

# Maori Ancestral Sayings: A Juridical Role?

---

Joeliee Seed Pihama

**Te Mātāhauariki Institute  
Occasional Paper Series**

Number 10  
2005

**TE MĀTĀHAUARIKI**



# **Te Matahauariki Institute Occasional Paper Series**

**Number 10  
2005**

## **MĀORI ANCESTRAL SAYINGS: A JURIDICAL ROLE?**

***JOELIEE SEED-PIHAMA***

For further information or additional copies of the  
Occasional Papers please contact the publisher.

Published by

Te Mātāhauariki Institute  
The University of Waikato  
Private Bag 3105  
Hamilton, New Zealand

<http://www.lianz.waikato.ac.nz>

Telephone 64-7- 858 5033  
Facsimile 64-7-858 5032

This publication is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without permission from the publishers.

© Te Mātāhauariki Institute 2005

<http://www.lianz.waikato.ac.nz>

ISSN 1175-7256

**ISBN 0-9582648-0-5**



## Table of Contents

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	4
<b>THE MĀORI LEGAL SYSTEM</b> .....	5
<b>ANCESTRAL SAYINGS - TYPES</b> .....	7
<b>Whakataukī</b> .....	7
<b>Whakatauākī</b> .....	7
<b>Pepeha</b> .....	8
<b>ANCESTRAL SAYINGS - EXAMPLES</b> .....	9
<u>Customary Rights</u> .....	9
<b>Mana moana</b> .....	9
<b>Mana - rawa whenua</b> .....	9
<b>Mana whenua</b> .....	10
<b>Mana whenua – wāhine</b> .....	11
<u>Dispute Resolution</u> .....	12
<b>Houhou rongo</b> .....	12
<b>Mana tūpuna</b> .....	13
<u>Maintaining Social Harmony</u> .....	14
<b>Kōhuru</b> .....	15
<b>Patu tangata</b> .....	15
<b>Utu</b> .....	16
<u>Enforcement</u> .....	18
<b>Tapu</b> .....	18
<b>ANCESTRAL SAYINGS – CREATION AND USE</b> .....	19
<u>Creation</u> .....	19
<u>Application</u> .....	19
<u>Function</u> .....	20
<u>Language</u> .....	21
<b>THE TRANSLATION OF ANCESTRAL SAYINGS</b> .....	22
<u>Rau Harakeke, a translation analogy</u> .....	22
<u>A framework based on Māori concepts</u> .....	23
<b>Whakapapa</b> .....	23
<b>Tapu</b> .....	24

<b>Hapa</b> .....	25
<b>Whenua</b> .....	25
<b>Mana</b> .....	26
<b>Whanaungatanga</b> .....	27
<b>A CONTEMPORARY ROLE FOR ANCESTRAL SAYINGS</b> .....	28
<u>How can ancestral sayings contribute?</u> .....	29
<b>GLOSSARY</b> .....	31
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	33

# **Māori ancestral Sayings: a juridical role?**

By JOELIEE SEED-PIHAMA<sup>1</sup>

## **INTRODUCTION**

Two of the focal aims of Te Mātāhauariki Institute are a) to develop a compendium of references to concepts of customary Māori law and b) to hold wānanga with various Māori elders in order to establish an oral base of information on Māori concepts that the participants and the Institute can both draw from. The latter project is called Te Pū Wānanga and is the primary source of oral information for our compendium. We hope that the information thus gained will contribute to the establishment of socially inclusive laws and political and legal institutions in Aotearoa, which actualise the relationships implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi. This is the main and overall aim of Te Mātāhauariki.

In the course of conducting research it became clear that ancestral sayings played an important role in regulating behaviour within traditional Māori society. Various Pū Wānanga participants<sup>2</sup> recommended that the Institute should further explore Māori proverbs, or (as I term them - ancestral sayings), as a valuable resource of references to Māori customary law and values, a view that has also been expressed by other scholars.<sup>3</sup>

As the title suggests, this article will explore the juridical role that ancestral sayings played in traditional Māori society. As recorders of tradition, ancestral sayings may be used as windows through which information on past events, places, people and behaviour among other things can be observed. This article will provide several examples of ancestral sayings with discussion on the legal and/or political principles, tikanga and values to which they refer. The ways and places in which ancestral sayings can be applied and their role within contemporary Māori society will also be briefly discussed.

In order to assist those who are not competent in the Māori language, and also to assist with general understanding and interpretation, this paper provides the translation and

---

<sup>1</sup> JOELIEE SEED-PIHAMA is an assistant researcher for Te Mātāhauariki Institute at the University of Waikato. She has recently completed her Master of Arts in Māori and also holds a Post-Graduate Diploma in Translation and Interpretation and a Bachelor of Arts in Māori with first class honours from The University of Waikato.

▪ I would like to thank Dr Richard Benton and Dame Joan Metge for their assistance. Your suggestions and meticulous editing skills have been invaluable, kei runga rawa atu kōrua.

<sup>2</sup> Bennet, Vercoe and Morehu (2000:22-26), Turei (2001:33)

<sup>3</sup> Patterson (1992:46-7)

context (where possible) of each saying. The translation framework used to translate these sayings will be provided and explained.

In conclusion, the article will examine how these sayings might contribute to the establishment of socially inclusive political and legal institutions.

The sayings provided in this article have been chosen either to demonstrate the role these sayings play within juridical contexts such as the maintenance of social harmony, the enforcement of tikanga, the determination of customary rights, or because of the references they make to values and tikanga that were and often still are highly influential within Māori society<sup>4</sup>. Finally, it must be stressed that this article does not claim to cover all ancestral sayings, nor does it claim to provide examples and discussion on all of the values and tikanga within Māori society.

---

<sup>4</sup> This selection process also partially coincides with the list of concepts being explored by Te Mātāhauariki Institute within the Te Mātāpunenga compendium being developed.

## TRADITIONAL MĀORI SOCIETY & LAW

Traditional Māori society was founded on a belief system<sup>5</sup>, a wide reaching subscription to a set of ideals and values<sup>6</sup> that made up tikanga<sup>7</sup> Māori and embodied proper or commendable conduct according to ancestral law<sup>8</sup>. Also, as Mead points out Māori did not operate by rules or law alone, but lived by principles, values and ideals, which set goals that were not necessarily fully achievable<sup>9</sup>.

Māori communities relied heavily on collective effort in order to survive, e.g. in activities such as harvesting and waging war. As a result, certain values and ideals were developed and became part of tikanga, in part, to regulate and guide behaviour toward that much needed collective responsibility. Another primary responsibility of belonging to a community such as a whānau, hapū or iwi was to assist in the maintenance of social harmony. This involved, among other things, a very active effort, both individually and collectively, to live up to and adhere to the ideals and tikanga of the community which Rumbles identifies as an integral part of any legal system<sup>10</sup>:

*‘...legal systems are not just about dealing with criminal offences, property and personal rights and dealing with disputes. A legal system is also about creating and preserving an ordered system of mutual expectation and understandings that are intended to avoid conflict.’*

---

<sup>5</sup> Benton, R. (2004). Lexicography, Law and the Transformation of New Zealand Jurisprudence. Presented at the Symposium on Concepts in Polynesian Customary Law, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2004. p 3.

