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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

Tēnā koutou e te hunga e pānui nei i tēnei putanga o He Puna Kōrero. I a au e tuhi nei i ēnei kōrero, kātahi anō ka whakanuitia te aranga ake a Matariki i te pae o te rangi, nā reira tēnā koutou i tēnei wāhanga o te tau e kitea nei taua kāhui whetū; he wā tika kia āta wānangangia ngā mahi o nehe me te whāriki iho i ngā whakaaro, i ngā kaupapa hoki hei whiriwhiringa kōrero i te tau hou Māori nei. Ko ngā 'kai' o roto i te puna nei, he kōrero hei whāngai i te hinengaro o te tangata. Nā reira, pānuitia ngā kōrero kia mākona rawa.

Greetings to readers of this issue of *He Puna Kōrero*. As I write this editorial, the Māori New Year celebrations have commenced, with the appearance of Matariki (Pleiades) on the horizon, so I send you warm greetings at this special time of year when the constellation of Matariki is clearly seen; this signifies an appropriate time to debate and discuss past issues and to lay out for discussion theories, opinions and themes for the Māori New Year. The 'food' within the spring, encapsulated in the Journal title *He Puna Kōrero*, can be found in the Journal's articles, which 'feed' the mind. So read on and enjoy the contents of this issue until you feel replete!

Included in this issue of *He Puna Kōrero* are four articles. The first three focus on Māori themes. Author, Raukura Roa, explores traditional Māori laments (*mōteatea*) in terms of oral formulaic theory; Hēmi Whaanga investigates the Māori language (*te reo Māori*) in terms of *inter*-propositional relational theory, and Mark Haimona and Nātana Takurua discuss the traditional relationship between Māori and water and its relevance to the communication of contemporary water safety messages. The fourth paper, written by Howard Scott and Xiaoli Chen, focuses on China, and provides a photographic study of some of the buildings in the old part of the city of Swatow. In this article, the use of colonial architectural features on these buildings is examined.

It is a very real pleasure to welcome back three authors with whose work regular readers of the journal will already be familiar, namely, Raukura Roa, Hēmi Whaanga and Howard Scott. Let me also introduce to you three authors who are being published for the first time in this journal – Mark Haimona, Nātana Takurua and Xiaoli Chen. It is a particular pleasure for me, as Dean of *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*, to observe the growing strength of Pacific and Pacific Rim scholarship reflected in this issue of the journal.

Aroha Yates-Smith

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

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Abstract

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The search for oral formulae in *Ngā mōteatea*

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

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

Initial broadly-based descriptions

An oral formula is:

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

OR

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

A cluster is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These lines were translated by Jones as:

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

<i>ki Whakaari rā ia,</i>	[prep. + nn. + locative part. + pro.]
<i>te ahi a te tipua</i> ¹⁰	[det. + nn. + part. (belonging) + det. + nn.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure is:

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

look at/ see hither there

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 11: Orbell’s examples of ‘mookai’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Number 7 - kei riri (don’t be angry)

The structure here is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this sequence is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this sequence is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure here is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure here is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Concept 1: anger, search term *rihi*

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Te haere *ki te kawē riri.*

Ko haere ai ra *ki te kawē a riri,*

E tū ai koe *ki te kawē a riri, nā!*

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

whare + *riri*
nn. + V.stative/ nn.
house *angry/ battle; war*

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

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

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

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

Concept 2: Canoe – search term *waka*

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Search term: *whakaara + moe* (awake)

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

Table 35: *whakaara + moe* (awake)

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

This string occurs twice in the corpus.

Table 37: *kāti + rā + te + moe*

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment discussed here is:

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

This string occurs three times in the corpus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This string occurs three times in the corpus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wind, search term: *hau* (wind)

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The structure of this segment is:

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

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

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

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

Rising smoke, search term: auahi (smoke)

The structure of this segment is:

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

This string occurs only twice in the corpus.

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

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

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

Final remarks

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

Identified above are five possible instances of oral formulae.

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

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

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

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

Endnotes

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

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Inter-propositional relations: An investigation of authentic Māori texts

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Abstract

I report here on a part of a research project involving the investigation of a range of authentic Māori texts in terms of two types of meaning relation – those that operate *within* propositions (referred to here as ‘*intra*-propositional relations’), and those that link propositions or groups of propositions (referred to here as ‘*inter*-propositional relations’). In focus here is the second of these types, that is, *inter*-propositional relations, and in particular, the ways in which they are signalled in *te reo Māori*. The implications of the findings for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* are also discussed.

Introduction

Forty years ago, the study of meaning relations was confined to a few linguists, most of whom were working within the context of a particular functionally-based theory of language (tagmemic theory). Now, it would be almost impossible for any linguist of any persuasion, or, indeed, anyone whose discipline impacts in any way on information processing (natural or artificial), to avoid engaging in one way or another with issues associated with meaning relations. Even so, this research has had little impact on the analysis of *te reo Māori* and the teaching and learning of the language. Houia (2001a, p. 1) makes the following observation:

I have noticed that second language learners tend to confine themselves to common ways of expressing certain types of meaning relationship between parts of a text. Thus, for example, reasons tend to be expressed by *notemea*, conditions by *mehemea* and purposes by *hei*.

This is a particularly significant observation in view of the fact that research on second language learning now emphasises the importance of linking form and function (see, for example, Celce-Murcia, Dornyei, & Thurrell, 1997) and includes discourse creation and comprehension as an important aspect of communicative competence (see, for example, Bachman & Palmer, 1996; McNamara, 1996). In spite of this, there are very few accounts of meaning relations that make specific reference to *te reo Māori* and even fewer that attempt to determine how these relations are signalled in *te reo Māori*.

In attempting recently, in collaboration with two colleagues,¹ to design a curriculum document for teachers and learners of *te reo Māori* in New Zealand schools (for the *New Zealand Ministry of Education*), I found that it was necessary to provide examples and explanations to support the achievement objectives (which were expressed in terms of meanings rather than forms).² In the case of relations and relational meanings, the descriptions, explanations and examples available in published literature appeared to be patchy at best. Furthermore, an examination of existing textbooks designed for learners of *te reo Māori* indicated that the range of possible relational encodings included was very narrow.³ In fact, a recent

comparative study of a sample of textbooks available for the teaching of English and of *te reo Māori* revealed that the latter appeared to be largely uninfluenced by research in the area of discourse analysis (including research relating to meaning relations) (Fester & Whaanga, 2007).

Meaning relations (*inter-propositional relations*)

Inter-propositional relations are meaning relations that link two or more propositions. A proposition in linguistic terms (see, for example, Fillmore, 1968, p. 23), is essentially an abstraction made up of a semantic predicator (an action, state or process) and one or more arguments that relate to it. The same proposition can be expressed linguistically (often as a clause with tense etc. added) in different ways in the same language or in different languages. Thus, in *The boy saw the girl / I kite te tama i te kōtiro/ Le garçon voit la fille* ‘boy’, ‘tama’, and ‘garçon’ might be said to be *Experiencers* in the case of English, Māori and French respectively, entering into a relationship of *Experiencer-Process* with the encoded predicators (‘saw’, ‘i kite’ and ‘voir’).

As Longacre (1996, p. 309) observes: “It seems that the purpose of the surface structure clause is to encode predications. We can say therefore that the primary encoding of notional predication is the clause. However, a notional predication need not necessarily encode as a surface structure clause; it may be nominalized into a phrase or even a word structure”. Thus, *inter-propositional relations* often link two clauses together (see example 1 below) although they may, under certain circumstances (i.e. where a single clause involves two propositions) operate within a single clause (see example (2) below):

1. He left early because he felt tired.
(result) (reason)
2. His intervention caused her defeat.
(reason) (result)
(i.e., He intervened and therefore she was defeated.)

A brief comparative analysis of *inter-propositional relational models*

There is, as yet, no overall agreement among researchers about the way in which *inter-propositional relations* should be categorised. Longacre (1972) includes in his relational model ten ‘deep structure relations’ together with a number of varieties of each. This approach is extended in his most recent account (Longacre, 1996), where there are twelve ‘deep structure relations’ together with a number of varieties of each. These are:

Conjoining: *Coupling; Contrast; Comparison.*

Alternation: *Alternation with only two possible alternatives; Alternation with more than two alternatives.*

Temporal: *Overlap; Succession.*

Implication: Conditionality: *Hypotheticality; With Universal Quantifier of a Term (in the Antecedent); Contingency; Proportions (correlative statements).*

Implication: Causation: *Efficient Cause; Final Cause; Circumstance.*

Implication: Contrafactuality: *Contrafactuality.*

Implication: Warning: *Warning.*

Paraphrase: *Equivalence Paraphrase; Negated Antonym Paraphrase and similar structures; Generic-Specific Paraphrase; Amplification Paraphrase; Specific-Generic Paraphrase; Contraction Paraphrase; Summary Paraphrase.*

Illustration: *Simile; Exemplification.*

Deixis: *Introduction; Identification.*

Attribution: *Speech Attribution; Awareness Attribution.*

Frustration: *Frustrated Coupling; Frustrated Succession; Frustrated Overlap; Frustrated Hypothesis; Frustrated Contingency; Frustrated Efficient Cause; Frustrated Final Cause; Frustrated Attribution; Frustrated Modality.*

Beekman and Callow (1974) include two main categories of relation – addition and association – the associative category including five sub-categories: support by clarification (using a proposition with distinct information); support by clarification (using a proposition with similar information); support by argument; support by orientation; support involving the whole of one proposition and part of another. This categorisation leads to some duplication of relations, the final list being made up as follows:

Addition relations: *Chronological Sequence; Simultaneity; Alternation; Conversational Exchange; Matched Support.*

Associative/ supporting relations: *Manner; Comparison; Contrast; Equivalence; Generic-Specific; Amplification-Contraction/ Summary; Reason-Result; Means-Result; Means-Purpose; Condition-Consequence; Concession-Contraexpectation; Grounds-Conclusion; Time; Location; Circumstance; Identification; Comment; Content.*

Hollenbach (1975) posits five relational category types: *Temporal, Causal, Logical, Equivalence* and *N-ary*.⁴ All of the relations belonging to the *Causal* category are presented as involving fact or observation; all the relations belonging to the *Logical* category are presented as involving some form of inference, deduction or contingency. Thus, for example, the relation referred to by Hollenbach as *Grounds-Implication* (belonging to the logical category) involves a causal member (*Grounds*) which provides a basis for the effect member (*Implication*) whose content is deduced rather than observed. The relations are as follows:

Causal relations: *Means-Purpose; Means-Result; Reason-Result; Cause-Effect; Stimulus-Response.*

Logical relations: *Grounds-Implication; Condition-Consequence; Contrary-to-fact Condition-Contrary-to-fact Consequence; Concession-Contraexpectation.*

Equivalence relations: *Greater-Lesser; Comparison; Generic-Specific; Restatement; Positive-Negative; Contrast.*

N-ARY relations: *Coordination; Inclusive Alternation; Exclusive Alternation.*

Crombie (1985a, 1985b, 1987) categorises relations into three cognitive process types: associative, logico-deductive and tempero-contigual. The relations are:

Associative relations: *Simple Contrast; Comparative Similarity; Statement-Affirmation; Statement-Denial; Denial-Correction; Concession-*

Contraexpectation; Supplementary Alternation; Contrastive Alternation; Paraphrase; Amplification;
Logico-deductive relations: *Condition-Consequence; Means-Purpose; Reason-Result; Grounds-Conclusion;*
Temporo-contigual relations: *Chronological Sequence; Temporal Overlap; Bonding.*

Proposed model

The model I propose is based on a four-way distinction in terms of relational types: *temporal, additive, associative* and *causal* (see Whaanga, 2006, *Chapter 3* for a full discussion). This four-way distinction was derived from tracking the inventories proposed by a number of linguists and comparing and contrasting them with a view to determining whether some of the proposals that had been made could have been accommodated in different ways. The four-way classification in terms of relational types was formulated from the tripartite cognitive process categorical distinction proposed by Crombie (1985a, 1985b, 1987) plus the addition of one further category – *Additive*. The addition of the *Additive* category is based on the fact that there is a need to acknowledge the existence of relationships that do not involve time, cause and effect or the matching of propositions in terms of comparison, contrast or choice.

Membership of the **Temporal** relational category seems to be unproblematic in that analysis of all of the models reveals two fundamental ways of linking propositions in time. I shall refer to these two relations as *Temporal Sequence* and *Temporal Overlap*.

The **Causal** relational category is slightly more problematic. Although, there appear to be good reasons for including relations based on those labelled ‘logical’ by Hollenbach (referred to here as *Grounds-Conclusion*, *Condition-Consequence* and *Concession-Contraexpectation*), there is, an issue relating to whether *Means-Purpose* and *Means-Result* are varieties of *Reason-Result* or separate relations. On balance, I believe that they should be treated as separate relations. Both *Reason-Result* and *Means-Result* present the *effect* proposition as an actual outcome, whereas *Means-Purpose* presents the effect proposition as an *intended* (rather than actual) *outcome*. The focus in the first two (*Reason-Result* and *Means-Result*) is, therefore, achievement; the focus in the third (*Means-Purpose*) is intention. This appears to indicate a clear relational distinction between the first two and the third in terms of propositional membership. The distinction between *Reason-Result* and *Means-Result* is not so clear-cut, although the causal member of the relation focuses on *why* a particular outcome is/was/will be achieved in the case of *Reason-Result*, whereas the causal member of the relation focuses on *how* a particular outcome is/was/will be achieved in the case of *Means-Result*. I believe, therefore, that the difference between the propositional members is sufficient to justify the establishment of different relations in each case. For similar reasons, I also decided to treat *Grounds-Conclusion* as a relation in its own right.

The **Associative** relational category includes all relations involving comparison in terms of similarity or difference. This includes the relation referred to as *Paraphrase*, a relation involving the matching of two propositions in terms of propositional content. The relation I refer to as *Alternation* is also included in this category because the propositions over which choice operates are treated as being similar or different in terms of content in relation to the context in which they occur. The *General-*

Particular relation is also assigned to this category because one part of the relation involves a generic predicator (e.g., *say*; *tell*), the other a content specification (particulars) relating to that generic semantic predicator. This category (*Associative*) also includes further relations involving compatible or contrasted propositional content.

The *Additive relational* category includes only one relation. Different labels are used in different models to refer to this relation. Since a label such as *Conjoining* (Hollenbach, 1975) is suggestive of an essentially grammatical relationship rather than a semantico-pragmatic one, I prefer the term *Bonding*. This relation does not involve time, cause and effect or the matching of propositions in terms of comparison, contrast or choice.

