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Whaikoorero

A Study of Formal Maori Speech

by

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PREFACE

As a Maori standing with a foot in each cultural 'camp', I have always been interested in anthropology and in particular, social communication. I have had the good fortune to pursue this interest under the auspices of the Anthropology Department, University of Auckland. I am especially indebted to Professor Bruce Biggs, my thesis supervisor, and Professor Hugh Kawharu of Massey University, Vince O'Sullivan of University of Waikato and Koro Dewes of Victoria University, for their comments, criticisms and suggestions during the writing of this dissertation.

This study would not have been possible without the support of my tribal elders who gave so much of their time, patience and wisdom in assisting my research. More particularly, I would like to thank Piriwhariki Poutapu, Henare Tuwhangai, Te Whati Tamati and Te Uira Tuteao Manihera. Three other elders and kinsmen have since passed away but nevertheless I would like to record here my gratitude for their help. To the late Paraire Herewini, Hone Haunui and Te Paki o Hewa Pokaia I say -

Teenaa koutou e Koro maa, haere. Haere hoki atu ki ngaa tuupuna, ki ngaa maatua e takoto mai raa i Taupiri. I kiia ai toona koorero 'Ko Taupiri te maunga, ko Waikato te awa, ko Te Wherowhero te tangata'. He taumata whakarere iho, na koutou i aawhina, no reira teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou.

Finally, I wish to record my gratitude to my family. My wife encouraged me to resume my educational career for which I am humbly grateful. It was her gentle criticism

and prodding which spurred me to complete this study.
My children have made sacrifices on my behalf.

R.T. Mahanta

June 1974.

CHAPTER ONE

THE THESIS TOPIC

Many writers have commented on the oratorical skill of the Maori, and his powers of debate. George French Angas, one of the first recorders of the Maori scene, during his travels through the Waikato in the spring of 1844, attended a funeral service for a child at Ngaahuruhuru,¹ a native settlement about four miles from Ootaawhao. He described the oration he heard on that occasion as one of the finest and most impassioned bursts of eloquence he had ever heard.² Describing his meeting with Te Wherowhero, a Waikato chief who was later to become the first Maori King, he noted that 'Te Wherowhero, like most of the New Zealand orators, was full of imagery and figurative language'.³

The Austrian naturalist, Andreas Reischek, during his wanderings through the King Country in 1882, observed that poetical gifts were held in high esteem by 'this impressionable race', so much so that one of the duties of every chief was to qualify himself as a poet and orator.⁴

Sir George Grey, who became Governor of New Zealand in 1845, when mentioning some of the difficulties of understanding speeches and letters of the chiefs of his time commented -

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1. In this thesis all Maori words, including proper names, are spelt phonemically using double vowels to indicate vowel length.
 2. Angas 1847:154.
 3. Ibid:50.
 4. Reischek 1930:205.

'these chiefs, either in their speeches to me, or in their letters, frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology; and although it was clear that the most important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms, the interpreters were quite at fault - they could then rarely (if ever) translate the poems or explain the allusions'.⁵.

The early literature contains many comments of this nature, and one gains a general impression of the old-time Maori as an accomplished orator skilled in employing the figurative forms of his language. It is an impression that is continually reaffirmed by more recent writing on the Maori, and it is fair to say that it is a generally accepted belief in New Zealand that Maoris are gifted speakers (in their own language), and that the Maori language is particularly well-suited to elegant, formal and ceremonial speech-making.⁶.

The stock of traditional figures of speech, the proverbs, the myths, the poetry and the traditions have all received attention (including a number of detailed studies) by various writers. It is interesting to note, however, that there has been little systematic study of Maori oratory as such.

5. Grey 1971:xiii.

6. e.g. A New Zealand Herald editorial (12 Feb. 1970) urged Maori elders to preserve 'all the social advantages which oratory embodies'. Reporting the death of Kapa Ehau at Rotorua the Herald went on to describe him as '... one of the greatest Maori orators of modern times'. Many such examples might be quoted.

It is true that there have been a number of brief, generalised accounts of the Maori orator and his art⁷. and many examples of Maori speeches are available both in the original, and in translation,⁸. but no detailed study of Maori oratory, either as a literary genre, or as an efflorescent cultural feature, has ever been attempted.

It is the aim of this thesis to make a study of whaikoorero⁹. or formal Maori speech considering it both as a literary form, and as a social feature within its cultural context.

Whaikoorero considered as a literary form

It will be suggested that the language of whaikoorero and more especially the internal structure of discourse which is to be classified as whaikoorero differs markedly from other oral discourse which will be spoken of generally as koorero or informal speech. An attempt will be made to discover and describe those features of whaikoorero which distinguish it from informal speech. A particular aim of the study will be to describe the internal structure of typical whaikoorero and to determine whether this differs for different types of whaikoorero. Does the structure of a speech farewelling a dead person, for example, differ from the structure of a speech of welcome to guests?

7. e.g. Bird 1955:13 Ngata 1959:Preface Beaglehole 1945:105.

8. e.g. In the Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives and, more recently, in such tape archives as the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music and Folklore at the University of Auckland.

9. The term whaikoorero when used as a noun means formal speech. When used verbally it means to make a formal speech. It may also be used to refer to the ceremony of formal speech-making on the marae (courtyard) or in the tribal meeting-house.

Whaikoorero in its social context

It can be said that whaikoorero is an essential feature of most Maori social gatherings, and more particularly those of a ceremonial and formal nature. Such a social occasion is incomplete and un-Maori, and in a sense meaningless without formal speech-making. Conversely, the speeches themselves may be to a certain extent meaningless, or at least, unintelligible, apart from their social context.¹⁰.

Stated in another way, speeches are an essential part of the context of a Maori social gathering; on the other hand the gathering itself and the reasons for it, may be an essential part of the context of the speech in a quite literal sense since, as the example given later shows, the real meaning of a speech may be understood only in terms of the social context.

Perhaps the best opportunities for studying and listening to whaikoorero are at the numerous hui held in different parts of the country each year. For example, there are the various Church Festivals such as the Anglican Hui Toopuu, the Catholic Hui Aaranga, the Methodist Hui-a-Tau and the annual Ringatuu and Raatana gatherings. The Maori King Movement with its series of Poukai (loyalty gatherings) and Hui Koroneihana (Coronation celebrations) provide further opportunities for listening to whaikoorero. Other examples of gatherings where formal speeches may be heard are visits of Royalty and important dignitaries,

10. Robert A. Black, in describing ritualized language amongst the Hopi, makes several observations about non-casual language which are also relevant to whaikoorero. For further information see Helm 1967:7-11.

opening ceremonies for meeting-houses, and at the ceremonials associated with deaths and weddings.

It is at these types of gatherings where the most eloquent speakers may be heard practising whaikoorero. There one will see speakers orating one after another in what seems an interminable sequence. Sometimes they will preface their speeches with rapidly intoned chants and sometimes they end with songs. In the speeches there is continual reference to the dead. This whole ceremony of formal speech-making on the marae is known as whaikoorero.

It is not only at large gatherings, however, that whaikoorero may be heard. In any situation where Maoris come together and where this involves any type of formality, whaikoorero is likely to be a feature of the occasion. For example, it is not uncommon for whaikoorero to be heard in the relatively informal atmosphere of beer parties at a private home. There are many occasions where Maoris feel it appropriate for one of their number to stand and mihi¹¹ to strangers who may be present. Often during a family meeting after a death brief mihi may be exchanged prior to the more mundane discussions concerning the expenses of the hui. During wedding and birthday celebrations visitors may be greeted and welcomed into the relative intimacy of the whaanau (extended family). Thus it may be seen that whaikoorero permeates every aspect of formal and many informal relationships amongst Maori individuals and groups.

11. The term mihi means greet or acknowledge. A mihi speech may be described as a 'greeting of acknowledgement'. We might even describe it as 'I, (the speaker) see you and acknowledge your presence before me and this is why I am standing to convey to you our feelings of warmth, friendliness and hospitality'. Sometimes a mihi may be described as a speech of thanks.

Let us look then at some of the statements about whaikoorero and consider them in the light of what has been discussed. To begin with there are two articles by the Beagleholes. In the first, entitled 'Contemporary Maori Death Customs', there is a very good description of whaikoorero in action comparing two different styles of oratory and audience response to such speeches. On the one hand there is the polished, confident, witty speaker skilled in the use of classical Maori yet knowing when to add the common phrase to drive home a point or when to quote tradition and proverb to lend weight to his address. Because of his age his movements during whaikoorero are seemingly slow and uninspiring. Occasionally he may stroll back and forward a few paces but gesticulation is kept at a minimum.

On the other hand, there is the slightly younger man who is a master of the techniques of oratory even though the contents of his speeches are not always striking. He commands good classical Maori with an apt use of chant, quotation, allusion and proverb. Holding a walking-stick lightly in his hands he runs back and forwards as he speaks with light hopping steps, pausing briefly at each turn. His is oratory of the old school, and his the pleasure in oratory that comes from control of a difficult and complicated art-form. None of the other local or visiting speakers can compare with these two for technique or interest. During the speeches listeners can be heard on the verges of the marae criticising or appreciating the techniques of various orators, setting the voice of one against the grammar of the other, one's knowledge of the sequence of mihi against the expressed wisdom in tribal matters of some other expert.

Just as there is an art in rendering whaikoorero so there is also an art in listening to whaikoorero. The mistake the novice makes is to listen to every speaker with equal seriousness and attention. The old hand at listening has learned when to listen and when to occupy his mind with day-dreaming and desultory conversation with his neighbours. Thus we have the example of the skilled listener who talks volubly to his friends most of the time, occasionally turns to the speaker, catches a few words, assures himself he is not missing anything of importance, adds an occasional interjection to the speech and then turns back to his friends.

A ^sgood deal of talk at a tangihanga is of a stereotyped nature. Speakers refer to the deceased, the most favourable aspects of his character, his tribal descent, metaphorical reference to his long journey to Hawaiki and the like. As someone once remarked 'for a feast or a death a man is spotless'. All of the listeners have heard this sort of talk many times before at innumerable tangihanga. They do not need to listen afresh to each speaker. All they need to have attention for is the new or novel theme and the reference to contemporary affairs. Similarly, speakers are not disturbed by the apparent and often long-continued lack of attention of the listeners. They too know that when the new or important is broached attention to the speaker will return.

In the Beaglehole's second article (1946:274-76) they describe how a group of middle-aged men, conscious of their inability to command 'deep' Maori formed a class to study classical modes of speech. However the class folded up because of the prejudice of custom. One of the local elders had argued that it was disrespectful and tapu to practise farewell speeches to the dead or welcomes to the living when

neither corpse or visitors are present. To continue in this manner was only courting disaster. Here the desire and will to learn by the middle-aged was frustrated by the authority of the old.

The elders find it difficult to appreciate the dilemma facing the middle-aged men. In a few years' time they will be expected to act out the kaumaatua role and be able to whaikoorero. This lack of tolerance amongst some elders towards those who need to learn the traditional forms of marae oratory is causing concern. The young worry that when the old die the next generation must willy nilly take over tribal responsibility.

To summarise briefly then we can say -

- a) there are different styles of whaikoorero
- b) there is an art in listening to whaikoorero
- c) there is a desire amongst the young to learn how to whaikoorero.

What I would like to do now is to consider each of these points in detail.

The Method of Investigation

As a native speaker of Maori who grew up in a situation where formal speeches were frequently heard, I feel intuitively that whaikoorero can be shown to have a general structure differentiating it from koorero and that it can be shown to differ in consistent formal ways according to certain variables in the social situation. This thesis attempts to make explicit -

- a) the formal characteristics of whaikoorero
- b) the general structure of whaikoorero
- c) the various types of whaikoorero and their defining characteristics.

A number of whaikoorero have been transcribed from tape-recordings and letters and then translated. Where necessary footnotes have been provided to clarify the contextual meaning of words and phrases. Background information such as biographical details of the speaker and characters mentioned, the nature of the occasion and the spatial and temporal arrangements during the speech-making have also been included in an attempt to set the linguistic data within its social and cultural context.¹².

Early in this study it became obvious that whaikoorero could not be described adequately in terms of the speech itself. A full description of the circumstances surrounding it was also necessary. This information included features such as the speech situation, the status of the speaker and his position in the particular speech event and the composition of the audience and its reactions to the speech, since all of these factors can play a part in determining the meaning that will be taken from the speech. Such meaning may differ widely from a literal interpretation of the words alone.

The fact that the literal meaning of a speech may be very different from the meaning conveyed to a particular audience on a particular occasion is worth some emphasis. What we might call the 'contextual meaning' (since it is apprehended only within what Malinowski has called 'the

12. The bulk of the whaikoorero samples used in this study have been obtained from Waikato sources. Most Waikato speakers seem to follow a general pattern in their speeches in that they begin with an introductory chant, greet the dead and the living and then end with a song. The analytical framework used here is based on this pattern.

context of the situation',^{13.}) can only be determined with reference to the occasion on which the speech was made, the audience to whom it was made, the matters which were topical at the time and the identity of the speaker himself.

To illustrate this point let us consider a literal translation of part of a speech. In point of fact a translation of the whole speech would help little towards providing the contextual meaning which, as we shall see, is provided only by those aspects of the context of the situation which will be added later.

The following is a fragment of a speech given by Maatene Te Whiwhi at Pukawa, Lake Taupo, in 1856 -

'I look far over the sea to the south and what do I see? Mountains covered with snow and ice. I turn and gaze across the plains to the east and what do I behold but cabbage trees! I turn my eyes down to the belly of the fish of Maui. I see nothing but the little kookopu fish and the kooura crayfish that walks backwards. I turn to the west and look over the forests to Taranaki. I see nothing but broken ropes. I look northward; I see a leaking house. Now I turn my eyes to Waikato. I behold Waikato-taniwha-rau Waikato of a hundred demons. Waikato of whose river it is said - he piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha at every bend a demon. There in Waikato is the place where we must look for a King. Yonder is the man.'

13. Briefly 'the context of situation' can be described as placing the text within the context in which it was obtained, and then proceeding to give linguistic statements of meaning within this framework. By collating the literal and free translations of the text we may arrive at a detailed commentary or 'the contextual specification of meaning'.

At first glance the speech gives the impression of a man looking out over the country. The images conveyed are of a desolate countryside, the only evidence of a man's intrusion on the landscape being rotted ropes and a derelict house. Then our attention is directed to the Waikato river where it is said that at each of its bends there dwells a taniwha demon. In fact when we know the following circumstances, that the speech is being given by a man who for years had dreamt of setting up a Maori King, to an audience who were at least partially committed to the concept, and that the man to whom the speech refers was the leader of the most powerful confederation of tribes at the time, then the whole speech takes on a very different appearance.

Let us examine further the contextual features of the speech. The mountains covered with snow in the south is an allusion to the South Island tribes. The plains in the east refers to the Kaingaroa and Hawkes Bay plains and the tribes living there. The belly of the fish of Maui refers to the Taupo district, domain of the Ngaati Tuwharetoa tribe. The broken ropes in Taranaki meant that the tribes there were suffering from wars and dissension. The leaking house is in reference to the disunity of the Northern tribes. All of the tribes mentioned here had previously been considered as sponsors for a King. Because of inter-tribal wars, disunity, or lack of appropriate resources each in turn had rejected the proposal. Finally Te Whiwhi directs the attention of his audience to the Waikato valley, an area noted for the lushness of its vegetation, its abundance in food resources, and most important of all, the home of the great chief Te Wherowhero.

Te Wherowhero was connected with the leaders of all the main ancestral canoes. Moreover, many of his genealogical lines came through senior male lines, an important factor in the choice of King. Te Wherowhero himself was a man of the highest courage in war, having led his tribes in many successful forays against his neighbours. Surrounding him was a veritable galaxy of important chiefs of the strong sub-tribes of Waikato. This was the significance of the reference to demons in every bend of the Waikato river. The Waikato chiefs acknowledged the kinship superiority of Te Wherowhero and could be relied on to support him. Finally the river was regarded as the mother of the tribe and in its waters lurked the taniwha monsters of mythology, the tribal guardians. The river, together with the coastal boundaries to the east and west, provided an inexhaustible supply of food ranging from the freshwater eels, whitebait and kooura crayfish to shellfish, fish and edible seaweeds. Thus, in three very important respects Te Wherowhero possessed the necessary qualifications for the Kingship. These were, firstly, high genealogical lineage which extended to all the major tribes; secondly, a strong body of potential followers; and thirdly, an apparently inexhaustible supply of food resources which were essential for the staging of the large-scale meetings associated with the Kingship. In brief, he had what the Maori termed mana tangata high descent, mana whenua power over the land and its inhabitants, and finally, mana kai, control of land and waters which could produce high quality food in sufficient quantities.

It was against this background that Maatene Te Whiwhi gave his speech to an audience who were well aware of the circumstances surrounding the literal rendition. Buck (1968:498)

provided another example of how orators preferred indirect speech. At a Maori Congress in Wellington many years ago, one of the topics for discussion was whether the time had arrived for doing away with Maori representation in Parliament and putting the Maori electors on the same electoral rolls as the pakeha. The advantage was that more European members of Parliament might take an interest in Maori affairs if they had to seek the Maori vote in their own electorates. The leaders of the Maori tribes present were asked to give their opinion. Most of them replied directly in voicing the opinion that the time was not quite ripe. A Tuhoe chief clinched the matter with a brief speech that made no mention whatsoever to Parliament or voting. He said,

"If the juice of the tutu berry is drunk while it is yet warm, it will cause madness. If the kernel of the karaka berry is eaten before it is cooked, it will cause paralysis. If the herring is eaten too hurriedly, it will cause choking, for that was the fish which choked Tamarereti."

The speech was received with acclamation, for the indirect use of figurative language conveyed the feeling of the assembly that action should be delayed. That one short speech appealed to the Maori gathering more than all the long-winded speeches with their carefully worked out arguments. No one wished to risk insanity, paralysis, or choking by too hasty action. It is obvious therefore that the contextual meaning of a speech may sometimes be of far more significance than its literal meaning. Later it will be shown that this situation occurs frequently in whaikoorero.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF WHAIKOORERO

Whaikoorero may be distinguished from other types of discourse in several ways. Physically, there are certain rules governing who speaks and when, how speakers stand and move, and the spatial arrangement of participants during the speech-making. The language of whaikoorero is much more figurative than informal speech. A typical whaikoorero might be described as a mixture of poetry, prose and song. Another point which can be made about whaikoorero is its symbolic nature.¹ That is to say, speeches of this type tend to be abstract, dwell on the symbolic and supernatural, and possess an esoteric quality absent in other forms of discourse. We will now consider the physical, literary and symbolic aspects of whaikoorero in detail.

The Physical Characteristics

Whaikoorero is always delivered from a standing position. Instances of individuals 'orating' from a sitting or lying position are rare and usually involve some physical disability or illness. Kepa Ehau, a noted Te Arawa orator, had both legs amputated and for a time gave his whaikoorero supported by crutches. In later years he gave his speeches from a wheelchair.

Best (1924:33) cites the case of the chief Whakamoe, who, because of illness, lay on the ground, and in that position

1. A symbol can be defined as something regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something else possessing analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought. As used here it refers to the way in which speakers use words in such a way that they assume two kinds of meanings, a 'literal' meaning and a 'symbolic' meaning.

uttered his speech of welcome. Chiefs, during their final hours, often gave their oohaakii (death speech) from their sick beds.

Aggressiveness of stance during speech-making is considered important, and speakers who assume an apologetic or nonchalant air are liable to meet with acrid criticism from the audience.².

Gesticulation and stylised movements of the body and feet are typical features of whaikoorero³. Associated with this is the movement of the speaker up and down the marae. This movement is stylised to some extent in that some speakers walk from side to side and others back and forth in relation to the meeting-house. As a speaker prepares to change direction he may perhaps pause, gather his thoughts, and then wheel suddenly and resume his speech and movements.

A speaker will generally hold something in his hands whilst talking whether it be a weapon, walking-stick, umbrella hat or twig. Today the tokotoko (walking-stick) has taken the place of the taiaha (spear) and other weapons in the hands of orators.⁴.

2. e.g. speakers who stand with their hands in their pockets are said to be playing 'pocket billiards'.

3. Taylor (1855:353) described how a chief when speaking on the marae walked up and down using much gesticulation, slapping his sides and brandishing his weapon.

Cowan (1933:39) stated that the expression taku manu hakahaka (my dancing bird), used in songs to describe the ceremonial manner of a chieftain's speech-making refers to movements of the fantail as it prances backward and forwards on its perch.

4. Del Mar (1924:152) observed that the taiaha was a weapon carried by persons of distinction and always held by an orator when addressing his people. He mentioned that a chief always tried to hold one in his hands while making a public speech.

Sometimes whaikoorero may be accompanied by the presentation of gifts (takoha) which may be in the form of heirlooms,⁵ foodstuff, or more commonly today, money. Monetary gifts are used to defray the expenses of the hui, and the recipients are expected to reciprocate in kind at the appropriate time in the future.

During whaikoorero on the marae there is a formal spatial arrangement of participants. When visitors arrive the host and visiting groups remain apart and in fixed positions with regard to the meeting-house until the speeches are over.⁶ Then the visitors shake hands and rub noses with their hosts and merge with the local people to welcome later arrivals. The spatial arrangement carries over into the meeting-house where host and visitor are expected to take up specially-assigned places facing each other. The manuwhiri occupy the iho-nui (wide part) to the right-hand side, which is regarded as the place of honour in all meeting-houses. The tangata-whenua occupy the kopa-iti (narrow part) along the left-hand wall.

There is a fixed sequence of speakers during the welcome ceremony. This inter-group sequence which operates between the hosts and visitors is known as the kawa or protocol. For whaikoorero there are two types of kawa. There is the kawa known variously as the tauhokohoko, tuu atu, tuu mai or utu utu,

5. When given as mourning gifts they are called taapae roimata and in the case of money, moni roimata.

6. Pine Taiapa (t.0368) says that amongst the Ngaati-Porou tribes the men stand to the left and the women to the right of the meeting-house. The visitors are seated on the marae facing the meeting-house.

where speakers alternate between the two groups on a one for one basis. The second kawa is known as the paa harakeke or paa eke where all the host speakers whaikoorero first and then the visitors reply.^{7.}

Within the tangata-whenua and manuwhiri groups there are certain rules determining who speaks and when.^{8.} These rules are based on rank, age, wisdom, and knowledge. In some situations the chief will speak first, in others he may be the last speaker.^{9.}

The first speaker is known as te kai-waahi koorero or the opening speaker, and he sets the theme of the speeches for his group. The following speakers are known as ngaa kai-wetewete koorero or 'the discussors of the talk' and generally they

-
7. Downes (1929:153) and Hohepa (1964:76) both mention cases of where the kawa might alter slightly during a tangihanga where the visitors might speak first. Such speeches are known as poroporoaki or farewells to the dead.
 8. On occasions speakers will decide amongst themselves prior to the actual speech-making who is going to speak and when. This is especially the case with the younger 'kaumaatua' who are still establishing a position for themselves in the whaikoorero hierarchy.
 9. Downes (1929:153) found that it was considered appropriate for the chief to speak first. He was followed by the visiting chiefs and thereafter by speakers from either side. Amoketi Haunui (15.5.71) says that during the discussion of take the chief speaks last, after he has weighed up everything said previously.

As a general rule then we might say that during the welcome speeches a chief will speak first, but during the discussion of take he will normally wait until last. This corroborates E.M. Albert's statement that together social role and situational prescriptions determine the order of precedence of speakers, the relevant conventions of politeness, appropriate formulae and styles of speech, and topics of discussion. (A.A.66).

Donne (1927:99) found that precedence was usually and tacitly conceded to one man who always spoke first and tended to dominate the trend of the debate.

repeat the theme set previously. The final speaker is known as the kai-whakamutunga and he is responsible for 'tying together the loose ends' of the previous speeches. That is to say, if a particular take or topic was under discussion, his task is to clarify his group's position and attitude towards that take. Whoever ends the whaikoorero will indicate verbally or non-verbally that such is the case and this cue is accepted by the reciprocal group.

