

Is there evidence that traditional *mōteatea* (Māori laments) were composed from a common stock of oral formulae?

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Abstract

Oral formulaic composition, which involves the use of communally owned formulae of various kinds, is a common feature of verbal arts produced in many different languages. It is particularly associated with pre-literate cultures and tends to be gradually replaced by more individualistic verbal art forms when societies become literate. There are very few publications in which the analysis of *mōteatea* (Māori laments) is linked explicitly to oral formulaic theory. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence in published sources to indicate that traditional *mōteatea* (defined here as *mōteatea* that are not fundamentally influenced by European cultural beliefs and practices) exhibit evidence of regularly recurring, conventional *themes* (such as death, separation, loss and travel) and *motifs* (such as the setting sun, the presence of rain or mist and sleeplessness). The research reported here set out to test the hypothesis that traditional *mōteatea* were made up of verbal formulae, that is, of the same or very similar groups of words derived from a common store of poetic resources. Based on the analysis of the *mōteatea* included in *Ngā mōteatea*, a collection initially established by Sir Apirana Ngata, I conclude that this hypothesis must be rejected.

Introduction

The research reported here constituted one part of a larger research project whose overall aim was to examine the *mōteatea* (Māori laments) included in *Ngā Mōteatea* (Ngata, 1959, 1990; Ngata & Jones, 1961, 1970), a collection initially established by Sir Apirana Ngata, in relation to the extent to which they show signs of formulaic composition, signs that may be exhibited in, for example, regularly recurring conventional *themes* (such as death, separation, loss and travel) and *motifs* (such as the setting sun, the presence of rain or mist and sleeplessness), in similarities of overall structuring (discourse prototypes) and in the extensive use of oral formulae, that is, of the same or very similar groups of words derived from a common store of poetic resources. It is with the last of these only that this article is concerned. Attention was focused on the *mōteatea* included in *Ngā mōteatea* because these *mōteatea* can generally be regarded as ‘traditional’ in the sense that they are largely rooted in beliefs and practices that pre-date colonization. Even so, it must be acknowledged that these *mōteatea* were recorded after European colonization of New Zealand and the widespread introduction of literacy, and that some of them contain references to objects and beliefs that were introduced by European settlers.

The hypothesis on which this part of the research project was based is that traditional *mōteatea* were composed, in whole or in large part, of oral formulae made up of the same or very similar strings of words derived from a common store of poetic

resources. In order to test this hypothesis, I scanned the *mōteatea* included in *Ngā mōteatea* into a word processing document (Microsoft Office Word) and, using the facility built into the word processing package, searched initially for strings (and a range of possible variants on them) that have been claimed in published literature to provide some indication of the presence of oral formulae, recording everything that might qualify as an oral formula. I provided a linguistic description of each of the strings included in the list and attempted to determine, on the basis of criteria (considerations of frequency, diction, form, likelihood of occurrence in other contexts in which the same or similar topics of themes were in focus, and consistency with a broadly based description of ‘oral formula’ and ‘cluster’) whether the occurrence of these strings provided any firm evidence of the existence of a common store of oral formulae or whether other explanations for their occurrence were more plausible or, at least, equally plausible. Next, on the basis of references to a wide range of concepts and themes that occur in the literature on *mōteatea*, a list of words, phrases and groups of phrases (along with a range of possible variations on them) was created and a search was made for occurrences of each of them (and for components of each of them) in the corpus. Where two or more instances were found to occur in the corpus, these, along with their locations, were recorded. The same criteria applied in the case of the first list were then applied to this second list.

A critical review of literature on one aspect of oral formulaic theory, the oral formula itself

Oral formulaic theory emerged out of a study of the compositional processes and characteristics of narrative epic song poetry. Two central figures in the formulation of oral formulaic theory are Milman Parry and Albert Lord. In the 1920s, Milman Parry completed a thesis at the Sorbonne under the supervision of Antoine Meillet (see Parry & Parry, 1971, pp. 421-535) who had included in *Les origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs* (Meillet, 1923), the comment that Homeric epic is entirely composed of formulae handed down from poet to poet. This comment represented the starting point of Parry’s own research. He initially focused on the Homeric epic but later, in the 1930s, made two trips to Yugoslavia where he and his assistant, Albert Lord, recorded and studied Serbo-Croatian heroic epics. He argued in a series of publications in the early 1930s (see Parry & Parry, 1971) that certain formulaic aspects of Homeric epics were also to be found in other oral compositions and were, in fact, characteristic of oral composition generally.

The research initiated by Parry and Lord has given rise to a vast body of literature on oral formulaic tradition around the world. This includes research on the oral formulaic character of Anglo Saxon narrative poems (see, for example, Magoun, 1953, 1955), on the Hispanic Ballad *Romancero* (Catalan, 1987) and on Irish literature (see, for example, Falaky, 1983). It also includes the study of oral tradition in Africa (see, for example, Mafeje, 1967; Morris, 1964; Opland, 1983), the Middle East (see, for example, McDonald, 1978), Asia (see, for example, Mair, 1983) and North America (see, for example, Roemer, 1983). In 1990, a special edition of the *Oral Tradition Journal* was dedicated to the oral traditions of the South Pacific. More recently, Finnegan and Orbell (1995) edited a collection of articles on South Pacific oral traditions. Included in publications on oral formulaic theory are references to formulaic themes, motifs, type-scenes, oral formulae, formulaic systems and clusters. I focus here only on the last three.

What is meant by the term ‘oral formula’ in the context of oral formulaic theory?

According to Milman Parry and Albert Lord, an oral formula is “a group of words which is used regularly under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (Lord, 1960, p. 30; Parry, 1930, p. 80). In his definition of the oral formula, Parry (1930, p. 82) excludes the echoed phrase, illustrating this with reference to Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*:

All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, Thane of Glamis!
All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!
All hail, Macbeth! That shalt be King hereafter.

According to Parry and Lord, one aspect of the importance of the oral formula is its usefulness in rapid composition. As Parry (1930, p. 80) observes, “the poet uses it [the oral formula] without second thought as the natural means of getting his [sic] idea into verse”. He goes on to say that “formulas in any poetry are due, so far as their ideas go, to the theme” but “their art is that of the poets who made them and of the poets who kept them” (p. 81). Parry (1932, p. 6) argued that the oral poet composed by “choosing from a vast number of fixed phrases which he [sic] . . . heard in poems of other poets, [each] of these phrases . . . [expressing] a given idea in words which fit into a given length of the verse”. Thus each formula is an “extraordinary creation in itself . . . [being] made up of just those parts of speech which, in the place which it is to fill in the verse, will accord with the formulas which go before and after to make the sentence and the verse”. It follows that “the formulas taken all together make up a diction which is the material for a completely unified technique of verse-making” (p. 6), a phrase becoming an oral formula when it “is so good poetically and so useful metrically that it becomes in time the one best way to express a certain idea in a given length of the verse”. It is then “passed on from one generation of poets to another [having] won a place for itself in the oral diction as a formula” (1932, p. 7).

The oral formula, according to Lord (1960), is the “offspring of the marriage of thought and sung verse”, the conditions of the sung verse imposing certain restrictions that vary in degree of rigidity from culture to culture. It is these restrictions, restrictions that vary from culture to culture, that shape the form of the thought and thus create the formula, the formula providing the poetical grammar of oral epic, that is, the basis from which oral epics were built (p. 63). This raises the question of the extent to which formulae might also be found in different types of oral composition, including compositions that are not epic in character and those that are much shorter than the typical epic poem. It also raises the issue of what types of restriction might occur in the case of different cultures and different languages and language groups and the extent to which these might result in formulae that are different in type from those associated with the Homeric epics and Serbo-Croatian epic poetry explored by Parry and Lord.

Parry (1930, p. 83) observes that “the formula is useful only in so far as it can be used without changing its metrical value”, and Lord (1960, p. 30) observes that the metrical conditions on the formula are useful not simply for the audience but also, even more so, for the singer “in the rapid composition of his [sic] tale”. Thus, for Lord, the formula is inextricably linked to metrical structure. He notes, however, that although “the preservation and development of . . . the formula” may have been related to its usefulness, its origins may be attributable to other causes (p. 65). Magoun (1963, p.

195) agrees that it is “usefulness rather than mere repetition [that] . . . makes a formula”, observing that an exploration of the repetition of a formula within the same composition reveals the ways in which “it helps this and that singer to compose his [sic] verses”.

Some scholars have seen no necessity to alter the definition of the oral formula provided by Parry and Lord. Other scholars, however, have provided different definitions, sometimes altering the Parry/Lord definition slightly, sometimes altering it or adding to it in ways that are more fundamental. For Miletech (1976), the smallest possible formulaic unit admissible is the shortest space bound by given verse-line breaks. However, Creed (1968, p. 142) argues, in the context of a discussion of Old English poetry, that:

a formula may be as large as . . . whole verses¹ repeated intact . . . or even larger. . . . At the other extreme a formula may be as small as those trisyllabic prepositional phrases . . . or even as small as a single monosyllabic adverb, *if* the adverb makes the whole spoken portion of the measures and thus makes it possible for the singer to compose rapidly.

Aspland (1970, p. 34), writing with reference to 12th century French verse, describes what he refers to as ‘true epic formulae’ as involving “ideas that are similar occurring in two or more hemistichs [i.e., half lines preceded and followed by a caesura] that are equal in length and are based on the same grammatical pattern”. He later expands on this, introducing the requirement that such formulae should also occur under the same metrical conditions and observing that variations within a single formula are “often determined by the number of syllables required” or by alliteration or assonance, that is by repetition of the same consonant sound (alliteration) or vowel sound (assonance) in the second hemistich as occurs in the first (p. 28).

While being in agreement in general terms with the definition of the oral formula provided by Parry and Lord, Duggan (1973), with reference to *La Chanson de Roland*², expands on that definition in a way that is intended to accommodate several types of possible variation. He defines the oral formula as “any group of words bounded on either side by natural pause or caesura and repeated in substantially the same form (allowing for inversions, paradigmatic variations and a few other admissible modifications)”. This focus on variation is one that is continued in the work of Hainsworth (1978, p. 41) who discusses the formula in terms of generative processes:

Word-groups . . . [were] characterised by economy: precise metrical duplicates [being] significantly few . . . [although] generative processes were diverse and numerous: many expressions for a given essential idea of a given shape existed *in potential*, and doubtless from time to time existed in reality also. Clearly, the development of formulae and the maintenance of their economy were achieved by a process of sorting and selection.

Austin (1975, p. 14) has observed that “no two scholars . . . can agree on the definition of the minimum requirements for a formula, asking: “Is it to be one word or two, half a verse or a full verse, two syllables, four syllables or more, two repetitions or ten repetitions?” Certainly, when scholars are referring to the same oral tradition

one might expect to find some congruence in their definitions. However, different oral traditions will necessarily exhibit different types of formulae.

What is meant by ‘formulaic system’ in the context of oral formulaic theory?

Parry (1930, p. 86) observed that it is not the individual formula but what he refers to as ‘formulaic systems’ that provide “the only true means by which we can come to see just how the singer made his [sic] verse”. It is therefore important to note here that some of those whose writings are referred to above (Aspland; Duggan; Hainsworth) have defined the oral formula in a way that would be reserved by Parry for the formulaic system. Parry (1930, p. 85) notes that a formulaic system may be made up of two or more similar formulae which involve “a group of phrases, which have the same metrical value and which are enough alike in thought and words to leave no doubt that the poet who used them knew them not only as a single formula, but also as formulas of a certain type”. He notes that what he refers to as ‘the thrift of the system’ lies in “the degree to which it is free of phrases which having the same metrical value and expressing the same idea, could replace one another” (p. 86). Thus, a formulaic system, which can be made up of as few as two formulae that are similar semantically, syntactically and metrically, is essentially a substitution system that allows a choice to be made at a particular point in a composition. This raises the issue of whether, in the case of compositions that are less metrically constrained, formulae can be regarded as belonging to the same formulaic system in cases where they are semantically and syntactically similar but metrically distinct. This, in turn, leads to the issue of whether, in certain types of oral composition, certain syntactic differences can be accommodated within the same formulaic system. According to Lord (1960, pp. 35-36), substitution operates in the context of oral formulaic systems in a similar way to the way in which it operates in grammatical systems. Thus:

[Language] substitutes one subject for another in the nominative case, keeping the same verb; or keeping the same noun, it substitutes one verb for another. In studying the patterns and systems of oral narrative verse we are in reality observing the “grammar” of the poetry, a grammar superimposed, as it were, on the grammar of the language concerned. Or, to alter the image, we find a special grammar within the grammar of the language, necessitated by the versification. The formulas are the phrases and clauses and sentences of this specialised poetic grammar.

Fry (1967), in the context of a discussion of Old English poetry, provides a definition of formulaic systems that is in one respect more specific than that of Parry and Lord (referring to constraints on substitution) and in another less so (allowing for a degree of metrical variation). He defines a formulaic system as “a group of half-lines . . . which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements, one a variable word or element of a compound usually supplying the alliteration, and the other a constant word or element of a compound, with approximately the same distribution of non-stressed elements”. He notes, however, that different formulae within the same system will “usually [be] loosely related metrically and semantically”. Allowing for a loose semantic relationship among formulae within the same formulaic system effectively opens the way for a reconsideration of an important point made by Magoun (1963), that is, that different formulae within the same formulaic system may be “something more than mere repeats” of others, the implication being that the choice of one formula rather than another may have

semantic significance within the context of the composition. This is a point also made by Malmberg (1973) who argues, with reference to a discussion of two Old English poems, *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, that a poet's use of inherited formulaic diction can be both creative and artistic. This is something that will be worthy of careful examination in relation to traditional *mōteatea*.

Like Fry, Miletech (1976), who refers to a 'formulaic system' as a 'formulaic expression', insists that "at least one word in the pattern is the same" in the case of formulae belonging to the same formulaic system. There is, however, no reason to suppose that, should formulaic systems be detectable in traditional *mōteatea*, they will necessarily include lexical repetition or that they will necessarily be subject to the same constraints as are evident in compositions of other types in other languages. In this respect, it is important to bear in mind in analysing traditional *mōteatea*, that Lord (1960, p. 31) himself noted, as indicated above, that the restrictions on formulae vary in degree of rigidity from culture to culture.

With reference to Old English poetry, Riedinger (1985, p. 304) observes that "[it] has been long and rightly argued that too much emphasis is placed on exact verse repetition as a criterion for formulism", adding that "[one] cannot read Old English poetry accurately or with full appreciation of its artistry without an understanding of the connotative meaning of the formulas – an understanding to be gained primarily by an examination of the formulas in context" (p. 303). Riedinger examines traditional thematic formulae in terms of a focus on contextual meaning, proposing revised definitions of familiar concepts and introducing a new concept, which she refers to as 'the set'. Riedinger (1985, p. 305) defines 'formulaic system' in the case of Old English metrical compositions as a "group of verses [half-lines] sharing the same meter and syntax in which one word, usually stressed, is constant and the other stressed word or words may be varied to suit the alliterative or narrative context". So far as Riedinger is concerned, the 'system' is therefore not a group of related formulae but a semantico-syntactic-metrical framework containing a variable. Thus, for example, *X under roderum* (X beneath the skies) might be a system, as might be *X under wolcnum* (X under the clouds) or *X under swegle* (X under the heavens). A 'set', on the other hand, is, according to Riedinger (1985, p. 306), all of the expressions that fit into a particular system. Thus, for example, *swært under wolcnum* (dark under the clouds); *mihtig under wolcnum* (mighty under the clouds) and *blæc under wolcnum* (black under the clouds) might all belong to the same set, being members of the same system and sharing the same descriptive function.