Benton explains that there was an order and connection between legal concepts, rules and values within Traditional Māori society, although they may not have been consciously perceived as a ‘system’, those rules, etc. definitely formed a type of effective legal order.

<sup>6</sup> Judge Mick Brown in - Bennet, Vercoe and Morehu (2000:26).

<sup>7</sup> Williams (2002:416-7) defines tikanga as follows:

**‘tikanga.** 1. n. *Rule, plan, method...*  
2. *Custom, habit...*  
3. *Anything normal or usual...*  
4. *Reason...*  
5. *Meaning, purport...*  
6. *Authority, control...*  
7. a. *Correct, right...*’

<sup>8</sup> Mead (2003:ix)

<sup>9</sup> Mead (2003:23)

<sup>10</sup> Rumbles (1999:3)

Some of the ways in which these ideals and values, in particular, were prescribed, described and reinforced were through such mediums as: whakataukī, paki waitara, whakapapa, poroporoaki, tauparapara, haka, ngeri, karanga, whaikōrero, pepeha, etc<sup>11</sup>. However, this article will focus on the role that ancestral sayings had in reinforcing and describing the values and tikanga of traditional Māori society<sup>12</sup>, as McRae highlights in the following statement<sup>13</sup>:

*'A society's definition and espousal of standards of behaviour evolve in the course of communal day-to-day living. In an oral society one way in which these standards are advised and become "written" in the people's minds is by the instructions or prescriptions expressed in sayings.'*

### **ANCESTRAL SAYINGS - TYPES**

The term 'ancestral saying' is used throughout this article as a general term to encompass the different types of Māori sayings utilized and discussed. The particular sayings employed within this article are as follows:

#### **Whakataukī**

There are several views on what whakataukī are. Milroy identifies 'whakataukī' as a short, advising saying, which can be found among all of the Māori tribes. He adds that the author, place of origin, original audience and reason of formulation is normally not known<sup>14</sup>. T.H. Smith widens the debate by describing a 'whakataukī' as a word put forth to meet your interlocutor, or as a challenge to co-speakers<sup>15</sup>. And, McRae defines whakataukī as any type of repeated statement, such as a: comment, quotation, popular phrase, pithy statement, etc<sup>16</sup>. From the definitions offered we can conclude that a whakataukī is normally a short, repeated, and often advising statement that is not usually tribally specific.

#### **Whakatauākī**

---

<sup>11</sup> Karetu (1975:35)

<sup>12</sup> Patterson (1992:46-7)

<sup>13</sup> McRae (1988:137)

<sup>14</sup> Milroy (1996: 37-8)

<sup>15</sup> Smith, T. H (1889:112)

<sup>16</sup> McRae (1988:320)

Milroy defines 'whakatauākī' as being much like whakataukī, except that whakatauākī can be either long or short and the author, place of origin, and intended audience is normally known. He also adds that a person of significance would usually coin this type of saying and that whakatauākī are used not just within the one tribe but among all tribes in much the same way as whakataukī<sup>17</sup> are.

### **Pepeha**

Milroy explains that 'pepeha' typically refer to the landmarks, chiefs, and mana of a certain area or tribe. He also makes the point that within intertribal gatherings, pepeha should not be used by the tribe to which they refer; rather it should be left for other tribes to use them in praise or greeting. However, it is accepted that when amongst your own people, you may use your own pepeha to incite and raise the spirits of your people<sup>18</sup>.

Now that the types of ancestral sayings have been discussed, the next step is to examine them in their different contexts. The next section contains various ancestral sayings, along with a translation, a description of the context and a discussion of the values and tikanga referred to. During my research I found four juridically related themes prevalent amongst the ancestral sayings and the selected examples have been placed under those headings as follows: Customary Rights, Dispute Resolution, Maintaining Social Harmony and Enforcement.

---

<sup>17</sup> Milroy (1996:38-9)

<sup>18</sup> Milroy (1996:39-40)

## **ANCESTRAL SAYINGS – EXAMPLES**

### **Customary Rights**<sup>19</sup>

#### ***Mana moana***

‘Ngā tamariki toa o Taikehu<sup>20</sup>  
‘The romping children of Taikehu<sup>21</sup>’

Context: Taikehu, a Tainui chief found the harbour now called Manukau and caught a lot of kanae or jumping mullet there. In order to take possession of that fishery, Taikehu named the kanae, ‘ngā tamariki toa o Taikehu’ and also left some tohu (signs) behind as physical proof. According to McRae<sup>22</sup> this saying was later quoted by several descendants of Taikehu as proof of their mana over that fishery.

Comment: This saying provides an example of how ancestral sayings were formed and used as evidence of a person’s mana over a body of water. This kind of naming process was in accordance with whenua kite or right of discovery, where the discoverer would normally name the site as a sign of mana.

Type: Whakatauaāki, pepeha

#### **Mana - rawa whenua**

‘Wahawaha, e hine mā, te whakawai o tō koutou tūpuna; te harakeke tongainui a  
Rakeitakihā.’  
‘Young women! Carry forth the saying of your ancestor, the primed flax of  
Rakeitakihā<sup>23</sup>.’

---

<sup>19</sup> Many sayings could have been used within this section but that is outside the scope of this article. Only a few have been supplied but it must be noted that there are many more which warrant inclusion.

<sup>20</sup> Graham (1951:83), Grove and Mead (2001:257-8)

<sup>21</sup> Translator’s Note: ‘toa’ can mean both brave and to frolic/romp, so, for the sake of word economy I have only used one of these but it should be noted that probably both meanings were implied.

<sup>22</sup> McRae (1988:219)

<sup>23</sup> Seed-Pihama (2004:80)

Context: Rakeitakihā was a prominent chief of the Tamaahuroa hapū of the Taranaki tribe. He was the keeper of this saying and the caretaker of the flax depicted in this saying.

Comment: This ancestral saying depicts the customary rights of the Taranaki people, especially the descendants of Rakeitakihā, in particular, some might argue, their rights to the flax resources and land where Rakeitakihā and his/her people lived and grew their flax. The forepart of the saying also relays the importance Māori put on ancestral sayings as a vehicle to pass on the knowledge of tūpuna to future generations. In this saying this is the knowledge of weaving and flax.

Type: Whakataukāi

### **Mana whenua**

‘Ka wera hoki i te ahi, e mana ana anō’

‘While the fire burns, your authority is effective<sup>24</sup>’

Context: There were four main ways by which rights to land were acquired and retained, and they were the right of: Conquest (whenua raupatu), Discovery (whenua kite), Occupation (ahi kaa) and Ancestry (take tūpuna)<sup>25</sup>. A vital part of Māori living was the use of fire within the kāinga, pa and while travelling, as it provided warmth and a way to cook and therefore whakanoa the food for eating. Its significance was not confined to everyday activities however; it was also used as a part of sacred ceremonies to remove tapu and also when solidifying a claim to a piece of land<sup>26</sup>.

