o te tangata e kitea ana, pēnei i te kiriweti nei.

Ākuanei pea i pērā ai ngā whakaaro o Hīrini Moko Mead rāua ko Natalie Coates, nā te mea koia tērā ko te āhua o mua, he whakaahua i te tangata, he whakarite i te tangata ki ngā tohu o ōna maunga, o ōna awa, o ōna tāhuna, he whakaatu rānei i te ora o te tangata i ōna maunga, i ōna wai, ōna tāhuna, pēnei i tā ēnei whakataukī e whakaatu nei:

Hokia ō maunga, kia purea ai koe e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea.

Tōku awa koiora me ōna piko he kura tangihia nō te mātāmuri¹⁸⁴.

Ko ngā pāpaka o Rangatauā.

Ki Tokaanu, ki te wai tuku kiri o te iwi.

Ehara tēnei i te maunga nekeneke, he maunga tū tonu.

Ko au te awa, ko te awa, ko au.

Kāore au i te kī ake, kua kore tērā āhua ināianei. Engari, e mau ana au ki te whakaaro, ehara tērā i te aronga o te kupu 'tuakiri' i tana whakamahinga o nāianei. Ki taku titiro, mā te kupu 'tuakiri' e tahuri whakaroto kē ai ngā whakaaro o te tangata ki a ia anō, me ngā āhuetanga o roto i a ia, me tōna mana ake.

Ko tētehi atu o ngā tohu kāore te kupu 'tuakiri' i te aro ki te taiao o te tangata ko tā *Te Wiremu* tohu i te ōrite o te 'tuakiri,' o te 'kiri' (Williams, 1971). Ā, huri rawa te titiro ki te tikanga o 'kiri,' kitea atu ana ko te kupu tērā e kōrero ai te tangata mōna anō, arā, ko 'self' me 'person.' Ka mutu, e kitea nuitia nei i roto i ngā waiata mōteatea e korero ai te kaitito mōna anō me te mea e karekare ana a roto o te ngākau, pēnei i te tauira kōrero

¹⁸⁴ Nō te waiata a Tāwhiao nōna e titiro iho ana ki te riu o Waikato i a ia e pūrere ana ki Te Rohe Pōtae o Maniapoto.

nei: 'E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga ko taku *kiri* māngi te titiro mai nā (Ngā Mōteatea i roto i a Williams, 1971, wh. 119).

Tērā te mahi a te kupu hou nā Te Taura Whiri tonu i hanga, ko *kiritau*, ko *kiritaki*, ko *kiriāhua*, katoa e aro ana ki te tangata ake, kaua ki te taiao o tua atu o te kiri tangata.

E ai ki a Te Wharehuia Milroy i te pātaitanga atu ōna, he kupu hou rānei, he kupu tawhito rānei te kupu 'tuakiri,' pēnei ana tana whakahoki;

Kua rerekē pea te whakamahi i ēnei rā, kei te kōrero *personality* ināiane. Engari kua rerekē pea te whakamahi[a] o te *tuakiri* o te tangata nei. He āhua kupu 'wairua' kē hoki i tōna wā, i te wā e whakamahia ana. Ki a au rā, i ērā wā he āhua o te taha wairua tēnei, ā-wairua rānei i roto i te tangata. He uaua ki te whaiwhai i tēnei mea nā te [mea] kāre e pono au whakaae ana ki te whaiwhai pērātia ētahi o ngā kupu nei... ki tōku whakaaro, ko te *tuakiri*, ko te tua o tētahi mea kei waho i tōu kiri, i tōu tinana, kāore i te kitea, engari kei te rangona. Nā reira ko tōu āhua tērā. Nā te mea e rua ngā aronga o te kupu āhua, ko tētahi ko te hanga kite atu nei ināiane, ko tētahi ko roto, te mea kāore i te kitea, engari kei te rongo, nā, kei roto i a koe e *tuakiri*. Koinā te mea e kōrero nei i tēnei wā, ko te mea o roto, kāore i te kite[a] atu engari kei te rangona. (W. Smith, 2012, wh. 155)

Hei tā Te Wharehuia (He mea kite i roto i a Smith, 2012, wh. 155), ko te whakamārama i roto o *Te Wiremu*, ko 'personality,' kāore i te tino hāngai, engari ia he mea kawē te aronga o te kupu nei ki tētehi taunga kē atu. Inā hoki, he "āhua kupu 'wairua' te kupu tuakiri i tōna wā" (wh. 155). Waihoki, e rua kē ngā aronga o te kupu 'tuakiri,' kei waho, kei roto hoki o te tangata, engari e rua, e rua, kāore i te kitea, kei te rangona noatia.

Ko ngā whakamārama reo Māori, āhua roa ake hoki o *[T]e Pātaka Kupu*, o *PaeKupu* hoki, kei te whai kē i te wairua o te kupu 'tuakiri' 'hou,' arā, ko 'identity,'

Kei ngā whakamārama o *[T]e Pātaka Kupu* rāua ko *PaeKupu* ētehi anō tohu ko te kupu 'tuakiri' e hāngai ana ki roto ake i a ia. Ko *[T]e Pātaka Kupu* te papakupu Māori tuatahi (mā te pakeke) i tuhia katoatia ki te reo Māori. Ko *PaeKupu* te pae ipurangi e whata nei ngā kupu e hāngai ana ki *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*.

Ko ngā whakamārama tuatahi, tuarua hoki kei *[T]e Pātaka Kupu* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008) e 'ōrite' ana te wairua ki ngā whakamārama e rua a Wiremu (Williams, 1971) mō 'tuakiri.' Ko te tuatoru ia, ko te mea 'hou' o ngā tikanga, i 'tōia' rā e Te Taura

Whiri te tikanga kia ōrite ki te kupu 'identity,' arā, ko "[n]gā āhukatanga motuhake e tohu ana ko wai te tangata, te huinga tāngata rānei" (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008)

Kei tā *PaeKupu* whakamārama hoki te kōrero mō ngā 'āhukatanga o te tangata e kīia ai ia he tangata motuhake.' Ka tāpirihia he kōrero mō ētehi o aua āhukatanga, arā, ko tana 'whakapapa,' ko tana 'reo ūkaipō,' ko ana 'whanonga,' ana 'whakapono,' ana 'uara,' ana 'tikanga,' me te 'āhua o tana tinana' (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).

Hāunga rā te 'tuakiri' o te tangata, tērā hoki ngā whakamārama mō te 'tuakiri' kei [T]e *Pātaka Kupu* rāua tahi ko *PaeKupu* e aro ana ki te 'huinga tāngata' pēnei i te tuakiri o te takatāpui, o te hunga turi, o tētehi iwi rānei. Tāpiri atu ki tērā, oti ana i a Ryan (2012) ētehi atu karangatanga, pēnei i te 'tūākiri ā whenua,' te 'tūākiri ahurea,' me te 'tūākiri ngāi tāua' (**Apitihanga 1: Te kupu 'tuakiri' i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori**, wh. 305).

Te kupu 'tuakiri': I haere 'maro-kore' mai rānei?

Nō Rīhari rāua ko Nina Benton i kōrero rā mō ngā mahi whakarauora i te reo Māori i waenga i ngā tau 1989 me 1999 (Benton & Benton, 2001), ka kōrerohia e rāua te whāinga o Te Puni Kōkiri e pā ana ki reo Māori i te tau 1998 – ko tētehi o aua whāinga rā kia tere ake te kūmea mai o te reo Māori ki roto o te manotau hou,¹⁸⁵ ā, ko tētehi o ana rautaki ko te whakarewatanga, ko te whakaterenga hoki o ngā mahi hanga kupu Māori.¹⁸⁶

Engari, hei tā rāua, ko te iwi Māori he 'tangata whenua,' ā, kei roto tērā āhua i tō tātou reo, i ā tātou tikanga. Nō reira me e whakarauorahia ana te reo me whakarauora hoki te aho tāngaengae ki te whenua me ngā tikanga i ahu mai i reira;

Maori [...] are Tangata whenua, 'people of the land'; the ideology of language has come to the fore after the loss of both, but it is perhaps the land which is more important in defining *identity*. Thus, to succeed, a strategy aimed at restoring 'language in culture' may also have to include 'language with the land' (Benton & Benton, 2001, wh. 444)

¹⁸⁵ Arā, "increase the rate at which the language is modernised (Benton & Benton, 2001, wh. 443).

¹⁸⁶ Arā, "the development and implementation of Maori language corpus activities" (Benton & Benton, 2001, wh. 444).

Kāti, ka toko ake te whakaaro ki te reo i hua ake i TMOA, he whakamāoritanga noa nō ngā mātauranga ehara nō konei taketake ake, i mātua tuhia hoki ki te reo Pākehā.

Ka whakatūpato hoki a Rīhari rāua ko Nina, kei waiho noa ko te reo Māori hei ataarangi mō te reo Pākehā i runga i te whakaaro (pōhēhē), mā te hanga kupu hou i te whakawhitinga noa mai o te kupu Pākehā ka kākahuria ai ki te kupu Māori e ‘urutapu’ ai te reo Māori;

This taking account of fundamentals, which does not need to degenerate into fundamentalism or atavism, becomes even more important with the government’s plan to emphasise corpus planning to modernise the language. Such a policy could well lead to Maori’s becoming a calque of English, if the puristic policy followed since its inception by the Maori Language Commission is continued (Benton & Benton, 2001, wh. 444).

Hei tā rāua anō, nā whai anō pea i kore ai a kui, a koro mā e mārāma ki te reo o ngā mokopuna, ko tētehi he kōrero i te reo o te ‘whenua,’ ko tērā atu he kōrero i te reo o te ‘kura,’ otirā o te papakupu (Benton & Benton, 2001).

Arā kē ngā tini kupu i uru mai ki te reo Māori mai i te wā i ū tuatahi mai a tauwiwi, pēnei i te ‘mīere’ (Benton & Benton, 2001), arā, ka “whai tonu i te whakahua Pākehā engari ko ngā pū [ka] hāngai ki ō te reo Māori pū” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1995).¹⁸⁷ Hei tā Rīhari rāua ko Nina Benton, nā taua huarahi hanga kupu o mua i ū tonu ai te mana o te kupu Māori ‘taketake,’ engari ko te whai a Te Taura Whiri kia naomia atu ko “ngā kupu o roto ake i te reo kua kore nei i rangona, ka whakahāngai ki te kupu [Pākehā] hou e kimihia ana” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992b),¹⁸⁸ he huarahi e āta urutomokia ai Te Whare o te Reo Māori kia rawekehia ai tōna tikanga e te kupu Pākehā;

This [Borrowing] has enabled the semantic integrity of indigenous Maori vocabulary to be maintained. However, the [Māori Language] Commission has brought a Trojan horse into the semantic citadel, and in the name of protecting the purity of the language in effect hastened its colonisation. (Benton & Benton, 2001)

¹⁸⁷ E kīia ana tēnei ko te ‘borrowing.’

¹⁸⁸ Ko te ‘calque’ tēnei e kōrerohia nei.

I roto anō hoki o Te Taura Whiri ēnei whakaaro e kaumingomingo ana. Inā te kōrero o roto o *He Muka* i te tau 1992;

Ko tētahi anō wāhanga o tātou kei te kī he aha te hē o te whātoro atu i te kupu a te Pākehā, ka huri hei kupu Maori pērā i te wā i ō tātou kaumātua? (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992b)

Ā, e pēnei ana hoki ngā kōrero a Te Haumihiata Mason mō te hanga papakupu Māori hou;¹⁸⁹

I whakaarahia ake anō te whakaaro kia tuhia he papakupu Māori hou, me te noho mai o ngā whakamārama o te kupu ki te reo Māori, tae atu hoki ki te whakatauiria i te āhua o te whakamahi i te kupu. Katoa me tuhi ki te reo Māori, e taea ai e te tangata te ako i te reo Māori ki te reo Māori. Kua roa rawa e noho mai ana ko te reo Pākehā hei huarahi atu ki te reo Māori (Mason, 1998)

Tēnā, kia āta whewherahia ētehi āhuatanga o te noho o te reo Pākehā hei ‘huarahi’ atu ki te reo Māori.

He hōiho nā Toroi

Tērā te whakaritea o te kākahu i te kupu Pākehā ki te kupu Māori, pēnei i ‘tuakiri,’ i ‘ohaoha’ hoki (Tirohia a upoko 6), ki te hōiho a Toroi, ki te wūruhi rānei kua kākahuria ki te kiri hipi. Ehara tēnei i te kōrero hou: hei tā ētehi e pērā ana te marautanga pāngarau (Barton & Fairhall, 1995; McMurchy-Pilkington & Trinick, 2002).¹⁹⁰ Inā hoki, ahakoa pea kei te kōrero Māori mō ngā mahi tātai, kei te ‘whakamāori’ noatia te ‘whakaaro Pākehā’;

The creation of Maori mathematical discourse has moved the language towards English modes and conventions. This can be seen as having some insidious implications for new and young speakers of Maori: there is a fine line between linguistic evolution and interference of another language. True bilinguals have two conceptual pathways available - there is a danger that new Maori speakers will still only have one. (Barton et al., 1998, wh. 7)

¹⁸⁹ E kōrero ana a Te Haumihiata mō te papakupu reo Māori katoa, mō *He Pātaka Kupu*, nō te tau 2008 i puta ai. Tirohia ngā kōrero (Mason, 1998, 2003), Black (2003), Eria (2008)

¹⁹⁰ Karangahia ai te wāhanga ako o Te Marautanga o Aotearoa ko te ‘pāngarau,’ he kupu Māori hou (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, 1996, wh. 206). Whakamahi ai a Bill Barton rāua ko Uenuku Fairhall i te kupu ‘tātai,’ he kupu Māori tawhito.

Ā, ko te āta tiki atu i te kupu, i te kōrero reo Pākehā tētehi mate nui e āhua ngoikore haere ai te whakaaro Māori, ka rangatira kē ko te whakaaro Pākehā;

[F]urther corruption arises from the fact that mathematics discourse is totally translated from English: none of school mathematics arises from within Maori itself. This has led to, for example:

- an inability to recognise English idiom, or, perhaps, too great a readiness to translate idiom rather than meaning;
- an unwillingness, or inability, to utilise those aspects of Maori language which permit the expression of ideas which cannot be expressed in English. (Barton et al., 1998, wh. 7)

Ki a au nei, ko te tangata whenua haere o te kupu 'tuakiri' ko tētehi anō o ngā tohu kua tinana te kōrero o runga: kua kore i mōhiotia ko te 'tuakiri' he kupu i ahu mai i roto i te reo Pākehā me ōna whakapapa, ōna momo whakaaro, tirohanga hoki ki te ao. Kua kore kē i whakaaro ki ngā taonga o roto ake o te reo Māori hei whakatutuki i te 'mahi' a te kupu 'tuakiri': ko te 'mana,' ko te 'tūrangawaewae,' ko te 'whakapapa,' ko te 'pepeha,' ko te 'ngeri,' tae atu ki ngā āhuatanga o tua atu i te reo, pēnei i te moko.

Hāunga anō te reo, arā hoki ngā urutomokanga a te hōiho a Toroi. Hei tā Ani Mikaere, he mea urutomo ā tātou pūrākau e te 'hōiho' nei, arā, e ngā mātāpono Karaitiana, ā, ka noho tonu te pūrākau hei kauwaka mō aua mātāpono, heke iho, heke iho, me tō tātou whakaaro, whakapono, pōhēhē, he mātāpono Māori kē (Mikaere, 2017; He mea kite i roto i a Lee-Morgan, 2019, wh. 152). Ā, he mea whakarite hoki ngā kura Māori o roto i ngā kāinga, i ngā pā o mua ki te 'hōiho a Toroi,' mō runga i tana whakaū i te tikanga Pākehā ki aua kāinga rā (Smith, 1985, wh. 3-10; He mea kite i roto i a Durie, 2001, wh. 235).

He pipiwharauoa

Arā hoki ngā tauira o te ao Māori mō te 'hōiho a Toroi.' Ko tētehi ko te whakawhānau a te pipiwharauoa i tana hua ki te kōhanga o te riroriro, kia noho tahi i waenga i ngā hua o te riroriro. Paopao rawa mai ngā pīpī, panahia atu ana ngā pīpī riroriro e te mea pipiwharauoa. Kātahi ka whāngaihia te pipiwharauoa e ngā kātua riroriro nei, kāore nei i te mōhio ehara tērā i tā rāua pīpī.

Kei konei au e whiriwhiri whakaaro ana mō te kupu Māori ‘hou,’ me mātua ‘pana atu’ e ia tētehi atu kupu, tētehi atu ariā, kia pai ai te manaakihia mai ōna. Ko te kupu ‘tuakiri’ he ‘pana’ atu i ētehi atu āhuetanga o te reo, o te tikanga Māori hoki e mōhiotia ai ‘nō whea, nā wai’.

He taru tawhiti

Tērā te whakaritea o te āta whakauruhia mai o te kupu Pākehā ki te ‘taru tawhiti,’ arā, ki te tarutaru, ki te kararehe, ki ngā momo mate i āta kawea mai, i tūpono noa mai rānei te hikihaiki mai i rāwāhi. Te taenga mai o ētehi, mate urutā ana Te aitanga-a-Tāne, a-Tangaroa, a-Punga, a-Tiki anō hoki. Heoi, ko ētehi, i te taunga mai, kāore pea e āta kitea atu te parekura nui.

Heoi, ko aua kupu hoki kei te tīni i te taiao whānui o te reo. Hei tā Ray Harlow, nōna i tūhura i ētehi āhuetanga o te reo Māori i te tau 1979 (i mua i te tū mai o Te Taura Whiri) i tonoa rā e ia ētehi hoa tokowaru nō ngā iwi kē o Te Ika-ā-Māui kia whakakī i te rārangi Swadesh-200, ā, kāore he mea kotahi i kore ai he kupu he mea āta whakawhiti mai i te reo Pākehā (Harlow, 2003, wh. 151).¹⁹¹

Nā, e kīia ana te kōrero mō te reo Pākehā, ko tētehi o ngā take i nui ai tana mana, ko te korenga ōna i ‘urutapu,’ engari ia i whakaae kia whakawhiti atu ētehi tini kupu nō reo kē hei kupu Pākehā (Crystal, 2003a). Heoi anō, ko te urutomo mai o te kupu, o te ariā, otirā o te whakaaro Pākehā, kāore e noho torohū noa iho, kāore e nohopuku noa iho, engari ko ētehi he ‘taru tawhiti’ ka ururua, ko ngā kupu Māori te papa.

¹⁹¹ Ko te Swadesh-200 he rārangi kupu mō ētehi ariā, e ai te kōrero, e whai kupu ana i roto i ngā reo katoa. I te tīmatanga e 200 ngā kupu o te rārangi, ā, nā wai rā, ka whakahekengia ki te 100. E kīia ana ngā kupu/ariā ko ngā mea kāore e kaha te pariparingia e te tai o reo kē, engari ia he kupu ‘toka-tū-moana.’ He mea hanga mai te rārangi nei nā Morris Swadesh i te puku o te rautau 1900 kia pai ai te whakatauritehia atu o ētehi reo. Tirohia a <https://academia-lab.com/encyclopedia/swadesh-list/>.

E ai ki a Ray Harlow, i ngā rārangi kupu Māori e waru, i waenga i te rua me te 18 o ngā kupu i whakawhiti mai i te reo Pākehā, pēnei i te *hēki*, te *mīti*, te *putiputi*, me te *kaute*. He mea kōrero ā-waha atu nā Rihari Benton ki a Ray Harlow, tāna i whakapae ai, arā, ko te tino rerekē o ngā mita o te reo Māori ko te rerekē o te maha o ngā kupu whakawhiti.

Kāore i haere 'maro-kore' mai

Ākuanei e pōhēhētia ana he haere 'maro-kore'¹⁹² noa mai te kupu reo Pākehā ki roto i te reo Maori, arā, mā te paku 'whakawhānui' noa iho i te tikanga o tētehi kupu e pai ai te korowaitia o tētehi anō tikanga ki te kupu kotahi.¹⁹³ Engari ko te reo Pākehā, he reo whakatuanui, koirā hoki i eke ai hei reo mō te ao hurihuri nei (Crystal, 2003a).

Hei tā Ray Harlow (2003), nōna e kōrero ana mō te whakawhitinga mai o ngā kupu Pākehā i 'haere marokore' mai;

[A]ll languages, despite superficial differences in structure, are capable of expressing the same range of structural meanings; what some language may lack in, say, complexity of inflectional morphology is made up for by exploitation of other structural devices, such as particles or syntactically significant word order. In terms of their vocabularies, they all provide equally appropriate resources for their speakers to configure their world and communicate about it, and are all equally capable of adapting to whatever new demands are placed upon them. (Harlow, 2003, wh. 145)

Ehara i te mea e kī ana ia kia kua ētehi kupu e tīkina atu i reo kē, engari kia paparuatia e au tāna i kī ai: kei ia reo ōna anō kōiwi, kikokiko, ioio e ora ai taua reo, ahakoa pea ōna āhuetanga i rerekē ai i reo kē. Ehara i te mea ko te puna kupu anake kei te tohu i te 'pakari' o te reo.

Ka toro a Ray Harlow ki ngā ingoa o te wiki, o ngā marama rānei, kāore e pōhēhēngia he kupu Māori tūturu nō roto i ngā tikanga o te ao Māori, engari waiho a 'January' kia kuhu mai ko 'Hānuere,' ā, ko te tikanga o te kupu 'Kohitātea,' ka motuhake tonu.¹⁹⁴

He manga wai koia kia whitikia?

Hei tā Vini I Olsen-Reeder mō te "kōwhiri reo" a te tangata reo rua, "Ki te whakaarohia te manga, kua mau pea tātou ki te taha reo Pākehā o taua manga, kua kore

¹⁹² Kīia ai te kōrero mō te wahine ka moe i te tangata nō hapū kē: "Haere atu te wahine, haere marokore." Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2001, wh. 52).

¹⁹³ Tirohia a whārangi 182 mō ngā tikanga hanga kupu Māori hou. Tirohia hoki a Degani (2012), Harlow (1993, 2003 a, 2003b) me Keegan (2005).

¹⁹⁴ I raro i Te Taura Whiri ka whakauruhia mai anō ētehi ingoa mō ngā marama, ngā kaupeka o te tau nō roto taketake ake i a Tūhoe (Harlow, 1993, wh. 102; 2003, wh. 154). Heoi, nō ngā tau tata nei i hoki anō ai ētehi o tātou ki te kī ake, kāore i tika kia kīia ko Kohitātea hei ingoa Māori mō 'January,' nā te mea he rerekē anō te āhua o te rere o te wā, arā, he tikanga kē ērā i ahu mai i Ingarangi me Ūropi ka puta ko tā rātou maramataka, i tīkina rā mō ngā whakahaere o te ao hurihuri nei, engari he tikanga kē ā tātou mō te taka o te wā.

e mōhio me pēhea rā e whiti atu ai ki te taha reo Māori.” (Vini Olsen-Reeder, 2017, wh. 245).

Engari e whai ana tēnei i te āhua o te whakawhiti i tētehi kupu mai i tētehi reo ki reo kē. Ko tā Jillian Tipene i rangahau ai ko te āhua o te whakawhiti o te kōrero tapu ki reo kē. Ka toro ia ki ngā kupu a Raukura Roa, nāna te kī, ko te whakawhiti i tētehi kōrero ki roto ki tētehi reo kē he mahi uaua, ā, hāunga te whakawhiti reo, he whakawhiti ki roto o tikanga kē, otirā ki tētehi ao kē me ōna hītōria;

“[Translation is] a complex process whose purpose is to attempt to cross linguistic, cultural and, often, historical boundaries in such a way as to open up . . . meanings and significances of texts written in one language to audiences who are not well positioned to fully appreciate the original and therefore require some form of representation of that original text in another language” (Roa, 2003, wh. 5; He mea kite i roto i a Tipene, 2013, wh. 22).

Nō reira, ko te toko ake o te pātai: He manga wai koia tēnei kia whitikia?

This raises questions relating to the notion of cultural transferability. If texts written in different languages are predicated on different cultural assumptions, such a view of translation is untenable since “the worlds in which the original and its translation are produced are inevitably different worlds” and therefore “exact reproduction is impossible” (Bassnett, 1997, wh. 1; He mea kite i roto i a Tipene, 2013,).

Hei tā Jillian Tipene: Kāo, e kore e taea te āta whakawhiti atu. Ko te whakaaro mō te whakawhiti noa mai i tētehi reo ki reo kē me te ‘ōrite’ o te wairua he ‘pōhēhē’ noa tērā.¹⁹⁵

Inā hoki, i roto anō i te whakawhitinga, e wetekina ana, e haehaetia ana, e kārawarawatia ana, kātahi ka tuituia, ka tūhonohonotia, ka pokepokea, ka whakawhaiāhuatia mai anō (Bassnett, 2014).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Hei tā Snell Hornby, 1988, wh. 13-22, “illusion of equivalence” (He mea kite i roto i a Tipene, 2014, wh. 13)

¹⁹⁶ Hei tā Bassnet (2014), “There can never be sameness in translation, for as a text moves across languages, so it is decoded and re-encoded, dismembered and re-membered, reshaped and remade into a new original.”

Heoi, hei āpiti ki te whakaaro mō te ‘whakawhiti’ ‘marokore’ mai o te kupu, ko tā Nick Thieberger i whakatūpato ai kei ‘muruā’ noatia te tikanga o te kupu, kei pōkia rānei te wairua o te kupu, he kaha rawa pea nō tētehi reo, ā, i tōna mutunga atu ka riro mā te reo kaha e whakamārama ngā tikanga o ngā kupu o tērā atu reo.¹⁹⁷ E kōrero ana a Nick mō tana mahitahi ki tētahi o ngā iwi o Vanuatu ki te kohi i nga kupu o tō rātou reo, te reo Nafsan, hei whakapapakupu mā rātou (Te Ipukarea, 2022). Ahakoa te whai o te iwi mā roto atu o te mahi papakupu e tiakina ai tō rātou reo, me te whaiwhakaaro o Nick, kei urutomo te reo Pākehā ki ngā tikanga o ngā kupu o te papakupu, ko te pātai ia, ka pēwhea e kore ai mehemea ka riro mā te reo Pākehā te tikanga o ngā kupu Nafsan e whakamārama ki ōna uri?

He whare herehere, he kupenga

Kei te hua ake te pātai he aha rā te take o te kupu ‘tuakiri,’ mehemea rānei kei a tātou kē ā tātou kupu e kawē nei i te wairua o taua wairua, i taua ariā, pēnei i ‘whakapapa,’ i ‘tūrangawaewae’ me ‘mana.’

Ko tā Anna Wierzbicka, he momo kupenga te reo Pākehā e mau ai ō tātou hinengaro, ō tātou whakaaro.

Hei tā Anna, ko te tuhituhi i te tikanga o te kupu ki te papakupu, he nui noa atu i te whakamoe noa iho i taua kupu ki te kupu Pākehā (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 140).¹⁹⁸ He mea whakatauirā mai nāna te kākahuria o ngā whakaaro o te iwi Karuk mō ngā momo takotoranga o te nuku o te whenua ki te whakamārama Ingarihi (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 140).¹⁹⁹ Nā whai anō pea i puta ai te kōrero a ētehi pākeke i tupu mai i roto i taua reo rā, ahakoa e kōrero Māori ana ngā tamariki o ngā kura Māori, e kōrero ana mō ngā ariā me ngā mātāpono o te reo, o te ao Pākehā (Hinton, 2001, wh. 16; he mea kite i roto i a Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 139).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ I kōrero a Nick Thieberger mō te ‘etymo-larceny,’ mō te ‘semantic trespass’ hoki.

¹⁹⁸ Hei tā Anna Wierzbicka, “Semantic documentation cannot be reduced to collecting words and pairing them with putative English equivalents.”