Riedinger (1985, p. 305) defines a formula as the "repetition of one general concept + one system + one function". Thus, for Riedinger, all the verses (or half-lines) in a 'set' constitute the same 'formula', whether or not they repeat one another verbatim. Formulaic systems create the potential for sets whose membership is made up of a large number of formulae (some or many of which may not actually appear). Furthermore, the same system may contain several different sets. Thus, for example, based on the same system (e.g. *X mæst*), there may be several sets. One set might involve buildings, another set might involve people. Formulae made up of the name of a building + *mæst* (e.g., greatest head hall) and those made up of the name of a person + *mæst* (e.g., greatest prince) may each be part of two different sets belonging to the same overall system, each set functioning differently. The choice of a particular formula is, Riedinger argues, significant in relation to the connotations with which it

has come to be associated. Even formulae that have sometimes been described as being little more than fillers may have connotations that are significant within the context of a poem. Thus, for example, the formula *wan under wolcnum* (dark under the clouds) refers not just to darkness but to the darkness that accompanies death and supernatural events. Similarly, although *niht-lange first* can be translated literally as ‘all night long’, it carries with it, in the context of Old English verse, connotations of terror.

What is meant by ‘cluster’ in the context of oral formulaic theory?

Ritzke-Rutherford (1981a & b) introduced the term ‘cluster’ into oral formulaic theory, defining a cluster as “a group of words, usually loosely related metrically and semantically, which is regularly employed to express a given essential idea without being restricted to a certain form or sequence, or to a certain number of lines” (1981a, p. 74), adding that “the most important thing about the cluster is that it is amorphous, having no fixed form, one word recalling the others in the mind of the poet” (p. 75). Thus, a ‘cluster’ need not adhere to any of the metrical or syntactic constraints that typify many definitions of the oral formula but may, nevertheless, be associated with oral composition. Ritzke-Rutherford (1981b) uses the term ‘formulaic macrostructure’ to refer to aspects of content and narrative structure, and the term ‘formulaic microstructure’ (1981b) to refer to aspects of language and style. He notes (1981a, p. 74) that “the added element of the cluster enables us to form a closed system, with a correspondence between the elements of form (language and style) and substance (content and narrative structure). His outline of formulaic macrostructure and microstructure is outlined in *Table 1* below.

Table 1: Ritzke-Rutherford (1981a & b) – Formulaic macrostructure and microstructure

Formulaic Macrostructure (content and narrative structure: elements that form the patterns of narrative)		Formulaic Microstructure (language and style)	
Theme	not bound to a specific event, or to a set order of the elements; underlying and independent of the type-scene; non-structured; can contain type-scenes and motifs (usually the same ones)	Formulaic system	restricted to a set of half-lines, but variable in wording; structured to a degree; contains a number of concrete elements (formulas)
Type-scene	restricted to a set of events, but variable in sequence; structured to a degree; contains a number of concrete elements (motifs)	Cluster	not bound to a specific metric unit, or to a set order of words; underlying and independent of the formulaic system; non-structured; can contain systems of formulas (usually the same ones)
Motif	restricted to an event, hardly variable in content; extremely structured, often connected with a formula	Formula	restricted to a half-line, hardly variable in wording; extremely structured (by sound) often connected with a motif

Some issues and problems relating to the application of oral formulaic theory to *mōteatea*

Although it has been extremely influential, oral formulaic theory is fraught with problems of definition and interpretation. It may be partly for this reason that very few direct references have been made to it in literature on *mōteatea*. There may, however, also be other reasons. The concept of the oral formula has generally been directly

linked to the concept of metrical structure. However, it has never been claimed that all *mōteatea* are metrically structured, and such claims as have been made in relation to the existence of a common metrical pattern in the case of some types of *mōteatea* (see Roa, forthcoming, *Chapter 3*) do not appear to stand up to close examination. This alone clearly creates difficulties in relation to attempts to define and apply some concept of the oral formula to *mōteatea*, difficulties that are compounded by the fact that existing written texts often appear, as Orbell (1977) repeatedly observes, to have been inaccurately transcribed and to have been intentionally altered (by the removal, for example, of explicit sexual references). These texts are also generally characterized by erratic punctuation and word division and lack of signalling of vowel length.

Another issue that needs to be taken into account in the search for evidence of oral formulaic construction in the case of *mōteatea* is the nature of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) itself, since an understanding of the nature of a language is fundamental to an understanding of the constraints and opportunities that impact on, and are available to composers. Thus, for example, where a language is stress timed, that of, where there is a roughly equal time interval between primary stresses (as is the case in, for example, English and German), composers have a range of options available to them that are different from those available to composers who are operating within the context of a language such as *te reo Māori* in which phrases have one major stress and a constant direction of pitch. Similarly, speakers of a language such as English, in which links between encoded propositions³ are largely (but not exclusively) signalled by the presence of subordinating conjunctions (e.g., *if; because; although*), do not have available to them some of the opportunities that are available to speakers of a language such as *te reo Māori* in which a particular type of relationship between encoded propositions may be signalled by a subordinating conjunction (e.g., *nō te mea*) or by a particle (e.g., *i te*).

Another significant issue that needs to be addressed is that of the conventionalized use of language in *mōteatea*. Ngata (1959, pp. xxiii-xxiv) refers not only to the elaborate conventionalized imagery in *mōteatea* but also to specialized poetic diction and a condensed style of language which includes the omission of case markers. Robert Maunsell claimed that, so far as the language is concerned, “it carries its licence so far as to disregard rules of grammar that are strictly observed in prose” (Grey, 1853, p. xiii). Orbell (1977, p. 32) observes that *mōteatea* exhibit a ‘highly specialized language’ in terms of grammar, idiom and vocabulary, including the following as ‘specialized uses’:

- in actor emphatic constructions, past time may be signalled by *koi*, *kei* or *ka* (rather than *i*) and non-past time may be signalled by *ka* (rather than *e*);
- *koi* may occur as a preposition (rather than *ki*), as a signal of temporal overlap (rather than *kei*), and, in subordinate clauses, as a signal of past time (rather than *i*);
- *kei* may occur as a signal of direction (away from) rather than *i*;
- *ka te* may occur as a signal of continuous aspect (rather than *kei te*)⁴ and as a marker of inceptive aspect (rather than *ka*);
- *kei* or *kai* may signal inceptive aspect (rather than *ka*);

- *he* may replace *ki te* (motion towards a goal), *i te* (direct object marker), or *e te* (agent marker in passive constructions), may operate as a phrasal co-ordinator, and may occur after the focus particle *ko*;
- *a* (proper article) may be omitted before personal names as subjects;
- *i* may be omitted after *ehara*;
- *e* or *ana* may be omitted in the case of the correlative *e . . . ana* and the correlative *e . . . mai* may be abbreviated to *mai*;
- the proper article *a* may be used to personify parts of the body;
- *i whea*, *koia*, *noo whea*, and *no hea* may express intensified negation;
- subjects may be omitted and words may be abbreviated (e.g. *teeraa* for *taratara*, *raa* for *tatara* or *teeraa*, *nei* for *teenei*, *mai* for *homai*, *ka'a* for *kia ki*).⁵

In connection with the above, it is important to bear in mind that some of these features of *mōteatea* are not wholly absent from transactional language. Thus, for example, fluent speakers of *te reo Māori* often appear to omit particles in rapid speech (although it may be that these are sub-vocal rather than wholly omitted), and may omit one part of what are normally correlative particles and abbreviate some words. Even more important to bear in mind, so far as the research reported here is concerned, is the fact that neither conventionalized use of language, nor, indeed, the occurrence of a few formulaic expressions, is evidence of oral formulaic composition, that is of composition that is made up, in whole or in large part, from a common stock of verbal formulae. Equally, copying whole *mōteatea* or large sections of existing *mōteatea* is quite a different thing from oral formulaic composition.

Finally, in that oral formulaic composition has almost always been associated with metre (that is some sort of rule-governed structured rhythm), the issue of whether or not *mōteatea*, or, at least some types of *mōteatea* are metrically structured needs to be addressed.

Parry and Lord defined an oral formula as “a group of words which is used regularly *under the same metrical conditions* to express a given essential idea” (emphasis added) (Lord, 1960, p. 30; Parry, 1930, p. 80). Essential to this definition is an understanding of what might constitute ‘metrical conditions’ in the case of a particular verbal art form composed in a specific language. Orbell (1977, p. 32) observes that “the texts [of what she refers to as ‘waiata aroha’] do not have accentual metres which measure only stresses”. This is, of course, unsurprising because Māori, in common with, for example, French and Latin, and unlike, for example, English and German, is not a stress timed language, that is, it is not a language in which heavily stressed syllables tend to occur at roughly equal intervals of time (although there is a tendency for some learners of the language to introduce stress timing by analogy with English). It follows, therefore, that *mōteatea* cannot have accentual metres (which are measured by primary stresses) or accentual-syllabic metres (which are measured by a combination of primary stress and syllable count). There is, however, the *potential* in the language for syllabic metres (measured by the number of syllables in particular ‘units’, such as lines) or by morae-defined metres (measured by the number of morae in particular ‘units’), a mora being “a phonological unit . . . [consisting] of an obligatory short vowel optionally preceded by a single consonant sound” (Bauer, 1997, p. 25). Thus, two consecutive vowel sounds in a word belong to two separate

morae and ‘long vowels’ are analysed as being made up of two short vowels of the same kind.

It has been said that *mōteatea aroha* (often translated as ‘love songs’ or ‘sweetheart songs’), *mōteatea tangi* (generally relating to death or desertion) and *oriori* (often translated as ‘lullabies’) are sung rather than recited (McLean, 1970, p. xxiv), and that *pātere*⁶ (often involving historical or genealogical surveys) are recited (Orbell, 1978, p. 9) and can be distinguished from other recited compositions in that they are, according to McLean (1970, p. 8), “performed in a rhythmic monotone”, with most of the recitation being on one note but with “the pitch gradually [rising] and then [falling] in the last few words”.

According to McLean and Orbell (1975, p. 23), the ‘lines’ of *mōteatea* may be defined musically in some cases, syntactically in others. They claim that sung *mōteatea* are “shaped by the melodic line, which generally has a two phrase structure”, typically with “verbal lines consisting of two half-lines” which are usually “of much the same length” and which “correspond to a musical phrase”, with the units seeming generally to have been “either a single line consisting of a single sentence, or a pair of lines - in effect, an unrhymed couplet – consisting of either one sentence . . . or two juxtaposed sentences each occupying a line”. Orbell (1978, p. 9) further claims that in the case of *mōteatea* that are sung, the “melody is repeated in each line and the language shaped accordingly”. However, since, according to McLean and Orbell (1975, p. 25), the lines of *oriori* are flexible and the stanzas are “irregular in length”, *oriori* should, presumably, be regarded as an exception to this. Furthermore, although *oriori*, according to Orbell (1978, p. 9), often have “parallelism of the anaphoric type, with a word or phrase being repeated in a series of lines or half-lines”, it is important to bear in mind that Parry (1930, p. 82) specifically excluded echoed phrases from the definition of oral formulae. Of *oriori*, McLean and Orbell (1975, p. 24) observe that although they are sung, their lines are organized in much the same way as recited and chanted *mōteatea*, their line division being less closely related to musical structure than is the case for other sung *mōteatea*, the lines being uneven in length, the sentences frequently varying in length and being run over several lines (with which they are not co-terminus), and the stanzas also being irregular in length.

McLean and Orbell (1975, p. 23) note that “recited songs have no line organization”. This seems perfectly clear until they add that sentences “may extend over three or four or more *lines*”, noting that “a few of them begin in the course of *a line* rather than at the beginning”, and also noting that “[the] separation of these sentences into their respective *lines* is indicated by a syntactic pause” (emphasis added) (1975, p. 24). If recited songs ‘have no line organization’, there appears to be no reason to argue either that syntactic pauses mark the end of lines or that some sentences begin in the course of a line. This is, I believe, an important point in that the temptation might otherwise be to attempt to link a discussion of oral formulae in relation to *mōteatea* generally to some concept of ‘line’, a concept which appears to have no validity in relation to recited compositions such as *pātere* and questionable validity in relation to *oriori*.

In connection with the discussion above, it is important to observe that whereas the concept of *rhythm* (some variation of the length and accentuation of a series of sounds) will apply to all *mōteatea*, the concept of *metre* (some sort of rule governed *structured rhythm*) may apply, if at all, in a very different way to *mōteatea tangi* and

mōteatea aroha on the one hand, and *oriori* on the other, and may not apply at all to *pātere*.

I have argued elsewhere (Roa, forthcoming, *Chapter 3*) that what has been referred to as the ‘rule of eight’ (Biggs, 1980), that is, the notion that there are eight morae per half line, does not appear, however adapted, to apply in any uniform way to those *mōteatea* (*aroha* and *tangi*) that can with most confidence be said to be structured in terms of lines.⁷ Overall, then, it appears to be the case that if *mōteatea* are characterized by oral formulaic patterning, that patterning is unlikely to be related directly to metrical structuring.

The search for oral formulae in *Ngā mōteatea*

In search of a definition of oral formula that is relevant to mōteatea

It has already been observed that what counts as an oral formula may vary from language to language and culture to culture. It is important, therefore, to begin any investigation of the possibility that *mōteatea* may be oral formulaic by providing some broadly-based descriptions (in this case of ‘oral formula’ and ‘cluster’) that can be further specified in the light of the research findings. It is important to stress that these broadly-based descriptions are not intended to be seen as having any definitional adequacy. They are intended merely as conceptual starting points for the investigation that follows. Thus:

Initial broadly-based descriptions

An oral formula is:

a single group of words/particles, long or short, that occurs with sufficient frequency in a particular oral art form (e.g. *mōteatea* or *mōteatea aroha*) to be regarded as being characteristic of that art form, and either does not occur in other types of discourse or, where it does, has within the art form in which it occurs, some feature or features (e.g., placement) that is/ are characteristic of that oral art form but not (in the same way) of other discourses in which it occurs.

OR

more than one group of words/ particles that that have all of the characteristics/ features outlined above, that *may* occur under the same or similar metrical conditions, that convey the same or similar overall meaning and that have at least one common lexical feature (e.g., the same word or a word of similar meaning)

A cluster is:

a group of two or more oral formulae that are contiguous or that occur within a definable discourse segment and whose co-occurrence is sufficiently common in a particular oral art form (e.g. *mōteatea* or *mōteatea aroha*) to be regarded as being characteristic that art form.

Revisiting ‘formulae’ identified by Orbell (1977, pp. 85-86) in her corpus of mōteatea aroha

With reference to *mōteatea aroha*, Orbell (1977, pp. 293-294) claims that although “[the] language employed is formulaic . . . these formulas are highly flexible in their wording and . . . are susceptible of apparently endless variation”. When applied to the concept of the ‘oral formula’, this statement is problematic. It is extremely difficult to argue for the presence of oral formulae at the same time as accepting that these ‘formulae’ are susceptible to ‘endless variation’ in the absence of any specification as to what counts as a formula and what counts as variation on a formula. I therefore

decided to begin my exploration of *Ngā mōteatea* in relation to oral formulaic theory by examining in detail what Orbell specifically identifies as oral formulae in her corpus of *mōteatea aroha*. There are fourteen of these. These are listed in *Table 2*, where the translations are those provided by Orbell and the spelling conventions those that she uses, including the use of double letters rather than macrons to signal long vowels.⁸

Table 2: ‘Oral formulae’ identified by Orbell (1977, pp. 90 – 97)

	Formulae	Translation from Orbell (1977)
1	<i>Kotahi koaa koe</i>	Oh it is you alone
2	<i>He mea mahue au</i>	I am left behind
3	<i>(kia) maarama te titiro</i>	Can see clearly
4	<i>Taku taumata tonu + (kia) maarama te titiro</i>	My summit is always + can see clearly
5	<i>Ka taka ko roto nei</i>	Within I go about
6	<i>mookai</i>	Hateful, weak, foolish
7	<i>...kei riri</i>	Don’t be angry
8	<i>...taku iti, ...taku noho, ...taku iri</i>	my littleness, ...my sit, ... my suspended
9	<i>ko waho anake</i>	Only my outer part
10	<i>e mau ana te tinana</i>	The body remains firm
11	<i>māu anō te tinana</i>	the body is yours
12	<i>e muri ahiahi</i>	In the evening I lament
13	<i>e muri ahiahi + takoto ki te moenga</i>	In the evening I lament + I lay in my bed
14	<i>nooku te wareware</i>	mine was the forgetfulness

These segments/ strings were analysed linguistically, a search was made for the same or similar strings in the most recent editions of *Ngā mōteatea* (scanned and included in a word document). In considering whether the occurrence of these segments/ strings provides any firm evidence of the existence of a common store of formulae or whether other explanations for their occurrence are more plausible or, at least, equally plausible issues, each of the following considerations was explored:

- frequency;
- diction;
- form;
- likelihood of occurrence in other contexts in which the same or similar topics or themes are in focus; and
- consistency with the broadly based descriptions (above) of ‘oral formula’ and ‘cluster’.