Comment: This saying reflects the significance of ahi kā or ‘fires of occupation’ as a traditional means of confirming and sustaining mana whenua. The following quote further explains ahi kā and its importance:

*‘...ahi ka or ahi ka roa, the principle of keeping the fires burning on the land as a symbol of long-standing occupation. This did not necessarily mean continuous settlement, but it did mean continued use, such as seasonal visits for fishing or birding in which temporary encampments might be made. If occupation rights were not maintained, the fires grew cold and after three or*

---

<sup>24</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:197)

<sup>25</sup> See: Firth (1972:387) for further explanations and other ways by which land was claimed.

<sup>26</sup> Firth (1972:383-8)

*more generations the fires may be regarded as being extinguished, ahi mataotao.*<sup>27</sup>

Type: whakataukī

Related Saying:

‘Te toto o te tangata he kai, te oranga o te tangata he whenua’  
‘Food is the blood of the people, but the welfare of the people lies in the land’<sup>28</sup>

Comment: The relationship Māori have with the land is highlighted in this saying. It was/is not just a source of sustenance to the body but also a source of wellbeing, physically, mentally and spiritually. As the descendants of Papatūānuku (Mother Earth), Māori do not just live on the land or rely on it for food, they belong to it.

Type: whakataukī

**Mana whenua – wāhine**

‘Haere atu te wahine, haere marokore’  
‘If a woman leaves, she leaves without her apron’<sup>29</sup>

Context: A maro is a kilt or an apron worn to cover the private parts.

Comment: This saying refers to women who married outside their tribe and as a result, lost the daily support of their tribe and gave up all rights to their mother’s land/belongings. The following statement outlines this tikanga:

*‘If a woman left her fireside to marry outside the tribe it was said that her fire had become unstable, or wandering one, ‘ahi tere’. If she or her children returned, then the ancestral fire was regarded as rekindled. By this act the claim had been restored.’*<sup>30</sup>

Marriage was not seen as an agreement between two individuals but rather as an agreement between two family groups. If a marriage occurred between two tribes, any trouble between the couple such as abuse or adultery could lead to war. Marriage within the hapū was the expected norm, except in cases where a marriage

---

<sup>27</sup> Waitangi Tribunal (1993:14)

<sup>28</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:393)

<sup>29</sup> Shortland (1882:93)

<sup>30</sup> Sinclair (1975:120)

was arranged to secure peace, because if there was any trouble it could be solved within the kin group through non-violent means such as muru. This tikanga of disinheriting women who married outside the tribe also stopped the husband from being able to gain his new wife's tribal lands. However, male offspring from inter-tribal marriages could reclaim those lands and property and as a result, the male relation(s) of the wife sometimes opted to kill any male babies of such unions<sup>31</sup>.

Type: whakataukī

Related Saying:

‘Ngā tamariki tāne ka whai ki te ure tū, ngā tamariki wāhine ka whai ki te ūkaipō’,  
‘Male children follow after the father, female children after the Mother<sup>32</sup>’.

Comment: This saying refers to the fact that male children inherited their father's land and females received their mother's belongings.

Type: whakataukī

However, women were often called upon to settle disputes between tribes, and marriage to a woman, usually a puhi, from a differing tribe was at times used to insure peace between warring tribes.

## **Dispute Resolution**

### **Houhou rongō**

‘He whakahou rongō wahine he tatau pounamu’  
‘Peace established by women is a greenstone door<sup>33</sup>’

Context: Greenstone was highly valued because it was durable, beautiful and precious. It was found only on the West Coast of the South Island and distributed by means of exchange.

---

<sup>31</sup> Biggs (1960:25) – however quite in contrast to Biggs, Shortland (1882:93-4) states that children of such unions had no right whatsoever to the mother's land unless a maternal uncle adopted the child and thus reinstated the child's rights within the mother's tribe.

<sup>32</sup> Shortland (1882:93)

<sup>33</sup> Brougham (1999:106)

Comment: In times of trouble, peace could be secured and warfare ended through a political marriage and peace thus established was often likened to a greenstone door<sup>34</sup> as both were seen as being durable, strong, and highly valuable. Highborn women, usually puhi, were given in marriage to one of the enemy tribe who was also normally of high-birth. However, the marriage itself did not truly bind the two parties until a child was born, as he or she belonged to both kin groups<sup>35</sup>.

Type: whakataukī

Related Saying(s):

‘He tatau pounamu  
A greenstone door<sup>36</sup>’

### **Mana tūpuna**

‘Ehara a Hikurangi i te maunga haere’  
‘Hikurangi is not a travelling mountain<sup>37</sup>’

Context: A prominent rangatira of the East Coast tribes, Te Kani a Takirau, used these words to turn down the Māori kingship when it was offered to him in the 1850’s. He uses Hikurangi, which unlike some other North Island mountains does not have an oral history of movement, to portray his contentment and pride in his ancestry or mana tūpuna. He did not need a kingship to further his mana, it was already present in his whakapapa, a fact he reinforced by commenting; ‘kua kingi mai anō au i ōku tūpuna’ – ‘I am a king already through my ancestors’.

Comment: This saying is obviously political in its application, but what is also significant are its references to mana tūpuna using whenua, whakapapa and the symbolic use of Hikurangi Mountain to project those references.

---

<sup>34</sup> This saying most probably does not speak of an actual greenstone door; it uses ‘tatau pounamu’ in a more figurative sense.

<sup>35</sup> Mead (2003:169)

<sup>36</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:124)

<sup>37</sup> Grove and Mead (2001: 22)

An offer such as the kingship required a very diplomatic response, in case the offerer felt insulted and demanded utu. Therefore, this saying also demonstrates the importance of diplomacy in politically charged situations to avoid conflict.

Type: Whakataukākī, pepeha

## **Maintaining Social Harmony**

### **Moe - wahine**

‘E moe i tō tuahine, kia kino ana ki a koe anō.’

‘Marry your female cousin, so if it turns bad it will only affect you<sup>38</sup>’

Context: Iwi and large hapū were jealous of their rangatiratanga – political autonomy. Offences against their members were offences against their mana and could not be tolerated.

Comment: This guidance was often given to young men when considering marriage. It refers to the fact that if marital problems, such as abuse or adultery were to take place and the wife was not from the same hapū or iwi, there would assuredly be violent retribution of some kind from her people, resulting in war or an extreme form of muru. However, if she was from the same kin group it could be dealt with internally through the institution of muru, which due to their family ties would not be as drastic as one carried out by an outside tribe; hapū-based muru was less economically crippling. This saying highlights the tikanga of marrying within your own tribe or sub-tribe as a means of maintaining social harmony and minimising economic loss for the whole tribe<sup>39</sup>. It also shows the significance of whakapapa within Māori society; kinship bonds such as those marriage produced were highly respected and permanently tied people together.