¹⁹⁹ “...these glosses impose English meanings on the portrayal of Karuk ethno-topography.”

²⁰⁰ “It is reported that some native Māori speakers say the same thing of Māori children being educated in immersion programs: ‘They speak Māori, but they just spout English concepts.’”

Te taha wairua o te kupu

Tērā anō ngā kōrero mō ngā whakamārama i roto i a *Te Wiremu*, kāore e taea te ‘taha wairua’ o te kupu te whakamārama ki te reo Pākehā, pēnei i ngā kōrero a Te Haumihiata mō te rerekē o te tikanga o ngā kupu ‘moe’ me ‘tahakura’ i te reo Māori²⁰¹ (Te Ipukarea, 2017b). Ka kīia e *Te Wiremu*, ko te ‘sleep’ te kupu ‘moe.’ Me te aha, hua ake ana te whakaaro i konei mō te ‘tāhanga’ o te kupu e takoto mātao ana i roto i te papakupu (ānō he tūpāpaku), kāore nei e ‘manaakitia’ e te ‘renarena o te ahi’²⁰², arā, e te ngutu tāngata e ngutungutu ahi ana. Engari, me pēwhea hoki? Ki te kore te tangata e ako ana i te reo e whai wāhi ki te noho ki ngā rekereke o te hunga pēnei i a Te Wharehuia, ā, i te ruarua hoki o ngā taura o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i roto i ngā tuhinga tawhito, ka riro kē mā te papakupu anō ia e ako, ā, ko tā te papakupu e homai ai ko tētehi kupu Pākehā kotahi, ko ‘personality,’ ko ‘identity’ rānei hei ariā.

Te whakapapa o te kupu ‘identity’

Ko te kupu ‘identity’ tētehi o ngā kupu i tohungia rā he ‘kupu hirahira’ (Williams, 1983), arā, he kupu e kōrerohia ai ngā āhuetanga hirahira o te ao²⁰³. E tika ana kia kīia ake, ko ngā kupu ‘hirahira’ nei, he kupu reo Pākehā, nō te ‘ao Pākehā,’ arā, e ngā iwi kōrero Pākehā.

Ko te reo Pākehā tērā kua toro ana kāwai ki ngā tai e whā (Crystal, 2003b), ā, kua tātū tētehi whakaaro koia tonu pea te reo mātāmua hei punga mō ētehi katoa o ngā reo me

²⁰¹ E kōrero ana a Te Haumihiata Mason mō tana rangahau i te whakapapa o te ingoa o tērā o te tipua wahine nei, o Queen Mab, nō roto i te whakaari a Wiremu Hakipea, i a *Romeo rāua ko Hurieta*. He mea whakamāori nā Te Haumihiata taua whakaari, arā, hei tāna, “Ko te mea nui kē kia tōia mai te whakaari ki te ao Māori o mua, kua te ao Māori o nāianei.” Whakatau ana a Te Haumihiata ko Tahakura hei ingoa mō Queen Mab, ka mea, “te whakapākehātanga, hei tā Wiremu, he *dream*, nē. Engari i rangahauhia e au te tahakura. Kāo, he neke noa atu i te *dream*, nē. E rite ana te āhua o Tahakura, koirā a Tahakura, te ingoa o te kuia nei, ki a Queen Mab, nē. Ko ngā whakamārama mō [te] tahakura, pānui au, e kī ana, he wairua tērā, he wairua ka haere, ka toro i te tangata i te pō. Nā, koia anō te mahi a Queen Mab. Koirā anō, ki taku mōhio, koirā anō te maruāpō. Te maruāpō, te maruāpō: he wairua i kīia ai he maru, nē. He wairua kē ērā, ehara i te... ka moe koe, ka moemoeā. Kei a Te Pēhi ētahi kōrero, engari... I pono te kōrero a Te Pēhi. Pai ki a au tērā koroua Pākehā. Pai ki a au ana kōrero. Me tana kī ake, āhua pēnei: ‘Ko te Māori e kī ana he wairua, he aha noa iho, he aha noa iho... we [te Pākehā] call it a dream.’ Koirā te kōrero a Te Pēhi.”

²⁰² He wāhanga tēnei nō tētehi whakataukī nā Te Wharehuia tonu i whakamārama mai i tētehi kura reo i tae atu ai te ahau. Ko tōna wairua, he pōwhiri i te tangata kia noho roa atu ki te pāinaina i te mahana o te ahi. Pēnei ana taua whakataukī i ako mai ai a Te Wharehuia: ‘E taihoa e haere, kia manaakitia te renarena o te ahi.’ Hei tā Mead rāua ko Grove (2003): “E, taihoa e haere, kia manaakitia te renga o ahi.” (wh. 45).

²⁰³ “The vocabulary we share with others, often imperfectly, when we wish to discuss many of the *central processes* of our common life” (Williams, 2002, wh. 12; Nāku anō i miramira).

ngā kupu, ngā huatau, ngā mātāpono, ngā uara o roto i aua reo (Wierzbicka, 2013). E whakahē ana au i taua whakaaro, engari, nā te mea ko te kupu 'identity' he kupu Pākehā, ā kāti, me āta tiro tiro ngā kōrero whakapapa o te kupu nei i roto i te reo i whanake ai ia.

Āpiti atu ki tō runga whakamārama i te 'kupu hirahira,' anei anō tā Williams (2002);

[A keyword has] a history and complexity of meanings; conscious changes, or consciously different uses; innovation, obsolescence, specialization, extension, overlap, transfer; or changes which are masked by a nominal continuity so that words which seem to have been there for centuries, with continuous general meanings, have come in fact to express radically different or radically variable, yet sometimes hardly noticed, meanings and implications of meaning. (Williams, 2002, wh. 15)

Nō reira, e tino whīwhiwhi ana i roto i te kupu kotahi nei, i te 'identity,' ngā tini tikanga.

Kei tua o taku kiri ko taku mana

Hei tā Fukuyama (2018), nāna te pukapuka *Identity: Contemporary identity politics and the struggle for recognition* ko te tūāpapa o te 'identity' ko te tupu o te whakaaro kei te 'iho' o te tangata – kei a Hine-roto, kei a Tama-roto rānei - tōna mana, ā, kāore i te āta arongia, kāore rānei i te whakamihia, i te whakautehia rānei taua mana rā;

The foundations of identity were laid with the perception of a disjunction between one's inside and one's outside. Individuals come to believe that they have a true identity hiding within themselves that is somehow at odds with the role they are assigned by their surrounding society. The modern concept of identity places a supreme values on authenticity, on the validation of that inner being that is not being allowed to express itself. It is on the side of the inner and not the outer self. (Fukuyama, 2018, wh 25)

Nō reira, he aha koa ngā kōrero a Hīrini Moko Mead i runga (Tirohia a wh. 175) ko te 'tuakiri' ko 'tua atu' o te kiri, arā, ko 'waho' o te kiri, i te mōhiotanga atu, he mea tiki noa iho te kupu 'tuakiri' hei kākahu mō te kupu 'identity,' riro ana mā taua kupu tonu hei tohu mai he aha kē rā te aronga. Ka mutu, ahakoa ngā kōpikopikotanga o te wairua o te kupu 'identity' i roto i ngā rautau ka mahue nei, e taea ana te kī, i pū mai i te wā e tīmata ana te tangata ki te motu i ngā here ki te hāhi (1500), ki ō rātou iwi kāinga (i te hekenga atu ki ngā tāone kimi mahi ai), i te turakanga o ngā whare ariki, otirā i te ara ake o te whakaaro he mana, he tapu tō ia tangata ahakoa ko wai (Fukuyama, 2018; Moran, 2015; Robins, 2005).

He kupu nā Haorawa

Kōrero ai a Dines mō tā Marie Moran (2014) tūhuratanga, *Identity and Capitalism*, i kite rā i te rite tonu o te kōrerohia o te kupu 'identity' i ngā tau whakapaunga o tērā rautau.

Hei tā Dines;

Moran argues that 'identity never "mattered" prior to the 1960s because it did not in fact *exist* or operate as a shared political and cultural idea *until* the 1960s' (2015, p. 3, emphasis in original), and she connects its emergence as a classificatory device to the rise of consumer capitalist society. (Dines, 2018, wh. 955; Nāna i miramira)

Nei koa ngā whakamārama a Francis Fukuyama (2022);

Modern economics is built around an assumption that human beings are rational utility maximisers meaning that they use their considerable cognitive skills to maximise their *individual self-interest*.

Mā ngā kupu a Te Wharehuia tērā tūāhuatanga e whakamārama: "Kei te kimi whakaora noa iho koe mōu" (He mea kite i roto i a W. Smith, 2012, wh. 144).

Ko te 'utility,' ko te 'material well-being' (Fukuyama, 2018, wh. 11), arā, ko te ora o te puku i te kai, ko te āhuru o te noho i roto i te whiwhi ki te whare, tae atu ki te whai i ngā rawa hei tohu i te mana o te tangata. Ko ēnei āhuatanga he mea whai nā te tangata hei whakaora mōna anō.

Hei tā Fukuyama (2018), he mea hanga noa tēnei mea te 'tuakiri' o te tangata, arā, "The identity of an individual or group is not, [theorists] claim, essential to it, but is a 'social construction' or even a fiction" (wh. 2).

Kāore o tātou pākeke i kōrero mō tō rātou 'tuakiri,' nā te mea hoki kāore tahi nei he 'tuakiri' hei kōrerotanga mā rātou, arā;

Experiences of selfhood, of being a particular person, of self-perception and self-esteem, and of group membership all existed prior to their description in terms of identity. However, consideration of all these issues and experiences in terms of identity changes or adds to our perception of these issues and experiences – by construing them specifically in an essentialist way.

Ehara tērā i te tohu o te ‘pōhara’ o te reo Māori, he kore nōna i ‘rite’ rawa ai ki te reo Ingarihi ana kupu, me ngā mātāpono/ariā e kākahuria ana e aua kupu.

He mea tātai nā Francis Fukuyama te whakapapa o te kei roto i ngā mātāpono o te *Liberalism* me ngā āhuetanga o te ‘ikonomi’ o te wā nei (“modern economy”) e tū ai te tangata ko tōna kotahi i te ao, ā, ka whiriwhiri ia i ngā mea katoa hei painga mōna ake, kāore he tirohanga kētanga atu (“individual self-interest,” “rational utility maximizers”) (Tirohia hoki a Upoko 1 me Upoko 5).

Hei tā Fukuyama, me hoki rā ki a Socrates, nāna i whakaahua mai ngā wāhanga e toru o te wairua (‘soul’) o te tangata: ko Tama-roto, ko Hine-roto me ana hiahia, ko ōna whakaaro, tae atu ki tana ‘thymos.’ Mā te thymos e ora ai te ngākau i te rongo ki te whakamanahia ōna (‘dignity’), i te pā o te whakamā, i te whakatakariri rānei, i te takahanga o tōna mana.

“Individuals come to believe that they have a true or authentic identity hiding within themselves that is somehow at odds with the role they are assigned by their surrounding society” (Fukuyama, 2018, wh. 25). Hei tā Fukuyama, nā te aro o te tangata ki ‘tua o te kiri’ (“the inner self”), tahuri ana ki te pātai, “Ko wai au?” me te mea nei he ‘rimu pae noa’ ia, kāore nei he pakiaka (‘alienation’).

Hei tā Fukuyama;

Identity grows, in the first place, out of a distinction between one’s true inner self and the outer world of social rules and norms that does not adequately recognize that inner self’s worth or dignity. Individuals throughout human history have found themselves at odds with their societies. But only in modern times has the view taken hold that the authentic inner self is intrinsically valuable, and the outer society systematically wrong and unfair in its valuation of the former. It is not the inner self that has to be made to conform to society’s rules, but society itself that needs to change. (Fukuyama, 2018, wh. 9-10)

Waihoki, i te wā e noho ā-hapū tonu ana ngā iwi o Ūropi, ā, e whai oranga tonu ana i ngā ngakinga kai o te whenua, korekore ana he maharatanga ake ki te ‘identity,’ e uia ai te pātai, ‘Ko wai au? Hei tāna, “[I]t did not make sense for an individual to sit around and brood over the question ‘Who am I, really?’” (Fukuyama, 2018, wh. 35). I pērā ai he kore nō te tangata i mahara ake ki tētehi aokē atu e āta ‘whiriwhiri’ ai ia i tōna huarahi, engari

whānau mai ana, oti kē ana i ana tātai whakapapa me tana whānau ngā momo mahi hei mahinga māna. Mā te whakapapa rawa e whānau ai te tangata he ariki, he rangatira, he tohunga, he tūtūā rānei.

He kupu mō te tangata kimi

Hei tā Gleason (1983), nāna nei ngā piropiro o te kupu 'identity,' i tuaki he kupu tēnei ka makere noa iho i te waha, kāore he maharatanga ake o te tangata he aha rā te tikanga o taua kupu. Hei tāna anō, he kupu hou te kupu 'identity,' nō ngā tau o te 1950 i torotoro haere ai ōna kāwai i te wā e toro haere ana te mātauranga 'mātai hinengaro' a the hunga pēnei i a Erikson, i ū ki ngā whakaakoranga i heke mai i a Freud; i mua atu i te tau 1950, e whakamahia ana mō ngā āhuetanga o te tinana tangata e mōhiotia ai ia: ko tōna ingoa, ōna 'tapumati/makaurangi o te matimati' ('identification'); i muri mai, kei roto ake te 'tuakiri' i a ia, arā, "identity is somehow 'located' in the deep psychic structure of the individual" (wh. 918).

Engari, ko ngā momo 'kimihanga i te 'tuakiri' i ngā tau o muri mai i te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, he āhuetanga i hua ake i te 'hutinga o te tangata' i tōna 'tūrangawaewae.'²⁰⁴ I mua atu kāore he take o te pātai 'Ko wai ahau?', inā hoki, kua taea e ia te kī, 'Ko au, ko taku iwi.' Engari, i te

Hei tā Gleason e kimi ana te tangata i te 'tuakiri' i roto i a ia, e kimi 'tūranga' ana hoki ia i roto i te ao;

[I]dentify, as [Erikson] conceives it, is hard to grasp because it concerns "a process 'located' in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of those two identities." What he seems to mean by this delphic deliverance is that identity involves an interaction between the interior development of the individual personality, understood in terms derived from the Freudian id-ego-superego model, and the growth of a sense of selfhood that arises from participating in society, internalizing its cultural norms, acquiring different statuses, and playing different roles. (Gleason, 1983, wh. 914)

Ka mutu, ko te kimihanga tērā o te tangata (o tētehi rōpū rānei) i tōna mana. Hei tā Fukuyama, he kupu tēnei e tohu ana i te hiahia o te tangata kia whakautehia ia, arā, i

²⁰⁴ Tirohia ngā kōrero a Hīrini Melbourne i wh. 70.

ahu mai taua 'hiahia' i tana 'thymos': "Thymos is the part of the soul that seeks *recognition*" (Fukuyama, 2018). Ānō e kimi ana te tangata i te mea ngaro, ā, nā konā i puta ai ngā 'mate o te tuakiri.'²⁰⁵

I kōrero ai a Gleason (1983) mō tā Alexis de Tocqueville tūhura i te āhukatanga o te 'tū tōtahi o te tangata,' arā, te 'individualism' – he kupu nā de Tocqueville anō i hanga mai, ā, nā taua tū rā i motu haere ai te here tangata.²⁰⁶

Ka hua ake te whakaaro ko te mana tuatahi, ko te mana o te tangata (kaua ko te iwi whānui tonu) i ara ake i ngā mātāpono o te 'democracy'.²⁰⁷ Waihoki, e rere ana ngā whakaaro o taua wā rā, he mana, he tapu 'ōrite' tō ia tangata ('equalitarian').²⁰⁸ Hei tā Gleason (1983) ahakoa kāore a de Tocqueville i āta whakahua ake i te kupu 'identity,' kei reira te pūtake o tēnei mea te kimihanga o te tangata i tana 'tuakiri' ('identity problems') (wh. 926).

I mua i te 'tuakiri'

I mua i te 'whakaohotanga' ake o te kupu 'tuakiri,' e raruraru ana te reo Māori i tana kore i kaha ki te whakaatu i ōna 'āhukatanga motuhake,' ā, 'ko wai ia'?

Ko au kei te kī, i roto kē i te reo ngā momo kōrero e mōhiotia ai te tangata, engari ehara i te mea he kupu kotahi tā tātou mō tērā āhukatanga. Hei ngā wāhanga e tū mai nei tirohia ai ētehi o ngā tikanga i roto i te reo Māori e mōhiotia ai ia.

Ngā hau i pū mai i taku kiri

Tēnā, kia tirohia i konei tētehi kōrero mō tērā o ngā atua, tupuna, autaiā o te ao Māori, mō Māui kei *Ngā Mahi a ngā Tūpuna* (Grey, 1971). Nō tana kimihanga i tana whaea, i a Taranga, ka tae ia ki te whare i reira ana tuākana tuawhā, ka uia ki tō rātou whaea. Tā rātou whakahoki, 'Aua hoki! Nōwhea mātou e kite?' E moe tahi ana i te pō; ao rawa ake

²⁰⁵ 'Identity crisis'

²⁰⁶ "Individualism that tended to shrivel a man's consciousness of solidarity with his fellows, throwing him forever back upon himself alone and threatening to 'shut [him] up in the solitude of his own heart'" (Gleason, 1983, wh. 927).

²⁰⁷ Ko te kupu Māori i āta hangā mai hei kupu e 'taurite' ki te 'democracy,' ko 'manapori.'

²⁰⁸ Ko ngā mātāpono o te 'democracy' ko te 'freedom,' te 'equality,' me te 'autonomy' o te tangata (individual).

i te ata, ngaro ana tō rātou whaea. Heoi, pō rawa iho, e haka ana rātou. Ka noho, kei ngā tuarā a Māui-pōtiki e noho ana. Kātahi ka tauria rātou e tō rātou whaea, kitea ana e ia tokorima kē nei rātou. Ka uia e ia te pātai: 'Nō whea tō koutou tokorima?' Utua atu ana e Māui-pōtiki: 'Nāu anō au.' Ka totohe rāua, ka mea a Taranga, 'Ehara koe i te pōtiki nāku, nā tangata kē koe.' Kātahi a Māui ka kōrero mō te whiunga atu ōna ki te hukahuka o te tai ki roto i te tikitiki o tana whaea, ka whakahokia mai e Apu-nui, e Apu-matangi. Ka 'rere mai taua tupuna,' ka heua ake a Māui, ka tangohia ake, ka ora ake i ngā atawhai a taua tupuna. Kātahi ia ka mea ake, '[K]o Māui-pōtiki ahau e noho atu nei.'

Nā wai, ā, ka huri a Māui ki te kimi i tana matua, i a Makea-tūtara. Nō te kitenga atu, uia atu ana e tana matua: 'Nō hea koia koe? Nō te uru? Nō te raki? Nō te marangai? Nō te hau tonga?' Whakakāhore/whakanau atu ana a Māui. Kātahi te matua ka ui atu: 'Āti, nō te hau koe e pū mai nei ki taku kiri?' Ā, hāmama ana te waha o Māui-pōtiki/Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga ki te kī ake: 'Āe!'

Pērā anō nō Māui i hangarau i tana tupuna, i a Muri-ranga-whenua, he whai nāna i tana kauae te take.

Ka kawea atu e Māui ngā kai ki tana tupuna, ki a Muri-ranga-whenua. Hangarau ana a Māui, waiho ana i ngā kai ki tahaki. Ka roa e pērā ana, ka mōhio a Muri-ranga-whenua. Ka hongī taua kuia rā hei 'horomi' i a Māui. Hongi ana ki te tonga, ki te marangai, ki ngā hau katoa, kīhai i piro mai ki tōna ihu. Kātahi ia karanga atu, 'Nō te hau koe e pū mai nei ki taku kiri?' Nō te ngungurutanga o Māui, mōhio tonu atu a kuia, ko tana mokopuna tērā.

E kitea mai ana i roto i ngā kōrero mō Māui, i kimi haere rā i ana mātua, kia mōhio ai ia, nā wai ia, i roto kē i tō tātou reo Māori ētehi momo kōreromō tērā āhuetanga.

Mehemea rā i kīia te kōrero, 'E kimi ana a Māui i tana tuakiri,' 'Kua ngaro (rānei) te tuakiri o Māui,' kua kawea te wairua o te kōrero ki taunga kē atu. Tēnā, kia tirohia anō tētehi tikanga e mōhiohia ai, nā wai te tangata, nō whea ia: ko tana pepeha i tana maunga, i tana awa, i ētehi atu āhuetanga

Ko taku maunga, ko taku awa, ko au

Hei tā Tīmoti Kāretu (1990), ka tū ana ia ki te marae ātea, mehemea e waewae tapu ana ia, kua hakaina e ia tana manawa wera kia mōhiohia ai ōna tātai ki te whenua, ki te tangata. Hei tāna, “Anyone who speaks or understands Maori will know immediately from this manawa wera what my tribal origins are, what my sacred mountains are. My identity is hereby established” (Kāretu, 1990).

Katoa ngā ngeri, ngā pātere, ngā tauparapara hoki he ‘apiti hono,’ he ‘tātai hono,’ kia mōhiohia ai ‘nō whea’ te tangata, ā, ‘nā wai.’

I tana rangahau i te KKM hei ‘oranga Māori i te ao hurihuri nei,’ ka pepehatia e Kīmai Tocker tana hapū, tana marae, tana moana, tana maunga, me tana iwi hei tohu ‘nā wai ia, nō whea ia,’ arā, hei whakamārō i ngā taura here tangata, hei tātai hono ki ngā tūtohu whenua, tūtohu moana o tana iwi, o tana hapū;

When uttering the following statements, “Ko Ngāti Hinemihi te hapū. Ko Kauriki te marae. Ko Taupō-nui-a Tia te moana. Ko Tongariro te maunga. Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa te iwi”, I am illustrating my *identity* as a Māori by proclaiming Ngāti Hinemihi as my subtribe, Kauriki as my marae, Taupō-nui-a Tia as my identifying lake, Tongariro as the mountain, and Ngāti Tūwharetoa as my tribe. While the statements of whakapapa can provide assurance of my place in the Māori world they also embody whanaungatanga—a form of tikanga which focuses on relationships and identity. (Tocker, 2014, wh. 26)

Kāti, ki te reo Pākehā kua ea pea i te kupu ‘identity,’ engari ki te reo Māori, otirā ki te tikanga Māori e whakaahua (‘illustrate’) ana ia i ana hononga. Kāore e taea ki te kupu kotahi, ahakoa ‘identity,’ ahakoa ‘tuakiri’ rānei. Ki te kōrero ‘tuakiri’ tātou ka ngaro koia rānei te take o ngā tikanga e kōrero nei a Tīmoti rāua ko Kīmai?

Nō reira, ehara i te mea me āta hanga kupu Māori pēnei i te ‘tuakiri’ hei kupu taurite ki tētehi kupu Pākehā, pēnei i te ‘identity,’ e taea ai te kī e ōrite ana te reo Māori ki te reo Pākehā, me ētehi atu reo te ‘whānui’ o ngā āhuatanga o te ao te kōrero. Ka mutu, motuhake ake nō roto i ngā tikanga Māori ngā tikanga e mōhiohia ai nā wai te tangata, ā, nō whea, kāore noa iho e kōrero ‘ko wai ia.’

Kāti, kia whakamau tonu te titiro ki te pepeha, engari me tahuri rā ki tērā o ngā rōpū waiata e reia ana e te tangata i Aotearoa nei, ki a Six60 me tā rātou waiata, me *Pepeha*. Anei ngā kupu o te waiata:

*Ko Mana tōku maunga
Ko Aroha te moana
Ko Whānau tōku waka
Ko au e tū atu nei*

*Mana is my mountain
Aroha is my sea
Whānau is my waka
And all of that is me*

*Ahakoā pāmamao
Kei konei koe
Though you are far away
I'll hold you near
I'll keep the homefires burning
So you can see clear
Kia maumahara mai rā nō konei koe (Six60, 2021)*

Kīhai te kaiwaiata matua o Six60, a Matiu Walters, i pakeke mai i roto i te reo Māori. Nā whai anō pea tana hiahia kia titoa mai he pepeha mō ngā iwi katoa e noho ana ki Aotearoa nei (Wikipedia, 2021), arā, mō ngā mea Māori kāore pea i te mōhio pū nā wai, nō whea rātou, pēnei i a Annette Morehu (Morehu, 2020), kāore rānei i mōhio ki te whakahuahua i aua kōrero rā ki te reo. Ākuanei pea mō tauwiwi hoki tā rātou pepeha, arā, mō te hunga ehara nō konei, taketake, engari e kimi tonu ana i tētehi tūrangawaewae.

E tohu ana te waiata nei, tērā hoki te tikanga Māori (pēnei i te pepeha, engari me ngā mātāpono/tikanga mō te ahi kā anō hoki) te kawea ki roto i te reo Pākehā kōrero ai. Ā, ko tāna e pātai nei, e whakautu nei hoki: 'Nō whea koe? Nō konei.'

Ko au, ko taku iwi

E ai ki a Benton mā, nā rātou nei ngā kōrero mō ngā tikanga Māori i whakahiato ki roto o *Te Mātāpunenga*, ko tā Hana O'Regan pukapuka, *Ko au, ko Tahu*, he kimihanga whakaaro nāna i ngā āhuatanga ake o Kāi Tahu. Ka mutu, ko te tūrangawaewae o Kāi Tahu tētehi mea nui e kīia ai ia he iwi, arā, "In a self-reflexive exploration of Kai Tahu

identity, the Māori academic Hana O'Regan refers to *tūrakawaewae* (Kaitahu dialect) as 'the place where a person has the right to stand'" (Benton et al., 2013).

Pēnei i a Hana nei, e kaha ana te whakarite a te tangata (Māori) i a ia ki tōna hapū, ki tōna iwi.

Koia i kīia ai e Perrett (1992):

A [Māori] person's identity is determined predominantly by his or her inherited status and relationship to the larger group, membership of which is genetically inherited. This is carried to the point where what Pākehā would think of as an individual is identified with the kinship group – hence the use in Māori of the personal pronoun *I (au)* to refer to either the individual or the tribe. (wh. 29)

Kōrero ai ia mō Kairangātira, nāna te tūātau: "Mā koutou, ko au; mā taku iwi, ko koutou; ā māku te whenua" (Perrett, 1992, wh. 29). E kōrero ana ia ki tana ito, 'Ahakoa ko te patua au e koutou, ko koutou tērā ka patua e taku iwi, ā, ka riro i a au (i taku iwi) te whenua.'

Tērā hoki te kōrero, e kakari ana a Ngāti Toa rāua ko ngā iwi o Waikato i Kāwhia, ka pūrere a Ngāti Toa. Nā, pō rawa, ka tangi tētahi tamaiti, ā, ka kīia te matua o taua tamaiti rā e te rangatira o Ngāti Toa, e Te Rauparaha kia kōtē i taua tamaiti, me tana kī ake, 'Ko au hoki tēnā tamaiti' (Perrett, 1992, wh. 29). Ka kōtēngia te tamaiti, ā, ka ora a Ngāti Toa. Nō reira, ko tā Te Rauparaha, ki te tangi tonu te tamaiti ko 'ia,' arā, ko Ngāti Toa ka mate. Engari, ki te patua te tamaiti, ko 'ia,' arā, ko Ngāti Toa ka ora.

Ko taua whakaaro anō rā kei ngā kupu a Kīngi Taurua, mō tana pāpā, "My father used to say what whanaungatanga meant: 'I am we, not I am I'" (Taurua, 2017, wh. 111).

Kei te whakataukī nei tērā wairua: 'Hē o te kotahi, nō te tokomaha²⁰⁹ (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 104). Ā, ko te utu me te muru ētehi o ngā tikanga Māori e kitea ai te pā o te 'whakamā ki te 'katoa' i ngā mahi a te 'kotahi.'