Henare Tuwhangai, one of my informants, often acts as 'final speaker' and describes his role as that of a 'pack horse' responsible for shouldering the burden of responsibility for the group. Sometimes Henare will begin his concluding waiata and while the rest of the group is still singing he will move forward to lay down the takoha (which is also a sign that he is the last speaker) and rejoin the singers just as the song ends.

Another characteristic of whaikoorero is based on sex and age. Generally speaking it is only the men who whaikoorero. However, there is one further requirement, namely maturity, which is expressed in the term, kaumaatua¹⁰. In certain circumstances, young men are permitted to speak on the marae. This is particularly the case with those individuals who, by virtue of their qualifications and position in the community,

10. In most cases the kaumaatua is the oldest member and head of the whaanau. Age is important in that Maoris believe that grey hairs (hina) are indicative of wisdom and knowledge. The kaumaatua in this sense provides the link between the present and the hallowed past of the ancestors.

Metge (1964:10) describing the role of the kaumaatua in traditional society relates how they looked after family and domestic matters, speaking and acting on behalf of their whaanau, and supporting and advising the chief.

Men upon reaching kaumaatua status are expected to be able to whaikoorero, to recite whakapapa, to sing waiata and paatere and generally impart tribal history and traditions.

have assumed positions of leadership. An example might be that of a young man who has achieved academic distinction or some public office such as parliamentary representative. During the 1968 General Elections, candidates for the Western Maori electorate included young men in their twenties and thirties and throughout the election campaign they were all expected to whaikoorero¹¹. Young clergymen may often be heard at weddings and funerals beginning their services with a whaikoorero¹². Thus the three main qualifications for ceremonial speech-making are maleness, maturity and status.

Women and Whaikoorero

Generally women do not whaikoorero. Nevertheless, they play an important part in the speech-making. As the visitor's come onto the marae the initial welcoming cries are exchanged between the women. These karanga welcome calls may serve to identify the group or clarify the purpose of the gathering. According to Tira Putu, a Ngaati-Raukawa elder, the calls of the women are the equivalent of the men's speech-making. Such calls are known variously as ohaoha, maioha, karanga, poowhiri.

During the opening stages of the welcome ceremony when visitors and host are mourning the dead it is the women who provide the background keening or tangi tiikapa. After everyone is seated and before the actual speech-making the old kuia may sometimes be heard advising the kaumaatua who the most prominent people in the visiting party are, the bearers of deaths, the whakapapa lines to refer to, and any other essential details

11. The present Member for Western Maori is a relatively young man of thirty-five and is often expected to whaikoorero. During his inaugural address (Hansard, 1970, No.2:138) he prefaced his speech with a brief mihi.

12. Because of the prestige associated with oratory, young Maoris entering the ministry are actively encouraged to learn how to whaikoorero.

concerning the guests. Metge (1964:86) described how the old women performed the karanga at hui, helped the speakers with the old chants they sometimes used to close or illustrate a speech and sometimes spoke themselves when they felt that the men had omitted some courtesy to the visitors. The women act as prompters reminding the speakers of points which should be mentioned and generally ensuring that no detail is overlooked when welcoming visitors. Often it is their critical comments from the sideline which prompts speakers to improve their whaikoorero techniques. Listeners will applaud good speakers with comments such as tautoko agreed, koorero speak, kia ora greetings, kia pai how good. Alternatively, poor or boring speakers may hear comments such as kaatahi how unnecessary, paanguu how tiring, hoohaa boring, or puku kau empty stomach.

When an ope comes onto the marae it is the women who lead it on, the menfolk and children behind. If there is a kawe mate amongst the visitors then it is represented by the womenfolk of the whaanau pani bereaved family.

A similar spatial arrangement may be seen amongst the hosts. It is always the women who occupy the places of honour on the porch of the meeting-house. Garbed in black and wearing mourning wreaths they represent the dead so frequently referred to in the speeches. During the welcome the women are in the vanguard of the welcoming party but during the speeches they take up positions to the rear, or at the feet, of the kaumaatua.

When koha gifts or kohi donations are presented on the marae it is the womenfolk who greet it into the ranks of the tangata-whenua with their karanga.

It should be noted at this point, however, that in special circumstances women and young people may be permitted to speak.

Ngati Porou women as of traditional right may speak on the marae; they assume this right if the men do not measure up or at the request of their male kinsmen, e.g. Materoa Reedy, mother of a noted East Coast leader, Arnold Reedy, was the Ngati Porou spokesman at the Waitangi hui in 1934.

The previous Member for Western Maori was a woman but because of her position she spoke on the marae. Another example quoted by my Waikato informants is where young men and women are allowed to poroporoaki in the meeting-house during the poo mihimihi the night before a burial. They are normally close relatives of the deceased paying their final respects. However, such occasions are relatively rare and always require the permission of the kaumaatua male elders, e.g. during the discussions between Waikato leaders and Prime Minister Peter Fraser in July 1942, Princess Te Puea Herangi acknowledged the male prerogative to whaikoorero when she said '... according to Waikato's rule it is very unusual for a woman to whaikoorero before the men. However, it has been carefully decided that I should begin the discussions on behalf of the Waikato delegation. So I greet you my elders for the honour you have given me that I should speak first'.

Another example was during the discussions on the marae at Turangawaewae in May 1968 an old woman asked, and was granted permission, to speak. On this occasion Paraire Herewini stated that women were sometimes allowed to speak provided they sought permission and provided they had a legitimate reason (take). He was emphatic that such occurrences were rare and under no circumstances were women permitted to extend the welcome speeches.

The Literary Characteristics

Any whaikoorero will contain fixed literary forms such as

karakia (incantations), waiata (songs) and whakataukii (proverbs). Such forms rarely occur outside of the whaikoorero context. This is particularly so in the case of karakia and waiata which are generally believed to possess some degree of tapu (sacredness).

Personification is used frequently by speakers and especially in poroporoaki or speeches to the dead. Cowan (1910:349), when describing the death of Tawhiao, the second Maori King, wrote of how the death of a great chief was associated in Maori ideas with convulsions of nature, the quaking of the land, the lightning flashes above the tribal burial hills, and the thunder rolling along the mountain peaks. During the poroporoaki speakers may liken the deceased to a lofty forest tree felled by the axe of death; a war canoe shattered by the waves; a singing bird whose voice has been stilled.

Repetition of key words and phrases is a common feature of whaikoorero, providing emphasis to particular points, euphony to the speech, and sometimes, 'breathing space' to give the speaker time to think of his next line. Hayakawa (1952:121) writes of the effective power of repetition of similar sounds and grammatical structures. He states that much of the attraction in oratory for both speaker and listener has a simple phonetic basis, namely, the use of rhyme, alliteration, assonance, crossed alliteration, and all the subtleties of rhythm.

Archaic words, abstruse sayings and classical terms frequently occur in whaikoorero. The continued usage of these highly-valued words, metaphoric expressions, proverbial sayings, and personified forms makes it highly probable that a ceremonial

vocabulary for whaikoorero exists.^{13.}

Sometimes speakers will give their whaikoorero in the form of a narrative by which they may offer personal or societal history. At other times it might be used as a means whereby group traditions are passed from one generation to the next. The speech by Te Whati (pp.52) is a good example of how the prophecies associated with the King Movement are retold. Another example is that of kaumaatua who, when they stand to whaikoorero, inevitably give detailed accounts of their genealogy and achievements.

The Symbolic Characteristics

The figurative and allusive quality of whaikoorero attracted the interest of many early writers.. Best (1925:112) observed that all those who strove to appear as good speakers frequently broke into song and interspersed their narratives with aphorism, simile and proverb.

Taylor (1855:235) wrote that the Maori had innumerable traditions which were generally known and no one who had any claim to be an orator would think his speech complete if he could not find some appropriate sentiment from one of these traditions to enrich his whaikoorero.

Ngata (1929:39) wrote with regard to whaikoorero there was no better qualification than a knowledge of the songs, because in them were embedded expressions applicable to each and every circumstance concerning the Maori as a man.

13. Newman (1964:397) in his study of sacred and slang usage amongst the Zuni stated that non-literate societies without a specialised tradition of belles lettres have their high-valued words and phrases, which occur in myths or other sacred discourse, oratorical language, and the verbal forms of etiquette. The same situation applies to the Maori and during the analysis of the speeches some of these words and phrases will be noted.

As mentioned previously, Grey (1961) found the language of his informants difficult to understand because of their frequent use of quotations when attempting to explain their views. In order to understand their speeches or allusions more fully Grey found it essential to make a deeper study of Maori mythology. Even today speakers invariably use quotations from myth and tradition when giving a whaikoorero, which in turn tends to make speeches of this kind difficult to understand unless one is aware of the references intended.

Let us consider some of these symbolic expressions. In the speech by Bill Parker (p.85) he refers to the death of King Koroki in the following manner, 'the peak of Taupiri has fallen down, the canoe has overturned and floated adrift, the monster has been freed from its lair'. Each of these images is associated with disaster in the Maori mind, and more specifically, with death.

Sometimes speakers will refer to the marae, the meeting-house and prominent geographical features as if they were 'persons' and not 'things'. For example, in Te Whati's speech he says '... there is no one to welcome you except those houses standing there and the Waikato river lying here'.

Conversely, people might be referred to as if they were 'things'. For example, important chiefs are sometimes alluded to by naming their ancestral mountains or lakes. Tribal groups being welcomed onto the marae are often likened to canoes coming in to land.

What seems important, however, is that not only do speakers consider it important to say certain things, but also, that

such things should be stated symbolically.¹⁴.

It is of interest to consider at this point Raymond Firth's comments (1926:254) about the sanctions behind the use of proverbial sayings. He found the most important use of these whakataukii were at the village or tribal gatherings. The standard of oratory at these meetings was very high and free use of proverbs was made on such occasions. Firth posed two questions. What was the nature of sanctions behind proverbs? What gave them their weight and power and enabled them to wield so much influence in determining or modifying the actions of individuals?

He found that the real root of their authority lay in the respect felt for the teachings of tradition. The ancestors were deeply venerated, their names, deeds and sayings were recounted endlessly. No opportunities were lost for enjoining respect for ancestral teachings. The young were constantly being told to 'hold fast to the treasures (teachings) of their ancestors'.

His observations may also be applied to whaikoorero in that people's respect for traditional teachings renders it potent as a means of enforcement of social conduct. The appeals to public opinion by speakers have always been a feature of Maori life. The phrases used in whaikoorero are heard constantly and in time become embedded in the minds of the listeners as the taaonga (treasures) of their ancestors.

In this chapter I have attempted to show that whaikoorero possess physical, literary and symbolic characteristics which distinguish it from other types of discourse. It may be said

14. Piri Poutapu (18.3.70) stated that kaumaatua when they stood to whaikoorero tended to say things ambiguously. In this way listeners were constantly being forced to choose between the 'literal' and 'symbolic' meanings. He added that it was a game that speakers liked to play with their audience.

that the more formal the situation the more marked these characteristics are, and the literary formality surrounding whaikoorero is accompanied by a spatial and social formality.

Custom and tradition play an important part in determining the participants and contexts of such speeches and, unlike the ordinary language situation, age, sex and social status are the conditioning factors in deciding who is going to speak and when.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STRUCTURE OF WHAIKOORERO

It is suggested here that whaikoorero has a formal structure which differentiates it from other types of discourse. The findings presented in this chapter are based on analyses of whaikoorero samples and interviews with informants. The purpose of this section is to show that whaikoorero has a basic structure which consists of a beginning (tau), a body (kaupapa), and a conclusion (whakamutunga). Each of these components may be further subdivided into two or more constituents which will be described shortly. The nature and function of each constituent will also be discussed.

The Tau or Beginning

The introduction to a whaikoorero is considered to be an essential part of the speech. It sets the tone and indicates that it is a formal discourse. The tau¹ may contain personal or place-names which serve to identify a speaker in much the same way that a theme song or popular tune is associated with a particular person or event. Generally the tau will have some bearing on the topic the speaker is going to discuss.

McLean (1965:54) noted that because of the frequency with which karakia was used as a speech introduction, the terms tau and karakia tended to be used interchangeably. He found that the term tau, with various qualifications, was originally used for different types of incantations. The original meaning of

1. My informants always referred specifically to the types of chant used as an introduction. Since several of these terms contain the component tau, which seems in some sense to be a generic term, I am using it to denote the introductory section of the speech.

tau-parapara was an incantation for moving a canoe. Today this term is used to describe chants used as speech introductions. The tau-mata was originally a rite to weaken the enemy and is probably synonymous with the term waerea, a protective chant used to combat witchcraft. Awatere (n.d. typescript) mentions other types of chants used as speech introductions variously known as pookeka, manawa-wera, paatere, huuata-tau, poohua-tau, kawa waka, ngeru, haka-taparahi and tohi.

Whilst each of these items may be used as tau, each seems to require a particular set of circumstances before it may be performed, e.g. the pookeka (death chant) may only be performed on occasions concerned with death.

The manawa-wera (chant of anger) is a Tuuhoe term and refers to the chants performed by the Tuuhoe people after the return of their warriors from the battle of Ooraakau. These chants are particularly appropriate for gatherings between the Tuuhoe and Waikato-Maniapoto tribes. The paatere (genealogical chant) is sometimes used as a speech introduction to identify the speaker or the audience.

McLean (ibid) discusses the type of chant called tau-marae, which is also used as an introduction to a formal speech and says that it was an attempt to weaken opposition. In his view tau-marae are a form of karakia (spell) since they are recited in the rapid way characteristic only of karakia.

My informants used the terms tau-parapara and karakia most commonly when speaking of the introductory chant to a speech. As mentioned previously I am using the term tau to cover all introductions to speeches, including those which are spoken rather than chanted.

It was stated earlier that the major components of a speech may themselves be subdivided. For example, a speaker may introduce his whaikoorerō by firstly greeting the meeting-house, the marae, and the tangata-whenua (local people), and then reciting a tau-parapara. Alternatively, a speaker may begin by reciting a whakaaraara (warning chant) and then continue with a tau-parapara. Buck (1966:388) describing the role of sentries tells of how they recited whakaaraara paa (watch alarms) in a loud voice at intervals throughout the night to warn would-be attackers of their alertness. By this means the sentries proclaimed their wakefulness themselves, both to the unseen enemy and to the people within the fort. The main purpose of the whakaaraara today is to warn 'opposing' speakers of the intention to speak and at the same time gain the attention of the audience. If a whakaaraara and tau-parapara are both included in the tau of a speech, the former must precede the latter.

The tau-parapara is the introductory chant and is normally given from a standing position.² There are different types of tau-parapara each being considered appropriate for a particular situation. Thus we find there are tau-parapara for welcoming visitors, farewelling the dead, removing tapu, soliciting support and establishing genealogical links. Depending on the nature of the occasion, the speaker will select from his repertoire the most appropriate tau-parapara for his whaikoorero.

2. Sometimes speakers will recite their whakaaraara whilst seated and then stand to deliver their tau-parapara. In some cases the first few lines of a tau-parapara may be recited sitting down and the rest of the tau is completed while standing.

Use of the most appropriate tau-parapara for a whaikoorero is considered important. Examples of tau-parapara used for specific purposes may be found in the speech samples.

Sometimes speakers, instead of offering a chanted introduction of some kind, may begin their whaikoorero by reciting formalized phrases such as a biblical quote, a localized greeting or an expression of loyalty. An example of a biblical quote used as a tau may be found in the Paanapa (p.88) speech which I have translated as 'Glory to Jehovah above, peace on earth and goodwill towards men'.

Localized greeting phrases used as tau might take the form of a speaker addressing the meeting-house, the marae, and local people personally.

A phrase commonly heard amongst Waikato speakers is the following - 'E wehi ana ki te Atua, whakahoonoretia te Kuiini' (Fearing the Lord, honour the Queen). This expression is used frequently by speakers in demonstrating loyalty to the Maori Queen. Expressions of a similar nature may also be heard from Ringatuu, Raatana and Taranaki speakers, denoting loyalty to their own particular tribal ideologies.

Uses of the Tau

The tau performs several functions. It gains the interest and attention of the audience as well as warning other speakers of the intention to speak. It sets the context for the whaikoorero by indicating to listeners the purpose of the speech.

Taylor (1855:343) wrote of how an orator might wait until everything was still in the village and then, marching onto the marae, he would sing some old 'song' related to the subject he wished to speak on. The 'song' referred to by Taylor is probably what is known today as the tau. The tau may serve

to identify a speaker as belonging to a particular tribal group. The formalized expressions and traditional sayings contained in the tau carry sentimental associations with the revered teachings of the ancestors and helps the speaker to establish rapport with his audience. The tau may function as a mnemonic aid, helping the speaker to remember and draw from its contents quotations appropriate to his speech.

Paraire Herewini (8.10.69) said that the tau (which, whether chanted or spoken, is always memorised) aided the delivery of whaikoorero, helped the speaker to remember the words of his ancestors, and protected him and his group from maakutu (witchcraft).

Awatere (n.d. typescript) stated that the omission of the tau from whaikoorero is regarded by some tribes as a sign of a speaker's immaturity and disregard for the teachings of his forebears. Houston (1965:206) quotes a Taranaki proverb for a man who has not been equipped by his elders to whaikoorero on the marae - 'E kore te raakau moremore e taea e te rou anake, engari ma te tuutira ka taea. The boughs of a smooth-trunked tree cannot be reached by a hook alone, but by the tuutira. What may be inferred is that people should not stand to whaikoorero unless they can do it correctly. The kaumaatua, because of their age and experience, can generally be relied upon to preface their whaikoorero with a tau.

The Kaupapa or Body of the Speech

The kaupapa is the body of the whaikoorero and may be subdivided into three parts, the mihi mate (greetings to the dead), the mihi ora (greetings to the living), and the take (the purpose of the speech). According to the circumstances the content and emphasis in the kaupapa will vary. For example,

at a tangihanga (funeral ceremony) or hura koowhatu (unveiling of a memorial stone), the emphasis in the speeches will be on the mihi mate. On the other hand, occasions such as weddings, birthdays or house-openings will evoke speeches of joy, expressions of sentiment and genealogical recitation which may all be included in the mihi ora. The take may occur as a clearly identifiable component within a speech or be embedded as part of the mihi' mate or mihi ora. Let us consider each component of the kaupapa in detail.

The Mihi Mate or Tribute to the Dead

The mihi mate is concerned with gathering, greeting and farewelling the dead. Many observers regard this part of whaikoorero as the most figurative and emotive section of Maori speech-making. Cowan (1930:241) wrote that it was at the tangihanga (funeral ceremony) that one saw something of the 'real Maori', where old customs were revived and the orations over the dead were 'rich in song, in proverb, and in touching symbol and oratory'. Drummond (1906:pp.366) provides a moving description of the eulogies paid by the Maori tribes at the death ceremonies for Richard John Seddon. Sir Apirana Ngata (1959:xviii) described how most of the sacred words of the Maori language and famous sayings of the ancestors were to be found in the waiata tangi (laments to the dead). Similarly, one will find many of these classical expressions in the mihi mate. As an example we may quote part of the letter sent by King Mahuta and leading Waikato chiefs to Sir James Carroll on the occasion of Seddon's death. The letter, translated by James Cowan, seems to have lost little, if any, of the spirit of the original and is an excellent sample of Maori eloquence and attitudes towards death.

The letter reads -

'We farewell him who has been taken away by the great Creator to the pillow which cannot fall, to the bed which cannot be raised. Alas, alas, our grief and pain overwhelm us. Depart O the mooring post of the canoes of the two races. Depart O mighty totara tree of the forest, felled by the axe of death. Death the irresistible, death the swallower of greenstone treasures. Death is the great King of this earth. It takes many forms, it has arbitrary power, none can disregard its voice, none great or small. We your people lament. The heavens likewise cried out, the storms arose, the lightning flashed, the thunder rolled across the sky, the soft wind of the crying of the earth and the great stormy wind have passed through the forest. The trees are sad, they cry, they suffer and groan with pain. After these portents the people know of the death and there is nothing greater than death. A man imagines he will live on forever in the world but he dies. The land thinks it rules itself, but when an earthquake shatters it, that is its form of death. In like manner the waters think they have dominion, but when they dry up that is their death. Rocks rejoice in their hardness and consider that they cannot be broken up, but when they are shattered their death is accomplished. Death in its many forms rules everything and cannot be averted. But the results of your parent's work, the great treasures left by him, the result of his life's labours in this world will not be lost. They shall ever be remembered by generation after generation. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but good works shall never pass away, they live forever.' (A.J.H.R. 1906)

To understand why the mihi mate is an essential part of the kaupapa of a speech we need to know something about Maori beliefs concerning death and the dead. The dead are eulogised because they are an essential part of the Maori community, i.e. the living and the dead are the community, and a belief in the physical and symbolic existence of the world of the dead. Visitors coming onto the marae are welcomed figuratively as te kanohi ora o ngaa tuupuna (the living faces of the ancestors), and ngaa moorehu o te hunga mate, (the survivors of the dead). The visitors as they arrive on the marae are referred to in the speeches as 'carrying their dead on their backs'. During the speech-making, host and visiting speakers call their dead onto the marae, greet them in song and speech and then farewell them. Thus the association of the visitor and host at the physical level is paralleled at the spiritual level. As speakers so often say, 'the dead are joined to the dead and the living are joined to the living'.

At a tangihanga speakers address the corpse directly. Whilst it may seem strange to an outsider for the living to be speaking to the dead, their remarks are actually directed towards the wairua (spirit) which is believed to be hovering over the corpse. Hohepa (1964:76) in his account of a tangi in Waima describes how some of the whaikoorero '... were interspersed with sung laments, a few were preceded by classical incantations, but all emotionally farewelled the corpse as if it were still listening'.

To illustrate still further the Maori attitude towards death and departed kin, let us consider some of the more commonly heard phrases that speakers might use during the mihi mate. During whaikoorero any of the following phrases might be heard:

Haere ki te uurunga tee taka, te moenga tee whakaarahia,

Go to the pillow which does not slip, to the couch from which there is no arising.

Haere ki te puutahi mui o Rehua, ki te poutuutanga mui o Pipiri, Go to the great abode of Rehua, to the heights of Pipiri.

Haere ki Hawaiki-mui, ki Hawaiki-roa, ki Hawaiki-paamamao, ki te Hono-i-wairua, Go to the great, long, distant Hawaiki, to the meeting place of the spirits.

Haere raa e taku rangatira i te ringa kaha o Aituuaa, Go my chief upon the great hand of death.

Haere te toka tuu moana, te raataa whakaruruhau, te manu tiioriori o te pae, Go the sentinel rock of the sea, the sheltering raataa tree, the cavorting bird of the perch.

Haere ki ngaa tuupuna, haere ki ngaa maatua, haere ki te iwi, Go to the ancestors, to the parents, to the people.

The mihi mate will be followed by the mihi ora, the greeting to the living. The division between the mihi mate and mihi ora is frequently marked by the use of formalized expressions such as:

Ka aapiti hono taatai hono, te hunga mate ki te hunga mate.

Ka aapiti hono taatai hono, te hunga ora ki te hunga ora.

The dead are joined to the dead and the living are joined to the living.

Tihei mauri mate, ngaa mate ki ngaa mate: tihei mauri ora, taatou te hunga ora ki a taatou.

Lo, it is death, the dead to the dead; lo, it is life, we the living to ourselves.

In both these phrases there is a formal separation of the dead and the living to their respective spheres within the speech in that the respects have been paid to the dead figuratively 'present' at the hui, and now the speakers may use call phrases such as haere mai (welcome), karanga mai (call us), or mihi mai (greet us) to lead into the mihi ora. One might say these phrases separate the eulogies to the dead and the tributes to the living. The Rev. Ngapaka Kukutai used to sing waiata tangi to separate the two especially if the take were to follow. He also concluded with another waiata.

