

HUI E! TĀIKI E!

United and ready to progress the purpose

*Robert Pouwhare**

Abstract

Pōwhiri has a long history and generates deeper meanings beyond the formal enactment of welcome. What happens when this ritual is transferred into contemporary environments, especially those beyond the traditional marae? In particular, how might the performance of this ritual as adapted to suit objectives beyond its ritual origins be seen, even so, to reconstruct and reinforce the sense of identity, communality and belonging—who we are and how we come together—that pōwhiri was evolved to engender? The act of performing pōwhiri itself creates a sense of marae—a kind of “virtual” or “alt-marae”—regardless of the actual setting. Excerpts from my documentary series *Mata Hou: Marae* show how pōwhiri have been adapted to suit modern demands in varying circumstances and environments, including marae, kōhanga reo, Parliament and other ātea. Through such adaptations, pōwhiri ethos can be sustained now, in the 21st century and the aftermath of colonisation.

Keywords

Pōwhiri, marae, tūrangawaewae, communitas, Māori identity, belonging

Introduction

Ko Maungapōhatu te maunga
Ko Waikaremoana te moana
Ko Tūhoe te iwi

(Maungapōhatu is the mountain
Waikaremoana is the lake
Tūhoe is the tribe) (All translations, unless
otherwise indicated, are my own.)

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These pepeha of my iwi track the trajectory of a people over hundreds of years and reflect the lands, the mountains, the lakes and the rivers to which we belong. The pepeha above begins deep within the Urewera rainforest. When we emerged in times of peace to the next stage of settlement on the banks of the Rangitāiki River on the lands at Te Houhi, the pepeha became:

Ko Hikurangi te maunga
Ko Rangitāiki te awa
Ko Te Houhi te whenua
Ko Ngāti Haka te iwi

(Hikurangi is the mountain
Rangitāiki is the river
Te Houhi is the land
Ngāti Haka is the tribe)

Later, when the early colonisers arrived with a voracious appetite for land, our people were forcefully evicted at the point of guns from our ancestral land to the lower and more inferior lands at Waiohau. The pepeha changed to:

Ko Hikurangi te maunga
Ko Rangitāiki te awa
Ko Waiohau te whenua
Ko Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu te iwi

(Hikurangi is the mountain
Rangitāiki is the river
Waiohau is the land
Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu is the tribe)

From these changes to the pepeha we can see the progressive transformation of the way our iwi identified itself as we moved through the landscape to find ourselves at home in new environments. Each time we ceased to belong to a place, we created a new sense of belonging for ourselves and began to incorporate the place and our belonging into everyday and ritual exchanges, in the way we mihi, in waiata and haka, and in whaikōrero—that is, in performance. As such, pepeha are useful figures

of speech to reveal ideas of belonging, identity and, in the case of our iwi, traumatic changing circumstances when we were dispossessed of thousands of acres of land through fraud and the apparatuses of the State and Crown.

The powerful forces of the Crown, its military and settlers—that is, the hegemony of the State—forced us to our current marae at Waiohau in the late 1800s. Despite our losses and trauma, over time we made ourselves at home there, in large part by carrying on our rituals. Most importantly, we have continued to perform pōwhiri, the rituals of encounter, by which we welcome our manuhiri to our marae, where we conduct important meetings, celebrate life and farewell our dead. In the 15th and 16th centuries, when we lived in the safety of the mountains, we pōwhiri all visitors to the marae. In the 19th century, when confronted by colonial troops at Te Houhi, we also performed pōwhiri even to welcome the enemy. That is, even in times of hostility, our people operated within the ritual space created by pōwhiri and other customary understandings that require us to treat manuhiri with respect, as when during warfare our wāhine would cross the lines to offer fallen soldiers water. Now in the 21st century at Waiohau we continue to perform pōwhiri, using pepeha and whaikōrero to reinforce our history and a sense of belonging to the land and the environment. When we perform pōwhiri, wherever we perform pōwhiri, at the end of the speaking, we announce “Hui e! Tāiki e!” to join our voices in common cause, united and ready to pursue the kaupapa of the hui that follows.