Table 1: Classification of inter-propositional relations

Relational Types	Further categorisation of relational type	Relational varieties	Definitions	Examples in English
Temporal	Temporal	<i>Temporal Sequence</i>	Involves chronologically sequenced event propositions.	<i>He tidied up and then left the building site.</i>
		<i>Temporal Overlap</i>	Involves temporarily overlapping event propositions.	<i>As he was measuring the site, he slipped on the wet grass.</i>
Additive	Bonding	<i>Bonding</i> (including <i>Rhetorical Coupling</i>)	Involves non-comparative, non-contrastive, non-elective, non-causative propositional addition.	<i>He was wearing a rain cape and carrying a torch.</i>
Associative	Matching Compatibility	<i>Paraphrase</i>	Involves equivalence of propositional content.	<i>He began combat; he started to fight.</i>
		<i>Statement-Affirmation</i>	Involves affirmation of the truth or validity of the content of a proposition.	<i>He said that the explosion caused the collapse and I agree.</i>
		<i>Simple Comparison</i>	Involves comparison in respect of similarity.	<i>The leaders were afraid and so were their followers.</i>
		<i>Exemplification</i>	Involves an example of a general statement.	<i>Economic superiority does not guarantee victory. The defeat of the USA in the Vietnam war is just one example.</i>
	Matching Contrast	<i>Simple Contrast</i>	Involves comparison in respect of difference.	<i>One structure was weak; the other was strong.</i>
		<i>Statement-Denial</i>	Involves denial of the truth or validity of a proposition.	<i>He said that the explosion caused the collapse but I disagree.</i>
		<i>Denial-Correction</i>	Involves the correction of some aspect of propositional content.	<i>It wasn't the heat that caused the cracks; it was the constant pressure of water.</i>
		<i>Exception</i>	Involves a general statement and an exception.	<i>All of the buildings leak except the one built by my company.</i>

Table 1(cont.): Classification of inter-propositional relations

Relational Types	Further categorisation of relational type	Relational varieties	Definitions	Examples in English
Associative	Alternation	<i>Supplementary Alternation</i>	Involves a choice among non-contrasting alternatives.	<i>Nobody ordered the bricks or bought the roofing felt.</i>
		<i>Contrastive Alternation</i>	Involves a choice between/among contrasting alternatives.	<i>It will either survive the storm or it won't.</i>
Causal	Causality	<i>Reason-Result</i>	Involves the reason for a particular outcome.	<i>She built a new fence because the old one was damaged.</i>
		<i>Grounds-Conclusion</i>	Involves an outcome based on inference rather than observation.	<i>He was in charge of the project so he must have been the one who made the final decision.</i>
		<i>Means-Result</i>	Involves the means of achieving a particular outcome.	<i>By nailing the letter box to the fence, she was able to make it more secure.</i>
		<i>Means-Purpose</i>	Involves an action and its intended outcome.	<i>He added concrete to the mix in order to make it stronger.</i>
	Conditionality	<i>Realisable Condition</i>	Involves an outcome that is contingent on a realisable condition.	<i>If he leaves now, he'll get there in time for the meeting.</i>
		<i>Unrealisable Condition</i>	Involves an outcome that is contingent on an unrealisable condition.	<i>If it had been built differently, it wouldn't have collapsed.</i>
	Concession	<i>Concession-Contraexpectation</i>	Involves an actual effect which is contingent on the blockage or denial of a usually anticipated effect.	<i>Although both the design and the building were excellent, the client complained.</i>

Data selection

In a recent analysis of written texts in Māori in terms of genre and text-type, Houia-Roberts (2004b) analysed a corpus made up of twelve full texts, six written by Sir Apirana Ngata in the first half of the twentieth century, six written by Tīmoti Kāretu at the end of the twentieth century. In examining written Māori from the perspective of rhetorical organisation, she analysed all twelve texts in relation to overall discourse structuring. In examining written Māori from the perspective of genre, she analysed eighteen text segments (again drawn from the writings of Sir Apirana Ngata and Tīmoti Kāretu) in terms of *inter-propositional* relations. In doing so, she made direct reference to the relational models provided by Crombie (1985a & b, 1987). Although she identified *inter-propositional* relations in these texts, she did not include any analysis or discussion of relational signalling.

In selecting a corpus for analysis, I decided to use six of the full texts selected for analysis by Houia-Roberts. This decision was motivated by a number of considerations. First, I felt that it was necessary to analyse texts that were written by highly competent native speakers in order to minimise the possibility, particularly in

the case of contemporary texts, of being misled by the presence of errors. The two writers whose works were analysed by Houia-Roberts were both highly proficient users of the language, accustomed to writing for a wide audience.⁵ Furthermore, these texts have been translated by Houia-Roberts (herself a highly educated native speaker of Māori). Her translations are “intentionally designed to be as close as possible to the originals” (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, p. 135). The fact that these texts have been translated makes the research more readily accessible to readers who are not themselves highly proficient in *te reo Māori*. In addition, it provides me, as someone for whom Māori is a second language, with an important source of native speaker intuition in relation to meaning and interpretation.

Houia (2001a) conducted a study of semantico-pragmatic relations (*inter-propositional relations*) in Māori.⁶ That study was based on the model outlined by Crombie (1985a). In that study, he examined the encodings of a number of ‘inter-propositional semantic relations’, drawing on a written corpus of texts.⁷ He did not, however, analyse these texts as a whole. Rather, he abstracted examples of each of the following relations: *Reason-Result*; *Means-Purpose*; *Condition-Consequence*; *Denial-Correction*; *Concession-Contraexpectation*; *Simple Comparison*; *Chronological Sequence* (referred to here as *Temporal Sequence*); *Temporal Overlap*; *Supplementary Alternation*; *Amplification* (referred to here as *General-Particular*); and *Bonding* (including *Rhetorical Coupling*). He introduced that corpus-based study (pp. 64-118) by a discussion in which he made use of his own intuitions as a native speaker of Māori (from Ngāti Porou) to provide examples of the whole range of relationships outlined in the relational model he used. In addition to the corpus of six texts referred to above, I re-examined the work of Houia, adding examples from his corpus and examples he provide himself.

In discussing the encoding and signalling of *inter-propositional* semantic relationships, Houia (2001a) considers the concept of ‘cohesion’ to be central, noting that “although the relationships between propositions expressed in texts may be inferred by readers and listeners from content and context, these relationships may also be encoded in languages in ways that signal the relational meanings involved”. That is, aspects of the encoding of *inter-propositional* relations may act as “indicators of the type of relationship involved” (p. 19). These indicators may be “syntactic or lexical or they may involve both syntax and lexis”, they may be “unambiguous (as in the case of certain types of subordination)” or they may, “as in the case of the contrastive co-ordinator ‘engari’ signal the presence of a certain general type of relationship (e.g., a relationship of contrast) rather than the specific relationship of that type that is involved”. These signallers “may operate at clausal or sentential level (as in the case of subordinators), or they may operate at a higher level (as in the case of certain adjuncts such as ‘otirā’ which may, for example, link the content of an entire paragraph to the content of the preceding text” (p. 19).

The analysis

Having conducted my analysis of the six texts (see *Appendix 1*), I re-examined, in the light of the relational model above, the examples provided by Houia (2001a), my primary aim in doing so, being to check the corpus-based data against data emerging from the re-examination of this work, extending and refining the results of the corpus-based study wherever possible.

In the tables that follow, examples drawn from the corpus of Ngata and Kāretu are indicted by a single reference (in which N.G. = Apirana Ngata; T.K. = Tīmoti Kāretu). Examples drawn from Houia's (2001a) corpus are indicated by a single reference (A.P. = Apirana Ngata; R.K. = Reweti Kōhere). Examples based on native speaker intuition and provided by himself are indicated by a single reference (W.H. = Waldo Houia).

Table 2: Temporal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Temporal Sequence	Subordinating conjunction	<i>nā wai (nā wai)</i>	<i>Nā wai, nā wai, ka whiriwhiri tēnā me tēnā o ngā uha i tāna i pai ai, ā, he nui tonu ngā toa ka ngere.</i> (T.K.) (After some time , each female decides which male she prefers and many of the males are passed over.)
		<i>kātahi ka</i>	<i>Kotahi marama te uha e awahi ana i ōna hua, kātahi ka pao mai ngā pīpī.</i> (T.K.) (The female sits on her eggs for a month and then the chicks hatch.)
		<i>tae noa atu</i>	<i>Māku e mātaki te pēpi tae noa atu ki te mutunga o ō mahi.</i> (W.H.) (I'll watch the baby till you finish your work.)
		<i>kia . . . rawa</i>	<i>Ka tiaki au i a Hēmi kia mutu rawa i a koe ō mahi.</i> (W.H.) (I'll mind James until you've finished your work.)
		<i>nō muri</i>	<i>Nō muri i tana kaitanga i te ika, ka inu ia i te wai.</i> (W.H.) (After he had eaten the fish, he drank the water.)
		<i>i mua i</i>	<i>I mua i tō haerenga, whāngaia te kuri.</i> (W.H.) (Before you leave, feed the dog.)
		<i>ana</i>	<i>Wehe ana ia, ka pānuitia e au te niupepa.</i> (W.H.) (Once he leaves, I'll read the newspaper.)
		<i>i runga tonu</i>	<i>Hou atu ki te rūma i runga tonu i tāu e taea ai.</i> (W.H.) (Go into the room as soon as possible.)
Sentence conjunct		<i>ā</i>	<i>Kāti ka tonoa ki te kāwanatanga kia rāhuiā ō tātau whenua i roto i te rārangi i raro nei. Ā, ka tonoa kia whakakorea ngā hoko.</i> (A.N.) (In conclusion, it was forwarded to the government that our lands listed below be reserved. And then it was also requested that sales be forbidden.)
		<i>i taua wā</i>	<i>Ka aituā te motokā. I taua wā tonu ka umere a Hine.</i> (W.H.) (The car crashed whereupon Hine screamed.)
Time reference + substitution		<i>hei muri i tēnā</i>	<i>hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki ngā mahi whenua, ki ngā mahi ā ringa; e tonono ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro ō koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Māori;</i> (N.G.) (following that , be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;)
Preposition + noun + locative + particle		<i>i paku muri mai</i>	<i>Ka ngaro atu tēnei waewae mātotoru i Te Ika a Māui, ā, i paku muri mai ka pērā anō i Te Waipounamu.</i> (T.K.) (This thick-legged creature was soon lost to the Wellington region and shortly after to the South Island.)
Preposition + locative + particle		<i>i muri tonu</i>	<i>I ngā tau o ngā 1890, i muri tonu i te taenga mai o ngā toriura ki Aotearoa, ka matemate haere ngā kākāpō.</i> (T.K.) (During the 1890's, shortly after the introduction of the stoat to New Zealand, the kakapo rapidly died out.)
Adverb		<i>anō</i>	<i>Nā wai, nā wai, ka āhua pai ake. Engari i ngā tau o ngā 1930 me ngā 1940, ka paheke anō.</i> (T.K.) (A slight improvement followed. But between 1930-40, there was another rapid decline.)

Table 2 (cont.): Temporal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Temporal Sequence	Verb	oti	<i>Kia oti ēnei mā koutou e āpiti mai ērā atu tino take mārama, ā, hei muri ka whakatakoto ai ki te aroaro o te kāwanatanga.</i> (A.N.) (When these are finished , you may add other clear statements, and following that, you may present it before government.)
		mutu	<i>Ka mutu ngā karanga ka haere ngā kupu whakahoki.</i> (A.N.) (When the calls of welcome were over , the speeches of reply followed)
Temporal Overlap	Co-ordinating conjunction	me	<i>... kia piripono tonu, ki te mana o te kuini me ōna ture, me te Kāwanatanga o Niu Tīreni mō āiane, ā, ake tonu atu.</i> (A.N.) (Let us continue to embrace the authority of the Queen and her laws, including the Government of N.Z. from now on, and forever more.)
		ā	<i>Kāti me tonu e tātau kia aua whenua kia whakaurua mai ngā whenua karauna i reira ki roto i te rāhui, ā kia whakamutua te mahi a te Pākehā e ngaki nei i ngā ngahere i reira.</i> (A.N.) (Now we must request that those lands and the lands of the crown be reserved, and that those Europeans who are felling the forests there be stopped.)
	Subordinating conjunction	kei . . . ana	<i>Māku e tapahi ngā peka kei maoa ana ngā kai.</i> (W.H.) (I'll cut the wood while the dinner is cooking.)
	TAM + TAM	e . . . ana . . . ka	<i>E ahu ana āna kōrero mō runga i āna mahi i te Pāremata ka aruarutia . . .</i> (A.N.) (He was talking about his performance in parliament when he was interrupted . . .)
	Preposition + TAM	i . . . ka	<i>I a ia ka whakatata atu ki te rua o te poutokomanawa, ka karanga atu a Hinepare ki a Tuwhakawhiurangi, i kō tata atu e tū mai ana . . .</i> (Houia, 2001a, p. 109); (R.K. p. 23, L.18). (As he was getting close to the hole of the heartpole, Hinepare called Tuwhakawhiurangi who was standing close by to her . . .)
	Phrasal co-ordinating conjunction + TAM	i te . . . ka	<i>I te tima ka rere ka mate tētahi o ngā heramana, ka rukea atu ki te moana.</i> (Houia, 2001a, p. 106); (R.K. p. 125, L.6). (When the steamer was at sea, one of the sailors died and he was cast into the sea.)

Table 3: Additive relation

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Bonding	Co-ordinating conjunction	me	<i>Ko Hauturu, ko Codfish me Maud ngā moutere i whiriwhiritia.</i> (T.K.) (Hauturu, Codfish and Maud Islands were selected.)
		ā	<i>Kāti me tonu e tātau kia aua whenua kia whakaurua mai ngā whenua karauna i reira ki roto i te rāhui, ā kia whakamutua te mahi a te Pākehā e ngaki nei i ngā ngahere i reira.</i> (A.N.) (Now we must request that those lands and the lands of the crown be reserved, and that those Europeans who are felling the forests there be stopped.)

Table 3 (cont.): Additive relation

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Bonding	Subordinating conjunction	<i>waihoki</i>	<i>He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he taurunga ake mō te kākāpō. Arā anō ētahi o ōna tino hoariri, ko te ngeru, me te toriura. (T.K.)</i> (The kaka is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs. Indeed , there is nowhere else that the kākāpō can turn. Its other enemies include cats and stoats.)
	Structural repetition with replacement	<i>i...ai...i... .ai</i>	<i>... ngā whakararururutanga a ngā ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Māori, i kore ai e taea e ngā mea e hiahia ana te whakapai ō rātou whenua. (N.G.)</i> (... the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Māori people, and resulted in those who wished to improve their land being unable to do so;)
	Structural repetition with replacement	<i>ko...ko</i>	<i>ko te whakaupoko tonu tēnei mō tētahi pitihana nui ki te Pāremata a tēnei tau ko ngā whakamārama e taea ai te karo tēnei kupu te 'māngere' ki raro i te iwi Māori. (N.G.)</i> (This collection of new explanations could constitute an important part of a petition this year, and could be useful in the removal of the use of this word 'lazy' in reference to the Māori people.)
	Sentence conjunct	<i>otirā</i>	<i>I hunaia i reira mai i te tini o te tangata ko ngā korero mō Io. Otirā nā te Pākehā i hopu haere ngā kōrero a ngā kaumātua, ka pā te kaupapa o Io, ka whakatūria ko ia te Atua tino tapu o te iwi Māori i onamata. (N.G.)</i> (The teachings of Io were concealed there from the majority of people. Indeed , it was the Pakeha who acquired the stories of the Māori elders that related to the teachings of Io, the most sacred of gods to the Māori of old.)
	Sentence adjunct	<i>i tua atu</i>	<i>Ko tētahi take nui e aroha nei au ki te hunga pakeke nei kua kore te ao Māori o ēnei rā nei i mōhio me pēhea te kōrero ki te pakeke, me pēhea rānei te manaaki i te pakeke. I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai. (T.K.)</i> (The main reason I feel sympathy for the kaumatua is that, the Māori world of today no longer knows how to speak to them or how to show them respect. Furthermore , the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all.)
	Adverb	<i>hoki</i>	<i>Ka ngaro koe i ngā marae o te Werengitana Hōtēra, e tū ai koe i roto i ō iwi maha, hautū ai, ka ngaro ana hoki koe i roto o te whare wānanga. (R.K.)</i> (You are now lost in the premises of the Wellington Hotel where you stood within your many tribes speaking eloquently, and you are also lost within the University.)
	Verb + directional particle + adverb	<i>tae atu hoki</i>	<i>Kua eke tātou ki te reanga pakeke kāore nei e mōhio ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga tae atu hoki ki ngā kōrero. (T.K.)</i> (We have reached the stage when some elders have no knowledge of the language, the customs, or even the stories.)