The Mihi Ora (Greetings to the Living)

In the mihi ora speakers discuss those matters concerning the living. Dependent upon the role of the speaker and the nature of the occasion, individuals may choose to discuss a variety of topics or take. The term take as used here refers to the nature or purpose of the gathering and may occur as part of the mihi mate or mihi ora or, sometimes, exist independently as a separate component of a speech. At this point manuwhiri speakers might describe the composition of their group especially if it contains representatives from different tribes. Downes (1929:150) stated that sometimes people would go to visit other tribes for a particular purpose yet never mention it at all, even though both parties knew the purpose of the visit. He cites the welcome ceremony and tells how guests were received with song, speech and waving of garments. If they were unexpected they were never asked directly the reason for their visit. A visiting chief if unknown was never asked his name as this was considered a breach of good manners. Later the host might steer the

conversation around until the question of ancestors was discussed and such was the tribal knowledge and skill of the average chief that he soon discovered if there was any relationship, however slight, between him and his visitor. Even today a Maori rarely asks his visitor's name but instead endeavours to find out from his friends. As the hui progresses, and after all the visitors have been welcomed, the take may receive more emphasis. Thus, as the locus of the gathering moves from the marae into the meeting-house so the focus of the speeches changes from the ceremonious and general to the more particular points of concern.

The Whakamutunga (Conclusion)

Most whaikoorero end with a waiata. Even though two or three waiata may have occurred in a speech to illustrate different points, a speaker will still try to end his speech with a waiata. During the tau and kaupapa the speaker is the sole performer but for his waiata he may be accompanied by helpers. Women play an important part in the performance of waiata and it is not uncommon to find married couples co-operating so that the husband gives the whaikoorero and the wife assists him with the waiata.

If the waiata is omitted a speaker may signal the end of his speech with a stock phrase repeated with falling intonation such as teenaa koutou, ka huri (greetings to you all, I turn). Where no verbal signals are given to indicate the end of a speech, a wave of the hand or nod of the head may be sufficient. Such cues, whether verbal or non-verbal, are essential for participants in 'reading' a situation and

thus being aware of the status, values and sanctions operating within the particular speech situation.³

Summary

Any formal speech worthy of the name whaikoorero will contain an introduction, a central part or body, and a conclusion. This might be considered a tautological statement since, presumably, any form of discourse might be said to have a beginning, a middle, and an end. But in the case of whaikoorero, each of the three parts, the tau, the kaupapa and the whakamutunga is clearly defined in terms both of speech style and of content.

In conclusion, we can say that a typical whaikoorero will consist of a tau, a kaupapa and a whakamutunga. The tau may consist of a whakaaraara, tau-parapara and mihi, either combinatorially or singly. The kaupapa will be composed of the mihi mate and mihi ora, and, dependent on the purpose of the speech, it may also include the take. Finally, the whakamutunga, like the tau, may consist of a waiata, koorero whakamutunga and/or poowhiri whakamutunga in various combinations or singly. The combinatorial possibilities for whaikoorero may be expressed diagrammatically (see overleaf) to show the main parts of a whaikoorero and the options available to the speaker.

For example, a speaker when he stands to give a whaikoorero may use any one of several possible combinations for his tau. He may begin with a whakaaraara and then a

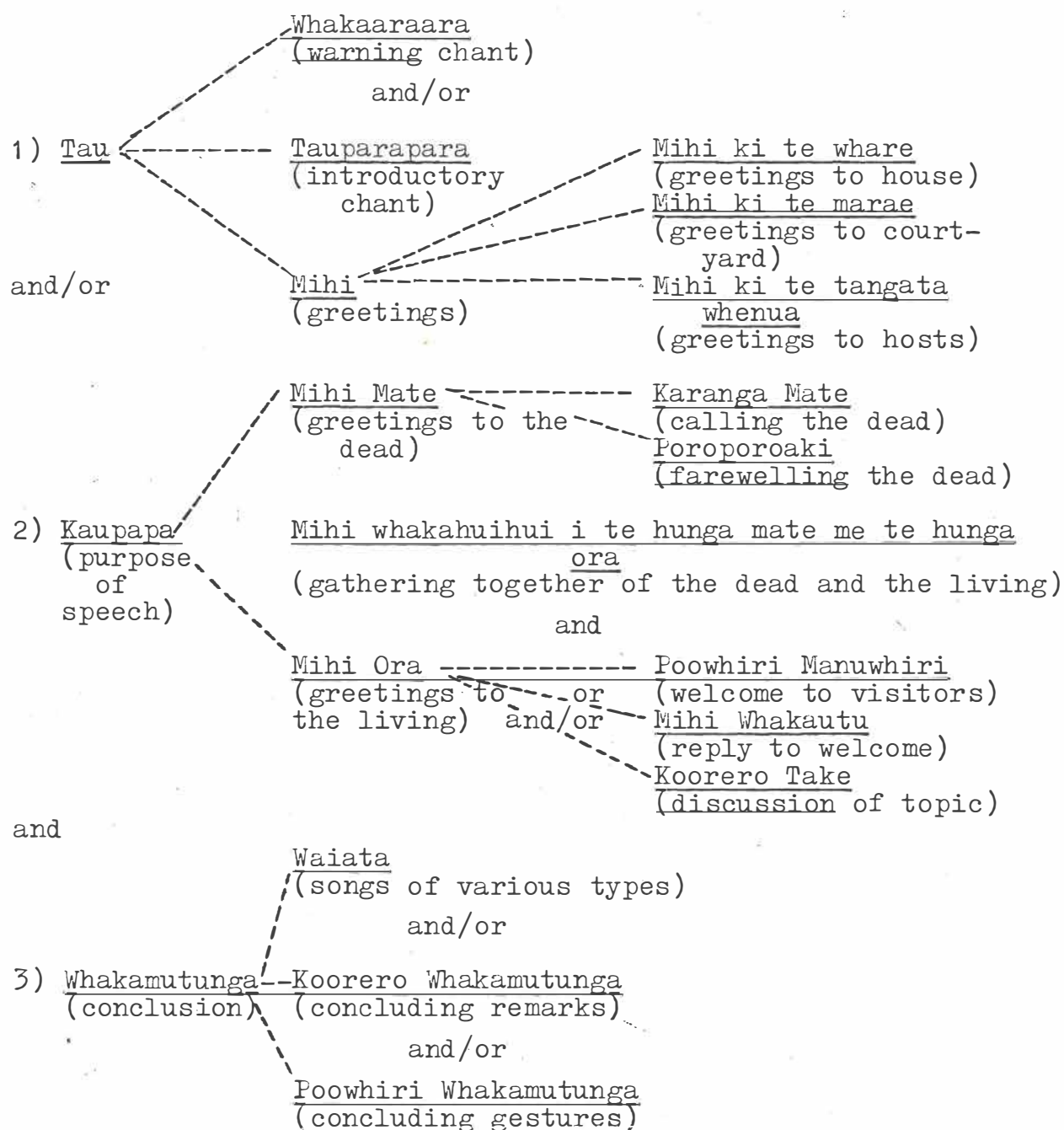
3. E.M. Albert's article on 'Culture Patterning of Speech Behaviour' (A.A. 66) contains many observations which are relevant to the whaikoorero situation.

tau-parapara. Alternatively, he may commence with a brief mihi (greeting of acknowledgement) and then recite an introductory chant. One other possibility is where a speaker begins with introductory chants, gives several brief 'mihis' and then continues on into the kaupapa of his speech. Various forms of mihi can be described as status rituals or marks of deference and generally preface the meetings between people of different social status. It may also be used as a mark of respect when speaking to an older person. Arewa and Dundes in their article on proverb usage (A.A. Pt.2, 1964:70-85) support the latter view and describe how the use of proverbs was associated with the identity of the participants in the speech situation. In the case of a younger person speaking to an older person etiquette dictates that the younger person's use of a proverb must be marked by a prefatory apology. (79) Similarly young Maori speakers often use the phrase - 'According to what the ancestors said...' to preface any quotes from tradition. Sometimes when speaking to people of higher status a speaker might use the phrase 'I am not a fit person to be speaking to you...'

A DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF A WHAIKOORERO,
INDICATING THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS AND THE OPTIONS
AVAILABLE TO THE SPEAKER AT THE DIFFERENT LEVELS

The major divisions of

whaikoorero.....which may consist of.....which may consist of



CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF WHAIKOORERO

It was stated earlier that whaikoorero differs in certain ways according to particular circumstances. The two basic criteria used in this thesis for describing speeches are firstly, the role of the speaker, and secondly, the nature of the gathering. In situations where whaikoorero occurs, speakers may be classified as either tangata-whenua or manuhiri and their speeches reflect the complementary nature of these roles. For example, it is the role of the tangata-whenua to welcome visitors and accord them hospitality. Manuhiri speakers reply to these welcomes using the appropriate phrases and generally taking their cue from the hosts. Structurally the speeches remain constant, the essential difference being their content. What seems to happen is that speakers when standing to whaikoorero act as if they ask themselves two questions. Why am I (the speaker) here? Why are they (the audience) here? His subsequent speech will reflect his summary of the situation. Gatherings or hui can generally be described as concerned with the living or with the dead. Dependent on the nature of the occasion, emphasis may occur either in the mihi mate or the mihi ora.

Informants state they try to find out all relevant information concerning the hui beforehand. Some of this information includes facts such as who is staging the hui, and for what purpose, who are the tribes and important chiefs attending. From this knowledge they are then able to sort out the most appropriate things to say in their speeches. In the words of one informant, 'me eke anoo'.

oo koorero ki runga i te kaupapa o te hui', (your words should always be appropriate to the occasion).

Within the different types of whaikoorero there are stylistic variations of a personal and tribal nature. During whaikoorero, a speaker may confine himself to traditional patterns and to certain stereotyped phrases that have come to be used for particular types of whaikoorero. Nevertheless, he is still free to develop a personal style in terms of his ingenuity in selecting appropriate phrases and chants for his speech. Beaglehole (1945:105) gives a good description of whaikoorero in action, comparing the different styles of oratory and how people listen to such speeches. It is said that each tribe has a particular kaupapa and this is reflected in the whaikoorero. Kaupapa may be described as the basic theme expounded by orators of the tribe. Today this refers to the tribe's historical experience of contact with the European. For example, the kaupapa of the Northern tribes is the Treaty of Waitangi and Christianity; amongst the Waikato-Maniapoto and affiliated tribes it is the King Movement; the Tuuhoe tribes refer to Te Kooti and the Ringatuu Church; the Taranaki tribes have the sayings of Te Whiti and Tohu; the Whanganui and associated tribes have the sayings of Raatana, and amongst the Ngaati-Porou they have the teachings of Sir Apirana Ngata. Speakers from these tribal groups invariably use these kaupapa as reference points. Graham (1949:69) cites an example of a proverb used as a kaupapa in song and oratory between the Ngaati-Maru and Waikato tribes whenever they meet.

Let us consider the different types of situations in

which whaikoorero may occur. Whaikoorero can be assigned to one of the following categories, viz -

- a) A tangata-whemua speech during a living occasion such as birthdays, weddings, church festivals, sports meetings, committee meetings, welcomes or farewells to visitors etc.
- b) A tangata-whemua speech during a death occasion such as funerals, unveilings and bereavement visits to other areas.
- c) A manuhiri speech during a living occasion.
- d) A manuhiri speech during a death occasion.

In each of these categories it can be shown that there is an emphasis on certain aspects of the speech and a corresponding de-emphasis on other aspects.¹

The following descriptive terms, together with their defining characteristics, were also supplied by my informants.

The term mihi can initially be defined as a greeting of acknowledgement with the essential meaning of 'I see and recognise you'. However, it is also used as a descriptive term for a whole body of speeches ranging from the informal to formal. The term mihi was used frequently to describe speeches and speechmaking. Whilst the main part of a mihi is

1. For example, the speech by Koro Dewes was delivered as a lecture in a classroom and is primarily concerned with the history of the poukai, a loyalty festival associated with the King Movement and consequently there is no mention of death. By contrast, the speeches by John Rangihau, Pei Te Hurinui, Te Whati Taamati and Kepa Ehau are poroporoaki (death orations) and as such focus on the deceased and Maori attitudes to death. All of these speeches contain figurative references and extolling of the dead and their passage from the world of the living.

vocal, one could describe it also as a behaviour pattern based on the principle of reciprocity. This seems to be embodied in the saying 'ka mihi atu, ka mihi mai, ka kite atu, ka kite mai, ka tuu atu, ka tuu mai', I greet you, You greet me, I see you, You see me, I stand, You stand. Sometimes mihi may occur in several parts of a whaikoorero, as for example, in the mihi mate 'greetings to the dead', and the mihi ora 'greetings to the living'. When used to describe whole speeches the word mihi is normally qualified to denote a particular type of greeting, e.g. mihi whakatau (welcome speech).

Referring back to our previous categories, we can define a poowhiri as a welcome speech given by the tangata-whenua to visitors coming onto the marae.

A poroporoaki is a farewell speech, and more particularly in the context of whaikoorero, a farewell speech to the dead. It may be given by manuhiri or tangata-whenua.

A mihi whakautu (or mihi whakahoki) is the reply by the manuhiri to the welcome speeches of his hosts.

In the following table the speeches used in this study were analysed under various headings and on the basis of this analysis were described as being a particular type of whaikoorero. The following headings were used in the analysis of each speech.

Speaker: the name and tribal origin of the speaker.

Role : whether the speaker was acting as tangata-whenua or manuhiri.

Setting: in which the speech was given. In a natural marae situation speakers will refer to the marae, meeting-house and local topography by name. In

an urban, non-traditional situation, however, there may be little reference to the immediate environment.

Audience: i.e. the physical and social composition of the listeners together with the nature of the occasion will influence what the speaker will and will not say. It will also affect the degree of formality and type of vocabulary used in the speeches.

Speech Composition: each speech has been analysed and then compared with the basic structure outlined in Chapter Three.

Speech Type: on the basis of the categories explained above, each speech has been tentatively classified as representative of a particular type. For this framework I have incorporated features from Ellingsworth and Clevenger:1967.

It became evident that speeches of a particular type tended to show certain recurrent elements. For example, the Taamati and Herewini speeches can be described as poowhiri given by tangata-whenua to a predominantly Maori audience. As such they contain phrases of welcome and reference to the key tribal figures within the overall kaupapa of the Maori King Movement.

There are other types of whaikoorero about which more information is required. These include speeches such as the following:

tono a speech requesting support. It may also refer to a proposal of marriage and generally contains references to the whakapapa or genealogical link of the prospective pair. whai-take or koorero take a discussion of a specific

topic. Sometimes described as 'talking politics'.

muru-hara a formal admission of 'guilt' by an individual which may have contributed to personal or group misfortune.

waawaahi-moemoeaa a speech concerned with analysing a dream believed to portray symbols of social significance.

kauhau a recitation or proclamation. Sometimes used to describe speeches of a religious nature.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WHAIKOORERO SAMPLES

The samples used in this study consist of ten speeches which can be regarded as typical examples of whaikoorero. It should also be noted that whilst each speech may or may not be a good example of whaikoorero, it is the formal characteristics of the genre which are to be discussed here, not their degree of aesthetic excellence.¹

Several features recommended these speeches as a preliminary data source. They included considerations such as accessibility, feedback and cross-checking.² Moreover it was possible through informants to describe the actual conditions in which each speech was given.³

It should also be noted that the bulk of my material

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1. Grey 1961, Ngata 1959, and Beaglehole 1945, all comment on the artistic rendering of whaikoorero by speakers.
 2. The speeches were obtained from recordings in the field, the tape archives of the Anthropology Department of the University of Auckland, family correspondence and informants.

The speakers were recognised as orators and known to me personally and this was invaluable when it was necessary to cross-check.

3. Both the norms (standards and traditions) of the group and the role (specialized function) of the individual will have a potent effect on his behaviour as a speaker. For example, group membership will often determine what subjects a speaker may select, what position he may take on the subject, how he will compose and deliver his speech, and to whom he will choose as his audience. These choices may be made consciously or sub-consciously. Whichever way group membership plays an important influence on choice.

is derived from Waikato sources.⁴ What generally happens, however, is that the more formal the occasion and the wider the relationship between participants, the more probable it is that the speeches will display the same structural characteristics.

-
4. The Waikato people stage approximately forty hui annually. These hui include the loyalty festivals known as poukai, (of which there are twenty-eight), the annual Ngaruawahia celebrations known as the koroneihana, as well as the small local huis within the tribal boundaries.

It is at these kinds of hui where whaikoorero 'Waikato style' may be heard. Thus my sample group offered several advantages, namely:

Hui were predictable and regular.
Such hui were always accompanied by whaikoorero.
Proximity to Auckland allowed me to attend many of these hui.
I was able to meet and speak with informants frequently.

WHAIKOORERO ONE

This speech is a poowhiri given by Te Whati Taamati⁵. at the 1960 Hui Toopuu held at Turangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia. Te Whati begins with a tau-parapara, welcomes the living and the dead and ends with a waiata. He quotes several of the sayings attributed to Taawhiao, the second Maori King, and uses these pepeha⁶ to explain the establishment of the Maori King Movement.⁷

-
5. Te Whati is a kaumaatua of the Ngaati-Maahanga sub-tribe and one of the chief spokesmen for the King Movement. He is aged about seventy and spends much of his time travelling from one hui to another. As an orator he is a welcome visitor on all Waikato marae and those who have heard him speak claim he is one of the few remaining 'old time' speakers.

A deeply religious man, Te Whati has always been interested in Taawhiao's sayings. He maintains that in order to understand these sayings a thorough knowledge of the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, is necessary. Henry Williams, an early missionary, described how the early Maoris read the Bible to considerable purpose and quoted from it with great freedom. The Old Testament naturally attracted them most for they found recorded there a mode of life in many respects similar to their own.

6. Pepeha are proverbs or expressions peculiar to a certain district and often regarded as local slogans. Compared to the more common form of proverb known as whakataukii, the former are more restricted in distribution and prophetic in nature. The sayings by Taawhiao, Te Ua Haumeene, Te Kooti, Te Whiti and Tohu, and Aaperehama Taonui are included in this category.
7. As related by informants the three basic reasons for setting up a King were 'to hold the land, to stop bloodshed and to retain Maori prestige'.

A POOWHIRI BY TE WHATI TAAMATI

Whakaaraara
Tihei mauri ora

Warning Call
Ah it is life!

Tauparapara
Tiikina ki te wao tapu tootookia mai ai te what, maatakataka
Introductory Chant
Fetch from the sacred forest, drag forth the anchor, crashing
it

tuu mai, horo ia ki te toki o Aitu, e tapu takahu.
stands still, fell it with the axe of Aitu, the most sacred
axe.

Ko ia te whetuu, te marama Tangaroa puta i te whana putuputu
He is the star, the moon, Tangaroa emerges from the lagoon

Tau tika tau tonu too koutou ara e Taane ki a Papa-te-rangi
Your pathway O Tane leads directly to Papa-i-te-rangi

Ko kautuu ko kautuu, ko kauhoru ko kauhoru ko te mate o
koutou e ka wheuru
Wade, wade, scrape your way lest you perish wading

Ka wheuru ka whakaaro ki te uru ka riro ki te uru no Rangi
tuu mai me ngaa hara
Across the deep to the head of Rangi standing there to-
gether with his sins.

Takitakina te waka ka tere te waka ka tere hiihaa
Recite the canoe chant that it may speed ahead

Ka tere te waka ka tere raa tai tuutaki ake i te hekenui no
The canoe sails and heads seawards and meets Tukurangi's hosts

Tukurangi waiho raa pea
let us leave them

Waiho raa Pou kia kau ana ka maawhetewhete i te whiwhi, ka
Leave Pou to swim and escape from the trap

maataratara i te hara, i te whakarotu o Taane i eke ai ki
tawhiti
let us move further from the hara like Tane's ascent to afar.

Kaukau mai te manu ki raro me aku taatai aromea, mehe aromea
The bird sings plaintively below like a captive being checked

Tee rukutia ki pou mua o taaku manawa kaaore raa pea ko au
e kimi
My thoughts are removed to the deepest recesses of my feelings

ana e ranga ana mo raatou
perhaps it is only I seeking and searching for them

I piki ake ai au ki runga nei ko taatai poo ka huaia, ka
reretia
Hence I climbed above here and count the nights, reciting
and uttering

Whano, whano, haere mai te toki, haumi e, hui e, taiki e!
Go, go, bring forth the axe, bind it, join it, it is
finished!¹.

Kaupapa

Whakatau mai, whakatau mai, whakatau mai, whakatau mai,
Body of Speech
Welcome, welcome, welcome, welcome,

whakatau₂mai.
welcome.².

Whakatau mai e ngaa iwi, whakatau mai e ngaa reo, whakatau
mai
Welcome O tribes, welcome O spokesmen, welcome

e ngaa mana, whakatau mai e ngaa waka o runga i te motu,
O chiefs, welcome O canoes from throughout the land

o'ia, i raro i ngaa hau e whaa.
and from the four winds.

I koorerotia ai, te uupoko te ikaroa a Maui, ki te puku
It was said, the head of Maui's great fish, to the belly

o te whenua ki Te Tai Rawhiti, ki te kihu o te ikaroa a
Maui e
of the land to the East Coast to the tail of Maui's great
fish lying

takoto nei.
here.³.

-
1. Other versions of this chant may be found in Kelly, 1949:15, Winiata, 1950. My translation differs slightly.
 2. Visitors coming onto the marae are sometimes likened to canoes coming to land ashore.
 3. An allusion to the myth of Maui fishing up the North Island, ref. Reed, 1963:135.

Haere mai te raa, haere mai te raa, haere mai te raa,
Welcome the day, welcome the day, welcome the day,

haere mai te raa.
welcome the day.

Haere mai te raa i waihangatia e Io-matua-te-kore,
Welcome the day created by Io-the-fatherless,

te atua oo taatou tuupuna, oo taatou maatua.
the god of our ancestors and parents.

Kua tatuu mai, kua tatuu mai, kua tatuu mai,
You have arrived, you have arrived, you have arrived,

kua tatuu mai koutou ki Ngaaruawaahia.
you have arrived at Ngaruawahia.

Koinei a Ngaaruawaahia, te kupu oohaakii i koorerotia ai
This is Ngaruawahia, the final words spoken

e Taawhiao.
by Tawhiao.

I koorerotia ai e ia eenei koorero poropiti i te waa i a
ia nei,
He uttered these prophetic sayings during his time,

Ko Arekahaana raa tooku haaona kaha, ko Keemureti tooku oko
horoi,
Alexandra is the symbol of my strength, Cambridge is my wash
bowl,

ko Ngaaruawaahia tooku tuurangawaewae. Kua tae mai koutou ki mua
Ngaruawahia is my footstool. You have arrived before

ki te aroaro o Kiingi Koroki. Kua tae mai koutou ki te marae i
the presence of King Koroki. You have arrived at the courtyard

waihangatia ai e Te Puea. Ahakoa raa kua pahemo a Te Puea ki
created by Te Puea. Even though Te Puea has passed beyond

tua o te aarai, anaa tonu, te marae e takoto nei.
the veil, she is still there, the courtyard lying here.

Kaaore he tangata hei karanga i a koutou, inaa tonu,
There is no one to welcome you, only those,

ko ngaa whare e tuu nei, inaa raa, a Waikato e takoto nei.
the houses standing here, and there, the Waikato river flowing
here.⁴

Te rerenga mai anoo o reira raa anoo, e rere nei.
It flowed there in the past and still it flows.

4. The speaker is referring to the ancestral houses
Turongo and Mahinarangi and the Waikato river.

I koorerotia ai oona koorero i reira, 'Ko Taupiri
Its words were spoken then, 'Taupiri is the

te maunga, ko Waikato te moana, ko Te Wherowhero te tangata'.
mountain, Waikato is the river and Te Wherowhero is the man'.