In addition to working within a Kaupapa Māori framework—that is, within a Māori worldview, knowledge and academic understandings (G. H. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 2013)—this paper will engage constructively with Victor Turner’s *The Ritual Process*. In his foreword to the book, Roger Abrahams explains that, as an influential British cultural anthropologist writing in the mid-20th century, Turner “saw in ritual the operation of the ‘the

work of the gods’—but work in the sense only of how a group develops ways for channelling common energies and endowing the effort with a sense of moral purpose” (Turner, 1969, p. vi). According to Monica Wilson, “Rituals reveal values at their deepest level . . . men express in ritual what moves them most, and since the form of expression is conventionalised and obligatory, it is the values of the group that are revealed” (as cited in Turner, 1969, p. 6). For Turner (1969), as for Wilson, the study of ritual provides “the key to an understanding of the essential constitution of human societies” (p. 6).

In *The Ritual Process*, Turner (1969) comes to focus on the way ritual performance provokes a sense of *communitas*, that is, “a relationship between concrete, historical, idiosyncratic individuals” (p. 131). Following Turner, I want to show here how pōwhiri sets the stage for a “direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities” (Turner, 1969, p. 132). Instead of creating “a model of society as a homogeneous, unstructured *communitas*, whose boundaries are ideally coterminous with those of the human species” (Turner, 1969, p. 132), pōwhiri has it both ways: recognising belonging of different groups to a common humanity, while also acknowledging differences between peoples.

This paper examines excerpts from *Mata Hou: Marae* (Tatham & Pouwhare, 2010), a television documentary series I directed for Māori Television. The documentary demonstrates that pōwhiri has retained the essential traits and characteristics of ritual, along with its power. Here I want to show how we as Māori continue to observe the protocols and etiquette, including wero, karanga, whaikōrero, waiata, hongī, koha and kai, that govern engagement between host and guest, and friend and foe. For example, in karanga we hear the beginnings of a dialogic exchange between hosts and visitors, as the women call upon the spirits and the ancestors to join their descendants in the physical realm. In the documentary, we see pōwhiri performed

in diverse locations, on the marae and off. It allows us to see how pōwhiri is transportable, flexible and malleable, while at the same time reinforcing identity and ideas of belonging that are, as they have been for generations, steeped in our tikanga and kawa.

What happens when we take pōwhiri away from the marae? How do we adapt the rituals, and how then does the performance of pōwhiri in other environments still reinforce ideas of identity and belonging? Here, I will use vignettes from *Mata Hou: Marae* that show what happens when I guide a group of international visitors on a trip throughout Aotearoa as they are welcomed at a number of different venues and we see pōwhiri conducted in diverse environments. The documentary begins in Ra‘iātea Tahiti, where a pōwhiri is conducted. We move to Mo‘orea, another island where the second pōwhiri is performed. We then come to Aotearoa with the Tahitian contingent and they are welcomed in a paddock at Ruatoki, at a marae in Waiohau, at a tertiary institute in Hastings and at Parliament in Wellington. In my analysis, we see the ways in which pōwhiri retains its essential power and, in fact, creates a metaphysical “marae”. In my experience, pōwhiri does not require a marae to be efficacious. Rather, the ritual itself creates our sense of the environment as being sacred and dedicated to the purpose.

A marae is a physical space with definitive characteristics, above all the whareniui and its ātea, that is, the meeting house and its sacred space at the front. A marae is also, however, a metaphysical place, a place of the gods, defined by whenua and tangata who belong to the whenua. It is the place where the relationship between the people and our tīpuna and atua is negotiated via ritual. That is, on the ātea we call to our tīpuna and atua to be with us as the manuhiri approach. We think of a marae casually in the physical sense, but the ritual is key to its manifestation.