Table 4: Associative relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
<i>Paraphrase</i>			There are no examples of <i>Paraphrase</i> in the corpus.
<i>Statement-Affirmation</i>	Co-ordinating conjunction + verb	<i>ā . . . whakaae</i>	<i>I kī ia rā kē a Mere te noho i runga waireka, ā, e whakaae ana au.</i> (W.H.) (He said that Mary should have stuck to soft drinks and I agree.)
<i>Simple Comparison</i>	Verbal substitution plus adverb		<i>I pērā anō hoki te Māori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a neherā.</i> (N.G.) (Ancient Māori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times.)
	Verbal substitution plus manner particle	<i>pērā tonu</i>	<i>He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction + nominal/ verbal/ adverbial/ adjectival substitute + (adverb)	<i>ā . . . pēnei anō</i>	<i>I te mataku ahau ā i te pērā anō a Tame.</i> (W.H.) (I was afraid and so was Tom.)
	Verbal substitution plus adverb	<i>pērā anō hoki</i>	<i>I pērā anō hoki te Māori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a neherā.</i> (N.G.) (Ancient Māori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times.)
	Verbal substitution plus manner particle	<i>pērā tonu</i>	<i>He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction + nominal/ verbal/ adverbial/ adjectival substitute + (adverb)	<i>ā . . . pēnei anō</i>	<i>I te mataku ahau ā i te pērā anō a Tame.</i> (W.H.) (I was afraid and so was Tom.)
	Nominal/ verbal/ adverbial/ adjectival substitute and/ or ellipsis	<i>pēnei anō</i>	<i>“Tū noa ana ngā tūranga i Kaitu ka ngaro a Ririhape nui a tau.” Pēnei anō hoki me koe ka ngaro nei.</i> (R.K.) (When the confrontation occurs at Kaitu, then Ririhape disappears. This is like you who have departed).
<i>Exemplification</i>	Nominal substitute	<i>pēnei</i>	<i>Hei āwhina i ngā kākāpō, ka tahuri Te Papa Atawhai ki te hora kai papai mā rātou, pēnei i te hua rākau, i te natinati me ngā ‘pōhā patahua’ . . .</i> (T.K.) (In order to help the kakapo, the Department of Conservation began the distribution of their favourite foods such as fruits, nuts and muesli bars . . .)
		<i>pēnei . . . pēnā</i>	<i>. . . ka whakarongo ki te hunga matatau me tā rātou kī mai, ‘me pēnei kē, me pērā kē’ rānei engari kua e amowheke, e hūneinei noa!</i> (T.K.) (. . . listen to those who are fluent and their suggestions ‘It is said like this , or it is said like that ’, but don’t become fretful, don’t become angry.)
	Preposition	<i>inā koa</i>	<i>I whakapau moni te katoa. Inā koa a Kararaina i hoko mai i te tekau mā rima kaka.</i> (W.H.) (Everyone spent up large. Kararaina, for example , bought fifteen dresses.)
<i>Simple Contrast</i>	Verb	<i>rite</i>	<i>Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-te-rangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaipuke tōna rite.</i> (T.K.) (From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan.)
	Negator + verbal substitute	<i>kāore . . . pērā</i>	<i>He manu haere takitahi te kākāpō, kāore e haere takitini pērā i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (The kakapo is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kaka.)

Table 4 (cont.): Associative relations

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Signal</i>	<i>Selected examples</i>
Simple Contrast	Verb	<i>rite</i>	<i>Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-te-rangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaipuke tōna rite.</i> (T.K.) (From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan.)
	Negator + verbal substitute	<i>kāore . . . pērā</i>	<i>He manu haere takitahi te kākāpō, kāore e haere takitini pērā i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (The kakapo is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kaka.)
	Repetition and replacement (with substitution and/ or ellipsis)	<i>he X ia; he Y ia</i> <i>piri ngahuru . . . taha raumati</i>	<i>He Ngāpuhi ia; he Ngāi Tahu ia.</i> (W.H.) (He was Ngāpuhi; she was Ngāi Tahu.) <i>Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uaua nei, kei hea rā e ngaro ana?</i> (T.K.) (The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn , absent in the summer ')
Statement-Denial	Idiomatic denial	<i>engari mō tēnā</i>	<i>Ka matatau ake te mea i whakatikaina rā? Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi . . .</i> (T.K.) (Will the person who was corrected become more competent? Of course not , ignorance will continue to be his companion because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance . . .)
Denial-Correction	Negator plus a co-ordinating conjunction	<i>kāore . . . engari</i>	<i>Ko te tāne i hangaia i te tuatahi, nō muri ko te wahine, i runga i ngā kupu a te Atua, kāore e tika kia noho mokemoke te tāne engari kia whakawhiwhia he hoa hei atawhai i a ia.</i> (N.G.) (The male species was created first and then the female for according to the word of God man should not be alone, but he should have a companion to nurture him.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction plus a negator	<i>engari . . . tē</i>	<i>I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai.</i> (T.K.) (Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all.)
	Negator plus co-ordinating conjunction	<i>kāhore . . . heoi anō</i>	<i>. . . kāhore e kōrero, kāhore e katakata, heoi anō ka whakapoururu tonu.</i> (A.N.) (He did not speak, he did not laugh, but continued to be gloomy.)
	Quasi-coordinator	<i>i te</i>	<i>. . . kia rāhuitia ō rātou toenga whenua i te hoko kāwanatanga i ētahi atu hoko rānei.</i> (W.H.) (. . . that their remaining lands be reserved (correction) rather than be purchased by government, or by any other forms of purchase (denial))
	Repetition/ replacement (with negator in one member)	<i>ehara + repetition and replacement</i>	<i>Ehara ia i te māhita; he mīnita pāremata ia.</i> (W.H.) (He isn't a teacher; he's a politician.)
Exception	Preposition (complex)	<i>i tua mai</i>	<i>Ko te katoa i tua mai i a Hine i wehe moata.</i> (W.H.) (Everyone except Hine left early.)
	Subordinating conjunction	<i>hāunga</i>	<i>Mā ia iwi, hapū rānei, e whakarite ngā rāhui mō tōna takiwā, me uru mai ki roto ngā whenua e rīhi ana hāunga ngā hea kua hokoa.</i> (A.N.) (Each tribe, or clan, can decide the reserves for their own interests including lands being leased out, disregarding [except for] the shares that have been sold.)

Table 4 (cont.): Associative relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
General-Particular	Verb of speech or thought plus content specification	tonoa . . . + content specification	<i>Kua tonoa taku hoa ētita, a Reweti Kohere e ōna hoa Pākehā kia whakapiri i tētahi o ngā ingoa o tōna tipuna ki tōna ingoa, arā i a 'Mokena'.</i> (N.G.) (My associate editor, Reweti Kohere, has been asked by his Pakeha friends to add the name of one of his grandfathers, to his name, (the name of one of his grandfathers) that is, 'Mokena').
		whakapono . . . + content specification	<i>I tutuki ta te nuinga o ngā iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kiia e rātou he Atua.</i> (N.G.) (Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God.)
		kiia . . . + content specification	<i>I tutuki tā te nuinga o ngā iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kiia e rātou he Atua.</i> (N.G.) (Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God.)
		mōhio + content specification	<i>I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai.</i> (T.K.) (Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all.)
General noun followed by content specification	hunga + content specification	<i>Kua puta kē i a au te kōrero ki tētahi atu pepa i a au e tamariki ana ki ngā marae o Tūhoe ki Waikaremoana me Ruatāhuna ko ngā kaumātua te hunga whakatauirā mai i te tika, i te pono; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i te tikanga; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga tautōhito; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga kī tahi; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te iwi; āe, ko rātou ngā puna o te kī.</i> (T.K.) (I have already written in another paper that in my youth, on the marae of Tuhoe, Waikaremoana and Ruatahuna, the elders were a group who modeled what was right and effective, they retained the customs, they were a skilful group, they spoke with one voice, they retained tribal knowledge, it is true that they were the fountains of knowledge.)	
Co-ordinating conjunction	heoi anō	<i>Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uaua nei, kei hea rā e ngaro ana?</i> <i>Heoi anō, me huri pea tēnei kōrero kia hāngai ake ki ngā kaupeka whakaputa uri o te kākā, arā 'Hoa piri raumati, taha kē takurua'. Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke.</i> (T.K.) (The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn, absent in the summer' which suggests that the male stays close by at his convenience but is not available in times of trouble. (However , this discussion should return to reproduction of the kaka and the expression 'A constant companion in the summer, absent in the winter'. The kakapo continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years.)	

Table 4 (cont.): Associative relations

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Signal</i>	<i>Selected examples</i>
General-Particular	Noun (question) + interrogative form	<i>pātai . . . he aha kē ia</i>	<i>I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumātua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai nā te mea kua kitea i roto i ētahi iwi kua kore kē tēnei momo tangata e kōrerotia ake nei e au. (T.K.)</i> (With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumatua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question is that it has been seen that within some tribes there are no kaumatua left.)
	Structural repetition with replacement	<i>e rua ōna āhua . . . ko ngā kōrero . . . ko ngā kōrero</i>	<i>Ko ngā kōrero mō ngā whakatakatoranga me ngā tikanga a te Māori, e rua ōna āhua: Ko ngā kōrero i ahu mai waho o te whare wānanga, ko ngā kōrero hoki i takea mai i roto tonu i aua whare. (N.G.)</i> (These beliefs and the customs of the Māori came from two sources . There was [i.e., the sources were] the knowledge that came from outside the Whare Wananga (Māori Schools of Learning) and the knowledge that originated from inside the Whare Wananga.)
Supplementary Alternation	Co-ordinating conjunction	<i>rānei</i>	<i>Engari kua ā rātou tikanga me ngā whakahaere, e takahi i ngā tikanga o ngā ture o te Koroni, o ngā kaute kaunihera rānei. (A.N.)</i> (However, do not let their rules and conduct undermine the laws of the colony or of the council accounts either.) <i>E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? (T.K.)</i> (Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or are there some other criteria?)
Contrastive Alternation	Co-ordinating conjunction	<i>rānei . . . rānei</i>	<i>E noho rānei e wehe atu rānei. (W.H.)</i> (Either stay or leave.) <i>He pai rānei he kino rānei. (W.H.)</i> (It's either good or bad.)

Table 5: Causal relations

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Signal</i>	<i>Selected examples</i>
Reason-Result	Subordinating conjunction	<i>nā te mea</i>	<i>E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? (inverted) (T.K.)</i> (Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or are there some other criteria?)
		<i>i te mea</i>	<i>I te mea ka whānau a Raupare, ka mahara a Taraia ākuanei ka tupu hei wahine ka riro te mana o Heretaunga i te tangata kē. (R.K.)</i> (Because Raupare was born a girl (reason), Taraia thought that when she attained womanhood, the autonomy of Heretaunga would be inherited by an outsider (result)). <i>He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he taturinga ake mō te kākāpō. (T.K.)</i> (The kaka is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs.)
		<i>nō te mea</i>	<i>E takahi ana i te tekiona 15 nō te mea torutoru o aua tangata i hokohoko e whiwhi ana i te whenua i kō atu. (A.N.)</i> (Section 15 is unacceptable (result/ conclusion) because very few of those people who have sold, possess any lands beyond these (reason/ justification)).

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Reason-Result	Subordinating conjunction	nā reira	<i>Ka whai kete kai, nā reira ka tae mai ki ngā rohe o Ngāti Porou kōrero ai i ngā mahi a te pāremata i Pōneke.</i> (A.N.) (I possess a basket of knowledge, hence I come to the area of Ngāti Porou to discuss what the parliament has achieved in Wellington.)
		nō reira	<i>He mōhio ia he pai ake te tau humi hei whakapakeke uri, nō reira ka tatari kia matomato rā anō te tupu o te kai, ā, hei reira tahuri ai ki te whakaipoipo.</i> (T.K.) (It considers the seasons when there is an abundance of food, so important for the rearing of the chicks. The kākāpō, therefore , waits until the food sources are plentiful and that is the time that its attention turns to mating.)
		inā	<i>Inā kua pāhi ia i te whakamātau, ka āhei ia ki te taraiwa.</i> (W.H.) (Now that he's passed the test, he can drive.)
	Noun	take	<i>I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumatua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai . . .</i> (T.K.) (With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumatua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question . . .)
	Complex prepositions	i runga	<i>I pā he mate ki a Ngāti Porou i tēnei tau ka taha atu nei i runga i ngā hoko whenua a te kāwanatanga.</i> (A.N.) (Ngāti Porou was placed in an adverse situation last year because of government land sales.)
		mō runga	<i>Ka whakaputa ia i tōna pāmamae mō runga i ngā mahi āhuareka a Ngāti Porou e rangirangi ana ā rātou waiata i ngā rangatira o waho.</i> (A.N.) (He expressed his resentment [result], as a consequence of the entertainment in which Ngāti Porou songs denigrated the chiefs from outside the area [reason]).
		nā runga	<i>Nā runga i tēnei mea a te hoko ka tae mai au ki konei.</i> (A.N.) (Because of the matter pertaining to sales, I have come here.)
	Prepositions	mō	<i>Ko te tino take o te kino a Ngāpuhi ki a Ngāti Porou mō te patunga me te kainga a Ngāti Porou i te tuahine o Te Morenga.</i> (W.H.) (The real reason for Ngāpuhi's anger with Ngāti Porou was the cannibalising of Te Morenga's sister by Ngāti Porou.)
		nā	<i>Nā te whakapono i hiki te wahine kia tū rangatira.</i> (R.K.) ([because of] It was faith that raised women to establish themselves as leaders.)
i		<i>I nui te kata i ō kōrero.</i> (R.K.) (I was greatly amused because of your words.)	
Causative prefix	whaka-	<i>me whakamārama ngā āraitanga, ngā whakarururutanga a ngā ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Māori, i kore ai e taea e ngā mea e hiahia ana te whakapai ō rātou whenua;</i> (N.G.) (explain the obstacles, the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Māori people, and resulted in those who wished to improve their land being unable to do so)	

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Reason-Result	He-fronting	he . . . nō	<p>Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi . . . (T.K.)</p> <p>(That is not likely, ignorance will continue to be his companion, because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance . . .)</p>
Grounds-Conclusion	Subordinating conjunction	<i>i te mea</i>	<p>I te mea kua eke nui ki runga i te iwi Māori tēnei kupu taunu, 'he māngere te Māori' ko te mahi tuatahi tonu mō tō koutou rōpū, me ērā atu rōpū e whakatūria ana i roto i te rohe pōti o te Tairāwhiti ā muri ake nei i runga i te kaupapa pēnei i tā koutou, he karo i tēnei kupu taunu. (N.G.)</p> <p>(Because this insulting phrase 'Māori are lazy' is very frequently used in reference to Māori, the very first thing that needs to be done by your group, in fact by all similar groups likely to be established in the future within the electoral boundaries of Te Tairāwhiti, is to refute it.)</p>
		<i>nā reira</i>	<p>Ko te tino mate o te āhua o tērā kau, nā reira ka kī au koirā pea te mea i kī rā a Mere i te mate pupuhi. (W.H.)</p> <p>(That cow looks so ill so/therefore I conclude that she must be the one that Mary said had flu.)</p>
	Sentence conjunct	<i>kāti</i>	<p>E mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna. Kāti kei pōhēhē ōna hoa he tangata kē a Reweti Kohere, me Reweti Mōkena Kohere. (N.G.)</p> <p>(They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent. So then, his friends should not mistakenly believe that Reweti Kohere is a different person than Reweti Mokena Kohere.)</p>
		<i>nō reira</i>	<p>E ai ki ō tātou koroua, kuia 'he huri tēnei mea te mate', nō reira āta whakaarotia ake te kōrero nei. (T.K.)</p> <p>(According to our elders, 'Death moves around', so therefore, this really needs to be considered.)</p>
		<i>nā reira</i>	<p>Ko te tino mate o te āhua o tērā kau, nā reira ka kī au koirā pea te mea i kī rā a Mere i te mate pupuhi. (W.H.)</p> <p>(That cow looks so ill so/therefore I conclude that she must be the one that Mary said had flu.)</p>
	Preposition	<i>hei</i>	<p>Moumou te whenua mō te Māori o nāianei hei hoatu kē mō ētahi hei rīhi. (R.K.)</p> <p>(There is no gain for Maori of today in possessing land (result/ conclusion) because they will only lease it out to others (reason))</p>
Means-Result	Subordinating conjunction	<i>me te aha</i>	<p>engari nā ā rātou kurī kē i whakamataku te kākāpō, me te aha, puta ohore mai ana i tōna rua, ā, koirā te kitenga tuatahitanga o te Pākehā i tēnei manu. (T.K.)</p> <p>(but it was their dog that startled the kakapo and caused it to emerge from its nest and that was the first sighting by Pakeha of this bird.)</p>
	Preposition	<i>mā</i>	<p>I whakapuare ia i te tatau mā te whakatakawiri. (W.H.)</p> <p>(He opened the door by twisting the catch.)</p>