Number 1 - *Kotahi koaa koe* (Oh it is you alone)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>Kotahi</i>	+ <i>koaa</i>	+ <i>koe</i>
numeral	+ part. (intensifier)	+ pron.
<i>single, alone</i>	<i>indeed</i>	<i>you</i>

Orbell (1977, p. 82) provides three examples (see *Table 3* below).

Table 3: Orbell’s examples of ‘Kotahi koaa koe’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
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<i>Kotahi koaa koe i mihia iho ai</i>	Oh it is you alone who is greeted	McLean & Orbell, 1975, p. 56
<i>Kotahi koaa koe i karea atu ai</i>	Oh it is you alone who is longed for	Grey, 1853, p. 396
<i>Ehara koaa koe i karea atu ai</i>	Oh, how you are longed for	Grey Manuscript 71, p. 929

In the third example, ‘koaa koe’ is preceded by ‘ehara’. In prose, ‘ehara’ is used as a negator. In *mōteatea*, however, ‘ehara’ may be used in an exclamatory sense. In each case, ‘kotahi koaa koe’ is followed by a verb phrase made up of a particle operating as a marker of passivization, a passive verb (V.pass), a directional particle (dir. part.), and a further particle (part.), this time with aspectual meaning. Thus, the complete line in each case involves a subject fronted noun group that could be said, depending on one’s approach to the analysis of *te reo Māori*, to be qualified by a relative clause.

- *i mihia iho ai* [TAM + V.pass + dir.part. + TAM]
- *i karea atu ai* [TAM + V.pass + dir.part. + TAM]

Given the structural and semantic similarity of the second string, it seems reasonable to suggest either (a) that the segments combine to make up a ‘cluster’ in the sense in which that word is used by Orbell (i.e., two or more co-occurring oral formulae) or (b) that the two together represent a single oral formula. Thus, treating *Kotahi/ Ehara koaa koe i mihia/ karera atu ai* as a single formula might result in a definition of oral formula that could be tied closely to phrase structure. However, when I conducted a search for ‘*Kotahi/ Ehara koaa koe*’ in the corpus of *mōteatea* from *Ngā Mōteatea*, I found that it occurred only once - in a *mōteatea aroha* (Ngata, 1959, p. 46), the same *mōteatea* that occurs on p. 66 of McLean and Orbell (see first example above). Given the pervasive nature of direct address in *mōteatea*, three occurrences in the entire corpus of a string that identifies the addressee as a (singular) object of affection/ longing/ greeting, particularly one in which there is variation in both the initial element (*kotahi/ ehara*) and the verbal element (*mihia/ karera*), does not appear to provide strong support for its identification as an oral formula.

Number 2 - (He) mea mahue au (I am left behind)

The structure of this segment is:

(He)	+ mea	+ mahue	+ au
(det.)	+ nn.	+ V. stative	+ pron.
<i>a</i>	<i>thing</i>	<i>left behind</i>	<i>I</i>

Orbell (1977, pp. 83-84) provides four examples (see *Table 4 below*).

Table 4: Orbell’s examples of ‘(he) mea mahue au’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>He mea mahue au te kau tere haere</i>	I am left behind by the traveling party	Mclean & Orbell, 1975, p. 239
<i>He mea mahue au te kanuku haere</i>	I am left behind by the party	Song 98
<i>He mea mahue au te hiikoinga wae</i>	I was left behind by the striding of your feet	Song 31
<i>Mea mahue au too tira, too waka ko Te Waiehuehu</i>	I was left behind by your travelling party-your canoe, Te Waiehuehu	Song 83

In the first three examples, the same sequence (*He mea mahue au*) occurs. In the fourth example, ‘he’ is omitted and the agent of the sentence, that is, ‘too tira’ (your travelling party), is included, followed by an agent expansion, that is, ‘too waka ko Te Waiehuehu’. In the first three examples, ‘he mea mahue au’ is followed by a phrase

which, though slightly different in form, has a similar overall meaning. In the fourth example, the meaning of the second phrase is different. Only in the final example is the addressee (*Waiehuehu*) named and only here is direct address to the deceased explicit. When I conducted a search for (*he*) *mea mahue au*’ in *Ngā mōteatea*, I found that it occurred twice in one particular *mōteatea*, a *mōteatea tangi*:

He mea mahue au i te unuhanga heke;
He mea mahue au i roto te kōpae Pārara ki te uru (Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 245)

These lines were translated by Jones as:

I am as one forsaken by departing migrants;
 I am as one forsaken in the Cradle of Pārara-ki-te-uru

Thus, (*he*) *mea mahue au* occurs six times in the corpus as a whole. However, desertion is a primary theme of *mōteatea*. Furthermore, although oral formulae need not be tied to rhythmic or metrical structuring, it is relevant to note the variation in morae count in the following strings (*te kau tere haere/ te kanuku haere/ te hiikoinga wae/ too tira (too waka ko Waiehuehu)/ i te unuhanga heke/ i roto te kōpae Pārara ki te uru*). Once again, there appears to be little evidence on which to base a claim that this string is oral formulaic.

Number 3 – (*kia*) *maarama te titiro* (can see clearly)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>kia</i>	+ <i>maarama</i>	+ <i>te</i>	<i>titiro</i>
part: purpose	+ V. stative	+ det	+ nn.
	<i>be clear</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>sight</i>

Orbell (1977, pp. 84-85) gives three examples, the third being fundamentally different from the first two, not only because it begins with *kia* (particle expressing purpose) but also because it includes the agent (*au*) (see *Table 5* below). It is difficult, therefore, to see why this should be treated as an example of the same formula.

Table 5: Orbell’s examples of ‘*maarama te titiro*’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Maarama te titiro ki Whakaari raa ia,⁹ te ahi a te tipua</i>	Can see clearly Whakaari yonder, the demon’s fire	Song 67
<i>Maarama te titiro te puia i Whakaari</i>	Can see clearly the thermal steam at Whakaari	Ngata, 1959, p. 96
<i>Kia maarama au te titiro, ee, Ki te rehu ahi o Whakataane!</i>	So that I could see clearly, ee, The haze from the fires at Whakataane	Ngata, 1959, p. 60

In the first two examples above, the line endings differ slightly in their syntactic structure. In the first case, there is a prepositional phrase. This is followed by a noun phrase and then a further noun phrase in apposition:

<i>ki Whakaari rā ia,</i>	[prep. + nn. + locative part. + pro.]
<i>te ahi a te tipua¹⁰</i>	[det. + nn. + part. (belonging) + det. + nn.]

In the second example, the line ends with a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase:

te puia i Whakaari [det. + nn. + prep. + nn.]

Despite the different syntactic composition of these two line endings, they both convey the same overall meaning. The segment (*kia*) *maarama te titiro* occurs 13 times in *Ngā mōteatea*. It occurs in all four primary categories of *mōteatea*: *mōteatea tangi* (laments), *mōteatea aroha* (love songs), *pātere* (chants) and *oriori* (lullaby), as indicated in Table 6, where the translations are by Ngata and Jones.

Table 6: Examples of ‘(kia) mārama te titiro’ from Ngata and Jones (1959; 1961; 1970; 1990)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Mārama te titiro</i> <i>Pae ka riakina kai Rawhiti, e;</i>	Clear is the view there To the obtruding ranges in the East, e;	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 140
<i>Mārama te titiro ki Mangakatia,</i>	Where clear is the view to Mangakatia,	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 168
<i>Kia mārama te titiro ki Wai-apu ra, e,</i>	And gaze out upon Waiapu out there	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 213
<i>Kia mārama te titiro pūkohu whenua, ē ī,</i>	We might then see clearly the land mist,	Oriori	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 158
<i>Mārama te titiro ki te moana ra ia,</i>	Clear would then have been the view to the sea	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 263
<i>Kia mārama te titiro auahi kōkiri mai</i> <i>Ki Mangahana, ko te huanui.</i>	See clearly the swirling smoke At Mangahana there is the pathway	Pātere	Ngata, 1990, p. 319
<i>Mārama te titiro ki Huiarau nei;</i> <i>Ko te puke tēnā i noho ai</i> <i>Korotaha,</i>	From which we can look clearly at Huiarau That is the hill where dwelt Karotaha	Aroha	Ngata, 1990, p. 351
<i>Kia mārama te titiro ki ngā keho rau o Tarawera.</i>	Look closely now at the hundred peaks of Tarawera	Pātere	Ngata, 1990, p. 379
<i>Mārama te titiro ki Whakaari rā ia,</i> <i>Te ahi a te tipua.</i>	Clear thence is the view to Whakaari, Where burns the demon's fire.	Pātere	Ngata & Jones, 1959, p. 4
<i>Mārama te titiro ki te tahora rā ia;</i>	Would then clearly see the waste lands out yonder,	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1959, p. 26
<i>Mārama te titiro te puia i Whakaari.</i>	Clear thence the view of the steaming pools of Whakaari.	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1959, p. 80
<i>Mārama te titiro, ē;</i> <i>Auahi ka patua ki Whataroa rā ia,</i>	Clear World then be the view, e, Of the smoke against Whataroa over yonder	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 98
<i>Mārama te titiro ki waho ki te moana,</i>	Steadfastly gazing far out to sea,	Tangi	Ngata, 1961, p. 108

The line endings of the examples from *Ngā mōteatea* vary considerably in terms of their syntactic structure and morae count, but they all refer to a particular locality that is significant within the context of the composition. It is important, however, to bear in mind that ‘(kia) mārama titiro’ is a sequence that can occur in the same form in prose. Furthermore, it is one that would be difficult to avoid in a context in which the ability to see a particular landmark clearly has symbolic significance in linking the poet with the departed or the deceased.

Number 4 - Taku taumata tonu + (kia) maarama te titiro (My summit is always + can see clearly)

This is an example of what Orbell refers to as a ‘cluster’, that is, a combination of two or more formulae occurring together. In this case, one of the elements of the ‘cluster’, (*kia*) *maarama te titiro*, has already been discussed. The other element, *taku taumata tonu*, is structured as follows:

<i>taku</i>	+ <i>taumata</i>	+ <i>tonu</i>
pers. nn. (poss)	+ nn.	+ part. (continuous)
<i>my</i>	<i>summit</i>	<i>always</i>

Orbell (1977, pp. 86, 93) provides four examples of this cluster (see *Table 7* below).

Table 7: Orbell’s examples of ‘taku taumata (tonu)’ + ‘(kia) marama te titiro’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Taku taumata kei Te Kakawaatai, - kia maarama te titiro</i> <i>Ki te kotahi e hara mai nei naa runga tonu mai o Waihi!</i>	My summit is at Te Kakawaatai, - that I may see clearly The ducks coming straight over Waihi towards me!	Song 41
<i>Taku taumata tonu ko Te Tuhinga raa ia, Kia maarama au me titiro ki tawhiti</i> <i>Ki te tae roto kohu naa raa waenga mai, Whakapaunga mihinga, e Kau, ki a koe!</i>	My summit is always Te Tuhinga Yonder, That I may see clearly in the distance The flakes of mist which approach me – Where I send all my greetings too you, Kahu!	Song 46
<i>Taku taumata tonu, Nga iwi teitei kei ‘Tauaki ee, Maarama te titiro, pae ka riakina kai Raawhiti ee.</i> <i>Kai raro a Tawhiti, te awahi tipu a too wahine ee ...</i>	My summit is always the high ridges of ‘Tauaki ee, That I may see clearly the hills lifted up in the east ee. Below is Tawhiti – the true love of you wife ee	Song 85
<i>Taku taumata tonu e noho ai au, Kei te kupu koorero, patu ai ora nei – Kia tau ki raro raa! Kia eke atu au, Maarama te titiro te puke ki Te Kurii</i>	The summit where I stay always Is that of spoken words, that attack my life – Let me sink down! Let me mount up And see clearly the hill at Te Kurii	Song 38

In each of the examples above, *taku taumata tonu* (my summit) is the opening phrase. In the first three examples, it leads directly to the introduction of a place name; in the fourth example, the place name occurs in the fourth line. In the first example, ‘tonu’ is omitted. In the second example, the particle ‘kia’ (signalling purpose) is included, as is the agent (*au*), and the article ‘te’ is replaced by ‘me’ (which is functioning here in a way that is similar to the modal verb ‘can’ (ability) in English). There is one occurrence of this sequence in *Ngā mōteatea*. In fact, however, this is the same *mōteatea* that is referred to as Song 85 above.

Table 8: Example of ‘taku taumata (tonu)’ + ‘(kia) marama te titiro’ from Ngata and Jones (1961)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Taku taumata tonu</i> <i>Nga hiwi teitei kei Tauaki, e.</i> <i>Mārama te titiro</i>	My constant trysting-place Is on the towering hills of Tauaki, e. Clear is the view there	Aroha	Ngata & Jones , 1961, p. 140

<i>Pae ka riakina kai Rawhiti, e;</i>	To the obtruding ranges in the East, e;		
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The thematic relevance of ability to see clearly has already been noted. It should also be noted that mountains/ summits are also frequently identified as locations from which to search for signs of the departed. This, together with the fact that variation in the strings (*taku taumata (tonu)*; (*kia*) *maarama (au me) titiro*) cannot be accounted for in terms of the morae count in particular lines, raises some significant issues in relation to identification of *taku taumata (tonu)* and (*kia*) *maarama (au me) titiro* as a formulaic cluster.

Number 5 - (Ka) taka ko/ki roto nei (Within I go about)

This is used to refer to the passionate stirring of emotions. The structure is:

<i>Ka</i>	+ <i>taka</i>	+ <i>ko</i>	+ <i>roto</i>	+ <i>nei</i>
TAM	+ V.	+ location	+ nn.	+ location
(<i>progressive</i>)	<i>roam</i>		<i>inside</i>	<i>here (near speaker)</i>
<i>Ka</i>	+ <i>taka</i>	+ <i>ki</i>	+ <i>roto</i>	+ <i>nei</i>
TAM	+ V.	+ prep.	+ nn.	+ location
(<i>progressive</i>)	<i>roam</i>	<i>towards</i>	<i>inside</i>	<i>here (near speaker)</i>

Orbell (1977, p. 87) gives four examples (see *Table 9* below).

Table 9: Orbell’s examples ‘(ka) taka ko/ki roto nei’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Ka aahei au ko te kiri-aa-moko te tirohia mai naa</i> <i>Ka taka ki roto nei, me he ao e rere atu raa!</i>	<i>My tattooed body is able to be seen –</i> <i>Within, I go about like a flying cloud!</i>	<i>Grey, 1853, p. 133</i>
<i>Ko aku kiri kanohi e tirohia mai raa,</i> <i>Ka taka ko roto nei ko he mea i natua!</i>	<i>My countenance is seen by you –</i> <i>Within, I go about, a thing stirred up!</i>	<i>Song 11</i>
<i>Ko aku koowai kau te tirohia mai naa ee –Taka ko roto nei ka maawherangi au ee!</i>	<i>Only my body is seen by you ee,</i> <i>Within, I go about, go around ee!</i>	<i>Ngata, 1959, p. 298</i>
<i>Ko taku wai kamo raa te tirohia mai naa,</i> <i>Ka taka ko roto nei kei te tau nui!</i>	<i>The water of my eyelids can be seen by you –</i> <i>Within, I go about, greatly disturbed!</i>	<i>Grey, 1853, p. 266</i>

In each case, this sequence occurs in the context of a reference to the fact that the poet’s body, or some aspect of the poet’s body, can be seen (in contrast to what is happening emotionally that cannot be seen). In each case, the line ends in a similar way and so it might be said that what we have here is what Orbell refers to as a ‘cluster’:

Ka aahei au ko te kiri-aa-moko te tirohia mai naa
Ko aku kiri kanohi e tirohia mai raa,
Ko aku koowai kau te tirohia mai naa ee –
Ko taku wai kamo raa te tirohia mai naa . . .