McIntosh and Johnson (2005), following Mason Durie (1999), tell us that the “*marae* is

an expression of Maori autonomy and authority and is often the most authentic centre in terms of Maori cultural values and symbolism” (p. 39, italics in original). They conclude, “As such, all visitors to a *marae* must be welcomed on to the *marae* by the *powhiri* (welcoming) process according to traditional Maori *tikanga* (values) and *kawa* (protocols)” (McIntosh & Johnson, 2005, p. 39, italics in original). Pōwhiri constructs and contains relationships between different groups of people. Its enactment creates a platform for constructive engagement, even (perhaps especially) in the context of conflict, so that the actions that follow are directed towards building consensus and agreement in ways that take into account diverse cultural, social and political orientations.

E kore koe e ngaro he kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea

In the documentary, our journey begins on an island called Ra‘iatea, situated in one of five archipelagos of French Polynesia. Its ancient name is Havai‘i. Te Hono E Tau I Te Hono Aui, a political party from Tahiti-nui, invited us to make a pilgrimage to the most sacred part of Polynesia—Taputapuātea—which is for us

the centre of the universe, as Mecca is for the Muslim world. Taputapuātea (see Figure 1) is an ancient *marae*, a stone structure, where it is believed that the great waka of the earliest Māori ancestors met for ceremonial rituals before embarking on the long and arduous journey to Aotearoa.

A small group including Te Ariki Morehu, Professor Pou Temara, his wife Hema, Kui Wano Annette Sykes, Tūhoe Tamaiparea, Marunui Gupwell Hare, Robert Hare (cameraman), Gary Tatham (producer) and I (director), accompanied by Te Hono e Tau, were welcomed onto the *marae* at Taputapuātea by a chief who belonged to that land, Marehau Kaina Tavaearii. (The cameraman was considered *manuhiri*, and permitted to film the pōwhiri in that role.) The pōwhiri was simple, with the chief from Rangīātea calling out “Haere mai! Haere mai!” We were struck by its simplicity but overawed by the heavy weight of history lingering over the *marae*. The hot tropical sun beat down on us as we neared the old man. Our eyes were focused on the slabs of stone on the ground and the tuahu at the far end of the *marae*.

Our women responded with *karanga* and *tangi*, a custom not practised by the Tahitians. Pou Temara, as one of our leaders, performed



FIGURE 1 Taputapuātea

a waerea and a karakia as we neared the chief. Not knowing what was going to happen, we maintained our distance. Pou continued to brandish a taiaha he had brought to present as a koha as the old chief uttered words of welcome. When the tangi and karakia had finished, the chief launched into a whaikōrero that explained the significance of Taputapuātea and welcomed us back to our homelands.

On our side, Te Ariki Morehu then responded by calling the spirits of our ancestors to unite with us all at this most powerful and symbolic moment. We followed his whaikōrero with a traditional waiata. Pou concluded the pōwhiri with a final flourish, presenting the chief with the gift of the taiaha. Although the hongī is not performed as part of pōwhiri in Tahiti, our hosts accepted our instigation of this ritual act, thus making us at home for the period of our visit, after which we were free to wander over the ancient structure. What was effected through the act of pōwhiri was therefore a coming together of diverse ritual practices and understandings, to create a sense of belonging for everyone on this special ātea. At Taputapuātea we were struck with the familiarity of our languages, Maohi and Māori. Both parties, host and visitor, automatically deferred to polar positions until the ceremonies had concluded. It seemed that the tyranny of time had not eroded the etiquette of first encounters.

Post the arrival of Europeans, and their colonising forces, the Tahitians no longer use Taputapuātea as a meeting place. In fact, most other marae have been abandoned, and contemporary society meets at church or halls in Papeete. Thus, it felt to us as a powerful form of redress, to enact the rituals of pōwhiri at Taputapuātea. In creating *communitas*, we were reinforcing the bonds between our peoples. By invoking our common *tīpuna*, the ancient marae itself, this very sacred—*tapu-tapu*—place, was brought into the present as a living being. In his foreword to *The Ritual Process*, Abrahams reminds us of Turner's proposition that ritual is "the work of the gods" (Turner,

1969, p. vi). At Rangiātea, the essential rituals of welcome were played out against a vivid landscape where, through pōwhiri, the ancient stone structures were made to welcome us into the presence of gods, ancestors, time and space.