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples	
Means-Purpose	Subordinating conjunction	<i>kia</i>	<i>Utaina atu aku kōrero ki runga i ō parirau, kia kite mai ōku hoa o te motu.</i> (R.K.) (Carry my words on your wings so that my friends of the land can see them.)	
	Correlative co-ordinating conjunction	<i>kia . . . ai</i>	<i>Tangohia he kape o Te Toa Takitini o Hānuere mā koutou, kia kite ai koutou i ngā kōrero a te Poari whakahaere i ngā take tawhito a ngā iwi Māori o ngā moutere katoa.</i> (A.N.) (Obtain an edition of the Te Toa Takitini for yourselves [means] in order that you may see the reports of the controlling Board administering long-standing issues of all Maori people everywhere [purpose]).	
	Subjunctive TAM marker	<i>kia</i>	<i>hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki ngā mahi whenua, ki ngā mahi ā ringa; e tonu ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro ō koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Māori;</i> (N.G.) (following that, be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;)	
	Preposition		<i>kei</i>	<i>. . . kei te ruku tonu a Te Ao, kia whiwhi koura ia kei hoki tahanga tana kete.</i> (R.K.) (Te Ao was still diving, so that she may find some crayfish (so as) to avoid returning with an empty kit.)
			<i>hei</i>	<i>ko ngā kaupapa e takoto i a koutou he mea tika kia tukua ki ngā nūpepa Pākehā o te Koroni kia whakarongo tauhou mai te iwi Pākehā ki tēnei taha hoki o ngā kōrero whenua Māori, kia manaakitia e ngā nūpepa, ā, kia riro ko rātou tonu hei āwhina i ō koutou whakaaro whakatipu hou;</i> (N.G.) (the ideas you put forward should in fact be circulated to Pakeha newspapers throughout the colony so that Pakeha will hear a fresh perspective about Māori land, so that the ideas will be supported by the newspapers and so that they will in actual fact be the ones to support your new suggestions.)
	Determiner	<i>hei</i>	<i>e mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna.</i> (N.G.) (They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent.)	
Realisable Condition	Subordinating conjunction	<i>ki te</i>	<i>Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke.</i> (T.K.) (The kakapo continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years.) <i>Ki te pīrangī koe koinei hei reo mōu, tēnā kia tika mai i a koe . . .</i> (T.K.) (If you wish to have this as your language, make sure it is correct . . .)	

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Realisable Condition	Subordinating conjunction	mēnā	<i>Mēnā kua ahungarua te tangata engari e tino kūare ana ki ngā tikanga me ngā kōrero a te iwi, ka kaumātua tonu?</i> (T.K.) (If one has reached old age but has no knowledge about the customs, tribal stories, is one still regarded as a kaumatua?) <i>Ko te kī a ēnei kupu, mēnā kāre te pakanga o te Poa, e kore e kitea te hōhonutanga o te āhua o te Ingarihi.</i> (A.N.) (These words are saying, if it were not for the outbreak of the Boer War (condition), we would not have seen the depth of quality of the English (consequence)).
		mehemea	<i>Mehemea i whakahaerea i raro i te Ture Hoko Whakawhiwhi Whenua 1893, e takahi ana aua hoko i taua ture.</i> (A.N.) (If it was administered under the provisions of the Ture Hoko Whakawhiwhi Whenua of 1893 then those sales were contrary to that legislation.)
		inā	<i>Inā ka tae moata mai koe ka āhei koe ki te hianga.</i> (W.H.) (Provided (that) you get in early, you can play.)
		mā	<i>Mā tō wehe ināianei tonu, e kore koe e tae ki te kāinga.</i> (W.H.) (Unless you leave now, you won't get home.)
Unrealisable Condition	Subordinating conjunction	me mea	<i>Kua mahia e au me mea i whai taima.</i> (W.H.) (I'd have done it if there had been time.) (unrealisable condition).
		kei	<i>Kāore ngā tungāne i whakaae . . . kei kitea mai hoki e te tāne.</i> (R.K.) (The brothers would not consent . . . lest she be seen by her husband.)
Concession- Contraexpectation	Subordinating conjunction	ahakoa	<i>Ahakoa rā he maha ngā hāhi nā rātou i mau mai tēnei whakapono, he reo kotahi tonu tā rātou, he ririki nei ngā rerekētanga . . .</i> (N.G.) (Although there were many denominations, their messages were similar with a few slight variations . . .) <i>Kāti, ko tāku noa iho ki a tātou he kī atu kia tino manaakitia te hunga pakeke ahakoa pēhea te mōhio, te kore rānei i mōhio, ki ngā āhutatanga o te ao Māori.</i> (T.K.) (That aside, my message is that the elderly should be really supported whether or not they know the ways of the Māori world.)
		engari	<i>Ko āna kōrero kino, i roto i iētahi reta tuku mai, engari kāore pea i kitea e te ētita.</i> (N.G.) (This offensive language appeared in a letter sent to the paper, but was evidently not seen by the editor.)

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Concession- Contraexpectation	Subordinating conjunction	<i>otirā</i>	<i>I āhua pakaru i reira te āhua o te whakaaro o te tangata. Otirā nō te hui ki Mataahu i te tau 1892, ka whakakotahitia anō te whakaaro o te tangata. (A.N.)</i> (Although the opinions at this point became somewhat divided, however it was not till the meeting of 1892 that they were once again united.) <i>Ko tētahi atu āhukatanga ōna, ko tana rere-kore. Otirā, he āwhina tonu kei ōna parirau poto i a ia e oma ana, e piki ana rānei i tētahi mea. (T.K.)</i> (Another feature is that it is flightless, but its short wings are useful when it is running or when it is climbing trees.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction	<i>engari</i>	<i>I taku tau tuatahi kāore he mahi i oti. Engari i tēnei tau. (A.N.)</i> (During my first year no work was completed. However , this year [it has been completed]). <i>Ko tēnei pātai me waiho anō mā ngā iwi tonu e whakautu, e whakatau engari he pātai e kaha ana te pātaitia e te rangatahi. (T.K.)</i> The question should be left for the Māori people to answer, to examine, but it is a question frequently asked by the younger generation.
	Phrasal coordinator	<i>ahakoa ōku ake whakaaro</i>	<i>Ahakoa ōku ake whakaaro, me noho ia ki te kāinga. (W.H.)</i> (For all it matters to me , he can stay at home.)

Discussion

Two of the most interesting things that emerge from the analysis of the corpus in *inter-propositional* relational terms are:

- (1) The fact that certain items that indicate the presence of relations that are multi-functional, that is, they occur in the context of more than one relationship;
- (2) The fact that the signalling of relationships involves so many aspects of grammar and lexis.

In relation to (1) above it is interesting to note that certain items (such as, for example, *engari*) tend to be indicative of a *type* of relationship (e.g., a contrastive relationship) rather than a *specific* relationship. Thus, for example, both *engari* and *ahakoa* may occur in the context of *Concession-Contraexpectation*. However, whereas *ahakoa* appears to operate as a specific signal of concession, *engari* operates more generally as a ‘signpost’, an indication of the general type of relationship involved.

In relation to (2) above, it is interesting to note that the *reason* member of a *Reason-Result* relation may be signalled by a subordinating conjunction (e.g., *nā te mea* ‘because’), a noun (e.g., *take* ‘reason’), a complex preposition (e.g., *i runga* ‘because’) or a causative prefix (e.g., *whaka-*).

I believe that the present study has something of value to offer to teachers and learners of Māori as well as to linguists who are interested in providing semantically-centred descriptions of the language.⁸ In particular, information about the signalling of *inter-propositional* relations in the early part of the twentieth century could assist teachers of Māori in their efforts to extend the capacity of their learners to comprehend and

produce texts that are more linguistically diverse. This sort of information also, I believe, has implications for the production of dictionaries, for the theory and practice of English-Māori and Māori-English translation and interpreting (see, for example, Beekman and Callow (1974)) and, perhaps in the longer term, for computer-based analyses of Māori language corpora. It may also be of interest to linguists working on the semantically-based analysis of other indigenous languages.

Conclusion

There is much that remains to be done in the area of *inter*-propositional relational encoding and signalling in *te reo Māori*. In particular, a comprehensive study based on a large corpus drawn from different historical periods and different geographical areas and including both written and spoken discourses would be likely to yield more reliable and more comprehensive results than the study reported here.

Endnotes

1. An n-ary relation is one that may have more than two parts.
2. Winifred Crombie and Ngaere Houia-Roberts
3. Such as, for example, *give and respond to information and opinions, giving reasons*
4. This study of textbook resources was carried out as part of the work done in preparation for the design of the curriculum to which reference has been made.
5. Sir Apirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou) was a prominent Māori scholar and statesman. The texts selected for analysis here are all included in *Apirana Turupa Ngata* (1996), edited by Wiremu and Te Ohore Kaa. Timoti Kāretu (Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu) is a former professor of Māori language at the University of Waikato and a former Commissioner of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (The Māori Language Commission). The works selected for analysis here were published in *He Muka*, a quarterly journal in Māori.
6. A number of works dealing with discourse relations in written Māori have become available in the last few years: Crombie and Houia (2001), Fester and Whaanga (2007), Greensill (2007), Houia (2001a, 2001b, 2002), Houia-Roberts (2003, 2004a, 2004b), and Whaanga (2006).
7. The corpus was drawn from Kaa and Kaa (1994, 1996).
8. It will, of course, be necessary to produce a more pedagogically-oriented account if the work is to be of any *direct* value to teachers and learners of Māori.

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Appendix: Texts and translations by Houia-Roberts (2004b)

Text 1: *Te nūpepa o Te Aute: nā Apirana Ngata – The Te Aute Newspaper: Apirana Ngata (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, p. 211)*

Kua tonoa taku hoa ētita, a Reweti Kohere e ōna hoa Pākehā kia whakapiri i tētahi o ngā ingoa o tōna tipuna ki tōna ingoa, arā i a 'Mokena'. E hiahia ana rātou kia pēnei te roanga o tōna ingoa Reweti T. Mōkena Kohere. E mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna. Kāti kei pōhēhē ōna hoa he tangata kē a Reweti Kohere, me Reweti Mōkena Kohere.

He nui tō mātou pouri i tō mātou kitenga i ētahi kupu kāore e tika kia perehitia i roto i tētahi o ā tātou pepa Māori. Ko āna kōrero kino, i roto i tētahi reta tuku mai, engari kāore pea i kitea e te ētita.

E hoa mā, e kōrerotia ana ō tātou pepa e te wāhine, e te tamariki, kāti kāore e tika ngā kōrero weriweri kia perehitia. He mea tēnei e taea te hāmene e te Kāwanatanga, ā, e mau ai te tangata ki te whareherehere.

Kia tūpato. Nō ngā kaitā te tino hē ki te perehi tonu i ērā kōrero tino kino atu.

My associate editor, Reweti Kohere, has been asked by his Pakeha friends to add the name of one of his grandfathers, that is, 'Mokena', to his name. They want his full name to be Reweti T. Mokena Kohere. They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent. So then, his friends should not mistakenly believe that Reweti Kohere is a different person than Reweti Mokena Kohere.

We were very disappointed when we saw a type of language, that should not be printed, appeared in one of our Māori papers. This offensive language appeared in a letter sent to the paper, but was evidently not seen by the editor.

Friends, our papers are being read by women and by children, so it is not right that offensive language, such as this, should be printed. This is something that could incur a Government summons and could result in the imprisonment of those concerned.

Be cautious. The fault lies with the printers who continue to print this distasteful language.

Text 2: *Me karo tēnei taunu 'He māngere te Māori': nā Apirana Ngata – Counter the insult 'Māori are lazy': Apirana Ngata (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 213-214)*

I te mea kua eke nui ki runga i te iwi Māori tēnei kupu taunu, 'he māngere te Māori' ko te mahi tuatahi tonu mō tō koutou rōpū, me ērā atu rōpū e whakatūria ana i roto i te rohe pōti o te Tairāwhiti ā muri ake nei i runga i te kaupapa pēnei i tā koutou, he karo i tēnei kupu taunu.

Ko ētahi huarahi e taea ai te karo ki taku whakaaro koia ēnei:

- (a) me whakamārama e koutou te āhua o te Māori i mua atu i ngā wā hoko whenua, he iwi ahuhenua, me ngā mahi i taea e te Māori i ērā rā, ngā mahi wīti, whakatupu poaka, hoko kaupuke me ērā atu mahi;*
- (b) me whakamārama ngā huarahi taka ai te Māori ki te hē i runga i ngā mahi hoko whenua, i ngā rīhi whenua, ka waiho ko ngā hua o ēnā mahi hei oranga mō te tangata Māori, ka whakamanawa ki tēnā oranga, he oranga ngāwari hoki, ka ngoikore ki ngā mahi tinana;*
- (c) me whakamārama ngā āraitanga, ngā whakararururutanga a ngā ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Māori, i kore ai e taea e ngā mea e hiahia ana te whakapai ō rātou whenua;*
- (d) me whakawhāiti ngā māramatanga katoa e takoto nei o ngā mahi ahuhenua o tō koutou rohe:
(i) te tīmatanga me te whakahaerenga, ā, tae mai ki tēnei wā o ngā mahi o Ngāti Porou, te kaute o ngā hipi, me ērā atu kararehe a te Māori i tēnei wā, te wāriu o ngā whakapainga kei runga i aua whenua, ngā eka kua pai;
(ii) ngā mahi a te uaua o te Māori ki ngā whenua e nōhia mai nei e ngā Pākehā.*
- (e) hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki ngā mahi whenua, ki ngā mahi ā ringa; e tono ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro ō koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Māori;*
- (f) ko ngā kaupapa e takoto i a koutou he mea tika kia tukua ki ngā nūpepa Pākehā o te Koroni kia whakarongo tauhou mai te iwi Pākehā ki tēnei taha hoki o ngā kōrero whenua Māori, kia manaakitia e ngā nūpepa, ā, kia riro ko rātou tonu hei āwhina i ō koutou whakaaro whakatipu hou;*

(g) *ko te whakaupoko tonu tēnei mō tētahi pīhahana nui ki te Pāremata ā tēnei tau ko ngā whakamārama e taea ai te karo tēnei kupu te 'māngere' ki raro i te iwi Māori.*

Because this insulting phrase 'Māori are lazy' is very frequently used in reference to Māori, the very first thing that needs to be done by your group, in fact by all similar groups likely to be established in the future within the electoral boundaries of Te Tairāwhiti, is to refute it.

In my opinion, some courses of action which could be used to counter these claims could be to:

- (a) explain the way the Māori people were prior to the time of land sales: they were an industrious people, and the work they were able to do during those times was wheat growing, rearing pigs, buying ships among other things;
- (b) explain the ways in which the Māori people have fallen on troubled times because of land sales, land leases, and people were left to exist on the financial gains, and soon they became accustomed to this way of life, and because it was an easy life, the people lost the motivation to work;
- (c) explain the obstacles, the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Māori people, and resulted in those who wished to improve their land being unable to do so;
- (d) collate all this information about the work being carried out in your areas:
 - (i) the beginnings, the administration and also include the work of sheep rearing in Ngati Porou, the numbers of sheep and other animals being reared by Māori people at this time, the values of improvements on those lands, the total acreage which has been improved.
 - (ii) the vigorous work that Māori people are carrying out on the land owned by Pakeha.
- (e) following that, be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;
- (f) the ideas you put forward should in fact be circulated to Pakeha newspapers throughout the colony so that Pakeha will hear a fresh perspective about Māori land, so that the ideas will be supported by the newspapers and so that they will in actual fact be the ones to support your new suggestions.
- (g) this collection of new explanations could constitute an important part of a petition this year, and could be useful in the removal of the use of this word 'lazy' in reference to the Māori people.

