Rethinking Oral History and Tradition

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An Indigenous Perspective

NĒPIA MAHUIKA

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In loving memory of Dr. Apirana Tuāhae Kaukapakapa Mahuika
and Te Whetu Kura-Unuhia Tibble
"He Wiwi Nāti, He Whanoke"

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1

Oral History and Indigenous People

Indigenous peoples have their own ways of thinking about, practicing, and defining oral history. You learn this when you are immersed in native worlds, as you breathe in the stories, sing the songs, speak the language, and soak in the politics and protocols. If you pay attention in these spaces, oral history is all around you, evident in the people, art, traditions, environments, and genealogies that speak to inherited experiences. For many indigenous communities, oral history is inextricably connected to identity. It is a collective enterprise essential to cultural survival, naming the world, asserting power and belonging, and narrating relationships across time and space to land, sea, sky, and each other. This book is a native exposition of oral history—my narrative. It is an indigenous perspective of what oral history is from a specific tribal context. As a historian trained in Western methods, theories, and historiographies, my native perspective or "articulation" presents various challenges to the established mainstream views of oral history.[1] Oral history, for me, is very different from the popular "Western" academic conceptions that define it as a "democratic tool," a methodology based on the co-constructed interviews, life narratives, and an interpretive mode of analysing stories captured via analog or digital recordings.[2] Like those of many other indigenous thinkers, my interpretation rejects the idea that our oral histories must conform to the form and meanings popularized by non-indigenous academics, who tend to separate oral history and tradition as if they were two distinctively different fields. It defies a reading of our oral histories as false, unreliable, or the puerile imaginings of the "other." For us, oral history is not something to be found merely in a recorded interview, and while some have positioned native oral histories as "traditions," my indigenous understandings of oral history see them as more than chants, myths, and legends, and much more than merely an archive of interviews in a post-colonial era. In defining indigenous worlds on our terms, reclaiming the meaning and practice of oral history is important to the revitalization and validation of native knowledge and history. More broadly, an indigenous perspective and defining of oral history provide new ways of thinking about the discipline, its methods, political aims, theories,

and the form of oral sources. It disrupts powerfully normative and pervasive non-indigenous definitions and invites those working in oral tradition and history to rethink what these phrases mean for native peoples.

An Indigenous Ngāti Porou Perspective of Oral History

This is a book that contemplates what oral history is from a South Pacific indigenous perspective. It considers how my people, Ngāti Porou, a Māori tribal community from Aotearoa New Zealand, defines the form, politics, methods, and theoretical dimensions of what oral history is for us.[3] An "inside" perspective is crucial and culturally appropriate because the native politics that shape my world empower me to speak on behalf of my ancestors, but not on behalf of other and all indigenous communities or Māori. This is a particular type of indigenous ethics in practice: we speak for ourselves, yet our various tribal histories and experiences resonate and often align with other native peoples. Native histories are multiple and complex. The tribal view offered here, then, is only one of many that asserts indigenous definitions and understandings of oral history as different from and explicitly connected to indigenous experiences with colonialism and the marginalization of our worldviews. In doing so it posits a challenge to scholars of oral history and tradition across the world, urging a reconsideration of both disciplines beyond the dominant Western conceptualizations that currently populate these fields. This is not a national- or international-focused examination of the meaning of indigenous oral history, but a specifically tribal perspective that seeks to draw the readers' attention to the fact that indigenous oral histories are varied, yet ultimately different from their colonial counterparts. The voices that are amplified here reflect the history and views of my tribe, Ngāti Porou, one tribe among many that make up the indigenous Māori population in Aotearoa (New Zealand). Māori, like Native American peoples, are very much autonomous and separate tribal communities. Māori do, however, share a common language, albeit with tribal dialectal differences. Similarly, each tribe also has its own protocols or laws known to all Māori as "tikanga," but within various communities these are also slightly different and localized, based on the evolution of knowledge passed on across generations to the present day. Genealogy, or "whakapapa," is also an important part of Māori tribal worlds, and although identifying as their own autonomous peoples, these connections are considered crucial to understanding intertribal as well as pan-tribal relationships. This genealogical connecting is immensely important for Māori and binds us together within a wider oceanic community of Pacific, or Polynesian, peoples including Tonga, Samoa, Rarotonga, and Hawaii. The central focus in my explanation of

oral history is, then, immediately tribal, but it is also Māori, connected to moana or Polynesian roots, and is fiercely indigenous.