Mo'orea marae mano

We came next to Mo'orea, another island in Tahiti. The name had a certain resonance for our chief, Te Ariki Morehu. There is land in Rotorua called Mourea; as it sounds like Mo'orea we believe his waka, Te Arawa, originated from there. When we arrived on Mo'orea we were taken deep into the forest to another marae built of stone. It was much like Taputapuātea, but not in the same pristine condition, being (for the most part) overgrown with vines and shrubs, and there were tourists lingering as we approached.

Not knowing what was to take place, we nonetheless persevered in the belief that our ancient customs would guide us. As we drew near to the stone structure, we saw a magnificent old man, bedecked with feather headdress and woven garments, staff in hand, standing alone at the other end of the marae. He called out words of welcome. His demeanour and stance of dignity confirmed for us that he was a high chief. We were introduced afterwards to Papa Matarau (see Figure 2), a very important chief recognised throughout Tahiti.

Again, our party felt compelled to perform our roles in pōwhiri as we might in a place where we belong. Our women issued forth with karanga and tangi, which deeply moved Matarau as well as the other Tahitians who accompanied us. The tourists standing on the outside a short way from the marae were in shock to find themselves witness to an act not played out for their benefit. It was a genuine exchange punctuated with high pitches of wailing and karakia echoing around the ancient forest.

When everything had settled, Matarau gave



FIGURE 2 Papa Matarau

his whaikōrero, identifying his ancestors and explaining the significance of that marae to the people of Mo'orea. Pou, in response, performed a karakia, calling out, "Ko wai te ingoa o tēnei marae?" Without hesitation, as if our peoples had not been separated for generations by space and time, evolving languages and the diverse impacts of colonisation, Matarau responded, "Ko Ti'iroa!" This prompted Pou to complete his karakia.

Pōwhiri is generally followed by kai; that is, after performing in a sacred space, the tapu is lifted with the act of eating, which returns to the state of noa. We do not truly belong together in a place until we share water or food. Even in this far place, with only the chief to greet us, this ritual closure was enacted, as after the ceremonies we were taken to Cook's Bay for a magnificent feast. The irony of turning from such a remarkable invocation of ancient ritual in a place abandoned after colonisation did not escape us. James Cook, of course, was the vanguard of colonisation, the first English explorer to visit Aotearoa, and it was at another beach, Kealakekua, on a far flung island called Hawai'i, that he was killed by our Polynesian

cousins in retribution for his men's murder of a Hawai'ian chief (1779).

The gravitas of the pōwhiri was striking, heavily imbued with the mana and authority of the high chief Matarau. As he recited his whakapapa, we were reminded of our common bonds with each other stretching out over centuries. Ti'iroa bristled with mauri. The heavy scent of the mono'i flowers reminded us of a time when this marae was filled with women wearing garlands of tiare and their bodies perfumed with mono'i. Only the clicking of the tourist cameras broke the aura of the moment, reminding us of many realities: the history and present state of colonisation, as embodied by the marae, abandoned and left to decay for centuries, its mauri invisible to tourists who, interested only in its scenic value, were industriously converting it into an artefact of their journeys from afar.

He ao! He ao! He ao-tea-roa!

In October 2003, Te Hono E Tau I Te Hono Aui (see Figure 3) approached us to help organise a fact-finding tour around New Zealand



FIGURE 3 Te Hono E Tau I Te Hono Aui

to explore the *kōhanga reo* phenomenon. The Tahitian concern was that their language, Maohi, was endangered and swamped by French and in particular that, increasingly, the youth communicated in French, not Maohi. This situation was familiar to us as Māori when we were confronted with the same issues identified in Benton's (1997) socio-linguistic report, which looked at data collected in 1973–1979 to observe that the Māori language was on the decline. In this significant report, Benton saw that the Māori language was in perilous decline with only a few pockets of fluent reo speakers left.