²⁰⁹ He wā kua pēnei kē: 'Hē o Tama-Kotahi, hē o Ngāti Katoa,' kua pēnei rānei: 'Hē o te kotahi, nō te katoa.'

Heoi, i tua atu i te 'hē,' ko te piki, heke hoki o te mana o te whānau, o te hapū, o te iwi. Ka toko ake te whakaaro i konei ki te Koroneihana, e tauira nei i ngā mahi a ngā tini ringaringa, waewae hoki ki te manaaki i ngā manuhiri hei painga mō te Kīngitanga, otirā ngā iwi o te Kīngitanga. Inā hoki, ahakoa he kaikōrero i te pae, ahakoa he rūruhi e manaaki ana i ngā manuhiri o te mahau, ahakoa he ringawera i te kāuta, he ringa horoi rīhi, pīra rīwai, horoi wharepaku, ahakoa rānei he ringa kawē mātarahi o te Kapok Gang (Tākerei, 2019).

Nā wai? Nō whea?

Katoa ngā momo kōrero o te ao Māori o runga ake nei he honohono i te tangata ki te tangata (Nā wai koe?), ki te whenua (Nō whea koe?).

Kia waihape ō tātou mahara ki tā Genesis Te Kuru White i wh. 103. Uia ana ia he aha tāna i tūmanako ai mō ana tamariki, mea ana ia, “Kia mōhio [ai] rātou ‘Nō hea? Nō wai? Nā wai?’” (Whakaata Māori, 2021c).

Koia hoki tērā ko te tikanga i whāia e Hinurewa Poutū (2015) i te tīmatanga o tana rangahau, he waiata, he taki kōrero hoki kia mōhio ai ‘nā wai’ ia, ‘nō whea’ ia (wh. 6). Ko tā Jennifer Mārtin (2013) hoki, he kōrero mō tētehi o ngā hua o te haere ki te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae, ko te mōhio o tana whānau “nō hea, otirā, nā wai [r]ātou” (wh. 18).

He āhuetanga tēnei nō ngā iwi Māori, nō ngā reo Māori, arā, nō ngā iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. Inā hoki, kei te papakupu a Treagar (2001) te kōrero nō Mangaia mai: “Nā wai koe?”, arā, “To whom do you belong” (wh. 261).

Te Māoritanga

Hei tā Ranginui Walker (1989) “A basic component of Māori identity is the concept of *Māoritanga*, which incorporates racial traits such as skin pigmentation and cultural traits such as a language, spiritual beliefs and identification with a particular tribe and geographic locality” (Walker, 1989, wh. 35).

Engari ko te kiri parauri o te Māori he āhuetanga kāore e taea e te tangata te huna, ā, ko ngā kai o te whakaaro kino i roto i ētehi o tauwiwi ki te Māori, pā kaha ana ki te hunga he kaha ake te uriuri, te waitutu o te kiri. Ko te tuakana o Joe Williams tērā (wh. 101), ko te

Māori kiri waitutu e tono mōkete ana i te pēke tēnā (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015), ko te ngangahu o te tirohia o te Māori e te pirihihana, i roto hoki i ngā toa, e ngā kaiako i roto i ngā kura.

E ai anō ki a Ranginui Walker (1989);

The colonial despoliation reified Māori and Pākehā ethnicity to the point of being identified as binary oppositions in contest for land, resources, status and power in New Zealand. This binary opposition of Māori and Pākehā ethnicity is as an important determinant of Māori *identity* as enculturation. (Walker, 1989, wh. 35)

Arā ngā mea āta whakarārangi haere i ngā āhuatanga e kīia ai te tangata he Māori. Kōrero ai hoki a Ranginui Walker (1989) mō tā James Ritchie whakaraupapa haere i te kaha o te Māori o te tangata mai i te 1 - 10 me tā Joan Metge whakarārangi i ngā āhuatanga Māori 12.

I te hōtaka *Whiua te Pātai*, uia ana te tangata: “Te tangata kore reo Māori: He Māori tūturu ia?”, ko te whakahoki a Tīmoti Kāretu, he kōrero mō te whakarārangi i ngā ‘pūkenga’ o te Māori e moea ai:

He wā tōna i whakaaro au, i kōrero māua ko tētahi hoa ōku ka whakarārangi māua i ngā pūkenga me mātua whiwhi te tangata Māori e moe atu ai māua, nē. Me mōhio ki te mahi hāngi, me mōhio ki te haka, me mōhio ki te waiata, me mōhio ki te rakuraku, ērā mea katoa. Ki te kore ērā pūkenga i taua tangata, hei aha noa (iho) i moea ai. (Whakaata Māori, 2018b)

Ka mātūtū ake te whakaaro ki tā Thomas King (2003) i ‘whakamātautauhia rā te kaha o tana ‘Inianatanga,’ arā, ka whakarārangi haeretia ngā āhuatanga e kīia ai te Īniana he Īniana ‘tūturu’ (wh. 99). Hei tāna anō, “In the past, authentic was simply in the eye of the beholder. Indians who looked Indian were authentic. Authenticity only became a problem for Native people in the twentieth century” (wh. 54).

Ko wai au? He aha au?

Me whakahahaki i konei ngā whakamārama a [T]e Pātaka Kupu me PaeKupu mō te ‘tuakiri,’ ko ngā “āhuatanga e tohu ana ‘ko wai’ te tangata” (Apitihanga 1: Te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori, wh. 301). Mohoa nei, e kaha ana te uia o te tangata: “Ko wai koe?” Ka mutu, kei ngā hui Māori e āta tūtakitaki ai te tangata,

meinga ana te huinga tāngata, “Tēnā, taki tūtū ake koutou, ka kī mai ai *ko wai koe*, nō whea koe.”

Kāti, i ōna wā, he wairua kē tō te pātai: Ko wai koe? Ira ngā kōrero a Wally Penetito;

It is considered bad manners among Māori to ask the question ‘Ko wai koe – who are you?’, because the motivation behind the question is more about ‘putting a person in her place,’ that is, ‘who do you think you are?’, rather than enquiring into someone’s *identity*. ‘Ko wai koe’ is likely to invoke an irritated or even an angry response (Penetito, 2010, wh. 39)

Kei te papakupu ā-ipurangi, kei *Te Aka* hoki tērā o ngā kōrero (Te Whanake, 2003-2023).

Hei tā Rīhari Benton;

In Maori contexts, no-one is very pleased to be asked ‘Ko wai koe, no hea koe?’ [...], but how much worse to be unable to answer such questions, whether they are asked or not. (Benton, 1988, wh. 80)

Hāunga rā, te pātai ‘Ko wai koe?’, tērā te pātai e whanaunga ana ki te ‘tuakiritanga’ o te tangata: ‘He aha koe?’ ‘He aha au?’

I a Poia Rewi, ahurangi o te whare wānanga, tumuaki hoki o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori i ōna wā e whiriwhiri whakaaro ana, ‘E wai e taea te kupenga whīwhīwhī’ o te reo Māori?, ka kōrero ia mō te whakamātauahia o ō tātou ‘tuakiritanga’ e mōhiotia ai he Māori rānei, ‘he aha’ kē rānei;

Me whare whakairo e kīia ai te marae he marae – Me reo Māori te tangata e kīia ai he Māori ia? Tēnā anō tātou kei te whakatakoto *tuakiritanga* mō te tangata e kitea ai ia, e tirohia ai ia hei Māori. Mā te tuhi rānei i roto i te pouaka, “Āe, he Māori ahau” e Māori ai koe. Ērā momo āhuratanga. Ā waho, kei te whakamātau mai i a tātou, Māori mā, ki ō tātou *tuakiritanga*, tō tātou mōhiotanga ake i tupu ake ahau he Māori, tae noa ki tēnei wā *he aha kē atu au*. (Te Ipukarea, 2017a)

Huri rawa ki a Tini Molyneaux, tētehi o ngā mōrehu o ngā kaupapa reo Māori o te pouaka whakaata, i tīmata rā hei kaiwhakataki kōrero i *Te Karere* i ngā tau o te waru tekau, pēnei ana tana kōrero i te wā i ‘whiua’ ia ki te ‘pātai’: He aha nei tēnei mea te Māori? (‘What is a Māori?’)

Waimarie tātou i pakeke mai tātou i roto i te reo, ā, māmā ana mā tātou ki te whiuwhiu kōrero ki ētehi: “Kāore koe i te Māori nā te mea kāore koe i te

mōhio i tō reo.” Ko ētahi wā ehara nō rātou te hē, engari ki taku mōhio nei, ki te hiahia koe ki te āta tau tōhou anō hinengaro, *he aha koe*, me ako koe i te reo (Whakaata Māori, 2018b)

Ko te uru mai o ēnei tū pātai ki te reo Māori he tohu nō te tahuri kē atu o te tangata i ngā tikanga tui i te here ki te whānau, ki te hapū, ki te iwi (‘Nā wai koe?’), i te tātai rānei i a ia ki ōna maunga, ki awa (‘Nō whea koe?’), engari he kōrero kē mō ngā āhuatanga ‘motuhake’ i roto ake i a ia, ānō he rākau kāore he pakiaka, he waka rānei kāore he pungā, he rimu pae noa rānei.

He āhuatanga tēnei i pū mai i ngā ‘āinga a ohanga, a oranga’ i neke ai ngāi tāua ki ngā tāone noho ai (Kāretu, 2006, wh. 11), engari ko te tino pūtakenga mai o tēnei tūāhua ko te āki mai o te taniwha nei, a Hao-whenua (Tirohia a Upoko 1). Nō te rironga atu o te whenua me te uru mai o te moni hei oranga mō te tangata, motu ana te taura tangata, te aho tāngaengae ki te ūkaipō.

Hei te wāhanga e whai ake nei tūhurangia te whakapapa o te kupu ‘identity,’ me kore noa, ka kitea ngā tikanga o taua kupu rā, me te mahara ake ki tā Ngūgī wa Thiong’ whakatūpato, kei kawea mai ngā tikanga o te reo kōkahu ki tō tātou reo, ki ā tātou tikanga.

Ētehi (atu) kōrero mō te ‘identity’ o te Māori

He maha ngā rangahau mō te ‘identity’ o te Māori, pēnei i tā Ranginui Walker (Walker, 1989), tā Mason Durie i kōrero He taura tūātinitini (multiple identities) tonu anō te tuakiri o te tangata. He mea tūhura ngā aho nei e Durie (1995).

Ko Carla Houkamau mā tērā nā rātou *Te Rangahau o te Tuakiri Māori me ngā Waiaro ā-Pūtea* (Houkamau et al., 2019), he whai i ngā rangahau e tautohungia ai ētahi ‘kanoī’ e ono o te tangata Māori i tapaina rā ko te *Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement* (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010).

Koia ēnei ko aua ‘kanoī’ e ono:

- Ko te tino mau o te tangata ki te whakaaro, he Māori ia, tuatahi. Me te tū tangata, tū whakahīhī ōna i tana Māoritanga, otirā i tana whakapapa Māori (Group Membership Evaluation)

- Ko te whakaaro me tohe te Māori mō tōna mana motuhake/tino rangatiratanga, arā, kia whakahōnoretia (e te Pākehā/Karauna) te Tiriti o Waitangi (Socio-Political Consciousness)
- Ko te matatau ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga me ngā kawa o te marae, ko te mōhio ki te tātai i ana whakapapa, ko te tau i roto i ngā whakahaere o te marae/ao Māori pēnei i te tangihanga, i te pōwhiri, me ērā atu o ngā momo hui Māori, ritenga Māori rānei (Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Expression)
- Ko te whakapono ki te taha wairua, ki te ao wairua, ki te wāhi ngaro, otirā ki te tapu (Spirituality)
- Ko te whakaaro nā te whakapapa, nā te whānau, te hapū, te iwi i Māori ai te tangata, arā, nā ngā taura here tangata ki te tangata Māori, ā, he mea nui te manaaki/ngākau ohaoha/aroa tangata Māori (Interdependent Self Concept)
- He āhuetanga motuhake ake ō te Māori tūturu, pēnei i te kōrero Māori, te karakia, te whānau, te haere ki tana marae, te mōhio ki tana iwi me ana whakapapa (Authenticity Beliefs).

Kāti, i roto i tā Higgins mā rangahau i te hua o te reo Māori ki te motu, i a *Whaihua*, ka puta ā rātou pūrongo e whitu, he mea tuhi ki te reo Pākehā (Higgins et al., 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e, 2017f, 2017g). Ko te tuaono o aua pūrongo rā, mō te whaihua o te reo Māori hei/ki te ‘tuakiri ā-motu’ (Higgins et al., 2017e).

Ka mutu, ko ana whakatau:

- Ko te reo hei pou tokomanawa i roto i te ‘tuakiri ā-motu’ (Te reo is crucial to national *identity*);
- Me āta whakatūturu te reo Māori i roto i ngā wāhanga (‘rāngai’) katoa, pēnei i ngā kura (Whānau believe te reo Māori should be compulsory, in all sectors²¹⁰);
- Ānō te pai, ānō te whaihua o te reo Māori i Aotearoa me Te Waipounamu nei (There are overwhelming benefits of te reo Māori to New Zealand)

²¹⁰ Kāore i whakamāramahia i roto i te pūrongo a Higgins mā te tikanga o ‘sectors’ i roto i te pūrongo. Heoi, tērā tētahi kōrero mō te whakaū i te reo Māori hei reo whakaako puta noa i ngā kura katoa.

- Kāore e ārikarika ngā hua o te reo Māori ki te ao whānui tonu (There are overwhelming benefits of te reo Māori to the world), ā;
- Ko te mea mātārae rawa o ngā hua o te reo Māori ko tana tū hei pītau whakarei mō Aotearoa me Te Waipounamu hei whakakitenga atu ki te ao katoa (A most noted benefit is in defining New Zealand’s global *identity*) (Higgins et al., 2017e).

Nā, kei konei e mahi ana te kupu ‘identity,’ he mea whakamāori kia ‘tuakiri’ ai. Ā, me te aha anō, uru ana ēnei whakaaro ki roto i Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora, te rautaki mō te reo Māori nō te tau 2015 i puta ai (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Kāore he rā-b).

Kīhai te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i puta i te rangahau a Jeanette King (2007) mō te hunga i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua ki te taumata o te matatau . Ākuanei pea he tohu tērā nō te korenga o te kupu ‘tuakiri’ i tino horapa whānui i taua wā. Inā hoki, ahakoa he mea tuhi nāna tāna i rangahau ai ki te reo Pākehā, ko ētahi o ngā whakahoki a te hunga i uiuia e ia, i roto anō i te reo Māori, ā, i nui anō te kōrerohia o te ‘identity,’ otirā o te ‘Māoritanga,’ pēnei i te kōrero nei mō te reo Māori hei kimihanga i te oranga wairua, i te waiora, he whai kia ita te mauri: “Māori language is a spiritual quest for *identity*, health and wholeness” (wh. 317). Waihoki, tīkina ake ana e Jeanette ko te huinga pukapuka a Te Murumāra, *Te Whanake*, hei ako i te reo Māori, hei tohu mō te puāwai mai o te tangata. I huaina rā ngā pukapuka ko *Te Kākano*, tō mua; tō muri ko *Te Pihinga*, ko *Te Māhuri*, ā, taea noatia ko *Te Kōhure*. Hei tā Jeanette, “[L]anguage will help the learner to attain their *identity*, self-esteem and full potential” (King, 2009). Ko te wairua o ana kōrero, ānō ko te ‘identity’ e rite ana ki te whanake o te rākau: ka kākano, ka pihinga, ka māhuri, ka kōhure.

I tā Arama Rata rangahau ka kōrerohia e ia te ‘pītau o te tuakiri,’ e hāngai ana ki te ora o ngā tauira Māori o ngā kura auraki (Rata, 2012).

Ko Matiu Rātima hoki tērā i rangahau i te pēwheatanga o te hunga i ako i te reo kei pakeke ana, eke ki te taumata matatau (Rātima, 2013a) . Ko taua hunga reorua i kōrero mō te take i tahuri ai ki te ako i te reo Māori kia “mōhio [ai] [k]i t[e] Māoritanga” (wh. 133), otirā kia “tino Māori [ai]” (wh. 134). Ko tā Rātima he whakarite i te “Māoritanga” ki te “Māori culture” (wh. 133), ki te “Māori identity” (wh. 134) anō hoki.

Kōrero ai a Ruakere Hond (2013) mō ngā “communities of identity” (wh. 247), arā, mō te rangā o ētehi tāngata o tētehi rōpū e ako ana i te reo kia kāwitiwiti, kia kātoatoa, kua i te kāwai whakapapa, i te ngā honohononga ki tētahi whenua, engari ia he honohono ā-kaupapa kē. Nā, ko ngā kaupapa i aro ai ia ko ngā kaupapa whakaako i te reo Māori, pēnei i Te Ataarangi, i Te Reo o Whanganui me Te Kōpae Piripono.

He mana rānei te ‘tuakiri’?

Hei tā Anna Wierzbicka i tana pukapuka mō te reo Ingarihi hei herehere i te whakaaro, i te reo anō hoki (Wierzbicka, 2013), e wai e taea ngā whakaaro o tangata kē, nō iwi kē te urutomo? Ka huritao ana mahara ki tā Te Haumihiata Mason kauwhau i tētehi hui mō ngā reo o ngā iwi taketake²¹¹ i tū ki Ahitereiria i te tau 2007. Ko tā Te Haumihiata kaupapa kōrero ko te waihangatanga mai o te papakupu tuatahi i roto katoa i te reo Māori (Tirohia hoki a Upoko 5), me te whai mā tana kōrero e ‘whakarauoratia ai te reo Māori, e whakaūngia ai hoki te whakaaro/tirohanga Māori’.²¹² Hei tā Wierzbicka, whakatakina ana e Te Haumihiata tana kōrero ki te whakataukī nei, me tana whakapākehātanga i muri mai;

Tōku reo, tōku ohooho
Tōku reo, tōku mana
Ki te ngaro tōku reo, ka ngaro ko au.

My language is of great value
My language is my identity, my integrity
Without my language I am lost.

Hei tā Wierzbicka, me pēwhea hoki e whakawhitia atu te whakaaro/tirohanga Māori ki te reo Ingarihi. Inā hoki, ahakoa te hē o tana whakamāori i ‘tōku’ me ‘reo’,²¹³ ko te aronga kē ia a Wierzbicka ko te whakawhitia o te kupu ‘mana’ kia puta ko ‘identity’ me ‘integrity.’ Hei tāna he kupu ‘hirahira’ te kupu ‘mana’ nā te iwi Māori me ngā iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, ā, kua roa e arongia ana e ngā kaimātai i ngā iwi taketake (anthropologists). Heoi, ko te kaha nui ai o ngā kupu reo Ingarihi hei whakamārama

²¹¹ Indigenous Languages Conference.

²¹² “The paper was written ‘with the revitalization of the [Māori] language and the preservation of a Māori worldview in mind” (Haumihiata Mason, 2008, wh. 35; He mea kite i roto i a Wierzbicka, 2014, wh. 152).

²¹³ Kīia ana e Wierzbicka, “*Language* translates here the word *tōku*, *my* translates the word *reo*” (wh. 152). Kei te mikirapu ēnei nā.

(‘gloss’) i te mana he tohu nō te tino kore o te reo Ingarihi e tau ki te āta whakamārama i ngā kupu hirahira o ngā iwi ehara nō te Uru, he rerekē nō ō rātou whakaaro me tā rātou titiro ki te ao. Hei tā Wierzbicka, ko te whakamāramahia o ngā ariā o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa ki te kupu Ingarihi he whakaū kē i tētehi tirohanga kotahi nei, ko te titiro a te Pākehā mā roto i ngā kupu Ingarihi pēnei i ‘authority,’ ‘power,’ ‘identity,’ ‘integrity,’ me ‘efficacy’ (wh. 153).

Ko te wero a Wierzbicka, ehara i te nonoi kia kua rawa e whakamātautauhia te kōrerohia o ētehi ariā nō iwi kē, engari he toro ki tētehi e matatau ana ki ngā tikanga a taua iwi. Ko tā Keesing (1984; He mea kite i roto i a Wierzbicka, 2014, wh. 153) whakamataara mai, ehara i te hanga noa, engari me pūkenga, me wānanga anō te tangata e pai ai tana whakamārama i ngā kupu me ngā tikanga o tētehi iwi. Heoi, hei tā Wierzbicka (2013), i mahue tā Keesing whakatakoto tikanga whakawhiti/māori ariā kia āta tūtakitaki ai ngā taha e rua o te piriti e tauwehea ai tētahi iwi me āna tikanga, tōna reo i tētehi, arā, te taha e whakamārama ana i te ariā ki te taha nōna te ariā e whakamāramahia ana;

One crucial ingredient, however, was missing from his [Keesling’s] recipe: a workable semantic methodology, without which the would-be “explainer” and interpreter of other cultures cannot bridge the conceptual gap between the language that is being explained and the language of explanation. In the case of *mana*, it is only by breaking the concept into parts that Māori shares with English that this cultural concept can be truly explained to speakers of English. (wh. 153-4)

Hei tā Wierzbicka (2013, wh. 154) anō mō te “mana”, ehara i te mea mā ngā kupu o te reo Ingarihi, arā, mā “identity” rāua ko “integrity” e ora ai tēnei o ngā ariā motuhake ake o te ao Māori, engari, mā roto atu o ngā ariā o ia iwi, o ia iwi puta noa i te ao.²¹⁴ Ko ngā ariā nei hei tūāpapa mō ngā whare kōrero o ia iwi, o ia iwi (“semantic primes”), arā, e wetekina ana ngā here o te reo Ingarihi e

²¹⁴ Ko ngā kupu ake a Anna Wierzbicka, i pēnei nā: “Māori cultural and conceptual treasures cannot be “saved” through English terms like *identity* and *integrity*. They can, however, be “saved” from obliteration if we draw on humankind’s shared conceptual resources and try to articulate the meanings of Māori key concepts in universal human concepts.”

Nō reira, he aha koia nā kei tua o te kiri Māori? He kupu whakatepe

He kupu Māori 'hou' te kupu 'tuakiri' e kōrerohia nuitia nei e ngā tira hou o te reo Māori. Ahakoa te tawhito o te kupu 'tuakiri,' he mea whakawhānui tōna aronga kia uru(tomo) mai tētehi tikanga hou: ko te 'identity.'

Engari, kāore i 'haere maro-kore' noa mai rānei te kupu pēnei i 'tuakiri,' me ana whakapapa i roto i te kupu 'identity.' Ko te mahi a te kupu nei he whakatākirikiri i te taura tangata kia tū tōtahi ai ia i te ao, kia riro mā ngā āhukatanga o 'roto' i a ia e tohu 'ko wai ia.'

Ko tāku i whai ai i te upoko nei he whakaatu i ngā āhukatanga o te reo Māori, o te tikanga Māori i taea ai ētehi āhukatanga e kīia nei ināianei ko te 'tuakiri.' He wā ko te 'mana' tērā e kōrerohia ana, he wā anō ko te 'whakapapa', ko te 'tūrangawaewae', ko te 'Māoritanga', ko te 'iwitanga' rānei. Ko te pepeha, ko te ngeri, ko te mita, ko te moko hoki ētehi o ngā tikanga o te ao Māori hei tohu 'nā wai te tangata, nō whea ia.'

Engari, nā runga i te whakaaro, e 'paroparo' ana te reo Māori i tīkina atu ai ētehi kupu Pākehā hei kupu mātāmua, ā, ka hangā mai ko te kupu Māori kia noho 'mātāmuri.' Ko te ruinga tērā o te purapura o te kupu 'tuakiri' i roto i te reo Māori. E tika ana te kōrero, i te āhua tūpāpaku te kupu 'tuakiri' tawhito,' heoi, hāunga te kupu, ko te 'ariā' nei o te 'identity' e mahi ana ānō ko te 'hōiho a Toro', ko te 'pīpīwharaua': ka uru ki te kōhanga o te reo, ka pangā e ia ētehi atu ariā Māori, whakaaro Māori.

Ehara tēnei i te tohe kia kua te reo e tupu, e whanake. Inā hoki, kua 'oma kē te hōiho,' arā, kua tau te puananī nei, te kupu 'tuakiri,' ki ngā whārua, ki ngā raorao o te reo Māori, ā, tūperepere ana te tupu. Heoi anō te mahi i tēnei upoko, he pakirehua i ngā pānga o te tangata whenua o te kupu nei, a 'tuakiri' i heke mai i ngā tātai whakapapa o reo kē ka uru mai ai ki roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Koia tēnei ko te āhukatanga i whakamangeo mai: ko te kupu 'tuakiri' he kupu Māori tonu. Ākuanei he kupu Māori 'tawhito,' 'tūturu' hoki. Engari nāna kua urutomo mai ētehi tikanga kē atu e kaha ake ai te tahuri o te tangata ki a ia anō, arā, ki 'tua o tōna anō kiri,' tē aro kē ai ki ngā āhukatanga i 'Māori' ai tātou (i 'Tūhoe' ai, i 'Waikato' ai rānei), arā, ko te matemateāone, ko te whakapapa, ko ā tātou tikanga, ā tātou tāhuhu kōrero.

Upoko Tuaono: He ohaoha rānei te ōhanga?

Ko te pātai mātāmua a Ian Christensen i te upoko tuatahi o tana tuhingaroa mō te tohu paetoru, arā, i *Te Whare Whakamana*, ko tēnei nā: “He aha ngā āhukatanga ka pā ki te heke, te whakaora, me te whakapūmau i te reo Māori?” (Christensen, 2001, wh. 5)²¹⁵

Hei tā lan, ko taua pātai rā;

e whakaatu ana i te hononga tata o te oranga o tētahi reo me ngā āhukatanga noho, āhukatanga *ohanga*, āhukatanga tōrangapū, āhukatanga nehe o te iwi nō rātou te reo. E haere ana te whakaora i te reo Māori i te taha o ngā whakanekeneke hapori, ahurea, *ohaoha*, torangapū hoki e whāia ana puta noa i te ao. (Christensen, 2001, wh. 5)

He mea tuhi e lan tana tuhingaroa ki ngā reo e rua: e takamua ana ko te wāhanga reo Pākehā, ā, e takamuri ana ko te wāhanga reo Māori. Heoi, ahakoa tana hiahia kia mātua tuhia tana tuhingaroa ki te reo Māori, hei tāna, i te mutunga iho i uaua rawa, he nui nō ngā kōrero i torona rā e ia, he mea tuhi ki te reo Pākehā. Nō reira, ko te upoko tuatahi anake i mātua tuhia ki te reo Māori, kātahi ka whakawhitia ki te reo Pākehā, ko ērā atu katoa o ngā upoko i mātua tuhia ki te reo Pākehā, ka whakamāorititia mai ai i muri mai.²¹⁶

Nā, e ai ki a Ian Christensen i runga ake nei, e whai “hononga nui” ana ngā “āhukatanga *ohanga*” ki te oranga o tētehi reo, ā, e “haere ana ngā āhukatanga whakaora reo i te taha o ngā whakanekeneke *ohaoha*.” Ki te wāhanga reo Pākehā o tana tuhingaroa, ko ngā kupu i tīkina atu hei ‘kākahu’ i nga kupu Māori o runga nei, i a ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’,²¹⁷ otirā i ngā whakaaro o roto, ko ‘economic’ me ‘socio-economic’ (Christensen, 2001, wh. 4).²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Ki te wāhanga reo Pākehā o tā lan tuhingaroa, e pēnei ana: “What are the macro-level influences on Maori language decline, revitalisation, maintenance and transmission?” (Christensen, 2001, wh. 4)

²¹⁶ E ai ki a Ian Christensen (2001), “The Maori and English versions are not word for word translations, rather an attempt has been made to represent the ideas in both languages” (wh. vi).