Text 3: *Te marae o te Māori - Māoritanga: nā Apirana Ngata* – The marae of the Māori people: *Māoritanga: Apirana Ngata (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 232-235)*

Kei roto i ngā whakapuatanga kōrero o ia iwi o tēnei ao, tērā e kitea ā rātou tini mano pūtaka o te tangata. Kimi tonu āna tāngata i tōna putanga mai ki te whai ao. I tutuki tā te nuinga o ngā iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kīia e rātou he Atua. Kua whakaakona tātou ko te whakapono Karaitiana te whakatakatoranga tuatahi.

Kei roto i te pukapuka tuatahi a Mohi o Kēnehi e mau ana, i hangaia mai te tangata i te puehu, ā, nā te Atua i whakahā i ngā ponga o tōna ihu ka whiwhi i te wairua, ka kīia tēnei ko te Orokohanga. Ko te tāne i hangaia i te tuatahi, nō muri ko te wahine, i runga i ngā kupu a te Atua, kāore e tika kia noho mokemoke te tāne engari kia whakawhiwhia he hoa hei atawhai i a ia.

Tērā atu ngā kaupapa kōrero a ētahi atu iwi, engari ko te whakapono tēnei i mauria mai e te Pākehā ki waenganui i ngā Māori o Aotearoa nei, āpiti atu ki ngā moutere a te Moana Nui a Kiwa.

Ahakoia rā he maha ngā hāhi nā rātou i mau mai tēnei whakapono, he reo kotahi tonu tā rātou, he ririki nei ngā rerekētanga, ko te mea i tāia ko te Paipera, ka whakamāoritia ki ngā reo katoa o ngā iwi Māori.

I pērā anō hoki te Māori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a neherā. Ko ngā kōrero mō ngā whakatakatoranga me ngā tikanga a te Māori, e rua ōna āhua: Ko ngā kōrero i ahu mai waho o te whare wānanga, ko ngā kōrero hoki i takea mai i roto tonu i aua whare.

Ahakoia ko ngā kōrero rā anō i haere mai anō i ngā whare nei i tukua ēnei kia kohia e te mutu tangata. Ka marea he mea noa, ehara i te tapu. Ko ngā whakaona tapu i taiepatia atu ki roto i ngā Whare Wānanga. I hunia i reira mai i te tini o te tangata ko ngā kōrero mō Io.

Otirā nā te Pākehā i hopu haere ngā kōrero a ngā kaumātua, ka pā te kaupapa o Io, ka whakatūria ko ia te Atua tino tapu o te iwi Māori i onamata. Mā te tino tohunga anake e whakahua i tēnei ingoa i ngā wāhanga noa, i ngā wā e rite ana. Ahakoia rā he kaupapa ngaro, tērā tonu te takoto whānui i roto ngā whare wānanga, i te Taitokerau, i te Tairāwhiti, ā, i ētahi wāhi o te Taihauāuru.

Nā ngā tohunga, nā ngā morehu o ngā pakanga i hoatu ki a rātou e mōhio ana ki ngā taurira whakatipuranga hou kua mōhio ki te tā kōrero pukapuka, nā reira ka heke mai ngā kōrero o Io ki a tātou.

*Ko Io Nui, te Atua o ngā Atua katoa
Ko Io Roa, te tuturu,
Ko Io Matua, te Matua o te Rangī o te Ao,
O ngā tāngata me ā rātou mea katoa,
Ko Io Matua te Kore, kāore he matua,
Ko Io Matua te Taketake, te taunga motuhake,
Ko Io te Wānanga, te tīmatanga o ngā mea katoa,
Ko Io te Toi o ngā Rangī, te Taumata o ngā Rangī,
Ko Io te Matanui, o ngā mea e kitea ana,
Ko Io te Matangaro, o ngā mea kāore e kitea,
Ko Io te Matakakao. Te rā, te mahana, te muri ahi,
Ko Io te Whiwhia, te hanga tangata,
Ko te Matatapu, te mutunga ake o te tapu.*

E kīia ana nāna i hanga i te ao, mai i te kore, kāore i whānau, he matua kore, kāore i mau ki te wahine, he uri kore, engari nāna ka hanga i ngā mea katoa tae noa ki te tangata.

Throughout the world, different peoples have different interpretations on the origin of man. Man is still seeking knowledge of his creation. Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God. We have been taught that Christianity is the superior teaching.

It has been written in the first book of Moses and of Genesis that Man was created from dust and it was God who breathed life through his nostrils and instilled within him a spirit and this was the Orokohanga, the creation. The male species was created first and then the female for according to the word of God man should not be alone, but he should have a companion to nurture him.

There are many other explanations held by other peoples but this is the faith brought by the Pakeha to the Māori people of New Zealand and to the Islands of the Pacific.

Although there were many denominations, their messages were similar with a few slight variations, the Bible was the printed word and this was translated into the languages of all the indigenous peoples.

Ancient Māori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times. These beliefs and the customs of the Māori came from two sources. There was the knowledge that came from outside the Whare Wananga (Māori Schools of Learning) and the knowledge that originated from inside the Whare Wananga.

Although the teachings from the various Whare Wananga were similar this was made available to anyone. It became common knowledge and was not regarded as sacred. The sacred teachings were kept secret within the school of learning. The teachings of Io were concealed there from the majority of people.

Indeed, it was the Pakeha who acquired the stories of the Māori elders that related to the teachings of Io, the most sacred of gods to the Māori of old. Only a tohunga (priest) could refer to him and only in the right places and at the right times. Although the teachings were suppressed, it is possible that these were more widely taught in the Whare Wananga in Te Taitokerau (Northern tribes) and Te Taihauauru (Western Tribes).

The tohunga, the survivors of the battles handed on what they knew to the students of the new generation, who by this time had learned to record the written word and that is why the story of Io has been passed on down to us.

Io Nui represents the most important god
Io Roa represents uprightness and permanence
Io Matua represents the father of the heavens, of all people and their existence
Io Matua Kore of no parentage
Io Matua te Taketake, the permanent resting place
Io te Wananga, the beginning of all things
Io te Toi o nga Rangī, the highest level of the heavens
Io te Matanui, those things visible to the naked eye
Io te Matangaro, those things not visible to the naked eye
Io te Matakakao te ra, the warmth, the flames of the fire
Io te Whiwhia, the stature of mankind
Io te Matatapu, the most sacred of all

The belief is that Io created the world from nothing, was not born, had no parentage, had no union with women, was childless, but nevertheless all things, including man, were created by Io.

Text 4: *Te tau o ngā kaumātua: nā Tīmoti Kāretu* – The year of the elderly: Tīmoti Kāretu (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 219-221)

Kua puta te karanga a Te Whakakotahitanga o Ngā Iwi o Te Ao kia kīia te tau e tū mai nei ko Te Tau o te Kaumātua Puta Noa i te Ao. Otirā koirā tāku nā whakamāoritanga i tērā whakaaro. Ko tāku e whakapae ana e kōrero kē ana rātou mō te hunga pēperekōu kua i tā te Māori titiro ki tēnei mea, ki te kaumātua. Kua puta kē i a au te kōrero ki tētahi atu pepa i a au e tamariki ana ki ngā marae o Tūhoe ki Waikaremoana me Ruatāhuna ko ngā kaumātua te hunga whakatauirā mai i te tika, i te pono; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i te tikanga; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga tauōhito; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga kī tahi; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te iwi; āe, ko rātou ngā puna o te kī.

I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumātua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai nā te mea kua kitea i roto i ētahi iwi kua kore kē tēnei momo tangata e kōrerotia ake nei e au. Kua eke tātou ki te reanga pakeke kāore nei e mōhio ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga tae atu hoki ki ngā kōrero? E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? Kua kaha te whiua o te pātai he aha tēnei mea te kaumātua me aha rawa rānei te tangata e kaumātua ai ki te titiro a te tangata? Mēnā kua ahungarua te tangata engari e tino kūare ana ki ngā tikanga me ngā kōrero a te iwi, ka kaumātua tonu? Ko tēnei pātai me waiho anō mā ngā iwi tonu e whakautu, e whakataui engari he pātai e kaha ana te pātaitia e te rangatahi. Ko au kei te kī ko te momo kaumātua o te wā i a au e taiohi ana kua tino kore haere, me uaua kē rānei ka kitea engari ko te hunga kaumātua, kua noho makorea, pūtoetoe rānei, e tika ana kia kauanuanutia.

Ko tētahi take nui e aroha nei au ki te hunga pakeke nei kua kore te ao Māori o ēnei rā nei i mōhio me pēhea te kōrero ki te pakeke, me pēhea rānei te manaaki ki te pakeke. I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaako noa ai. He āhuatanga tērā kua uru kaha mai ki te ao Māori, ā, nā konei anō nei te ao Māori i āhua kotiti ai he kore i whakapono he mātāuranga anō tō ngā kaumātua.

Kāti, ko tāku noa iho ki a tātou he kī atu kia tino manaakitia te hunga pakeke ahakoa pēhea te mōhio, te kore rānei i mōhio, ki ngā āhuatanga o te ao Māori nā te mea he wā tōna ka noho atu ko koutou, ko tātou ki taua nohonga e whakaparanga nei tātou i roto i te rā nei.

E ai ki ō tātou koroua, kuia 'he huri tēnei mea te mate', nō reira āta whakaarotia ake te kōrero nei.

Me pēnei noa ake pea te whakatau ake 'E te mātātahi kia aro nui mai ki te mātāpuputu; e te mātāpuputu whāngaia mai te mā tātahi e hiakai nei ki ngā taonga kei a koutou'

Tēnā tātou katoa kia tahuri ki te whakanui, ki te whakarangatira i ō tātou kaumātua i roto i tēnei tau kua whakaarotia ake hei tau aro nui atu ki a rātou.

The United Nations has recommended that in this coming year, The Year of the Elderly will be observed worldwide, that at least is my interpretation of the notice. What concerns me is that they are looking at older people in general and not at the Māori interpretation of an elder. I have already written in another paper that in my youth, on the marae of Tūhoe, Waikaremoana and Ruatāhuna, the elders were a group who modeled what was right and effective, they retained the customs, they were a skilful group, they spoke with one voice, they retained tribal knowledge, it is true that they were the fountains of knowledge.

With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumātua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question is that it has been seen that within some tribes there are no kaumātua left. We have reached the stage when some elders have no knowledge of the language, the customs, or even the stories. Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or is there some other criteria?

The questions that are asked regularly by people concern the criteria for a kaumātua or what must a person do to be recognized as a kaumātua? If one has reached old age but has no knowledge about the customs, tribal stories, is one still regarded as a kaumātua?

The question should be left for the Māori people to answer, to examine, but it is a question frequently asked by the younger generation. The type of kaumātua who were around when I was a teenager, in my opinion, are no longer around, or are difficult to find, but the kaumātua we have now, are the survivors, it is only right that they are respected and are looked on with fondness by the younger generations.

The main reason I feel sympathy for the kaumātua is that, the Māori world of today no longer know how to speak

to them or how to show them respect. Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all. That is a common feature which has entered the Māori world, and this is why the Māori world is not united, there is not the belief that kaumatua do indeed possess a special knowledge.

That aside, my message is that the elderly should be really supported whether or not they know the ways of the Māori world because the time will come when you, when all of us will be part of the group we are discussing today.

According to our elders, 'Death moves around', so therefore, this really needs to be considered.

Perhaps this could be a concluding suggestion, 'Youth, respect your elders; Elders, feed the youth who hunger for the knowledge you possess.'

Thank you all, you who will take part in honouring and respecting our kaumatua during the year which has been designated as the year which will have a special focus for them.

Text 5: *Te Kākāpō* (Strigops habroptilus): *nā Tīmoti Kāretu* – The Kakapo: Tīmoti Kāretu (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 246-249)

Ahakoia huri koe ki hea i te ao nei, kāore e kitea he kākā nui ake i te kākāpō o Aotearoa. He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā. Engari ko te kanohi, he āhua rite ki tō te ruru - ko te 'kākā-ruru' tonu tētahi o ōna ingoa ki te reo Pākehā. Waihoki, ko te tikanga o tōna ingoa pūtaiao, arā, o te Strigops habroptilus, ko te 'kanohi-ruru whai hune'. Ko te tae o ngā hune, e rite ana ki te pūkoho, ā, he kōrangorango te āhua. Nā konei i pai ai te noho huna o te kākāpō i te ao, i te pō.

Kāore i mōhio ngā tohunga huaota o te ao Pākehā ki tēnei manu kia eke rawa ki te tau 1852. I taua tau ka tūpono atu ētahi tāngata o te kaupuke Acheron ki tētahi, engari nā ā rātou kurī kē i whakamataku te kākāpō, me te aha, puta ohorerere mai ana i tōna rua, ā, koirā te kitenga tuatahitanga o te Pākehā i tēnei manu. He manu haere takitahi te kākāpō, kāore e haere takitini pērā i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā. Ko tētahi atu āhuatanga ōna, ko tana rere-kore. Otirā, he āwhina tonu kei ōna parirau poto i a ia e oma ana, e piki ana rānei i tētahi mea. Tērā ka eke ki te 2.5 kirokaramu tōna taumaha, ā, he pōturi tana haere, ka mutu, he waewae mātotoru. He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he taurunga ake mō te kākāpō. Arā anō ētahi o ōna tino hoariri, ko te ngeru, me te toriura.

He kaiota te manu nei. Ko ētahi o āna tino kai, ko ngā kākano, ngā rau, ngā tātā me ngā pakiaka o ētahi tipu. Ka kaikainga ngā mea kākā, me te ngongo i te pia o roto. Hei tango mai i ngā kākano i ngā pātūtū, ka puritia ngā rau ki ngā waewae, me te whakamahi i ō rātou ngutu hei unu mai i ngā kākano.

Mō te wāhi ki te whakaputa uri, kāore te kākāpō e mahi poka noa. He mōhio ia he pai ake te tau humi hei whakapakeke uri, nō reira ka tatari kia matomato rā anō te tupu o te kai, ā, hei reira tahuri ai ki te whakaipoipo. He mahi rerekē tonu tā ngā toa i tēnei wā. Ka taki whakamenomenu rātou me te whakataetae tahi hei whakawai i ngā uha. Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-te-rangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaupuke tōna rite. Ka roa tonu rātou e pēnei ana, me te mātaki a ngā uha i tā rātou mahi. Nā wai, nā wai, ka whiriwhiri tēnā me tēnā o ngā uha i tāna i pai ai, ā, he nui tonu ngā toa ka ngere. Hanga kōwhanga ai ngā uha i ngā tumu rākau kua wharemoa, i raro rānei i te pātūtū taranui, ā, e toru ngā hua ka whānau mai ki te nuinga. Kotahi marama te uha e awahi ana i ōna hua, kātahi ka pao mai ngā pipī. Ka āhua whitu marama ngā pipī e piri tahi ana ki tō rātou whāereere, ā, he mahi nui tonu te karo i te mate; he maha rātou ka riro hei kai mā te hoariri. Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uua nei, kei hea rā e ngaro ana?

Heoi anō, me huri pea tēnei kōrero kia hāngai ake ki ngā kaupeka whakaputa uri o te kākā, arā 'Hoa piri raumati, taha kē takurua'. Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke.

Ko Aotearoa anake te kāinga tūturu o te kākāpō. I ngā rā o mua, nohoia ai ngā wāhi ngāherehere katoa o te motu e te kākāpō. Kei te mōhioia tēnei i te mea kua kitea ngā whaipara o tēnei manu i ngā ruapara Māori o mua, huri i te motu. Mahia anō ai e ngā Māori o neherā ngā huruhuru o te kākāpō hei hanga kahu.