Ngāti Porou provides an apt community setting in which to examine the way oral history is understood from an indigenous point of view because orality and storytelling remain so central to the way many of my people still live in today's world. We are fortunate to have an unbroken line of oral transmission across generations within many families. We practice, pass on, interrogate, and experiment with our oral history on a regular basis. A good number of our elders, and upcoming generations, are still fluent in our native language and raised in our practices of storytelling, singing, and transmission. Oral history remains a crucial part of how we identify and make sense of our place in the world and the world's place in our community. Alongside other indigenous peoples across the world, Ngāti Porou, and Māori more generally, share a history of colonial violence and oppression that robbed us of land and power, devastated local populations, and marginalized, appropriated, and sought to silence and erase our native languages, cultures, knowledges, and histories. Like so many other native peoples today, Ngāti Porou, and other Māori, have been engaged in reconciliation talks and treaty claims with our colonial oppressors. In these negotiations, oral history has played a crucial part in how we have proved, explained, and narrated ownership, identity, boundaries, self-determination, and testified of grievance and trauma. A Māori, Ngāti Porou, community provides a strong example of how oral history is still alive, and is performed and transmitted in ways that are congruent with both long-standing practices and yet constantly adapted with new technologies and ideas to advance our ways of knowing and being. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Ngāti Porou is recognized as a tribe that has embraced external, even colonial, possibilities, seeking ways to bend opportunities and the tools of colonizers to our needs in order to realize our tribal aspirations. Digital oral history archives, ethics, life narrative approaches, transcriptions, and other theoretical and methodological interventions have been well utilized, played with, accepted, and rejected by various Ngāti Porou people and researchers. On this very issue, one of our current tribal speakers has remarked that the houses of our knowledge have always been made in our image. He says, "as our people moved and adapted to change, orally, physically, spiritually, then those houses would change to look like us."[4] The oral history that is normative in the work of many international scholars today has been applied to, and considered within, Ngāti Porou, but not because our people have read or closely followed specific oral historians' work. Thus, one of the real strengths in recounting an indigenous perspective on oral history from within Ngāti Porou is that the contest for historical knowledge that has long played out between indigenous peoples and colonial powers is not only well understood, but has been mediated consistently by our own experiments with Western practice and ideas. Ngāti Porou, like many native peoples, are not

only familiar with non-indigenous understandings of history and oral history, but are regularly masters of two worlds and have developed ways in which we can take on various aspects of that knowledge without undermining our own tribal autonomy and ways of knowing.

So, my explanation of indigenous oral history takes place in Ngāti Porou first and foremost, simply because I am a Ngāti Porou person, and cannot and will not presume to speak for other native peoples. Indigenous definitions require more than a crude or basic overview or blanket assumption about how all native peoples operate. This deeper tribal-focused contextualized explanation, then, is ethical and important. It takes place in Ngāti Porou because it is our worldviews, knowledge frameworks, language, laws, practices, protocols, ethics, and politics that inform my perspective as an indigenous person. It is a lifetime of osmosis and personal growth, not a year or a decade of university research, that is embedded in this perspective. The majority of interviews used here were undertaken with elders and experts in my tribe, and it is their words that give authority and interpretive meaning to what being indigenous means in regard to our understandings of oral history. These were leaders in education, politics, activism, tribal affairs, and prominent in Māori and indigenous worlds in and beyond our local community. They were and are the keepers of tribal knowledge, oral history practice, and theory in our world, and together with our generation have been critical to a strong and vibrant cultural legacy of survival. This is inherited knowledge and politics that is passed on and transmitted with a key purpose: to maintain our mana (authority and power) and self-determination, in all things. But as much as this exposition of oral history emerges from a Ngāti Porou context, it reflects, in many ways, the same struggles faced by indigenous peoples across the world who seek to retain and promote their own ways of knowing and explaining history. Therefore, being Ngāti Porou and indigenous is seamless and is used interchangeably throughout this book. Many, but not all, indigenous peoples share our views on the importance of native knowledge and orality. But there is more of a consensus that listening to indigenous peoples is important to understanding the ways "we" define history, how oral history for "us" is reliable, intrinsic to an indigenous cultural universe, vital to how we remember, tell our stories, and make sense of ourselves and the world around us. Oral history is prevalent in these spaces and crucial to the strengthening of native identities and the building of better futures. In defining oral history on our terms, these contests are not post-colonial but are presently engaged in ongoing decolonial struggle, reclamation, and liberation. As is the case in these endeavors, the story is always personal: the narrative and perspective, although connected to tribal and even global communities, are better conveyed by those to whom the outcomes matter most. This "articulation" or indigenous perspective of oral history, then, is a product of that contested history in my own words.