²¹⁷ Ahakoa ko tā lan Christensen he whakamahi i te kupu ‘ohanga,’ i muri mai ko ‘ōhanga’ kē te kupu e kitea nuitia ana, e rangona nuitia ana. Koirā hoki te kupu i *Te Matatiki* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996, wh. 201).

²¹⁸ E pēnei ana te roanga atu o ngā kōrero a Ian Christensen: “The first question recognises that the health of a language is closely connected and dependent on the socio-economic, historical and political realities within which a language group exists. The context for revitalising the Maori language relates to the social,

I tēnei upoko ka mātaihia atu te āhuetanga e pā ana ki te whakamoea atu o ngā kupu Māori nei, o 'ohaoha,' o 'ōhanga' ki ngā kupu Pākehā, arā, ki 'economic' me ōna kupu e whanaunga ana,²¹⁹ pēnei i tā Ian Christensen i tauira ai.²²⁰

Ko ngā āhuetanga nui nei, arā, ko te whakamāorihia o te kupu rānei, o te kōrero reo Pākehā rānei, kia noho ko ōna ariā, ko ōna huatau, ko ōna mātāpono hei iho, ā, kākahuria ana taua iho rā ki te 'kupu Māori hou,' nō te upoko tuarima kē tēnei tūāhuetanga i kōrerohia ai e pā ana ki te kupu 'tuakiri' (Tirohia ngā kōrero: 'Tuakiri': He kupu nō te matatiki o ngā kupu Māori hou i wh. 168-186).

Engari, ko taku pātai: He aha rā kei te iho o tētehi reo? Ā, mehemea e whakamāori noa ana tātou i ngā kupu o te reo Pākehā, he aha te rerekē o te reo Māori o nāianei i te reo Pākehā? E āhua whai ana hoki tēnei i ngā kōrero o te upoko tuarima mō te 'tuakiri'.

Ka mātua tōmenehia te whakapapa o ngā kupu nei, o 'ohaoha,' me 'ōhanga,' tae atu ki ngā nekeneke o te wā i hangā mai ai. Kātahi ka ārohitia te whakapapa o te kupu nei, a 'economics' (me ana uri, me 'economy' rāua ko 'economic').

Ka mātai haerehia hoki te āhua o te reo Māori i mua i te waihangatanga mai o ngā kupu 'ōhanga' me 'ohaoha' hei taunaki i te whakaaro he tikanga kē ā tātou hei kōrero i ngā āhuetanga e karangahia nei e te Pakehā ko te 'economy.'

Ka whakatakotohia hoki taku whakapae ko te whakamoetanga atu o 'ohaoha' (me 'ōhanga') ki te kupu 'economy' he mahi whakapūnguru i ngā tirohanga Māori, ngā whakaaro Māori, otirā ngā tikanga Māori tonu e pā ana ki te whaioranga o tātou te iwi Māori.

Mutu kau anō, ka hoki anō ki te pātai o te upoko nei: He ohaoha rānei te ōhanga?

cultural, economic and political restructuring that has taken place in New Zealand and throughout the world" (Christensen, 2001, wh.5)

²¹⁹ Me 'economy,' 'economics' hoki.

²²⁰ E 45 ngā tūponotanga o te kupu 'ohaoha' i tā Ian Christensen tuhingaroa, e 25 anō ngā tūponotanga ki te kupu 'ohanga,' ā, e 5 ki te 'ohapori.'

Te whakapapa o ‘ōhanga’ rāua ko ‘ohaoha’

Ahakoia e ako tonu au i te reo i taua wā, kāore aku mahara ki te kupu ‘ōhanga’ i a au e taiohi ana, tae atu ki ngā tau i āhua mārō ai taku whai i te reo, ka tahuri ai ki te mahi i roto i te KKM. I aua tau rā, he kaha taku whakawhirinaki atu ki te papakupu a *Te Wiremu*, otirā ki te whai haere i te whakapapa o ētehi kupu, tae atu ki ngā wāhi i tūpono kitea ai aua kupu hei tauira mō roto o taua papakupu rā. Nō reira, i te rongonga tuatahitanga ki te kupu ‘ōhanga’ e whakamahia ana hei kupu taurite mō te ‘economy’ ka huri atu au ki taku hoa papakupu, ki a *Te Wiremu*, rokohanga atu, he ōrite te kupu ‘ōhanga’ ki te kupu ‘kōhanga’.²²¹ Hua ake ana te whakaaro i a au, e whakaritea ana ngā āhuatanga o te ‘economy’ ki ngā āhuatanga o te ‘kōhanga,’ arā, o te whāngai, o te whakatupu a te kātua i te pīpī. Inā hoki, ki te Kūkarahia te whakapapa o te kupu ‘economy,’²²² puta ana te kōrero nei:

late 15th century (in the sense ‘management of material resources’): from French *économie*, or via Latin from Greek *oikonomia* ‘household management,’ based on *oikos* ‘house’ + *nemein* ‘manage.’ Current senses date from the 17th century.

Arā, ko te tikanga taketake o te ‘economy’ nō mai anō i te rautau 15 ko ngā āhuatanga whakahaere o te kāinga. Mohoa nei, he wairua kē anō tō taua kupu rā, taihoa kōrerohia ai.

Heoi, ohorere kau ana, rangirua ana hoki i te kitenga atu i te kupu ‘oha,’ ‘ohaoha’ rānei e whakamahia ana i ōna anō wā, i ōna wāhi hei kupu taurite mō ‘ōhanga,’ me taku mōhio anō ki te tikanga o taua kupu, e kōrero tonuhia ana hoki mō te ‘mihi’ rānei (ko ‘maioha’ hoki), mō te ‘ngākau marae,’ te ‘ngākau māhorahora’ rānei (Williams, 1971, wh. 237).²²³ E whanaunga ana hoki te ‘ohaoha’ ki te ‘ōhākī’ (ki te ‘oha-ā-kī’ rānei), he kupu ‘hirahira’ i roto i ngā tikanga Māori i roto o *Te Mātāpunenga* (Benton et al., 2013, wh. 271-82).²²⁴

²²¹ Tirohia ngā whakamārama mō ‘ōhanga’ i Apitihanga 3: Ngā kupu ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori, wh. 296

²²² I Kūkarahia ko “economy etymology” i te tau 1 o Hūrae 2022.

²²³ Tirohia a Apitihanga 2: Ngā kupu ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori (wh. 307)

²²⁴ Ko te roanga atu o te ingoa o te pukapuka nei, ko *Te Mātāpunenga: A compendium of references to the concepts and institutions of Māori customary law*.

Nō reira, ko 'ohaoha' rāua ko 'ōhanga,' he kupu i tāmōre kē ngā pakiaka i roto i te reo Māori, ehara i te mea i pipī kau mai i te 'matatiki' o ngā kupu 'hou' o 1990.

Nō te tau 1992 puta tuatahi ai ngā kupu hou ahua 3,500 nei a Te Taura Whiri i roto o *Te Matatiki: Ngā kupu hou*, ā, ko te teina, ko *Te Matatiki: Contemporary Māori words*, i puta mai i te tau 1996 me te 3,000 anō o ngā kupu (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c, 1996). I te tuakana ka takoto atu a 'ohaoha' hei 'kupu taurite' mō te kupu 'economics' (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992c). Heoi, ka whā tau i muri mai, ko 'ōhanga' kē tērā i kīia atu ko te kupu taurite mō 'economics' (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996).²²⁵

Kāore he whakapapa o ngā kupu Māori 'hou' i te whakaputanga tuatahi o *Te Matatiki*, nō reira karekau he makenu i reira e kitea ai ngā takahanga whakaaro o te kaihanganga kupu o te 'ohaoha.' Heoi, ahakoa tērā, e kitea ana ōna take i roto o *He Muka* i te putanga o "Ngā kupu hou o te kura" i te tau 1991, kei reira a 'mātauranga ohaoha' hei kupu mō te 'economics' me 'mātauranga ohaoha kāinga' mō 'home economics' (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1991),²²⁶ ā, he tau anō i muri mai ka puta anō a 'ohaoha' i *He Muka*, i te kōrero mō te "wā o te wahine", arā, he "whakanui i nga wāhine Māori o roto i ngā tau kua whakapau i ō rātou kaha ki ngā take pāpori, ā, ki ngā take *ohaoha*, hei painga mō tātou, mō te iwi Māori, otirā mō ngā iwi katoa o Aotearoa" (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1993b).²²⁷ Ko 'ohaoha' rāua tahi ko 'pāpori' he kupu 'hou' i totō mai i *Te Matatiki*, ka kawea atu e ngā kura, e *He Muka* hoki ki ngā taringa pīkari, ki ngā karu pānui o ngā kaiako me ngā tamariki o roto i ngā kura, me ēra atu o te hunga e ako ana i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua e riro nei mā te papakupu e whāngai i te kupu i te korenga o te kātua.²²⁸

²²⁵ Tirohia a wh. 182 mō ētehi kōrero mō *Te Matatiki*.

²²⁶ E kitea ana i te kuputaka nei ētehi o nga kupu kua āhua tangata whenua i roto i te reo Māori ināianei (2022), pēnei i 'tōrangapū' (engari kua whakarērea te 'pūtaiao tōrangapū,' arā, te 'political science') me 'mātauranga matū' (chemistry). Heoi, ko ētehi anō kua ngaro atu ki te pō, pēnei i te 'mātauranga whatu' (physics), 'mātauranga marau ā-iwi' (social studies), 'mātauranga wairangi (psychiatry) me 'pūrangā kēmia' (chemical store).

²²⁷ Ko te kaupapa ko tā te wāhanga Māori o te Mīnitatanga mō ngā Wāhine i whakatū ai hei whakatairanga i te "mana wahine Māori."

²²⁸ Kāore i te kitea atu a 'pāpori' i *Te Matatiki* o te tau 1996, engari e ai ki *He Pātaka Kupu* (2008), he kupu hou a 'pāpori.' Heoi, kei roto katoa a 'hapori' (community, social), 'taupori' (population, demographical) me 'pori' (phylum) i *Te Matatiki* i puta i te tau 1996, ā, ko te 'pori' o roto i aua kupu he kupu anō mō te 'iwi.'

No te tau 1994 i puta ai “He kupu ohanga” ki te rārangi o ngā kupu hou o *He Muka*. E noho mātāmua ana i reira ngā kupu reo Pākehā pēnei i ‘economics’ (ohanga), ‘economic problem’ (urupounamu ohanga), ‘economic solution’ (urupare ohanga) me ‘economic system’ (pūnaha ohanga), ā, kāore he tohutō i konei o te kupu ‘ohanga’ (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1992a).

Tae rawa ki te putanga tuarua o *Te Matatiki* e āta whakaaturia ana te whakapapa o te kupu ‘ōhanga,’ ā, kitea atu ana ko te whakamoetanga o ngā kupu ‘ō’ rāua ko ‘hanga.’ Ka takoto hoki ngā whakamārama reo Pākehā mō aua kupu: ‘ō’ [‘provisions for a journey’] me ‘hanga’ [‘to make, build, fashion, business, practice, etc.’] (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996). Nō reira, ko te ‘ōhanga,’ he ōrite ki te ‘mahi kai,’ engari kāore i whai i tā reo Māori whakatakoto e noho nei te kupu mahi hei upoko, ko te kupu ingoa ia ka noho hei whiore.²²⁹

Nō te tau 1993 i puta ai *Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa* hei “tuāpapa hou mō te āhua o te whakaako me te ako i roto i ngā kura [Māori] o Aotearoa” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1993a).²³⁰ Ā, nāna te huarahi i para kia whai i muri mai ko te tauākī mō te Tikanga ā-iwi i roto i *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* i te tau 2000 (Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2000). Ko *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* tētehi o ngā pārekereke mō ngā kupu hou pēnei i te kupu ‘ohaoha.’ Nō te tau 2008 i whakahoungia anō ai a *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (Dale, 2016), ā, pihi ake ana i te wāhanga ako o te Tikanga ā-iwi ko ‘ohaoha’ rāua tahi ko ‘ōhanga’ (Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2017).²³¹

Nō te tau 2004 i tīmata ai te puta o ngā papakupu mō ngā wāhanga ako o TMOA a *He Kupenga Hao i te Kupu* mā Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga. Ā, nā wai ra, ka whakairihia aua kupu rā ki te pae ipurangi o *PaeKupu*: e 43 ō reira kupu e whai wāhi atu nei te kupu ‘oha,’ ‘ohaoha’ rānei, ā, 19 ngā kupu e whai wāhi atu nei a ‘ōhanga,’ ā, kei roto i ngā kupu

²²⁹ Mehemea i pērā, kua ‘hangaō’ kē a ‘ōhanga.’

²³⁰ Tirohia hoki ngā kōrero mō *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* i te upoko tuarima.

²³¹ Ahakoa te piki o te mana o te kura Māori, o te reo Māori, o te mātauranga Māori i te whakaaetanga kia tuhia, kia hangaia *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, i te mutunga iho, ko tā ngā kaituhi he “hīkoi i runga i ngā tapuwae o ngā kaituhi o ngā marautanga reo Pākehā”, arā, he mea whakamāori ngā kōrero Pākehā, ehara i te mea i tino wātea ngā kaituhituhi Māori ki te hanga i tā rātou anō ‘marautanga Māori’ (Dale, 2016, wh. 23).

Pākehā ‘taurite’ ko ‘economy,’ ko ‘economic,’ ko ‘finance’ rānei (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).²³²

Nō reira ko ngā purapura o ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ i mātua ruia e Te Taura Whiri ki *He Muka*, ki *Te Matatiki* hoki i te ngahuru tau 1990, ka more, ka rea, ka puāwai. Rere ana ngā puananī ki roto i ngā kura, arā, mā *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, me ōna papakupu,²³³ rauemi tautoko hoki, ā, ururua ana i roto i te reo Māori.

Hei aha mā wai?

Tērā te uia o te pātai, hei aha mā wai te whakapapa o ngā kupu e rua nei, me te whakamoea atu o aua kupu rā ki te kupu Pākehā? Inā hoki, hei tā ētehi pea, e pērā ana te āhua o ngā reo katoa, me tupu, me whanake te reo kia kīia he reo ora. Ka mutu, ko te reo kāore nei e tupu, e panoni, e huri, haere nei te wā, huri nei hoki te ao, engai ka kowhatu, ko whakarōau, ka paroparo, ka mate.

Kāti, ehara tēnei i te tohe kia kua te reo Māori e tupu, e whanake. Heoi anō tāku e whakapae nei he rerekē noa atu te tupu noa o te reo ānō e pihī noa ake ana i te whenua i te reo e āta rawekehia ana, pēnei i te rerekē o te tamaiti Māori i aitia i runga i te takapau wharanui tērā i te tiki atu i te ira o te tangata (Pākehā), ka mātua raweke ai i taua ira rā, kātahi ka whakairatia ki rō ipuipu, ka whakatōkia atu ki te kōpū Māori.²³⁴ He aha te pānga o taua raweketanga, ā, e tika ana kia kīia he (kupu) Māori, he (kupu) Pākehā rānei?

He whaitake nei hoki te take ki a au nei nā, nā te mea he kaha ake te whakahirahira o ētehi kupu (me ētehi atu āhuatanga) o tētehi reo. Ehara pea i te mea nui, āe rānei, he ‘tēpu’ te tēpu, he ‘tūpapa’ rānei te tēpu. Engari ko au nei e mea ana, he kupu ‘hirahira’ te kupu ‘ohaoha’ i te reo Māori, he kupu ‘hirahira’ hoki te ‘economy’ i te reo Pākehā. Ka mutu, nō te reo ‘kaha’ te mea Pākehā o rāua, nō reira, e rite ana ki te āta whakatō i te

²³² Hāunga te mea kotahi o ngā kupu nō te wāhanga ako o Hauora, ko ērā atu katoa nō te wāhanga ako o te Tikanga ā-iwi.

²³³ Tirohia hoki ngā whakamārama mō Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, ngā tauāki me ngā rauemi tautoko i ngā kōrero mō te ‘tuakiri’ i wh. 161.

²³⁴ E kōrerohia ana te ‘genetic manipulation,’ te ‘in-vitro fertilisation’ hoki.

‘taru tawhiti,’ matomato ana te tupu, ko ngā tupu Māori taketake, toimaha ana, haumate ana, urutā ana.

Hei kōrero whakamutunga māku mō te take i āhua remurere ai au ki te wewete i ngā kōrero mō te ‘ohaoha’ i whakamoea atu ki a ‘economy,’ ko te ngau i roto i au o te tino tauaro o te ‘ohaoha’ me ngā āhuatanga e kīia nei e te Pākehā ko te ‘economy.’ Ka mutu, ko te kupu ‘economy’ he uri nō te taniwha nei, a Hao, nāna i tino raungaiti ai tātou, te iwi Māori, ka pā ko ngā tini raru o te kāinga (Tirohia te wāhanga: Ko Tāmi-mata-tini i wh. 65).

Heoi, kia huri ake tātou ki te whakamātautau i ēnei whakapae āku. Kia mātua tūhuratia ake ngā kawai o te kupu nei, otirā o te huatau ‘economy’.

Te whakapapa o te kupu ‘Economy’

E ai ki a Gibson-Graham (2005), nō te mutunga o te rautau 20 noa iho nei i kaha ake ai te takarurehia o te ‘economy’ e te ngutu tangata hei mea ‘motuhake’ ake i waho mai (i runga ake rānei) i ngā mahi a te tangata o ia rā, o ia rā. Ko te ‘economy’ e kōrerohia nei, ko ngā mea pēnei i ‘te moni, ngā māketete, ngā rawa, ngā taonga hokohoko, tae atu ki ngā ringaringa, ki ngā waewae o ngā tangata e whakatutuki nei i ngā mahi o te māketete, ngā mahi whakahaere kamupene, te whakangao i te pūtea kia tupu ai taua pūtea, te hanga taonga me te whakamahinga, whakapaunga rānei o aua taonga, te whairawa o te tangata me te noho nama o te tangata, me te whakataetae’ (wh. 94).

Hei tāna anō, kua kawea kētia te ‘economy’ mai i tana aronga ki ngā kaupapa hei painga mō te iwi, ki ngā kaupapa hei painga mō te tangata kotahi, arā;

[O]ver the past 30 years (the) “economy” has been gathering a new set of powerful and emotive meanings in popular discourse, sliding in the process from the left, where **economism** was always social(ist)ly acceptable, to the right, where systematic thinking that displaces the primacy of the individual is usually outlawed. (Gibson-Graham, 2005, wh. 94; Nā te kaituhi anō i miramira)

He mea whakaahua nā Gibson-Graham (2005) ngā kopikopikotanga o te kupu ‘economy’ i roto i ngā rautau mai i ōna take i roto i te reo Kirīki i te rautau 14 (i kōrerohia rā i wh. 207), arā, ko ngā tikanga whakahaere i te ‘kāinga,’ tae atu ki ngā tikanga whakahaere o

te 'hāhi (Katorika),' o te 'tinana me te 'taiao' hoki i te rautau 15, o te 'hinengaro o te tangata,' o tētehi 'iwi i tana rohe whenua'²³⁵ hoki i te rautau 16, o te 'pono' i te rautau 18, tae atu ki te 'economic system' i te rautau 20 (wh. 94).

Tae rawa atu ki te rautau 19 ka toro ngā kāwai o Hao-rawa ki roto i ngā mahi a te iwi nui tonu: ōna 'whare,' ōna 'ritenga' (Gibson-Graham, 2005, wh. 95).

Hokia ana te 'economy' o te rautau ka taha nei, mohoa nei, torona ana ko ngā mātāpono pūtaiao kia piki tūranga ai i roto i te ao mātauranga.²³⁶

Eager to establish its credentials as a science, neo-classical economics borrowed liberally from the flourishing field of physics and mechanics, adopting concepts such as equilibrium, elasticity, friction, inflation, expansion and stability to represent the lawful operations of prices and markets. (Grossberg, 2005, wh. 95)

Poua ana hoki ko ngā 'pou' o te 'economy,' arā, ko ōna kura, ko ōna whare wānanga e ākona ai taua 'mātauranga,' tae atu ki ōna pēke.²³⁷

Kātahi ka 'tina a runga,' ka 'tāmōre a raro'²³⁸ o te 'economy, i te tūhonohonotanga o ngā iwi katoa o te ao, ā, rewa ana te 'economy' ki runga, ānō he atua. Hei tā Donald Horne, korekore ana tēnei mea te 'iwi,' ā, ngaro katoa ana te tangata i roto i te hanga e kīia nei ko te 'Economy,' arā;

Real people, as manifest in 'society,' have been melted down into an abstraction called "The Economy", which we all serve, as if it rises above us. No-one any longer seems able to speak a human language of economic change; instead politicians recite the latest figures as if they were magic charms. (Horne, 2002, wh. 5; He mea kite i roto i a Gibson-Graham, 2005, wh. 96).

²³⁵ E kōrerohia ana te 'nation.'

²³⁶ Hei tā Gibson-Graham (2005), "As representations of systems have become increasingly influenced by biological and mechanical theories of self-regulation, the tension embedded within the term "economy" between management (as a practice of intervention) and system (that manages itself) has periodically loosened and tightened, drastically changing the meaning of the word." (wh. 94)

²³⁷ Arā, ko te 'World Bank' me te 'International Monetary Fund.'

²³⁸ Tirohia as Mead rāua ko Grove (2001, wh. 125): 'He tina ki runga, he tāmōre ki raro.' Heoi, he wairua kē tō te whakataukī nei i konei. E whakaritea ana te 'economy' ki tētehi rākau pakari, arā, nā te tāmōre o ngā pakiaka ki te whenua i tina ai a runga.

Ā, taka rawa ki ngā kaupapa o te 40 tau ka taha nei, e kīia ana tātou me tū ki te ‘umu pokapoka a Tū,’ arā, ki te ‘māketē,’ whakataetae ai mō te ora, kua kē tātou i tū i tā te ‘uru kahikatea’ tū, e tauawhi ai tētehi i tētehi.

This naturalization/deification of the economy must be seen in the light of the continued hold of neo-liberal economic orthodoxy over policy since the heady days of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. The rejection of economic intervention of any sort (Keynesian, social-democratic, welfarist, “wet” that might hinder the operations of the “free market” is central to the neo-liberal agenda. And in the intensely ideological realm of national economic “deregulation”, “the market” and “the economy” have become one and the same. (Gibson-Graham, 2005)

Ko Roger Douglas rāua ko Ruth Richardson kē hei kanohi mō ngā kaupapa e ū ana ki ngā mātāpono o te ‘māketē’ i Aotearoa nei, me te aha, kaha ake ana te tūhāhā o te tū o te whairawa, o te rawakore (Duncan, 2007; Kelsey, 1997, 2015; Rashbrooke, 2021).²³⁹

Nā, hāunga ngā tikanga kē o te kupu ‘economy’ i roto i te takanga o te wā, hei tā Matt Scobie rāua ko Anna Sturman, ehara i te mea ko te ‘economy’ anake te huarahi e whaioranga ai te tangata, arā, “what we call the *economy* is what we call *one* aspect of a mode of production: that is ‘the social activity and the social relations through which human beings interact with nature in producing the conditions of life” (Scobie & Sturman, 2024; Nāku anō i miramira).

Hei tā Matt rāua ko Anna anō, he maha tonu ngā momo tikanga e whaioranga ai te iwi. Heoi, e herea ana rāua ki te whakamahi i te kupu ‘economy’ i roto i ā rāua whakamārama reo Pākehā mō te āhua o ngā iwi ‘he kai kei [ngā] ringaringa,’ arā, he iwi ka whakataukītia ko ‘te toto o te tangata he kai, [ko] te oranga o te tangata he whenua’.²⁴⁰ Inā tā rāua;

Today, in Aotearoa we live in a locally mediated capitalist mode of production within a global capitalist *economy*, the determining force of which is profit. This means that, while other forms of production exist at different scales, like subsistence *economies*, cooperatives, commons and, indeed, Māori *economies*, the dominant system of organising the production

²³⁹ Ko te hokotanga atu o ngā taonga o te motu ki te tangata kotahi, ko te whakaheketanga o te tāke i runga i te hunga whairawa, ko te whakaheketanga hoki o te utu penihana, ko te heke o te mana o te kaimahi, me te piki o te mana o te rangatira i te *Employment Contracts Act*

²⁴⁰ E whakamahia ana e au ngā whakataukī e rua nei hei whakaahua i tā Matt Scobierāua ko Anna Sturman i kī rā he ‘subsistence economy,’ he ‘Māori economy’ hoki. Kei roto i ngā mahinga kai o te ao Māori te ohu o te mahi (‘cooperatives’) me te whaioranga o te hapū katoa i aua mahinga rā.

and exchanges of resources we all need to live is structured in the imperatives of capitalism. (Scobie & Sturman, 2024, wh. 14)

Heoi, ko te 'economy' kua 'rewa ake ki runga,' kua toro ana pakiaka ki ngā pito katoa o te ao, i kōrerohia rā e Gibson-Graham i runga, ko te mea nui ki a Hao-rawa, ko te mahi moni.

Nō reira, he maha ngā momo 'economy,' ngā momo 'ōhanga,' ngā momo tikanga mahi kai a te iwi, engari ehara pea te 'ōhanga' 'kua rewā ake ki runga' i te ohaoha.

Hua ana hoki te pātai mehemea rā kei te hangā mai te kupu Māori hou hei kākahu mō te kupu 'economy,' ko tēwhea o ngā 'economy' tērā: ko tērā o te rautau 14, ko tō nāianeī rānei?

Hei tā Luigi Alonzi e whainiho ana te kupu i te ao, nō reira hanga pōraruraru ana pea te tangata ki te whakawhiti i taua kupu ki reo kē i runga anō i te rerekē o te wairua o te kupu i roto i ngā huringa o te wā;

The effect of 'materiality' is revealed in a particular way when dealing with the problems raised by the translation of a word/concept in different historical contexts. (Alonzi, 2022)

Hei tāna anō;

This is what happens when reading the word *Oeconomy/Economy* in texts belonging to the past: our minds immediately make an association with the modern concept of *economy*, with all its implications, and we have to struggle each time to separate the old words from the modern concept, replacing them in their exact linguistic context. (Alonzi, 2022)

Nā, ko tāku e whakaaro nei i te kore ai o te kupu 'ōhanga' i ā tātou kōrero tuku iho, otirā i roto i ngā tikanga whakaaro a kui, koro mā, he kupu hou rā hoki, nō reira he aha te pānga o te urunga mai ōna ki te reo? Tērā te tūmanako mō ngā kupu Māori hou kia 'whakaahuatia te ao o nāianeī ki te ao o mua, hei oranga mō te reo ā muri nei,'²⁴¹ engari

²⁴¹ Koia te kōrero kei te tuarā o *Te Matatiki*: "Te Matatiki – the springboard to the 21st century, using the past to describe the present and secure the future of the Māori language." Nā Timoti Kāretu, Tumuaki o Te Taura Whiri te kōrero nei (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996).

kei te whakamahia te ao Pākehā o mua, o nāiane hoki (te 'economy') hei whakaahua i te ao o nāiane.