Nō te taenga mai o Tauīwi ki Aotearoa, he maha tonu ngā kākāpō ka mate i ā rātou kurī, ā, ka kainga anō hoki e te Pākehā. Arā anō ētahi i tukuna atu ki ngā whare taonga o konei me tāwāhi. I te wā i a Kuini Wīkītōria, tukuna atu ai ētahi kākāpō e 80 nei ki tētahi whare taonga kotahi nei i Vienna. I ngā tau o ngā 1890, i muri tonu i te taenga mai o ngā toriura ki Aotearoa, ka matemate haere ngā kākāpō. Nā wai, nā wai, ka āhua pai ake. Engari i ngā tau o ngā 1930 me ngā 1940, ka paheke anō. E whakapaetia ana nā te tere ngaro o ngā ngāhere i tīmata anō

ai te paheke o te kākāpō i tēnei wā. Ka ngaro atu tēnei waewae mātotoru i Te Ika a Māui, ā, i paku muri mai ka pērā anō i Te Waipounamu. Ko ngā mōrehu i kitea i Te Waipounamu, arā, i Piopiotahi, ka haria ake ki te Punanga Manu i Mount Bruce, engari ka mate mai ērā i te tahumaero. Kua kore i kitea he kākāpō i Te Ika me Te Waka a Māui i ngā tau o ngā 1990.

Mokori anō i rokohanga atu ētahi āhua kotahi rau nei i Rakiura i te tau 1977. Engari kāore i tino pai tā rātou noho i reira, i te mea e noho tahi ana ki tērā o ngā hoariri, ki te ngeru. I roto i te wā poto kua heke tō rātou nui ki te 61 noa iho. I konei ka whakatauria me hari ēnei tino mōrehu ki tētahi moutere karekau he ngeru, he toriura i reira.

Ko Hauturu, ko Codfish me Maud ngā moutere i whiriwhiritia. Hei āwhina i ngā kākāpō, ka tahuri Te Papa Atawhai ki te hora kai papai mā rātou, pēnei i te hua rākau, i te natinati me ngā 'pōhā patahua', i runga i te tūmanako ka whakaae ngā manu nei kua eke anō te tau humi, ā, ka tahuri ki te whakaputa uri!

I ēnei rā, ko tōna 50 noa iho ngā kākāpō e ora tonu ana i ēnei moutere.

Ko wai kāore e tautoko i te whakaaro me āta tiaki tēnei puipuiaki kei ngaro i tēnei, tōna whenua ake, pērā tonu i te moa, i te hōkioi, me te tōtōrori?

Nowhere else in the world is there a parrot larger than the New Zealand Kakapo.

It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots. But the eyes are more like those of an owl. Another Pakeha name for this parrot is kaka-ruru (parrot-owl). However, its scientific name is *Strigops habroptilus*, 'the downy eyes of the owl'. The down is the colour of the mist, and is mottled in appearance. Because of this, the kaka can stay concealed at night.

Pakeha scientists did not know about this bird until 1852. It was in that year that a group of sailors from the sailing vessel *Acheron* happened on one but it was their dog that startled the kakapo and caused it to emerge from its nest and that was the first sighting by Pakeha of this bird. The kakapo is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kaka. Another feature is that it is flightless, but its short wings are useful when it is running or when it is climbing trees. The Kaka can reach a weight of 2.5 kgs, it walks slowly and has thick legs. The kaka is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs. Indeed, there is nowhere else that the kakapo can turn. Its other enemies include cats and stoats.

This bird eats fresh fruit. Other favourite foods include vegetables, seeds, leaves, stalks and roots of some plants. It eats fibrous plants and it sucks at the sap. In order to pull out the seeds and the grasses, the leaves are held by the feet and the beak is used to suck out the seeds.

With respect to mating, the kakapo is quite systematic. It considers the seasons when there is an abundance of food, so important for the rearing of the chicks. The kakapo, therefore, waits until the food sources are plentiful and that is the time that its attention turns to mating. The male behaves quite differently at this time. They have tendency to show off and to compete for the attention of the females. From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan, similar to a ship's horn. This continues for some time while the females watch the performances. After some time, each female decides which male she prefers and many of the males are passed over. The females construct their nests around tree stumps and hollows or perhaps under the tussock grass. Most produce three eggs. The female sits on her eggs for a month and then the chicks hatch. The chicks remain with their mothers for about seven months during which time they will face many dangers; many are lost to predators. The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn, absent in the summer' which suggests that the male stays close by at his convenience but is not available in times of trouble.

However, this discussion should return to reproduction of the kaka and the expression 'A constant companion in the summer, absent in the winter'. The kakapo continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years.

New Zealand is the native home of the kakapo. They once existed in all the forests of the land. This has been proven through the discovery of the remains of this bird on the sites of early Māori all over the land. Early Māori used the feathers of the kakapo for the making of cloaks.

With the arrival of the Pakeha in New Zealand, many of the kakapo were killed by their dogs and eaten by Pakeha. Some were sent to the museums here and overseas. During the reign of Queen Victoria, 80 birds were sent to the museum of Vienna. During the 1890's, shortly after the introduction of the stoat to New Zealand, the kakapo rapidly died out. A slight improvement followed. But between 1930-40, there was another rapid decline. It was argued that this was because of the loss of the forests. This thick-legged creature was soon lost to the Wellington region and shortly after to the South Island. The survivors, found in the South Island, at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) were moved to a bird reserve in Mount Bruce. No kakapo were found in the lower North Island regions in the 1990's.

Fortunately, approximately 100 were found in Rakiura (Stewart Island) in 1977 but they were not considered safe there as one of its enemies, the cat, also inhabited the island. In a very short time their numbers were reduced to only 61. It was decided then that these survivors must be taken to a place without cats and stoats.

Hauturu, Codfish and Maud Islands were selected. In order to help the kakapo, the Department of Conservation began to distribute of their favourite foods such as fruits, nuts and muesli bars in the hope that the kakapo would be deceived into thinking that this was a season of abundance of food and would hopefully begin to breed.

Only about 50 kakapo have survived. Who then would not support the idea that this rare and precious bird must be protected lest it is lost forever to this, its native home, like the moa, the hokioi and the totorori.

Text 6: *He hē anō te hē: nā Tīmoti Kāretu – Wrong is wrong: Tīmoti Kāretu (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 223-225)*

Tēnei māua ko taringa te rongo ake nei kua kaha te whiua o te kōrero, 'E, e takahi ana koe i tōku mana', inā whakatikahia te hē o te rere mai o te kōrero a te tangata. Ko ōna kore mōhio nei ki te whakatakoto i te reo i runga i takahia nei.

Ko tā te hunga e ako ana he whakarongo ki tā te hunga matatau whakatakoto i te kupu, mā te whai hoki i tā te matatau ka mōhio ko te kūare, ko te pōhēhē, ko te kore mōhio.

Ko wai o tātou kāore i whakatikaina mai e tētahi e matatau kē noa atu ana i a tātou ahakoa he aha te kaupapa? Ko wai nei?

Mā te mamae hoki te whakatika mai a te tangata matatau kē noa ake i a koe ka aha? Ka matatau ake te mea i whakatikaina rā?

Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi, he waiho mā wheke kurī noa iho e kawe ka rua, ka noho ko whakamaui, ko mauāhara tonu atu rānei hei hoa ka toru, engari kia tino kī noa ake au ki te pērā mai te tangata e kore ia e matatau ki te reo ahakoa pēhea.

Ko tāku nā whakautu hoki ki tēnā whiua mai i te kupu, arā, mō te takahi mana, he kī noa atu, 'E, kei te tūkino, kei te kōhuru koe i tōku reo.' Ki te pīrangī koe koinei hei reo mōu, tēnā kia tika mai i a koe, ka whakarongo ki te hunga matatau me tā rātou kī mai, 'me pēnei kē, me pērā kē' rānei engari kua e amowheke, e hūneinei noa!

Kia hoki ake nei ki te kōrero 'He hē anō te he'. Kāore i tua atu, kāore i tua mai i tērā!

Koutou e ako nei, e whai nei i tō tātou reo kia mau tonu ai, kia ora tonu ai, ka nui te mihi engari kia mārama anō tātou ki tō tātou matatau mehemea kāore te eke, ā, ka whāia kia eke, arā, whakarongo ngā taringa, kopi te waha atu i te whiua pātai kia mārama ai he aha kē i pēnei ai, he aha kē i pērā ai. He wā anō hoki e kōrero ai te waha, he wā anō hoki e noho puku ai taihoa e kōrero.

Kia mōhio tātou katoa āhea, tēhea whāia ai. Ki te taea tērā kua tīmata tā tātou takahi i te ara o te tika, i te ara o te mārama.

Ki te tohe te tangata mō te tohe noa te take he aha te hua ka puta? He tino kore nei! Engari ki te tohe te tangata kia puta ai ia ki te whai ao, kia whiwhi rānei i tāna i pai ai, kātahi te hua ka puta.

Kāti, kia hoki noa ake ki te kōrero a ngā kaumātua, arā, 'He hē anō te hē, he tika anō te tika.

Waiho i konei, kia kitea ai ka pēheatia te reo e te hunga ako, engari ki te rongo au e hē mai ana ko tāku he kī noa atu, 'E me pēnei kē', ā, ki te kī mai tērā, 'E, kei te takahi koe i tōku mana', ko tāku atu 'E, kei te kōhuru, kei te tūkino koe i tōku reo.'

Me mutu i konei. Whakatika rānei, kōrero Pākehā kē rānei engari me mutu te kōhuru, te tūkino!

My ears and I have heard the claim "You are trampling on my self-esteem" being heard more often when the grammatical errors in the language of communication are corrected.

It is those who have little knowledge of the correct and appropriate structures of the language who are making the claim that their esteem is being 'trampled on'.

Those who are learning need to listen to the way in which fluent speakers structure their language because it is by following fluent speakers that those who are less fluent, those who are unsure, those who do not know, will learn.

Who among us was not corrected by someone more fluent, no matter what the topic? Who?

What purpose is served by being offended at being corrected by someone more fluent than you? Will the person who was corrected become more competent?

That is not likely, ignorance will continue to be his companion, because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance, because 'wheke kuri' will still be the guide in the second instance, grievance or ill-feeling will be a companion in the third instance but I must make it clear that if a person behaves in this way, he /she will never become fluent no matter what.

My own response to the claim regarding the undermining of self-esteem, is to say, "You are treating my language badly, you are killing my language. If you wish to have this as your language, make sure it is correct, listen to those who are fluent and their reminders 'it is said like this, or it is said like that' but don't become fretful, don't become angry".

To return to the statement, 'A mistake is still a mistake'. There is no question about this.

Those of you who are learning, you who are aiming at pursuing our language so that it will not die, so that it may remain a living language, you must be congratulated but we must be aware of levels of proficiency, if these are not being attained, then make this attainment an objective, that is, listen carefully, say nothing except to seek clarification as to why it is like this, or like that. There is a time for talking, a time for silence, for holding back from talking.

We all need to know when or what to aim at. Once that is achieved, we are on the right path, on an enlightened path.

What is the benefit if one argues for the sake of argument? There is none. But if one argues for the purpose of gaining more knowledge, or to acquire what one desires, then there is a benefit.

So that aside, to return to what our elders say 'Wrong is wrong. Right is right'.

Leave that matter here for the present so that the progress of language learners can be observed but should I hear the use of incorrect language, my reaction will be to say, 'This is the correct way to say that', and if the reaction is 'You are trampling my esteem', my response will be, 'You are mistreating, you are violating my language'.

Let us finish here. Correct your language or speak English but stop the abuse, stop the violation.

Kia Maanu, Kia Ora: Stay Afloat, Stay Alive – Acknowledging the significance of tikanga Māori in formulating and communicating water safety policies and practices

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Abstract

The traditional beliefs and practices of Māori demonstrate great respect for water, for its dangers as well as its life-giving properties, and Māori have, along with other Polynesian peoples, been known for their skill in swimming, fishing and canoeing. However, Māori now outnumber others in New Zealand in terms of the proportion involved in drowning and water-related injury. In seeking to promote water safety among Māori, *Water Safety New Zealand* has enlisted the help of Māori communities. Its message - *Kia Maanu, Kia Ora* (Stay Afloat, Stay Alive) – is underpinned by an acknowledgment of the need to reinforce the traditional respect for water that permeates the Māori worldview.

Introduction

In Aotearoa, water is a major feature of our landscape and lifestyle. The seas, rivers, lakes and ponds provide us with some of the most spectacular and challenging sites in the world. Every day, people of all ages from a wide range of communities enjoy easy access to water for recreational, non-recreational and cultural purposes.

Traditionally, Māori, in common with many indigenous peoples, had great respect for the physical and spiritual properties of water and developed high level skills in swimming, fishing and canoeing. The fact that a disproportionately high percentage of Māori are now involved in drowning and water-related accidents is one of many indications of the dissociation of many Māori from traditional beliefs and practices that has accompanied colonization. In attempting to provide water safety education that targets Māori, *Water Safety New Zealand* has acknowledged the significance of this and has sought the support of Māori communities in communicating its message - *Kia Maanu, Kia Ora* (Stay Afloat, Stay Alive) – a message that is underpinned by recognition of the importance of culturally informed water safety practices.

***Kia Ora* (Stay Afloat, Stay Alive): 2003 and beyond**

On average, 27 Māori people drown and many more are hospitalised every year as a result of water-related injuries (Chalmers, 2004). In 2003, Water Safety New Zealand took a proactive approach to establishing a water safety strategy for Māori. The overall aim of this strategy was to reduce the number of Māori involved in water-related accidents in New Zealand. The approach was reviewed in 2006.

Water is one of our greatest *taonga* (treasures), both physically and spiritually. Physically, water is vital to sustaining life and well-being on Earth. At the same time, it has the capacity to destroy life. Spiritually, water is a life force whose meaning and significance changes with its shape and form. Douglas (1994) discusses the physical

and spiritual significance of water to Māori in terms of the significance of the words used to refer to it.

He Wai

- *Waiora* – The term given to the purest form of water, the spiritual and physical expression of *Ranginui* (sky father) and *Papatuanuku* (mother earth). Pure water such as rain is termed *Te Waiora a Tane* and has the power to give life, to sustain well-being, and to counteract evil.
- *Waimaori* – The term used to refer to water in its day-to-day manifestations, to water that has no specific sacred associations, water that can be used for everyday purposes, such as swimming and gathering food.
- *Waikino* – The term used for water that is rushing rapidly through a gorge or flowing past hazardous obstacles such as large boulders or submerged trees. In this manifestation, water has the potential to cause harm to humans.
- *Waimate* – This term is used to refer to dead, damaged or polluted water, water that has lost its power to rejuvenate either itself or other living things.
- *Waitai* – This is the name used to describe the sea, the surf, or the tide. This is sea water as opposed to fresh water (*waimaori*) and is linked to the process or cycle by which water returns to *Tangaroa*.

Early Observations of Māori Aquatics

Māori have always been acknowledged as possessing expertise in swimming and aquatic activities. Early European historians who observed Māori lifestyle wrote extensively about Māori games and pastimes in, on and near water. Thus, for example, Best, 1976 (p. 40) noted:

The Maori of New Zealand like unto his Polynesian brethren was absolutely and thoroughly at home in the water. He practised surf riding, with and without boards, and also in small canoes, as did the Hawaiians and others.

In the past, Māori adapted their swimming styles to water conditions to ensure safety while swimming near marae at local beaches, rivers, lakes, springs and ponds. Best (1976, p. 40) maintains that “Maori knew four different methods of swimming, though, apparently [largely] confined himself to the sidestroke (*kau tahoe*)”. Other strokes included *kau apuru* (breaststroke), freestyle as it is known today, and a form of backstroke known as *kau kiore*. Māori children were taught to swim almost before they could walk, sometimes with *poito* (floats) fastened to them when learning their swimming skills. Māori youth were experienced at paddling or sailing *waka* (canoes) for long periods in changeable conditions: “All forms of canoe were much appreciated by young folk and both sexes learned the use of paddles (*hoe*) in youth. Children manipulated small canoes and capsized merely added to their enjoyment” (Best, 1976, p. 43).