Type: whakataukī

### **Related Sayings:**

‘Moea tōu tuahine. Kia riri, ka riri ki a kōrua anō’

---

<sup>38</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:38) and Brougham (1999:50)

<sup>39</sup> Mead (2003:163)

‘Marry your female cousin. If you quarrel, it will only be between yourselves’<sup>40</sup>,

### **Kōhuru**

‘He patunga take kore he tino kōhuru’  
‘Killing without motive is murder indeed’<sup>41</sup>

Context: Mackay gives an account of a great warrior named Tau, of the Te Horo people. His daughter was of astonishing beauty and was consequently sought after by a young chief of the northern people. The young chief bestowed many gifts upon the girl but she flatly and scornfully refused him. The chief took this as an insult to his mana and thus planned a scheme of revenge that involved a surprise attack on Tau’s village and the abduction of his daughter. However, the elders of the young chief’s tribe opposed the pursuit of utu as they could see no excuse in a rejected lover’s wrath and were mindful of the saying ‘he patunga take kore he tino kōhuru’<sup>42</sup>.

Comment: This saying actually provides a definition of murder according to Māori; it speaks of killing without motive or cause, as being murder. In traditional Māori society murder would have been cause for war, and depending on the circumstances the offenders may have been executed or their whole hapū held responsible<sup>43</sup>. The severity of the punishment outlines the contempt Māori felt for murderers and the act of murder.

However, killing in order to protect one’s land and/or family was seen as justified as the following saying shows.

### **Patu tangata**

‘He wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata’  
‘By women and land, men are lost’<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:309) and Mackay (1962:103)

<sup>41</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:107)

<sup>42</sup> Mackay (1962:103)

<sup>43</sup> Mead (2003:245)

<sup>44</sup> Mackay (1962:103)

Context: 'Women' in this saying symbolises not only women themselves but also their importance as the bearers of children and therefore of life. Papatūānuku as both Mother Earth and an ancestor of Māori was seen as important for similar reasons. Papatūānuku was the provider of food, water, shelter, burial grounds, and so on; consequently, many deaths occurred while trying to protect these two most precious treasures.

Comment: Such deaths were regarded as patu tangata, justified homicide, not kōhuru.

Type: whakataukī

## Utu

'He kai, he kai'

'Food for food'<sup>45</sup>

Context: The chief Tamatea-rehe, of Ngati Awa in Whakatāne, sent a party to visit a relative of his, Rakai-paka, to obtain a supply of forest foods. But when they asked for the supplies they were answered with the saying, 'he kai, he kai'. When they relayed this to their chief, Tamatea-rehe accepted the reply, realised his mistake and sent his party back with food for exchange.

Comment: This saying highlights the value of reciprocity within Māori society, in particular, the expectation(s) of reciprocity present within an extra-community exchange. Metge explains the rules of exchange:

*'First, the return should never match what has been received exactly but should ideally include an increment in value, placing the recipient under obligation to make a further return. Secondly, the return should not be made immediately (though a small acknowledgement is in order) but should be delayed until an appropriate occasion, months, years and even a generation later. Thirdly, the return should preferably be different from what has been received in at least some respects: one kind of goods may be reciprocated by another kind, goods by services, services by a spouse... Fourthly, the return does not have to be made directly to the giver but may be made to the group to which he or she belongs or to his or her descendants'<sup>46</sup>.*

---

<sup>45</sup> Graham (1951:83-4)

<sup>46</sup> Metge (1995:100)

Utu was not restricted to exchanges or war; it permeated all facets of Māori life. Through utu and its expectations, relationships between people were established and sustained through continual contact and the obligation that utu demands.

Type: whakatauākī

Related Sayings:

‘Waiho mā te whakamā e patu; waiho hai kōrero i a tātau kia atawhai ki te iwi’  
‘Let shame be their punishment; let us be renowned for our mercy toward the tribe<sup>47</sup>’

Context: A tohunga of Ngāti Awa, Te Tahī-o-te-rangi, was suspected of causing a flood by means of makutu and as a result, the people abandoned him on Whakaari (White) Island. When Te Tahī realised what had happened he used his knowledge of karakia to summon several sea monsters to help him back to the mainland. When they caught up with the offenders in their canoes, one of the sea creatures suggested that they should overturn the canoes, but Te Tahī replied with the above saying.

Comment<sup>48</sup>: Shame was often used as a form of retribution or utu and social control. Māori prided themselves on their image and the opinion of others greatly affected their behaviour and mana. This shaming process was very effective due to its public nature; the offender was put on trial in front of the whole hapū and/or iwi as Metge explains:

*‘Speakers at huihuinga deliberately set out to deepen the offenders’ whakamā by dwelling on the unacceptability of the offence and the harm done to the victim and to the mana of the whānau. When offenders admitted their guilt and appeared sufficiently chastened, members of their whānau re-established contact (both physical and social) and helped them work through and eventually emerge from whakamā...’<sup>49</sup>*

---

<sup>47</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:418)

<sup>48</sup> Utu is seen as retribution within this context; this type of utu implies an action of force taken by one of the two parties involved in order to attain retribution, whereas reciprocity as shown in the prior example involves two willing parties.

<sup>49</sup> Metge (1995:285)

Also, as Karena points out, in conditions where tensions were high, the shaming process went somewhat toward defusing the situation and it also helped to partially satisfy the afflicted persons<sup>50</sup>.

Type: Whakatauākī

## **Enforcement**

### **Tapu**

‘Kei te raweke koe i tō tūpuna i a Tāne’  
‘You are meddling with your ancestor, Tāne<sup>51</sup>’

Context: This saying speaks of the tapu that applied to the forest and its inhabitants; a tree could not be felled without first obtaining permission from Tāne by way of certain rites. Tāne was an ancestor not just of the forest but also of Māori, which made the forest and its inhabitants related to Māori as well. Thus, they should all be treated with respect and care.

Comment: If anyone was caught disrespecting the tapu of Tāne by not performing the required rites, etc. this saying would be directed at them to remind and chastise them. This saying shows the deep respect and love that Māori have for their environment due to the tie of kinship they have. It is also highly significant as it points out the use of tapu to enforce care and respect for the environment.