Kia kōrerohia te kawenga o tētehi kupu pēnei i 'economy' ki roto o reo kē, he kawenga hoki ki roto i tētehi 'ao kē,' arā;

The problem of the translatability of texts, sharpened by the increasing awareness that a linguistic translation is first and foremost a cultural translation. (Alonzi, 2022)

Ka mutu, i te tini o ngā wairua o te kupu 'economy,' me ōna kāwai maha i roto i ngā tāhuhu whakaaro i whanake mai ai te reo Pākehā, ākuanei pea me waiho kē mā te ia o te whakaaro e tohu me pēwhea te whakamāorihia mai, kua ia e noho punga ki te kupu Māori kotahi.^{242 243}

He kupu hirahira

He 'kupu hirahira' te kupu 'economy.' Ko ngā 'kupu hirahira' o te reo Pākehā i tohu tuatahinga e Raymond Williams i te tau 1976 (Williams, 2002). Ko te whai a Williams, kia tūhurangia ngā whakamahinga huhua o ētahi kupu pēnei i 'economy' kua hei punga i te kupu ki tētahi tikanga kotahi, engari ia kia kitea ai te whīwhiwhi o ngā tikanga (Grossberg, 2005, wh. xvii; Nāku anō i miramira).²⁴⁴ Heoi, he mea tohu te kupu 'economy' hei kupu 'hirahira' i te rautau 21, i te tuarua o ngā kohinga 'kupu hirahira' (Bennett et al., 2005).²⁴⁵

²⁴² Hei tā Luigi Alonzi (2022), "A political and social concept with many facets derived from its past uses cannot be reduced to a simple basic idea. Its manifold extra-linguistic content can be clarified only by alternating two types of analysis: semasiological (the study of all meanings of a term, word or concept) and onomasiological (the study of all names or terms for the same thing or concept)" (wh. vii).

²⁴³ He wā pea, ko 'oranga' hei kupu tata katoa ki te 'economy,' he wā anō pea ko te 'tauhokohoho,' ko te 'mahi moni,' ko te 'mahi kai' rānei. Ākuanei me kuhu 'maro-kore' noa mai ia, ka kīia ko 'ikonomi.' He rapunga whakaaro noa iho ēnei nāku, nā te kairangahau nei.

²⁴⁴ "...more concerned with exploring the complex uses of problem-laden words than it was with fixing their definition" (Grossberg, 2005, wh. xvii).

²⁴⁵ E kōrerohia ana te 'keyword.'

Engari he aha i kīia ai tētehi kupu he ‘hirahira’? Kāti, i pērā ai mō runga i tana kōpou i ngā tikanga, ngā iho matua, ngā ritenga o te iwi i kīia ai ia he iwi motuhake, me ana tikanga motuhake.²⁴⁶

Ko te kupu ‘hira,’ e ai ki a Williams (2002);

[Keywords] are significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant, indicative words in certain *forms of thought*. Certain uses bound together certain *ways of seeing of seeing culture and society, not least in these two most general words*. Certain other uses seemed to me to open up issues and problems, in the same general area, of which we all needed to be very much more conscious. Notes on a list of words; analyses of certain formations: these were the elements of an active vocabulary – a way of recording, investigating and presenting problems of meaning in the area in which the meanings of *culture* and *society* formed. (wh. 13; Nāku anō i miramira)

I kōrero a Williams mō tana hokinga ki te whare wānanga i te paunga o te whā me te hāwhe tau ōna i te Pakanga Tuarua o te Ao, kite rawa, rongorongo rawa, i te hurihanga o te ao i roto i taua wā, puta ana he reo kē, ahakoa ko te reo Pākehā tonu. Ka mutu, he āhuatanga hoki tērā nō ētahi whakatupuranga kē,²⁴⁷ nō ētahi wehenga rānei o roto i tētahi iwi, e noho mawehe ai, e whai tikanga kē ai, e whai kōrero kē ai hoki te hunga nui te mana, whairawa i ērā o taua iwi he rawakore, e kīia ana rānei he tūtūa, he ware. Ehara i te mea kei te ‘tika,’ kei te ‘hē’ rānei te whakamahia o te kupu, ahakoa pea te whai tētahi hunga kia kīia tōna reo he ‘tika.’

I roto i *Te Whare Whakahirahira*, e kīia ana te kōrero, ‘ko te reo me ngā tikanga hei tāhuhu,’ ā, ‘ko te iwi hei poutokomanawa’ (Tirohia te wāhanga: Te Whare Whakahirahira i wh. 33 & 69). Nō reira, ko ngā kupu whakahirahira a tētehi iwi ko ērā o

²⁴⁶ Ko te kupu hirahira, he kupu i whakaemihia mai “that capture the practices, institutions, and debates of contemporary society. Almost thirty years ago Raymond Williams’s Keywords set the standard for how we understand and use the language of culture and society. New Keywords reflects the transformation in culture and society since 1976 and is a state-of-the-art reference for students, teachers, and culture vultures everywhere.” (Bennett et al., 2005, Kei te iho o ngā kōrero)

²⁴⁷ Kua waiho nei hoki hei take taukumekume mā ngā whakareanga e pā ana ki te reo Māori, inā hoki, kāore ngā kaumātua i pakeke mai i roto i te reo i mārama ki ngā kupu e kōrerohia ana e te reanga rangatahi i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, i ngā whare wānanga, i ngā kura reo hoki. He rautaki tēnei nā ētahi o ngā ‘pou’ o roto i Te Taura Whiri, he kaiako hoki i ngā kura reo, i Te Panekiretanga hoki.

ngā momo kupu kei te kawē, kei te kōrero rānei i ngā tikanga motuhake ake o taua iwi rā. I roto i *Te Whare Whakahirahira* e tokona ake ana e te iwi Māori.²⁴⁸

Ko ngā 'tikanga' o *Te Whare Whakahirahira* ko ngā 'kupu hirahira' kei roto i ngā pukapuka pēnei i *Te Mātāpunenga* (Benton et al., 2013), *Tikanga Whakaaro* (Barlow, 1991), me *Tikanga Māori* (Mead, 2003). Arā hoki ngā tuhinga reo Māori a Te Wharehuia Milroy mō te 'whakapapa, te 'mana' me te 'tapu,' te 'wairua,' te 'kawanga whare,' te 'poroporoāki,' te 'whaikōrero' me te 'tikanga' i *Te Kōhure* (Moorfield, 2004) me *He Kupu Tuku Iho* (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018) me ā Pou Temara mō te 'tikanga' me te 'kawa' (Temara, 2011).

Hei tā Georgina Tuari Stewart, ko ngā iho matua, iho atua, kupu 'hirahira' rānei o te ao Māori, ko te 'whakapapa,' te 'mana me te 'tapu,' te 'mauri me te hau,' te 'utu,' te 'whanaungatanga,' te 'manaakitanga,' me te 'aroha' (Stewart, 2021a).

Nō reira, e taea ana pea te whakataurite atu i ngā kupu hirahira o te reo Pākehā ki ērā o te reo Māori kei *Te Mātāpunenga* me ērā atu o ngā pukapuka e kōrerohia ai ngā tikanga Māori. Heoi, ko te reo Pākehā ko tētahi o ngā reo o ngā iwi 'ringa taikaha,' 'muru whenua' (Mühlhäusler, 2002), he reo 'kaha,' ā, i tua atu o 'ōhanga,' kua uru haere kē mai ko ētahi o ana kupu 'hira' (Bennett et al., 2005; Williams, 1983; Williams, 2002) ki te reo Māori.²⁴⁹

Nō reira, e kīia ana te 'economy' he kupu hirahira i roto i te reo Pākehā, he reo kua toro ana kawekawe ki ngā tai e whā o te ao, ki roto hoki o ngā reo o aua whenua i taea e ia.

²⁴⁸ Ākuanei pea ka tohe ētehi i te kōrero mō 'te iwi Māori,' ka mea ake, kei tēnā iwi, kei tēnā hapū tōna anō Whare Whakahirahira, pēnei i Te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi (Stewart, 2021, wh. 35), ā, kāore hoki au i te whakahē i taua whakaaro rā.

²⁴⁹ Ko ngā kupu nei, ko 'ahurea,' 'tuakiri,' 'ōhanga,' 'pāpori' he kupu Māori 'hou' nō te 35 tau ka taha nei i hangā mai ai, ka puta i ngā papakupu a Te Taura Whiri rāua ko Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga. I hangā mai he i kupu 'taurite' mō ētehi kupu 'hirahira' o te reo Pākehā, pēnei i 'culture,' 'identity,' 'society,' ahakoa kei *Te Mātāpunenga* ngā kupu Māori, mā reira anō e kawea ai te whakaaro Māori, pēnei i 'tūrangawaewae,' i 'mana,' (mō ētehi āhuatanga o 'identity' – Tirohia hoki te Upoko Tuarima), i 'iwi' (mō ētahi āhuatanga o 'society'), i 'tikanga' (mō ētehi āhuatanga o 'culture').

He kupu, he ao

E ai ki te puna kupu mō ngā wāhanga ako o TMoA, ki a *PaeKupu*, ko te 'ōhanga' ko "ngā āhuatanga o tētahi rohe, o tētahi whenua, o tētahi rōpū rānei, e pā ana ki te whakaputa me te whakapau i ngā hautaonga, i ngā rawa, i ngā ratonga, me te moni" (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).

Nā, kei raro iho ko te kupu Pākehā, arā, ko 'economy' me ngā kupu whakamārama reo Pākehā nei, arā, "All aspects within an area, a country or a group which relate to the production and consumption of goods, resources, services and money" (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).

Nā, ka pānui ana au i ngā whakamārama reo Māori, ka manatu ngā whakaaro ki te kōrero nei a Leanne Hinton;

It is reported that some Māori native speakers say [...] of Māori children being educated in Māori immersion programs: 'They speak Māori, but they just spout English concepts'" (He mea kite i roto i a Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 139)

Nō reira, i roto i te 'whakamāoritanga' o te kōrero reo Pākehā, kua āhua 'whakapākehātia' noatia ko te reo Māori.

Ehara i te mea e tātāhia ana ngā kaituhi i ngā whakamārama. Heoi anō tēnei he kī ake, nō tētehi ao kē ngā kōrero reo Pākehā, ā, kei te kitea, kei te rangona hoki tana noho mātāmua, ko ngā kōrero reo Māori ia hei ātārangi noa iho mō te reo Pākehā.

Kua kōrero kētia ngā here o ngā kaituhituhi i *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* ki te whakamāori i te marautanga reo Pākehā, arā, te *New Zealand Curriculum*, nō reira, hei tā rātou, ahakoa kāore i eke ngā tūmanako kia tuhia tētehi 'marautanga' Māori ā-whakaaro, ā-mātauranga, ā-reo, mā te aha noa i te whakamāori mai i te mea reo Pākehā hei whakaora i te reo Māori e tāmatemate nei (Tirohia te wāhanga: *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* i wh. 170)

Heoi, kua pau te āhua 35 tau mai i taua wā, ā, he hokinga tēnei ki te wewete i ētehi o ngā whakaaro, o ngā kaupapa o roto i ngā tau me ngā pānga ki te reo Māori o nāianei.

Hei tauira mō te rerekē o te whakatakoto i te whakaaro ki te reo Māori i tā te reo Pākehā whakatakoto, ko ngā mātāpono Kaupapa Māori i tuhia rā e Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997, wh. 388). Ahakoa ko te tuingaroa he mea tuhi ki te reo Pākehā, ko aua mātāpono, i mātua tuhia ki te reo Māori, ā, ka noho ko ētehi kupu Pākehā hei whakamārama i te taha.

Nā , ko tētehi o ngā mātāpono kua kōrero nuitia i tēnei tuingaroa, ko te mea e whai ana “kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga.” Ko ā Hingangaroa Smith kupu Pākehā mō taua mātāpono e pēnei ana: “Mediation of socio-economic factors.”

I konei kei te noho motuhake mai ko te whakaaro Māori, ko te whakaaro Pākehā, kāore tētehi i te urutomo atu ki tērā atu. I te ao Māori, kei roto i te kupu ‘kāinga’ ngā āhuatanga e pā ana ki te ora o te tangata; ki te reo Pākehā wetekina ana te ao o te tangata ki te ‘ao ōhanga’ (‘economic’) me te ‘ao tangata’ (‘pāpori,’ ‘social’), kātahi ka tūhono anō kia kupu kotahi kia puta ko ‘socio-economic.’

I a Anna Wierzbicka e haehae ana i te kohinga a John Lucy i ētehi kupu o te reo Yucatec,²⁵⁰ engari whakamahia ana te reo Pākehā hei reo mātāmua, hei reo whakamārama hoki, ka mea ia, ehara i te mea ko ngā tikanga whakatakoto kupu anake e rerekē ana, engari ko ngā tikanga ake o ngā kupu.

[M]ost of the concrete lexicon in the two languages, English and Yucatec, is structured differently, not just in grammar, but in meaning. The habitual way of thinking about candles, bananas, knives, books, and so on entrenched in the two languages is different. (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 130)

Waihoki, e kawea atu ana e tātou tā tātou titiro ki te ao ki roto o tētehi reo kē, me te aha, rehurehu ana koia pea te wairua o taua reo, waiho ana hei reo kē, kua noa iho ā-kupu, engari ā-whakaaro tonu.

First, our understanding of the meaning structure of another language can be impeded by the categories of our own language (...). Second, our understanding of the nature of reality can be shaped by the categories of our own language (...). Our categories not only bias how we habitually see the world, they also seem to us uniquely suited to capturing that reality. Third, both of these effects (. . .) converge to create interpretive problems when

²⁵⁰ Ko te reo o tētehi o ngā iwi Maya o Amerika.

we try to understand how another people are seeing reality. (Lucy 2011: 64)
(Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 135)

E pērā ana hoki te ao Māori, otirā te reo Māori, kāore i kārawarawatia pēnei i te kārawarawahia o te ao o nāianeī: he ‘ahurea,’ he ‘tōrangapū,’ he ‘ōhanga,’ he ‘taiao.’ Katoa ēnei me kupu Māori ‘hou,’ nā te mea kāore he take o ēnei o ngā kupu i mua. Arā;

Culture was not something that floated untethered above politics and *economics*, as it is sometimes framed today, but was woven throughout. Culture was a mode of production or, more appropriately, a mode of life. Culture influenced economic, social, and environmental relations, and vice versa. It was not necessarily about controlling the means of production to extract profit, but about stewarding the means of reproduction. By reproduction, again we mean the ability for Māori to meet physical, spiritual and social needs – an expansive idea of reproduction we refer to as ‘lifeways,’ (Scobie & Sturman, 2024, wh. 28)

I te ao Māori kāore he tirohanga ki te ‘goods,’ ki te ‘services’ rānei i tua atu i te kī ko ngā momo ‘taonga,’ ko ngā momo ‘mahi,’ engari nā te mea he nui ngā tikanga o aua kupu rā, kua kore i pai kia whakamahia pēneitia, engari me hanga kupu Māori hou, kia mōhiotia ai ko ‘good’ me ‘hautaonga’ e taurite ana, ā, ko ‘service’ me ‘ratonga’ e taurite ana. Engari ehara i te mea nā te kore i taea e te reo Māori tana ao te kōrero i pērā ai. Kāore noa iho ia i kōrero i ngā āhuatanga katoa o te ao e ai ki tā te Pākehā titiro, ki tā te reo Pākehā whakatakoto.

Koia pea a Anna Wierzbicka i kī ai ka kimihia ana te māramatanga i roto i tētehi reo, me aro ki ōna āhuatanga ake, kua ki ngā āhuatanga o reo kē atu (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 136).²⁵¹

I tā Gianna Leoni tūhuranganga i te reo Māori i roto i ngā mahi tauhokohoko a te iwi Māori i te rautau 19, ka mea ia he māmā noa iho te whakawhitihia o te kupu Ingarihi ki roto i te reo Māori, pērā i te ‘moni’ me te ‘takihia’ (kua ‘tāke’ kē ināianeī).²⁵² Heoi, hei

²⁵¹ Hei tā Anna Wierzbicka (2013), “In trying to document endangered meanings, some compromises may often be necessary, or desirable. This doesn’t mean, however, that we can get insight into such meanings without making an effort to break away from culture-bound English concepts and trying to understand speakers of other languages *on their own terms*.” (wh. 155, Naku i miramira)

²⁵² “Several of the English economic terms are quite easily described in te reo Māori, such as “money” (“moni”), “exchanges” (“hokohoko”), “wages” (“utu o te mahi”; lit. “the cost of work”) and “taxes” (“takihi”; now “tāke”).” (wh. 39)

tāna, arā anō ngā kupu Ingarihi kāore e taea e te kupu Māori kotahi te whakaahua, engari me maha kē ngā kupu hei whakaahua, he rerekē nō te titiro a tētehi, a tētehi ki te ao;

[M]any of the English concepts required a longer explanation because the colonial context of the word used in English was unfamiliar in te reo Māori as a result of varying worldviews. For example, the word “hokohoko” is used to describe two different Māori concepts: exchange and commerce. The addition of “ke ano [kē anō]” (“again”, “another”). (Leoni, 2019)

Heoi, ko te mate o te kuputaka, o te rārangi kupu, kua tatū mai tētehi whakaaro me kotahi te kupu Māori hei kupu taurite mō te kupu Pākehā kotahi, ahakoa pea te ea o taua whakaaro i ētehi kupu tini.

Nā, i *PaeKupu*, i pū mai te ariā o roto i te kupu ‘ōhanga’ i te taha reo Ingarihi o te ‘manga’ (Tirohia te wāhanga: He manga wai koia kia whitikia? i wh. 183). Engari ko te hanga rārangi kupu, kuputaka hoki, me neke atu i te kawenga o te kupu Pākehā ki te taha reo Māori o te ‘manga’, kia kīia ai he kupu Māori, nē?²⁵³

Kāti, ko te pātai pea a ētehi, me aha rā? Ko te whakawhiti reo he manga wai koia kia kore e whitikia? Kāo. Kei te kī a Anna Wierzbicka, e pai ai te whakawhiti me ‘haere maro-kore mai’ ngā ariā ka whakawhiti atu ai ki roto o reo kē. Engari ko aua ariā rā me ariā e tangata whenua kē ana i ngā taha e rua o te manga, me kī.²⁵⁴

[T]he only terms which are really neutral and which can really free researchers from conceptual Anglocentrism, are shared terms, that is, words which are cross-translatable, words with matching counterparts in the target language, words with which an Anglophone researcher can speak to his or her native-speaker consultants. Phrases like “quantificational unit,” “unformed substance,” “quantificational neutrality,” and “malleable objects,” in which Lucy frames his comparison of Yucatec and English, are not neutral and cross-translatable terms. They are terms of technical or semi-technical English. (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 136)

Heoi, ko ētehi ariā, tūturu nō tētehi taha o te ‘manga,’ kāore he ‘wetekanga mai o te maro.’ He mea whakatauirā nā Anna Wierzbicka ētehi o ngā kupu a John Lucy i whai rā

²⁵³ Tirohia hoki te kupu takararo 192 i wh. 195.

²⁵⁴ Kīia ana e Anna Wierzbicka he “semantic prime.”

ia kia whakawhitia ki te reo Yucatec, he kupu 'pūtaiao' hoki, engari auare ake. Ehara ērā ariā nō roto i te reo Yucatec.

Kāti, e pērā ana hoki ngā 'kupu hirahira' o te reo Māori, pēnei i te 'tapu,' te 'mauri' me te 'mana.' Ahakoa whai nei ētehi ki te whakamārama ki te reo Pākehā, auare ake (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 152). Heoi anō te mahi e taea ana ko te kimi pea i ētehi āhuetanga e mārama ana i roto i ngā reo e rua, i ngā ao e rua.

Ka tauratia e Anna Wierzbicka te nui o ngā kupu hei whakamārama i te tikanga o te kupu 'mana' i roto i te papakupu a Te Murumāra, ka mea;

The wide range of these glosses highlights the fact that they all fail to capture the uniqueness of the Māori concept and that the whole approach that attempts to explain cultural key concepts of non-Western cultures and societies by means of English concepts based on Anglo ways of thinking is doomed to failure.

Clearly, glossing indigenous cultural concepts from Polynesia, Australia, or Africa by means of Anglo cultural concepts does not give us, in effect, "a view from many places" (Shweder 2003). Rather, it sets in concrete the "view from one place" brought to the ethnographic material by the Anglophone scholar and embedded in English words (e.g., authority, power, identity, integrity, efficacy, and so on). (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 153)

Ko te āhuetanga o runga tata ake nei, ko te tirohanga Pākehā ki te ao Māori, arā, ki te 'mana'; ko te āhuetanga ia ki te 'ōhanga' me te 'ohaoha,' ko te āta whakawhiti atu o ngā ariā o te reo Pākehā ki roto i te reo Māori ki reira haehae ai i ōna ihoiho.

He kupu nā Tāmi, nā Hao

I kōrerohia i te wāhanga o mua tata nei, ehara i te mea e more ana ngā niho o tēnei mea te 'ōhanga,' engari ia he kupu 'hirahira' nō reo kē, he reo 'kaha'; he kupu nō ao kē, nō taua ao ngā tikanga tāmi i te iwi Māori, i ngā iwi taketake.

Ko Tāmi-mata-tini tērā, arā, he wā kua ara ake ko Tāmi-raupatu-whenua, ko Tāmi-hao-rawa, ko Tāmi-moumou-tangata, ko Tāmi-takahi-tikanga, ko Tāmi-urutomo-reo.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ E kōrerohia ana i konei ko te 'capitalism.' Tirohia te wāhanga: Ko Tāmi-mata-tini i wh. 77.

Ko te kupu ‘economy,’ kāore e taea te wewete mai i ngā mahi tāmi, raupatu, aha, aha, i pā mai ki te iwi Māori i te taenga mai o tauwiwi, inā hoki, ko te ‘economy’ tonu te ‘kaiāki.’

Hei tā Catherine Comyn, nā te hiakai o te taniwha nei i te whenua, i te rawa, otirā i te tinana tangata i ākina mai ai ngā iwi o Ingarangi ki konei. Hei tāna, me uaua ka kōrerohia ko ngā taketake o Tāmi;

The history of colonisation is itself financial. This is not typically acknowledged by orthodox historians or economists, who tend to treat finance as distinct from the concrete violence, political decisions, and everyday bureaucracy of colonialism. This elision reflects a broader social treatment of finance as an abstract, specialised domain sitting atop the ‘real’ economy,’ and on which politics generally does not (or should not) encroach.” (Comyn, 2022)

Hei tā Catherine, nā te ‘moni’ tonu a Tāmi i āki mai, ā, e tupu ai taua moni, me eke te iwi whai i te moni ki runga o iwi kē e riro ai ō rātou whenua, ā rātou rawa me ō rātou tinana. Hei tāna anō, “Finance [is] a related but distinct field of capitalist economic activity”, “colonisation is financial and finance is political”, ā, “colonisation was consistently framed in economic terms” (Comyn, 2022).²⁵⁶

Waihoki, ehara i te mea me takoto noa ngā kōrero mō Tāmi ki roto i ngā pukapuka hītōria, kāo; kei te kimi tonu ana kawekawe i te whenua, i te rawa, otirā kei te kimi tonu i ngā kaupapa e hua ai te moni i te taiao, i te tangata. Arā;

“The financial-colonial project is by no means complete in Aotearoa New Zealand today: finance remains pivotal in the colonial acquisition and exploitation of Māori lands and resources. Equally, the state continues to financialise social and natural worlds as a means of partitioning Māori communities and delineating Māori political autonomy” (Comyn, 2022)

Heoi, hei tā Matt Scobie rāua ko Anna Sturman ehara i te mea e herea ana te kupu ‘economy’ ki te ngā mahi ‘tāmi,’ ki ngā mahi ‘hao,’ engari arā anō ngā momo ‘economy’ pēnei i tērā o te ao Māori, arā;

Māori economies were and are distinct from what we know as ‘the economy’ now. Prior to European contact and colonisation, Māori *economies* were on

²⁵⁶ E kōrerohia ana i konei ko te ‘finance,’ arā, ko ngā ritenga e nekehia ai te moni, e whakangaohia ai te moni, e tupu ai te moni, e ngā kamupene, e te kāwanatanga rānei.

their own paths, with perspectives and practices that could have developed in different ways. Not all *economies* are on a single, inevitable path towards capitalism. Capitalism emerged in particular conditions in Britain, and as it pushed against the limits of that context, a ‘fix’ was required for it to keep expanding. Colonial-capitalism was that fix. (Scobie & Sturman, 2024)

I tae hoki ngā kawekawe o Tāmi, o Hao ki roto i ngā tuhinga reo Māori. Inā hoki, he mea ruirui ētehi purapura whakaaro i roto i ngā tuhinga reo Māori, ā, nā wai rā, ka ngawhere haere ngā tikanga Māori e pā ana ki te whenua, ki te mahi a te rangatira, me ngā momo umanga a te tangata.

Ko tā ngā nūpepa reo Māori a te kāwanatanga nei, *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni* me *Te Korimako*, he tā i ngā kōrero hei whakatō i ngā whakaaro e akiaki ana i te iwi Māori kia whakarere i ngā tikanga Māori, ka huri kē ai ki ngā whakapono o te te hāhi Mihingare, otirā o te Pākehā (Petrie, 2002b, 2006).

Hei tā Hazel Petrie;

By the nineteenth century, the writings of political economists and new ideas such as rationality, utilitarianism and empiricism, which had been fostered by the scientific method, further cemented in European minds that idleness and waste were sins and industriousness and frugality were virtues. The basic tenets of this work ethic were accepted across denominational boundaries and promulgated by the middle classes. Indeed, the criticism of Māori work habits were almost identical to those made of the ancestors of British labouring-class settlers by churches and would-be employers some 50 to 100 years earlier. The methods for instilling cultural and attitudinal changes in the potential work-force, and the attention paid to these matters by educators of English workers, also had distinct parallels with the attitude to Māori in the nineteenth century New Zealand. (Petrie, 2002b, wh. 177)

Tērā hoki ngā tuhinga reo Māori a Henry Tacy Kemp (Te Kēpa) he marotiritiri i ētehi whakaaro e pā ana ki ngā tikanga Pākehā i tana whakaputa i *[T]e pukapuka ako i nga ritenga pai o te moni, o te hokohoko, o te aha, o te aha* i te tau 1851 (Kemp, 1851).²⁵⁷ Ko Te Kēpa, he “tangata waka,” arā, nō te reanga tamariki Pākehā tuatahi i whānau mai i Aotearoa nei, ā, he kōrero Māori ia.

²⁵⁷ He whakamāoritanga tēnei nō *Easy Lessons on Money Matters*, nā Whately (1851). Tirohia a Rogers (1998).

I tā Shef Rogers āta tiro tiro i ngā mahi whakamāori a Te Kēpā hei whakatō i ngā whakaaro e pā ana ki ngā tikanga a te Pākehā i te rautau 19, ka mea ia mō [T]e pukapuka ake i nga ritenga pai o te moni;

The text naturally stresses the working of capitalism, a concept essential for the success of [George] Grey's savings banks and for increasing the colony's trade. (Rogers, 1998)

Ko tā Hazel Petrie mō *Ngā ritenga pai o te moni*, me mātua whakaroherohe haere te whenua, ā, ka tuku i te 'taitara' o tētehi poraka ki te tangata ake, kia kīia ai nōna anake taua poraka whenua, kātahi anō ka pai kia parauhia taua whenua, arā, "[T]o ensure the proper cultivation of land, claimed Whately, it had to be private property" (Petrie, 2006, wh . 106). Koia tērā ko tētahi o ngā mahi a taua pukapuka rā, he whakaū i tērā o ngā whakaaro.

I tua atu i te pukapuka kua kōrero kētia, he mea whakamāori nā Te Kēpa ngā kōrero paki nei, a *Pilgrims Progress* me *Robinson Crusoe* (*Rōpini Kuruho*), he pukapuka e whakanui ana i ngā mahi e ōrite ana ki ngā iwi raupatu whenua o Ingarangi me Ūropi, arā, ka pae te tangata ki uta ki tētehi whenua i reira kē tētehi iwi e noho ana, engari he 'iwi mohoa, ka tahuri ia ki te mōku i te whenua (Houlahan, 1999).