Ko ana kupu whakatauaakii, 'Waikato taniwha rau, he piko he
Its proverb states, 'Waikato of a hundred dragons, at every
bend a

taniwha'. Ka whakatuuria na te motu katoa, na te motu katoa.
dragon. It was set up by the whole country, the whole
country.

Ka tuu ko Pootatau i teeraa waa i runga i te whakaaro o ngaa
iwi o te
Pootatau was invested at the time in accordance with the wish

motu. Ka mutu ai te tauwhaainga a teetehi iwi ki teetehi iwi,
of all the people. Thus ended the inter-tribal hostilities

a teetehi rangatira ki teetehi rangatira, ka huri atu ai te
ao
and the friction between chiefs and so the old ways passed on

tawhito, ka takoto mai i reira toona koorero i koorerotia
ai e
but the words spoken by Pootatau at the time remained,

Pootatau i teeraa waa, 'I mua i⁵ too koutou atua ko Uenuku, he
'Before your god it was Uenuku,⁵ he purei paaora,⁶ today it
is

purei paaora; i teenei rangi ko Ihowa oo ngaa mano, he taaonga
Jehovah of the multitudes, it was a legacy already known to my

horatuu ki aku tuupuna no te rangi tatuu ana ki te whenua'.
ancestors from the sky extending to the earth'.

Ka takoto mai te aaioo i waenganui i ngaa iwi katoa me taatou
Hence peace was widespread between all the tribes and our-
selves

katoa, o teeraa rangi tae mai ana ki teenei rangi. Kua tae
mai
from that time to this. This has come

5. Uenuku-kai-tangata 'Uenuku the devourer of men' was
an ancient Waikato tribal god. Gudgeon, 1907:65.

6. Reference is obscure.

teenei ki te waa i koorero ai te Ariki, 'Hei konei koutou
to the time when the Lord said, 'You remain here, ^{noho} be brave,
be

ake ai, kia maaia, kia kaha, kua taea e hau te ao. Kei te hoki
strong, I have overcome the world. I am returning to the Father

ahau ki te Matua, ki te mea i teetehi waahi hei tukunga ake mo
to prepare a place for you to come up to.

koutou. E tae ki te raa, aa, ka hoki mai anoo ahau ki te
When it comes to the day I shall return ^{tiki mai} again to
fetch

i a koutou ki te hari ki te waahi e noho ai ahau'.
you all and take you to the place where I am to stay'.

No reira haere mai te rangi i tohungia ai e te Ariki kua tae
Therefore welcome to the day appointed by the Lord, it has ^{mai}
come to

ki teenei rangi. Taatou taatou e noho nei i mua i te aroaro o
this day. We are one people sitting here before the

too taatou Kiingi. I koorerotia ai e Taawhiao teenei korero,
presence of our King. Tawhiao uttered this saying,

'Ahakoa ngaa mano huri atu ki te haamarietanga, mahue mai ki
aau

'Regardless of the multitudes who turn to seek salvation there

kotahi mano e rima rau e rima tekau, tekau maa rua. Ko ahau kei
shall be left to me a thousand, five hundred, fifty and then
twelve

roto ko te Atua tooku piringa, ka puta ki te whaiao ki te ao
I am within, the Lord is my saviour and we shall emerge in
the light

maarama'. Koia te mihi atu nei ki a koutou, teenaa koutou,
of day. This is why I greet you, greetings,

teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou.
greetings, greetings.

Teenaa koutou ngaa uri o
Greetings to you the

runga i ngaa waka, o ngaa rangatira o te motu. I waihangatia ai
descendants from the canoes and the chiefs throughout the land.

te whakaaro i teeraa rangi, poua ake te pou ki te ao, ko te
The idea was formed during that time, the symbol was planted
in the

Kiingitanga e purutia nei e Kiingi Koroki i roto i teen⁷_{rangi}.
world which is the Kingship held by King Koroki in this day.

No reira haere mai, haere mai, haere mai, haere mai, haere mai,
Therefore welcome, welcome, welcome, welcome, welcome,

haere mai. Haere mai te aahuatanga i oo taatou aituaa ahakoa
welcome. kua

Welcome with regard to our deaths even though
they have

whetuurangitia. He pito koorero, he mihi e hokia, he mihi e
passed on. A conversation or greeting is returned to them,

koorerotia. Haere e Kui maa, haere e Koro maa, haere raa,
haere
during greetings they are spoken of. Farewell O Ladies, O
Elders,

raa, haere raa, haere raa, haere raa. Haere e pai ana, haere
e pai
farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell. Farewell all
is well

ana. Ko te whare kau o te wairua pahemo atu i mua i oo taatou
farewell all is well. Only the house of the spirit disappears

aroaro, engari ia ko te wairua he mea mau tonu, e kore e mate.
from us but the spirit itself remains, it does not die.

Naa, kua tae, kua tae ki te waahi i koorerotia raa e te Ariki.
So it has come, the time spoken of by our Lord has come to pass.

No reira he mihi atu ki a koutou, kua huri koutou ki tua o
te aarai
Therefore I greet you even though you have passed beyond
the veil

hei aha. I waihangatia e koutou, i whakatoongia te kupu, kua
of death. You formulated and implanted the word, the word has

tinana te kupu ko te kupu. E purutia atu nei ngaa taaonga
oo ana
taken shape and it is the word. And here the treasures of
his

tuupana, oo ana maatua. Te ihi, te wehi, te mana i uuhia ai
ki
ancestors and parents are retained. The awe, the fear, the
prestige

7. Gorst, 1959:55 gives an account of the meeting called by Te Heuheu Iwikau at Puukawa, on the shores of Lake Taupo to select a Maori King. One of the ceremonies performed there was the erection of a giant pole representing Tongariro and then links with other tribal mountains were forged. Finally the mana of all these mountains was symbolically transferred to Potatau, the first Maori King. Also ref. Cowan, 1955:150-54.

runga ki te Kiingitanga e mau nei; me too taatou mana, me
too taatou
invested in the Kingship is held here; together with our
prestige

Maoritanga, i raro i te maru o Ihowa o ngaa mano.
and cultural heritage under the mantle of Jehovah of the
multitudes.

No reira haere mai. Haere mai huihuia mai oo taatou aituaa
ki ngaa
Therefore welcome. Come forward and gather our dead to-
gether to

aituaa o raro i te taahuhu o teenei whakahuatanga, 'Ko
Mookau ki
the dead included in this expression, 'Mokau above and
Tamaki below,

runga, ko Taamaki ki raro, ko Pare Hauraki, ko Pare Waikato,
ko
Hauraki to the east and Waikato to the west and Mangatoatoa
in the

Mangatoatoa ki waenganui'. Kua tatuu mai koutou ki too
taatou
centre'.⁸ You have come to our day and the

rangi ka kiia toona koorero, ka aapiti hono taatai hono,
raatou te
words are said, the dead are joined to the dead;

hunga mate ki a raatou; ka aapiti hono taatai hono, taatou te
we the living are joined together.

hunga ora ki a taatou. No reira haere mai, haere mai, haere
mai,
Therefore welcome, welcome, welcome,

haere mai, haere mai, haere mai, haere mai. Haere mai i
roto i
welcome, welcome, welcome, welcome. Welcome in our thoughts

ngaa whakaaro mo te Ariki. I eenei raarangi e kiia ake nei,
for the Lord. Within these lines which say,

'Kua hoomai te mana o te rangi ki ahau, me te mana o te whenua,
'The power of heaven has been given to me plus the power of the

engari haere koutou meingatia ngaa iwi katoa hei kaiwhakaako'.
land but go forth and convert all the people to be disciples'.

No reira kua tae mai koutou i raro i te kupu whakahau a too
Therefore you have arrived at the invitation of our Ariki.

taatou Ariki. Ka nui te whakamihi ki too taatou rangi, ka nui
I pay compliments to our day, I pay compliments

8. A whakatauki denoting the boundaries of the Tainui
tribes.

te whakamihi ki too taatou rangi.
to our day.

Ahakoia he maha ngaa wehewehenga me ngaa aahua
Though there are many divisions and ways amongst

i waenganui i aa koutou, hei aha. Kua koorero keetia e
Taawhiao,
you, never mind. Tawhiao had already
foreseen

'Ahakoia miro whero, miro pango, miro maa, otiraa kotahi
anoo te

'Although the thread may be red, black or white nevertheless
there

koohao o te ngira e kuhu ai, e kuhu ai teenaa miro, e kuhu ai
is only one eye of the needle to enter for that thread to pass

teenaa miro, e kuhu ai teenaa miro'. Ina raa e maatakitaki
atu

through, for that thread to pass through, for that thread to
pass

naa au ki a koutou e noho mai naa, aanoo, rite tonu anoo
teenei

through'. Now here as I look at you sitting there what I am

koorero e koorerotia ake nei e au, i koorero keetia e

Taawhiao
saying is very similar and had already been spoken of by
Tawhiao

i te waa i koorerotia ai e ia, tae rawa mai ki teenei rangi.
during the time he spoke right up to the present.

Whakamutunga

Teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou.

Conclusion

Greetings, greetings, greetings, greetings.

WHAIKOORERO ONE

This speech is a poroporoaki given by Te Whati Taamati at the tangihanga for Kepa Ehau⁹. held at Tuunohopuu marae, Rotorua, in February 1970. Te Whati begins with a tau and then characteristically, for speeches of this type, he speaks directly to the deceased. Mention is made of the deceased's achievements both on the field of battle and amongst his own people.¹⁰ Towards the close of his speech Te Whati gathers together the dead of Te Arawa and those of Tainui and then ends with a waiata.

-
9. Described as one of the greatest orators of the Te Arawa tribe, Kepa had been prominent for at least fifty years in welcoming noted visitors to Rotorua. He acted as interpreter for old men who had no English, and as an orator in his own right. He served with the Maori Pioneer Battalion in World War One and was severely wounded in France. In recent years these wounds caused the amputation of both legs, but he remained a noted figure at Maori meetings, speaking in a strong rich voice from his wheelchair.
 10. Andersen (1946:x) described how to the Maori every name is a fragment of history, or a picture, or both, calling up personages and incidents from his revered past. In this speech Te Whati refers frequently to proverbs, personal and place names to enrich his address, linking the past with the present.

I pupuu mai ai te wai i te take o Tongariro ki te
moana
From whence water sprung forth from the base of
Tongariro

o Rotorua ki te awa o Waikato, toona putanga paenga-
huru
to the lake of Rotorua to the Waikato river emerging
from

ki Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.¹⁴. Noou te reo e Kepa, noou.
these many sources to the great sea of Kiwa. Yours
was

I runga ki a Tainui waka, mai i Taamaki ki Mookau,
Pare
the voice O Kepa. Onto Tainui canoe, from Tamaki to
Mokau,

Hauraki ki Pare Waikato, Mangatoatoa ki waenganui ki
te
Hauraki to Waikato, Mangatoatoa in between to the foot
of

Kaokao-roa-a-Paatetere.¹⁵. Kua tatuu mai, kua tatuu
mai,
the Kaimai ranges. (They) have arrived, (they) have
kua tatuu mai. Kua tatuu mai te mokopuna a te motu,
kua
arrived, (they) have arrived. The grandchild of the
land,

tatuu mai te Kaahui Ariki,¹⁶. kua tatuu mai ana kuia,
koroua,
the Royal family, her old men and women have all
arrived

ka tere piipii whakaao ki mua ki a koe ki too reo.
Teenei
they have assembled with a rush before you to your
voice.

-
14. An allusion to the legend regarding the origins of the Waikato river. See Te Ao Hou (No. 17, 1956:16) for Sir Apirana Ngata's account of this legend.
 15. A saying used to define the boundaries of the Tainui people.
 16. Members of the Waikato Paramount family who accompany the Maori Queen during her visits.

te tau nei, teenei te tau nei, teenei te tau nei.
Here they land, here they land, here they land.

Me ngaa waka o te motu mai i te maunga hauhunga, ki
reira
Plus the canoes of the island from the snow-capped
mountain

Taranaki, kua tatuu mai, teenaa waahanga, teenaa
there where Taranaki is they have landed here, that
group and

waahanga, naau i karanga kua tatuu mai. Teenei te
kawē
that group (because) you called they have landed here.
Here (we)

mai nei i ngaa taaonga whakamirimiri aa oo kuia, aa oo
bring the soothing treasures of your old men and
women that

koroua i waiho ake ai. Te takitaki o teenei hanga
o te
they left behind. The greeting of this thing called
mate, te roimata ko te huupee i roto i te raarangi
e kiia
death (with) tears and mucous within the lines which
stated

raa whaia te kotahitanga o te wairua, na te aroha
na te
pursue the unity of the spirit bound by love and peace.
rangimaarie i paihere. Oo taaonga teeneki whaka-
mirimiri
These are your treasures
soothing

i a koe e ora ana, waihotia ake. No reira kua tatuu
mai,
you when you were alive they were left behind.
Therefore

kua tatuu mai, kua tatuu mai. Kepa Ehau a te tini
a te
we have arrived, we have arrived, we have arrived.
Kepa Ehau of the

mano, ahakoa hoa maa i te taha Maaori, ahakoa i te
taha
multitudes and thousands regardless O friends Maori
and Pakeha,

Paakeha, kei te moohio atu ki te raa o Tuumatauenga
ko koe
we knew during the days of Tuumatauenga (war) you
were the

te kaihautuu, ko koe, i roto i te mura o te ahi.
leader, it was you in the flame of the fire (heat
of battle).

I a koe ngaa manaakitanga a te Runga Rawa tatuu
mai ai
You had the blessings of the almighty above
until you

koe ki teenei raa. I meingatia ai e ia teenei
rangi hei
reached this day. He chose this day as the day
for your

wehenga moou i runga i too marae, i roto i te iwi,
huri
departure from on your marae, from amongst your
people

noa i ngaa hau e whaa. E Kepa haere, haere, haere,
haere.
throughout the four winds. O Kepa farewell, farewell,
farewell, farewell.

E haere atu ana, e moohio atu ana, i eke koe ki
runga ki
(You) are going and (we) know you scaled the peaks
(of

ngaa taumata. I koorerotia ai e whitu tekau, he waru
achievement). It was said that for seventy to eighty
tekau he mahi maauui. Mahue mai i a koe eenei, eenei
years is the exhausting work. You have left these,
these

taumata. No reira he ahakoa ngaa taaonga katoa i a
koe,
peaks. Therefore even though you possessed all things,
aa, kua waihotia iho raa e koe ki te hunga i mahue
ake.
you have left them to those left behind.

No reira haere te pou tootara, haere te waha koorero
ki
Therefore farewell the totara pole, farewell the
orator

runga ki ngaa marae maha, puta atu ki roto ki ngaa
whare
on the many courtyards extending into the houses of

waananga rapu i te ora mo te iwi, ko koe. No reira
learning seeking the well-being of the people, it
was you.

haere i te raa i tohungia ai e te Atua. Haere ki te
Farewell on the day appointed by the Lord. Go to the

tiimatanga, haere ki te whakamutunga, haere ki oo
ending, go to our ancestors, go to our parents and

taatou maatua me te iwi. Ehara i te huarahi hoou no
the people. It is not a new path, it is from

ngaa whakatupuranga. Ahakoa poropititanga ko te
the generations. Whether prophet that is the

takotoranga teenaa, ahakoa kiingitanga ko te tako-
toranga
resting place, whether king that is the resting place,
teenaa, ahakoa tohunga ko te takotoranga teenaa. No
reira
whether learned man that is the resting place. There-
fore

kua takotoria e koe i roto i teenei rangi, haere,
haere,
you have lain in it this day, farewell, farewell,

haere. Naa kua eke mai, kua eke mai. He ahakoa ngaa
farewell. So we have ascended, we have ascended. In

aituaa i runga i a Tainui waka kua tau tahi ki a koe
spite of the deaths on Tainui canoe they have landed

ki a Te Arawa i teenei rangi. Ahakoa ngaa mate kua
together with you Te Arawa this day. Even those dead

whetuurangitia kua tatuu mai te pito ora, e koorerotia
who passed on previously the living have landed, the

te hunga mate ka kiia ka ea, ka ea, ka ea, te waahi ki
dead are spoken of and it is said that it is accom-
plished,

a raatou. Kei te hoa haere, pootiki haere.
the part to them has been accomplished. To the friend
farewell, O son farewell.

Haere ki te puutahi nui o Rehua, ki te poutuutanga nui
Go to the great meeting-place of Rehua to the great

o Pipiri, ki te uurunga tee taka, te moenga tee
heights of Pipiri, to the pillow which never slips,

whakaarahia. Waiho ma te hunga i mahue i muri e
to the sleep from which there is no arising. Leave
those

whai atu i oo tapuwae. No reira haere ki te
left behind to follow in your footsteps. Therefore go

tiimatanga, haere ki te whakamutunga.
the beginning, go to the ending.

Lament

Takoto ana mai te marama i te pae te tara ki te ruruhi
Here the moon lies on the horizon a symbol of the
ancestress

He ripa tau-aarai ki te iwi ka ngaro
A barrier (separating us) from the people who are
lost

Ki te poo-uriuri, ki te poo-tangotango, ki te poo
oti atu
To the darkness, the intense darkness, the final
darkness

Hei whare koorero, hei whare waananga ma Hine-nui-
i-te-poo
As a topic of conversation and discussion for the
great

e kuku nei te tangata
Lady of the night who takes all men

Te hinganga o te tini te moenga o te mano
The fate of the myriads the sleep of the multitudes

Tau tonu iho nei ngaa whakataukii a Tupaengarau i
Tupaengarau's proverbs descend here to where you
once

tutuki o wae ngaa hau a tai
stood the murmur of the tide

Taka i te raakau, taka i te wai, ngaa hau a tai
To fall from a tree, to fall into the water the
murmur of the tide

Wera i te ahi, hinga ki te whare, ngaa hau a tai
To burn by fire, to collapse in the house the murmur
of the tide

Whakatuutuu ai te kapua i te rangi mehe ko Kaimaka
The clouds in the sky stand as if they were Kaimaka

I tohia iho nei ki te tohi o Uenuku
Who was dedicated to the rites of Uenuku

Ki te tohi taangaengae, to whatu o te ahuru naa e.^{17.}
To the vigorous dedication the victim of that symbol
there.

17. A popular lament sung widely throughout the Waikato.
The origin of this song is unknown. Translation mine.

WHAIKOORERO THREE

This speech is a poowhiri given by Paraire Herewini¹⁸. at the 1960 Hui Toopuu¹⁹. held at Turangawaewae marae, Ngaruawahia. Paraire begins with a greeting of loyalty and then recites a tau-parapara. He welcomes the visitors to the gathering and invites them to bring forward their dead to be greeted and farewelled. Because the occasion is concerned with the living, the main emphasis in the speech is on the mihi ora.

Collective terms and mythical references, rather than tribal designations, are used in referring to the visitors. The speaker's use of kin terms such as mokopuna and whaea emphasises the fact that Maori political groups, like social groups, are basically kin groupings. In this sense the above terms might be translated as 'grandchild' and 'mother' of the people. The proverb quoted acknowledges the inevitability of change and he ends his speech with a waiata tangi²⁰.

-
18. Paraire was the chief of Ngaati-Hine. During his life he worked firstly as a carpenter and then later as a farmer in the Rangiriri district. After his wife's death he moved to Turangawaewae to be, in his own words, 'a covering for the King's feet', that is, a spokesman. It was in this role that he became widely known as an orator, either welcoming visitors onto Waikato marae, or, acting as spokesman for King Koroki during visits to other tribes.
19. A Hui Toopuu is the name given to the annual gathering staged by the Anglican Maori Mission.
20. At first glance a lament might seem inappropriate in a speech primarily concerned with the living. In context, however, the song follows immediately after the mihi mate and is the speaker's way of ending his tributes to the dead. Living and dead complement each other to form the Maori community.

A POOWHIRI BY PARAIRE HEREWINI

Greeting of Loyalty

Arohaina ngaa teina me ngaa tuakana, e wehi ana ki te
Love the younger and older relatives, fearing the

Atua, whakahoonoretia te Kiingi.
Lord, honour the King.

Introductory Chant

He aha te ngaarahu, ngaarahu kauri, whakatae rangiti
ai

What is the pigment, the kauri pigment,

E rere te nehu, e rere kia tangata, koia raa teenaa
e mau

Go on O dust, go onto man, for that is it worn there
by

mai naa, e mau atu nei.
you and worn here by me.

Marangai, marangai, ka rui eke ana ia te uupoko i te
ihu

Arise, arise, it is scattered and it reaches the head,
the.

o taku moenga, o taku tau, kia hauaa, hau hau ariki.
nose of my sleep, of my counting

He kura, he kura te winiwini, he kura te wanawana ki
tua

o Reehia, ki tua o Reiao, ki taku whaainga makau he
kekeete.

Te kekeete mai, te kekeete te ara mai te ara, he manu

whakatau naaku ki tua o pae ko Tara.

Ko Tara whaaia mai raa ko Tuu ki taha mau, ko Rongo ki
It is Tara pursue it forth Tuu is on the left and Rongo

taha katau.
is on the right.

Waiho i to tuu, waiho i to maro, e tuu nuumia, e tuu
raa

wai, e tuu paakau rorohi

Ko to whakaotinuku ki taku whakaotirangi, ko oo
koutou
your hearts

manawa ki oo maatou manawa e Taane ka irihia.
to our hearts O Tane it is heard.

Whano whano haramai te toki a Haumi e
Begin, begin, bring forth the axe of Haumi

Hui e, taaiki e.²¹
Gather it, it is finished.

Welcome to Visitors

Haere mai ngaa iwi, haere mai ngaa iwi, haere mai
ngaa iwi.
Welcome the people, welcome the people, welcome the
people.

Haere mai ngaa iwi o teeraa tai, o teenei tai, o te
Welcome the people of that coast, of this coast,
of the

tuawhenua.²²
inland.

Kua tae mai koutou ngaa uri oo ngaa tuupuna o runga
i oo
You have arrived the descendants of the ancestors
from

taatou waka, e kiia nei e whitu engari ki aau e iwa,
on our canoes, said to be seven, but to me there are
nine,

tekau atu. No reira haere mai. Haere mai ngaa iwi o
ten or more.²³ Therefore welcome. Welcome the
tribes of

te Tai Raawhiti, ngaa iwi o te tonga, ngaa iwi o te
hiku
the East Coast, the tribes of the south, the tribes of

21. According to Paraire this was originally a karakia taa moko (tattooing incantation) now adapted for use as a speech introduction. Another version is recorded in Pomare's 'Legends of the Maori'.

Much of the language in this chant is archaic and untranslatable.

22. The use of cover terms such as these is typical of opening speakers endeavouring to establish the tribal composition of visiting groups.

23. Corrects "nga waka e whitu", stock phrase so popular with unthinking orators.

o te motu nei.²⁴ Haere mai ki runga i te papa o taa
tail of this land. Welcome onto the courtyard of your

koutou mokopuna i waihotia ai e tana whaea e Te Faea.
grandchild left behind by his aunt Te Faea.

No reira koutou katoa, me kii au ko ngaa uri o ngaa
Therefore to all of you, let me say the descendants
of the

tuupuna o ngaa waka o ngaa hau e whaa, noho mai naa
ancestors of the canoes of the four winds,²⁵ you are
sitting

koutou oo raatou uri, no reira te kitenga atu i oo
koutou
there their descendants, therefore when I see your
faces

kanohi ka hoki te whakaaro ki oo taatou tuupuna, na
the thoughts return to our ancestors, you sent

koutou i tuku atu ki te pakitara-a-whare²⁶. o teenaa
marae,
them from the house walls of that courtyard,

o teenaa marae, o teenaa marae. No reira haere mai.
of that courtyard, of that courtyard. Therefore
welcome.