Te Hono E Tau I Te Hono Aui had become equally concerned with the situation in Tahiti, so much so that their language was, at the time they approached us, one of three political platforms upon which they based their political manifesto:

Te fenua
Te reo
Te parautia

(The land
The language
Justice)

When the Tahitian group came to study how Māori maintain our reo, they were given *pōwhiri* at each stage of their journey. I will examine a few examples from their trip to illustrate how *pōwhiri* creates *marae*, albeit perhaps as a simulacrum of the traditional idea of *marae* (Baudrillard, 1994). Here I am using “simulacrum” not to denigrate the “*marae*” that is brought forth as a result of the ritual, but to value it as a kind of “virtual” or “alt-*marae*”, both the idea and an idealisation of *marae*. For the purposes of this paper, I am using these words for the way they imply a kind of representation or parallel construction of the physical *marae*. My argument here is that *marae* can be recreated anywhere insofar as its being emerges from, and its conceptualisation serves to maintain, the ritual of encounter. That is, *pōwhiri* and *marae* are intimately, intrinsically and irrevocably intertwined: in performing *pōwhiri* we call on our image of *marae* whether or not we are in such a place, and we can only fulfil the expectations of *pōwhiri* by keeping *marae* in mind. What is enacted regardless is aimed towards establishing a sense of belonging and identity, while forging relationships, understanding and consensus among diverse peoples.

In 2003, our roles were reversed. The



FIGURE 4 Ruatoki Kōhanga Reo

Tahitian group who had hosted us in Tahiti, Te Hono E Tau, become the manuhiri and we, the tangata whenua. We took them to several kōhanga reo. I will focus now on the Ruatoki Kōhanga Reo, as an example of pōwhiri conducted away from marae.

Hurainga ko ngā rarauwhe
 Kia puta ko Ngā Pōtiki
 Ngā uri o Te Maunga
 Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu

(Fold back the fern fronds
 So that the Tūhoe people may emerge
 They are the descendants of the Mountain
 The Children of the Mist) (From the song
 composed by Hirini Melbourne.)

When the delegation arrived in the valley of Ruatoki, the kōhanga was in session, and we had to wait outside. Ruatoki is a stronghold of the fierce Tūhoe tribe located in the Urewera forest. In the valley, there are 11 marae. But we were not on a marae. Instead, when the kōhanga came out of their classrooms, the old people with them set up a kind of virtual marae in the paddock in front of the buildings. We expected to be invited to enter the complex.

Instead, the old people set up a pae and seats on two sides, for themselves as tangata whenua and, separated by an ātea, for the visitors from Tahiti opposite.

They proceeded to karanga us into this paddock, this ad hoc marae space, with the kōhanga also taking part in the pōwhiri. When the whaikōrero started, the chief speaker immediately launched into a verbal attack on me for not taking our special visitors to the marae proper to welcome them. However, there was little they could do, other than to accept that the Tahitians were coming to see the kōhanga in action, so they had to accept that the rituals had to be conducted in a paddock—a low, but necessary accommodation to the circumstances we had created.

In spite of the speaker's disapproval, we can see from the film that having established the key aspects of marae both through the physical demarcation of the areas in the paddock and through our performance of pōwhiri within that space, we had created for ourselves a virtual marae with similar spiritual and social effects. We called on the tīpuna and the atua, and felt their presence with us. The old people, in their speeches, whakapapa to their mountains and rivers, and in this, connected themselves to

the whakapapa of the Mataatua waka coming from Tahiti. The Tahitians responded in Maohi, with their whakapapa to their lands and history, and then explained the purpose of their visit. Even in a paddock, by articulating the space and performing the ritual elements of karanga, whaikōrero, whakapapa and waiata, we reified our senses of identity, communality and belonging.