E ai ki a Shef Rogers;

In light of Kemp's views on the Maori understanding of capitalism, it makes sense that the government should then resort to a fictional embodiment of the same values [as *Easy Lessons on Money Matters*] in *Robinson Crusoe*. Ian Watt has described the novel's eponymous hero as *homo economicus*, a figure fascinated, even obsessed with the value of his own labor and the relative worth of specie. Thus Crusoe represented a Protestant colonial ideal of personal effort and self-sufficiency within a trading economy. Similarly, *Pilgrim's Progress*, an allegory of the human journey through faith to salvation, reinforces the spiritual values stressed by the missionaries. Seen from this angle, it is possible to imagine Kemp believing translations were mutually supportive contributions to a broader policy intended to encourage Maori acculturation to Pākehā values including an esteem for the printed word. (Rogers, 1998)

E whiri katoa ana ngā tohutohu mai a ngā mihingare, me ngā tuhinga reo Māori i roto i ngā nūpepa a te kāwanatanga, tae atu ki ngā kōrero paki nei i whakamāorihia hei

whakatō i ētehi whakaaro kē atu e pā ana ki te mahi, ki te whenua, otirā ki ngā tikanga a te tangata.

He mahi anō tēnei nā te kawekawe nei, nā Tāmi.

Ehara te ‘economy’ i te ‘ohaoha’

Kia tirohia ake ngā tikanga o te kupu ‘ohaoha’ i *PaeKupu*. E whā ngā kupu Pākehā e āhua whanaunga ana te wairua ki te ‘oha,’ te ‘ngākau marae,’ ki te ‘ringa māhorahora,’ arā, ko ‘charitable,’ ko ‘charity,’ ko ‘charitable trust’ me ‘charitable enterprise’ (Tirohia a wh. 207). 16 kē atu ngā kupu e noho atu nei a ‘ohaoha,’ ā, ki te taha reo Pākehā ko ngā kupu ‘taurite’ ko ‘economic,’ ‘financial’ rānei i roto i te kupu Ingarihi ‘taurite’ (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018).

Nā konā au i mahara ake ai kua ‘pū a waho,’ kua ‘kē a roto’ o te kupu nei,²⁵⁸ inā hoki, i te papakupu a *Te Wiremu* e kākahuria ana te whakaaro e pā ana ki te wairua manaaki, whāngai, aroha ki te tangata ki te kupu ‘ohaoha.’ Engari, kua huarangatia mai tōna iho taketake, kuhuna atu ana ko te mea hou, arā, ko te “whakaputa me te whakapau i ngā hautaonga, i ngā rawa, i ngā ratonga, me te moni.” Ākuanei rānei ko te whakaaro o tētehi, kei roto i te ‘whakaputa me te whakapau i te hautaonga, i te rawa,’ he ‘manaaki,’ he ‘aroha’ ki te tangata.

Nā, ahakoa kua ‘oma kē te hōiho,’ me kī, arā, kua horapa kē te kupu nei ki wī, ki wā, ka āhua tangi tonu te ngākau i te rehurehu haere o te tikanga ātaahua o te kupu ‘ohaoha’ o mua ki te rua o ngā kupu, o ngā tikanga, o ngā whakaaro Māori i te uru mai o te tikanga hou. Nā whai anō te kōrero: “[D]evelopment of new words can be controversial because the language being developed might express certain values or traditions that could be lost if language is changed” (Wierzbicka, 2013, wh. 139).

Ā, nā wai i hē, kātahi ka hē kē atu, te take, ehara i te mea e paku ‘ohaoha’ mai ana ngā tūāhuatanga o tēnei mea e kīia nei ko te ‘ōhanga.’ Ehara i te mea e more ana ngā niho o taua kupu rā, kāo. Kei te kawea mai e ia ngā āhuatanga o te ao i ahu mai ai ia, arā, he

²⁵⁸ Kua raweketia e au te whakataukī ‘Pū ana a roto, kē ana a waho.’ Ko te wairua i konei, ahakoa a waho kei te ōrite, ko roto ia, he āhuatanga kē. Tirohia a Mead rāua ko Grove (2001, wh. 346).

raupatu whenua, he hao rawa, he apu kai, he tāmi tangata, he haehae i te taura tangata, he tūkinō i a Rangī rāua ko Papa.²⁵⁹ He moumou i te tangata, kia noho kore-mahi ai ētehi, ko ētehi kē ia ka rawa-kore, ko ētehi anō ka whairawa, ā, whānui ake nei, whānui ake nei ngā wehenga (Comyn, 2022; Kelsey, 2015; Scobie & Sturman, 2024). Ehara kau tērā i te 'ohaoha.'

Hei tā Raymond Firth, nāna te pukapuka *Primitive economics of the New Zealand Māori*, i mātua puta i te tau 1929, kāore i ngau kino rawa te pōharatanga i te ao Māori o mua, ā, kāore he tangata kore-mahi, kāore he tangata whairawa, engari nā te whakapapa i paiheretia ai te katoa hei oranga mō te katoa. Kāore he moni, engari waiho ana ko ngā tikanga hei tohutohu i te tangata me ngā mahi hei mahi māna. Ko te 'ohaoha' te kaipaihere i te tangata tētehi ki tētehi ka mārō ai te taura here tangata.

Hei tāna;

[I]n a survey of ancient Maori life, bearing in mind, of course, the level of attainable comfort, we find no extreme poverty, no unemployed desiring work that they might live, no leisured class removed by quantity of possessions to a state of blissful idleness where to maintain the social amenities constitutes almost their only obligation. For this the communal ideal, the emphasis on the claims of kinship is largely responsible. So also in the absence of a *money economy* and even at times of a direct material reward for effort, the attention of the native to the standards set him by tradition and communal opinion sufficed to secure the performance of duties otherwise neglected. (Firth, 2011, wh. 483)

Ā, hei tāna anō, ko te uru mai o te kupu me ngā ariā ki roto i tētehi reo, he kawē kē i te reo me ngā tikanga, arā;

[L]anguage must be regarded as one of the most powerful factors in promoting culture change, for the acquisition of new words leads to the formation of new concepts, the building up of new systems of emotional values, centring in many cases, in types of objects strange to all that has hitherto been known. (Firth, 2011, wh. 435)

²⁵⁹ Ko ngā āhuatanga e kōrerohia nei mo te 'exploitation,' te 'competition,' te 'individualisation,' te 'structural unemployment,' (Comyn, 2022; Scobie, 2024). Tirohia hoki ngā kōrero: He kupu nā Tāmi, nā Hao i wh. 232.

Kāore pea e taea te pēwhea, engari me ka tūtakitaki ētehi iwi, he tauhokohoko te mahi, he aha kē rā te take o te tūtakitaki, me pēwhea e kore ai te whakawhitiwhiti o ētehi tikanga, tae atu ki ētehi kupu (Firth, 2011, wh. 424).²⁶⁰

Heoi, ahakoa tā Raymond Firth whakaahua i te ao Māori me ngā āhuetanga e kīia nei e te Pākehā, otirā e te kaimātai tikanga ā-iwi,²⁶¹ ko te ‘economics,’ kāore ana kupu Māori kotahi mō taua āhuetanga. Nei koa, ko tana he titiro i tā te Pākehā titiro ki te ‘economics’ o te iwi Māori; tēnā, ko te iwi Māori o mua, kāore he kupu ‘ōrite’ ki tērā, nā te mea kāore he tirohanga pērā ki te ao.

Heoi anō, kia hokia anō te kupu ‘ohaoha.’

Ko te ‘ohaoha’ o te tangata, he āhuetanga e whaipānga ana ki tana mana, inā hoki, “Mana is enhanced by how much passes through one’s hands rather than how much accumulates in one’s hands” (Scobie & Sturman, 2024). Nō reira, e āhua tauaro ana te ‘ohaoha’ me te ‘haorawa’, ko tētehi ka nui ake te mana i te kaha o tana ngākau marae, ko tērā atu ka piki tana mana i tana ngākau hao.

E pērā tahi ana nga kōrero a Mānuka Henare;

Contrary to Anglo-Western exchange systems that seek to create shareholder value to maximise individual wealth and profit in the market, traditional Māori economies were based on wealth distribution, rather than wealth accumulation. (Henare, 2014)

Me ā Hazel Petrie hoki mō te mana o te rangatira;

The mana (power and authority) of the chief was much enhanced by an ability to husband and manage communally-owned resources for maximum benefit to the community, these benefits being realised by the distribution of wealth. (Petrie, 2002a)

²⁶⁰ Hei tā Raymond Firth, “Apart from the direct enforcement of cultural forms, other influences, notably those of commercial contact, tend to facilitate the transmission of culture. The effect of trade, for instance, in providing a stimulus to the acquisition of a new language is quite pronounced.”

²⁶¹ Kei te kōrerohia te ‘anthropologist.’

Hei tā James Liu rāua ko Pou Temara (1998)mō ngā āhuatanga o roto o Ruātoki me Ruatāhuna, ko te ‘mana o te hapū’ kāore i ahu mai i te nui o te moni, engari ia i ahu mai i te kaha o ngā hapū o Tūhoe ki te whāngai i te tangata, me ana tikanga.

Hei tā rāua;

Mana takes years to build up, and it is based on spirituality as well as *economic* power. To have money is not enough in Māori *economics*, you must be respected for your spirit, your commitment to the collective. Mana is not something that belongs to an individual – it is a reflection of and on a hapū as well. When the collective is weak it can pull strong leaders down rather than be pulled up by them. When leaders are not strong in their identity they may attempt to profit unfairly from the collective. (Liu & Temara, 1998, wh. 149)

Ko tētehi tikanga motuhake ake nō roto i a Tūhoe ko te ‘matemate-ā-one’. Ko te whakamārama a tētehi: “If someone ran out of food they were called to eat with another. That does not happen anymore. I watched their world change and it is very different today” (Liu & Temara, 1998, wh. 140).

He āhuatanga hoki tēnei i kōrerohia e Tīmoti Kāretu mō tana taitamarikitanga i roto o tana iwi, o Tūhoe (Tīrohia a wh. 69). Ko te ngākau ‘oha’ tēnei o te tangata ki ana karangamaha. Engari nā ngā ākī o te wā, arā, nā ngā āhuatanga o tēnei mea e kīia ana e tātou ki te reo Māori ‘hou’ he ‘ohaoha’, he ‘ōhanga’ rānei, kua ngaro kē te āhuatanga ohaoha o te tangata, ā, kua kore mahi, kua kore kai kē (Liu & Temara, 1998).

Hei tā Liu rāua ko Temara anō;

Against the backdrop of unchanging philosophy and identity are massive generational changes in *economic* circumstances. Three generations ago, Tūhoe were living off the land as farmers. Two generations ago, they began migrating to the cities and working as labourers in the postwar boom of heavy industry in New Zealand. In the 1970s the demand for labor in heavy industry began to fall, and at the same time the small farms that sustained life in the old days were no longer “*economically viable*” (Pool, 1991). In a span of three generations, Ruātoki and Ruatāhuna turned from agricultural communities where people worked long collective hours to produce just enough food to live to communities where most people are not working. (Liu & Temara, 1998, wh. 138-9)

Nō reira, ki taku titiro, tino kore nei i tika kia kīia te ‘economy’ he ‘ohaoha’.

Te whaioranga i te ao Māori

Ka tirohia i konei ngā kōrero a ētehi o te hunga kaumātua kua mene atu ki te pō, he “hokinga mahara” (Pōtatau, 1997) nā rātou ki te wā “e mātotoru tonu ana t[ā rātou] noho ā-marae i ō [r]ātou wā kāinga” (Milroy, 2006).

He mea kōwhiri ngā kōrero mō runga i te kōrerohia o ngā āhuetanga ‘whaioranga’ o te tangata i aua kāinga i aua wā, ko te reo Māori te reo kawē o aua kāinga rā, me kore noa ka kitea iho ngā mātāpono hirahira i roto i aua kōrero rā.

Ko tāku he toro ki ēnei o ngā kōrero hei tauira mō ngā mahi a kui, koro mā e ora ai rātou, taha kikokiko nei, e kīia nei aua mahi ināiane ko te ‘ōhanga.’ Ko ngā kuia, koroua nei, i whānau mai i ngā kāinga o te tuawhenua e kōrero tonutia ana te reo Māori, ā, ahakoa te neke atu o te 150 tau pea mai i te taenga mai o tauwiwi, e kōrero Māori tonu ana rātou, e noho ā-hapū tonu ana.

Ko ngā kōrero ka tirohia ko:

- *Ōku poupou*, nā Mate Kaiwai
- *Taku whānau*, nā Kāterina Waiari
- *He hokinga mahara*, nā Hēmi Pōtatau
- *Te mauri hapū*, nā Te Wharehuia Milroy
- *Educating Māori*, he kōrero nā Māori Marsden ki a Joan Metge²⁶²
- *Ko taku kūmara hei waiū mō tama*, nā Arapera Hineira Kaa²⁶³

Ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero he mea tuhi ki te reo Māori, hāunga tā Māori Marsden rāua ko tā Arapera Hineira Kaa.

Ka anga hoki te titiro ki ngā pepeha o roto o *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna* (Mead & Grove, 2001), me kore noa ka kitea atu ngā mātāpono hirahira o te ao Māori e pā ana ki te ‘whaioranga,’ ki te ‘economy’ anō hoki. Ka kimihia ētehi kupu Māori i roto i ngā pepeha ake i whakamahia hei kupu Māori ‘taurite’ mō te kupu ‘economy,’ pēnei i te ‘ō,’ te ‘kai,’

²⁶² He mea kite i roto i tā Te Ahikaramu Charles Royal pukapuka o ngā kohinga kōrero a Māori Marsden (Royal, 2003, wh. xxi-xxxviii).

²⁶³ Nō roto i te pukapuka Ngā kōkako huataratara: The plumes of the huataratara (Kaa, 1986).

te 'oha,' te 'ora,' te 'oranga' te 'moni.' Ka kimihia hoki ngā kupu Pākehā nei i roto i ngā whakamārama reo Pākehā: 'economy, 'trade,' 'money,' 'exchange' me 'commerce'.

Te taura here tangata

Ko tētehi o ngā āhuatanga i kitea i roto i ngā kōrero katoa ko te whītiki, ko te ohu o te whānau, o te hapū i runga i ngā hono ā-whakapapa, i te matemate-ā-one.

Nā, ko ngā kōrero a Mate Kaiwai, tamāhine a Āpirana Ngata, mō ana poupou nāna ia i whakatupu (Kaiwai, 2006). Ka mihi ia ki ana poupou, "Nā ō rātou peke i āwhina ngā mahi ahuwhehua. Nā rātou i hāpai ngā mahi mō te iwi whānui" (Kaiwai, 2006, wh. 41). Nā whai anō tana kī ake, "E kīia ana mehemea ka āta tāreitia ngā poupou o te whare, kāore e hinga. Ā, mehemea he pakari ngā poupou o tō iwi ka ora tonu ahakoa ngā papaki o te wā" (Kaiwai, 2006, wh. 36).

Te whītiki, te ohu o te whānau, o te hapū

Ko te whītiki, ko te ohu o te mahi a te whānau, a te hapū ki te mahi kai tētehi āhuatanga hirahira o te noho i mua. Hei tā Mate Kaiwai (2006), ka tae mai te karanga o te pīpīwharau "ka whakaohoho i te tangata kia *whītiki*, nō te mea he wā mō te ono kai" (wh. 37).

Hei tā Kāterina Waiari (2006), "Ko tēnei te āhua i tipu ake ai mātou, mai i te rerenga o te rā, ki tōna toremitanga, ka āwhina mātou i ō mātou mātua, ahakoa he whakatō kai, he hauhake kai, he miraka kau rānei" (wh. 30).

Hei tā Kāterina;

Ahakoa he aha te mahi a tētahi, mēnā he whakatipu māra kai, he hauhake kai, he whawhati kānga, he tapahi hei rānei, ka hūnuku katoa atu ngā whānau ahuwhehua ki te poke i te mahi kia whano ai te whakatā. Ko ngā *mahinga kai* hoki o tērā wā, he eka tonu, mō te rīwai, mō te kūmara, mō te poukena, mō te kamokamo, mō te mereni. Nui atu te māra mō te whakatipu kānga. Āe, puta ana te aroha o tētahi ki tōna hoa tata. (Waiari, 2006, wh. 29)

Heoi anō, e mea ana Kāterina he āhuatanga tēnei kua kore ināiane; i

Ka nuku haere te rōpū, kia mutu katoa te hei a tēnā, a tēnā. Ka mau tonu hoki tēnā i tāna mahi, ā mutu noa ngā hei. Kua kore tēnei tikanga, te *mahi tahi* o ngā whānau ki te hauhake kai, ki te mahi hei, ā, ki te whawhati kānga. Ināiane, kua mahi noa atu ia whānau i ana mahi. (Waiari, 2006, wh. 29)

Ko te kōrero tuatahi a Māori Marsden, ko tana kāinga, otirā ko ana hapū me ngā papakāinga e rua o ana hapū: ko Maimaru me Waimanoni (wh. xxi). He mea whakaahua nāna ngā mahinga kai a te hapū, he mahi tahi;

I was raised in a community where from our earliest memories we knew that we were all related. We learnt right from the outset that we were one large whānau – and later during the Depression, because of these kinship bonds, we helped each other out. As a people we did a lot of community gardening and fishing together and going to the beaches to get mātaitai. (Royal, 2003a, wh. xxii)

Kia huri te titiro ki te ‘ohaoha.’

Te ohaoha: Tātou, tātou

Ko te ohaoha, ko te ‘tohatoha,’ ko te ‘ngākau makoha,’ ko te ‘aroha’ o te tangata he āhukatanga kāore pea e taea te whakawehe mai i ngā āhukatanga o te noho ā-hapū kātahi tonu ka kōrerohia. Heoi anō, tērā ngā kōrero ake a ngā kaumātua kaituhituhi nei, e hua ake ai te whakaaro ki te ‘ohaoha.’

Hei tā Mate (Kaiwai, 2006), ahakoa te māngere o ētehi, whiwhi tonu ana ki te ‘koha kai’;

Ko te tino mahi a ō mātou poupu he tuari kai. E tino mōhio ana rāua ko wai aua whānau māngere rā. Ka puta mai te tera pēke hei mau kai. He iwi *ngākau makoha* ērā. I ētahi wā tāria ngā kai ki ngā whakararu. Koia rā kē hoki te tikanga o te *koha*. I tēnei wā he moni kē. (wh. 37)

Ko tā Māori i kōrero ai, “Ko taku kāinga hei kāinga mōu, ko tō kāinga hei kāinga mōku: “The attitude we maintained in our community was ‘Your home is my home and my home is your home’” (Royal, 2003a, wh. xxiii).

Ko tētehi maharatanga ōna ko te manaakihia o ngā tamariki e te hapū katoa, ahakoa nā wai. Hei tā Māori, “If we were too far away from home around meal times, we went to the nearest house and this was considered the right of all children in our hapū” (Royal, 2003a, wh. xxiii).

Ko te ‘ohaoha,’ ko te ‘tohatoha,’ he whakamārō i te taura tangata, hei oranga mō te hapū, nō reira, tērā hoki te utu mō te kore o te tangata i ‘ohaoha.’ Hei tā Katerina;

Ka patu kau ana tētahi, kua tahu, ā, kua tote i ētahi o ngā mīti, ā, kua *tohatoha* i ētahi ki ngā whānau, kei moumou, i te mea kāore he pouaka hukapapa i

taua wā. Ki te matapiko tētahi ki āna kai, kua puta te kōrero mōna, ka taunuhia ia, ā, e kore ia e mahi pērā anō. (Waiari, 2006, wh. 29)

Ko te 'oha o te ngākau' i kōrerohia e Arapeta Hineira Kaa. Ahakoa tana kōrero mō te motu haere o te taura tangata, hei tāna, koia tonu tērā ko te āhua o te iwi Māori i rerekē ai i te iwi Pākehā;

The Māori in the village is at his best, feels his best and gives with *generosity*. But in spite of all this the people will become more careful, more individualistic, though not nearly so much as the Pākehā. For he still recognises that he has many relatives and that he is part of a whole kinship group. As long as he is conscious of his kinship ties, the Māori will never become as truly individualistic as the Pākehā. To me this, more than the retention of the language, is what constitutes Māoritanga, and it will in my opinion be the permanent trait which distinguishes him from the Pākehā. (Kaa, 1986, wh. 59)

I roto i ngā mahinga kai a te hapū, pēnei i te ono kai, te hauhake kai, ohu ana te mahi (Royal, 2003, wh. xxvii). Ā, ko tētehi wāhanga o aua kai e whakawehea mai mō ngā hui o te marae (wh. xxx). Arā anō ngā umanga a te hapū e mārō ai ngā taura here tangata, pēnei i ngā mahi i te whare karakia, i te marae, ngā mahi whiriwhiri take, te purei tēn ehi, pahiketepōro anō hoki.

Heoi, ko Māori hoki tērā i kite i te huri haere o ngā tikanga. Hei tāna, ka mutu ngā karakia o te Rātapu, ka kai tahi ngā whānau ki te marae. Heoi, ka haere ngā tau, ka āhua kore tērā tikanga: "It changed over the years. People began to go home and have their lunch as a family" (Royal, 2003, wh. xxx).

Nā, ko te 'ora' o te tangata, o te hapū i te mārō o te 'taura tangata', e kitea ana i te whakataukī nei:

He taura taonga e motu, he taura tangata e kore e motu. (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 125)²⁶⁴

Kei te nui hoki ngā kōrero o roto i tēnei o ngā whakataukī:

²⁶⁴ Ko tana whakamārama: "A gift chain may break but not a human link.' Friendly tribes often established regular gift exchanges."

Te oha o ngā tāngata mātua (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 383)²⁶⁵

Ākuanei he karanga, he pōwhiri ki te uri, ākuanei rānei e kōrerohia ana te 'ōhākī.' Engari ko te whakapapa o te kupu 'oha', o te 'ohaoha', ka nui ana toronga i roto i ngā tikanga o te ao Māori.

Te toto o te tangata he kai, te oranga o te tangata he whenua

*Te toto o te tangata he kai, ko te oranga o te tangata he whenua
(Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 393)²⁶⁶*

Ko te whakataukī o runga tata nei, kua waiho hoki hei whakaupokotanga mō tēnei wāhanga o ngā kōrero, nā te mea ko te whenua, ko te kai te tino oranga o te tangata.

Te mahi kai, te ahuwheua

Ko tētehi o ngā tūāhuatanga e kitea ana i ngā kōrero a ngā kaituhi katoa, ko te aro nui ki te mahi kai, ki te ahuwheua. Ahakoa ko te whenua, ko te ngahere, ko te moana, ko te awa te 'pātaka kai,' ora ana te tangata. Ehara i te mea ko te moni te tino oranga.

Hei tā Hēmi Pōtatau (1997): "Ki te taha moni, he pōhara ō mātau mātua. Engari ki te taha whenua he āhua rawaka tonu" (wh. 13). He whenua mōmona ō rātou; ka waipuketia ana e te awa o Nūhaka, mauria atu ana te oneone parakiwai, rukea atu ana ki tō rātou whenua.

E pērā ana hoki tā Māori Marsden mō te whenua i ngā tahataha o te awa o Awanui (Royal, 2003a, wh. xxi).

Tāta te katoa o ngā kōrero a Mate Kaiwai mō tana ao i mua i te haere ki te mahi hei kura māhita, he kōrero mō te ahuwheua, mō te kai: ahakoa ko ngā kararehe o te pāmu, ko

²⁶⁵ Ko te whakamārama: "The bequest of the ancestors.' This expression is heard frequently in formal speeches. It may be heard as part of a welcome, suggesting that the visitors are gifts or descendants of noble ancestors; or it may refer to the dying instructions, gift or speech of an ancestor. The latter is known as an *oha a kī*, or *ohākī*."

²⁶⁶ Ko te whakamārama: "A person's blood is obtained from the food eaten, and it is from land that sustenance is derived.' Colenso offers, 'Hold on to your land, particularly that whence you derive your living (1879:118)'"

te ono kai, ko te hauhake, ko te kohi kai i te ngahere. Hei tāna mō tana koroua: “[K]o tōna Hāhi he *mahi ahuwhehua*” (Kaiwai, 2006, wh. 39).

Pērā hoki ngā kōrero a Kāterina Waiari (2006): ko te ngaki, ko te parau, ko te hauhake, ko te miraka kau, ko te aha, ko te aha.

Ko tā Te Wharehuia Milroy, he kōrero mō te “mauri hapū”, arā, mō te “tūtū manu” ki ngā “rohenga ngahere, rohenga whenua” (Milroy, 2006, wh. 121). Ko aua “mahinga manu” rā, “i mau [...] [i tōna rohe] i ngā whānau, i ngā hapū, tae rawa ake ki te pakanga tuarua [o te ao]” (Milroy, 2006, wh. 121).

Hei tā Māori Marsden (2003a) mō ngā ‘ohu mahi kai,’ he mea whakarite nā tana pāpā;

He would delegate ones to go fishing and bring back loads of fish and others to go to Ninety-Mile Beach to load up with toheroa and tuatua and some to kill a beef – and all to feed upwards to a hundred people that gathered to help during planting times” (wh. xxvii).

Arā, hoki ngā rākau hua: “We had an extensive orchard with a 101 different varieties of peaches” (Marsden, 2003, wh. xxix). Hei tāna anō, i te kaha ranea o te ika, uaua ana tana amo atu ki te kāinga (wh. xxii).

Hei tā Mate Kaiwai he mōhio katoa ngā tamariki ki te wā māoa “o te tāwhara, o te pūhā, te tohetaka, te wāta kirīhi, tipu ai ēnei i ngā wā katoa.” (Kaiwai, 2006, wh. 37). Koia tana kī, “[P]ēnei he *ahuwhehua* te tangata kāore ia e matekai” (wh. 37).

Heoi anō, poururu ana te kōrero a Māori Marsden (2003) mō te hoko whenua: “Then the Pākehā began to make a real impact, and the Māori in the Awanui-Kaitaia area were beginning to sell off land to the Pākehās.” (wh. xxxix)

Me mātau, me tohunga te tangata ki ngā tikanga mahi kai, ehara i te hanga noa. Hei tā Mate Kaiwai (2006), “[i] te wā o te hauhake kia tohunga tonu te mahi” (wh. 37).

Mea ana a Māori Marsden (2003a), ko ngā kupu tohutohu a tana pāpā, he tuku i ngā tikanga a te hapū e pā ana ki te hī, arā, ““You go to *Kautahi* or *Ahuaraiti*.’ Whatever place he recommended he was always pretty accurate. I realised later, that he was passing on the fishing tikanga of the hapū learnt over many centuries of occupation” (wh. xxii).

Hei tā Kāterina Waiari (2006), “I kite au i tōku matua e whakapipi ana i ngā kūmara. He tino mātau ia ki taua mahi” (wh. 28). I kōrero hoki ia mō te tohunga ki te mahi hei (wh. 29).

Kei tēnei o ngā whakataukī te kōrero nui mō te whaioranga o te tangata i ana whenua:

He kai kei aku ringaringa (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 79)²⁶⁷

Tērā hoki ngā kōrero mō ngā mahi a ngā whānau o te tahatai, o ērā o te tuawhenua, e tauhokohoko ana i te kai hei ‘oranga’ mō rātou:

He toka hāpuku ki te moana, he kaihua ki uta. (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 128)²⁶⁸

Te ora, te mate

Ko te oranga tētehi āhuatanga i kōrerohia e ngā kaituhi katoa, ahakoa ngā wā o te tūpuhi, o te kore-moni.

Hei tā Te Wharehuia Milroy;

...[k]ua taea e te takitahi, e te tokomaha rānei ki te whāngai i te whānau, i te hapū, i ngā manuhiri, i te iti, i te rahi. Ko te *oranga* o te tangata te tuatahi, ko te *mana* o te hunga, nā rātou i mahi ngā manu, ka rua. (Milroy, 2006, wh. 121)

Hei tā Kāterina Waiari, e ora ana rātou i ā rātou kau miraka;

I te wā o te pakanga tuarua, tokomaha ō mātou mātua e mahi ahuwahenua ana, e miraka kau ana. Ko te mahi tuatahi a mātou ia rā, ko te miraka kau, mā te ringaringa. Toru tekau ā mātou kau. Ko tēnei tō mātou *oranga*. (Waiari, 2006, wh. 29).

