

A Literary and Linguistic Critique of a Maori Lullaby
Tipene August



This article is based on work in progress by Tipene August, work that would have culminated in his doctoral thesis. In putting the article together, I have tried to remain faithful to both the spirit and the substance of the original. Tipene was a close friend and an exceptionally talented scholar with a passion for the artistic heritage of Maoridom. It is a privilege to have known him and to have worked with him. I hope that this introduction to one aspect of Tipene's work will provide readers with some insight into one man's dedicated search for understanding of his artistic and cultural heritage. The lullaby that is analysed here is one that Tipene was particularly fond of and seems to encapsulate much that applies to his own struggle to achieve perfection. I would like to thank those of Tipene's friends and family who have assisted in various ways in the preparation of this article.

Winifred Crombie

Abstract

Maori song poems surviving from pre-colonial times can provide a valuable source of information about the artistic and cultural heritage of Maoridom. However, they present a number of challenges for the contemporary analyst. On the basis of a stylistic analysis of a Maori lullaby, a number of hypotheses about Maori song poems in general, and the lullaby in particular, are put forward and it is suggested that these hypotheses could be tested in relation to a corpus of song poems. It is hoped that the approach to stylistic analysis adopted here will be of use to scholars of Maori song poems and, perhaps, also to others who are interested in indigenous art forms more generally.

1.0 Introduction

The lullaby is one of a number of different types of Maori ‘song poetry’ surviving from pre-colonial times. Lullabies were composed for children of the aristocracy by their parents or grandparents and included a recount of the child’s lineage. They were written in the sacred, formulaic language used in schools of learning and provide historical information, including information about genealogy, tribal history and migration from the Maori homeland of Hawaiiki. Above all, they are a valuable source of information about the artistic and cultural heritage of Maoridom. However, they present a number of structural, stylistic and interpretative challenges for the contemporary analyst. In effect, they are equivalent to riddles whose solution is of fundamental importance if Maori are to appreciate fully, and build on, their artistic and cultural heritage.

The lullaby analysed here, a lullaby which also includes aspects of lament, was composed by Nohomaiterangi for his twin sons, Te Hauapu and PaniTaongakore and was written during a period of bitter inter-tribal warfare in the Heretaunga district (Hawkes' Bay). The text of this lullaby, along with an English translation, was first published in 1929 and was later included in *Nga moteatea, he maramara rere no nga waka maha*, a collection put together by Sir Apirana Ngata (1959, pp. 104 – 107).

In providing a stylistic analysis of this lullaby here, I aim not only to throw some light on its artistic composition, but also **(a)** to suggest a number of possible analytical approaches that could prove useful in relation to other works of a similar type, and **(b)** to formulate a number of hypotheses about the lullaby as a Maori art form, hypotheses that could be tested in relation to a corpus of lullabies. Some of these hypotheses will also be relevant to other types of song poetry and can, similarly, be tested in relation to a more extensive corpus

2.0 The lullaby

At the end of this section, the lullaby, along with the English translation, is printed (see *Table 1*). Explanatory information about this lullaby was supplied to Ngata by Ihaia Hutana (Ngata 1959, p. 107). Although it is written out in lines (numbered 1 – 14), it must be remembered that lullabies were intended to be sung or chanted. Thus, representation as lines of verse is necessarily artificial. Nevertheless, these line divisions *may* capture something of the essence of the compositional techniques involved and will prove useful in the analysis that follows. It should also be noted that there are aspects of the translation by Pei Te Hurinui Jones (e.g. the use of the word ‘heavens’) that suggest some imposition of aspects of the colonial culture. However, as Palmer observes in the *Foreword*: "the difficulty of translating from one language to another is a truism that needs no stress" but "one point should be remembered by all who read this volume. No matter how brilliant the translation, how apt the phrase or vivid the image, the English version is no substitute for the original Maori. We are reading the poetry of a people in the language of that people and the English version should aid to further and more intensive study of the Maori text" (Ngata, 1959, pp. v & vi).

As readers will note, there is no indication of vowel length in the representation below. The length of vowels may prove to have been fundamental to the artistic composition. However, no attempt is made here to infer vowel length. Although historical evidence indicates that this lullaby was actually written for twin boys, readers will note that the exhortation (*E tama*) is in singular form, something that may have significance in terms of the metaphor of unity that pervades the poem.