---

<sup>50</sup> Karena, Tonga (2001:6)

<sup>51</sup> Patterson (1992:48)

## **ANCESTRAL SAYINGS – CREATION AND USE**

### **Creation**

Firstly, the point must be made that the key to a statement or remark becoming an ancestral saying lies in it being both accepted and remembered by people. Hence, most sayings are formulated with those two aspects in mind. McRae suggests that Māori sayings may be either deliberately formed by one person, arise from mythology, repeat the words of the ancestors, or originate from exclamations and observations<sup>52</sup>. I would add that ancestral sayings are not usually formed by just anybody: in order for a saying to be remembered and become an ancestral saying, the subject matter would need to be highly significant and the author would normally be a rangatira or a person of comparable high standing. In addition, the values, places, events, people, gods, etc depicted in these sayings usually had some special meaning. Firth proposed three processes by which Māori sayings were formulated:

*'Concrete formulation by one individual in response to some set of circumstances. Acceptance by the people at large as being appropriate to a more general situation, and seeming by its peculiar form and twist of phrase to give fit expression to their thoughts and feelings. Possible modification of phraseology or meaning with the passing of time by an unconscious process, with the effect of keeping it consonant with public sentiment.'*<sup>53</sup>

### **Application**

Ancestral sayings were passed down through the generations due to the diligent efforts of wise elders and parents to repeat and teach them to the young people during casual conversation and technical instruction<sup>54</sup> and also by their use in whaikōrero, karanga, karakia, ngeri, tauparapara, narrative, mihi, etc.<sup>55</sup> Another significant application for ancestral sayings was in debate and argument:

*'In deciding what ought to be done, whether by means of formal oratory or informal discussion, an appropriate proverb will always add weight to an argument.'*<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> McRae (1988:99)

<sup>53</sup> Firth (1926:263)

<sup>54</sup> Firth (1926:149)

<sup>55</sup> McRae (1988), Narrative = p 98, Mihi or Whaikōrero = p 92, everyday conversation = p 129, Karakia = p 130, Karanga = p 164, Oriori = p 165, debate = p 197. Karetu (1975), Tauparapara = p 40, Waiata = p 49.

<sup>56</sup> Patterson (1992:46)

In applying ancestral sayings there were a few guidelines also taught by the elders as follows:

- Young men and woman due to their lack of experience and knowledge were and still are expected to use an introductory statement such as: 'he whakataukī tēnei nō ngā tūpuna' (this is a saying of the ancestors), before quoting an ancestral saying as a mark of respect for the ancestors<sup>57</sup>.
- When you are a manuhiri it is considered courteous to pay homage to the tāngata whenua in a tauparapara or by using a relevant pepeha in the whaikōrero.
- Pepeha in particular can be used in praise of another tribe<sup>58</sup> but to use those which place them in a negative light could result in hostility, or even death. Consequently, they should be used with great care.
- The most important directive is to make sure that you know the meaning(s) and surrounding context of the chosen saying and that you have an understanding of the possible variations in different contexts.

All skilled orators have an extensive store of ancestral sayings within their vocabulary and knowledge formed through experience of how they can be applied. This experience and knowledge is particularly important nowadays as ancestral sayings take on new applications in new contexts for modern-day problems. Consequently, it is often strongly advised that experience through marae visits and immersion within the language is obtained before attempting to enhance your oratory with ancestral sayings.

### **Function**

Ancestral sayings often encapsulate public opinion due to one of their functions as recorders of ancestral tradition and values. Because of the immense respect Māori had for their elders, ancestral sayings were often utilised as a force of social control and correction, as the guiding voice of the ancestors within Māori society. The following quote identifies public opinion as a force of correction within the social system:

*'...the institution of tapu, public opinion, the influence of respected chiefs, and, to some extent the custom of muru... Now the institution of tapu and magic, as also the*

---

<sup>57</sup> Mahuta (1974:39)

<sup>58</sup> Karetu (1975:42+49)

*mana of superior chiefs, were the most effective corrective forces, and all possessed the same vivifying power.*<sup>59</sup>

Ancestral sayings as a force for social control are also recognised by Murphy<sup>60</sup> who identifies shame as the main force behind the power of this kind of institution:

*'Open disapproval or ridicule of a person's actions by verbal or expressive means by associates and bystanders is one of the main deterrents of deviance, for it arouses that most acute of all afflictions of the ego – shame... Guilt can inflict self-torment as retribution for our lapses, but shame may entail even greater damage to the ego and total loss of self-esteem'.*

Ancestral sayings were also used to express a personal opinion and as a way of expressing emotion. They provided the younger generation with a store of easy-to-remember information and assisted the orator in gaining the confidence and attention of the audience<sup>61</sup>.

Ancestral and authoritative sayings also had other juridical functions:

1. The application of names to claimed sites and the account of activities recorded in sayings substantiate rights to land<sup>62</sup>.
2. They are a reliable source from which information can be obtained about land-title and the general rules governing its transfer<sup>63</sup>.
3. The practice of distributing names over the land and the extension of them into sayings created a legal (in terms of customary rights), familiar and sentimental web of kōrero over the tribal territory<sup>64</sup>.

## **Language**

Ancestral sayings operate through analogy and use a range of metaphors that give rise to vivid mental pictures. A lot of the metaphors used are taken from nature and the things humans make. They may refer directly to human relationships and behaviour, in which case these are also used as symbols to express something deeper<sup>65</sup>. The metaphors and

---

<sup>59</sup> Mead (2003:231)

<sup>60</sup> Murphy (1989:164)

<sup>61</sup> Firth (1926:137)

<sup>62</sup> Firth (1973:373)

<sup>63</sup> Shortland (1882:88)

<sup>64</sup> McRae (1988:210)

<sup>65</sup> Jones and Metge (1995:5)

images used usually have several layers of meaning, referents and connections which listeners have to work out for themselves<sup>66</sup>. This understanding is gained through experience and the transmission of knowledge and wisdom by elders and parents.

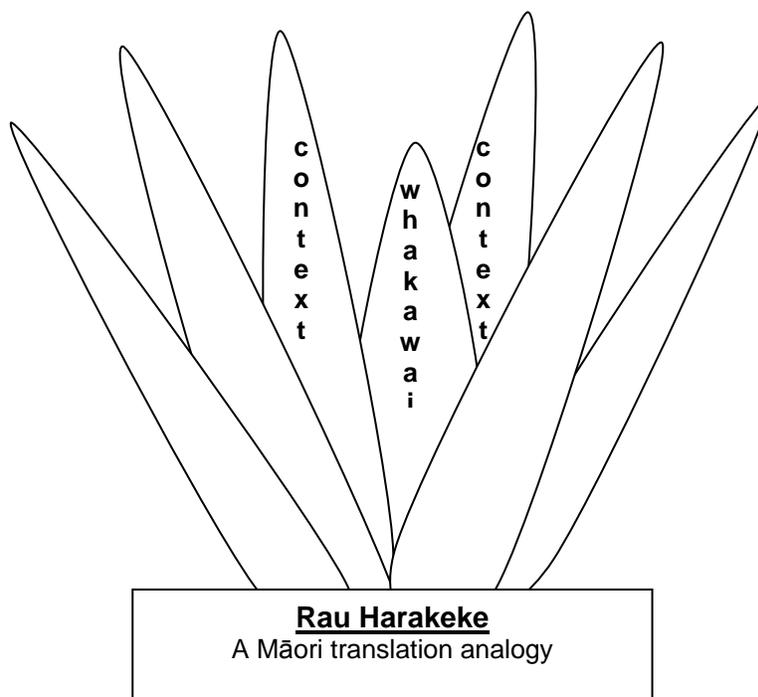
### **THE TRANSLATION OF ANCESTRAL SAYINGS**<sup>67</sup>

The translation approach taken in this article is based on a framework that I developed specifically for the translation of Māori ancestral sayings. In reviewing the literature on translation, due to the surfeit of western frameworks one of my aims became the development of a Māori conceptual framework to guide my approach.