Seafood gathering and harvesting was a shared cultural activity amongst *whānau* members and Māori used their knowledge of the celestial bodies together with a *maramataka* (calendar) to identify the best times and conditions for fishing, confining certain activities to certain seasons and times of the day and night. They also exercised *rāhui*, placing restrictions on access to local water sites if a drowning or conservation crisis occurred: “Rahui is a mark to warn people against trespassing;

used in the case of tapu, or for temporary protection of fruit, birds, or fish” (Williams, 1992, p. 42). Although the term ‘taniwha’ is a term that is now often wrongly used to refer to mythical monsters that lives in water, a *taniwha* is, in fact, a *kaitiaki* or guardian with the power to protect and foster the life principle and general welfare of local water sites.

Particularly in the Waikato, Wanganui and Rotorua regions, Māori commonly travelled by water until the early 1900s, negotiating rivers, lakes and seas as they travelled around Aotearoa. King (1983, p. 126) notes that “coastal tribes were involved heavily in sea transport, especially on the East Coast of the North Island where some Ngati Porou hapu operated their own trading vessels between Gisborne and Auckland”. Because Māori depended on the waterways for transport to trading stations and other settlements, they developed strategies, such as the pulley system, to ensure safe and effective river crossings for the crew and passengers of *waka*. In the Waikato region, the pulley system was used as a means of ferrying goods across the river to a landing stage.

Outlining the problem

It is clear that Māori traditionally had a wealth of knowledge, experience and skill in the environment of water. Why then are a disproportionately high number of Māori now involved in water-related accidents? Part of the reason may be that although Māori have retained their close association with water, many, as a result of the disruption of traditional social structures, no longer have access to traditional ways of learning respect for water and the skills required for surviving in and around it. Whatever the reason, the problem has been with us for some time. In an article written for *Te Ao Hou* in the 1960s, Ruhia Sage (1965, pp. 43-44), Dominion President of the Māori Women’s Welfare League, exposed the high rate of drownings among Māori compared to non-Māori: “It is a serious cause for concern that so many of these tragedies should involve our Maori people. The Maori population ratio is about one in 14, but this drowning rate is about one in six”.

Drowning and water related injuries in Aotearoa are the third highest causes of accidental death, following vehicle accidents and falls: “On average 130 people have drowned in New Zealand every year. New Zealand’s death rate from unintentional drowning is about double the rates of Australia and the United States (Chalmers, McNoe, & Stephenson, 2004, p. 4). Research carried out by the University of Otago Injury Prevention Research Unit on data collated over the last 20 years shows that although the total number of people who drowned in Aotearoa decreased by 45% between 1985 and 2004, the number of Māori drownings has steadily increased. Drown Base data from 1994-2003 show that 22% of those who drowned were Māori although the 2001 Census indicates that only 15% of the New Zealand population identified as Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Drown Base is the official drowning database of Water Safety New Zealand and contains records of all drownings in Aotearoa. This system collates all data from drowning incidents as advised by Coroner and Police reports. The following facts cover a 10 year period from 1994 - 2003.

The most common sites for Māori drowning are:

1. River
2. Beaches
3. 0-1km from shore

The most common activities for Māori drowning are:

1. Accidental immersion (no intention of entering the water)
2. Swimming
3. Fishing/food gathering

The most at risk age groups are:

1. 15 – 44 years
2. Preschool aged children 0 – 4 years (Accidental immersion)

The most at risk regions are:

1. Waikato
2. Bay of Plenty
3. Northland
4. Wanganui

Major Risk areas identified for Māori:

1. Supervision
2. Learning to swim
3. Rivers

Water recreation and fishing in uncontrolled and unsupervised locations is still common amongst Māori, with Māori men being most at risk – 84% of Māori who drown are male.

Māori children account for 44% of all children under five years who drown. In most cases, improper supervision or lack of supervision is the principal issue in Māori children drowning.

Nearly half (46%) of all Māori children who drown do so while swimming.

Over the last few decades, the New Zealand Physical Education Curriculum has undergone critical changes in terms of the provision of swimming and water safety education in schools. In 1967, schools in Aotearoa were required to “ensure as far as possible that all children develop safe and sensible practices in the use of pools, beaches, rivers and other swimming facilities” (New Zealand Physical Education Branch, 1967). Now, however, the curriculum has an holistic focus on physical and health education, and schools are required only to provide opportunities for children to learn fundamental aquatic skills by the end of Year Six. The following facts revealed in *New Zealand Youth Water Safety Survey 2003* are of serious concern:

- In just three years (between 2000 and 2002) 37 secondary and 201 primary schools closed their pools.

- A survey conducted in 2003 found that 42% of children in higher decile (richer) schools learned to swim at private lessons, compared with only 14% of those in lower decile schools.
- Lack of school swimming facilities means *whānau* are now charged for swimming lessons that should be free. In addition, transportation costs have become a major factor in relation to transporting children to swimming lessons.

A Drowning Prevention Strategy

A Drowning Prevention Strategy (DPS) was released in 2005: *Towards a Water Safe New Zealand 2005 – 2015 (Te Rautaki Ārai i te Toremitanga: Kia Tupu ai a Aotearoa hei Whenua Haumarū ōna Wai, 2005-2015)*. This is “a plan to prevent death and injury due to drowning and other water related causes and for enhancing water safety in New Zealand”. This strategy aims to involve iwi as key water safety partners: “Communities and individuals must be empowered to develop the necessary skills and expertise to improve their water safety” (Accident Compensation Corporation, 2005). An essential part of the DPS vision is to create a water safety culture that is based on a set of guiding principles or a shared set of beliefs. One of the main principles behind the Strategy is *Appropriateness*:

Appropriateness - Working under the Strategy must recognize that different communities and groups have different needs. What may work for one population group may not work for another. The Strategy must respond to the needs of New Zealand’s different cultures, genders and age groups (Accident Compensation Corporation, 2005).

The idea of taking account of cultural beliefs and practices is not new. Many working in the Health Service Industry recognise the benefits of health promotion programmes by Māori for Māori. Thus, for example, Ellis, Sperling and Toma-Dryden (1999, p. 6) refer to a model that “aims to provide Maori with a set of guidelines to ensure that the health message portrayed is the message intended for the particular Maori audience”. Furthermore, the Maritime Safety Authority in association with *Nga Waka Federation*, has provided guidelines that cover safety roles and procedures for those involved with *waka*. These guidelines, based on the collective wisdom of the *waka* leaders who attended consultation meetings throughout Aotearoa, were approved in October 2001 for the operation of *Waka Taua*.

Most drowning incidents could have been prevented. In fact, “59 per cent of those who drowned were from non-recreation accidents, when there was no intention of entering the water” (Water Safety N.Z., 2004). Bearing this in mind, it is important to develop an approach that focuses not only on recreational activities, but one that involves all areas of potential risk. This being the case, cultural considerations, including respect for, and understanding of water, must clearly play a major role.

A Water Safety Strategy for Māori

Water Safety New Zealand has taken a proactive approach to delivering water safety education specifically for Māori. The overall aim of the strategy, launched at Parliament in November 2003, is to allow for the development of targeted initiatives and projects that meet the needs of Māori. In the first year, the emphasis was on data gathering and dissemination at a national and regional level. In launching the strategy,

whose main message was ‘*Keep your whanau afloat*’, the Minister of Māori Affairs, the Hon Parekura Horomia, concluded: “What concerns me is that with the expected increase in the Māori population over the next 10-20 years, coupled with more business and commercial opportunities with water, through such activities as fishing ventures through the fisheries allocation and marine farms there is going to be more tragedy and more needless loss of life” (Kokiri Paetae, Dec 2003, p. 14).

The message - *Keep Your Whanau Afloat* – was widely broadcast in the media – on television, on iwi radio stations, and in newspapers and magazines. It was also publicized in *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) contexts at Māori cultural and sporting events. The overall aim was not only to communicate the message to individuals, but to gain the respect and support of *iwi*, *whānau*, and community *marae*. Water Safety New Zealand believe that the best way of making sure that water safety messages are successfully communicated is to ensure that Māori take ownership of the problem and take the water safety message into their own communities.

Kia Maanu, Kia Ora!

In 2004, Water Safety New Zealand, in association with The Māori Language Commission (*Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori*), set up the Ma Te Reo Fund to support a project in the Waikato region: *Kia Maanu, Kia Ora!* (*‘Stay Afloat, Stay Alive!’*). A Māori language water safety resource was distributed to Tainui Raupatu Lands Trust *marae*. The aim was to promote a culturally appropriate approach to water safety through the promotion of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* in the context of water safety advice. The emphasis was on teaching and learning – learning to swim, providing appropriate supervision, using lifejackets and other buoyancy equipment etc.

Towards a safer future

A current focus of *Water Safety New Zealand* is the provision of educational resources and programmes for students whose first language is Māori and those who are involved in *Kōhanga Reo* (Early Childhood Education), *Kura Kaupapa* (Primary-Intermediate schools) and Māori community groups. The teaching resources are to be linked to curricula: *Te Whāriki* (the Early Childhood Curriculum); *Hauora* (the Health and Physical Education curriculum for primary and secondary schools) and, where appropriate, other curricula such as curricula for *Te Reo Māori*, English, Social Studies and Technology. These resources are to be made available via a website that is linked to other water safety educational programmes.¹ They will reinforce the traditional relationships of Māori and water, providing key messages whose aim is to promote safer practices in or near water. Some of the key messages are outlined below:

- Respect the power of water;
- Proper supervision in, on and near water: Within Sight, Within Reach;
- Always be water wise in the home, the pool, the river, the lake, or beach;
- Learn to swim;
- Wear proper clothing & use safe equipment;
- Always check the conditions.

Another strategy is to promote water safety education via regional water safety forums whose purpose is to explore regional water safety initiatives. The focus is on

at risk groups and community awareness. These forums provide Māori organisations and groups with expert guidance and assistance in specific areas such as swimming pool fencing, standards development and risk management, along with updates on training and educational resources. Support and advice on rules, bylaws and regulations will help with the identification and management of water safety hazards in the community.

Conclusion

The strategies employed to reduce Māori drowning and water-related accidents in Aotearoa have produced some positive outcomes in relation to the promotion of water safety initiatives targeted at Māori. However, the extent to which these strategies are effective in terms of a reduction in the number of Māori involved in water-related accidents is what really counts. Currently, these strategies are being evaluated and reviewed. The ongoing challenge is to find effective ways of ensuring that Māori are encouraged to maintain their traditional respect for the power of water and their traditional skills in avoiding its potential dangers.

Endnotes

1. The New Zealand Fire Service has already used this model of education to good effect by producing a Māori language fire safety resource called *Maui tinei ahi* (Get Firewise).

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Swatow: The old town's colonial centre

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Abstract

The old city of *Swatow*, a delta part at the confluence of the rivers *Han*, *Ron* and *Lian* rivers in north-eastern *Guangdong* Province of southern China, was built using colonial architectural features. Most of these buildings are now in poor condition. Unless a decision to protect and restore them is taken soon, they will be lost. This photo reportage records a selection of street scenes in old *Swatow* in late 2007.

Introduction and background

The former city of *Swatow* (the common English name) is known as *Shantou* (the pinyin system of Chinese pronunciation) or *Shan-t'ou* (the Wade/Giles system of Chinese pronunciation) and owes its existence to the outcome of the Second Opium War of 1856 - 1860.³ *Swatow* is a delta port at the confluence of the *Han*, *Ron* and *Lian* rivers in north-eastern *Guangdong* Province of southern China. Three hundred kilometres to the south is Hong Kong; Fujian Province lies immediately to the north, and to the west are the plains of *Chaoshan*. Taiwan faces the city from across the Taiwan Straits. About 12 kilometres to the east of the city is the mouth of the Han River, which, along with its tributary, the Mei, drain much of *Guangdong* and southern *Fujian* before emptying into the South China Sea. Before the area was opened to foreign trade, there was no city of *Swatow* but rather only a small community of fishermen and farmers.⁴

What do we know of early *Swatow*? During the *Song* Dynasty⁵, *Swatow* was part of *Tuojiang* City in *Jieyang* District. During the *Yuan* Dynasty⁶, it came to be called *Xialing* and around 1563 became part of *Chenghai* District in the *Chao* Prefecture of *Chaozhou*. By 1574, the area was called *Shashan Ping*, but by the 17th century it was more commonly referred to as *Sha Shan Tou Pao Tai*, which was later shortened to *Shantou*. During these early times, the area around *Shantou* was of little economic significance and had few people (Zheng, 2003). *Swatow* city came into being at the request of the Americans who, in late 1859, asked the *Ch'ing* authorities to designate the area as an open port for international trade and to allow foreign residence.⁷

In 1860, *Swatow* became a free port. As a 'Treaty Port', *Swatow* quickly became an important centre for the importation and distribution of opium and a recruitment centre for contracted émigré labour.⁸ Commonly known as 'the Coolie trade', contracted labour had originally been centred in *Amoy* but the business became increasingly centered in *Swatow*. The trade was subject to systematic abuse, including inflated debt for outbound passage, monopoly prices for board, food and provisions, artificially low wages and rigged gambling. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Chinese émigrés became 'free labourers', coming and going from China as they liked, working for whom they chose and repatriating significant amounts of money to their hometown.⁹ Very quickly the *Hokkiens* and *Teochews* of *Chaoshan* (The *Chaochow* and *Swatow* area) became influential throughout South East Asia and their

commercial acumen was increasingly influential in the mines, plantations and trading posts of Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Singapore, Borneo, the Philippine Islands, The Dutch East Indies, Hawaii, French Polynesia, New Guinea, German New Guinea and Peru as well as in the Australasian and Californian goldfields and on the trans-continental railways of Canada and the United States (Willmott, 2004). Put simply, *Swatow's* prosperity was built on the profits of opium and contracted émigré labour and on the returns from the investment of repatriated savings.¹⁰

Swatow became a modern city in 1919 and was separated from *Chenghai* in 1921. By the 1930s, the Port of *Swatow* was the third largest in China and the city continued to flourish until the Japanese occupation and the dislocation of World War II. By the time the People's Republic was established in 1949, the city's fortunes were in decline and it was not until 1979, when *Swatow* became a 'Special Economic Zone', that prospects slowly turned for the better. Direct foreign investment returned and today thousands of small companies specializing in light industry are exporting their products worldwide. There is also some heavy industry, such as shipbuilding, but food processing and fishing are the mainstay of the regional economy. In recent years, a number of well-known foreign firms have located in *Swatow*.¹¹ And *Shantou* University, which is privately funded, is one of the best universities in Guangdong Province. With a city population of around 1.2 million and the greater metropolitan area having approximately 4.7 million residents, *Swatow* is now beginning to regain its former significance and importance. The city has jurisdiction over the six districts of *Longhu*, *Jinping*, *Haojiang*, *Chenghai*, *Chaoyang*, *Chaonan* and *Nan'ao*.

It is said that the character and culture of the *Chaoshan* people is unique in China. For centuries more Chinese émigrés originated from *Chaoshan* than any other area. Their adventurous and entrepreneurial attitude, along with their industriousness and commercial acumen, enabled them to prosper at home and abroad and they constitute a significant proportion of most overseas Chinese communities. Proud of their language, cuisine, music and family values and venerating good conversation and friendship, the *Chaoshan* people symbolically express their kinship through the drinking of *Gongfu Cha* (tea). And there is another important trait common to the *Chaoshan* people. They have a generous spirit. On returning to China, they would often build a new home, almost always in the European colonial style. And they would donate generously to community affairs, financially supporting schools, hospitals and universities. They truly were agents of change and development.