The provenance of this piece is known (Ngaati Kahungunu). There is, however, little in the poem itself that is dialectically specific except for the use of ‘mohou’ rather than ‘mou’ (intended possession) and ‘tipuna’ rather than ‘tupuna’, usages that are associated with the East Coast dialect. Instances of sacerdotal language are common to a number of different iwi.

At the centre of the poem is the addressee, the child to whom the poem is addressed. There is one direct reference to the composer as agent (*‘naku i . . . ’*). Otherwise, the narrative participants (animals, birds of land and sea, ancestors) are brought alive through metaphor.

Table 1: Lullaby with English translation

Maori version	English translation
1 E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,	O son who arose in the winter's morn,
2 Piki nau ake, e tama,	Ascend and proceed onward, O son,
3 Ki tou tini i te rangi.	To your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens.
4 E puta ranei koe, e tama,	Will you, O son, survive
5 I te wa kaikino nei?	These times of bitter strife?
6 Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;	My son bestir yourself betimes
7 Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;	So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters of your ancestors;
8 Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaingā,	And they will unfasten and present you with the prized dogskin cloak.
9 Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.	A mantle ‘twill be for you in the warriors’ ranks.
10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara	The plume of the land I have already point-fastened
11 Ki te ake rautangi;	To this trusty weapon;
12 Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai	The plume of the sea I did pluck
13 I te huka o te tai;	From the surging waves;
14 Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	It was about to disappear in the stormy seas.

3.0 Discourse structure

3.1 Discussion of discourse structure

The lullaby is in the form of a monologue. The first part (lines 1 – 6) is, in terms of discourse structure, *hortatory*, that is, it is characterized by exhortation and by the vocative. The second part (line 7 following) is *expository* (that is, it is explanatory in nature) (Longacre, 1968; Beaugrande, 1980; Van Dijk, 1993).

Line 6 is central. It acts as a link between the hortatory and expository sections. It repeats, in different form, the invocation and exhortation in lines 1 and 2 and prepares the way for the exposition in lines 7 – 14.

The lullaby begins (line 1) with an *invocation* with an embedded *informative*¹:

E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri
(*O son who arose on the winter's morn*)

This is followed (lines 2 – 3) by *exhortation* in the form of a *directive*¹:

Piki nau ake, e tama,/ Ki tou tini i te rangi
(*Ascend and proceed onward, O Son/ To your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens*)

Thus, the first line is made up of the vocative form of address (*E tama: O son*) plus a qualification (*i whanake i te ata o pipiri: who arose in the winter's morn*). The second line contains the main predicators (verbal elements): *Piki nau ake,/ Ascend and proceed onward, O Son*. The third line is locative, relating to direction: *Ki tou tini i te rangi/ to your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens*.

In lines 4 – 5, the lullaby moves from the *universal* to the *personal*. This second invocation is in the form of an *elicitation*¹ rather than a directive. However, although the question is technically addressed to the subject (*E tama*), it is, in reality, a personal reflection that makes reference to the current situation, to these times of bitter strife:

E puta ranei koe, e tama,/ I te wa kaikino nei?
(*Will you, O son, survive/These times of bitter strife?*)

The direct address found in line 1 (*E tama: O son*) is repeated in line 4 where it is marked by a change in position (from initial position in the sentence to medial sentence position). Line 4 contains the invocation and the predicator (verbal element); line 5 contains the object of the sentence in the form of a reference to the present (*I te wa kaikino nei?: These times of bitter strife?*).

Thus, the first three lines involve an exhortation to life and to action and an acknowledgment that all life, all action, culminates in joining the ranks of the ancestors. The second two lines are in the form of a direct question, a question that relates to the current situation, a question that places the child in the here and now of experience.

Following the personal, reflective focus of lines 4 and 5, the form of address changes in line 6 from the impersonal (*E tama: O son*) to the possessive (*Taku tamaiti: My son*). This is no longer *a* son, but *my* son, the bearer of the family line. Once again, we have an exhortation to action in the form of a *directive* (*Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori: My son bestir yourself betimes*).