Tao ake nei Tao ake nei / Te Umutaoroa / Ki Te Houhi

Next on the itinerary was Waiohau, my marae. The Tahitians assembled at the gate where a wero was issued to the visitors. The karanga was raised, and the Tahitians were met with a haka pōwhiri, on the ātea of Tama-ki-Hikurangi, performed by the hapū and children, who enacted the famous Tūhoe haka, 'Ko te Pūru', as a mark of respect for the status of these distinguished guests. The eponymous ancestor, Tama-ki-Hikurangi, after whom the meeting house is named, had the distinction of living in our area and going back into the Pacific, to Hawaiki, to obtain the kūmara. He eventually returned as the high priest and navigator on the Mataatua canoe. In contrast to our previous welcome, this was a very traditional pōwhiri conducted on a traditional marae. The Waiohau pōwhiri demonstrated that Tūhoe and Tahitians had credible and unmistakable ancestral links with Hawaiki through our tipuna, Tama-ki-Hikurangi.

What was distinctive and significant for our Tahitian manuhiri was that our people refuse to use English on the marae during pōwhiri. Their own struggle to maintain their language and rituals was met by our commitment to using the ritual as a way of sustaining both customary practices and above all the reo. The involvement of our young people, in kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa in the ritual performance itself, underscored the effectiveness of our approach. While my paper is more properly about the

resilience of Māori culture through the practice of pōwhiri regardless of the environment in which it is performed, it is useful to pause and remember how vital it is to carry on these practices on our tūrangawaewae.

Te Whare Miere

After a quick stopover at the Eastern Institute of Technology in Hastings, we were hosted by Dr Joseph Te Rito and Ngāti Kahungunu. They conducted a pōwhiri and demonstrated that the marae was a critical part of the pedagogy of the learning environment. The final leg of the journey was to Wellington, with visits planned for Parliament, Te Taurawhiri and Te Kōhanga Reo Trust, the headquarters of the movement. For the purposes of this paper, I want to focus on the mihi whakatau that was performed at Parliament. Because they could not provide a karanga, a full pōwhiri was not possible; however, an ātea was established to delineate the space between tangata whenua and manuhiri. Members of Parliament greeted our Tahitian guests with whaikōrero, to which the Tahitians responded as if during pōwhiri, and waiata were exchanged.

In this way, the ritual space was created and maintained until tapu could be lifted and a transition to ordinary conversation brought about through the sharing of food. Thus, one might argue, we acted to decolonise the most colonial of institutional environments. Mere Berryman argues in her 2008 PhD thesis, *Repositioning within Indigenous Discourses of Transformation and Self-Determination*, that reclaiming Māori space and seeking to work with solutions that are informed by the wisdom of the pre-colonial Māori past is, in Linda Mead's words, "a way of decolonising the mind and is a critical part of recreating, restructuring a national and cultural consciousness" (as quoted in Berryman, 2008, p. 39).

Kia hiwa rā!

There was a time, according to Tama Nikora (as quoted in Tatham & Pouwhare, 2010), when our ancestors in Aotearoa once lived in pā tūwatawata, fortified marae on top of mountains, barricaded to keep intruders and enemies out. Pōwhiri were different then. The whakaarara resounded with a demand for vigilance when approached by others:

Kia hiwa ra, kia hiwa ra
 Kia hiwa i tena tuku
 Kia hiwa ra i tenei tuku
 Kia hiwa ra
 He taua i ara koua e hopukia
 Kei waho kei te tata
 E kimi ana e rapa ana
 Ina koia, e te iwi e!
 E ara e!

(Be watchful be alert
 Be on the alert in yonder terrace
 Be alert in this terrace
 O be watchful!
 Enemies have been detected at the outer
 stockade
 Seeking and searching
 Here they truly are
 O people
 Awake!) (Best, 1927, p. 111)

Nikora (2010) observes that in the past, Māori left the safety of the mountain tops to cultivate the flatlands in times of peace. Even with this transition and relocation, the pōwhiri continued to be a central part of social interaction, as on first encounters with strangers, the rituals enacted ascertained whether they came as friend or foe. In contemporary times the pōwhiri, the performance of these rituals, continues to be a pivotal part of the ceremonial, spiritual and social fabric of Māori society. Further, pōwhiri reinforces identity, communality and belonging.