The structure is:

<i>te/ e</i>	+ <i>tirohia</i>	+ <i>mai</i>	+ <i>naa/ raa</i>
part. (contrastive)	+ V.pass	+ part.	+ part./part

look at/ see hither there

The sequence, *(ka) taka ko roto nei*, occurs three times in *Ngā mōteatea*, twice in *mōteatea tangi*.

Table 10: Examples of ‘(ka) taka ko/ki roto nei’ in Ngata and Jones (1959, 1961)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Taka ko roto nei e ai te ao hau, ē, Ki te iwi rā ia e haurū mai rā</i>	Within me is riven by a raging storm, Grieving for the tribe who lie there in heaps	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 45
<i>Ko aku kiri kanohi e tirohia mai rā; Ka taka ko roto nei ko he mea inatua.</i>	Only the semblance of my face is seen; Within me I am as one strangled.	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 96
<i>Ko āku kōiwi kau te tirohia mai nā, ē; Taka ko roto nei ka māwhurangi au, ē.</i>	O friends all! What woeful state is this, e, Whilst all within is in a turmoil, e	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 87

Two of the examples (the last two above) from the Ngata and Jones collection are from the same *mōteatea* as two of those listed by Orbell (above). The total number of occurrences of *(ka) taka ko/ki roto nei* in the corpus is five. The morae count in the lines in which the string occurs varies considerably. Nevertheless, this string would be a strong contender for recognition as an oral formula, rather than simply, for example, a borrowing if other such instances could be found.

Number 6 - mookai (hatefull, foolish, or weak)

The word ‘mōkai’ is now used to refer to a pet animal or, for example, a teacher’s pet. According to Orbell (1977, p. 82), however, the word *mōkai* was used in a formulaic sense in traditional *mōteatea* to refer to hatred, folly or weakness. In fact, it can also be used nominally to refer to a slave or, in a verbal sense, to the process of becoming a slave, a usage which seems unlikely to have been confined to artistic compositions.¹¹ Orbell (1977, pp. 82, 88) gives four examples (see *Table 11* below).

Table 11: Orbell’s examples of ‘mookai’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Mookai taku whaea te hiwi kia tika, Kei whakamaa ki te nohoanga i a Taupoki</i>	How foolish my wife to go straight along the ridge – Beware lest you be shamed at Taupoki’s dwelling-place	Song 42 (p. 88)
<i>Mookai whakawhenua i taupurua iho!</i>	Hateful restraint that confines me here!	Song 33 (p. 88)
<i>Mookai ngaakau, rangi raa i a au!</i>	Hateful heart, that burns me!	Song 44 (p.88)
<i>Mookai Tararua i aarai mai ai, Tee kitea atu ai i taku piringa poho!</i>	Hateful Tararua, that bars the way So that he whom I embraced is not seen!	Song 82 (p.82)

In all four examples, ‘mookai’ occurs at the beginning of a line. In the last three examples it is translated as ‘hateful’; in the first example, in which the poet is referring to his wife, it is translated as ‘foolish’. This word occurs twenty-one times in *Ngā mōteatea* (see *Table 12*).

Table 12: Examples of ‘mōkai’ in Ngata and Jones (1959; 1961; 1970; 1990)

	Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
1	<i>Mōkai te ngākau te whakataui iho, Kia pōruatia e awhi-a-kiri ana.</i>	Slave heart mine not to seek a lingering farewell; With two nights more in close embrace.	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 46.
2	<i>Mōkai rohukore i te tirohanga iho</i>	Slavelike I do here contemplate	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 111
3	<i>Te mōkai puku nei āta hoki mārire</i>	Now my slave body is to be returned	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 165
4	<i>Nāku i whakahōhā, he moenga mōkai,</i>	When I became wearied of a slave's couch,	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 256
5	<i>Mo tāua, e hine, e kiia mai nei ki te mōkai, ki te porī;</i>	Indeed, for us both, O daughter, so-called slaves and common folk;	Pātere	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 268
6	<i>He mōkai Rangiteki nō te Pananehu,</i>	Rangiteki is but a slave of the Pananehu	Pātere	Ngata, 1990, p. 315
7	<i>Hurihuri mai te tariika, Ki te roko o te mōkai Kāore ia he mōkai o tawhiti,</i>	Turn your eras hither To hear the words of the slave He was not a slave from afar	Pātere	Ngata, 1990, p. 348
8	<i>Kia tau whakaete ake i waenganui i nga mōkai nei?</i>	Who shouldst be pressing forward amidst this servile crowd?	Tangi	Ngata, 1961, p. 113
9	<i>Hurihuri noa ana Te mōkai o te wahine;</i>	Turning about (in fear and trembling) Is that slave of a woman	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 149
10	<i>Mōkai te whitikore whakaupa nei te haere</i>	Slavelike and irresolute, I did think to go	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 163
11	<i>Mōkai tuatini, mokai tuamano,</i>	The servile multitude, the servile thousands,	Oriori	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 190
12	<i>E roto i ahau e whanawhana noa rā; Te mōkai puku nei nāna rawa i tekateka,</i>	Within, ala, my thoughts are vainly thrusting outwards It was this servile body which did me confound	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 35
13	<i>Mā Ngāti Awa e whakatangi ki te rapa waiho, Tohu, e tama, ko te kore i tō iwi mōkai.</i>	The Ngāti Awa will raise the paddle song; A token, O son, that your tribe is bereft.	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 52
14	<i>Mōkai taku whaea i riro atu nā, i waiho ai hei hikihiki taua</i>	Dishonoured is my mother now departed,	Pātere	Ngata, 1961, p. 131
15	<i>Mōkai roa whenua tē whai ai taku titiro</i>	Afar off is the dear land I long to see	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 251
16	<i>Huataki noa ana mōkai kōiwi, Tāmia atu ana he hau tāmirua te tai</i>	His foolish bones were raised up Then pressed down and the tide is repressed by the wind	Tautitotito	Ngata, 1990, p. 322
17	<i>E waiho ana koe Hei kotikoti hono, Taku whakaruru hau Nō te rārangi mōkai, E tama e!</i>	Here you are A chief of many princely lines, My sheltering tree From a descent line of loved ones Oh son!	Tangi	Ngata, 1990, p. 375
18	<i>E waiho ana koe hei kotikoti hono, Taku whakaruru hau mō te rārangi mōkai, E tama, e!</i>	You remain a symbol of a chief of many princely lines My sheltering tree for the young ones Oh son, alas!	Tangi	Ngata, 1990, p. 390

Table 12 (continued): Examples of ‘mōkai’ in Ngata and Jones (1959; 1961; 1970; 1990)

	Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
19	<i>Ka rewa to hinu me he wai titoki, Hei kaukau ake i te hono mōkai,</i>	Red thy blood like waters of the titoki, Wherein sad kinsfolk oft will bathe.	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 172
20	<i>Huri mai to aro, ka mihi mamao mai Ki te iwi mōkai, nau i huri iho, Taka hokai ana koe.</i>	Turn once again thy face to give a distant greeting To the destitute tribe thou hast left behind As thou did'st hasten on thy way.	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 173
21	<i>Mōkai pae nana i arai, Tē kite atu au Puia tu mai ki Tauwhare.</i>	Yon gentle hill doth obscure And I cannot see The thermal mist rising o'er Tauwhare	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 184

Only in *example 16* above is ‘mōkai’ used in a similar way to the way in which it is used in the examples provided by Orbell (although it is not translated by Ngata and Jones as occurring in the context of an exclamation, as are three of Orbell’s examples). Even if the word ‘mōkai’ is used adjectivally in the sense of ‘foolish’ or ‘hateful’ only in the context of poetic works, there seems to be no reason to treat it as an oral formula rather than as a specific poetic use of a particular word.

Number 7 - kei riri (don’t be angry)

The structure here is:

<i>kei</i>	+ <i>riri</i>
part (neg.)	+ V. stative
<i>not</i>	<i>to be angry</i>

Orbell (1977, p.89) provides two examples of the occurrence of ‘kei riri’ (see *Table 13* below).

Table 13: Orbell’s examples of ‘kei riri’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Kei riri, e Whenu! He aha i riri ai ki te makau tangata?</i>	Whenu, don’t be angry! Why be angry because of the man [I] love	Song 6 (p. 89)
<i>Kei riri te wahine ki too moenga pai!</i>	Let you wife not be angry because you are sleeping well!	McGregor, 1893, p. 75 (p. 89)

Although Orbell provides only two examples, it may be that she considers ‘kei riri’ to be an oral formula on the grounds that this particular use of the particle ‘kei’ in the context of a negative imperative is much less common than is the occurrence of ‘kaua’ (e.g., *Kaua e patu! / Don’t hit!*). As a particle, ‘kei’ is much more common in the context of a warning such as ‘kei whara koe’. However, the linguistic context in which ‘kei riri’ occurs is different in the two examples above, as is the morae count in the line in which it occurs. In *Ngā mōteatea*, I found only one example of ‘kei riri’, an example that is translated as a question rather than as a command not to do something. Nevertheless, this example is similar to the first of the two examples provided by Orbell. Even so, this seems to be more readily explicable as a poetic use of ‘kei’ rather than as an oral formula.

Table 14: Example of ‘kei riri’ from Ngata (1990)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Kei riri, e whae? He nui parahaere; Māu anō te tinana, Māku te ata o te Tāpara kau atu, e.</i>	Will you be angry, my lady? So much unsettled; You keep the body to yourself I shall have the shadow of desire only	Aroha	Ngata, 1990, p.328

Number 8 - *taku iti* (my littleness), ... *taku noho* (my sit), ... *taku iri* (my suspended)

The structure is:

taku + *iti*
pron. + nominalization
my *littleness*

taku + *noho*
pron. + nominalization
my *remaining/ abandonment*

taku + *iri*
pron. + nominalization
my *suspension*

Orbell (1977) states that the sequences above are half-line formulae that “occur in the course of a sentence, not at the beginning” (p. 89). She goes on to say that within the formula *taku iti* may be preceded by any suitable verb, but that “there are certain verbs such as *noho* (sit) and *iri* (be suspended), which are often chosen by the poet”. The reason why these are regarded by Orbell as instances of oral formulae may be that they involve a type of nominalization that is characteristic of Māori verbal arts. She does not provide any specific examples of occurrence in her corpus. However, when I conducted a search for in *Ngā mōteatea*, I found five occurrences of ‘*taku iti*/ *itinga*’ and two occurrences of ‘*taku noho*’ as indicated in *Table 15*.

Table 15: Examples of ‘taku iti’ from Ngata and Jones (1959; 1961; 1970)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Hei whiu i ahau, tāpapa <u>taku iti</u>, ē,</i>	Would I were tossed aboard to lie prone in pitiful state	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 54
<i>Kei te kai whēnako te ngākau Ki ngā mahinga o <u>taku itinga</u></i>	There oft come stealthy memories Of the many escapades of my younger days	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 57
<i>Nunui tonu mai, he iti <u>taku iti</u>. Ehara i muri nei Nō tua whakarere nō aku kaumātua.</i>	Ye exalted ones, a lowly one indeed am I Not of recent times, of course, But from time afar off, from my forbears.	Pātere	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 142
<i>Ki te tau rā ia I rāngia i <u>taku itinga</u>.</i>	To the loved one Whom I idolised in my teens.	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 147
<i>Kia noho <u>taku iti</u> Ki te kei o te waka Nōu na, e Te Pēhi e!</i>	There let me sit in humble state, At the stern of that canoe Of yours, O Te Pēhi, ah me!	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 292
<i>Kia au iho ai <u>taku noho</u> ki raro rā;</i>	I could have suffered it alone abiding here	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 78
<i><u>Taku noho</u> tonu nei ki te rau harakeke.</i>	Content must I be with the flax leaf.	Oriori	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 209

In the examples above, ‘taku iti’ occurs three times, and ‘taku itinga’ and ‘taku noho’ both occur twice. This, together with the fact that the lines in which they occur are very different in length and overall structure, provides little support for the contention that these may be oral formulae.

Number 9 - Ko waho anake (Only my outer part)

The structure of this sequence is:

<i>ko</i>	+ <i>waho</i>	+ <i>anake</i>
part. (loc.)	+ nn.	+ part.(limitor)
<i>over there</i>	<i>outside</i>	<i>alone, only, all</i>

Orbell observes that the ‘formula’ *ko waho anake* is part of a two-line formulaic cluster, where *ko waho anake* co-occurs with the formula *taka/ taku ko roto nei* (referred to previously). However, she gives only two examples of ‘ko waho anake’ from her corpus and only one of these also involves ‘taka ko roto nei’. Furthermore, ‘ko waho anake’ does not occur in *Ngā mōteatea*. The examples provided by Orbell are included in *Table 16* below. Although Orbell notes that ‘anake’ is used differently in these two examples, meaning ‘all’ in the first and ‘only’ in the second, the overall meaning is, in fact, essentially the same, the sense of totality in the first extract below arising from the contrast with ‘taka ko roto nei’.

Table 16: Orbell’s examples of ‘ko waho anake’ +/- ‘taka ko roto nei’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<u>ko waho anake</u> te tirohia mai naa, <u>Taka ko roto nei</u> , me he au e rere	Only my outer part is seen by you Within, I go about like a rushing current	Song 47
<u>Ko waho anake</u> me he roopu hau e whiu ana Te paanga mai ki ahau, tee taea nei te wewete!	All my outer part is as though driven by a gale – It strikes me, and I cannot be released!	Song 90

In view of the extremely limited number of occurrences detected, there appears to be no firm grounds on which to base the contention that we have here either an oral formula or a formulaic cluster.

Number 10 - e mau ana te tinana (the body remains firm)

The structure of this sequence is:

<i>e</i>	+ <i>mau</i>	+ <i>ana</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>tinana</i>
TAM	+ V. stative	+ TAM	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>correlative part.</i>	<i>be secured</i>	<i>correlative part.</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>body</i>
<i>(progressive)</i>		<i>(progressive)</i>		

Orbell gives one example (see *Table 17* below) and there are two instances *Ngā mōteatea*

Table 17: Orbell’s example of ‘e mau ana te tinana’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Hei a koe tonu taau whenua, hei awhai kau au!</i> <i>He hanga na te ngutu te kai maarire atu, e mau ana i te tinana</i>	Your ground Burner is yours alone, I but embrace him! It is usual for lips to taste, but the body remains firm!	Song 67 (p. 91)

Table 18: Examples of ‘e mau ana te tinana’ in Ngata and Jones (1959; 1961)

From Ngata	Translation in Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Hohoro i aku ngutu, e mau ana te tinana</i>	My lips do hasten but, alas, immovable my body	Aroha	Ngata, 1959. p. 48
<i>I hohoro i te ngutu, E mau ana te tinana, ī.</i>	The lips move with spirit, But the body is firmly fixed	Aroha	Ngata, 1961, p. 147

Three instances of ‘e mau ana (i) te tinana’ were detected. In each case, they occur in contrastive contexts but in lines of differing length. Whether this could be said to provide evidence of an oral formula would depend on the overall findings.

Number 11 - maau anoo te tinana (the body is yours)

The structure is:

<i>maau</i>	+ <i>anoo</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>tinana</i>
part. (purposive)	+ part. (habitual)	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>for you</i>	<i>always</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>body</i>

According to Orbell, this is a variation of the formula ‘e mau ana te tinana’. Orbell provides three examples (see *Table 19* below).

Table 19: Orbell’s examples of ‘maū anoo te tinana’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>Koia kei a koe! Mau anoo te tinana, Koi whakakori iho i te waa i mua raa, Koi kaimata ana aha!</i>	Oh, well done! You kept your body, Did not make me act in that time long ago When I was raw	Song 38 (p. 38)
<i>Kei riri, e whae! He nui parahaere! Maau anoo te tinana, maaku te ata o te taapara kau atu e!</i>	Lady, do not be angry! It is just a passing thing! You have his body – I have only the shadow of desire e!	Song 52 (p.91)
<i>A tomokia atu te whare o Tiaho, Tau kei a Oke! Kei riri noa mai! Aha i riri ai? Maau anoo te tinana!</i>	I will enter Tiaho’s house, And sink down beside Oke! Do not be angry! Why be angry? The body is yours!	Song 76 (p. 92)

This sequence occurs twice in *Ngā Mōteatea*, each time in the same *mōteatea* as those quoted by Orbell. The three instances occur in lines of varying length. Once again, there seems to be insufficient evidence to support the contention that this string is an oral formula.