In line 7, in spite of the grammatical continuation, the overall discourse orientation changes with a movement into **exposition**. This begins with a purpose clause (line 7) that makes reference to the journey of life (c.f. line 3), the journey towards the ancestors (*Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna: So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters of your ancestors*). Thus, the initial clause of the expository section of the poem is linked thematically (reference to the ancestors) and grammatically (sentence continuation) to the hortatory section. It enters into a **means-purpose²** relationship with the previous line:

<p><i>Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori</i> (<i>My son bestir yourself betimes</i>)</p>	<p>Means</p>
<p><i>Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna</i> (<i>So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters of your ancestors</i>)</p>	<p>Purpose</p>

In lines 8 – 14, we have a sequence of chronologically linked events (chronological sequence)² that relate the past to the future. The plume of the land and the plume of the sea have *already* been prepared. The power of land and sea is to be imparted symbolically in the prized ear pendant (*'toroa uta'*) and the talisman (*'toroa tai'*) affixed to the trusty weapon. These will protect and help to ensure success in battle. What is to come in the future is the prized dogskin cloak that will be given in recognition of warrior status. Thus, preparations have been made for life's journey. The fulfilment of that journey will be recognition by the ancestors as their ranks are joined. The physical landscape will then be transformed into a metaphysical one, just as the waters of the sea (line 12) become the metaphysical waters of the sacred mountain (the sea of stars) (line 7).

Line 8, an **informative¹**, is linked sequentially (the relation of **chronological sequence²**) to line 7. Thus, *after* reaching the sacred mountain, the prized dogskin cloak will be presented. This is followed in line 9 by **amplification²**. This is not just a dogskin cloak, it is the symbol of initiation into the rank of warrior: *Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua*.

Lines 10 & 11 and 12 & 13 are in a relationship of **matching compatibility³**:

Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara/ Ki te ake rautangi;
Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai/I te huka o te tai
(The plume of the land I have already point-fastened/ To this trusty weapon;
The plume of the sea I did pluck/ From the surging waves)

This semantic parallelism is matched by grammatical parallelism (repetition with replacement):

Ko te toroa uta naku . . . / Ko te toroa tai naku . . .

Thus, the semantic and syntactic unity is matched by a rhythmic unity at the point where the composer refers directly to himself (lines 10 and 12).

In lines 12 – 14, the dangers of the sea are presented through the difficulty of obtaining the sea bird feather. In fact, the plume of the sea was in danger of disappearing:

Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.
(It was about to disappear in the stormy seas.)

This final section appears to carry additional metaphoric resonance. Water is the vehicle and symbol of purification, but purity must be internal as well as external. The sea is thus to be respected and feared in the journey towards the sacred mountain waters. The sea has already represented a threat to the achievement of warrior status: it may, in fact, have already represented a threat to the boys' survival.

Thus, the poem represents a physical and metaphysical journey from birth (line 1) through strife to honour, and finally to unity with the ancestors. The journey is, however, an uncertain one. At the heart of the poem is an implicit condition: if the appropriate talismans are earned, if the ancient rites of passage are endured, then the son will prevail and be honoured in the ranks of the great warriors. There must be physical, mental and spiritual development. That unity with nature that comes from understanding the land, the sea and the creatures that inhabit land and sea (represented by the feathers of land and sea birds and the dogskin cloak) must be achieved. Only thus can the talismans be earned, destiny fulfilled and unity with the ancestors achieved.

3.2 An outline of discourse structure segments

Table 2 (following) outlines the primary discourse constituents of the lullaby. *Table 3* provides an outline of speech acts. The semantic relationships between the speech acts are outlined in *Table 4*.





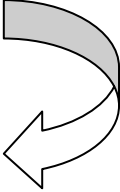

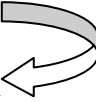
Table 2: Overall discourse structure

The lullaby	Overall discourse structure
1 E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri, 2 Piki nau ake, e tama, 3 Ki tou tini i te rangi. 4 E puta ranei koe, e tama, 5 I te wa kaikino nei? 6 Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; 7 Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna; 8 Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhainga, 9 Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua. 10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara 11 Ki te ake rautangi; 12 Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai 13 I te huka o te tai; 14 Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	<p>Hortatory</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Expository</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Universal</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Personal</p>