Haere mai, wahaa mai oo taatou aituaa.²⁷ Ahakoa ngaa
mate

Welcome and carry forward our dead. Even though the

kua whetuurangitia, engari i te kitenga atu i oo koutou
have passed over the horizon, yet when I saw your faces

kanohi ka hoki te mahara ki a raatou. Na reira raatou
the thoughts returned to them. Therefore they

24. In Maori mythology the culture-hero Maui fished up the North Island, hence its name 'the fish of Maui'. The term 'tail of the fish' refers to Northland.

25. No one left out - courtesy.

26. Literally 'the walls of the meeting-house'. Sometimes used to describe a peaceful death compared to death by misfortune (mate aituaa). Tara-a-whare custom of bones of dead deposited in kits (kete putea), hung on walls of houses and after a time deposited in the appropriate burial areas. Symbolic reference now.

27. Speakers often call to visitors to figuratively 'carry' their dead on their backs as they come onto the marae.

kua ngaro, ahakoa ngaa mate o ngaa tau, o ngaa
who are lost, even though the dead of the years,
marama o
the months

ngaa wiki, o nanahi; kua tae mai koutou, e puupuu-
ria mai²⁸.
the weeks, of yesterday; you have arrived, you are
recalling

nei e koutou i ngaa mate e takoto nei i mua i taa
the deaths lying here before your

koutou mokopuna, i too taatou Kiingi, Kiingi Koroki.
grandchild, our King, King Koroki.

Reference to the Purpose of the Gathering

No reira haere mai te iwi, haere mai me oo taatou
mahara

Therefore welcome the tribes, welcome in our thoughts
to

ki too taatou Matua-mui-i-te-rangi. Naana nei i tuku
the great Father in heaven. For it was He who

mai i oo taatou tuupuna, ka tuku mai ko taatou ko ngaa
passed it down from our ancestors, from whence it came
to

uri whakatupu, tiimata mai i reira ki teenei rangi.
us the descendants, beginning from that time to this
day.

No reira haere mai.
Therefore welcome.

Farewell to the Dead

Haere e Koro maa i runga i oo koutou pae maunga, e Kui
Farewell O elders from on your mountain perches, O
ladies

maa, e Paa maa, e whae maa, e hoa maa, taane, waahine
te

O fathers, O mothers, O friends, men, women, the family.

whaanau. Haere ki te take o oo koutou maunga koorero,
Go to the bases of your proverbial mountains

28. The recalling by speakers of past deaths during whaikoorero.

29. Every tribe and chief was associated in whaikoorero with the most prominent geographical features in their territory. One well-known proverb incorporating this idea states - 'Tongariro is the mountain, Taupo is the sea, Te Heuheu is the man'. Parallel tradition in mention of Tongariro recalls the status of Te Heuheu and Ngati-Tuwharetoa, its symbolic status, its mythology, and place in oral tradition.

i roto i oo koutou moana, i runga i oo koutou paa.
in your seas, on your courtyards.

No reira haere, haere, haere.
Therefore farewell, farewell, farewell.

Lament

E ua e te ua tata rahi ana
Pour down, O rain, in gusty squalls

Ko te hua i te kamo taheke i runga raa
Like tears from my eyes falling from above

Me mihi koe kei tuatahi ana
Let us greet you as when we first met

Mookai whakawhenua i taupurua iho
You the great traveller, these were treasured
memories

Te ai e he tiere hei whiu i ahau
There is no perfume to lure and speed me on my way

Kia kite hoki au teeraa whaitua
So I might see those other parts

Whai noa atu ana he maunga ka riaki
Painfully I contemplate the upflung range

E aroha nei au ka tatara ki tawhiti
Which hides you from me; you have departed afar

Ka whakamamao atu hoki mai i te kore
As you recede I return from nothingness

Ka ruia teenei ngaa waka tere i a Te Hiakai raa
Of thoughts borne away with Te Hiakai's drifting
canoes

Hei whiu i ahau taapapa taku iti e
O to be cast aboard and sprawl exhausted

Te au here toroa o Kaarewa i waho raa
But thwarted by Karewa's current out yonder

Au ka hoki mai e.^{30.}
My thoughts return, alas.

30. See N.M.I. waiata 54 for background to this song.
My translation varies slightly.

Greetings to the Living

No reira haere mai, haere mai, haere mai. Haere
mai e
Therefore welcome, welcome, welcome. Welcome O

hoa maa, taane, waahine, haere mai te whaanau.
friends, men, women, welcome the family.

Haere mai te whaanau no koutou teenei raa.
Welcome the family this is your day.

E kiia ana te koorero
The saying states

Proverb

'Ko puu te ruha, e hao ana te rangatahi'.³¹.
'The old net is cast aside and the young net goes
fishing'.

No reira te whaanau, te rangatahi, koutou no
teenei raa.
Therefore the family, the young people, you are of
this age.

Naa, kia kaha ki te haapai i too koutou Maaoritanga,
So be strong in upholding your Maori heritage,

i oo koutou tikanga Maaori, me too koutou mana
Maaori.
your customs and prestige.

Conclusion

No reira teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou.
Therefore greetings, greetings, greetings.

31. Jones (1959:273) attributes this proverb to Pootatau,
the first Maori King.

WHAIKOORERO FOUR

This speech is a poroporoaki given on behalf of King Koroki by Pei Te Hurinui Jones³². at the tangihanga for Haami Tokouru Ratana³³. held at Ratana Pa, Whanganui, in October 1944. This speech is a death oration and contains many classical expressions associated with death.

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32. Widely known for his work as a Maori scholar, Te Hurinui was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature by the University of Waikato in February 1968. He was born at Harataunga, Coromandel, the son of Paretekora and Daniel Lewis. He was adopted in infancy by his grand-uncle Te Hurinui Te Wano and later by David Jones. Confidant and adviser to King Koroki and Princess Te Puea, it was mainly through his research and evidence before the Royal Commission on the confiscation of Maori land during the Coates' Government that compensation in perpetuity was arranged for Maori lands in the Waikato. Te Hurinui is the President of the New Zealand Maori Council and Secretary of the Tainui Maori Trust Board.
33. Tokouru was the eldest son of Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana, maangai and founder of the Ratana Church and served overseas in the Second Maori Contingent from 1915 to 1918. He stood unsuccessfully as Ratana candidate for Western Maori against Sir Maui Pomare in 1922 and 1928, and in 1931 against Taite Te Tomo. Because there was a strong reaction to the Lands Evaluation Act, he defeated Te Tomo in 1935 with a majority of 48 votes. Entering Parliament as a Ratana Independent he joined the Labour Party. He contested his seat in 1938 as Labour candidate and held it until his death on 30 October 1944. He was succeeded in the positions of President of the Ratana Church and Member for Western Maori by his younger brother Matiu Ratana. He was known as Te Arepa, after his brother who had died, when the Temple at Ratana Pa was completed.

A POROPOROAKI BY PEI TE HURINUI JONES

Mihi ki ngaa iwi me ngaa mate
Greetings to the people and the dead

Ki te kiri mate, ki ngaa iwi o Aotea, o Kurahaupoo, ki te
Tai Hauaaauru,
To the bereaved family, to the people of Aotea, Kurahaupo,
the West Coast

ki ngaa iwi o te motu teenaa koutou katoa. Teenaa koutou i
teenei aituaa
tribes and people throughout the land, greetings. I greet
you with regard

o te iwi Maaori kua takoto nei, taku paapaa a Tokouru, ki te
moenga roa,
for this death amongst the Maori people, my elder Tokouru who
has passed on

'ki te moenga tee whakaarahia, ki te uurunga tee taka'
'to the sleep from which there is no arising, to the pillow
which never slips'.

Poroporoaki
Farewell to the dead

Haere e Paa, whaimuri i oo maatua i oo koroua, i oo whaea i
oo kuia.
Farewell O Father, follow your parents, grandfathers, mothers,
grandmothers.

Haere ki te iwi nui i te poo. Haere ki te Matua-nui-i-te-
rangi.
Go to the great ones in the night. Go to the great Father in
heaven.

Haere ki te oranga mutunga kore.
Go to the life without end.

Kua taka te mamae i toou tinana, kua makere iho te ngahoahoa
oo ngaa mahi
The pain has been cast from your body, the frustrations of
this sick

o teenei ao matemate. No reira haere, tuu atu ki too paapaa,
ki ngaa
world are foresaken. Therefore go forth and stand before your
father and

maatua. Haere kia mihia mai koe e ngaa tuupuna, e ngua
Kiingi, i te poo.
parents. Go forth so you may be greeted by your ancestors and
the Kings in the night.

Kua tuuria e koe ngaa marae o te motu i haerea ai e too
paapaa i oona
You have trodden the many courtyards of this land, trodden
also by your

raa. Kua tuuria e koe ngaa whare waananga mo ngaa iwi e rua
o te motu
father during his days. You have stood in the parliaments of
both peoples of this country.

No reira e Paa haere koe hei kawē koorero ki a Poomare, ki a
Te Taaite,
Therefore my elder convey the news to Pomare and Te Taite
waiting there

kei reira e tauwhanga mai ana. Haere i roto i te riri a
Tuumatauenga e
for you. Farewell from this war-stricken world

ngaeke nei te rangi, e ruu nei te whenua, e tuu nei ngaa ngaru
tearing the heavens asunder, convulsing the earth, disturbing

tuatēa o te moana. I tuuria anoo hoki e koe te marae o
the angry seas. You also trod the pathway of Tuu during

Tuumatauenga i ngaa raa o toou ohinga. I teenēi raa haere
your youth. This day you and

tahi atu koutou ko ngaa toa taua. Haere i ngaa kupu pepeha
those warriors go forth. Go forth in that cryptic expression

aa oo taatou tuupuna, 'teenaa hoki ngaa tamariki toa na
of our ancestors, 'there encircling the heavens are

Rakamaomao kei te rangi e taka ana'.
Rakamaomao's brave flock'.

E ngaa iwi, tangihia mai too taatou aituaa i teenaa marae o
te motu.
O people mourn our dead on that great courtyard of this land.

Mihia mai, tangihia mai oo taatou mate ki runga i a Tokouru.
Greet and mourn for our dead together with Tokouru.

Mihi ki te Whaanau Pani
Greetings to the bereaved family

E te kiri mate teenaa koutou i too koutou matua, tungaane
kua wehe
To the bereaved family, greetings with regard to your father
and brother

atu nei i te kiteatanga atu o te kanohi. Kua riro ia, he
tangata no
who has departed from our sight. He has gone, this peaceful,

te rangimaarie, he tangata maahaki, he tangata no te aroha.
calm and loving man.

I noho tahi ahau i a ia, i haere tahi, i koorero tahi.
I also stayed, travelled and spoke with him.

No reira maaku e mihi noa ki oo nohoanga nei, ki oo
haerenga nei.
Therefore I will console your sojourns here.

Kia manawanui, kia kaha i too koutou mamaetanga nui.
Be resolute and strong in your great sorrow.

'Aku mate i Kawerau, maaku e tangi atu i Kohi'.
'My deaths at Kawerau I shall mourn at Kohi'.

Whakamutunga
Conclusion

Kia tau iho anoo ngaa manaakitanga a te Runga Rawa ki a
koutou katoa.
May the blessings of the Almighty be upon you all.

Naaku na Kiingi Koroki.
From me, King Koroki.

WHAIKOORERO FIVE

This speech is a poroporoaki given by John Rangihau³⁴. at the tangihanga for Timi Paaora³⁵. held at the Ooraakei marae, Auckland, in December 1965. Rangihau begins with a tauparapara and then proceeds to address the deceased. His spirit is urged to make one final journey through the tribal territory before joining the ancestors. The speaker then turns to greet the assembled mourners and ends his speech.

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34. John Rangihau was born at Ruataahuna and brought up in Ruuaatoki. A well known member of the Tuuhoe tribe, he is a good example of a relatively young man (aged about fifty) who is nevertheless well-versed in all aspects of modern Maori culture. At the same time he is equally at home in the Paakehaa world.

Well educated, with a Diploma of Social Science from the Victoria University of Wellington, he holds the position of Research Fellow, Centre of Maori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato. By virtue of his official position, together with his outstanding personal qualities, he is a recognised leader of the Tuuhoe people now resident in the urban environment of Rotorua.

35. Timi Paaora was the youngest son of Paaora Kaawharu. He was born near Woodhill, in 1873. Although he had little formal schooling, nevertheless Timi was steeped in Maori lore. He was a well known exponent of whaikoorero and was a familiar figure on all the Northern marae. Up until his death Timi was the kaumaatua for Ngaati-Whaatua in general and Te Tao-uu in particular.

A POROPOROAKI BY JOHN RANGIHAU

Warning Cry

Tihei mauri ora
Ah it is life

Introductory Chant

Tihei uriuri, tihei nakonako
It is dark, pitch black

Ka tau haa, ka tau ko te rangi i runga nei
I proclaim under this sky above

Ka tau haa, ka tau ko te papa i raro nei
I proclaim above this earth below

Ka tau haa, ka tau ko te matuku mai i Rarotonga
I proclaim like the heron from Hawaiki

Koia rukuhia manawa pou roto
Which dived to the source within

Koia rukuhia manawa pou ake
Which dived to the source without

Whakatina ki a tina te more i Hawaiki
Fix it firmly to the courtyard in Hawaiki

E pupuu ana hoki, e wawau ana hoki
It wells up and scatters

Ka rewa tuu ki te rangi aua kia eke
It floats and stands on the horizon and emerges

Eke panuku, eke Tangoroa, haramai te toki, hui e
taaiki e.^{36.}
Bring the axe, bind it, join it, it is finished.

36. According to Matiu Te Hau this chant is known as the
te tau o Maataatua (the chant of Maataatua).

Farewell to the Deceased

E Himi Te Hiikoi Paaora, takoto, takoto, takoto,
takoto.^{37.}

O Himi Te Hiikoi Paaora lie down, lie down, lie down.

Takoto teenei ka eke ki runga ki a koe ki te poro-
poroaki

Lie down as here (the tribes) ascend before you to
bid you

whakamutunga. I koorerohia raa ngaa koorero i te poo
final farewell. The speeches were said that night of

raa, oo haerenga, e piki i ngaa maunga, e heke i ngaa
your travels, climb the mountains, descend the valleys,

awaawa, ka tatuu ki te raorao, haere e hoki ki te
kaainga.

reach the plains, pass on return home.

Hoki atu ki te Matua-a-iwi, hoki atu ki a nunui mea,
hoki

Return to the Father of the people, return to the
great

atu ki a tapu maa, hoki atu ki te wehi,^{38.} haere e
tama^{39.}

ones, return to the sacred ones, return to the feared
ones,

Ahakoia ngaa koorero, kaahore he whakarite whakawaa i
Farewell O son. Regardless of what is said, there
will be

waenganui i a koe me to Atua. E hoki atu ana koe ki
te

no judgement between you and your God. You are
returning

37. It is unusual for speakers to address the deceased person by reciting all his names. The repetition of key words in descending cadence is a common rhetorical technique which taxes the skill of interpreters. Literally takoto means 'lie down'. In context it could also mean 'lie down and rest' until the spirit, believed to be hovering in the vicinity, returns to the corpse. Mead (1969:25) writes of how the corpse is regarded as being asleep right up until the time of burial and sometimes longer.

38. The stative class bases nunui, tapu and wehi are personified here to mean 'the great ones, the sacred ones, the feared ones'.

39. Son 'of the people'.

kaainga i raro i ngaa koorero a neheraa.
home under the words of the past.

E hoki ana koe ki te pohu o Aaperehama i raro i ngaa
You are returning to the bosom of Abraham under the
words

koorero aa to iwi. Ahakoa ko teehea oo eenei ko te
mea
of your people. Whichever of these the main thing is
mui raa, maatou katoa he iwi pai ake, i te mea i
moohio ki
that we are all better people, because we knew you,
a koe, ki oo mahi, ki oo whakaaro, aae, e kite nei
hoki au.
of your deeds, and your thoughts, yes, for I am

Koinei raa te waahi hei whakamoemiti maa maatou, mo
runga
witnessing them. This is the place for us to appreciate
i teenei aahua. He aha ai? Naa toou korooria, naa
toou
these things during this occasion. Why? Because of
your

mana, naa toou wehi, naana i whakatakoto i moohiotia
ai koe
glory, your prestige, your sacredness, he revealed
them and

e maatau nei. Haere te koroua, haere, haere, haere,
haere.
this is why you became known by us. Go O elder,
farewell, farewell, farewell, farewell.

Greetings to the Assembly

Taatau e noho nei i te marae tapu i runga i te aahua o
We sitting here on this sacred courtyard on the
occasion

taa taatau mate, teenaa raa taatau i te aahua oo
taatau e
of our death, greetings to us in the way we are
grieving

haku nei. Teenaa hoki taatau i te aahua oo taatau e
noho
here. Greetings also in the manner we are assembled

nei. Ngaa waka e tau nei⁴⁰. teenaa koutou, taatau
ka mihi ki
here. The canoes lying here greetings to you as we
pay

teenei oo ngaa kaumaatua kua haere. I koorerohia
ake raa
our respects to this one of the elders who has gone.
It

kua piki i ngaa maunga, kua heke i ngaa awaawa, kua
tae ki
was said previously, he has climbed the mountains,
descended

ngaa raorao, kua haere kua hoki ki te kaainga. Teenaa
the valleys, reached the plains, he has passed on and
returned

hoki taatau i aa taatau ka haku, kaare mo teenei engari
home. Greetings again to us as we grieve, not (only)

mo ngaa mana, mo ngaa wehi o te iwi Maaori, ka here, ka
for this one but for the prestige and sacredness of the

heke me te koorero mo wai kua heke ki te koopuu o te
Maori people that is disappearing as we speak of those

whenua. Aaa me peehea ia nei? Koia nei raa ia te
aahua
who have disappeared to the stomach of the land. But
what

mai raa anoo kua koorerohia, taa taaua he tangi, taa
taaua
can be done? This has been the way ever since it has
been

he haku, taa taaua he noho, he noho, he noho, ko
taatau hoki
said ours is mourn, ours is to grieve, ours is to
remain,

ngaa urupaa moo ngaa mea kua mate. Noo reira teenaa
remain, remain, for we are the graveyards of those
who have

40. As mentioned previously, visiting tribes are regarded as representatives of the living and the dead and are often referred to as 'canoes'. An important chief could be likened to an anchor and his genealogical lines served as 'mooring' links for various canoe groups. At death the anchor would sink causing the lines to converge onto the marae to attend the tangihanga.

raa ngai taatau e noho nei i runga i te aahua o to
died. Therefore greetings to us sitting here on the
hoa, to koutou karangatanga maha, ko tangata na runga
occasion of our friend and relative, who is a man
because
aana nei mahi ia i whakaatu. Taatau e noho nei kia
his works have revealed himself to us. To us all
taatau.
assembled here, greetings.

Conclusion

Ka mutu iho ngaa koorero i konei, ka huri.
The words end here, I turn.

WHAIKOORERO SIX

This is a paanui given by William Parker⁴¹. during a radio broadcast in May 1967 announcing the death of King Koroki. Even as a radio broadcast, primarily concerned with reporting an important death, the speech displays certain characteristics typical of whaikoorero.

The speech begins with a whakaaraara and then a factual report of the tangihanga is given. Mr Parker ends his broadcast with a poroporoaki. What is notable about this particular speech is the wealth of imagery and poetic phrases it contains.⁴².

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41. Well known as an announcer of the Sunday Maori News programme, Mr Parker is also a lecturer in the Extension Department of Victoria University of Wellington. In both the Maori and Pakeha sense he could be described as an educated man, widely recognised as an orator and well versed in the requirements of whaikoorero.
42. e.g. his opening chant warns listeners of disaster, in this case the death of the fifth Maori King. An important death is usually associated in the Maori mind with some unusual natural phenomenon referred to here as the crumbling of the peak of Taupiri mountain, the sacred burial place and proverbial mountain of the Waikato people. Te Parata is the name of a mythical canoe associated with death. Other examples are footnoted in the actual speech.

A PAANUI BY WILLIAM PARKER

Warning Chant

Ka tanuku, ka tanuku
It has fallen, it has fallen

Ka tanuku te tihi o Taupiri ka tanuku
The peak of Taupiri has fallen, it has fallen

Ka tiitoki te waka, ka tiitoki, ka tiitoki
The canoe has capsized, it has capsized, it has
capsized

Kua tere a Te Parata, kua maunu te taniwha i toona
rua,
Te Parata has floated adrift, the taniwha has been
freed

Waatea kau ana
from its lair and everything is desolate

News Broadcast

Ko Kiingi Koroki Te Wherowhero teenei kua hinga i
te raa
King Koroki Te Wherowhero has fallen this day

nei. No te Tuurei i kitea-a-wairuatia atu te ia o
On Tuesday the current of Waikato was seen
climbing

Waikato e piki ana ki toona maataapuna. I kitea atu ai
to its source. From whence his spirit

toona wairua e whakangaro atu ana ki Wainukumamao,
was seen disappearing to Wainukumamao,

ki Morianuku, ki tawhiti-nui, ki tawhiti-roa,
to Morianuku, tawhiti-nui, tawhiti-roa,

ki tawhiti-paamamao.⁴³
tawhiti-paamamao.

E ai ki ngaa rongo ka
According to reports

kotahi mano e rima rau ngaa taangata kua whakaeke ki
runga o
there were one thousand five hundred who have ascend-
ed onto

Tuurangawaewae marae, Ngaaruawahia, ki te tangi ki a
the Turangawaewae courtyard at Ngaruawahia to mourn for

43. Mythological place-names where the dead are believed
to pass through.

Koroki Te Wherowhero. No ngaa waahi katoa o te motu.
Koroki Te Wherowhero. They were from all parts of
the land.

I reira te ariki o Tonga, te ariki o Rarotonga me ngaa
The paramount chiefs of Tonga and Rarotonga were there
rangatira o tauiwi e noho atu nei i Aotearoa.
plus the leaders of other peoples living in New Zealand.

I reira hoki o taatou nei rangatira o ngaa motu nei.
Our own chiefs of this land were also there.

Ka tika ai teeraa koorero aa oo taatou koroua
Hence that saying of our ancestors is true

Proverb

'he hinganga tokaanuku, he terenga tootara'.
'the fall of a chief is like a totara afloat'.

Naa, no te rangi nei ka whakaeke te tumuaki o te
aapitihana,
It was today that the leader of the Opposition
ascended,

a 'Mr Kirk'. Na Taa Eruera Tirikaatene raaua ko
Iriaka
a 'Mr Kirk'. It was Sir Eruera Tirikatene together
with Iriaka

Raatana i aarahi atu ki Tuurangawaewae i Ngaaruawaahia.
Na
Ratana who led him onto Turangawaewae at Ngaruawahia
te Pirimia i tuku tana waea, he tangi naana ki
teenei tangata
The Premier sent his wire, a lament by him for this
great

mui o te motu kua hinga i te raa nei. Peeraa anoo a
Te
man of the land who has fallen this day. Similarly
with

Haanana i tuku i taana tangi, aa, i haere-a-tinana hoki
Mr Hanan who sent his condolences and also went in
person

ki te marae.
to the courtyard.

Naa wai⁴⁴. iwi ngaa karakia o teenei raa, naa wai
haahi,
From what people and churches were prayers offered

44. Difficult to translate, but meaning something like that
there were so many that it would be impossible to name
them all.

naa wai haahi, puta rawa ngaa iinoi, ngaa karakia
mo Koroki Te Wherowhero.
up this day for Koroki Te Wherowhero.

Naa kotahi rau ngaa Maaori i huihui mai ki te whare
There were a hundred Maori people gathered here in

karakia nui whakaharahara o te Haahi Katorika.
the huge Catholic Church.

Na 'Father Wall' te miha, puta rawa ngaa karakia mo to
Father Wall conducted Mass and service for our man
lying

taatou tangata e tiiraha mai raa i Tuurangawaewae.
there at Turangawaewae.