Number 12 - E muri ahiahi (In the evening I lament); Number 13 – E muri ahiahi + takoto ki te moenga (in the evening I lament + I lay in my bed)

The structure here is:

<i>e</i>	+ <i>muri</i>	+ <i>ahiahi</i>	+ <i>takotako</i>
part.	+ locative	+ nn.	+ V
(preceding locatives)	back/rear	evening	lie down
+ <i>ki</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>moenga</i>	
+ prep.	+ det.	+ nn.	
<i>in</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>bed</i>	

Orbell provides one example of ‘e muri ahiahi’ in combination with ‘takotako ki te moenga’, which she refers to as a ‘cluster’ (see *Table 20* below). There are, however, eight occurrences of ‘e muri ahiahi’ in *Ngā mōteatea*, six of which occur with ‘takoto ki te moenga’ (see *Table 20*), seven of which occur at the beginning of *mōteatea*.

Table 20: Orbell’s example of ‘e muri ahiahi’ + ‘takoto ki te moenga’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>e muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga</i>	in the evening I lament + I lay in my bed	p. 80

Table 21: Examples of ‘e muri ahiahi’ +/- ‘takotako ki te moenga’ in Ngā Mōteatea (1959; 1961; 1970)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>E muri ahiahi ka totoko te aroha</i>	When evening shadows fall sorrow wells upwards	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 27
<i>E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga, ē,</i>	With the fall of eventide I lay me down to sleep,	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 45
<i>E muri ahiahi, kia hoki mai au i te Piki-a-Tāne</i>	Past eventide, and I retrace my way from Te Piki-a-Tāne	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 113
<i>E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga,</i>	With the fall of eventide upon my couch I lie	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 118
<i>E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga,</i>	With the fall of eventide I lay me down to sleep	Aroha	Ngata & Jones, 1961, p. 165
<i>E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga;</i>	Evening shadows fall, and I lay me down to sleep	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 241
<i>E muri ahiahi totoko tonu ake te aroha.</i>	With the fall of eventide sorrow wells forth	Pātere	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 250
<i>E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga,</i>	With the fall of eventide upon the couch I lie	Tangi	Ngata & Jones, 1970, p. 297

In five of the examples found in *Ngā mōteatea*, the line ends with ‘(ka) takotako ki te moenga’ (lie in bed). Thus, it would appear that the sequence ‘e muri takotako (ka) takotako ki re moenga’ is a common way to begin *mōteatea*.

Number 13 - Nooku te wareware (mine was the forgetfulness)

The structure here is:

<i>nooku</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>wareware</i>
<i>part. (possession)</i>	+ <i>det.</i>	+ <i>nn.</i>
<i>belonging to me</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>forgetfulness</i>

Orbell provides one example (see *Table 22* below) and there are six instances in *Ngā mōteatea*, one of which involves discontinuity (*i.e.*, *Nōku koia ko te wareware . . .* ‘) (see *Table 23* below).

Table 22: Orbell’s example of ‘nooku te wareware’

Occurrence	Translation by Orbell	Reference
<i>nooku te wareware</i>	mine was the forgetfulness	p. 80

Table 23: Examples of ‘nōku te wareware’ in *Ngā mōteatea* (1959; 1970; 1990)

Occurrence	Translation by Ngata and Jones	Type	Reference
<i>Nōku te wareware, kīhei rawa i puritia;</i>	Mine was the forgetfulness in not detaining you	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 26
<i>Nōku te wareware, te whai rā ngeau</i>	Mine was the forgetfulness I did not follow	Aroha	Ngata, 1959, p. 80
<i>Nōku te wareware te ringa i tū atu, e,</i>	And I forgot to raise the protesting hand,	Tangi	Ngata, 1970, p. 259
<i>Nōku te wareware, tē whāia atu</i>	It was I who forgot to pursue	Tangi	Ngata, 1990, p. 320
<i>Nōku te wareware te arumia atu</i> <i>Te tira o Raukawa, whakangaro atu ana</i>	Through my forgetfulness, I failed to follow The party of Raukawa, disappearing	Aroha	Ngata, 1990, p. 360
<i>Nōku koia ko te wareware rā,</i> <i>Tē whai au te tira haere</i>	It was my own forgetfulness I did not join in the journey	Tangi	Ngata, 1959, p. 18

This string could be considered to be formulaic. However, it occurs in lines of irregular length.

Does examination of the strings discussed above provide adequate evidence on which to base the argument that they are ‘oral formulae’ or ‘formulaic clusters’ and, if so, how might these terms be defined with reference to *mōteatea*? It is clear that a number of recorded *mōteatea* begin in the same way: *E muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga*. It is also true that some of the strings discussed above occur with reasonable frequency in the corpus. However, this does not necessarily mean that they can be said to be drawn from a commonly held pool of ‘oral formulae’ in the sense intended in oral formulaic theory. If we are to make such a claim, we need to be able to provide evidence that supports some credible definition of the term ‘oral formula’ in the context of Māori verbal arts. Taken as a whole, the analysis above provides no support for any overall definition of ‘oral formula’ that includes reference to line length or metrical structuring. Nor does it provide support for any overall definition of ‘oral formula’ that makes reference to phrase structure. Indeed, it provides no clear support even for the broadly based descriptions of ‘oral formulae’ and ‘formulaic clusters’ provided above. It remains to be seen whether a more broadly-based search of *Ngā mōteatea* will yield any more promising findings.

The search for oral formulae based on common concepts, motifs and themes

The search for evidence of oral formulae in *Ngā mōteatea* was based on common concepts, themes and motifs that were identified during the conduct of the critical review of literature on *mōteatea* (see Roa, forthcoming, *Chapter 3*). The list included, for example, *ancestor/s*, *anger*, *battle*, *war*, *confrontation*, *canoe/s* and *revenge*. I then selected from that list those words (e.g. *ancestors*) and ‘word bundles’ (e.g. *arise/ascend/descend*) that were referred to most frequently in the literature, adding to the list some additional, related words. Thus, for example, to *child* and *youth*, I added *baby*. I then associated the items in the list with search terms. These search terms were single words in *te reo Māori* (often with alternate spellings (e.g., associated with *ancestors* were *kauwhēke* and *tipuna/tupuna*, associated with *anger*, *angry* and *furious* were *riri*, *nguha*, *pukuriri*, *whakatakariri*, *whanowhanoa*, *āritarita* and *rūtaki*)). I then searched for these words in *Ngā mōteatea* (using the search facility in the *Microsoft Word* programme), recording any word combinations (e.g. *riri + kawe/tohe/whare*) that emerged during the search. I then listed any strings that

appeared to be candidates for consideration as possible oral formulae and analysed and discussed them in the same way as those discussed above that had been labelled by Orbell (1977) as oral formulae. The search list and initial findings are outlined below (Table 24), the translations being those provided in *Ngā mōteatea*.

Table 24: Search for possible oral formulae: Search list and initial findings

Concept	Search Terms		Findings
ancestors	<i>tupuna</i> <i>tipuna</i> <i>kauwheke</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
Anger, angry, furious	<i>riri</i>	<i>kawe + riri</i>	Five similar half lines found in songs 54, 73, 240, 256, 364.
		<i>tohe + riri</i>	Four similar half lines found in songs 280 (lines 20 & 29), 323, 340.
		<i>whare + riri</i>	Two similar half lines found in songs 291, 317.
	<i>nguha</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>pukuriri</i>		This word was does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>whakatakariri</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>whanowhanoa</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>āritarita</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>rūtaki</i>		This word was does not appear in the corpus
	<i>puta</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>ara ake</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>kake</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>keke</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tuku</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tamariki</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tamaiti</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tama</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>hine</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>taiohi</i>		This word was does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>rangatahi</i>		This word was does not appear in the corpus.
<i>mātātahi</i>		This word was does not appear in the corpus.	
Battle, war, confrontation,	<i>pakanga</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>whawhai</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>kauhanga riri</i>		This word was does not appear in the corpus.

Table 24 (continued): Search for possible oral formulae: Search list and initial findings

Concept	Search Terms		Findings
beautiful, handsome, ugly	<i>ātaahua</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>pūrotu</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>ranginamu</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>mounga</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>pai</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>anuanu</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>anuhea</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
cannibalism	<i>kaitangata</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
canoe	<i>waka</i>	<i>waka + toia</i>	Three similar half lines found in songs 21, 56 and 66.
		<i>waka + pakaru</i>	Four similar half-lines found in songs 68, 72 (lines 21 & 44) and song 88.
Challenging, revenge	<i>taki</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>wero</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tumatuma</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>utu</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
clothes, cloaks etc, dog skin	<i>kākahu</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>pueru, puweru</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>kahu, kahu huruhuru</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>korowai kahu kiwi kahu kuri pureke pakē</i>		These words do not appear in the corpus.
compass points	<i>runga</i>		No lines or half lines where <i>runga</i> is used as a compass point.
	<i>raro</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tonga</i>	<i>ao + tonga</i>	Six similar half lines found in songs 22, 51, 55, 79, 308 and 355.
		<i>hau + tonga</i>	Three similar half-lines found in songs 325, 347 and 349.
	<i>raki</i>		This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>uru</i>	<i>tai + uru</i>	Five similar half lines found in songs 3, 19, 63, 125 and 357.
		<i>ao + uru</i>	Four similar half lines found in songs 21, 37, 347 and 353.
	<i>rāwhiti</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.

Table 24 (continued): Search for possible oral formulae: Search list and initial findings

Concept	Search Terms	Findings	
sleep/death	<i>moe</i>	<i>sex = moe + tāua/māua</i>	Five similar half lines found in songs 21, 23, 26, 29 and 91.
		<i>wake from sleep = whakaara + moe</i>	Two similar half lines found in songs 47 and 48.
		<i>restless sleep = moe + hurihuri</i>	Two similar half lines found in songs 28 and 85.
		<i>stop sleeping = kāti + moe</i>	Two similar half lines found in songs 60 and 76.
	<i>mate</i>	Two half lines found in songs 3 and 54.	
	<i>takoto</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
dreaming,	<i>moemoeā</i>	This word does not appear in the corpus.	
earth, soil, land	<i>whenua</i>	Two half lines found in songs 2 and 71.	
	<i>papatuanuku</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>puehu</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>oneone</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>uku</i>	This word does not appear in the corpus.	
	<i>papa</i>	Three similar half lines found in song 62B, 95, 274.	
embrace	<i>awhi</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>tauawhi</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>tautoko</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
illness	<i>mate</i>	See section of death.	
	<i>māuiui</i>	This word does not appear in the corpus.	
insult	<i>hākiki</i> <i>piopio</i> <i>muheni</i>	These words do not appear in the corpus.	
	<i>kanga</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>whakamanioro</i> <i>whakatakao</i>	These words do not appear in the corpus.	
journey	<i>haereinga</i>	Four similar half lines found in songs 3, 51, 126 and 154.	
love, endearment (e.g., sweetheart)	<i>aroha,</i>	Seven similar half lines found in songs 31, 80, 186, 240, 308, 328 and 383.	
	<i>te tau o taku ate</i>	This phrase occurs 14 times and is found in songs 44, 108, 109, 111, 127, 129, 191, 216, 318, 381, 383, 384, 385 and 391.	
	<i>taku kurupounamu</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
	<i>kahurangi</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.	
moon, the horn of the moon	<i>marama</i>	Three similar lines found in songs 76, 87 and 140.	
	<i>te tara o te marama</i>	Three similar half lines found in songs 41, 54 and 320.	

Table 24 (continued): Search for possible oral formulae: Search list and initial findings

Concept	Search Terms	Findings
lightening	<i>uira</i>	<i>tērā te uira</i> Two similar half lines found in songs 3 and 110.
		<i>taku koara he uira i te rangi</i> Two similar lines found in songs 54 and 133.
thunder	<i>whatitiri</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
stars	<i>whetū</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
clouds	<i>ao/kapu</i>	Four similar half lines found in songs 90 and 105.
rain	<i>ua</i>	Three similar half lines found in songs 54, 71 and 168.
mist	<i>kohu</i> <i>pūkohu</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>rehu</i> <i>rehurehu</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
sun	<i>ra</i>	Three similar half lines found in songs 7, 64 and 72.
afternoon/evening	<i>ahiahi</i>	Eight similar lines found in songs 27, 45, 113, 118, 165, 241, 250, 297.
night	<i>pō</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
ornaments, decorations	<i>waka huia</i>	These words do not appear in the corpus.
parts of the body, genitalia	<i>ure</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>raho</i>	This word does not appear in the corpus.
	<i>taiaha</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>uha</i> <i>uwaha</i>	Two similar half lines found in songs 215A and 231.
	<i>hūhā</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
restless	<i>kārangī</i>	Not in corpus.
sea, seashore	<i>uta</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>moana</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tai</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>tangaroa</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
skin	<i>kiri</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
tears	<i>roimata</i> <i>wai roimata</i>	Sixteen similar lines and half lines found in songs 28, 71, 80, 94, 103, 129, 134, 143, 157, 173, 184, 229 and 390.
weapons, guns	<i>patu</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>taiaha</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>pū</i> <i>ahi a te tipua</i>	No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
	<i>mere</i> <i>tewhatewha</i> <i>kotiate</i>	These words do not appear in the corpus.

Table 24 (continued): Search for possible oral formulae: Search list and initial findings

Concept	Search Terms		Findings
house	<i>whare</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
house of learning	<i>whare wānanga</i>		This word did not appear in the corpus.
wind	<i>hau</i>	<i>pā + hau</i>	Three similar half lines found in songs 10, 71, 321.
dawn	<i>ata</i>	<i>tākiri + ata</i>	thirteen similar half lines found in songs 51, 59, 72, 73, 110, 188, 194, 243, 247, 287, 345 and 375.
Stars	<i>whetū</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
breaking waves	<i>ngaru</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
calm wether	<i>marino, āio/aio</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.
rising smoke	<i>auahi</i>		Two similar half lines found in songs 98 and 129.
flying birds	<i>manu</i>		No lines or half-lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential oral formula.

On the basis of the search, only 14 contenders for oral formulaic status emerged, that is, there were 14 thematic lines or half-lines that were sufficiently similar to be worthy of further investigation. Each of these is translated into English and analysed and discussed below.

Concept 1: anger, search term riri

Of the seven search terms for anger, *riri* was the only word that appeared in the context of similar lines/ half lines, the three potentially relevant combinations being:

1. *kawe + riri* (carry + anger) which occurs five times in the corpus.
2. *tohe + riri* (argue + anger) which occurs four times in the corpus.
3. *whare + riri* (house + anger) which occurs twice in the corpus.

Search term *kawe + riri* (carry + anger)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>ki</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>kawe</i>	+ (<i>ā</i>)	+ <i>riri</i>
prep.	+ det.	+ V.	+ part. (manner)	V. stative / nn.
(<i>to</i>	<i>the</i>)	<i>carry</i>		<i>anger/ battle; war</i>
(infinitive of purpose)				

This string occurs five times in *Ngā Mōteatea* as indicated in *Table 25*.