Table 3: Speech acts

The lullaby: speech acts ²	
E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri, Piki nau ake, e tama, Ki tou tini i te rangi.	Invocation (with embedded <i>informative</i>) Exhortation (in the form of a <i>directive</i>)
E puta ranei koe, e tama, I te wa kaikino nei?	Invocation (in the form of an <i>elicitation</i>)
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna; Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhainga, Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.	Invocation and Exhortation (in the form of a <i>directive</i>)
Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara Ki te ake rautangi;	Informative
Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai I te huka o te tai;	Informative
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	Informative

Table 4: Semantic relations

The lullaby: semantic relations^{2,3}	
E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri, Piki nau ake, e tama, Ki tou tini i te rangi.	
E puta ranei koe, e tama, I te wa kaikino nei?	Elicitation Reason (for Elicitation) 
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;	Means  Purpose 
Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaingā, Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.	Bonding ²  Chronological Sequence 
Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara Ki te ake rautangi; Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai I te huka o te tai;	Comparison 
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	Amplification 

The following hypothesis is put forward on the basis of the analyses in *Tables 1 – 3*.

Hypothesis 1

Maori lullabies composed in the pre-colonial period are marked by:

- a combination of hortatory and expository discourse, involving a movement between the universal and the personal;
- a combination of invocation and exhortation (with the optional additional combination of exhortation and elicitation) in the first segment and informative (involving logical sequence and comparison/contrast) in the second segment.

3.0 Lexical and grammatical parallelism and the role of cohesive devices

Cohesive devices are lexical and grammatical devices that are indicative of the overall unity of a discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). Where these devices form links or chains, they create a cohesive harmony in the text (Halliday and Hasan, 1985, pp. 70 – 96). Thus, for example, cohesive chains are established in relation to water, battle and manhood.

In this lullaby, one of the major cohesive devices in lines 1 - 6 is the repetition of ‘*e tama*’ and its variation in ‘*taku tamaiti*’

E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,
Piki nau ake, e tama,
Ki tou tini i te rangi.
E puta ranei koe, e tama,
I te wa kaikino nei?
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori . . .

In lines 8 and 9, there is a referential link (‘*ko te topuni tauwhaingā*’/ ‘*Hei kahu mohou*’) the second reference being signalled as a specific future possession.

In lines 10 & 12, there is a combination of grammatical and lexical parallelism which involves both repetition (‘*Ko te toroa . . . naku*’) and replacement (‘*uta*’/ ‘*tau*’):

Ko te toroa uta naku . . . / Ko te toroa tai naku . . .

Cohesion is also achieved through symbolic reference. Thus, there is a symbolic relationship between line 1 (*E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri*) and line 5 (*I te wa kaikino nei?*). The star ‘*pipiri*’, visible in the early morning, rises in the eleventh month of the Maori almanac and ushers in winter (Tomoana, 1920) and winter was traditionally the time of both learning and war. The boys, born in winter, were born to achieve learning through warfare. Thus, the symbolic relationship between ‘*ata o pipiri*’ and ‘*i te wa kaikino*’ provides a link between birth and strife, strife and learning. There are additional symbolic resonances here. ‘*Pipiri*’, according to Williams (1975, p. 283), has the meanings of ‘joining in battle’ and ‘clinging together’. One meaning of ‘*piri*’ is to wrap one’s arms and torso around one’s drawn up knees (as if to fend off cold): ‘*pipiri*’ is, thus, additionally symbolic of defensive action. Thus, the time of the boys’ birth is symbolic of their mission.

The grammatical elements that mark and connect discourse segments all perform a cohesive function, a cohesive function that is reinforced by phonological parallelism. Thus, for example, the repetition of ‘*i te*’, ‘*ki te*’ and ‘*ko te*’ reinforces the persistent rhythmic beat of the poem (see 6.0 following).