Aapoopoo i te ata, aa, i te tekau o ngaa haaora i te
Tomorrow morning at 10.00 a.m. the funeral service

ata ka whakahaerea te karakia nehu ki Tuurangawaewae,
will be conducted at Turangawaewae,

kaatahi ka amo ai te kaawhena ki Taupiri maunga,
and then the coffin will be carried to Taupiri mountain

ki te whare kooiwi o te kaahui ariki.^{44.}
to the vault of the royal family.

Farewell to the Dead

Haere Koroki
Farewell Koroki

Hokahoka o parirau i runga i te tuaraa o Taawhiri-
maatea^{45.}

Cast your wings on the back of Taawhiri-maatea to
carry

44. Members of the kaahui ariki are buried on the top of Taupiri mountain.

45. The deceased is likened to a bird and exhorted to climb upon the back of Taawhiri-maatea, the god of the winds.

hei kawē i a koe ki te toi o ngāa rangi, ki to^{46.}
tuupuna ki a Rehua.
you to the topmost of the heavens, to your ancestor
Rehua.

Haere Koroki.
Farewell Koroki.

Kahakina atu to hinengaro maakohakoha, to ngaakau
tangi
Carry away your expert mind, your grieving heart
for your

ki to iwi Māori. Haere ki te tini i te poo e poo-
whiri
Māori people. Go to the multitudes in the night who
mai naa i to tira mokemoke.
are there beckoning your lonely face.

Conclusion

Aue taukiri aue.
Alas, the pain, alas.

46. Rehua was the name of a god who resided in the twelfth heaven.

WHAIKOORERO SEVEN

This speech is a mihi given by Bishop Paanapa^{47.} at the 1960 Hui Toopuu. By virtue of his office, the Bishop of Aotearoa is often referred to as 'the Father of the Maori People'. The purpose of this speech is to greet all those present at the gathering.

The Bishop begins with an invocation^{48.} and then greets King Koroki and the Waikato people who were hosts for the occasion. Formal respects are paid to the dead and then the living and he concludes with a standard closing phrase.

47. Wiiremu Netana Paanapa was a member of the Ngaati-Whaatua tribe. He was born at Dargaville in 1898 and educated at St Stephen's School, Te Rau Theological College and finally at St John's College, Auckland. He was subsequently stationed at Te Kuiti, Kaikohe, Auckland, Rotorua and Taupo and in 1951 was consecrated Lord Bishop Suffragen to the Bishop of Waiapuu and Bishop of Aotearoa.

48. As indicated in Chapter Three, the tau may take the form of an invocation or similar quote.

Greetings to the Living

Aa, teenaa hoki koutou ngaa iwi e pae nei. Ehara
Greetings also to you people gathered here. We are
not

taatou i te iwi tauhoou ki te Hui Toopuu. Kotahi anake
strangers to the Hui Toopuu. There is only one

te iwi tauhoou ki te Hui Toopuu, aa, teetahi iwi no te
strange tribe to the Hui Toopuu and that is one tribe

Tai Tokerau.⁵² He koorero...he koorero nui taa
Apirana.
from Northland. A saying...a great saying by Apirana.

E kii ana a Apirana he mea nui te kanohi i kitea.
Apirana said the face seen is a big thing.

Naa, e koorero atu ana ahau i teenei koorero ki a
koutou

Now I am quoting this saying to you

e te Tai Tokerau, he mea nui te kanohi i kitea. Ko
koutou
of Northland, the face seen is a big thing. You were

te kanohi ngaro i roto i ngaa tau ka pahure. Kaati,
the missing face in past years. Enough,

hei konaa katoa koutou ngaa rangatira, naa, ka mahue at
you the chiefs are all there, and your soldiers are

aa koutou hooia⁵³. i te kaainga.
left at home.

Conclusion

Na reira teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou.
Therefore greetings, greetings, greetings.

52. Transliteration of 'soldier' and used here in the sense
of followers.

53. A cover term used to embrace all the Northland tribes.

WHAIKOORERO EIGHT

This speech is a whaikoorero whakaatu tikanga (formal lecture on a particular custom). The speech was given by Koro Dewes, a native speaker of Maori, born and brought up in the East Coast district of the North Island. He is therefore a speaker of what Biggs refers to as the Eastern dialect of Maori in what some might consider its most typical form, the sub-dialect spoken by Ngaati-Porou. In this fairly formal style, however, there is a little if anything, that I as a speaker of the Western dialect find difficult, or indeed very strange.

When this whaikoorero was given in 1964, Koro Dewes was about 36 years old and a graduate in anthropology of the University of Auckland. His lecture delivered to an audience of university students and staff embodies some of his research into the origins of the Poukai. The interest of this speech is twofold. Firstly, there is the speaker's use of certain traditional features of whaikoorero in a non-traditional type of formal speech. Secondly, the subject matter is of special interest, since it is concerned exclusively with an aspect of the Maori King Movement, which, although it has functioned, according to informants, for almost a century, has never to my knowledge been mentioned in any of the standard works of reference on Maori culture or the Maori King Movement.

The word 'poukai' appears to be derived from two bases pou and kai. The latter means food, whilst the former is probably being used here in its meaning of 'sustenance, support', an abstraction from the concrete and more common meaning of 'post', especially a supporting post or pillar.

Today, the composite word 'Poukai' (pou + kai) is used only among the tribes supporting the Maori King Movement. It is used in two senses - firstly, to refer to a meeting (hui), held at a particular marae on a particular day with the dual objects of displaying loyalty to the Movement, and raising funds to be used for its purposes. There are at present twenty eight such meetings each year. The second use of the word 'Poukai' refers to the institution as a whole. These Poukai or 'annual loyalty feasts' are with four exceptions held within the traditional territories of the Waikato and Maniapoto tribes, an area bounded by the Manukau harbour in the North, and the Southern border of the King Country in the South. The Eastern boundary lies roughly along the Waikato river except in the North where the Waihou river approximates it more closely. The Western boundary extends South from the Mangere foreshore along the coastline to Mokau, a small settlement approximately forty miles West of Te Kuiti. A traditional description of the Tainui tribal boundary states, 'Ko Mookau ki runga, ko Taamaki ki raro, Pare Hauraki, Pare Waikato, ko Mangatoatoa ki waenganui'. (Mokau above, Tamaki below, Hauraki to the East, Waikato to the West and Mangatoatoa in between).

A fairly typical Poukai was held at Te Papa-o-Rotu marae, Whatawhata, in April 1970. Because of the lack of written material on this topic I have included an account of that Poukai in the Appendix based on a reconstruction of field notes taken at that time.

Koro Dewes begins his speech in traditional whaikoorero style with a tauparapara. His choice of tau is appropriate in that he has learnt it from Tainui sources. He then moves

on to a fairly formal 'narrative prose' style, which is maintained throughout except when he is illustrating the styles of whaikoorero used by speakers at Poukai meetings. In this particular speech, Mr Dewes selected the tau but departed from the traditional pattern in providing an explanation of his tau. Whilst this is understandable, considering the special nature of his audience, this would hardly have happened in a typical marae situation. Moreover, his mihi does not include any reference to the 'dead', but only a brief greeting to his audience. Finally, he does not end his speech with a waiata as would normally be the case in a marae situation.

Although this example may seem out of place in a collection of traditional style speeches, it was chosen to illustrate the fact that even in non-traditional genres, the Maori orator does not abandon all of the characteristic features of marae oratory.

A WHAIKOORERO WHAKAATU TIKANGA BY KORO DEWES

Whakaaraara

Warning Chant

Aa tihei mauri ora
Ah it is life

Tauparapara

Introductory Chant

Piki mai, kake mai
Climb hither, come forth

Haere mai raa i muri o te koomuri aroha, i te
whaainga
Come forth behind this gentle breeze, in search of

mai i o taatau mate tautii.
our many deaths.

Kua okioki te hunga kua okioki
The dead are at rest

E takatuu nei te hunga i mahue ake
The remaining survivors are left bereft

Me aha raa koa raa i te kete puutea e iri nei
For what can be done about the puutea basket suspended
i te tara a whare.
from the walls of the house.

Kia kii ake au ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea.
Let me say it is dawn, it is light, it is daybreak.

Whakamaarama

Explanation

He tauparapara teenei, araa, he tiimatanga whaikoorero,
This is an introductory chant, that is a beginning to a

na te tangata whenua. No Tainui teenei tauparapara,
formal speech by the hosts. This chant is from Tainui

engari i taku moohio nei kaaore i te aahua tika ki au.
but to my knowledge I do not quite know it properly.

Engari kei te pai noa iho, mo teetahi waa whakatika-
tika ai.

However that is alright, later it can be corrected.

Mihi ki te Whakaminenga
Greetings to the Audience

Kia ora raa taatau, aa, kia ora koutou e whai nei i
Greetings to us and greetings to you who are seeking
the

te hoohonutanga o te reo Maaori. Ko te reo Maaori
hoki
depths of the Maori language. For it is the Maori
language

ki tooku nei whakaaro te puutake o te Maaoritanga.
in my opinion which is the basis of Maori culture.

Ka kore i a koutou te reo, ka awhi noa mai i waho,
If you do not have the language, then you are only
scratching

kaaore e uru rewa ki roto. Na ngaa raruraru o te waa
the surface and not really getting inside. Because of

kaaore e taea e au te hooatu he pukapuka ma teenaa.
circumstances I cannot give a text for each and every
one of

ma teenaa o koutou. Kei te tauhou tonu au ki ngaa
koorero
you. I am still a stranger to this
topic

nei, nootemea kaaore anoo kia maaroo ooku whakaaro ki
because I have not yet decided how to present this

te taha whakatakoto. Kaati aua atu, ma ngaa paatai
topic. However, never mind, perhaps the

pea i muri mai e whakatikatika mai.
questions later may correct this.

Tiimatanga Koorero
Beginning of Formal Lecture

Ko te mahi e mahia nei e au araa mo te waahi tuhituhi
This work that I am doing that is for my thesis

o aku whakamaatautau, o te tohu maatauranga e kiia nei
for this qualification called an

'M.A.' Kaati ko aku koorero i teenei ehiehi e haangai
M.A. Enough, my talk this afternoon concerns

ana ki te Poukai, te tikanga kei roto i te Kiingi-
tanga
the Poukai, a custom within the Kingship

o Waikato. Kaati me tiimata mai pea i te tiimatanga
of Waikato. So let me start perhaps at the beginning

o te tikanga o te Poukai.
of the institution of the Poukai.

Ko te koorero a Mutu Kapa, tekau pea, tekau maa rua
According to Mutu Kapa he was ten, possibly twelve
years

raanei oona tau, ka tuu te Poukai tuatahi a Kiingi
old when King Tawhiao's first Poukai was held at

Taawhiao, i Whatiwhatihoe; kei Pirongia teenei
marae.
Whatiwhatihoe, a settlement near Pirongia.

E waru tekau maa ono ngaa tau o Te Mutu inaianei.
Te Mutu is now eighty years old.

Kaati ka hoki atu pea ki te tau kotahi mano, e waru
So it probably goes back to the year 1886

rau, e waru tekau maa ono pea, te tuunga o te Poukai
when the first Poukai was staged.

tuatahi. Ko taana koorero teeraa nootemea he mea kite
That is his story because he saw it with his

na oona kanohi. Ko te koorero a Heenare Tuuwahaangai
own eyes. Henare Tuwhangai's version is that
the

i tiimatatia te Poukai i muri i te hokinga mai o
first Poukai was begun after the return of Tawhiao and

Taawhiao raatou ko Te Wheero, ko Paatara Te Tuhi i a
Te Wheero, Patara Te Tuhi when they went to England.

raatou i Ingarangi. I haere raatou ki reira ki te
tono
They went there to ask the
English

i te Kaawanatanga o Ingarangi kia whakatikatikangia
Government to investigate the confiscation of the
Waikato

ngaa take raupatu whenua o Waikato i muri mai i ngaa
lands after the wars with the Pakeha.

pakanga ki te Paakehaa. Kaati, i rongo anoo awau i
However, I also heard that
it was

Paaraawera i reira kee te Poukai tuatahi. Kaati,
maaku
at Parawera instead the first Poukai. So I shall

e rapa atu i ngaa raa kei te heke iho nei, i tiimata
investigate in the near future where it began.

mai i whea. Anaa, i tuu i whea te Poukai tuatahi?
That is, where was the first Poukai
staged?

Heoi anoo naaku nei whakaaro no te tau 1886 ka tuu
te
However my own opinion is that the first Poukai
was in

Poukai tuatahi. E kiia ana a Te Mutu e toru ngaa
puutake
1886. Te Mutu says there were three
reasons

nui o te Poukai i whakatuungia, araa hei aawhina i te
for the Poukai's establishment, namely, to support the

Kiingitanga, hei whakahuihui i ngaa iwi o Waikato,
King Movement, to assemble the Waikato tribes,

(kua noho marara hoki i te hekenga mai i Hikurangi.
(who had been scattered after the migration from
Hikurangi.

Kaaore hoki ngaa iwi o reira araa a Ngaati-Hoe, me
For the local tribes that is, Ngati-Hoe and Ngati-Pou,

Ngaati-Pou e whakaaea kia noho a Waikato i waenganui i
did not agree for Waikato live amongst them).

a raatou). Tuatoru, hei te raa o te Pou ka huihui,
Thirdly, on the day of the Pou the tribe

ka tangi te iwi ki a raatou. Kaaore anoo kia kitea
gathers and mourns amongst themselves. I have not

e au te take, he aha a Ngaati-Hoe, a Ngaati-Pou me
eeraa
found the reason yet why Ngati-Hoe and Ngati-Pou and

atu iwi o Ngaati-Maniapoto, Waikato raanei e whakaaea
those other tribes of Ngati-Maniapoto or Waikato
agreed

kia noho te iwi nei i waenganui i a raatou. I rongo
for these people to live amongst them. I heard

koorero au, i aua tau kua tiimata te Kooti Whenua.
that during those years the Land Court had begun.

Ka maaharahara ngaa iwi raa, kei uru ngaa iwi noho
marara
These tribes were anxious lest these scattered tribes

nei, ki roto i o raatou whenua, nootemea he raawaho
kee raatou.
be included in their lands because they were outsiders.

Ko ta Heenare koorero, ka haere a Taawhiao ki Inga-
rangi, ka
Henare's version was that when Tawhiao went to England

hoki mai ki te Tai Hauru araa ki Kaawhia, ko te
whaea i
he came back to the West Coast, that is to Kawhia.
The mother

reira ko Atakohu, aa, i a ia e pupuri ana ngaa
taaonga
there was Atakohu and she was the guardian of
Tawhiao's

a Taawhiao. Ko teetahi o aua taaonga ko te Paipera
Tapu
possessions. One of those possessions was Tupu Tainga-
kawa's

a Tupu Taingaakawa. Ka tangohia mai i roto i taua
bible. From out of that bible was taken
the

Paipera ngaa taaonga o te Poukai araa hei aawhina i te
philosophy of the Poukai that is, to support the
widowed,

pouaru te pani, te rawakore.
the bereaved and the destitute.

Ka hiahiatia eenei kia aawhinatia, me tonono ki te
Poukai.
When these are in need of support they should ask the
Poukai.

I rongo anoo au, e whakahuatia ana, ko ngaa pou tuatahi
I also heard it mentioned that the first Pous were

araa he puna kai, he pou tangata, he pou atua. No ngaa
in other words resources for food, people and faith.
Only

raa o muri nei te ingoa Poukai engari kaaore anoo kia
during these later days was this name Poukai but I
have not

kite e au te tikanga o eenei kupu tawhito. E kii ana
yet found the reason for these old terms. Mutu says

a Mutu i te waa i a ia e tamariki ana kaaore he moni
during his childhood there was no money for anyone.

a te tangata. Ko te moni nui he kapa.
The biggest amount was a penny.

E mea ana a Taawhiao he moni nui taua moni a te kapa.
Tawhiao said that the penny was a sufficient amount.

Ko te kai rongonui i taua waa, he kai korikori. Ka
The famous food of that time was a quivering food.
Translated

whakapaakehaatia e Te Mutu, he 'jelly'. Ka tae te
by Te Mutu as jelly. When this food was

o te kai, ka takoto i runga i te teepu, ka korikori.
smelt and laid on the table it shook.

Ka haere mai te tangata kia kite, ka whakamate te
People came to see and they would desire

ki te rapa kapa mo te haere ki te Poukai, kia kai hoki
a penny to go to the Poukai so as to eat this new food.

i te kai hou. He pao teenei mo te kai korikori.
This is a ditty for quivering food.

He Pao Kai
A Ditty concerning Food

"Ka hora te teepu, ka tuku ngaa turi
"The table is laid and the knees bend

Te puti pai o runga, he kai kori e,
The desirable flower on it is the quivering food

Haere mai e kare kia kite taatou,
Come with me my darling so we may see

I te kai e kiia nei, he kai kori e
This food that is called quivering food

Ka hora, ka hora te teepu a Te Aa,
It is laid, it is laid the table of Te A

Te puti o runga, he kai kori e."
The flower on it is a quivering food."

Ko te Aa teetahi o ngaa ingoa o Taawhiao. Ko te
Te A was one of Tawhiao's names. Pei Te Hurinui's

mai a Pei Te Hurinui ki aau, ka haere a Taawhiao ki
information to me was when Tawhiao went to Taranaki;

Taranaki; i tana hokinga mai ka peka atu ki teetahi
when he returned he visited a marae

marae o Taranaki. Ka rongo i ngaa Hauhau e karakia ana,
in Taranaki. He heard the Hauhau praying and

e whakahuatia ana, e whakanuitia ana te ingoa Taawhiao.
mentioning, glorifying the name Tawhiao.

Kaaore a Taawhiao e whakaaea ma raatou e whakanui tana
Tawhiao did not agree that they should glorify his

ingoa. Naa ka mea ia ko tana ingoa ko Te Aa. Ko
ia raa
name. So he said that his name was to be Te A.
That is what

tana ingoa karanga ki eetahi. Kei te mau tonu te
ingoa
he is called to some. The name is still held amongst
ki eetahi o ngaa kaumaatua o Waikato inaianei.
some of the Waikato elders today.

Ko teenei tikanga te Poukai e mahia ana i runga i ngaa
This custom of the Poukai is performed on those

marae, i roto i ngaa iwi e piripono ana, e koropiko ana
marae, and amongst those people who believe in and

i raro i te Kiingitanga o Waikato. He mahi pakari i
roto
acknowledge the Waikato Kingship. It is a flourishing

i te rohe o Tainui. Na Maharaira Winiata i kawea atu ki
custom in the Tainui area. It was Maharaira Winiata
who took

Ngaati-Ranginui me Ngai-Te-Rangi araa ki Huurua i roto
it to Ngati-Ranginui and Ngai-Te-Rangi that is to Judea

o Tauranga. Ko te Poukai o teenei tau te mea tuawhaa ki
in the Tauranga area. The Poukai this year is the
fourth

reira.
to be held there.

Kotahi tonu te raa Poukai ki ia marae i te tau, aa, he
raa
There is only one Poukai to each marae every year and
each

motuhake anoo ta teenaa, ta teenaa o raatou. Ko ngaa
komiti
has its own special day. The marae committee

marae, ko ngaa komiti Poukai raanei kei te whakahaere
i te
and/or Poukai committees organise the day.

raa. Ko eetahi o ngaa kai-whakahaere kei eetahi atu
waahi
Some of the organisers reside elsewhere

e noho ana, engari hei te waa o te Pou ka hoki ki o
raatou
but at the time of the Pou they return to
their

marae, takiwaa raanei. Ka whakatata ki te raa, ka
tukuna
marae or home areas. When it is close to the day
notices

ngaa paanui ki Ngaaruawaahia me eeraa atu marae.
Teeraa
are sent to Ngaruawahia and other marae. There are
other

anoo eetahi marae pakupaku, iti raanei, kaaore e
peenei ana
smaller marae who do not do this

nootemea no raatou anoo to raatou raa. Ko ngaa mea,
ko ngaa
for it is their own day. Things such as food

kai, he mea hoomai, he mea hoko raanei.
are either donated or bought.

Hei te raa i mua atu o te Poukai ka whakatikatikangia
te
On the day before the Poukai the marae is prepared,

marae, ngaa haangii me ngaa kai. Hei te poo i mua atu
the food ovens and the food. The night before

teeraa e whakatuuria he kanikani kohi moni mo te raa.
perhaps a dance will be held to raise money for the day.

Eetahi waahi anoo he whare nui kei reira mo ngaa
manuhiri
At other places there are sleeping houses there for
those

hiahia ki te moe i te poo, i mua atu o te Poukai, i
muri mai
visitors who wish to sleep the night before or after
the

raanei. I te ata o te Poukai ka tahuna ngaa haangii,
ka
Poukai. On the morning of the Poukai the ovens are set
huutia ki runga te haki, araa, he kara ki a Waikato, ka
alight and the jack⁵⁴. or colour is raised, and break-
fast is

54. A transliteration of Union Jack, the flag of the British Commonwealth. In some areas the term kara 'colour' is used to denote a flag.

taaona he parakuihi, he kai raanei ma te manuhiri
me te
cooked for the visitors and hosts.

tangata whenua.

Hei tekau maa tahi karaka pea ka tae mai te tira o
At about 11.00 o'clock the group from Ngaruawahia
arrives,

Ngaaruawaahia araa a Koroki, te Kaahui Ariki, te
peene
that is Koroki, the Royal family,
the band

me eeraa atu. Ko te Kaahui Ariki nei he mea rapa
naaku.
and others. This term Kahui Ariki I have searched
for.

Ko ngaa uri eenei a Te Wherowhero, a Pootatau te
Kiingi
These are the descendants of Potatau Te Wherowhero
the first

tuatahi, me ngaa uri hoki o Taawhiao, te Kiingi
tuarua.
king as well as the descendants of Tawhiao the second
Maori King.

Naa ka makere i raro i o raatou pahi, aa, ka haere mai
Now when they alight from their buses they come to the

ki te keeti o te marae, ka whakaraarangi i a raatou.
Ko
marae gate and line themselves up there.

te peene ki mua, ko ngaa wahine i muri mai, ko ngaa
taane
The band in front, the women behind and the men
behind

i muri i a raatou. Ka tangi te wheo a te maahita o te
them. When the bandmaster's whistle blows

peene, aa, ka whakatangitangi te peene, naa ka whakaeke
the band begins to play and the people begin

mai te ope. I teenei waa huihui katoa mai ki runga
to ascend. At this time all the local folk gather
onto

o te marae ngaa taangata whenua, araa, ki te poohiri ki
the marae to welcome the visitors.

te manuhiri.

Eke atu ana te ope ki runga i te marae ka wehe ngaa
When the group comes onto the marae the ranks of the
band

raarangi o te peene, haere tonu atu ngaa manuwhiri
part and the visitors continue on in between.

waenganui. Hei koonei ka tiimata ngaa poohiri, ngaa
At this point the welcoming cries begin plus the

karanga me ngaa poroporoaki.
farewells to the dead.

He peenei eetahi o aua poroporoaki:
Some of those farewell cries go like this:

Ngaa Karanga ki te Manuwhiri me te Tangata-Whenua
Welcoming Calls exchanged between Visitors and Hosts

"Haere mai raa, huia mai o taatou mate tau tini
"Welcome hither and gather together our many deaths

Karanga mai te raa, o to tatau Kiingi
Welcome us the day of our King

Haere mai raa, ngaa hau e whaa e
Welcome the four winds

Karanga mai raa ngaa moorehu o taatou tiipuna e!"
Welcome us the survivors of our ancestors!"

Peeraa ngaa poroporoaki, ki ngaa manuwhiri e whakaeke
The farewell calls are like that to the visitors who are
atu ana.
ascending.