Table 25: *ki te kawē (ā) riri* (to carry anger/ to carry [out an act] angrily)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>kawē + riri</i>	1. <i>Hei patu whakatipi ki mua ki te upoko, <u>Ki te kawē-ā-riri?</u></i>	1. And smote with cleaving frontal blows on many a head, As eagerly you strode forth in battle?	NG1959:54 ¹³
	2. <i>E whano ana rā <u>ki te kawē, ē, ā riri;</u></i>	2. Before setting forth on the trail of war	NG1959:73
	3. <i>Te haere <u>ki te kawē riri.</u></i>	3. Whilst on the path of war	NG1970:240
	4. <i>Ko haere ai ra <u>ki te kawē a riri.</u></i>	4. Before going forth with the urge of battle	NG1970:256
	5. <i>E tū ai koe <u>ki te kawē a riri, nā!</u></i>	5. To permit you to stand up in battle	NG1990:364

The lines in which the possible formulae occur are all of different lengths and morae count. In each case, the verb *kawē* is preceded by *ki te* (infinitive of purpose when preceding a verb): ‘to carry anger in order to . . .’. When the particle *ā* follows the verb, it indicates the manner in which something is/was done. Thus, a literal translation would be ‘to carry (out an act of) battle in order to . . .’. When the particle *ā* follows a verb and is prefixed to a noun, it operates as a modifier that indicates the means by which something is done. In such cases, *riri* is a noun rather than a stative verb. The string *ki te kawē (ā) riri* occurs at the end of lines and is preceded (in examples 2, 3 and 4) by reference to setting forth on a war path. In each of these cases, *kawē (ā) riri* may be translated as ‘war’ or ‘battle’. In prose, the word *pakanga* or *whawhai* would normally be used to refer to war/ battle, the use of *kawē (ā) riri* being an example of language that is generally associated with poetic contexts. In terms of the initial broadly-based description of oral formula used as a starting point, this string (*ki te kawē ā riri*) is a strong contender for oral formulaic status. However, as can be seen when the lines in which it occurs are juxtaposed (see below), the length and morae count of the previous lines/ half lines are different in each case, something that indicates that this string cannot have been selected from a common store of formulae to provide for overall metrical unity. What we appear to have here is simply an expression associated with poetic contexts (*kawē ā riri*) that is combined, by virtue of the overall meaning, with a commonly occurring combination of preposition plus article (*ki te*):

Hei patu whakatipi ki mua ki te upoko,
Ki te kawē-ā-riri?

E whano ana rā *ki te kawē, ē, ā riri;*

Te haere *ki te kawē riri.*

Ko haere ai ra *ki te kawē a riri,*

E tū ai koe *ki te kawē a riri, nā!*

Search term *tohe + riri* (persist + anger)

The structure of this segment is:

tohe + *riri*
V. + V.stative/ nn.
to persist angry/ battle; war

This string occurs four times in the corpus (see *Table 26*).

Table 26: *tohe + riri* (persist + anger)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>tohe + riri</i>	1. <i>Ko te tupuna i tupu ai</i> <i>O mahara <u>tohe riri</u>.</i>	1. The ancestor from whom arose Your persistent urge of war	NG1961:280
	2. <i>Ki runga ki te tumuaki</i> <i>koroheke</i> <i>O Te rangi-moe-waka <u>tohe riri</u>.</i>	2. On the old man's head Of Te Rangi-moe-waka, the war-monger	NG1961:280
	3. <i>I te whārona awatea, i te</i> <i>manawa <u>tohe riri</u></i>	3. The slaughter and the determination to fight	NG1990:323
	4. <i>Kei puta te upokororo,</i> <i>Ki roto ki te anganga <u>tohe riri</u></i>	4. So the grayling fish cannot escape, Into the head of the war mongerer	NG1990:340

Although this string occurs four times in the corpus, it seems unlikely that it is, or is part of, an oral formula in that the lines in which it occurs are in all cases of different lengths and made up of different numbers of morae. Once again, what we appear to have is an example of a combination that is typically used in poetic contexts to refer to a warmonger or of a persistent urge to fight.

Search term *whare + riri* (house + angry/ battle)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>whare</i>	+ <i>riri</i>
nn.	+ V.stative/ nn.
<i>house</i>	<i>angry/ battle; war</i>

This string occurs twice in the corpus (see *Table 27*).

Table 27: *whare + riri* (house + angry/battle)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>whare + riri</i>	1. <i>Ko te rākau na Tū, ko</i> <i>Tangi-mamao;</i> <i>He <u>whare riri</u>, o, na ō</i> <i>tūpuna.</i>	1. To procure the weapon of Tu', Tangi-mamao, From the house of war dedicated by your ancestors	NG1961:291
	2. <i>Ka ngaro ra, e, ko te</i> <i><u>whare o te riri</u>, e</i>	2. What is lost is the house of war	NG1990:317

The string *whare + riri* literally translates as 'house + angry/battle'. In this case, it has been glossed as 'house of war'. Again, this string appears to involve a use of language that is particularly associated with poetic contexts. It does not, however, appear to be oral formulaic in character in that it appears only twice in the corpus, and the lines in which it appears are of different lengths.

Concept 2: Canoe – search term *waka*

The search term 'waka' appeared a number of times in the corpus. However, there were only two word combinations in which *waka* appeared that were sufficiently similar in their wording to be regarded as potential formulae. They are:

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1. *waka + toia* (canoe + drag), which appears three times in the corpus
2. *waka + pakaru* (canoe + broken), which appears four times in the corpus

Search term *waka + tōia* (canoe + drag/haul)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>waka</i>	+ <i>toia</i>
nn.	+ V.pass
<i>canoe</i>	<i>drag/haul</i>

This string occurs three times in the corpus (see *Table 28*).

Table 28: *waka + toia* (canoe + drag/haul)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>waka + toia</i>	1. <i>Ko te <u>waka te tōia</u>, tē haumatia,</i>	1. So that unsolicited all came to haul his canoe	NG1959:21
	2. <i>He <u>waka ia rā kia tōia</u></i>	2. Would there was a canoe being launched	NG1959:56
	3. <i>Ko te <u>waka rā, ē, kia tōia ki tahaki.</u></i>	3. The canoe it was to be hauled away	NG1959:66

The combination of *waka* and *toia* is one that is to be expected in the contexts indicated above. Furthermore, the words are separated by different strings on each occasion and do not occur in lines of similar length/ morae count.

Search term *waka + pakaru* (canoe + broken/ split open)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>waka</i>	+ <i>pakaru</i>
nn.	+ V.
<i>canoe</i>	<i>split open</i>

This string occurs four times in the corpus (see *Table 29*).

Table 29: *waka + pakaru* (canoe + broken/split open)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>waka + pakaru</i>	1. <i>Mei kore te <u>waka nei te pakaru rikiriki,</u></i>	1. And this canoe would not have been rent asunder	NG1959: 68
	2. <i><u>Waka kua pakaru ka eke au i te hipi,</u></i>	2. 'Tis a canoe quite broken and I must board the ship	NG1959: 72
	3. <i>He <u>waka pakaru au, e taea te aukaha, ī.</u></i>	3. Would I were a broken canoe that might be mended	NG1959: 72
	4. <i>Taikuiatia te tinana, he <u>waka pākuru kino</u></i>	4. Old age will come upon me, and, like a derelict canoe ...	NG1959: 88

As in the case of the *waka + toia*, the combination of *waka* and *pakaru* (literally translated as 'broken canoe' or 'split open canoe') is not an uncommon one. However, in each of the examples above, the string is used metaphorically, the composers likening themselves to a broken canoe. As in many other cases, this clearly supports the contention that the language of *mōteatea* was frequently symbolic. However, given the fact that the words are contiguous in two of the examples above and separated in the other two, and given the difference in line length and morae

count, treating *waka + pakaru* as an example of an oral formula would, I believe, not be justifiable.

Concept 3: Compass points – search term *tonga & uru*

Of the six different search terms used under this concept heading, the most productive were *tonga* (south) and *uru* (west). For the search term *tonga*, there are two types of combination in which the wording is similar:

ao + tonga (cloud/world + south), which appears six times in the corpus
hau + tonga (wind + south), which appears three times in the corpus

For the search term *uru*, there are two types of half line in which the wording is similar:

tai + uru (tide + west), which appears five times in the corpus
ao + uru (cloud/world + west), which appears four times in the corpus

Search term *te + ao + (o te) + tonga* (the cloud/world from the south)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>te</i>	+ <i>ao</i>	+ (<i>o te</i>)	+ <i>tonga</i>
det.	+ nn.	+ (art., det.)	+ nn./ stative
<i>the</i>	<i>cloud/world</i>	(<i>of, the</i>)	<i>south/southern</i>

This string occurs six times in the corpus (see *Table 30*).

Table 30: *te ao o te tonga* (the cloud/world from the south)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>te ao o te tonga</i>	1. <i>Ki te ao o te tonga e koheri mai rā</i>	1. Towards the cloud glowing from the south	NG1959:22
	2. <i>E anga tō mata ki te ao o te tonga.</i>	2. Turn, therefore, your gaze to the south	NG1959:51
	3. <i>Tērā te ao tonga ka whakahinga kei Otonake.</i>	3. See the clouds in the south declining o'er Otonake	NG1959:55
	4. <i>Te ao o te tonga E whākina mai rā.</i>	4. The clouds in the south, I now see before me	NG1959:79
	5. <i>Taku ate hoki rā, taku pākai riri ki te ao o te tonga.</i>	5. My friend deeply missed, my shield against the world	NG1990:308
	6. <i>Ki te ao o te tonga e rere whakaoma rā,</i>	6. At the clouds of the south rushing by	NG1990:355

The string *te + ao + o + te + tonga* (the + cloud/world + of + the + south) can be translated literally as *the cloud/s from/to/in/of the south*. In examples one, two, five and six, the string *te ao o te tonga* is preceded by the particle *ki* (indicating direction towards someone/something). The non-literal translation of *example 5* glosses *ao* as 'world'. In the case of *example 2*, it doesn't refer to 'cloud'. In *example 3*, 'te ao' is preceded by *tērā* (away from or unconnected with the speaker and the listener). This is also the only example in which the combination 'o te' (of the) does not occur.

Thus, there is one instance of 'te ao o te tonga', four of 'ki te ao o te tonga', and one of 'tērā te ao tonga'. In four cases (examples 1, 2, 3 & 8), the overall line length is similar and in all four of these examples the same wording (*ki te ao o te tonga*) occurs. It could therefore be that this is an oral formula. However, in order to argue

that it is, and that it is selected from a stock of such formulae, further evidence (from the corpus as a whole) would be required.

Search terms: *hau* + (*o te*) + *tonga* (the southern wind)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>hau</i>	+ (<i>o te</i>)	+ <i>tonga</i>
nn.	+ (art., det.)	+ nn./ stative
<i>wind</i>	(<i>of, the</i>)	<i>south/ southern</i>

This string occurs three times in the corpus (see *Table 31*).

Table 31: *hau* + (*o te*) + *tonga* (southern wind)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>hau</i> + <i>tonga</i>	1. <i>Riro te whakaaro ki ngā <u>hau o te tonga</u>.</i>	1. Reflective thoughts are gone with the south wind	NG1990:325
	2. <i>Kei hauangi mai ngā <u>hau o te tonga</u>.</i>	2. The cool winds are blowing	NG1990:347
	3. <i>He <u>hau tonga</u> pea, Kikihi rawa ki taku kiri</i>	3. A south wind perhaps, Blowing against my skin	NG1990:349

The string *hau* + (*o te*) + *tonga* occurs only three times and is unlikely to be an example of an oral formula in that it is to be expected in texts of any type in which reference is made to a southern wind.

Search term: *tai* + *uru* (western tide/ coast)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>tai</i>	+	<i>uru</i>
nn.	+	nn. locative
<i>tide</i>		<i>west</i>

This string occurs five times in the corpus (see *Table 32*).

Table 32: *tai* + *uru* (western tide/ coast)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>tai</i> + <i>uru</i>	1. <i>E tangi haere ana ngā <u>tai o te uru</u>.</i>	1. The waves of the western sea are moaning	NG1959 :3
	2. <i>Kai te <u>tai kai te uru!</u></i>	2. From the west	NG1959 :19
	3. <i>I ngā <u>tai whakarewa kauri ki te uru</u>.</i>	3. Depart with the kauri-bearing tides of the western sea	NG1959 :63
	4. <i>Nou, e Te Horo, ki te <u>tai uru</u>.</i>	4. Of you, O Te Horo, away in the west	NG1961 :125
	5. <i>I a Pakaurangi ki te <u>tai uru</u>.</i>	5. To the west Pakaurangi has gone	NG1990 :357

This string is one that one would expect to find in any text in which reference is made to westerly tides or western coast. There are five examples, each of which is differently worded and has a different number of morae. In one case (*example 3*) there is discontinuity as a result of the insertion of ‘whakarewa kauri’.

Search terms: *ao + uru* (cloud/world + west/ dark cloud)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>ao</i>	+	<i>uru</i>
nn.	+	nn. locative
<i>cloud/world</i>		<i>west</i>

This string occurs four times in the corpus (see *Table 33*).

Table 33: *ao + uru* (western cloud/s/ world)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>ao + uru</i>	1. <i>E huri kino atu rā ki te ao o te uru.</i>	1. Is revolving in disaster round to the west	NG1959:21
	2. <i>He ao uru pea, e takahi rawa</i>	2. 'Tis perhaps, the heavy mist that comes	NG1959:3
	3. <i>Kei hauangi mai ngā hau o te tonga, I te ao o te uru.</i>	3. The cool winds are blowing, From the world of the west	NG1990:347
	4. <i>Kia mārama au, ko te whakameho noa Ki te ao o te uru.</i>	4. So I will be clear that I am not deluded By the world of the west	NG1990: 353

Examples one, three and four include *i/ki te ao o te uru*, example two includes simply *au uru* (translated as 'heavy mist'). According to Ngata (1959, p. 163), "*ao uru* is . . . a dark cloud". Given that *ao uru* occurs only once in the corpus and given that *ao* appears to be used in two different senses (worlds/ cloud(s) in the three remaining examples, there seems to be little justification for arguing that it could constitute an oral formula.

Concept 4: *Sleep* – search term: *moe* (awakening from sleep; sex/ intimacy/ marriage)

The word *moe* is used in *mōteatea* to refer to awakening from sleep (when it is combined with *whakaara*, to restless sleep (when it combined with *hurihuri*, which literally means 'turning'), and, in the context of *tāua*, to sex, intimacy and marriage. Another use of *moe*, when combined with *kāti*, is as a negative directive (instructing someone to stop sleeping, meaning, metaphorically, to awake from death).

Search Terms: *moe + tāua* (we two sleep, have sex, embrace)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>moe</i>		+ <i>tāua</i>
V.		pron.
<i>to sleep, have sex, embrace</i>		<i>we two, us</i>

This string occurs five times in the corpus (see *Table 34*).

Table 34: *moe* + *tāua* (we sleep, have sex, embrace)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>moe</i> + <i>tāua</i> / <i>māua</i>	1. <i>Koi huaina hoki ko tō nuinga rawa,</i> <u><i>E moe nei tāua</i></u>	1. Lest it be thought, it is yourself	NG1959:21
	2. <i>Kia whītirere au me kei te ao koe,</i> <u><i>E moe ana tāua, ē.</i></u>	I am embracing 2. Startled I thought, beloved, it was you in the flesh And that we embraced	NG1959:23 NG1959:26
	3. <i>Ko koe rā, e koro, e auraki ana mai,</i> <u><i>Kia moe tāua i te maru aiahi, ē</i></u> <i>ī.</i>	3. Me thought it was you, O sir, returning So that we two might embrace as evening shadows fall	NG1961:91
	4. <i>Ka marumaru te ra ka ahu mai ai,</i> <u><i>Kia moe taua, e.</i></u>	4. At the setting of the sun, and your coming in To share our spiritual couch	

The string *moe* + *tāua* appears in slightly different forms:

- 1) *e* + *moe* + *nei* + *tāua*
TAM + V. + part. + pron.
future *embrace* *here* + *we two, us*
- 2) *e* + *moe* + *ana* + *tāua*
TAM + V. + TAM + pron.
correlative part. embrace correlative part. we two, us
(progressive) (progressive)
- 3&4) *kia* + *moe* + *tāua*
part: purpose + V. + pron.
so that *embrace* *we two, us*

None of these is an unusual combination in texts of any type. Furthermore, although two of the examples are worded in the same way (*kia moe tāua*), the other two are differently worded.

Search term: *whakaara* + *moe* (awake)

The structure of this segment is:

whakaara + *moe*
V. + stative
to wake *sleep*

This string occurs twice in the corpus (see *Table 35*).

Table 35: *whakaara* + *moe* (awake)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>moe</i> + <i>whakaara</i>	1. <i>Kei te whakaara koe i</i> <u><i>taku nei moe.</i></u>	1. Awakening me from my slumbers	NG1959:47
	2. <i>Taea te hōmai hei</i> <u><i>whakaara i taku moe.</i></u>	2. All that remains gives me wakeful nights	NG1959:48

This is not an unusual way of describing the act of waking from sleep. Furthermore, since it occurs only twice in the corpus (in different overall form in each case), there is no real justification for treating it as an oral formula.