What makes someone or something Māori (in the contemporary sense) has been an issue of debate since first contact with non-Māori and when I decided to develop a Māori translation framework, I meant not that because I am Māori, the work I produce must be Māori, but rather that any framework claiming a Māori base (such as mine) must be founded on Māori principles, customs, and mentality. This is only an embryonic framework and as such is merely a beginning to be adapted and/or improved.

#### **Rau Harakeke**

This translation approach uses a Māori based analogy.



---

<sup>66</sup> Smith, A (2001:31)

<sup>67</sup> The following translation framework has been taken from my Masters Thesis and adapted for this article. I have only included my framework here as a guide to the concepts and tikanga behind my approach, for more information or to see my approach, see: Seed-Pihama (2004).

I have termed this analogy 'Rau Harakeke' as it is based on the leaf formation of the harakeke (flax) plant. The centre leaf shown in the diagram as 'whakawai' is known as the rito (central leaf) or to weavers as the pēpi (baby) of the plant and this 'pēpi' is supported by its two parents, its 'mātua' on either side, shown above as 'context'. One of the first things a weaver learns is not to cut the pēpi or its mātua, as they support each other physically and in nourishment.

This analogy is applied in my approach to translating ancestral sayings, because they too need support in order to exist, the support of context. A saying cannot be completely understood without its context and the context, namely events, places, people, customs, etc, would perhaps not be remembered without ancestral sayings to assist in the dissemination of such information.

'Rau Harakeke' is an ideal analogy for my approach. Several sayings boast of the great weaving resources throughout Māoridom, plant and women alike. 'Rau harakeke' also embraces the concept of whakapapa, which I have incorporated in the framework (below), e.g. everything is connected in someway.

### **A framework based on Māori concepts**

The following Māori framework is made up of concepts that form the ethical, practical and professional foundation of my methodology. Generally, I have tried to explain and define the concept, its relevance and finally its application within my approach. This hopefully assists the reader to gain a clearer understanding of these concepts within translation.

#### **Whakapapa**

(Williams, 1971:259) defines whakapapa as a verb and as a noun as follows:

- 4.) Place in layers, lay one upon another.*
- 5.) Recite in proper order genealogies, legends, etc.*
- 6. n.) Genealogical table.'*

Accordingly, Roberts and Wills assert that:

*'To Maori, 'to know' something is to locate it in space and in time. This applies to individual persons, tribes, all other animate and inanimate things, and even to knowledge itself... Fundamental to this ability to locate a thing in time and space is knowledge of its whakapapa – its genealogy or lines of descent'*<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Roberts and Wills (1998:43)

Whakapapa is a major component in my translation framework as it can be employed to validate and affirm the need to 'know' the context of an ancestral saying when translating. In the above quotation, Roberts and Wills state that everything has a whakapapa, which tells how the item in question is located in space and time. This is important for ancestral sayings, due to their significance as an institution of social control. Ancestral sayings can also be used as pedagogical tools; they contain knowledge, i.e. accounts, customs, values etc that need to be passed on to future generations. Such knowledge is easier to remember when contained and taught within a small phrase such as an ancestral saying.

I propose that the context of sayings is much like a whakapapa, and for the translation of an ancestral saying to be truly communicative, which is the aim of most translations, the whakapapa of the saying needs to be known by the translator. Through the application of this concept also arises the need not only to translate from an unconscious, automatic level, but to translate with an awareness of what it means to translate, its effects (uri and other products), origins (tūpuna), and history.

## **Tapu**

Whenever a translator translates or interprets a saying they must be aware of tapu. Williams defines tapu as:

1. a. *Under religious or superstitious restriction*
2. *Beyond one's power, inaccessible.*
3. *Sacred. (mod.)*
4. n. *Ceremonial restriction, quality or condition of being subject to such restriction'*<sup>69</sup>

Tapu is essentially a restriction on the handling of something that is sacred (in terms of this framework). In the Māori belief system there are many things tapu and knowledge is one of these. Manihera states:

*'When you are dealing with the knowledge of the past, you have to take it seriously. Otherwise you don't get inspiration or spirituality from that knowledge. And if you ignore the tapu of sacred things, it can lead to sickness or even death'*<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Williams (2002:385)

<sup>70</sup> Manihera (1992:9)

This clearly shows us that knowledge among many other things was sacred and treasured by Māori. Therefore, this concept has been included as a warning to translators of the Māori language to be aware of what might be tapu and treat it accordingly. As an example, Seed-Pihama chose in her master's thesis,<sup>71</sup> to write the context to the ancestral sayings she studied in Māori. This provided a form of protection for her informants' knowledge and therefore their mana. Consequently, the tapu of knowledge was respected.

### **Hapa**

A hapa can be defined as negligence, a mistake, ignorance, or lack in the performance of activities such as incantation, etiquette, custom, war, learning and sacred activities. However, in certain circumstances hapa were not viewed as mere mistakes or negligence, but as crimes and the perpetrators were punished severely, e.g. death, sickness, and loss of mana. Broughton records why such punishment was necessary<sup>72</sup>:

- 1. It was an attempt to RETAIN the oral traditions and arts in its original form.*
- 2. Accuracy and Perfection were the standards required for the people's own well-being and survival.*
- 3. The REPUTATION and MANA of the individual, the tohunga or even the iwi was always at stake*

As accuracy and perfection were so highly sought after it seems appropriate to apply the concept of non-hapa to translation. In terms of ethics, translators should make sure they use the correct version and context of the saying or if that is not easily discernible, to at least make sure they have transcribed the saying and contextual information accurately.

### **Whenua**

Māori hold a strong and spiritual connection with the earth, and this is very clear when one considers what whenua denotes:

- 1. n. Land, country.*
- 2. Ground.*
- 3. Placenta, afterbirth.*

---

<sup>71</sup> Seed-Pihama (2004:70)

<sup>72</sup> Broughton (1984:198)

#### 4. ad. *Entirely, altogether.*<sup>73</sup>

Not only does whenua literally denote both placenta and land, but it is also custom to bury placenta on ancestral or tribal land. This is symbolic of the close relationship Māori feel with their land and the close relationship Papatūānuku has with them, as the nurturer (ūkaipō) and provider of Māori as her descendants.

The concept of whenua is relevant to the translation of place names as shown in the following statement:

*'...place names not only record and express important mythological and historical aspects of that tribe, but by virtue of the knowledge contained in the names, they, and the landscape they represent, are the physical manifestation of the tribe...'*<sup>74</sup>

This shows the importance of place, and place names to Māori and hence their importance within translation. Due to the tapu nature of the accounts and information ancestral sayings can refer to, Māori place names should not be translated but transferred directly into the English.