He kōrero whakatepe

The resilience of the Māori people, language and culture can be traced in large part to knowing what is most important to hold on to, what can be discarded and what can be adapted. Coming down from the mountain tops, marae could be built wherever the people settled. The status of these marae as marae—home to the tīpuna and people, site of tūrangawaewae, was constructed and confirmed not simply by the physical structure—the carvings and design, the shape of space—but most importantly by the performance of pōwhiri, especially its core aspects: waerea, wero, karanga, tangi, whaikōrero, waiata, koha, hongī, and kai (Higgins, 2004). In essence, it is about welcoming visitors, providing shelter and hospitality, and ensuring a space to mourn the dead and to celebrate life. It was—and is—through pōwhiri that sacred space is created and sustained. In this, marae is both a place and an ideal. It can be anywhere, everywhere, anytime—a space for the “works of the gods” and the work of humans, a blueprint for the future.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
ātea	sacred space
atua	gods
E kore koe e ngaro	You will never be lost
he kākano i ruia	you are a seed sown in
mai i Rangiātea	Rangiātea
haere mai	come here, welcome
haka	dance, performance
hapū	subtribe
He ao! He ao! He	Behold there is Land! 'Tis
ao-tea-roa!	land! A land of the long
	white cloud! (attributed
	to Kuramarotini, wife of
	Kupe)
he kōrero	concluding words
whakatepe	

hongī	exchange of breath, by pressing noses	tangata whenua tangi	people of the land, hosts keening
hui	meeting	Tao ake nei Tao	This verse refers to a
Hui e! Tāiki e!	United and ready to progress the purpose	ake nei / Te Umutaoroa / Ki	prophecy attributed to Te Kooti a Rikirangi,
iwi	tribe	Te Houhi	the guerrilla prophet. It
kai	food, meal		speaks metaphorically
karakia	prayer		about a mythical
karanga	calls		umu (hangi, literally
kaupapa	topic		‘the oven of long-
Kaupapa Māori	Māori base topic/event/ enterprise run by Māori for Māori		cooking’) containing
kawa	iwi-specific protocols		eight powerful forces
kia hiwa rā	be alert		gifted to Ngāti Haka
koha	gift		Patuheuheu, my people,
kōhanga reo	language nest		in gratitude for our
Ko wai te ingoa o tēnei marae?	What is the name of this marae?	Te Arawa	sheltering him from colonial troops.
kūmara	sweet potato		confederation of tribes
kura kaupapa mana	immersion school prestige, status, authority; honour, respect	Te Taurawhiri Te Whare Miere	in the Rotorua lakes district
manuhiri	guests		The Māori Language Commission
marae	meeting place		the ‘Beehive’—the New
Mataatua	migration canoe from Hawaiki	tiare	Zealand Parliament building
mauri	life force	tikanga	gardenia
mihi	acknowledgement, greeting	tīpuna	cultural values
mihi whakatau	brief formal welcome	tuahu	ancestors
mono‘i	perfumed coconut oil	Tūhoe	altar
Mo‘orea marae mano	Mo‘orea of the numerous (thousand) marae	tūrangawaewae	tribe situated in Te
Ngāti Haka	subtribe of Tūhoe	waerea	Urewera rainforest and
noa	free from restrictions	wāhine	surrounding lands
pae	orators’ bench	waiata	homeland, sense of
pā tūwatawata	fortified mountain top marae	waka	identity
pepeha	tribal sayings	wero	protective incantation
pōwhiri	ritual of encounter	whaikōrero	women
reo	language	whakaarara	song, chanted poetry
tapu	sacred	whakapapa	canoes
taiaha	long-handled weapon	whareniui	traditional challenge
tangata	people	whenua	oratory
			the sentry’s cry
			genealogy, connections
			meeting house
			land

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