Search term: *moe + hurihuri + ai* (restless sleep)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>moe</i>	+ <i>hurihuri</i>	+ <i>ai</i>
stative	+ V.	+ part
<i>sleep</i>	<i>toss and turn</i>	(<i>habitual action</i>)

This string occurs twice in the corpus (see *Table 36*).

Table 36: *moe + hurihuri + ai* (restless sleep)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>moe + hurihuri</i>	1. <i>Moe hurihuri ai taku moe ki te whare;</i>	1. Restless is my sleep within the house	NG1959:28
	2. <i>Moe hurihuri ai māua nei ko taku hoa,</i>	2. My comrade and I toss about in our sleep	NG1959:85

Again, this is not an unusual combination. It occurs twice only in the corpus, and there therefore seems to be no justification for treating it as an oral formula.

Search term: *Kāti + rā + te + moe!* (Stop sleeping!)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>Kāti</i>	+ <i>rā</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>moe</i>
Interjection	+ part. (intensifier)	+ det.	+ stative
<i>stop!</i>		<i>the</i>	<i>to sleep</i>

This string occurs twice in the corpus.

Table 37: *kāti + rā + te + moe*

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>kāti + moe</i>	1. <i>E tama nā Rangī! <u>Kāti rā te moe, ē!</u></i>	1. O son of Rangī! Cease thy slumbers!	NG1959:60
	2. <i>E Pewa moe roa! <u>Kāti rā te moe!</u></i>	2. O Pewa thou heavy sleeper! Cease your slumbers!	NG1959:76

This is an injunction to stop sleeping (metaphorically, to awaken from death), and is not an unusual combination. It occurs only twice in the corpus.

Concept 4: Sleep/death – search term 2 - *mate*

The word *mate* appeared a number of times in the corpus. However, there are only two half lines that were sufficiently similar to be regarded as a possible formula.

Search Term: *te + tohu + o + te + mate* (a + sign + of + death)

The structure of this segment is:

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<i>te</i>	+ <i>tohu</i>	+ <i>o</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>mate</i>
det.	+ nn.	+ prep.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>the</i>	<i>sign</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>death</i>

This string occurs twice in the corpus (see *Table 38*).

Table 38: *te + tohu + o + te + mate* (sign of death)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>mate</i>	1. <i>Kāore ia nei ko <u>te tohu o te mate.</u></i>	1. Assuredly a token of death	NG1959:3
	2. <i>Ko <u>te tohu o te mate</u> nā, ī.</i>	2. It was, alas, the omen of death!	NG1959:54

The string *te tohu o te mate* is not an unusual combination and occurs twice only.

Concept 5a: Earth, soil, land – Search term 1 - *whenua*

The word *whenua* has a number of uses in *te reo Māori*. *Whenua* can refer to land, soil, earth, country, placenta, or horizon. The word ‘whenua’ occurs a number of times in the corpus. However, only two half lines sufficiently similar to be regarded as a potential formula were found. In each, *whenua* refers to horizon.

Search Term: *te + pae + ki + te + whenua*

The structure of this segment is:

<i>te</i>	+ <i>pae</i>	+ <i>ki</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>whenua</i>
det.	+ nn.	+ prep.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>the</i>	<i>horizon</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>land</i>

Table 39: *te + pae + ki + te + whenua* (the horizon)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>whenua</i>	1. <i>Tē āta kitea atu e au <u>te pae ki te whenua,</u> e</i>	1. Only dimly can I see the distant horizon	NG1959:2
	2. <i>Moe mai, e Wano, i ‘Tirau’, <u>Te pae ki te whenua</u></i>	2. Sleep on, O Wano, on Tirau The barrier to the land	NG1959:71

The string *te pae ki te whenua* literally translates as ‘the + horizon + of + the + land’. However, the translations by Ngata (*the distant horizon* and *the barrier to the land*) are intended to reflect the poetic nature of the original. This is not an unusual way of referring to the distant horizon and there are two instances only.

Search term: *papa* (earth, floor, soil, land, platform, etc.)

The word ‘papa’ appears a number of times in the corpus. However, there were only three half lines that were sufficiently similar to be regarded as potential candidates for oral formulaic status.

Concept 5b: Earth, soil, land – search term 2: *papa + totara* (totara platform)

The structure of this segment is:

papa + *tōtara*
 nn. + nn.
timber *large forest tree*

Table 40: *papa* + *tōtara* (*tōtara* platform)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>papa</i>	1. <i>Me he <u>papa tōtara</u>, me he take harakeke.</i>	1. Like the tōtara's smooth inner ark, and the slender flax stem	NG1959:62B
	2. <i>Takoto mai, e hika, i roto i te kiri rakau, I te <u>papa tōtara</u>.</i>	2. Lie there, dear one, in the wooden casket On a tōtara plank	NG1961:95
	3. <i>Iri mai koe ki runga to whata-rangi Koe <u>papa tōtara</u>.</i>	3. You lie there upon the elevated stage Like a tōtara slab	NG1970:274

The string *papa* + *tōtara* is used metaphorically (as a simile) in *examples one* and *three*. In the second example, it is used literally. In each case, the surrounding language is different in terms of meaning and line length (morae count).

Concept 6: Journey – search term: *haerenga* (journey)

The search term *haerenga* appeared a number of times in the corpus. However, there were only four half lines (combining *haerenga* (journey) and *ara* (pathway)) that are sufficiently similar to be regarded as indicating a possible oral formula. The structure of this segment is:

ara + *haerenga*
 nn. + nn.
path *journey*

Table 41: *ara* + *haerenga* (journey; pathway)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>haerenga</i>	1. <i>Te papa o Whareana tō <u>ara haerenga</u>:</i>	1. You journeyed by way of Whareana	NG1959:3
	2. <i>Ki te <u>ara haerenga</u> o tō tupuna,</i>	2. And follow the pathway of your forebear	NG1959:51
	3. <i>Tō <u>ara haerenga</u> mai, e Te Paea,</i>	3. And there is only one path, O Te Paea	NG1961:126
	4. <i>Ki Waipunapuna, <u>Ara haerenga</u> mai nō Te Perohuka;</i>	4. To Waipunapuna The pathway trodden by Te Perohuka	NG1961:154

In this case we don't have an unusual combination. Furthermore, the actual string (*ara haerenga*; *tō ara haerenga*; *ki te ara haerenga*; *tō ara haerenga mai*) is different in each case and the length of the lines in each of the examples varies.

Concept 7a: Love – search term - *aroha*

There are many ways in which love is expressed in *mōteatea*. *Aroha* is generally the word used for love. It appears a number of times in the corpus. However, there are only seven similar half lines in which *aroha* is used (see *Table 42*).

Search term: *Kāore + te + aroha* (Unceasing love)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>kāore</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>aroha</i>
negative part.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>no, not</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>love</i>

Table 42: *Kāore + te + aroha* (unceasing love)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>aroha</i>	1. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> ki tōku kōkara, ki a Kohurepuku,</i>	1. Unceasing is the sorrow for my mother, Kohurepuku	NG1959:31
	2. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> e kōmingomingo nei,</i>	2. This sorrow, alas, is agonizing	NG1959:80
	3. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> i ahau ki tāku pōtiki!</i>	3. How great is my love for my young one	NG1961:186
	4. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> e whai i au, a whanake tonu nei.</i>	4. Alas, unceasing is this sorrow of mine, which follows me ever	NG1970:240
	5. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> kai kino ana roto ki te makau,</i>	5. A longing gnaws deeply within for the loved one	NG1990:308
	6. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> mōhukihuki noa,</i>	6. Love developed into yearning	NG1990:328
	7. <i><u>Kāore te aroha</u> kai rikiriki ana</i>	7. Sorrow is gnawing and nibbling	NG1990:383

Here, *aroha* is combined with *kāore*, which is usually used in prose to negate sentences. However, in this case, *Kāore te aroha* refers to never ending/ unceasing love. *Kāore te aroha* appears in the opening line of six *mōteatea*. This is, depending on the overall findings, a strong contender for oral formulaic status although an equally credible explanation for its occurrence is simply a poetic use of language whose occurrence is thematically determined.

Concept 8: Endearment, search term: *te + tau + o+ taku+ ate* (my heart/heartstrings)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>te</i>	+ <i>tau</i>	+ <i>o</i>	+ <i>taku</i>	+ <i>ate</i>
det.	+ nn.	+ part	+ pron.	+ nn.
<i>the</i>	<i>lover</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>liver</i>

Te tau o taku ate is often used as a term of endearment for a lover, or the subject of one's affection and desire. Although this word group occurs 14 times in the corpus, it refers on only 3 occasions to a lover and on the remaining 11 to heartache resulting from loss, abandonment and/ or separation (see *Table 42*).

Table 43: *te +tau+ o+ taku+ ate* (My heart/heartstrings)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>te tau o taku ate</i>	1. <i>Ka haere katoa ki <u>te tau o taku ate</u> rā.</i> 2. <i><u>Te tau o taku ate</u> ki te makau ngaro noa!</i> 3. <i>Papaki kau iho ki <u>te tau o taku ate</u>.</i>	1. And all of it moves straight to my Heart 2. Within my heart for the departed loved one 3. The pain beats in my heart	NG1990:381 NG1990:383 NG1990:384
<i>te tau o taku ate</i>	1. <i>Kei te whakatata e kōmingo ana te tau o taku ate;</i> 2. <i>He kai mōmotu kino Te tau o taku ate.</i> 3. <i>Motumotu rikiriki te tau o taku ate</i> 4. <i>Whakarongo ki roto rā e haruru nui ana Te tau o taku ate;</i> 5. <i>Pakuku ana te tau o taku ate.</i> 6. <i>Kai momotu kino te tau o taku ate ra</i> 7. <i>Kaore te mamae kai kinikini ana Te tau o taku ate,</i> 8. <i>I ngahae nui ai te tau o taku ate;</i> 9. <i>Mau nawenawe i te tau o taku ate,</i> 10. <i>Kapakapa tū ana te tau o taku ate</i> 11. <i>Mokohiti noa te tau o taku ate.</i>	1. When thus drawn near in spirit my heartstrings ache with longing 2. And wrenched cruelly are The heartstrings within 3. And feel the severed shreds of the heart within 4. Listen, within there is a great tumult Coming from my throbbing heart 5. Scraping at the heartstrings within 6. Agonising is the tearing at my heartstrings 7. Never ending is this pain that pinches At my heartstrings 8. And now torn asunder are my heart strings 9. Intense sorrow is felt at my heartstrings 10. Causing my heart to quiver 11. With my heart a-fluttering	NG1959:44 NG1961:108 NG1961:109 NG1961:111 NG1961:127 NG1961:129 NG1961:191 NG1970:216 NG1990:318 NG1990:385 NG1990:391

This is a strong contender for consideration as an oral formula.

Concept 8a: Moon, search term: *marama* (moon)

The moon is an image often used to symbolize death. There are three occurrences of *marama* where the lines are sufficiently similar to be regarded as a possible formula. In each of these cases, the moon is depicted as rising over the horizon.

The structure of is:

<i>tērā</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>marama</i>	+ <i>ka</i>	+ <i>mahuta</i>
part.	+ det.	+ nn.	TAM	+ V.
<i>there</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>moon</i>		<i>rises</i>
+ <i>i</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>pae</i>		
+ prep.	+ det.	nn.		
<i>on</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>horizon</i>		

Table 44: *tera + te + marama+ ka + mahuta + i + te + pae* (behold the moon rising over the horizon)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>marama</i>	1. <u><i>Tērā te marama ka mahuta i te pae!</i></u>	1. Behold the moon has risen o'er the horizon	NG1959:76
	2. <u><i>Tērā te marama ka mahuta i te pae:</i></u>	2. Behold the moon rises o'er the horizon	NG1959:87
	3. <u><i>Tera te marama Ka roko-mahuta ake i te pae, e.</i></u>	3. Behold the moon Is rising o'er the horizon	NG1961:140

The language of the string in the examples above is generally restricted to poetic contexts. However, it occurs only three times, and on one of these occasions it is in a rather different form in that the adverb *roko* is attached to the verb *mahuta*. On the other hand, *tērā te* occurs frequently with other nouns (e.g. *uira* (lightning)) in the corpus and this does suggest that it may have the status of an oral formula.

Search term: *te+ tara+ o+ te+ marama* (the horn of the moon)

The horn of the moon is one of several images associated with death. There are two instances of the occurrence of *te tara o te marama* (used in similar ways) in the corpus. The structure of this segment is:

<i>te</i>	+ <i>tara</i>	+ <i>o</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>marama</i>
det.	+ nn.	+ prep.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>the</i>	<i>horn</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>moon</i>

Table 45: *te + tara + o + te + marama* (the horn of the moon)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>te tara o te marama</i>	1. <u><i>I makere iho ai te tara o te marama, ē-ī.</i></u>	1. Verily, the point of the riven moon has fallen, alas	NG1959:41
	2. <u><i>Ka whati rā, ē, te tara o te marama.</i></u>	2. Alas, severed now is the point of the crescent moon	NG1959:54
	3. <u><i>Ka taka te tara o te marama.</i></u>	3. The horn of the moon has fallen	NG1990:320

Again, this string is not a typical one in non-poetic contexts. However, it appears only three times in the corpus and the lengths of the lines is different in each case. What we appear to have here is an example of poetic language use whose selection is dictated by theme / motif rather than by any requirements of line or verse structuring.

Concept 9: Lightning, search term: *uira* (lightning)

Lightning is another image that is associated with death. In the corpus, *uira* occurs in the following two contexts: *tērā te uira* and *taku kōara te uira i te rangi*.

Search term: *tērā + te + uira + e + hiko* (behold the lightning flashes)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>tērā</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>uira</i>	+ (<i>e</i>)	+ <i>hiko</i>
part.	+ det.	+ nn.	+ (TAM)	+ V.
<i>there</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>lightning</i>		<i>flashes</i>

This string occurs twice in the corpus (see *Table 46*).

Table 46: *tera + te + uira + e + hiko (behold the lightning)*

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>tērā + uira</i>	1. <i>Tērā te uira e hiko i te rangi,</i>	1. The lightning flashes in the sky	NG1959:3
	2. <i>Tera te uira hiko tapatahi ana</i>	2. The lightning flashed once	NG1961:110

This example only occurs twice in the corpus, and in lines of differing lengths. It appears to be an example of poetic language whose selection relates to theme/ motif rather than an example of an oral formula selected in the basis of line and/ or metrical requirements.

Search Terms: *taku kōara te uira i te rangi (my portent the lightning in the sky)*

The structure of this segment is:

<i>taku</i>	+ <i>koara</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>uirā</i>	+ <i>i</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>rangi</i>
pro.	+ nn.	+ det.	+ nn.	prep.	+det.	+ nn.
<i>my</i>	<i>portent</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>lightning</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>sky</i>

Table 47: *taku + koara + te + uira + i + te + rangi (my portent . . . the lightning in the sky)*

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>taku koara te uira i te rangi</i>	1. <i>Tāku koara te uira i te rangi.</i>	1. The portent I saw was the lightning in the sky	NG1959:54
	2. <i>Taku koara te uira i te rangi.</i>	2. My omen, foreboding evil, was displayed in the heavens	NG1961:133

This string occurs only twice in the corpus and could be a direct borrowing.

Concept 10: *Clouds, search term: ao (clouds/world)*¹³

Clouds are an image used to depict the act of carrying or conveying a message. When used in the sense of ‘cloud/s’ rather than ‘world’ in *mōteatea*, *ao* is frequently used the context of an injunction. The structure of this segment is:

<i>e</i>	+ <i>rere</i>	+ <i>e</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>ao</i>
TAM	+ V.	+ part.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>progressive</i>	<i>soar</i>	<i>vocative</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>clouds/world</i>

This string occurs four times in the corpus (see *Table 48*).