### **Mana**

Barlow asserts that there are four main types of mana:

*Mana Atua: This is the very sacred power of the gods known as ahi kōmau which is given to those persons who conform to sacred ritual and principles.*

*Mana Tūpuna: This is the power or authority handed down through chiefly lineage; that is, from the paramount chiefs and others who possessed it. The power is passed down from generation to generation...*

*Mana Whenua: This is the power associated with the possession of the lands; it is also the power associated with the ability of the land to produce the bounties of nature...There is another aspect to the power of land: a person who possesses land has the power to produce a livelihood for family and tribe, and every effort is made to protect those rights...*

*Mana Tangata: This is the power acquired by an individual according to his or her ability and effort to develop skills and to gain knowledge in particular areas.'*<sup>75</sup>

The translator must always be aware of mana when translating ancestral sayings, i.e. the mana of the author, the people, i.e. tribe, hapū, or whānau, the land, the

---

<sup>73</sup> Williams (2003:494)

<sup>74</sup> Roberts and Wills (1998:55)

<sup>75</sup> Barlow (1994:61-2)

mana of water bodies, and of the atua<sup>76</sup>. The ramifications of desecrating mana can be profound (see: hapa), and last much longer than within the original situation<sup>77</sup>. Thus, this concept provides an ethic that should be observed by New Zealand translators. Also, knowing whose or what mana is involved and how to proceed accordingly ties in with whanaungatanga as detailed below.

### **Whanaungatanga**

Ryan defines whanaungatanga as, ‘...relationship, kinship...’<sup>78</sup> Furthermore Mead discusses whanaungatanga as a value of Māori society;

*‘One component of the values associated with tikanga is whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga embraces whakapapa and focuses upon relationships. Individuals expect to be supported by their relatives near and distant, but the collective group also expects the support and help of its individuals’<sup>79</sup>*

Whanaungatanga is a concept that promotes the formulation of relationships between translators and skilled persons, such as: kaumātua, tohunga, and other experts. These relationships can be beneficial to both sides in accordance with whanaungatanga. The translator can seek assistance from the appropriate people and in return a communicative, accurate translation can be provided that incorporates the values of the original language and culture while still meeting the client’s needs<sup>80</sup>.

---

<sup>76</sup> I must add that mana moana and mana kōrero have been left out of his discussion.

<sup>77</sup> Walsh-Tapiata (1998:254)

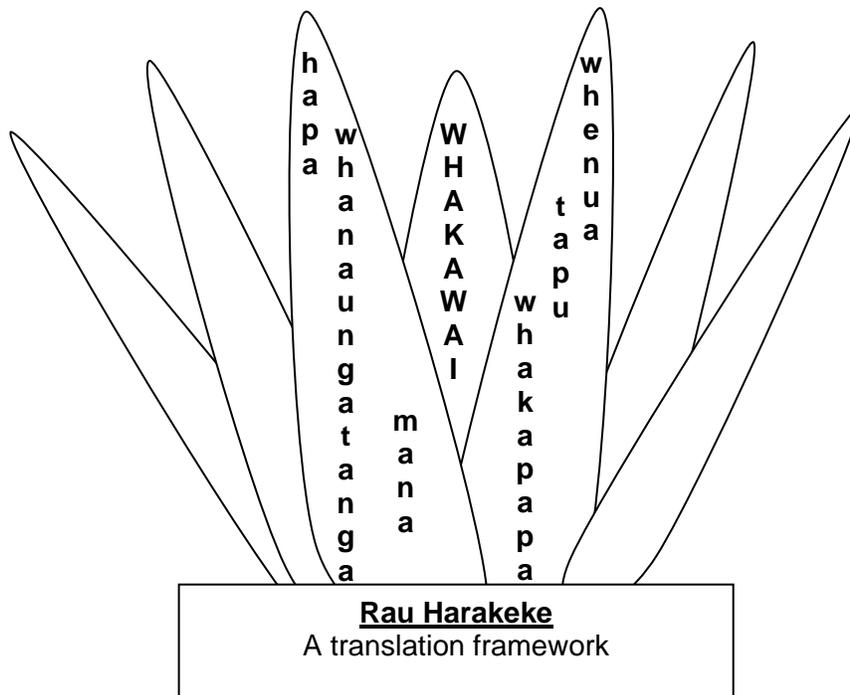
<sup>78</sup> Ryan (2002:366)

<sup>79</sup> Mead (2003:28)

<sup>80</sup> Seed-Pihama (2003:Chapters One and Two)

## **Concluding Framework**

The 'Rau Harakeke' analogy has been used again to show the interdependent relationship the above concepts have with the translation of ancestral sayings. This framework shows that Māori values can be incorporated into and have relevance within the study of translation. It also highlights that Māori values have a place in anything in which Māori people are involved or affected.



## **A CONTEMPORARY ROLE FOR ANCESTRAL SAYINGS**

Ancestral sayings such as the following pepeha have quite a different juridical role in contemporary society from the past, in that they are now used and recognised within the New Zealand legal system as traditional evidence. In the 1993 Te Ika Whenua: Energy Assets hearing, Billy Rano Messent used the following pepeha to establish the connection of the claimants to the Rangitaiki.

*'Ko Tawhiau te Maunga, ko Rangitaiki te Awa, ko Ngāti Manawa te iwi'  
Tawhiau is the Mountain, Rangitaiki is the river, Ngāti Manawa is the tribe'*<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Waitangi Tribunal (1993:8)

Another pepeha is quoted in a Law Commission Study Paper:

*'Ko Taramainuku te tangata, ko Tutaamoe te puke'  
'Taramainuku is the chief, Tutaamoe is the hill'*

The following discussion describes this saying as:

*'...an identification of the chieftainship with the mountain and a saying by which descendants of Taramainuku, a Ngāti Whatua chief could claim the hill as ancestral territory.'*<sup>82</sup>

This clearly outlines the possible juridical function of this particular pepeha as a way for descendants of Taramainuku to claim the Tutaamoe hill as ancestral territory as stated above.

Pepeha have also been used as evidence of tribal boundaries as is shown in the 1993 Pouakani Report:

*'Tainui:*

*Mokau ki runga  
Tamaki ki raro  
Mangatoatoa ki waenganui  
Pare Waikato  
Pare Hauraki  
From Mokau in the south to Tamaki in the north, Mangatoatoa is at the centre.  
From the mouth of Waikato river in the west to all of Hauraki.*

*Te Arawa:*

*Mai Maketu ki Tongariro  
Maketu is the prow and Tongariro is the stern of the canoe Te Arawa'*<sup>83</sup>

Lastly, we must look at how these sayings can contribute to the political and legal institutions of the present-day.

### **How can ancestral sayings contribute?**

*'In a society that seeks to advance a relationship envisaged under the Treaty of Waitangi, the law and legal and political institutions should reflect the values underlying tikanga'*<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Law Commission (2001:31)

<sup>83</sup> Waitangi Tribunal (1993:13)

<sup>84</sup> Law Commission (2001: 88)

Knowledge of these underlying values can assist members of the judiciary to make informed decisions when dealing with Māori, e.g. trying to settle conflict, adjudicate disputes, punish offenders and redress damages. Also, if the goal of Te Mātāhauariki is realised and our research helps in establishing laws and legal institutions that are more socially inclusive and better reflect the values of the two main cultures of New Zealand (Māori and Pākehā), ancestral sayings as recorders of tradition, a form of social control, and as points of reference to Māori values seem to be a pivotal database of knowledge that should be researched further and used to help establish those laws and institutions.