²⁶⁷ Te whakamārama: “Food at my hands.’ This refers to food cultivated by oneself. In today’s terms one would speak of earning one’s own living.”

²⁶⁸ Ngā kōrero whakamārama: “‘A groper rock in the sea and a tree for bird-spearing on land.’ With such subsistence resources within their control a tribal group was secure from hunger and could expect to prosper from exchanges for commodities or materials needed from other tribes.”

Ko te 'oranga ā-moni' pea tāna e korero nā, inā hoki, kua oti kē te kōrero mō ā rātou mahinga kai. Heoi anō, te wā e hoko ai mā ngā tamariki, ko te haerenga kotahi ki te tāone i te tau, ki reira hoko hū ai.

Hei tā Mate Kaiwai (2006), ahakoa, “[h]e wā pōhara tērā” (wh. 36), “[k]ōre mātou e matekai” (wh. 37). Heoi anō, ka kōrerohia hoki e ia ētehi 'oranga' i ngā “mahī Pākehā,” i te “rākau a te Pākehā.”

Nō Mate Kaiwai i kōrero mō te “whakahau a te kāwanatanga kia haere te nuinga o tō [r]ātou reanga ki ngā mahi kura mahita” kua toro ia ki ngā kupu a tana matua: “Ko te ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei *oranga* mō tō tinana” (Kaiwai, 2006, wh. 40).

Hei tā Kāterina Waiari (2006) “Ka pakeke tētahi o ōku tuākana, ka haere tērā ki te mahi Pākehā, hei *oranga* mōna” (wh. 27).

I tua atu i te ora ā-tinana, tērā ngā kōrero mō ngā tikanga whakaora i te ngākau. He mea kōrero nā Kāterina Waiari te matenga o tō rātou whakapākanga, ka aroha te huānga o tana māmā, ka hari i tana tamāhine hei whakaea i te mamae. Hei tāna, “Kātahi rā te *matemate ā-one* o tētahi ki tētehi” (Waiari, 2006, wh. 31).

Ko te upoko tuaono nei, he tirohanga ki te 'ōhanga', ki te 'ohaoha' hoki kua meinga nei hei kupu Māori 'taurite' mō 'economy'. Heoi, taku kitenga atu i te whakataukī nei, ea ana i a ia te whakaaro ki tētehi o ngā whakamārama mō te 'ōhanga', e pēnei ana: “Ko te *ōhanga* te pūnaha e whiwhi ai te tangata me tōna whānau i ngā mea e matea nuitia ana e ora ai rātou” (He Kupenga Hao i te Reo, 2018). He pēnei tā kui, koro mā:

Ka kī te puku, ka ora te tangata (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 163)²⁶⁹

Ā, ko te whirinaki o tētehi, o tētehi, ko te 'uru kāhikatea,' e kitea ana i tēnei whakataukī nei:

²⁶⁹ Te whakamārama: “‘When the stomach is full, a person is satisfied and well.’ Here as above is justification of the desire to fill on’es stomach when food once is more is readily available, or the thought may be simply the the tribe survives when it has food.”

Ka ora pea i a koe, ka ora koe i a au. (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 173)²⁷⁰

Inā hoki, ko te taura tangata te 'oranga' o te tangata, o te hapū. Ahakoa ngā kōrero a ētehi o ngā kaituhi mō te momotu haere o ngā taura tangata, ka nui ngā tauira mō te matemate-ā-one, te oha, me te manaaki, te aroha tētehi ki tētehi.

Te moni

Ehara i te mea ko te moni te oranga matua i te wā e tamariki ana ngā kaumātua nei, engari kei konā anō ōna kawekawe e totoro atu ana ki tō rātou ao.

I a Noema o te 1921 i tāia e *Te Toa Takitini* tā Āpirana Ngata kōrero i *Ngā Kōrero Pāremata me Ngā Take Māori*. Hei tāna;

No te 22 o ngā rā o Hepetema ka whakatuwheratia te Pāremata e te Kāwana, nā, kua ono ngā wiki e tū ana ināianei. Tērā e taimaha ngā mahi o tēnei tau, he tau o mate hoki, kua heke te *oranga moni* o Niu Tīreni i te hekenga ai o te utu o te wuuru, o te hipi, o te kau, o te pata, o te tihi. Ko ēnā ngā mātāpuna o te *oranga* tinana o ngā iwi o ngā motu e rua nei. Nā reira ka hua te kōrero i te iwi Pākehā mō ngā huarahi *whakapau moni* a te Kāwanatanga, mō te nui rawa o ngā moni e pau ana i ngā tari, i ngā āpiha rānei. (Ngata, 1996, wh. 95; Nāku anō i miramira)

Ki a au nei, e tohu ana ngā kōrero o runga ake nei i te kaha o te reo Māori, otirā o ōna kaikōrero o taua wā rā ki te kōrero i ngā āhuatanga e kīia ana i roto i te reo Pākehā ko te 'economy.' Ki tā te Māori anō titiro, otirā ko te whakaaro e mārama ana ki te hinengaro Māori, ko te 'oranga' tērā o te tangata. He wā tōna ko te 'oranga' ko te kī o te puku, o te tinana rānei, he wā anō e kōrerohia ana te oranga ā-moni, ā-pūtea rānei o te iwi nui tonu.

Kāti, e tika ana hoki kia kīia te kōrero, e tīkina atu ana anō ōna kupu whakawhiti o te reo Pākehā, pēnei i 'moni,' i 'kāwana,' i 'hipi,' i 'āpiha,' otirā i ētehi atu āhuatanga kāore pea e taea te kōrero ki ngā kupu ake o te reo Māori, engari kāore he take o te pērā o te kupu 'economy,' nā te mea kāore he take.

²⁷⁰ He kupu whakamārama: "Each member of the tribe is essential to the survival of all the others. Likewise in any group enterprise the performance of each member is important to its success."

Nā, kāore a Māori Marsden i āta kōrero mō te moni, heoi, hei tāna, e tae ai rātou ki te kura, ka huri ana mātua ki te mahi pāmu, arā, ki te miraka kau (Royal, 2003a, xxi). Nō reira, ko te moni pea hei 'oranga' i tua atu i te kai.

I pērā anō ngā kōrero a Kāterina Waiari, ko te 'miraka kau' pea hei oranga ā-moni, ko te oranga ā-kai ia, kei ngā mahinga kai o te whenua. Nō reira, ko ētahi mea, mā te moni anake ka taea.

Hei tā Hēmi Pōtatau, "[K]i te taha moni, pōhara ana; engari tino kore nei rātou i mate i te kai, he nui nō ngā kai i mahia mai e rātou: he hī tuna, hī ika [he kanae, he aua, he pātiki], he aha rā, he aha rā" (Pōtatau, 1997, wh. 25). Kāore ā rātou kau ake, engari "[k]o te mahi e whiwhi ai ki te moni, he kūtētē kau" (wh. 25). Ko te tuakana o Hēmi i haere atu ki te Pākehā kūtētē kau ai. Ko Hēmi, haere ana ki ētahi o ana pākeke ki te miraka i ā rāua kau, ka atawhaitia hoki e rāua.

Ko tā Mate Kaiwai (2006) kōrero mō te whakaawe o te moni, ko tana kōrero mō te "rīhi" i "ngā kararehe i te whānau o ngā Wiremu" (wh. 36). Ā, hei tāna, "I te wā tōtōpū ana ngā utu o ngā kararehe, ka nui anō te wāhi moni ka hoatu mō te nama. I te wā o te tūpuhi, ka iti anō te whakahoki. Pērā tonu te āhua, ā, ea noa te mōkete i runga i ngā kararehe" (wh. 36).

Pai noa iho tana whakawhiti mai o ngā kupu Pākehā i ōna wā, arā, "Ko ngā āwhina hoko whenua nā ngā *pei* whenua a tō mātou kuia" (wh. 37). Ka kōrerohia hoki te '*penihana hoia*' a tētehi o ana karanga pāpā.

Ka mutu, ahakoa utua ana ki te moni, whakamahia ana hei painga mō te katoa. Ka kōrero a Mate Kaiwai mō tana 'pei,' arā, "I taku pei tuatahi ka hoatungia e au tētahi wāhi mā tōku tipuna kuia" (wh. 40).

Ki tā Arapera Hineira Kaa, i tupu ake rā i roto i ngā māra kūmara o ana hapū o Te Tairāwhiti i te puku o te rautau ka taha nei, nā te moni i huri ai te ao, inā hoki, nāna i uru ai ētehi tikanga hou, ka motu haere ai te taura here tangata;

It is noticeable to me that life is changing – slowly for the more conservative and rapidly for the far-sighted. The root of the change lies in the transference from a system of mutual reciprocity to that of a *money economy*. For the

Māori people money has created a new pattern of values. Where once, without money, the Māori worked communally for a communal existence, he is now obliged to work more or less by himself for himself. Where once needs were very simple, they have become more complex. No-one, if he can, works for a mere subsistence level. Wants seem to accumulate endlessly, and they are stimulated by public opinion, which by its subtle compulsion demands better education, more farm machinery, better houses and greater investments. (Kaa, 1986, wh. 56-7)

E āhua pērā ana hoki te wairua o te whakataukī nei:

He niho tō te moni (Mead & Grove, 2001, wh. 102)²⁷¹

Nō reira, he 'ohaoha' rānei te 'ōhanga'?

Ko te whai i tēnei upoko kia tātaihia te whakapapa o tētehi kupu hirahira o te reo Pākehā, o te reo Māori anō hoki, arā, ko 'economy,' ko 'ohaoha,' me 'ōhanga' hoki, kua whakamoea mai nei i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

He āhuetanga tēnei i tatū mai i runga i te whakaaro me ōrite te 'whānui' o te reo Māori ki tērā o te reo Pākehā, ā, e whia mano ngā kupu 'hou' ka āta hangā mai i te āhua 35 tau ka taha nei. Heoi, ahakoa te kōrero me tupu tonu te reo, me huri tonu te reo Māori i roto i ngā hurihanga o te ao, ko au tēnei e whakapae nei, ko te āta tiki ake i te kupu Pākehā, pēnei i 'economy' hei whakawhitinga mai ki roto i te reo Māori he whakangawhere i te reo Māori, me ōna anō kawenga o te whakaaro, o te ariā, o te tikanga, kia noho mai ai hei ātārangi noa iho mō te whakaaro Pākehā.

I kitea i ngā tuinga kōrero a ētehi o ngā 'toka tū moana,' arā, o te reanga i whānau mai, i pakeke mai i te wā e noho ā-hapū tonu ana, e kōrero Māori tonu ana, ko te mahi nui, ko te 'mahī kai' hei 'oranga' mō rātou. Ko tā rātou i whakaatu ai ko te āhei o te reo ki te kōrero i ngā āhuetanga e kīia nei ki te reo Pākehā he 'economy,' engari i te reo Māori kē ngā momo kupu, ngā momo whakaaro hei whakatutuki i ngā āhuetanga o taua ao. E hara

²⁷¹ He whakamārama: "The money has teeth.' This was said to be the reply of Mōkena Kōhere when offered Government money for land. It meant that acceptance forced one into the money economy and in this case carried the threat of further alienation of Māori land. Today, however, it means getting a job in order to have money for food, clothes and other essentials. Mōkena was the father of Reweti Kōhere, known widely as a compiler of proverbs."

i te mea kāore he whakawhitinga mai o ētehi āhuatanga o te ao hurihuri, pēnei i te ‘moni’, te ‘penihana’, te ‘pei’, engari i ‘haere maro-kore mai’ ērā.

Ko tētehi āhuatanga i kitea i tēnei upoko, ko te āhua o te kupu ‘ohaoha’ ‘hou’ he rerekē noa atu i te ‘ohaoha’ i tauratia mai e ngā kuia, koroua. Nō reira, ki te uia mai te pātai, He ohaoha rānei te ‘ōhanga’?, kāti, me pēwhea atu hoki i te kī ake, ‘He aha hoki!’

Heoi, kua ururua i roto i ngā kauwaka o te reo Māori ko te wairua hou o te kupu ‘ohaoha,’ arā, i ngā rauemi mo *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, ā, kua āhua korekore haere tōna tikanga tūturu.

Nō reira, i mua i te whakairinga ake o ngā kōrero o tēnei upoko nei ki te tara o te whare, tērā ngā urupounamu kei te kūrae o te whakaaro: ko ngā rapunga whakaaro noa iho rānei ēnei a te tangata whakatakē i ngā mahi hanga kupu hou? Kāo, ko te mōteatea tēnei o te ngākau ki tētehi ao, otirā ki tētehi reo kei te korekore haere. Ko te ao tērā o te ‘matemateāone’, o te ‘ohu’, o te ‘oha’, nā konā anō i ‘ora’ ai te whānau me te hapū katoa.

Ana, i konei kua tae ki tētehi atu anō pātai, he aha rā kei te iho o tētehi reo? Kāti, kei roto noa iho rānei i tētehi reo ko ngā momo tangi me ana momo tikanga whakatakoto i te kupu, e puta ai ko ‘ōhanga’ hei kākahu mō te kupu ‘economy,’ kei te whakaae rānei tātou he ‘ao’ kei roto i te kupu, nō reira, nō whea hoki i taea te urutomokanga mai o tētehi mea hirahira o te reo Pākehā pēnei i ‘economy’ me te kore e haehae i ngā ihomatua o te ao Māori i kōrerohia i runga ake nei.

Ko taku tūmanako kia waiho mai ēnei kōrero hei wero i a tātou e mahi ana i roto i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo kei noho noa iho ko te reo Māori hei ātārangi mō te reo Pākehā.

Kia huri atu tāua ināiane ki te upoko tuawhitu ki reira whiriwhiri ai i ō tāua whakaaro e pā ana ki te kaupapa rangahau nei me ōna pātai, ā, hei te upoko tuawaru whakarāpopotohia ai ngā kitenga matua o te rangahau nei.

Upoko Tuawhitu: He whiriwhiri whakaaro

I tīmata tēnei rangahau ki a au anō, mai i aku mātua tūpuna, heke iho, heke iho ki taku whānau, ki taku tama anō hoki. Ko te kōrero mō te heke o te ora o te reo i roto i tō mātou whānau kāore e taea te wewete mai i te kōrero i tīmata rā i te rironga atu o te whenua; ā, e pērā ana anō te kōrero mō tōna whakarauoranga mai anō, e herea ana hoki ki te ora o te tangata. Inā hoki, 'ko te toto o te tangata, he kai; ko te oranga o te tangata he whenua,' nō reira me tīmata i konei te whakarauorahia mai o te tangata, ka whai ake ko te ora o te ngākau, o te hinengaro, pēnei i te mātauranga, i te reo, tae atu ki ērā atu katoa o ngā tohu o te ora.

Nā te wā anō i tohu kia tū mai ngā 'pou' o te whakarauoratanga o te reo i a mātou e tamariki ana, ā, nā aua kaupapa, me ngā atawhai a ngā rūruhi, a ngā koroheke o taua wā i taea ai e mātou te whakaora haere i te reo i roto i a mātou. Engari i tua atu i te whakaoranga ake o te reo i roto i tō mātou whānau, ko mātou tonu i whai oranga i te reo. Me kōrero rā te ora o te puku i te āhei o te tangata ki te whaioranga i roto i ngā mahi whakarauora reo.

Nā, waiho ana ko ngā kōrero o runga ake nei hei aho tāhuhu mō tēnei rangahau. Inā hoki, nā aku whakapapa kōrero i tangata ai ahau (P. King, 2019; King, 2003; Smith, 2000). Engari he oranga hoki kei roto i ā tātou kōrero, arā, he whakamahu ake i ngā mamaetanga o mua (Jackson, 2020a, 2020b).

Kāti, i runga anō i ērā kōrero, kia hokia ngā pātai e toru o te rangahau, i whakapuakina mai i te whārangi 23. Ko ngā kōrero o tēnei upoko he whiriwhiringa nō ngā kōrero o ngā upoko katoa o mua hei kōrero whakautu i tēnā, i tēnā pātai.

Pātai 1: He pēwhea te āhua o ngā mahi whakarauora reo Māori i te 50 tau ka taha nei? He aha ōna pou whenua, ōna pou tangata, ōna pou hinengaro?

Koia tēnei ko te pātai i aro nuitia i te Upoko Tuatoru. Nā wai i 'puehu' te marae o te reo Māori i mua i ngā tau o te 1970, ka poua ko ngā pou tāngata, pēnei i Ngā Tamatoa, i ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo, me ngā whānau, ā, nā rātou ngā pou whenua i kōpou ake: ko Te Ātaarangi, ko te Kōhanga Reo, ko te KKM, ko mea, ko mea. Ko ētehi o ngā whakaaro

e poua ana ki te hinengaro i taua wā, ko te 'ao nui tonu hei kāinga mō te tangata,' ā, ko te 'māketē' tōna marae. Ko ētehi anō, me maranga ake te iwi Māori, me ērā atu o tātou e tāmia ana (te wahine, te kirimangu) ki te tohe, ki te ātete, ki te kōkiri i ngā kaupapa mō te mana tangata. Ka tae ki ngā tau o te 1990, whakahanumitia ana ngā kaupapa ki roto i ngā whakahaere o te kāwanatanga, ā, ahakoa te paku oranga ā-pūtea i ahu mai i a ia, he oraiti noa iho, ā, herea ana hoki ki ōna kaupapa here. Heoi, i roto i te 'whakaorahia' o aua kaupapa ('pou') o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori, e ngau kino ana te rawakore ki te iwi i ngā āki mai o te ao o te māketē.

E whakaritea ana te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori ki te 'whare' (koia, ko 'Te Whare o te Reo Māori): he whare 'kikokiko' nei me ōna āhurutanga, me ōna hoa piringa; he whare 'ariā' nei hoki, me ōna tātū kōrero, tātū whakaaro.

E mahi kē ana ētehi tātū whakaaro i te wā i tīmata ai te whakatūria o ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo i ngā tau 1970. Ko tā te petihana reo Māori tonu he 'koha' i te reo Māori ki ngā Pākehā kia 'tika ai te kōrero he iwi kotahi tātou.' Ka tae ki te tau 2022 e kōrero tonutia ana te reo hei whakakotahi i a tātou, engari e kaha kē atu ana te uru o te tau iwi ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Ko tētehi o ngā mātāpono i roto i te whakarauoratanga o te reo kua āhua whakawarewaretia, ko tērā o te Kaupapa Māori i whakatūria ai te KKM. Ehara i te mea mō te reo Māori anake, engari mō te oranga o te whānau, mō te 'tino rangatiratanga,' mō te whakapiki ake hoki i a tātou i ngā raru o te kāinga. I te paunga o te 50 tau o te āta whakarauora i te reo, hua ake ana te pātai, kei te more rānei ngā niho o te Kaupapa Māori kia noho ai ko te reo Māori anake hei whāinga nui?

Ko te iwi kua tomo i te 'whare,' he iwi i ora kē i te moni rānei, i te tohu mātauranga rānei, i te tūranga mahi rānei. Engari ko te nuinga o te iwi Māori, kei te ngaua tonutia e ngā 'raru o te kāinga,' ā, hāunga te kore-moni, korekore ana hoki ngā taonga nei o te 'wā,' o te 'kaha,' o te 'mātau' ki ngā tikanga kuhu ki ngā whare mātauranga. Kāore ngā kaupapa here i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori e aro nui ki tēnei hunga i runga i ngā tātū whakaaro i runga i ngā whakaaro e kōtūre ana i roto te 'whare.'

E toru ngā whakareanga o te ‘tira hou’ o te reo Māori. Ko te reanga kaumātua e matatau ana ki te reo Māori, i whāngaihia hoki ki a rātou mai i te whānautanga i te wā e noho tonu ngā hapū ki te tuawhenua. Ko te reo o te reanga tērā e whāia ana e ngā reanga tamariki iho. Ka mutu, nā te takitahi haere tēnei reanga, ko te hunga ka āhei ki te whakawhirinaki atu ki te hunga nei, ka waimaire. Ko te reanga o muri mai ko tērā i ako i te reo hei reo tuarua, ā, nā ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo i taea ai. He hunga ngaio te hunga nei, arā, kua puta ngā ihu i ngā whare wānanga, kua āhua kī ngā pūkorō.

Koia tērā ko te tū o Te Whare o te Reo Māori: ko te whakawhenuatanga o ngā āhuatanga o te whakarauora reo Māori i tīmata e 50 tau ki muri, ā, nō te āhua 30 tau i nei i tino tāmōre ai i roto i ngā whakahaere ā-motu, mō pikipiki mai, mō hekeheke atu.

Pātai 2: He aha ngā tākū kōrero me ngā tākū whakaaro o te whakarauora reo Māori i taua 50 tau rā?

He mea tūhura ētehi o ngā tākū kōrero e pā ana ki te reo i te Upoko Tuawhā, arā, ko te whakaaro ko te hunga e ‘pīkoko’ ana ki te reo, he hunga ‘whakaheke werawera,’ ā, koinā i taea ai e rātou te reo te ako. Kei taitua o tērā whakaaro, ko tērā e mea nei, he ‘hūkore’ nō te tangata i kore ai ia e huri ki te ako i te reo.

Heoi anō, ka oti ētehi kōrero te kohi hei āta whakaahua i ngā ‘mata’ o te hunga ‘hūkore’ me ērā o te hunga ‘pīkoko’ kia ‘whakatūria’ ai tētehi tākū kōrero ‘kē’: nā te waimarie kē (nā te ‘ora’ kē rānei) i kaha ai te reanga i ako i te reo, arā, kua ora kē ngā hiahia o te tinana, o te ngākau hoki, ā, māmā ake ana te uru ki ngā kaupapa ako i te reo.

I ngā Upoko Tuarima, Tuaono hoki i tūhurangia ētehi kupu Māori ‘hou’ manomano nei, i āta ‘hangaia’ mai i runga i ngā tākū whakaaro e rua rua kei raro nei. Ka whakaarahia ngā whakaaro nei i roto o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (me ana papakupu), i ngā kura me ngā kaituhituhi kaihangā papakupu hoki mō *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*:

1. He reo ‘paroparo’ te reo Māori, kāore i tupu i roto i ngā huringa o te ao i raungaiti ai, nō reira me ‘whakawhānui’ te reo Māori kia ōrite ki te reo Pākehā te whānui, me ōrite hoki ōna huatau.
2. Me ‘urutapu’ te reo Māori, me kua te reo Pākehā e uru atu. Nō reira kāore e tino pai te kupu Pākehā kia whakawhitia mai ki roto i te reo Māori, me te Māori

o te whakahua (e kīia ana e ētehi he kupu 'mino'), engari 'whakaohongia' ana ētehi kupu Māori tawhito e kīia he kupu i 'moe,' ā, ka hahua ake anō, ā, whakamahia ana taua kupu Māori 'tūturu' hei kupu taurite mō te kupu/huatau Pākehā.

Ko ngā kupu i tūhurangia ko 'tuakiri' (Upoko Tuarima) me 'ohaoha/ōhanga' (Upoko Tuaono), he kupu 'hirahira' i roto i te reo Pākehā, ākuanei pea he rite ki ngā kupu 'hirahira' o te reo Māori (pēnei i 'mana,' me 'tapu'), me te aha kāore e taea te whakamārama ki te kupu kotahi nei. Ko ngā kupu e rua nei kua tangata whenua haere i roto i te reo Māori.

Heoi anō, kitea ana i ngā kōrero a kui, a koro mā, tērā tonu ngā momo kōrero, tikanga hoki o roto i te reo Māori hei kawē i te whakaaro, hei whakatutuki rānei i ngā 'mahi' e mahia ana e aua kupu rā, e 'tuakiri' rāua ko 'ōhanga/ohaoha,' engari i roto i ngā tikanga Māori.

E whakahē ana hoki tēnei rangahau i te whakaaro e haere 'maro-kore' mai ana te huatau ki roto i te reo Māori. Kōkuhu mai ana te huatau, kawea mai ana ētehi tikanga mai o te reo i ahu mai ai ia, he haehae i te tikanga/whakaaro Māori tana mahi.

Nā te uru o te kupu 'tuakiri' kua urutomo ki te wāhi i kōrerohia ai te 'mana,' te 'mauri,' ā, kua tahuri te tangata ki te 'kimi' i ngā mea motuhake o roto i a ia ake (tōna 'iho'), kua ko te tātai i ngā hono ki te tangata, ki te whenua.

Te āhua ki te kupu 'ōhanga/ohaoha,' whakawhenuahia mai ana e ia tētehi āhuatanga ehara kē i te 'ohaoha,' engari he kaitangata kē, ā, ko te iwi Māori tētehi o ngā iwi e noho papa ana.

Heoi, kei konā ngā tāhū kōrero nunui o te motu (e pātukituki ana): ko ētehi e whakaputaina ana i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori (ngā tuhinga pukapuka (Pēnei i Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; O'Regan, 2011, 2012; Te Ara, Kāore he rā; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986; Winitana, 2011) e mea nei nā ngā haehae a te ture, nā te wepu a te kura māhita, nā te kaha heke o te Māori ki ngā tāone, ka motu te aho tāngaengae ki te whenua, ki te hapū, ki te reo anō hoki. Engari he kōrero kē anō ērā e rahurahu ana mō te 'kore-hiahia,' mō te 'hūkore' o te tangata ki te reo.

Ā, me te aha, kukune ana, kikiri ana te whakaaro, nō te tangata Māori anō te hē i mate ai te reo – nō ngā iwi (Te Karere, 2014), nō te reanga kīhai i ‘tuku’ i te reo ki ā rātou tamariki, nō wai rānei. Ā, e whakamihia ana te reanga i āta ‘ako’ i te reo hei reo tuarua.

Ko te mea kē, kāore he kōrero kotahi mō ngā take e ngaro ai te reo, engari he tūātinitini kē, ā, ka mutu, he oranga kei roto i tā te tangata ako i āna anō kōrero, hītori, whakapapa, ahakoa ngā mamaetanga. Ko au anō tētehi i mōhio ki te tāhū kōrero tāpua mō te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori, engari kīhai i mōhio ki ngā kōrero mōku ake. Nā tēnei rangahau anō i hinātore mai ai te whakaaro, ehara i te mea ko te reo Māori tērā e whakarauorahia ana, engari ia ko te tangata kē, ko te whānau (Hond, 2013).

Ehara i te mea nā te take kotahi, nō te pō kotahi rānei i ‘riro whenua atu, i riro reo atu, i riro mātauranga atu, i riro whakaaro atu,’ engari he āhuatanga kūa roa e mahi ana, ā, e mahi tonu nei, e mahi tonu nei. Hei tā Moana Jackson, e whakahokia mai ai ngā mea i riro rā, otirā e whakarauorahia mai ai ngā mea i haumate rā, me aroha ki te tangata (Jackson, 2021). Āpiti ki tērā, mā ā tātou ‘whakapapa kōrero’ (Smith, 2000) tātou e paihere, engari me whai wāhi hoki ki aua kōrero ko ērā mai i te wā i ū mai ai a tauwiwi, mohoa noa; kua noa iho ko ngā kōrero mō te iti o Momoho, he whairawa, kua whiwhi ki te reo, ki te mātauranga, ā, kua ‘ora,’ engari ia me whai wāhi hoki ngā kōrero mō te nuipuku o te iwi Māori kei te ao o te porotaitaka, i ‘hūtia ake’ rānei ‘i ō rātou tūrangawaewae’ (wh. 70).