Table 48: *E + rere + e + te + ao* (soar on oh clouds)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
ao	1. <u><i>E rere e te ao</i></u> <i>E kume i runga rā;</i>	1. Soar onward, O cloud And be stretched forth above	NG1959:90
	2. <u><i>E rere e te ao ra runga o</i></u> <i>Tārainga,</i>	2. Float on, O cloud, over the summit of Tārainga	NG1961:105
	3. <u><i>E rere e te ao, tākawe i runga</i></u> <i>rā,</i>	3. Fly on, oh cloud, float on high	NG1990:352
	4. <u><i>E rere e te ao, e kume i runga</i></u> <i>rā!</i>	4. Fly on, oh cloud, to the skies above	NG1990:360

This string is not typically used in non-poetic contexts. Furthermore, similar injunctions (e.g. *E tō e te ra!* (*Sink down, oh sun!*)) occur frequently in *mōteatea*. However, this would appear to be because injunction is a commonly occurring speech act and *e rere* is a commonly occurring vocative form in poetic contexts.

Concept 11: Rain, search term: ua (rain)

Rain is often associated with grieving, sadness and despair in *mōteatea*. It frequently occurs in the context of an injunction starting with the TAM *e . . .* and then followed by *e te . . .* (see discussion of clouds above).

The structure of this segment discussed here is:

<i>e</i>	+ <i>ua</i>	+ <i>e</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>ua</i>
TAM	+V.	+ part.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>future</i>	<i>rain</i>	+ <i>vocative</i>	+ <i>the</i>	+ <i>rain</i>

This string occurs three times in the corpus.

Table 49: *E + ua + e + te + ua!* (Pour down, oh rain!)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
ua	1. <u><i>E ua e te ua tātā rahi</i></u> <i>ana,</i>	1. Pour down, O rain, in gustly squalls	NG1959:54
	2. <u><i>E ua e te ua e tāheke</i></u> <i>Koe i runga rā;</i>	2. Come then, O rain, pour down Steadily from above	NG1959:71
	3. <u><i>E ua, e te ua,</i></u> <i>Ringitia kia nui,</i>	3. Pour down now, O rain Pour down in full measure	NG1961:168

Again, this string is not typically used in prose. The comments made in relation to the injunction involving clouds above also applies here.

Concept 12: Sun, search term: rā (sun)

In *mōteatea*, the sun (rising or full) is often associated not only with light but also with prosperity and life, whereas the setting sun is often associated with death and loss as well as darkness. In this case, the sun is depicted as setting, symbolizing death. The structure of this segment is:

<i>e</i>	+ <i>tō</i>	+ <i>e</i>	+ <i>te</i>	+ <i>ra</i>
TAM	+ V.	+ part.	+ det.	+ nn.
<i>future</i>	<i>set</i>	+ <i>vocative</i>	+ <i>the</i>	+ <i>sun</i>

This string occurs three times in the corpus.

Table 50: e + to + e + te + ra (set oh sun)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
ra	1. <u>E tō e te rā</u> , tō atu ki te rua;	1. The sun is setting, sinking to the pit	NG1959:7
	2. <u>E tō e te rā</u> , e, Wawe te rehu atu;	2. Sink down, O sun, e Hurry onward to rest	NG1959:64
	3. <u>E tō e te rā</u> , rehurehu ki te rua;	3. Sink down, O sun, and disappear into the abyss	NG1959:72

The comments that apply to the two previous examples also apply here.

Concept 13: Afternoon/evening, search term: ahiahi (afternoon, evening)

The afternoon and evening, like the setting sun, are often associated with despair and loss. There are eight similar lines involving *ahiahi* plus *e muri* in the corpus (see Table 51).

Table 51: e + muri + ahiahi (in the evening)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
ahiahi	1. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> ka totoko te aroha,	1. When evening shadows fall sorrow wells upwards	NG1959:27
	2. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> takoto ki te moenga, ē,	2. With the fall of eventide I lay me down to sleep,	NG1959:45
	3. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> , kia hoki mai au i te Piki-a-Tāne.	3. Past eventide, and I retrace my way from Te Piki-a-Tāne	NG1961:113
	4. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> takoto ki te moenga,	4. With the fall of eventide upon my couch I lie	NG1961:118
	5. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> takoto ki te moenga,	5. With the fall of eventide I lay me down to sleep	NG1961:165
	6. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> takoto ki te moenga;	6. Evening shadows fall, and I lay me down to sleep	NG1970:241
	7. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> totoko tonu ake te aroha.	7. With the fall of eventide sorrow wells forth	NG1970:250
	8. <u>E muri ahiahi</u> , takoto ki te moenga,	8. With the fall of eventide upon the couch I lie	NG1970:297

This combination, referred to as a potential cluster, was discussed above where it was observed that the sequence ‘e muri ahiahi (ka) takoto ki te moenga’ is a common way to begin *mōteatea*. This is a potential candidate for oral formulaic status.

Concept 14: Tears, search terms: roimata/ wai + kamo (tears/water + eyes)

There are many symbolic references to tears in *mōteatea*. There are in the corpus 16 occurrences of references to tears that are sufficiently similar to be regarded as being formulaic. They are grouped into *roimata* + *kamo* (tears + eyes) and *wai* + *kamo* (water + eyes). The structure of these segments is:

1. *roimata* + *i/kei* + *aku* + *kamo*
nn. + locative part. + pers. nn. (poss) + nn.
tears in/from mine eyes
2. *wai* + *i/kei/kai* + *aku* + *kamo*
nn. +locative part. + pers. nn. (poss) + nn.
water in/from mine eyes

Are traditional *mōteatea* (Māori laments) composed from oral formulae?

The first string occurs three times in the corpus. The second string occurs eight times in the corpus.

Table 52: roimata / wai + aku + kamo (tears from/in my eyes)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
roimata + kamo	1. <i>He hanga hua noa te roimata i āku kamo.</i>	1. Brimful are mine eyes with unbidden tears	NG1959:28
	2. <i>E maringi noa nei te roimata i aku kamo.</i>	2. Which has caused unbidden tears to pour forth from mine eyes	NG1961:173
	3. <i>Te roimata ka hua maringi nei kei aku kamo.</i>	3. Copious tears come unbidden To pour fourth from mine eyes	NG1961:184
wai + kamo	1. <i>E rumaki tonu ana he wai kei aku kamo.</i>	1. Like a deluge were the tears welling from mine eyes	NG1959:80
	2. <i>E rumaki tonu ana he wai kai aku kamo, i.</i>	2. In a deluge came the tears to mine eyes	NG1961:94
	3. <i>He puna wai, kai aku kamo, i.</i>	3. From a spring-well overflowing, from mine eyes are falling	NG1961:103
	4. <i>He puna wai e utuhia, he wai kei aku kamo.</i>	4. Like a springwell are the tears from mine eyes	NG1961:134
	5. <i>He wai kei aku kamo.</i>	5. And there to weep in solitude	NG1961:143
	6. <i>E whakapaheke nei Te wai i aku kamo,</i>	6. Slipping downwards now Are the tears from my eyes	NG1961:157
	7. <i>Tahuri mai ki muri ra, kia ringia atu He wai kai aku kamo.</i>	7. Give one backward look, so that I might pour forth These tears, from mine eyes	NG1970:229
	8. <i>He puna te utuhia, he wai kei aku kamo.</i>	8. It releases a flood of tears from my eyes	NG1990:390

The lengths of the lines vary considerably in all of the examples. However, although the word ‘roimata’ often refers to tears in non-poetic contexts, ‘wai’ would normally be used only in poetic contexts. Furthermore, the combination of ‘wai’ and ‘kei aku kamo’ is restricted to poetic contexts. This is therefore another candidate for oral formulaic status.

Wind, search term: hau (wind)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>e</i>	+ <i>pā</i>	+ <i>tō</i>	+ <i>hau</i>
TAM	+ V.	+ pers. nn. (poss)	+ nn.
<i>future</i>	<i>touch</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>wind</i>

This string occurs three times in the corpus (see Table 53)

Table 53: e + pā + tō + hau (touches/ gently blows the wind)

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
hau	1. <i>E pā tō hau ki te haramai ata,</i>	1. The breeze blows in the morning	NG1959:10
	2. <i>E pā tō hau he wini raro,</i>	2. Gently blows the wind from the north	NG1959:71
	3. <i>Pā tō hau ki te Tawaihora;</i>	3. Gently blows the wind towards Tawaihora	NG1990:321

This is an interesting segment. If we take the string *e + pā + tō + hau* and provide a literal translation based on its linguistic structure (TAM + touch + your + wind), the result would be ‘your wind touched’. This is translated in the examples above as ‘the breeze blows’, or ‘gently blows the wind’. This is a poetic use of language and, in spite of the fact that there are only three occurrences in lines of differing lengths, is a candidate for consideration as potentially formulaic.

Dawn, search term: *ata* (dawn/morning)

The structure of this segment is:

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. | <i>tākiri</i> | + <i>mai</i> | + <i>te</i> | + <i>ata</i> | |
| | V. | + part. | det. | + nn. | |
| | <i>dawn</i> | <i>hither</i> | <i>the</i> | <i>morning</i> | |
| | | | | | |
| 2. | <i>tākiri</i> | + <i>ko</i> | + <i>te</i> | + <i>ata</i> | |
| | V. | + part. | + det. | + nn. | |
| | <i>dawn</i> | | <i>the</i> | <i>morning</i> | |
| | | | | | |
| 3. | <i>tākiri(ta)nga</i> | + <i>mai</i> | + <i>o</i> | + <i>te</i> | + <i>ata</i> |
| | nn. | + part. | + part. | + det. | +nn. |
| | <i>dawn</i> | <i>hither</i> | <i>of</i> | <i>the</i> | <i>morning</i> |

Table 54: *Takiri(tanga) + te + ata*

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
<i>ata</i>	1. <u><i>Tākiri mai te ata i tua, ko te ata i au ē ī;</i></u>	1. Strikes forth the dawn Gonder, comes the morn to me	NG1959 :51
	2. <u><i>Te takiringa mai o te ata i ngā pae,</i></u>	2. When the dawn strikes the hill tops	NG1959 :59
	3. <u><i>Tākiri ko te ata kia korihi te manu;</i></u>	3. Hasten the morn so that the birds may sing	NG1959 :72
	4. <u><i>I te takiritanga o te ata, ā, nā, ī.</i></u>	4. Ere coming of the dawn o’er yonder	NG1959 :73
	5. <u><i>Takiri ko te ata i haere ai koe.</i></u>	5. It was at break of day you departed	NG1961 :110
	6. <u><i>Takiri ko te ata</i></u> <i>Ka ngau Tawera,</i>	6. Breaks the dawn And Tawera is biting (the moon)	NG1961 :188
	7. <u><i>Takiri ko te ata</i></u> <i>Ka rere ko te ra, e.</i>	7. Strikes the dawn And the sun rises, e.	NG1961 :194
	8. <u><i>Tākiri ko te ata, kia korihi te manu!</i></u>	8. The dawn strikes to herald the song of birds!	NG1970 :243
	9. <u><i>Tākiri mai koia ko te ata.</i></u>	9. Hasten now the light of early morn	NG1970 :247
	10. <u><i>Takiri ko te ata, kua whitirere au,</i></u>	10. The dawn struck and I awoke startled	NG1970 :287
	11. <u><i>E korihi i te takiritānga o te ata;</i></u>	11. Singing their song at the break of day	NG1970:300
	12. <u><i>Takiri mai rā ngā hau o te ata!</i></u>	12. The winds of the morning are blowing	NG1990 :345
	13. <u><i>Takiri ko te ata!</i></u> <i>Kia whakamau au</i> <i>Ngā uru whetū riki,</i>	13. Dawn breaks! And I fix my gaze Upon the little stars on the horizon	NG1990 :375

Although there are 13 examples above, the fact that there are three basic strings, together with the fact that these strings may be interrupted and the fact that the lines are of varying length, would appear to indicate that we do not have here a contender for oral formulaic status. However, what we clearly do have is an example of poetic use of language.

Rising smoke, search term: auahi (smoke)

The structure of this segment is:

<i>auahi</i>	+ <i>ka</i>	+ <i>patua</i>
nn.	+ TAM	+ V.pass
<i>smoke</i>	<i>progreesive</i>	<i>beat/strike</i>

This string occurs only twice in the corpus.

Table 55: *auahi + ka + patua (billowing smoke)*

Search Term(s)	Line	Translation	Reference
auahi	1. <i>Auahi ka patua ki Whataroa rā ia,</i> 2. <i>Auahi ka patua te utu ki Wairau, e;</i>	1. Of the smoke against Whataroa over yonder 2. The smoke billowing on the coast of Wairau	NG1961:98 NG1961:129

Since this string occurs only twice in the corpus, and since it occurs on each occasion in lines of different lengths, this does not appear to be a contender for consideration as an oral formula. It would, however, be an unusual lexical combination in prose.

Final remarks

It was noted with reference to the examples provided by Orbell (1975) that some of the strings occurred with reasonable frequency. However, it was also noted that in order to argue that these strings constitute ‘oral formulae’ in the sense intended in oral formulaic theory, we would need to be able to provide evidence that supports some credible definition of the term ‘oral formula’ in the context of Māori verbal arts. Does the analysis of the examples discussed above provide us with such evidence?

Identified above are five possible instances of oral formulae.

- *(ki) te ao o te tonga; tērā te ao tonga* (6 occurrences)
- *te tau o taku ate* (11 occurrences);
- *tera te marama ka mahuta i te pae* (3 occurrences, including one with a variation);
- *e muri ahiahi* (8 occurrences);
- *roimata/ wai i/kei aku kamo* (11 occurrences).

We can add to this, instances the following examples from Orbell (1975) that were identified as potentially being examples of oral formulae:

- *(ka) taka ko/ki roto nei* (6 occurrences);
- *e mau ana te tinana* (3 occurrences).

Given the extensive nature of the search, finding seven strings that may be oral formulaic (in the sense that they might be said to be drawn from a stock of formulae that effectively constitute lines, half-lines or other recognizable segments) certainly does not provide any strong support for the contention that traditional *mōteatea* were made up, wholly or in large part, of formulaic chunks. Indeed, it may simply indicate something that is already widely accepted, that is, that composers frequently learned compositions by others and borrowed from them or adapted them in relation to their own context.

Endnotes

1. Note that a verse in this context is equivalent to a half line.
2. This is a French epic poem, the oldest version of which appears on a manuscript which dates from the mid 12th century.
3. A proposition is essentially a predicator (action, process or state) linked to one or more arguments (e.g., actors, experiences, etc.). In English, encoded propositions may be expressed as clauses (with tense, etc. added), as nominalizations or in a range of other ways. Thus, for example, 'he intervened' and 'his intervention' encode the same proposition in different ways, and 'the happy girl smiled' encodes two propositions (one relating 'happiness' to 'girl') within a single clause.
4. This also, as Orbell indicates, happens in prose texts.
5. For a discussion of types of *mōteatea*, see Roa (forthcoming, *Chapter 3*).
6. I have repeated here Orbell's use of double vowels.
7. This is perhaps unsurprising in view of the fact that McLean (1970, p. 250) has argued that traditional *mōteatea* lack the regular beat that is characteristic of European music, that "the time or metre in Māori music keeps changing" (p. 5), and that instead of longer time periods being divided into smaller rhythmic units, longer time periods are constructed by adding additional units to the end of previous ones.
8. When discussing extracts that I have taken directly from the *Ngā mōteatea* collection, I use macrons to signal long vowels.
9. This is a poetic way of referring to the volcanic activity on Whakaari or White Island.
10. *Te ahi a te tipua*, or the demons fire in this example refers to the volcanic activity that occurs on Whakaari Island, or White Island. There are other instances in other songs throughout the *Ngā mōteatea* collection, where *te ahi a te tipua* (the demons fire) refers to the musket. Orbell (1977, p. 85) states that 'te ahi a te tipua' is a reference (less common reference) to specific places or landmarks, and that it is an expression that is not on the whole formulaic.
11. In the Maori Newspapers, *Mōkai* is used to refer to a person who has been given the job of traveling to different meetings at various Marae to speak on behalf of his people. (Ref: *Pipiwharauroa 1903-1913: Nama 168: 1*)
12. NG1959:54 = *Ngā Mōteatea*, 1959, song 54
13. The word 'ao' can also be used in the sense of 'world'.

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