Ancestral sayings are formulated by Māori, with Māori and for Māori; being treasures from the past, they have mana and cannot be put aside lightly.<sup>85</sup> They constitute a compelling form of social control enforced by Māori, using Māori values, tikanga, people, places and taonga for the safety and social harmony of Māori people. Thus, ancestral sayings epitomize social inclusion in the law and as such cannot be anything but helpful in achieving the aforementioned aims.

In conclusion, within traditional Māori society and even now ancestral sayings were/are used almost everywhere and for everything, formal or informal, by men or women and therefore were/are popular and well practised amongst the public. I recommend a greater, in-depth study of ancestral sayings as it would, I'm sure, reveal a saying for every significant value and tikanga within Māori society.

Kia maumahara:

‘He hanga nā te waha o te ngutu nō mua iho anō<sup>86</sup>’

‘Although it is created by the mouth, it is actually from ancient times’

---

<sup>85</sup> Patterson (1992:73)

<sup>86</sup> Grove and Mead (2001:68)

## GLOSSARY

Only brief explanations of key terms used in this article are supplied here. For further information on these terms please consult the Mātāpunenga compendium, dictionaries and/or other authoritative sources.

haka	fierce rhythmical dance
hapū	sub-tribe, pregnant
hau	psychic force
huihuinga	gathering
hoko	buy, trade, barter
houhou rongo	make peace
iwi	tribe
karakia	incantation
karanga	A greeting call
kōhuru	murder
mana	prestige, jurisdiction
mana kōrero	authority of speech
mana moana	customary authority over a defined area of sea.
manuhiri	visitor, guest
mātua	parents
mihi	greet
moe	sleep, marry
ngeri	fierce chant
paki waitara	legend
Papatūānuku	Mother earth
pēpi	baby
poroporoaki	closing ceremony
rawa whenua	natural resource
rongo	coming of peace
tapu	sacred, forbidden
tauparapara	chant to start speech
tikanga	custom, obligations and conditions (legal)
tohunga	expert, priest, specialist

ture

utu

wahine/ wāhine

wānanga

whaikōrero

whakanoa

whakapapa

whakataukī / whakatauākī / pepeha

whānau

law

cost, price, revenge

woman / women

seminar, series of discussions

make speech

free from tapu

genealogy

proverb

extended family, give birth

## REFERENCES

### Published Sources

Barlow, Cleve (1994). Tikanga Whakaaro, Key concepts in Māori culture. Auckland: Oxford University Press

Biggs, Bruce (1960). Maori marriage: an essay in reconstruction. Wellington: The Polynesian Society Incorporated.

Brougham, A. E. and Reed, A. W (1999). The Reed Book of Māori Proverbs. Auckland: Reed Books, a division of Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd

Broughton, Ruka (1984). In Mead, Prof. Sidney Moko (ed.) Customary concepts of the Maori, a source book for Maori studies students (p.198). Wellington: Department of Maori Studies, Victoria University

Graham, Geo (1951). 'Tainui'. In The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol 93 (pp.83-4). Auckland: The Polynesian Society

Grove, Neil and Mead, Hirini Moko (2001). Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna: the Sayings of the Ancestors. Wellington: Victoria University Press

Firth, Raymond (1926). 'Proverbs in native life with special reference to those of the Māori II'. In Transactions of the Folk Lore Society, Vol XXXVII, No 3 (pp.137, 149 and 263). London: William Glaiser Ltd

Jones, Shane & Metge, Joan (July, 1995). 'He Taonga tuku Iho nō Ngā Tūpuna: Māori proverbial sayings – a literary treasure'. In Journal of New Zealand Studies (p.5). Wellington: Victoria University Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies

Karetu, Timoti (1975). 'Language and Protocol of the Marae'. In King, Michael (ed.) Te Ao Huirhuri: the world moves on (pp.35, 42, and 49). Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd

Law Commission (March, 2001). Study Paper 9, Maori Custom and Values in New Zealand Law. Wellington: Law Commission

- Mackay, Ian (1962). Tales of Tamati. Auckland: Oswald-Sealy (New Zealand) Ltd.
- Manihera, Te Uira (1992). 'Learning and Tapu'. In Michael King (ed.) Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga (p.9). Auckland: Reed Books
- Mead, Hirini Moko (2003). Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values. Wellington: Huia Publishers
- Metge, Joan (1995). New Growth From Old: The Whanau in the Modern World. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Murphy, Robert F (1989). Cultural and social anthropology: an overture. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall
- Patterson, John (1992). Exploring Maori Values. Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Limited
- Roberts, Roma Mere and Wills, Peter R. (1998). 'Understanding Māori Epistemology, A Scientific Perspective'. In Wautischer, Helmut (ed.) Tribal Epistemologies, Essays in the Philosophy of Anthropology (pp.43 and 55). USA: Ashgate Publishing Company
- Ryan, P. M. (2002). The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori. Auckland: Reed Books, a division of Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd
- Shortland, Edward (1882). Maori Religion and Mythology. London: Longmans, Green, and Co
- Sinclair, Douglas (1975). 'Land: Māori view and European response'. In King, Michael (ed.) Te Ao Huirhuri, the world moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga (p.120). Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd
- Waitangi Tribunal (1993). The Pouakani Report (Wai 33). Wellington: Brooker & Friend Ltd
- Waitangi Tribunal (1993). Te Ika Whenua: Energy Assets Report (Wai 212). Wellington: Brooker & Friend Ltd

Walsh-Tapiata, Wheturangi (1998). 'Research within your own iwi – What are some of the issues?'. In Te Pumanawa Hauora (ed.) Te Oru Rangahau, Māori Research & Development Conference. (p.254). Palmerston North: Massey University

Williams, H. W (2002). Dictionary of the Maori Language. Wellington: printed by PrintLink

### **Unpublished Sources**

Karena, Tonga (2001). Taumauri: Restoring the Mauri Back into Dispute Resolution. Hamilton: Te Mātāhauariki Institute.

McRae, Jane (1988). Whakataukii – Maori Sayings. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy in Maori studies thesis, University of Auckland.

Seed-Pihama, Joeline (2004). Te Waka Pakaru ki te Moana, A Translation and Examination of Various Taranaki Ancestral Sayings. Unpublished masters thesis, The University of Waikato, Hamilton.

Smith, Ailsa Lorraine (2001). Taranaki Waiata Tangi and feelings for place. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Lincoln University, Canterbury.

### **Oral sources**

Bennett, Morehu and Vercoe (23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2000). Pū Wānanga Seminar: Bishop Manuhua Bennett, Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe and Te Ariki Morehu. Te Puni Kōkiri meeting room, Rotorua: Te Mātāhauariki Institute

Turei, John (16 March 2001). Pū Wānanga Seminar: John Turei. James Henare Centre, Auckland: Te Mātāhauariki Institute