The analysis in this section leads to a second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2

Maori lullabies composed in the pre-colonial period are marked by:

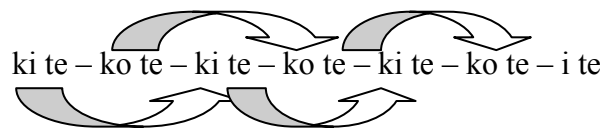
- **the achievement of poetic effects (including lexical, grammatical and phonological parallelism) through the selection and positioning of cohesive devices (lexical and grammatical);**
- **the use of symbolic reference as a cohesive device.**

4.0 Rhythmic structure

4.1 Rhyme scheme

Many compositions such as this one were recorded in verse lines when they were first written down. It is difficult to determine whether this was simply due to the influence of European poetry or whether it represents a response to something inherent in the works themselves. A careful analysis of the phonological structure of this lullaby does, however, suggest that the linear divisions are indicative of aspects of the artistic structure. This is something that would need to be tested further with reference to a corpus of lullabies.

The lexical and grammatical parallelism to which reference was made in the previous section helps create a rhythmic unity, a rhythmic unity that is reinforced by the placement of grammatical markers. Note, for example, how the rhythmic potential inherent in the language is exploited in lines 7 – 13 with the following movement:



- 7 Kia tae atu koe **ki te** wai ahupuke i o tipuna;
- 8 Kia wetea mai **ko te** topuni tauwhaingā,
- 9 Hei kahu mohou **ki te** whakarewanga taua.
- 10 **Ko te** toroa uta naku i tautara
- 11 **Ki te** ake rautangi;
- 12 **Ko te** toroa tai naku i kapu mai
- 13 **I te** huka o te tai . . .

This rhythmic unity is picked up in both the phrasing and the vowel occurrence. In its original written form, this song poem was given fourteen lines, each of which has between one and three phrases. In order to determine whether there is anything in the metrical structure that supports this line division, the final vowel in each line was examined. What was found was that each metrical line ends with either [i] or [a] as indicated in *Table 5* following:

Table 5: Line-end vowels

	Line-end vowel
1 E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,	i
2 Piki nau ake, e tama,	a
3 Ki tou tini i te rangi.	i
4 E puta ranei koe, e tama,	a
5 I te wa kaikino nei?	i
6 Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;	i
7 Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;	a
8 Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaingā,	a
9 Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.	a
10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara	a
11 Ki te ake rautangi;	i
12 Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai	i
13 I te huka o te tai;	i
14 Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	i

There appears also to be a complex rhyme scheme, a rhyme scheme that is very different from those rhyme schemes that are associated with traditional Western verse. It involves line-initial, line-end and line-internal rhyme. Thus, ‘*E tama*’, which begins line 1 is picked up at the end of lines 2 and 4, creating a rhyming pattern. Lines 7 and 8 also rhyme: each ends with a three syllable word ending in [a]⁴ (ti-puna; tau-whai-nga). In line 7, the final vowel is preceded by an alveolar nasal represented by the letter ‘n’; in line 8, the final vowel is preceded by a velar nasal (represented by the letters ‘ng’): *tipuna* / *tauwhaingā*.

There is an interesting rhyme pattern in lines 8 – 10 and 12 – 14. Line 8 ends with ‘*tau . . . nga*’ (with ‘*whai*’ inserted), forming a partial rhyme with ‘*taua*’ at the end of line 9. In turn, line 10 ends with ‘*tau . . . a*’ (with with ‘*tar*’ inserted):

. . . *tauwhaingā* (l.8)

. . . *taua* (l.9)

. . . *tautara* (l.10)

Line 11 ends with ‘*rautangi*’, the first part of that word (‘*rau*’) rhyming with the first part of the final word of the preceding line (‘*tautara*’). Lines 12 and 13 have line-end rhyme: ‘*mai*’/ ‘*tai*’ and the rhyme on ‘*tai*’.

Integrating the phonological parallelism of the repetition of ‘*i te*’, ‘*ki te*’ and ‘*ko te*’ with that of the repetition of ‘*e tama*’ and the final ‘*i*’ or ‘*a*’ of each line begins to reveal the rhythmic unity of the piece as a whole:

*E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,
Piki nau ake, e tama,
Ki tou tini i te rangi.
E puta ranei koe, e tama,
I te wa kaikino nei?
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;
Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;
Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaingā,
Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.
Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara
Ki te ake rautangi;
Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai
I te huka o te tai;
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.*

Thus, there appears to be a complex rhyme scheme which justifies the decision taken by Sir Apirana Ngata to represent this lullaby in lines. In **Table 6** following, the proposed rhyme scheme as it affects the final word in each line is outlined:

Table 6: Provisional rhyme scheme proposal

	Line-end vowel
<i>E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,</i>	i
<i>Piki nau ake, e tama,</i> ←	a
<i>Ki tou tini i te rangi.</i>	i
<i>E puta ranei koe, e tama,</i> ←	a
<i>I te wa kaikino nei</i>	i
<i>Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;</i>	i
<i>Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;</i> ←	a
<i>Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaingā,</i> ←	a
<i>Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.</i>	a
<i>Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara</i>	a
<i>Ki te ake rautangi;</i>	i
<i>Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai</i> ←	i
<i>I te huka o te tai;</i> ←	i
<i>Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.</i>	i

In fact, the rhythmic complexity of this song poem becomes even more compelling when internal rhyme is taken into account, that internal rhyme relying heavily, as has been indicated, on lexical repetition and the placement of grammatical markers in relation to the musical beat.

4.2 Other aspects of metrical structure

In terms of the relationship between the overall discourse structure and metrical structure, phrase count and mora count are interesting. Thus, the initial combination of *invocation and exhortation* (lines 1 – 3) is made up of 33 morae, a mora being made up of either a vowel on its own, or a vowel preceded by a consonant⁸. The second combination of *invocation and exhortation* (lines 6 & 7) is made up of 35 morae. However, given that elision of the two vowels in ‘kia’ and the final vowel in ‘wai’ in line 7 is likely in performance, it may be that there is a closer match than initially appears to be the case.

Table 7: Sound parallelism

Line numbers	Lullaby	Discourse structure	Mora count
1 – 3	E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri, Piki nau ake, e tama, Ki tou tini i te rangi.	Invocation and Exhortation	33
6 & 7	Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;	Invocation and Exhortation	35

Just as the two combinations of invocation and exhortation appear to be rhythmically matched, so also do the two matched **informatives** (lines 10 & 11 and lines 12 & 13) that precede the final comment in line 14. In each case, there are three phrases and 22 morae. This is illustrated in *Table 8* following.

Table 8: Phrase and mora matching

Line numbers	Lullaby	Discourse structure	Phrase count	Mora count
10 & 11	Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara Ki te ake rautangi;	Informative	3	22
12 & 13	Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai 1 te huka o te tai;	Informative	3	22

The analysis provided here suggests an approach that might prove fruitful in any attempt to determine the metrical structure of Maori lullabies and, more generally, of Maori song poems. However, the precise nature of these metrical patterns, and the extent to which they vary from area to area and/or from sub-genre to sub-genre (e.g. from lullabies to laments) can be determined only with reference to a detailed corpus-based study.

Many of the tunes and/or chants with which artistic works were originally associated have been lost. Indeed, some, such as the one being examined here, are now often associated with European tunes that were current at the time that the original written record was made. For this reason, inferences about those aspects of the metrical composition that were salient in terms of performance must be treated with extreme caution.

The analysis in sections 4.1 and 4.2 leads to a number of hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3

Maori song poems of the pre-colonial period are characterised by a complex metrical structure that reflects and highlights the overall discourse structure.

Hypothesis 4

The nature of the metrical structure of Maori song poems composed in the pre-colonial period supports the contention that the metrical line is a significant aspect of their construction.

Hypothesis 5

The nature of the metrical structure of Maori song poems of the pre-colonial period suggests that both syllables and morae may play a role in the phonological structure of Maori.

5.0 Unity as a central theme of the lullaby

Although there is historical evidence that this lullaby was written for twin boys, the vocative forms of address (eg *E tama: O Son*) are singular. The boys are thus represented in symbolic unity as they, stripling warriors, begin life's journey and face life's challenges. The lullaby itself melds past present and future into a further unity with its references to birth (line 1), life (line 2) and life after life (line 3), just as it merges land and sea into a symbolic, protective unity (lines 10 – 13). Similarly, earthly images of strife (line 5), weapon (line 11), storm (lines 13 & 14) and potential loss (lines 4 & 14) are set against images of the ancestors (lines 3 & 7), of sacred mountain waters (line 7) and of triumph over adversity (lines 8 & 9). Thus, the tribulations of life merge with the triumph of a life well lived.

This leads to the final hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6

One of the central themes of the Maori lullaby of the pre-colonial period is the unity of the physical and metaphysical universe.