Naa, ka tangi te iwi ki a raatou. I muri mai ka haere
Then the people mourn to each other. After this the
women

tonu atu ngaa waahine ki te hongu, ki te tangi ki te
move forward to press noses and greet the local people

kaainga, tangata whenua raanei. Ka noho ngaa taane.
Naa ka

The men sit down. Then the band

haere atu te peene me te minita ki te kara, ka purei-
and the minister go forward to the colour and the hymn

tia mai te hiimene, "Maa te maarie a te Atua". Ka mutu
"By the grace of Our Lord" is played. When that is

teenaa ka karakia te minita, ko tana kupu whakamutunga,
finished the minister prays and his final words are,

"Pai Maarire".
"Good and Peaceful".

Ka mutu teenaa ka tiimata ngaa whaikoorero.

When that is finished the formal speeches begin.
Tiimata mai
It begins

i te tangata whenua, aa, i muri mai ka tuu mai, ka
tuu atu
with the hosts and after that the speakers alternate.

ngaa kai-koorero. Peera te tikanga. Ko ia nei
eetahi o
That is the custom. These are
some

ngaa tino kupu o aua whaikoorero.
of the main themes in those formal speeches.

Ngaa Mihi Tuatahi
The Initial Greetings

"Te kupu tuatahi kia wehi ki te Atua, whakahoonoretia
"The first words are fear the Lord and honour

te Kiingi.
the King.

Whakahoonoretia te Kiingi e noho nei i to tatau
Honour the King sitting here in the presence

aroaro i teenei minenga,
of this gathering,

Tae noa ki to tatau raa, noona hoki teenei raa.
Extending to our day, for this is his day.

Poowhiri Manuwhiri
Welcome to Visitors

E taku pootiki me te iwi haere mai
My youngest child, the tribes welcome

Haere mai i raro i te wehi ki a te Atua.
Welcome under the fear of the Lord.

Haere mai te pouaru o te hunga kua hinga
Welcome the widows of they who have fallen

Kua hinga i tua o te aarai.
Who have fallen beyond the veil.

Haere mai wahaa mai to tatau Ariki
Welcome carry forth our Chief

Ka tae mai ia, ka ea ngaa mea katoa.
He arrives and everything is achieved.

Mihi ki ngaa Mate
Greetings to the Dead

Na te raa i karanga, ka huihui mai
It was the day that called and they gathered here

Ka tae mai to tatau Ariki i mua i a taatou.
Our Chief arrived here before us.

Mihi Whakamutunga
Final Greetings

Nooreira, karanga te raa, karanga te raa, karanga
te raa."
Therefore, welcome the day, welcome the day, welcome
the day."

Ehara teeraa i te whaikoorero, heoi anoo ko ia raa
ngaa
That was not a formal speech, but those are the main
themes

tino kupu e whakahuatia ana i roto i ngaa whaikoorero
a
expressed in formal speeches by the

ngaa kaumaatua o Waikato, ahakoa haere raatou ki whea
Waikato elders wherever they go

i runga i o raatou marae. Ka mutu ta teenaa whai-
koorero,
on their marae. When that one's speech
ends

ka waiata, aa, ki taaku nei titiro, he iwi waiata a
Waikato,
they sing and to my observation Waikato are a singing
people,

engari kei roto o Maniapoto pea te tau o te tangata ki
but perhaps amongst Maniapoto they are more impressive

te waiata, nootemea he nui, he tokomaha no raatou
ki te
singers because there are so many of them to stand

tuu mai i runga i te marae.
forth on the marae.

Ko teetahi tikanga o te Poukai, i kiia mai ki a au, aa,
A custom of the Poukai as told to me and I also saw it

i kite tonu au, araa, he kawe mate. He hari mate raa
and that is the carrying of the dead. To other tribes
this

teenei tikanga ki eetahi atu iwi aa, ki a Waikato hoki.
is called a "hari mate" and also amongst Waikato.

Ka mutu te tangi a te roopu kei te kawe mate, ka whaka-
After the group with the "kawe mate" have finished
weeping

takototia he moni ki runga o te marae. He moni
some money is placed on the marae. To them it is
roimata
called

teeraa ki a raatou, araa, he whakahoki i ngaa
whakaaro,
tear money that is to return the thoughts,

i ngaa roimata o te hunga i haere atu ki a raatou.
and tears of those who went to them.

Ka mutu ngaa whaikoorero, ka hongiri ngaa taane, aa, ka
When the speeches have ended, the men press noses
and sit

nohonoho. Takitahi ngaa marae e koorerotia ana he
take.
down. There are very few marae where topics are
discussed.

Ka mutu tonu pea ko Ngaaruawaahia. Inaa hoki te
Poukai
Perhaps it ends with Ngaruawahia. For it was at the
Poukai

o Ngaaruawaahia, ko te take nui i koorerotia i
reira ko
at Ngaruawahia that the main topic discussed there
was

te whakamaharatanga mo Te Puea. Tuarua ko te marae o
the memorial for Te Puea. Secondly was the marae at

Maangere. Kaare i mutu mai i runga i te marae ngaa
koorero
Mangere. The discussions did not end on the marae
mo te whakamaharatanga mo Te Puea, engari i kawea ki
roto
for the memorial to Te Puea, but were taken into the

i te whare nui i te poo, ka whiriwhiria anoo e te
meeting house at night and discussed again by the

Ruunanganui.
Runanganui.

Naa, ka puta te karanga mo te kai, ka haere ko Koroki,
When the call for food is heard Koroki goes forward

ko Koroki maa i te tuatahi. Mehemea kaaore a Koroki i
Koroki and others are first. If Koroki is not there

reira kaati ko ngaa maangai, ko ngaa tino kaumaatua
tonu
then it is the leaders, the main elders of Ngaruawahia

o Ngaaruawaahia i te tuatahi, aa, i o raatou taha, ko
first and at their sides are

ngaa manuhiri tuuaarangi. I eetahi waahi o eetahi waa
the important visitors. Sometimes or in some areas

raanei e tae ana ki te toru, ki te whaa ngaa nohoanga
there are three or four sittings for meals

kai, whaangai i te tangata. I taku mahara ake i Te
to feed the people. ^{Kuiti} As I remember at Te Kuiti

e rima pea ngaa nohoanga.
there were perhaps five sittings.

Naa, kei te tatau araa, ki te kuuaha o te whare kai he
Now at the door or kuuaha of the dining-hall are

kuia tokorua. Naa he taapu, he peihana i a raaua.
two old ladies. They hold tubs or basins. ^{Ka uru} When

atu ana te tangata ka whakamakere he moni ki roto i aua
people enter they toss money into those

paepae. Naa, mo te tamariki hereni pea, mo eetahi atu,
receptacles. So for children it might be a shilling, for

he rua hereni me te hikipene, piki atu, aa, mo ngaa mea
others 2/6d or more and for the more affluent ones

whai rawa, nui te moni, pakari o raatou whakaaro ki te
with plenty of money and whose thoughts are staunch

Kiingitanga, makere atu ana te paauna, rua paauna, rima
towards the Kingship will toss in a pound, two pounds or

paauna raanei i roto i aua paepae.
even five pounds into those receptacles.

Naa, ko ngaa momo kai katoa kei runga i ngaa teepu. Naa
Now there are all sorts of food on the tables. When I

i taku haerenga ki ngaa Poukai katoa he rite tonu ngaa
went to all the Poukai, the food was the same, ^{kai,}

araa, he miiti pooaka, he miiti kau, he riiwai, parareka
that is, pork, beef, potatoes (parareka or taaewa

raanei, taaewa raanei ki eetahi, he puuhaa, kaapete tae
to others) ^{sow thistle, cabbage and}

noa hoki ki ngaa kai Paakehaa, ngaa momo kai Paakehaa
including all manner of Pakeha food

katoa ka takoto i runga i te teepu. He purini, he keke,
are laid on the table. ^{Puddings, cakes,}

he pihikete, he waireka, he rare aa, he hua raakau
hoki,
biscuits, soft drinks, lollies and fruit.

whurutu raanei. Naa, i te Poukai o Whatawhata he
hikareti
Now at the Poukai at Whatawhata
there were

i runga i te teepu a te Kiingi. Naa he tuna, he ika
me
cigarettes on the King's table. There were eels,
fish and

eeraa atu tuu momo kai o ngaa maa taitai, ka tohangia
ki
other sea foods spread out on the tables.

runga i ngaa teepu. Naa, mehemea kei te Poukai te
Kiingi,
And if the King is at the
Poukai

he teepu motuhake tonu maana me ana manuhiri araa
ngaa
a special table is set aside for him and his guests,
that is

manuwhiri tuuaarangi, ko ngaa kaumaatua raanei o
teenaa
the important visitors, or the elders of the various
hapuu o teenaa hapuu. Ka karangatia e te kai-whaka-
haere
sub-tribes. They are called by the
organiser to

kia haere hei hoa kai mo te Kiingi. I ngaa Pou o
go as companions for the King. At the Pous at

Ngaaruawaahia ka kai ngaa manuwhiri tuuaarangi i roto
Ngaruawahia the important visitors eat in Turongo.

o Tuurongo. Ko te whare tonu teeraa o te Kiingi.
That is the King's own house.

Ko ngaa moni o te Poukai he whakatekau te ingo araa
The monies of the Poukai are called whakatekau that
is it

he mea tango mai i waho o te Paipera inaa raa te kupu
nei
this word was taken out of the bible.

'whakatekau'. He tapu teenei mono. Kia waatea rawa te
This money is sacred. Until the whaka-
tekau

tiro i roto i te Paipera te tikanga o te whakatekau nei.
the bible for the explanation for this whakatekau.

Kaati kei roto i ngaa pukapuka o Tiutoronomia. Naa kei
Enough, it is in the Book of Deutronomy. Lest you wonder

mahara koutou aa, ma ngaa paatai raanei maana e paatai
let the questions answer what the explanation

mai he aha te kupu paakehaa mo te tekau nei,^{55.} whakatekau
and translation for this word whakatekau is. ^{nei}

Ko ngaa toenga moni i muri mai i te wehetanga o te rau-
The remainder of the money after the separation of the

kai-atua^{56.} hei utu i ngaa raruraru o te raa, hei tohu mo
rau-kai-atua is to pay for the day's expenses, as a deposit

te Pou o te tau hoou hei tohu raanei mo ngaa hiahia a te
for the next Pou, or as a reserve for the needs of the

Kiingi ahakoa he aha tana tono. Ko ngaa mea kaaore e tae
King for whatever are his wants. Those who are not able

atu ki ta raatou raa hoatu ai raatou i a raatou moni ma
to attend their day will give their money for

teetahi atu e mau atu ki te raa. Haangai tonu teenei ki
someone else to take to the day. This particularly concerns

ngaa mea kei te whanga, kei te whenua, kei ngaa taaone
those on the coast and inland or residing in the towns.

raanei e nohonoho ana. Ko mate teenei tikanga i eetahi
This custom has died out in some

marae. Ko te take nui ko te matemate o ngaa kaumaatua me
marae. The main reason is the death of the elders and those

ngaa tino taangata moohio ki te whakahaere Pou. Teetahi he
people who know how to run a Pou. Another reason

mahue kore tangata o ngaa marae.
is the exodus of people from the marae.

55. Tenth, i.e. the tithe or tax was one-tenth of the
peasants' produce.

56. Rau-kai-atua is the ritual offering to the appropriate
God or Ariki - permeated with ritual tapu. This is
the indigenous equivalent for the tenth or tithe.

Whakamutunga
Conclusion

Kaati me waiho ake pea i reira ngaa koorero mo te
Poukai nei.^{57.}
Perhaps I should end the discussion on the Poukai here.

57. See Appendix for description of a Poukai.

WHAIKOORERO NINE

The following texts were obtained from Matiu Te Hau, a senior lecturer in Maori language in the Centre for Continuing Education, University of Auckland. During the last few months of his term in New Zealand, a former Governor General, Sir Bernard Ferguson, together with his wife Lady Alice Ferguson and their son Geordie, travelled to various Maori settlements bidding farewell. Sir Bernard was very interested in the Maori language and whenever possible in his speeches he would include greetings in Maori.

During their farewell visit to the Eastern tribes the Vice-Regal party visited Maori marae at Tauranga, Te Teko, Ruatoki, Opotiki, Whakatane and Gisborne. A request was made to Matiu Te Hau to compose a series of whaikoorero suitable for each area. Each speech was written to include where appropriate the main geographical feature, proverbial sayings and farewells to the dead.

Structurally all the speeches were the same in that they began with greetings to the host tribes, greetings and farewell to the dead, reminiscences and thanks to the Maori people for the hospitality and expressions of affection towards the Vice-Regal family. Use of the proverbial saying "Mai i ngaa kurii a Whaarei ki Tikirau" from the dogs of Whaarei to Tikirau, was particularly apt as the saying refers to the coastal boundaries of the Eastern Maataatua tribes, that is from Katikati to Mount Tikirau, the area they were visiting.

Dialectal features were included to conform with local usage. Included in the title to each speech is the name of

the marae and town where the speech was to be given, the date, names of the most prominent kaumaatua in the district and finally the sub-tribes residing in the area. The speeches themselves were only drafts composed by Mr Te Hau. Nevertheless they indicate how a native speaker of Maori would whaikoorero in a given situation. What is of significance is that these drafts provide further evidence of formal structure to whaikoorero.

VISIT TO HAIRINI MARAE, TAURANGA. WEDNESDAY 12TH APRIL 1967

HARE PIAHANA, TAME TANGITUU

NGAI-TE-RANGI, NGAATI-RANGINUI

Mihi ki te Tangata Whenua

Greetings to Hosts

Ngai-te-rangi me Ngaati-Ranginui, tae atu ki ngaa iwi o ngaa
Ngai-te-rangi and Ngaati-Ranginui extending to the people of

hau e whaa, teenaa koutou katoa.
the four winds, greetings to you all.

Mihi ki Ngaa Mate

Greetings to the Dead

Teenaa koutou i runga i te aahuatanga o ngaa mate. Ko koutou,
Greetings to you in the custom of our dead. You and

ko taatou katoa ngaa moorehu oo raatou kei tua o te aarai.
us all are the survivors of them who are beyond the veil.

No reira haere e ngaa mate. Haere ki te uukaipoo, haere ki
oo

So farewell to the dead. Go to the place where you suckled

maatua tiipuna kei Hawaiki.

upon the breast of darkness, return to the ancestors in
Hawaiki.

Ka titiro ake ki te moana o Tauranga, ka huri ngaa kamo ki te
I look up to the sea of Tauranga, my eyes turn to the peak of

taumata o Maunganui. Ka whakarongo ake ki te auau mai o ngaa
Maunganui. I hear the barking of the dogs of

kurii a Whaarei.
Whaarei.

Ka moohio tonu taku ngaakau ko teetahi waahi oo maaua ko taku
I know within my heart that a small part of my wife and I

hoa wahine ka noho tonu ki roto ki oo koutou ringa pupuri ai.
will remain held within your hands.

Ko ahau te tuatoru o tooku whaanau i noho ki waenganui i a
I am the third of my family who has lived amongst you.

koutou. Peeraa anoo i aa raatou, kei konei tonu teetahi waahi
Like them, a part of me is still here.

ooku.

Engari ko te hoonore nui kei aa maaua, naa te mea naa koutou
But the greater honour rests with us because you covered my

i uhi taku tama ki te kaakahu Maaori. Ka noho ia hei
son with a Maori cloak. tamaiti,
He shall remain as a
son,

mokopuna, hei pootiki maa koutou katoa.
grandchild, loved one for you all.

Whakamihi
Thanks to the People

E te iwi teenaa koutou moo ngaa manaaki. Noho ake i runga
i te
So people thank you for your hospitality. Remain here with
aroha. Kia mau ki te whakapono. Kia uu tonu taa koutou
love. Hold fast to the faith. Always be loyal
whakawhirinaki ki too taatau Kuiini Irihaapeti.
to our Queen Elizabeth.

Whakamutunga
Conclusion

Kia ora mai anoo.
Greetings to you again.

VISIT TO TE POHO O RAAWIRI MARAE, GISBORNE

RONGOWHAKAATA, TE AITANGA-A-MAAHAKI, NGAATI-POROU,

NGAATI-KAHUNGU

Mihi ki te Tangata Whenua
Greetings to Hosts

Engaa iwi o te Tai Raawhiti tae atu ki oo koutou karanga
People of the Eastern seaboard, as well as your kin

maha kai roto kai ngaa iwi o te motu me oo taatau hoa
throughout the people of the land, plus our Pakeha friends

Paakehaa teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou katoa.
greetings and salutations to you all.

Mihi ki Ngaa Mate
Greetings to the Dead

Teenaa koutou i roto i ngaa aituaa o te waa. Ko Te Kani te
Greetings to you in the deaths of the present time. There

Ua teeraa, ko wai atu, ko wai atu. E aha raa naa koutou i
is Te Kani te Ua, who else and who else. Even so, you
mourned

tangi, naa taatau katoa.
them, and that was us.

Poroporoaki Farewell to the Dead

Naa reira haere e ngaa mate. Haere ki oo maatua, tiipuna
kai

Therefore farewell the dead. Go to your ancestors in the

te poo. Haere i te ara karere kore ki muri.
night. Tread the path from where no messenger returns.

Poroaki ki te iwi
Farewell to the People

Ko ahau te tuatoru o tooku whaanau i noho ki waenganui i a
I am the third of my family to have lived among you for

koutou mo te waa poto. Ka poouri raa kua whati anoo too
a short time. I am saddened, once again is broken

taatau kotahitanga.
our unity.

Whakamihi
Thanks to the People

Engari e aha koa raa. Ko taku tama naa koutou katoa i
uhi ki
But, in spite of that. My son, you have all placed on him
te kaakahu Maaori. Ka noho tonu ia hai tamaiti, hai pootiki
the traditional Maori cloak. He shall always remain as a son,
maa koutou katoa. Ko te hoonore kai aa maaua ko taku hoa
and child for you all. The honour is mine and my wife
wahine me oo maaua whaanau.
and our families.

Me peehea raa te whakahoki i ngaa manaaki? He aha atu raa
How can one return the hospitality? What else can I

he koorero maaku? Heoi, noho mai i runga i te aroha, ka mau
say? Except remain here with love, we shall

mahara tonu.
always remember.

Whakarite Blessing

Ma te Atua koutou e atawhai aa ake, ake tonu.
May God keep you always and forever.

Whakamutunga

Conclusion

Kia ora koutou katoa.
Greetings to you all.

VISIT TO WAIRAKA MARAE, WHAKATAANE, SATURDAY 15TH APRIL 1967

NGAATI-AWA

Whakataukii
Proverb

"Ko Whakataane te awa, ko Maataatua te waka, ko Toroa te
"Whakatane is the river, Maataatua is the canoe, Toroa is
tangata, ko Ngaati-Awa te iwi".
the man and Ngati-Awa is the tribe".

Mihi ki te Tangata Whenua
Greetings to Hosts

Koinei te koorero i waihotia mai e oo kootou maatua tiipuna.
This is the saying left by your ancestors.

Naareira e te iwi teenaa kootou, teenaa kootou, teenaa koutou
Therefore the people, greetings, greetings and salutations to
katoa.
you all.

Mihi ki Ngaa Mate
Greetings to the Dead

Teenaa kootou i roto i ngaa aituaa o te waa. Teenaa kootou i
Greetings to you in the deaths of these times. Greetings
to you

roto i ngaa mate aa taatau, ngaa moorehu oo raatau, kua riro
and our dead, we the survivors of those who have gone to the

ki te poo.
night.

Poroporoaki
Farewell to the Dead

Haere e ngaa mate, haere, haere, haere.
Farewell to the dead, farewell, farewell, farewell.

VISIT TO TE RERE MARAE, OOPOOTIKI, FRIDAY 14TH APRIL 1967

NGAAKOHU PERA

TE WHAKATOOHEA

Mihi ki te Tangata Whenua
Greetings to Hosts

E Te Whakatoohia me oo koutou karanga maha kai roto kai
Te Whakatohea and your many kin within the tribes,

ngaa iwi, teenaa kootou, teenaa kootou, teenaa kootou katoa.
greetings, greetings and salutations to you all.

Kua tae mai raa ki runga ki te rohe i tukua atu ai te
I have arrived on the boundaries of the district from

kupu whakatau aa too kootou tipuna a Muriwai ki te moana
where the edict of your ancestress Muriwai was proclaimed

i waho nei,
upon the sea beyond here,

Whakataukii
Proverb

"mai i ngaa kurii a Whaarei ki Tikirau".
"from the dogs of Whaarei to Tikirau".

Naa reira ka mihi atu ki a raatau kua riro ki te poo.
So I greet them who have gone to the night.

Ka tangi atu ki a raatau, ngaa kai-whakatakoto kupu hai
I weep here for them, the porters of traditions that we

titiro maa taatau maa ngaa moorehu.
survey as the survivors.

Poroporoaki
Farewell to the Dead

Haere ngaa mate, haere, haere, haere.
Farewell the dead, farewell, farewell, farewell.

VISIT TO KOOKOOHIINAU MARAE, TE TEKŌ. THURSDAY 13TH APRIL 1967

ERUERA MANUERA

NGAATI-AWA, NGAATI-PUUKEKO, NGAATI-TUUWHARETOA-KI-KAWERAU

Mihi ki te Tangata Whenua
Greetings to Hosts

Maataatua, me mihi atu ki a kootou i hui mai nei i teenei
Maataatua, let me thank you for having gathered here today

rangi ki te whakanui i ahau, tae atu ki taku hoa wahine.
to honour me and my wife.

Mihi ki Ngaa Mate
Greetings to the Dead

Me mihi atu ki a kootou i runga i te aahuatanga o oo taatau
Let me greet you in the custom for our dead.

mate. E kii ana te koorero,
The proverb says,

Whakataukii
Proverb

"E aha, tipua e te tarutaru, ka tangihia tonutia ngaa mate".
"Even though they may be covered in weeds, the dead are
always".

Poroporoaki
Farewell to Dead

Naa reira haere ngaa mate, haere. Haere ki ngaa maatua kai te
And so farewell the dead, farewell. Go to your ancestors in
the

poo. Haere e Hoki ki Hawaiki. Hawaiki-mui, Hawaiki-roa,
night. Go to the great Hawaiki, the long Hawaiki, the

Paamamao, Te Hono-i-Wairua ki Hawaiki.
Hawaiki, the joining of the spirits to Hawaiki.

Kaupapa
Purpose

Naa runga i too tono i hoki mai ai, i whakatutuki ai i too
Because of your invitation I have returned, your request was

iinoi, i tuutakitaki anoo ai taatau ki a taatau. Ka noho
eenei
fulfilled, and we met each other again. These many
experiences

tuu aahuatanga maha hai mau mahara mo ngaa raa e haere
mai nei.
will remain as memories in the days to come.

Whakamutunga
Conclusion

Naa reira teenaa kootou katoa mo ngaa whakaaro.
Therefore greetings to you all for your consideration.

WHAIKOORERO TEN

This speech is a mihi whakautu given by Princess Te Puea Herangi at a conference between the late Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Peter Fraser, and Waikato leaders, held in Parliament Buildings, Wellington in July 1942.¹ Te Puea begins by thanking her elders for according her the privilege of speaking first. She then greets their host and proceeds to outline the feelings of the Waikato people to the Second World War and the Maori war effort.² She concludes by thanking Mr Fraser for the hospitality they have received.

-
1. The speech extract was obtained from a conference report (n.d.) now in the writer's possession.
 2. During the First World War the Waikato tribes led by Te Puea opposed government attempts to conscript their members into the armed forces. Their reason was that during the Land Wars of the 1860s they had fought for their lands and their 'King'. As a consequence over a million acres of tribal land was confiscated, some of which was later returned. P.S. O'Connor provides a detailed background to the conscription issue in his article 'The Recruitment of Maori Soldiers', Political Science Vol.19 1967.

A MIHI BY PRINCESS TE PUEA

Whakamaarama
Explanation

I runga i too Waikato tuu, he mea tauhoou rawa kia riro
ko te

According to Waikato's role, it is very strange for a
woman to

wahine ki mua i ngaa taane ki teenei mea ki te whaikoorero.
whaikoorero before the men.