The old city of *Swatow* was built using many colonial architectural features, especially European arched windows, European balconies and variations of the Greek column.¹² But unlike *Gulangyu*, where carved Chinese unicorns, phoenixes and Taoist 'taiji' diagrams were common, the special features of *Swatow* architecture are more plain and less flamboyant. There were colonial institutions too: a German medical centre, an American Christian church, the trading houses of *Swire* and *Jardines*, Hong Kong Bank and the British Consulate. The Consulate remains on *Queshi* Island, several kilometers to the east of the old city, but is in poor condition. And although there was some talk in 2004 of refurbishing the Consulate to become an historical museum, there is no evidence of any change yet. Also on *Queshi* Island, but directly opposite the old city, prominent members of the foreign community had houses. Unfortunately, although most of the city's early buildings are still standing, they are

generally not in good condition. Unless a decision to protect and restore them is taken soon they will be lost to natural weathering, typhoon damage and neglect.

The 'International Settlements' of *Gulangyu* (Scott, 2006a) and *Shamian* (Scott, 2006b) are both in better condition than the 'Open City' of old *Swatow*. But old *Swatow* is not beyond repair. Although it occupies a much larger area than *Shamian*¹³ in *Canton* (and probably slightly larger area than *Gulangyu*¹⁴ in *Amoy*), the heritage value of China's third largest 19th century port should not be overlooked. There are also areas of *Swatow* beyond the city centre that could have important heritage value. We hope the city chooses to retain its colonial architecture as already many visitors can be seen wandering these historic streets with their cameras and clearly Chinese people have a real interest in these buildings. Old *Swatow* is an important part of China's history. This photo reportage records a selection of street scenes in old *Swatow* in late 2007. Unless positive action is taken to preserve these buildings, photo reportage may be all that remains to us in the future.

Plate 1: 39 Anping Rd



Plate 2: 46 Anping Rd



Plate 3: 23 Guoping Rd



Plate 4: 37 Guoping Rd



Plate 5: 40 Guoping Rd



Plate 6: 91 Guoping Rd



Plate 7: 112 Guoping Rd



Plate 8: 3 Minzu Rd



Plate 9: 49 Shangping Rd



Plate 10: 67 Shangping Rd



Plate 11: 67 Shangping Rd



Plate 12: 109 Shanpai Rd



Plate 13: 31 Shengping Rd

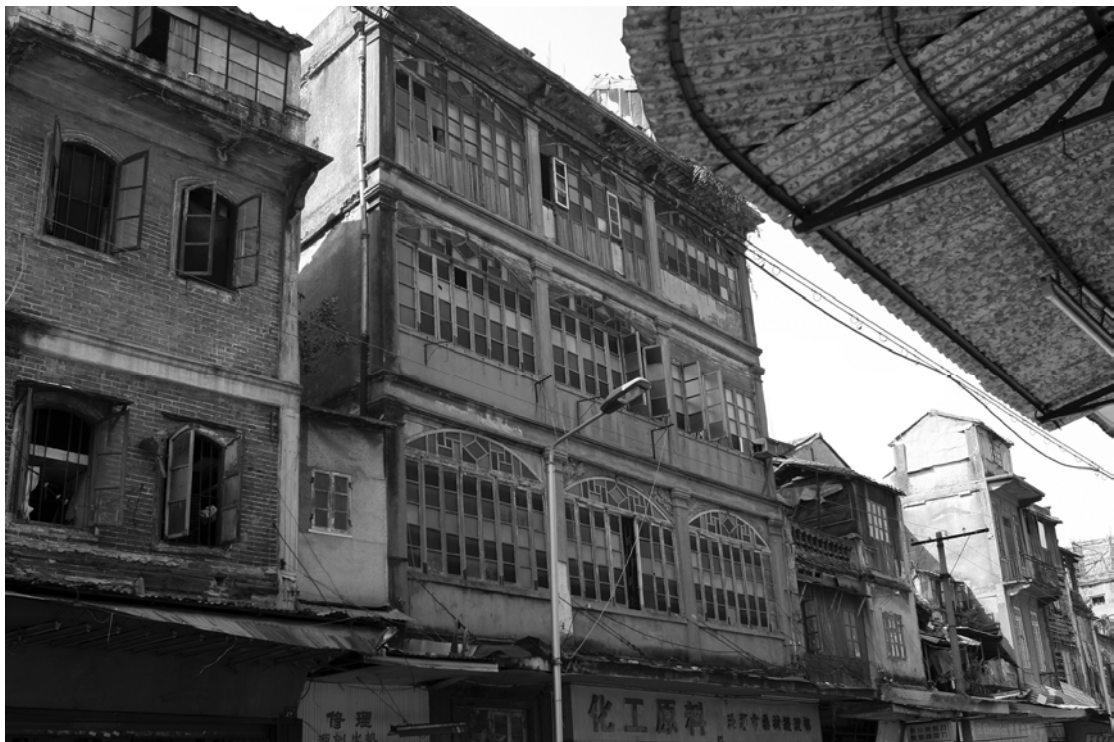


Plate 14: 29 Tongping Rd



Plate 15: 13 Wufu Rd



Plate 16: 68 Wufu Rd



Plate 17: 109 Yongtai Rd



Plate 18: 120 Yongxingjie Rd



Plate 19: 38 Zhenbang Rd



Plate 20: 62 Zhiping Rd



Endnotes

1. Photographs, research and text
2. Research and text
3. The Second Opium War broke out following the ‘Arrow Incident’ of 1856. *Guangzhou* and *Tientsin* were taken by French and British forces. Britain, France, the U.S.A. and Russia were party to the 1858 Treaty of *Tientsin* under which China agreed to open 11 more ports to foreign trade, agreed to accept foreign legations in Peking, legalized the importation of opium and accepted Christian missions in China. Due to China’s hesitation to enact the agreement, the war was renewed in 1859. Britain and France took *Peking*. The *Peking* Convention of 1860 reaffirmed the 1858 Treaty of *Tientsin* and concluded hostilities. In late 1859, the U.S.A. had petitioned the *Ch’ing* authorities for *Swatow* to become an open port and in 1860 it was given this status.
4. We could not find any major publications of early photographs of *Swatow*. There is, however, a good general pictorial reference of conditions in China during the late 19th century by Shen Jiawei with a translation by Dou Kun, *Old China through G.E. Morrison’s Eyes* (2005).
5. The *Song* Dynasty was a ruling dynasty in China between 960-1279 CE.
6. The *Yuan* Dynasty was a ruling dynasty in China between 1271-1368. The *Yuan* Dynasty was officially established on 1271 but it did not take control of all China until 1279.
7. The First Opium War ended with the signing of the Treaty of *Nanking* (1842) and the British Supplementary Treaty of the *Bogue* (1843) which provided that the ports of *Canton* (*Guangzhou*), *Amoy* (*Xiamen*), *Foochow* (*Fuzhou*), *Ningpo* (*Ningbo*), and *Shanghai* should be open to British trade and residence and that *Hong Kong* be ceded to Britain.
8. Some academics, including Harry Gelber, do not believe that the opium trade had anything to do with the 1856 – 1860 war. However, one of the key elements of the 1860 settlement was that China agreed to legalize the importation of opium (see Gelber, 2006).
9. The *Chaoshan* Diaspora developed extensive business networks throughout South East Asia (Frost, 2003).

10. The Chinese Diaspora invested heavily in the opium trade throughout South East Asia as well as in the opium trade of Hong Kong and China (Wong, 2007).

11. Numerous 'World Top 500 Enterprises', including Chevron Texaco, Kodak, Henkel, Mitsubishi and Wal-mart, are based in *Shantou*.

12. *Windows:*

Windows can be Colonial, European, American, Gothic, Art Deco, Art Nouveau or Chinese and are made of wood, stone, concrete or brick. They can be single or double; wide or narrow; shuttered or unshuttered; arched, semi-circular or oval. Some are plain but others are ornamented with Eastern or Western designs or a combination of both. They may have small balconies with rows of potted plants similar to houses in the German countryside.

Doric Columns:

Of the three types of column found in Greece, Doric columns are the simplest. They have a 'capital', which is the top or crown, made of a circle topped by a square. The shaft, which is the tall part of the column, is plain with 20 sides. There is no base. The look is plain but powerful. The area above the column is called the 'frieze' and usually has simple patterns. Above the columns are the 'metopes' (met-o-pee) and 'triglyphs'. The metope is a plain, smooth stone section between triglyphs. Sometimes the metopes have statues of heroes or gods on them. The triglyphs are patterns of three vertical lines between the metopes.

Ionic Columns:

The Ionic style is more decorative than the Doric. Ionic shafts are taller than Doric ones so that the columns look slender. They also have flutes, which are lines carved into them from top to bottom. The shafts also have entasis, which is a little bulge in the column to make the column look straight from a distance. The frieze is plain. The bases are large and look like stacked rings. Ionic capitals have scrolls and paired scrolling volutes above the shaft.

Corinthian Columns:

The Corinthian column is the most decorative and also uses entasis to make the shafts look straight. The Corinthian capitals have flowers and leaves below a small scroll. The shaft has flutes and the base is similar to the Ionian. However, unlike Doric and Ionian cornices, which are at a slant, Corinthian roofs are flat.

13. Shamian Island is only 1,000 metres by 400 metres or 450 metres if Queen Victoria's Garden is included.

14. Gulangyu is 3 kilometres by 0.6 kilometres.

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TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO THE SCHOOL OF MĀORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT



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Dean's Welcome

Nau mai, haere mai kia whakatauhia ngā hua ora o te puawānanga o Te Wao Nui a Tāne ki runga i a koutou.

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) aims to lead the way in teaching and learning, research and development of mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge. Underpinning our School activities is commitment to the advancement of indigenous peoples. Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao is distinctive in that it actively promotes Māori, Pacific and indigenous people's cultural and development issues through its teachings. With our quest for knowledge, Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao is committed to building long term relationships. Our School aims to provide life long learning opportunities and to prepare our students for successful careers. This will also enhance the values of manaakitanga, mana and aroha. We welcome all to join our whānau at Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao.

Professor Aroha Yates-Smith
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

The School consists of several departments that contribute to our vision of being the leading school of excellence in the teaching and learning, research and development of Mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge:

- * Te Aka Reo
- * Te Aka Tikanga
- * Te Whakapiki i te Reo
- * Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

Te Aka Reo and Te Aka Tikanga

Our School was founded on the strong teachings of Te Reo (Māori Language) and Tikanga (Māori Protocol or Traditions). It is through the teachings of language and traditions that the School aims to maintain and develop the cultural identity of Māori as indigenous peoples of New Zealand.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Staff at our School are involved in a wide range of activities outside of their teaching duties. Activities such as iwi/hapū management and treaty negotiations, kapa haka and other Māori performing arts, and visual arts, which all contribute to the teachings and learning within Te Aka Reo and Te Aka Tikanga.

By maintaining and developing Māori cultural identity, the School plays an important role in indigenous nation building in New Zealand. Aka Tikanga offers the opportunity for incorporating the international dimensions of development issues for our School. Alongside the Māori development issues, the department offers learning about other indigenous peoples and the challenges they face in nation building. The department provides a multidisciplinary approach to learning by offering courses from a wide range of fields that relate to issues of development.

For more information see:

<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd/departments/teakareo>

or

<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd/departments/teakatikanga>

Te Whakapiki i Te Reo

Te Whakapiki i te Reo offers practicing teachers the opportunity to enhance and develop their language proficiency and competency. The course further seeks to develop language skills for the delivery of Māori as a second language. This service helps the School to achieve the promotion and development of te Reo outside and beyond the tertiary level of education.

For more information see:

<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd/departments/tewhakapikiitereo>

Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

The strategic goal of the Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research is to uphold the University's commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi by becoming a centre of research excellence capable of fostering and facilitating the self-determination, self-governance and development efforts of indigenous peoples in New Zealand, Australia, and Pacific Rim countries generally. Its research and development activities will be supported and extended through research scholarships, and through the provision of opportunities for emerging scholars to conduct doctoral and post-doctoral research.

The Centre aims to form strategic alliances with institutions involved in relevant research activities both within New Zealand and overseas. It also aims to conduct research in collaboration with staff of these institutions, provide an advisory service, and facilitate the dissemination and publication of research and development findings. The Centre works to facilitate academic exchanges, conferences, hui, seminars and convocations. The Centre is also committed to working in the community, particularly on Waitangi claims and resource management issues. In cooperating to support and conduct research and to provide research scholarships, the Centre will build upon the University's existing reputation for excellence in research on Mātauranga Māori, Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori, Māori and Pacific Development, and comparative indigenous studies.

For more information see:

<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd/departments/cmpdr>

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General

Manuscripts should be in Times 12 cpi with 1.5 spacing and fully justified. There should be the equivalent of one line left between paragraphs within sections and new paragraphs should not be indented. Articles that are 20 pages in length or shorter are preferred. The manuscript should **NOT** have numbered pages but should have a footer on each page with the first three words of the title.

Title

The title should be in Times 12 cpi boldface and should be centred on the page. The title should indicate as clearly as possible the nature of the content of the manuscript. All content words of the title are to have an initial capital letter.

Abstract

Each article must include an abstract of not more than 200 words. The heading Abstract should be in Times 12 cpi boldface, and centered.

Headings

Level 1 headings should be capitalized in the same way as the main title, and centered. The font used is Times 12 boldface. The format for *level 2* headings is the same as for *level 1* headings except that the font is Times 11, and the heading is justified to the left of the column. There should be the equivalent of a one line space between level 1 and level 2 headings and the following text. The format for *level 3* headings is the same as for level 2 headings, except that the font is Times 10, and there should be no space left between the heading and the text.

References within the text

All references within the text should be placed in parentheses containing the author's surname followed by a comma and a space before the date of publication (Jones, 1999). If the sentence already includes the author's name, then it is necessary only to put the date in parentheses: Jones (1999). When several works are cited, each entry should be separated by a semicolon: (Jones, 1999; Peters, 1995; Simon, 1993). When a reference has more than three authors, cite only the name of the first author followed by *et al* in every subsequent reference to the same work. When including page references, separate them from the date by a comma and a space (Jones, 1999, pp. 7 – 14). Page numbers should be indicated as follows: Peters (1999, p. 1), Jones (1998, pp. 4 - 7).

Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number¹ in superscript. They should be in Times 9, and appear together at the end of the article and before the reference list.

Tables and Figures

All tables and figures should be centered in the manuscript. Tables and figures should be numbered in the text, and should be preceded by a caption in Times 12 cpi italic. The equivalent of one line space should be left between captions and the tables or figures to which they refer. Captions and the tables or figures to which they refer should always appear together on the same page.

References

References should be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article. The title of the section, 'References', should be a *level 1 heading*. The first line of each bibliographical reference must be justified to the left of the column, and the rest of the entry should be indented five spaces. The following examples (of fictitious references) illustrate the format required for conference proceedings, books, journals, articles, Ph.D. theses, and chapters of books respectively:

- Jones, L. E. (1999). Marae Protocol. In *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society for Māori Language Revitalisation* (pp. 71 -- 133). Wellington, NZ: Te Rapa Books.
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The editors will respect the decisions made by authors in relation to their use of the macron in text written in English and/or Maori. Where Maori words are included by the editors themselves in text written in English, the macron will not be used in cases where a particular word (such as, for example, the word *Maori* itself) is deemed by the editors to have been fully integrated into New Zealand English. Thus, the macron is not used in the title of the Journal.

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Each manuscript should be submitted on white A4 paper (3 copies) and sent to the Production Editor (Dr. Winifred Crombie) at *Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao* (the School of Māori and Pacific Development), *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (University of Waikato), Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

The manuscript should be accompanied by a Word Disk and/or also sent by email attachment to <crombie@waikato.ac.nz>. Author's names should **NOT** be included in the manuscript but should be indicated in an accompanying letter in which institutional affiliations, institutional addresses, email addresses and phone and fax numbers are also included. The accompanying letter should indicate clearly whether the content of the manuscript has, in the same or similar form, either (a) been delivered as a conference paper and, if so, where and when, or (b) been produced or published in any other context and, if so, where and when.

Acknowledgments

Place all acknowledgements (including those concerning research grants and funding) in a separate section at the end of the article.