Ā, ka mutu, e tutuki ai te whakarauorahia mai o te hunga e pōkaikaha ana, me turaki ētehi o ngā ‘pou’ o te whare me ngā ‘pou’ o te hinengaro e pēhi nei, e aukati nei te whakarauoratanga mai o te tangata. Ko tētehi ko te ngau tonu o ‘ngā raru o te kāinga’ e uaua ai te tomokia o Te Whare o te Reo Māori, ā, i māmā ake ai tā te Pākehā tomo atu. Ko tētehi atu ko ngā ‘pou’ whakaaro ko te whakakaitoa mō te kore-reo o te tangata.

Ko ngā ‘pou’ whakarauora reo Māori pēnei i te KKM, i te Kōhanga Reo he kaupapa ‘whakamana’ i te tangata, i te whānau. He mea nui kia kua e ‘more ngā niho’ o te Kaupapa Māori (G. Smith, 2012), arā, kei wareware ko te Kaupapa Māori he neke noa atu i te kaupapa reo Māori, engari ia he kaupapa e ‘piki ake ai ō tātou whānau i ngā raruraru o te kāinga’ kia noho anō te iwi Māori hei ‘tino rangatira’ i roto i ngā whakahaere katoa e whaipānga ana ki a ia.

I te tau 2022 e whakanuia ana ngā pou whenua me ngā pou tāngata o Te Whare o te Reo Māori, arā, te 50 tau o te petihana reo Māori me Ngā Tamatoa. Ka tika hoki. Engari kia hoi hoki ō tātou taringa ki ngā kupu a Piripi Walker i mea rā ia, 'He aha te hītori?' 'Ko wai kei te tuhituhi i ngā hītori?' (Te Ara, 2020). Inā hoki, ehara i te mea kua ea ngā kōrero o roto o te petihana 'kia āta whakaakongia te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori, ki roto i ngā kura katoa e maha ana ngā taitamariki Māori' (National Library of New Zealand, 2022). E mihi ana ki te whakaaro o Te Taura Whiri, kia 'pōwhiringia' te iwi nui tonu ki te tuku atu i ā rātou anō kōrero e pā ana ki te reo (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2022). Mā reira pea e kaha ake ai te rangona o ngā kōrero a ngā 'kaitiaki o te reo Māori' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015) ko te nuinga kei waho kē o Te Whare o te Reo Māori.

Koinei i mea nui ai ā tātou tāhū kōrero (King, 2003). He wā ko ngā 'tāhū kōrero' te kaipaihere i a tātou; he wā mā ā tātou tāhū kōrero e wetekina ai aua herehere.

Pātai 3: He aha ngā whakaaweawe o te ao hurihuri i ngā pou me ngā tāhū o te whakarauora reo Māori, ā, he aha te whakaaweawe o te whakarauora reo Māori i te ao hurihuri?

Ko te aronga matua o te Upoko Tuaono ko te 'ōhanga.' Uia ana i taua upoko rā te pātai, 'He ohaoha rānei te ōhanga?'

Hei tā ngā kaumātua i pakeke mai i te wā e noho ā-whānau, ā-hapū tonu ana i te tuawhenua i runga i ō rātou whenua, ahakoa te iti o ngā moni, kīhai rātou i matekai, engari i whai oranga anō i te whenua, i whai oranga hoki i te 'ohaoha,' i te 'ohu' o te noho ā-whānau, ā-hapū. Ko tā rātou noho, kāore anō kia uru katoa ki te ao o te moni.

Heoi, e tū nei Te Whare o te Reo Māori i roto i te ao o te 'ōhanga,' ā, hāunga rā ngā āhukatanga o te reo ake, o ngā tikanga, o ōna whakanekeneke i roto i te whare, nā te moni ia i tū ai. Ko te whakatūria o ōna pou i ngā tau o te 1970 me te 1980, i whakawhirinaki atu ki ngā kuia, koroua, ko te 'aroha' ki te kaupapa te utu. Engari ka heke ki ngā reanga o muri mai, e pāngia nei e ngā 'raruraru' o te 'ōhanga,' ko ngā mea kei ngā tūranga mahi i roto i te reo, kei ngā tūranga ngaio anake pea ka āhei ki te ako i te reo.

Ko tētehi kitenga nui āku i tēnei rangahau, ko tērā e pā ana ki te hanga kupu hou e whakawhenuatia ai ngā āhukatanga o te 'ōhanga' i roto i ā tātou kōrero, engari i roto hoki

i tā tātou titiro ki te ao. Inā hoki, i te wā i a kui, koro mā, kāore noa iho tēnei mea te 'ōhanga'; he āhuetanga tērā nā tauwi i kawē mai. I mua atu i te 'ōhanga' ko te 'oranga' kē: he oranga i te whenua, he oranga i te noho ā-hapū me te 'ohaoha' (tohatoha) a tētehi ki tētehi, te 'ohu' rānei.

Whakamīharo ana te kitea atu o te piki o te ora o te whānau, nā runga i te whai 'tūrangawaewae' (arā, te whenua, te marae kāinga rānei), pēnei i ērā o Tapu te Ranga Marae, o te Mangu Kaha hoki (Upoko Tuawhā). Ko te waka i tīkoki, i pakaru, ehara i te mea ko te 'reo,' engari ia ko te tangata. Engari, ka whakaorahia ana te tangata, ahakoa pea e rua, e toru whakatupuranga te huarahi whakaora, ko te reo ka tīmata ki te tupu, nā te mea e taka ana ki te 'one pai,' kua ki te 'koraha' (wh. 70). Heoi, ahakoa ēnei tauira kōrero mō te puta o ngā whānau nei ki te ao mārama, arā tonu te maha o ngā whānau 'pakarū,' e 'tīkoki' ana i runga i ngā wai tāpokopoko o tēnei mea te 'ōhanga.'

Engari ko ngā mate hoki o te 'ōhanga' ērā e poke nei i a tātou, tae atu ki ngā āhuetanga o roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori. Ko ngā raruraru e pā kino nei ki te Kōhanga Reo, he tohu nō tētehi āhuetanga e kitea whānuitia ana i roto i te 'ōhanga': kāore he mana o te wahine i roto i ngā mahi e mahi nei ia, pēnei i te morimori i te pēpē, i te hunga kaumātua hoki. Ko ngā Kōhanga Reo e poke ana i te kore pūtea, ko ōna kaimahi, kei te whiwhi ki te hereni. Ahakoa te ora ake pea o te tangata i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori, kāore i te ōrite te ora. Koirā hoki te mahi o te 'ōhanga' he whakawehewehe i te tangata i runga anō i te nui o ngā moni, o ngā rawa ka whiwhi ki tēnā, ki tēnā.

Nō reira, ko te ui makihoi i te Upoko Tuaono, 'He ohaoha rānei te ōhanga?' he wero i ngā kupu nei e mea nei ko te 'ōhanga,' he 'mahi kai' ('hanga ō') tana aronga. Tino kore nei i tika kia kīia te 'ōhanga' he 'ohaoha,' nā te mea ko te moni kē hei oranga mō te tangata, kua ko te 'ohaoha' a tētehi ki tētehi.

Ko ētehi o ngā tāhū whakaaro e pā ana ki te whakarauoratanga o te reo, ko te whakawareware tonu i te pūtaka o te ngaronga o te reo, kia kīia te kōrero, he mea 'āta tahuri atu' ō tātou mātua, tūpuna i te reo. Koia tērā ko tētahi o ngā momo kōrero kei ngā hītori ā-motu. Ko ngā kōrero pēnei i tā Ani Mikaere (Te Kotahi Research Institute,

2013), he whakapātaritari i te whakaaro, i āta kōwhiri ana tūpuna i te reo Pākehā.²⁷² Hei tāna, mehemea ko te takahi i te ara ki te ora, ko te takahi rānei i te ara ki te mate, kāti, kāore noa iho pea te tangata e noho ki konā whakaaro ai ki te reo.

Arā ngā kōrero e 'ngaro' ana i roto pēnei i te kōrero mō ngā tini take e 'tahuri ai' te tangata ki te kōrero Pākehā. I te tau 2022, hāunga anō te whakanuitanga o te 50 tau mai i te kawenga o te petihana reo Māori, e haere ana hoki ngā whiriwhiringa mō te hunga i tūkinohia i roto i ngā whare 'atawhai' o te kāwanatanga, he nui ngā tamariki Māori o taua wā rā i 'whara' i roto i aua whare, ā, ka puta ko ngā kēnge hei 'tūrangawaewae' mō aua tamariki i whara rā.

²⁷² Ko ngā kupu ake a Ani Mikaere, ko "excruciating choices."

Upoko Tuawaru: He Kupu Whakakapi

Kāti, kia whakarāpopotohia ake te tuhinga rangahau nei:

I te Upoko Tuatahi i tūhuratia e au ngā kōrero mō mātou ko taku whānau mai i aku tūpuna i te wā o te raupatu ki roto o Waikato, tae noa ki taku tama i tae ki te kōhanga reo, ki te KKM. He kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga i mutu ai te kōrerohia o te reo i te reanga o aku tūpuna, ā, i tīmata te whakarauorahia mai anō i roto i ngā kaupapa whakarauora reo.

I te Upoko Tuarua i whakatakotohia ai ngā tikanga o te rangahau nei: ko te kohi, ko te haehae i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori i runga i te tūāpapa o te Kaupapa Māori.

I te Upoko Tuatoru i whakatūria Te Whare o te Reo Māori, hei ritenga mō te whakarauoratanga reo Māori i te 50 tau ka taha nei. He mea whakaahua mai ngā pou o te whare, arā, ōna kaupapa, ōna tāngata. Kātahi ka kōrerohia ētehi o ngā ahuatanga o te whare i te 2022.

Nā, whakamahia ana Te Whare o te Reo Māori hei tūhura i ētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero, tāhū whakaaro hoki o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori.

I te Upoko Tuawhā i uia te pātai, 'Mō wai te reo Māori?' Ko ngā tāhū kōrero i tūhurangia ko ērā e mea nei, nā te 'pīkoko' o te tangata, na tana 'whakaheke werawera' i mau i a ia te reo Māori, tēnā nā te 'hūkore' i kūware ai te tangata ki te reo.

Ka tae ki te Upoko Tuarima me te Upoko Tuaono, he mea wewete ētehi kupu 'hou' i roto i te reo Māori: ko 'tuakiri' me 'ōhanga' me kore noa ka kitea ngā tāhū whakaaro e whakaawe ana i te reo Māori mai i roto i Te Whare o te Reo me ngā āki mai o te ao mai i waho.

He mea whiriwhiri, he mea whakahiato ngā āhuatanga o ngā upoko katoa o runga ake ki te Upoko Tuawhitu.

Ngā kitenga matua

Koia ēnei ko ngā kitenga matua o tēnei rangahau:

1. Kei tēnā whānau, kei tēnā hapū, kei tēnā rohe ōna anō kōrero mō te mate haere o te reo Māori, me te whakarauorahia mai anō, engari e kaha ana te 'ngaro' o ēnei kōrero i roto i ngā tino tāhū kōrero o Te Whare o te Reo Māori (pēnei i te whakaaro he kore 'hiahia' nō te tangata ki te reo, i ngaro ai).
2. E whakaritea ana te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori ki te 'whare' (koia, ko 'Te Whare o te Reo Māori): he whare 'kikokiko' nei me ōna āhurutanga, me ōna hoa piringa; he whare 'ariā' nei hoki, me ōna tāhū kōrero, tāhū whakaaro.
3. Ko te iwi kua tomo i te 'whare,' he iwi i ora kē i te moni rānei, i te tohu mātauranga rānei, i te tūranga mahi rānei. Engari ko te nuinga o te iwi Māori, kei te ngaua tonutia e ngā 'raru o te kāinga,' ā, hāunga te kore-moni, korekore ana hoki ngā taonga nei o te 'wā,' o te 'kaha,' o te 'mātau' ki ngā tikanga kuhu ki ngā whare mātauranga. Kāore ngā kaupapa here i roto i Te Whare o te Reo Māori e aro nui ki tēnei hunga i runga i ngā tāhū whakaaro i runga i ngā whakaaro e kōture ana i roto te 'whare.'
4. Ko tētehi o ngā tāhū whakaaro hoki o Te Whare o te Reo māori ko te whakakaitoa o te iwi o roto ki te iwi o waho. E kīia ana ko te iwi o roto i te whare he 'pīkoko,' he 'whakaheke werawera.' Ākuanei pea nā te waimarie noa iho i kaha ai ētehi ki te ako.
5. Nā te 'whakawhitihia' ('kōkuhua') o ngā huatau i ahu mai i roto i ngā reo me ngā tikanga o Ūropi ki roto i ngā kupu Māori i hē ai te 'whakaaro Māori,' i haehaetia te reo i ngā tikanga Māori.
6. E tū nei Te Whare o te Reo Māori i roto i te ao o te 'ōhanga,' ā, hāunga rā ngā āhutatanga o te reo ake, o ngā tikanga, o ōna whakanekeneke i roto i te whare, mā te moni ia ka tū, ka hinga rānei. Mā te aro ki tēnei āhutatanga o te 'ao' nei ka whai māramatanga anō ngā kitenga o runga ake.

Ngā roherohetanga o tēnei rangahau

Me āta whakaroherohe ngā kitenga nei ki tōna wāhi i roto i ngā tini rangahautanga e pā ana ki te whakarauora reo Māori, otirā i waenga i ngā rangahautanga whānui tonu.

Ko te rangahau nei he mea 'nā te ngākau tonu o te kairangahau i ārahi.' Nā 'ngā hau i pū mai ki taku kiri' (wh. 1) i tangata ai ahau, me te aha, ko taku tū, ko taku titiro ki te ao, nāku ake. Nō reira, me taparere mai te rangahau nei ki a au, hei tauira mō tētehi momo tirohanga ki te whakarauora reo Māori, ehara i te mea kei te rangahau nei ngā māramatanga, ngā rongoā katoa.

Nā, kāore aku tohungatanga ki te 'mātauranga ōhanga,' engari kei a au tōku anō 'tohungatanga,' arā, ko te paku 'raupā o ngā ringaringa' i ngā mahi roto i te KKM me ērā atu mahi e pā ana ki te whakarauora i te reo Māori. Waihoki, ko tētahi o ngā mātāpono i roto i te rangahau he whakanui i te tohungatanga o te tangata ki ngā mea e whaipānga ana ki a ia, otirā ki tana whaioranga i te ao (wh. 139). Kei konā anō e 'mahī' ana, e 'rahurahu' ana ngā kawekawe o taua ao rā ki ngā āhukatanga katoa o te ao o te tangata ināianeī, tae atu ki Te Whare o te Reo Māori, nō reira me pēwhea te kore ai e kōrerohia?

Me kōrero rā te taparere o te rangahau ki te ariā nei, ki te 'whare.' Nā te whakaritea o te whakarauora reo Māori ki te whare, i taea ai ētehi āhukatanga ōna te whakatairanga, te whakaahua, te whakamārama, engari arā anō ētehi ariā hei whakaahua i ētehi āhukatanga kē atu o te whakarauoratanga reo Māori.

Ā muri nei

Ko te pūtake o te rangahau nei ko te kaniawhea o roto i te puku ki te rangahau i ētehi o ngā tāhū kōrero i rongo rā ahau i roto i ngā kaupapa whakarauora i te reo. Ko tēnei tuhingaroa, he 'whakautu' i ētehi o aua kōrero, me kore noa, ka whitikina e te rā, ka whakangāueuetia, ka tino turakina rānei.

Oti ana taku rangahau, tina ana te whakaaro i roto i a au, ko te whakarauora i te reo Māori he kaupapa whakarauora i te tangata Māori. I a au e rangahau ana i ngā kōrero mō mātou ko taku whānau, mō tangata kē hoki, he roimata i heke, he ngākau i whakapuke. He wā i puku ai te rae, he wā anō i whakaaroharoha.

Inā hoki, kei ngā whakapapa o tēnā whānau, o tēnā tangata ngā kōrero mō te mate haere o te reo i roto i te whānau, i te iwi hoki. Kāore tēnei e taea te wewete mai i ngā kōrero mō te rironga atu o te whenua, o te mana o ngāi tātou, ka raungaiti. Waihoki, e ngau

tonu ana 'ngā raru o te kāinga,' hāunga rā nā ngā mamaetanga o te raupatu, tērā ngā āhuatanga i pā kaha ki ngā whakatupuranga o muri mai, ā, e pā kaha tonu nei.

E tū nei Te Whare o te Reo Māori i te ao e whai niho nei te moni. Mehemea rā tātou kei te hiahia kia tomokia te whare e te iwi nōna te reo, kāore he tirohanga ake i tua atu o te oranga o te tangata, o te iwi, ā, ko te moni te kaiwhakaora i te tangata i roto i te ao 'ōhanga' nei. Nō reira, me whai tikanga te whare e kore ai te moni e noho hei whakawehewehe i te hunga whiwhi, i te hunga whiwhi-kore, i te hunga hauora, i te hunga haumate.

Ko tētehi o ngā aronga nui o tēnei rangahau, ko ngā tāhū kōrero ka whakatūria e te tangata. He wā he kōrero whakapōhēhē, he wā he kōrero whakamana. He mea nui kia whakamātautauhia e tātou ngā tāhū kōrero whakapōhēhē, whakakaitoa. Ahakoa he kōrero noa iho, he niho hoki kei aua kupu, me te aha, ko tōna mutunga atu, he ōrite tonu pea ki te pakitara o te whare, he whakawehewehe i ngā mea o roto, i ngā mea o waho.

Hei kupu whakamutunga māku i te tuhingaroa nei, ka huri ngā whakaaro ki aku tūpuna i te wā o te raungaiti, kātahi ka whakaaro ake ki taku tama i whakatupuhia mai i roto i te āhuru o te kōhanga reo, o te kura kaupapa Māori, otirā i roto i te whānau e whakaora mai ana i te reo, ko taku tūmanako ka noho hei whare, otirā hei kāinga mō ngā uri ā muri nei.

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Ngā ĀpitiHanga

ĀpitiHanga 1: Te kupu 'tuakiri' i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori 297

ĀpitiHanga 2: Ngā kupu 'ohaoha' me 'ōhanga' i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori
.....301

Apitihanga 1: Te kupu 'tuakiri' i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori

Papakupu	Kupu mātāmua	Whakamārama	Tauira
Wiremu (1971)	Tuakiri	n. 1. <i>Wall</i> of a house.	Pakipaki kau au ki te tuakiri o te whare (M. 22).
		2. Person, personality.	Tenei ano ra o maru i waiho te mau nei, e, kei taku tuakiri (M. 22). kiri.
Te Matatiki (1992)	tuakiri	n. / identity (personal)	
	identity (personal)	n. / tuakiri	
Ngata (1993)	identity	tuakiri	<i>The composer concealed his identity under a false name.</i> Ka hunaia e te kitito tōna tuakiri i raro i te ingoa kē.
Te Matatiki (1996)	tuakiri	<i>noun (personal)</i> identity [W. 445 'person, personality']	
	identity	<i>noun (personal)</i> tuakiri [W. 445 'person, personality']	
Ryan (1997)	tuakiri	personal identity, person, wall of house	
	identity	ingoa, tuakiri	
	identity, personal	tuakiri	
Te Aka (2005)	tuakiri	person, personality, identity	
	identity	tuakiri	

He Pātaka Kupu (2008)	Tuakiri	1. [Tāne] ing. āhua. Tētahi o ētahi taha o te whare e toko ake ana i te tuanui. *pakitara(1)	Inā hē haere te ōhanga, ka tokomaha ake te hunga kore mahi.
	Tuakiri	2. [Tūmatauenga] ing. Ngā āhuratanga katoa tae atu ki ngā whanonga o te tangata e whakaputa ana i tōna āhua, e kīia ai he tangata motuhake.	(i) He wahine harakoakoa te tuakiri, he pai ki te tangata, me te pai anō o te tangata ki a ia. (ii) He tuakiri nihoniho, matapiko tōna, koinā i tokoiti ai ōna hoa
		3. [Tūmatauenga] <i>hou</i> . Ngā āhuratanga motuhake e tohu ana ko wai te tangata, te huinga tāngata rānei.	(i) I a ia tana puka uruwhenua e whakaatu ana i tana tuakiri. (ii) Ko ngā whakapapa o te tangata tētahi wāhanga nui o tana tuakiri. (iii) Ko te reo, ngā tikanga me ngā toi Māori ētahi āhuratanga nui tonu o te tuakiri Māori.
Ryan (2012)	tuakiri	personal identity, person, wall of house	
	tūākiri ā whenua	national identity	
	tūākiri ahurea	cultural identity	
	tūākiri ngāi tāua	our collective identity	
	identity	ingoa, tuakiri	
Te Aka (2003-2023)	tuakiri	1. (noun) person, personality, identity.	<i>Ko ngā kōrero tuaukiuiki i puta i aua tohu ngā tohu o te tuakiri o te tamaiti (HM 3/2009:10).</i> / The ancient stories are associated with those landmarks, the symbols of the child's identity.
		2. (noun) wall (of a house)	<i>Pakipaki kau au ki te tuakiri o te whare (M 2004:224).</i> / I beat in vain against the wall of the house (M 2004:225).

	gender identity	tuakiri ā-ia	
	separate identity	mana motuhake	
	identity		
	cultural identity	ahurea tuakiri	
	personality disorder, identity disorder	māuiui tuakiri	
	Māori identity	taha Māori	
	without identity	tautangata	
		ipukarea	
		taura here	
		moumou te pango	

PaeKupu	Tuakiri (hauora, tikanga ā-iwi)	<p>Ko ngā āhuetanga o te tangata e kīia ai ia he tangata motuhake. Koia ko tōna whakapapa tonu, ko tōna reo ūkaipō, ko āna whanonga, ko ōna whakapono, ko ōna uara, ko āna tikanga, tae atu ki te āhua o tōna tinana. Ka pā hoki te tuakiri ki te rōpū, pērā i te tuakiri o tētahi iwi ake, o te hāpori takatāpui, o te hunga turi, o te whenua tonu, otirā o te huhua ake o ngā momo whakarōpūtanga tāngata.</p> <p>All aspects of a person which contribute to their uniqueness. This includes their lineage, their mother tongue, their behaviours, their beliefs, their values, their customs, and also their physical appearance. Identity also applies to groups such as the identity of a particular tribal group, of the gay community, of deaf people, of a whole country and myriad other groupings of people.</p>	<p>Ahakoā ngā piki me ngā heke i roto i ngā tau, ahakoā ngā tāmitanga, ka mau tonu i te iwi nei tō rātou ake tuakiri motuhake.</p> <p>He kino kē te aukati atu a te ture o taua whenua rā i ngā āhuetanga tūturu o te tuakiri iwi taketake.</p> <p>He tino kaha te hunga rā ki te whakanui i tō rātou tuakiri takatāpui</p>
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Apitihanga 2: Ngā kupu ‘ohaoha’ me ‘ōhanga’ i roto i ētehi o ngā papakupu reo Māori

Papakupu	Kupu mātāmua	Whakamārama	Tauira
Wiremu (1971)	Ōhanga, ōwhanga = kōwhanga,	n. <i>Nest</i> .	
	i. Oha, owha	Greet	Ka owha mai te wahine ki tōna hoahoa (N. 158)
	ii. Oha, ohaoha	1. a. Generous	He tangata oha. Haere mai koe, te oha o ngā tangata mātua.
		2. Abundant.	Ka rāhuitia ngā pipi, ka oha.
		3. n. Generosity.	Ka kite taua iwi i te oha o Tukutuku (N. 168).
		4. <i>Relic, keepsake, anything which serves to keep a departed friend in remembrance</i>	“Hei konei, kia atawhai ki te iwi i muri i a au nei.” He ohaki tēnei korero ki ngā tangata o te ao nei.
5. <i>Dying speech. Whakatau oha, make a dying speech. Ōhākī = oha a kī, dying speech.</i> Ohaoha , n. Part of the marriage ritual.		Ko te karakia kia kore e pa mai he mate ki a raua, tuarua kia whanau mai he tamariki, ko te ingoa o te karakia, he karakia ohaoha.	
Te Matatiki (1992)	economics	n. / ohaoha	
	economise	v.i. / whakamoamo	
Ngata (1993)	ōhanga	cradle	Te ōhanga o te tangata. The cradle of civilisation.
	economy	whakahaerenga moni, ōhanga	Agriculture makes a large contribution to our economy. Ko te ahuhenua te mahinga āwhina nui ki tā tātau whakahaerenga moni.

	economy	ihupuku	I only fly economy class. Rere anake ai ahau ma te karaihe ihupuku.
Te Matatiki (1996)	ōhanga	<i>noun</i> economics [ō W.237 'provision for a journey' hanga W.34 'make,build, fashion, business, practice, etc.]	
	economics	<i>noun</i> ōhanga [ō] W. 237 'provision of a journey' hanga W.34 'make, build, fashion, business, practice, etc.]	
	economics	<i>noun (study)</i> mātauranga ōhanga [mātauranga common usage 'knowledge' ō W. 237 'provision of a journey' hanga W.34 'make, build, fashion, business, practice, etc.]	
	economic, principles of	<i>noun</i> tikanga ōhanga [tikanga W.417 'rule, plan, method' ōhanga TM 'economics']	
	economy	<i>noun</i> ao ōhanga [ao W.11 'world' ōhanga TM 'economics']	
Ryan (1997)	ōhanga	cradle, family home, economics	
	ohaoha	economics, generous, plentiful	
Te Aka (2005)	ōhanga	economics	
	economics	ōhanga	

He Pātaka Kupu (2008)	Ōhanga ¹	1. [Papatūānuku] ing. hou. Te pai o te noho o tētahi whenua ina tirohia te kaha o tana waihanga me tana whakapau i ngā taonga hoko me ngā ratonga, me te nui o te moni e wātea ana ki a ia. *kōhanga (1)	Inā hē haere te ōhanga, ka tokomaha ake te hunga kore mahi.
	Ōhanga ²	1. [Papatūānuku] ing. hou. Te pai o te noho o tētahi whenua ina tirohia te kaha o tana waihanga me tana whakapau i ngā taonga hoko me ngā ratonga, me te nui o te moni e wātea ana ki a ia.	Inā hē haere te ōhanga, ka tokomaha ake te hunga kore mahi.
		2. [Tāne] Te mātauranga e pā ana ki te whakaemi, te whakapau, te whakawhitiwhiti rānei i te moni, i te rawa.	Ko te ōhanga tana kaupapa matua i te Whare Wānanga, kātahi ia ka haere hei kaitātari kaupapa i Ngā Kaitoha Ohapūtea.
		3. [Papatūānuku] āhua. hou. E pā ana ki te ōhanga. Ohaoha	He take ōhanga i whakahoahoa ai a Aotearoa ki taua whenua, ahakoa tana tātāmi i ētahi o ana tāngata.
Ohaoha ¹	1. -nga [Papatūānuku] āhua, ing, mahp. Neke noa atu [i] te hoatu (i te kai, i te taonga, i te aha atu), te manaaki rānei i tērā e kimihia ana, e hiahiatia ana; he aroha ki te tangata. * marae (3)	Ka puta i a Te Whatanui ēnei kupu ohaoha rongonui, arā, e tuku ana ia i a ia hei rātā whakaruruhau mō Muaūpoko (TTR 1, 334).	

		2. [Papatūānuku] āhua. hou. E pā ana ki te ōhanga. *ōhanga ² (3)	(i) Ko tā Timi Kara i tino whai tonu ai he whakakaha i te Māori i roto i te ao ohaoha o te ao hou (TTR 2, 10). (ii) He whakanui i ngā wāhine Māori o roto i ngā tau kua whakapau i ō rātou kaha ki ngā take pāpori, ā, ki ngā take ohaoha, hei painga mō tātou, mō te iwi Māori, otirā mō ngā iwi katoa o Aotearoa (HM 6, 4).
Ryan (2012)	ohaohatanga	economics	