Otiraa, he mea aata whiriwhiri anoo maaku hei tiimata i te
However, it has been carefully decided that I should begin
the

koorero mo te waahanga ki te ope o Waikato.
discussions on behalf of the Waikato delegation.

Whakamihi ki ngaa kaumaatua
Greetings to Elders

Waihoki, kei te mihi ahau ki a koutou e aku maatua mo te
So, I greet you my elders for the

hoonore kua whakawhiwhia mai e koutou ki ahau, maaku hei
tuatahi
honour you have given me that I should speak first.

te koorero. Noo reira teenaa koutou.
Therefore, greetings.

Whakamihi ki te Pirimia
Greetings to Premier

E whakanui ana ahau ki a koe ki te Pirimia o Niu Tiireni. He
I salute you sir, the Premier of New Zealand.

taaonga nui rawa teenei kua horahia mai e aku maatua, kia riro
An exceptional privilege has been extended to me by my elders,

koe maaku hei mihi tuatahi. Ko too Waikato tuu, kaahore ahau
e
that I should greet you first. According to Waikato custom,
it

tika ana kia koorero i mua i te whaikoorerotanga o aku maatua.
is not proper for me to speak before my elders have spoken.

I te mea kua uuhia mai teenei hoonore ki ahau, koia ahau ka
Because this honour has been extended to me, this is why I

whaikupu atu ki a koe. Otiraa, hei maaramatanga moou, mai
anoo o
speak forth to you. Enough, as an explanation to you, ever

tooku tamarikitanga i whakaakona ahau ki ngaa ritenga
Maori.
since my childhood I was taught the ways of the Maori.

Whakamihi ki te Paaremata
Greetings to Parliament

Te tuatahi e te Pirimia, he mea na runga atu i a koe, kei te
Firstly O Premier, something above you, I wish to greet

mihi atu ki ngaa mema katoa o te Paaremata o Niu Tiireni.
all the members of the New Zealand Parliament.

Kaupapa
Body of Speech

I te ahiahi nei, he nui taa maatou whiriwhiri i o kupu i
hora
Last evening, we considered carefully your address

mai ai ki mua i aa maatou inanahi aa he nui too maatou koa i
that you gave to us yesterday and we were very pleased to hear

te rongona atu i o kupu me o whakaaro nunui. He nui anoo
hoki
your words and your great thoughts. We were also

too maatou koa moo maatou i rongo atu i a koē e whakahua kupu
pleased to hear you referring

ana mo taa maatou tamaiti, mo Kiingi Koroki. E tino mihi ana
to our child King Koroki. I congratulate you

ahau moou i maumahara ki taa maatou tamaiti, koia ahau ka
kii atu
in remembering our child, and this is why I say to you,

ki a koe, na runga i o kupu manaaki i a Kiingi Koroki, kua
because of your kind references to King Koroki you have
opened

tuwhera i a koe te whatitoka o te manawa o Waikato.
the door to the heart of Waikato.

E tino koa ana hoki maatou moou e whakahua mai nei i ngaa
mahi
We are also pleased that you mentioned the Waikato
contribution

aawhina a Waikato i te pakanga. Kaahore i mahue i a koe te
to the war. You did not forget

whakahua ake te nui o te aawhina-a-moni, aawhina-a-kai,
aapiti
to mention the financial, food, and together with the

atu ki te nui o ngaa tai-tamariki o Waikato kua uru ki roto i
manpower contributions of Waikato who have enlisted

ngaa roopuu hooia o Niu Tiireni.
in the New Zealand armed forces.

Otiraa, e hiahia ana ahau ki te whakatika atu i teetehi
o ngaa

However, I wish to correct one of your

puutake i whakahuatia mai e koe ki a maatou, araa, ko te
waahanga
points you mentioned to us, that is, that part concerning

e paa ana ki te kaute o ngaa tamariki kua whakauru hei hooia.
the number of young people who entered the armed forces.

Kaahore katoa a Waikato, araa a Tainui i roto i te 500 i
Waikato, that is Tainui, was not in the 500

whakahuatia e koe inanahi.
you mentioned yesterday.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

One might ask then what are the prospects of perpetuating whaikoorero in its present form? Conditions which work against it are the increasing urbanisation of the Maori people, with a subsequent loss of cultural identity and language, and an educational system which at present contains little provision for the teaching and perpetuation of the language. It has been assumed that without the language whaikoorero and its concomitants cannot survive. There is an increasing mood of acceptance among the wider society that perhaps the Maori does have something to offer with his arts, crafts, life style, and language. As well as this, more and more young Maoris are questioning the trend of history to deprive them of their culture. The result has been a resurgence of interest in their own inheritance.

Possibilities for the retention of whaikoorero depend in the first instance on certain literary tools such as oral traditions, genealogies, and the execuent's skill with these tools. Naturalness and ease with the Maori language and its idiom is imperative, for the skill remains an artificial one if there is evidence of rote delivery. The survival of whaikoorero depends too on the incentive for individuals to master the technique, and on the occasions and reward for displaying it. What we are concerned with sociologically are the circumstances for role-playing and the maintenance of an indigenous social structure. For the whaikoorero can be regarded as the catalyst by which such basic elements in the cultural tradition as language, literature, and history, are deliberately retained and fostered.

It might be argued that the social structure could be maintained with other verbal symbols and that, to a certain extent, this is being done with the use of English. Similarly the cultural tradition may be preserved, if in a non-customary way, with books, tapes, geneological diagrams and other methods. What is important in whaikoorero, however, is the primacy accorded the traditional method of role-playing, and the orally-transmitted literature by which the roles are defined vis-a-vis with the community.

During April 1972 the writer was requested to conduct a series of lectures on the history and traditions of the Waikato tribe, and more specifically on the conditions surrounding formal speechmaking. What is especially interesting is that the request was initiated by those who might be regarded as belonging to the "workers" rather than to the "speakers". And one might note also the important economic factor that not all Maoris are able to attend hui, and so learn by observation, participation and direct coaching. Nevertheless, these young people, who were aged between twenty and thirty, felt sufficiently motivated to learn the rudiments of whaikoorero in preparation for their future roles. Their reasons were various, some of them simply wanting to be able to reply to welcomes which might be extended to them on football trips, others anxious to know the correct procedures of speechmaking for formal occasions. Still others, who found themselves moving into positions of leadership, realised that some day they would inevitably have to display their talents on the marae, the final test of their maturity. Realising that lack of knowledge and procedure can be an extreme embarrassment even to middle-aged and fluent

Maori speakers, the young appreciate that whaikoorero is a central feature of Maori social life, and that ignorance of its structure very clearly limits their effectiveness.

Always there is the need to emphasise the full cultural and historical context of whaikoorero. It will be found difficult to understand if no account is taken of the expectations, beliefs and values of its participants. As Beattie (1964:Chapter 5) has observed, the poetical and analogical character of non-western thinking has received attention from many writers. Much of the thinking expressed in whaikoorero is symbolic and allusive, and sometimes when the beliefs or attitudes embodied in the speeches are translated into English, they may seem irrational, self-contradictory, or nonsensical. Aspects which may cause confusion for those unfamiliar with the conventions are the continual references to the dead, address through inanimate objects, and references to people through qualities associated with them, rather than personally. What needs to be emphasised is that speakers are using the language symbolically, a form of discourse constantly difficult for the modern urban mind. Examples of this usage can be seen in the expressions of sorrow sent by the Maori people to Mrs Seddon on the death of her husband¹. Some of the expressions used included the following:

Haere te kaakaa kura o roto i te pookai

Farewell the red clothed plume within the war party

1. A.J.H.R. 1906, (Vol. III:266-287).

Moe mai i runga i te aataamira, whakataa i too maauui

Sleep there on your pedestal and rest your pains

Na aituua koe i kapo ki waenga moana

Death snatched you in mid-ocean

Te paa whakaora kua tahuri

The fortified sanctuary has fallen (literally overturned)

Haere te muurau a te tini, te wenerau a te mano

Farewell accompanied by the hushed voice of multitudes
and the suppressed hum of thousands

To clarify this point, we can say that in whaikoorero symbols stand for, imply, or refer to a concept or a quality or even a train of associations, and that the things which are symbolised in various ways are frequently abstract notions such as mana power, tapu sacredness, aroha love, whanaungatanga kingship, and manaakitanga hospitality.

In summary, we can say whaikoorero is preserved and transmitted through the institutions of urban and rural hui, especially those of the marae and tangihanga. It is performed by certain persons attached to a particular institution, or by persons forming a special group. The personality, standing and knowledge of the speaker is extremely important to the whaikoorero and what is transmitted, to how it interacts with the audience, to what is relevant for the particular occasion. It is through whaikoorero that speakers are able to recollect the past, strengthen and reinforce cultural traditions, educate the people, and exert some form of social control by helping to maintain conformity to accepted patterns of behaviour. The chosen form of whaikoorero, and the special group that performs it, ensure the transmission of cultural values and traditions as accurately as possible from one generation to another.

Whaikoorero is regarded as the traditionally valued mode of communication. It is the language of the marae, the language of the chiefs and elders, and the only acceptable form of public statement in the Maori world. At the same time it is an artistic form, difficult to master, and demanding long years of practice and experience.

It is true, as I have pointed out, that one can read and listen to the myths and traditions of the Maori in books, on tapes, and through radio broadcasts. Yet it is the public rendering, the synthesising of myth and tradition, the living and the dead, and the interweaving of topical matters with the beliefs and values of the society, which hold the greatest interest for the Maori. For in whaikoorero history is relived, mana reaffirmed, and status gained. The dead are recalled to

participate with the living in social gatherings where tradition is orally transmitted, reaffirmed and relived. These then are some of the reasons why whaikoorero persists as a literary form and as a social feature within contemporary Maori society.

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THE POUKAI

The following is a brief description of a 'Poukai'. A 'Poukai' is a loyalty feast held at set times during the year by the various sub-tribes within the Waikato-Maniapoto tribal confederation. At present there are 28 different 'Poukai', the majority being staged within the Waikato area, one being held in Tauranga and three in the Te Teko-Te Whaaiti-Murupara area.

The 'Poukai' I attended on 10 April 1970 was held at the 'Te Papa O Rotu' marae, approximately 1 mile from the Whatawhata township. The significance of this particular date was to commemorate the return of Te Rata, the fourth Maori King, from England in 1914. Te Rata, together with Tupu Taingaakawa, Mita Karaka and other Maori chiefs had gone to England to seek redress for Maori land grievances from the British Crown.

The tangata-whenua were members of the Ngaati Maahanga sub-tribe and seated on the right hand side of their meeting house were the local elders, Te Whati Taamati, Te Ruihana Kiingi, Rapata Maniapoto and Te Orahi Tonga. To clarify the discussion let us look at a brief description of the role and relative rank of each of these individuals.

Te Whati Taamati, is generally regarded as the senior elder of Ngaati-Maahanga as well as being a prominent spokesman within the King Movement itself. His skill in oratory, genealogy and interpretation of Taawhiao's sayings has earned him the respect of all the Waikato tribes.

Te Ruihana Kiingi is a member of the Te Kaumarua 'Maori Queen's Council' and is also the kai-whakahaere 'organiser' of the Whatawhata 'Poukai'. Te Ruihana has several brothers and has a large body of close kin to call on for support. This was evident in the fact that the Kiingi family played a prominent role in performing the work behind the scenes, for example, the procuring and cooking of food, fund-raising for marae improvements and general maintenance around the marae.

Rapata Maniapoto, apart from his Ngaati Maahanga affiliations is also a leader of the adjacent Ngaati Tamainupoo sub-tribe centred around Waingaro. As well as fulfilling a kin obligation to attend the Whatawhata gathering, his 'Poukai' is the next loyalty feast on the 'Poukai' calendar. It is therefore in his group's interests to be seen in attendance at such functions so as to assure support for his 'Poukai'. The Waingaro 'Poukai' is held on 25 April and commemorates the day on which the late King Koroki's wife, Te Atairangikaahu, died.

Finally there was Te Orahi Tonga, the local minister for the Methodist Maori Mission. Methodism has always had

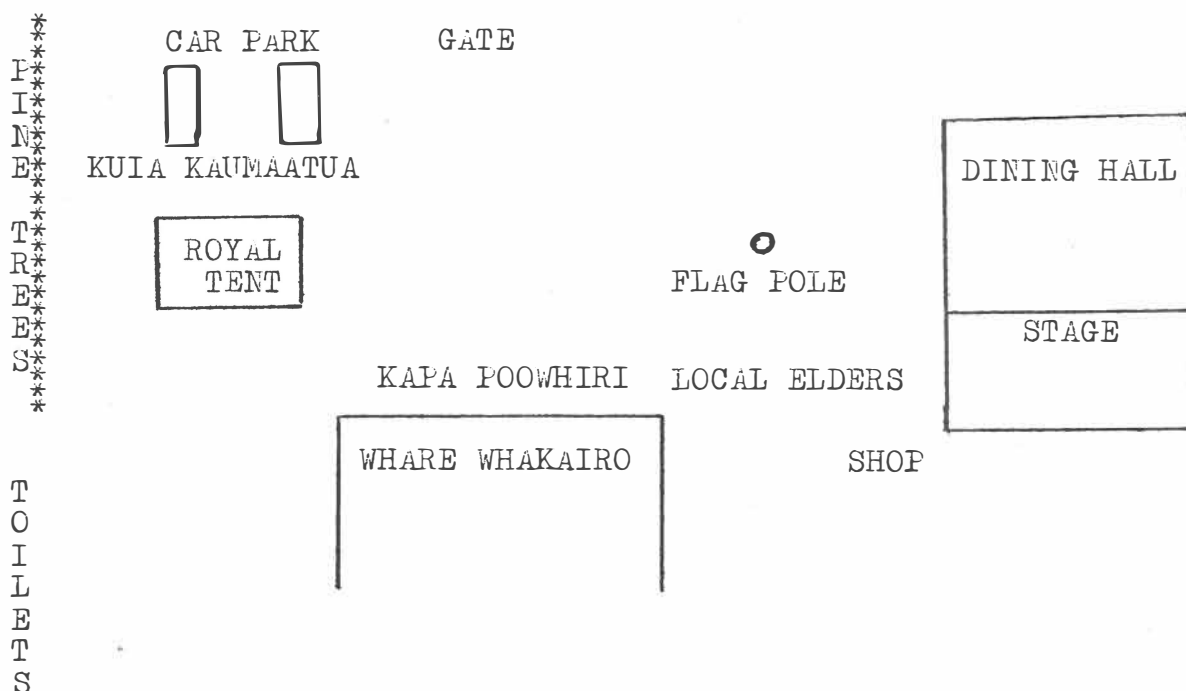
a strong foothold within the Waikato area, and although there are signs that they are losing some of their influence to the Anglicans, Te Orahī's presence was significant in that he performed all the church rituals associated with the day such as the flag-raising ceremony at 7.00 a.m., the church service during the welcome ceremonies, and the blessing of the 'Poukai' dinner.

Upon arrival at the marae at approximately 10.30 a.m. I found the bus containing the elders from Ngāruawāhia already there as well as approximately fifty cars. People were standing around the fringe of the marae gossiping and smoking, wardens were directing the traffic and trying to refrain children from becoming too boisterous, while in front of the meeting-house, Te Whātī had the local men and women practising their karanga and poowhiri. Whilst the visitors awaited the arrival of the Māori Queen Te Atairangikaahu, people could be heard commenting on the impressive condition of the marae with the lawns freshly cut, the verges neatly trimmed and the gleaming coats of paint on the hall and meeting-house. The arrival of the Royal party signalled that it was time for the visitors to assemble and prepare to escort them onto the marae. The order of entry was Te Ata in front, members of the Kaahui Ariki 'paramount family' behind her, the elders flanking them and behind were the 'Kuias', the young people and the children.

As the visitors moved onto the marae the tangata-whenua performed their karanga and poowhiri and this was reciprocated by the old ladies amongst the visitors.

After a brief pause to honour the dead in front of the meeting-house, Te Orahī said a short prayer, the hymn 'Tama ngaakau maarie' was sung and then the visitors moved onto the seats and mats provided for them on the left hand side of the marae opposite the local speakers, Te Ata and her party moved into a tent which had been specially prepared for her on the side of the marae.

DIAGRAM SHOWING DISPOSITION OF BUILDINGS, ENTRY AND SEATING
OF VISITORS AND LOCAL HOSTS



Now the formal speeches of welcome began. Te Whati as leader of the tangata-whenua stood first. In some areas it is the most junior who speaks first but in this instance the position was reversed. Te Whati's speech conformed to all the traditional concepts of marae oratory, interspersed with such phrases as -

Ko Kaawhia he moana, ko Aotea he whenua, ko Whaaingaroa he tangata.

At Kawhia is the sea, at Aotea is the land, at Whangaroa are the people.

'He taura here mai no te poo, e kukume nei i te tangata'.

A link from the past drawing the people together.

Tuti Wetere was the first visiting speaker and following him was Rapata Maniapoto, the second tangata-whenua speaker. Because of the wind and rain it was too difficult to hear his speech. Ruumaatiki Te Koi stood and replied. As the final speaker for the local people, Te Ruihana Kiingi stood up, gave his speech and then to indicate that he was the last speaker he used the phrase "Kua pae teenei taha". He also added that if any of the visiting elders wished to do so they could still stand and speak. Normally when the last of the tangata-whenua has ended his speech this marks the end of the formal welcome and speech-making.

Piri Poutapu, a noted carver and elder stood and raised the topic of the Judaea Poukai. This had been held the previous week at Tauranga and members of the Ngaiterangi and Ngaati-Ranginui tribes had expressed concern at their tribe's ability to stage future Poukai. Heenare Tuuwhaangi, one of the senior elders of the King Movement, stood to reply to Piri's questions and gave the background as to why the Poukai was granted initially to the Judea people. He also stated that the staging of a Poukai should not be regarded as a permanent arrangement but only so far as there was support for the Poukai within the area. When the Waikato elders agreed initially to the request by Hare Piahana and Maharaiia Wiriata, Heenare's parting remark to Hare was "Ki te ngenge koe i te waahanga i te taaonga, me whakatea". "Should you tire of the burden, rest."

Following this discussion Te Ruihana announced that the Poukai dinner was ready and that after Te Ata and her party had entered the dining hall, the rest of the visitors should follow. Te Ata had her own special table on the stage of the hall, whilst on the main floor there were four long lines of tables heaped high with food.

The hall accommodated 250 people at a sitting and as everyone walked through the main doors they would deposit their voluntary donations into kits held in the laps of two elderly women, who sat on either side of the door. Donations averaged approximately \$1 per person and ranged from 50c for children and up to \$5 for adults. Out of a total of 300 persons present (including children) there were probably only about three Europeans to be seen.

Seated at the main table was Te Ata and her husband, Whatumoana, Heenare, Whitiora Cooper, Norman Pikia and myself. Maori delicacies such as shark, eels, oysters, shell-fish were displayed on the table plus a choice of several brands of cigarettes. Unlike some tribal areas liquor is not permitted on most of the Waikato marae. However, where private facilities are available such as at Te Kuiti Waahi and Nga-aruaahia refreshments are provided for Te Ata's personal guests.

After the meal everyone moved out of the hall and sat or stood around the marae chatting and smoking. Heenare Tuuwhaangi opened the afternoon discussions by relating their experiences when they accompanied Te Ata to Wellington, where she was invested as a Dame Commander of the British Empire. He was critical of the fact that the Poukai marae were very tardy in offering financial assistance to help pay for their journey. Te Ruihana stood to reply on behalf of the Whata-whata Poukai committee and referred back to what Peha Wharekura, an elder, had said with regard to any surplus funds held by the Poukai committees, namely, "Ka hemo kai te peepi, ka haere atu te whaea, ka whakangote". "When the child is hungry the mother goes along and feeds it. Another speaker, Kaumoana Edwards, stood and objected to the arrogant manner in which Heenare was criticising the Poukai committees. Moreover he saw no reason why Waikato should have gone to Wellington when they could have requested the Royal tour organisers that the investiture take place at Turangawaewae. Piri and Heenare

were the main prompters of discussion and after much heated debate everyone agreed that there was room or organisational improvement but how this was to be implemented no one was quite sure.

During the discussions, I was seated in the tent listening to the debates on the marae, discussing arrangements for the 1970 Coronation celebrations and other matters. Towards the end of the discussions Te Ruihana came over to the tent and presented an envelope containing the rau-kai-atua to Te Ata. There has always been some confusion over the exact meaning of the 'rau-kai-atua' and the 'whakatekau' of the Poukai. Whakatekau and Rau-kai-atua are culturally synonymous - one Christian and the latter indigenous. Obligatory offering of a portion of the money (or goods or produce for that season or occasion) to the Ariki, i.e. King Koroki - ritual sanctions are of importance. Henare Tuwhangai knows of cases of caretakers of money not fulfilling responsibility or 'stealing' poukai money having some calamity befall them.

The marae discussions continued on the marae until late afternoon. At about five o'clock Te Ata and her party prepared to return home and this was taken as the signal for the gathering to disperse. As visitors prepared to return home the local people began to clean up the dining-hall and marae in readiness for returning to their own occupations the next day. This ended the Poukai at Whatawhata.

The following is a list of Poukai dates, venues and host tribes. Where possible, the original purpose for the Poukai has also been included.

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Marae Venue</u>	<u>Host Tribe</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1.	1 January	Horahora	Ngaati-Hine	Begun by Tonga Mahuta
2.	25 January	Kookoohinau	Ngaati-Manawa	Three <u>poukai</u> staged in the Maataatua canoe area. Begun initially at the request of Eruera Manuera an elder of the Te Teko district.
3.	26 January	Murupara	Tuuhoe	
4.	26 January	Te Whaaiti	Tuuhoe	
5.	3 February	Taniwha	Ngaati-Pou	
6.	22 February	Maurea	Ngaati-Hine Ngaati-Naho	
7.	9 March	Paaraawera	Ngaati-Ruru	Reputed to be the oldest surviving <u>Poukai</u>
8.	10 March	Oowairaka	Ngaati-Apakura	
9.	11 March	Raakaunui		All of these <u>poukai</u> occur in the Kawhia district and because of their geographical distribution are held on consecutive days
10.	12 March	Waipapa	Ngaati-Hikairo	
11.	13 March	Maketuu	Ngaati-Mahuta	
12.	14 March	Ookapu	Ngaati-Te Wehi	
13.	18 March	Turangawae-wae	Waikato	To commemorate opening of Mahinarangi meeting house
14.	22 March	Tauhei	Ngaati-Wairere	
15.	15 April	Ngaa-tai-e-rua	Ngaati-Tipa	
16.		Marokopa	Ngaati-Te Kanawa	These two <u>poukai</u> are held over the same week-end
17.		Te Kuiti	Ngaati-Maniapoto	
18.	29 March	Ookauia	Ngaati-Raukawa	
19.	30 March	Huuria	Ngaiteurangi Ngaati-Rangimui	To commemorate date of Maharuaia Winiata's death
20.	10 April	Te Papa-o-Rotu	Ngaati-Maahanga	Return of King Te Rata from England in 1914
21.	25 April	Tainui-a-Whiro	Ngaati-Tama-inupoo	To commemorate death of Te Atairangikaahu, wife of King Koroki

22. 16 June	Poohara	Ngaati-Koroki	Birth date of King Koroki
23. August	Tauranga-nui	Te Maungaunga	Date of King Mahuta's coronation
24. 8 October	Waahi	Ngaati-Mahuta	Date of King Koroki's coronation
25. 12 October	Mangatangi	Ngaati-Tamaoho	To commemorate death of Princess Te Paea
26. 24 November	Te Awamaarahi	Ngaati-Aamaru	Date of King Te Rata's coronation
27. 28 November	Waikare	Ngaati-Naho	
28. 15 December	Reretewhio	Ngaati-Te Ata	