6.0 Conclusion

What has been provided here is no more than a partial stylistic analysis of a single Maori lullaby. That analysis suggests a number of avenues of investigation that may prove fruitful in the future in relation to a corpus of Maori lullabies and, more generally, of Maori song poems. The primary avenues of investigation that are suggested have been outlined in six hypotheses. These are reorganized and restated below in terms of level of generality.

Hypotheses

Maori **song poems** of the pre-colonial period are characterised by:

- a complex metrical structure that reflects and highlights the overall discourse structure;
- a structure that suggests that (a) the metrical line may be a significant feature of their composition, and (b) both syllables and morae may play a role in the phonological structure of Maori.

Maori **lullabies** composed in the pre-colonial period are characterised by:

- a thematic structure that highlights the unity of the physical and metaphysical universe;
- the combination of hortatory and expository discourse in which invocation and exhortation occur in the first segment and informative (involving logical sequence and comparison/ contrast) occurs in the second segment;
- the achievement of poetic effects (including lexical, grammatical and phonological parallelism) through the selection and positioning of cohesive devices (lexical and grammatical) and the use of symbolic reference.

Endnotes

1. **Informative, directive** and **elicitation** are the three primary speech acts. They are broadly equivalent to declarative, imperative and interrogative. However, they are not the same thing. Thus, for example, an **elicitation** (requesting/ requiring a verbal or non-verbal response) may, or may not, be in interrogative form: it may be in the form of a declarative or moodless construction with question intonation (see, for example, Crombie, 1985, pp. 37 – 44).
2. A **means-purpose** relationship involves a statement of the means by which a particular purpose can be achieved and is one of a number of general semantic relations, that is, relationships between propositions that are generally treated as universals. These include **chronological sequence** and **amplification**, the latter involving a non-contrastive addition to a proposition. They also include **bonding**, a relationship involving the addition of a non-contrastive proposition (Crombie 1996, pp. 32).
3. It has been proposed that there are three over-arching types of general semantic relationship (*associative, logico-deductive* and *tempero-contigial*) that can play an important role in stylistic analysis. Matching compatibility relations, involving comparison in respect of similarity (rather than difference) is a type of associative relation (Crombie, 1987).
4. The issue of how the Maori language is structured phonologically is relevant here. Bauer (1993, p. 553) outlines the syllable and mora structure of Maori as follows:
 - a. Maori syllable structure: (C) V; (C) V¹ V¹; (C) V¹ V²
5. Maori morae structure: (C) V

Thus, a syllable must have one or two vowels plus an optional consonant; a mora has a single vowel plus an optional consonant. The mora is “a phonological unit. . . [which] consists of an obligatory short vowel optionally preceded by a single consonant sound”. In instances where there are two consecutive vowel sounds in a Māori word “they belong to different morae” (Bauer, 1997, p. 25). In this lullaby, the fact that there appears to be a pattern of [i] / [a] end line vowels suggests that the mora is a perceptual category. However, what appears to be a rhyming link between ‘tipuna’ and ‘tauwhaingā’ suggests that the syllable may also be perceptually salient. The majority of rhythmic patterns, however, appear to be based on the mora rather than the syllable.

References

- Bauer, W. (1993). *Māori*. London: Routledge.
- Bauer, W. (1997). *The Reed reference grammar of Māori*. Auckland: Reed.
- Crombie, W. (1985). *Process and Relation in Discourse and Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crombie, W. (1987). *Free Verse and Prose Style*. London: Croom Helm.
- De Beaugrande, R. (1980). *Text, Discourse and Process*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1985). *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Deakin, Aust.: Deakin University Press.
- Longacre, R. E. (1968). *Discourse, Paragraph and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages*. Santa Ana, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Ngata, A. (1959). *Nga moteatea, he maramara rere no nga waka maha* (pp. 104-107). Wellington: The Polynesian Society.
- Tomoana, P. H. (1920). *Te aroha o Rang i kia Papa-Tua-Nuku: Maori Almanac*. Hastings: A. A. George.

- Sinclair, J. M. and Coulthard, R. M. (1975). *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.) (1993). Editorial: Critical discourse analysis, *Discourse and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 43 5 -43 6.
- Williams, H. W. (1975). *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* (7th. Rev. ed.). Wellington: Government Printer.