The Collective Realties of Indigenous Oral History

For indigenous people like me, oral history is crucial to native identity and the narrative transmission of our history. I grew up with a perception of the past that was founded on stories, songs, tribal dances (haka), and genealogies.[5] My people called them many things; whakatauākī (proverbs), mōteatea (chants), whakapapa (genealogies), and kōrero tuku iho (stories handed down). I discovered later that others knew them as oral traditions and oral histories. These variations in naming, different languages, and identifying meant little to me in my early years, but as a student of history I came to understand the significance of that process, and how it is connected to control, ownership, and power. Where I come from, we inherit in our oral history the saying "He uri au nō Tāne"—"I am a descendent of Tāne," of Toi, Rauru, and the founding fathers of Polynesia. Their histories, fundamental to my genealogy, constitute the parent vine on which hang all the stories and songs of my people and my family. When I was young the story of our tribal ancestor, and famed voyager and seafarer Paikea, and his journey and arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand was one of the most prominent stories in our family, matched only by the stories of the great warrior chief Tuwhakairiora.[6] Paikea, or the "whale rider," as he is also known, has long been a key figure in Ngāti Porou history.[7] His story begins in our ancient homeland of Hawaiki, where it is said that "a battle took place over family status and rivalries."[8] According to our oral histories, Uenuku, a high chief in Hawaiki, chastised and belittled his son Ruatapu whom he humiliatingly declared was of low rank and status.[9] In plotting his revenge, Ruatapu, a strong swimmer, invited his brothers to accompany him on an early morning fishing expedition. Among them was Kahutia-te-rangi (Paikea), who would be the sole survivor of Ruatapu's murderous plot for revenge. After Ruatapu had drowned his other siblings, Paikea, it is said, escaped and was left stranded at sea, but after uttering a powerful incantation was borne ashore on the back of a whale.[10] This event in our history is known as "Te Huripūreiata—the turning point," and is commemorated in history and song.[11] Paikea, the story, the song, and the anthem, remains one of the prominent oral histories recounted during my upbringing. Although his narrative has been committed to print, and invoked, told, and retold in varying forms, it is the oral renderings of that history that I recall most vividly. This living history was spoken, transmitted face to face, was intergenerational, but most important, it was ours. Our oral traditions, to me, were not myths or legends to be found in books, but histories to be seen and heard from people, whose faces and tones were familiar and real. Recalling these stories, I cannot help thinking of those who recited them, the most memorable, my grandfather. He was born at Kaitaha on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, and was the first male grandchild of Nēpia Te Aotapunui Mahuika, a chief with such mana

(prestige) that "[when he] frowned, the people kept silent, and when he smiled, the people smiled along with him."[12] It is said that when my grandfather was born the happiest man on that occasion was my great-great grandfather, who had waited for the birth of his first male grandchild. The story notes that when it came time to name his grandchild, the old man simply remarked, "Ko au tonu/ myself."[13] In this one story, the history of not only my grandfather's christening, but my name also, came to me with all its attendant implications: for not only did this story connect me to my grandfather, but to the descending genealogies we share. When I reflect on the songs and stories we were told, I realize now that it was not simply my grandfather who was speaking, but generations of relatives as if they were weaving together an aural tapestry representative of our collective identity. These are strands of a vocal history, reverberations of a rich oral tradition, channelled through individuals and groups, and expressive of family and tribal dynamics.

Although Paikea is an important person in our oral history, his story is only one of many. The history of our eponymous ancestor Porou Ariki Te Mātātara ā Whare Te Tuhi Māreikura ō Rauru is perhaps the most significant, and I recall a number of occasions when we were told about the circumstances of his birth, in much the same way I had been versed in my grandfather's christening. According to the oral history he was born at a place called Whangara, early in the morning with "the dawn breaking blood red and angry," a sign commemorated in the title Te Tuhi Māreikura ō Rauru: "a full-blooded man," belonging to, or descended of his Polynesian forefather Rauru.[14] According to the late twentieth-century Ngāti Porou tribal leader Apirana Mahuika, the first part of the name Porou Ariki is indicative of his status as the firstborn child from Toi, and was thus an "Ariki/godlike" person, "imbued with much tapu (sacredness), being the most direct uri (descendent) of the gods."[15] The second part of his name, Te Mātātara ā Whare, makes reference to the use of an analogy that refers to the threading together of flax strips to create an adornment for a house.[16] Like my grandfather's story, and the story of Paikea, these oral histories told us about who we were by the circumstances and histories associated with each individual. They were not myths or fable, but family histories.

In my family, and within my tribe, oral histories are vital components of our personal and collective identities. They are viewed as living documents, not just because they are oral, but because their outward expression represents an active connection that acknowledges a cultural and spiritual inheritance essential to who we are. But not all of the stories we grew up with were about people. One of the most powerful focal points in both our family and tribal oral tradition is our revered mountain Hikurangi. As far back as I can remember, we learned songs and proverbs about this mountain. One very common saying that is still heard frequently recounts the offering of the Māori kingship in the nineteenth

century to the chief Te Kani-a-Takirau, who famously declined with the words, "ehara tōku maunga a Hikurangi i te maunga haere, engari he maunga tū tonu/ My mountain Hikurangi never moves but rather it remains steadfast."[17] The invocation of Hikurangi in this proverbial saying is inextricably connected to the people and their desire to retain their own autonomy. When I grew up, proverbs such as this were often recited in songs, within which genealogies and sayings intermingled to tell the story. The living nature of the land and our relationship to it would often be emphasized. For instance, in one of our most frequently sung tribal laments, "Kaati ra e hika," the snow capping the summit of Hikurangi is referred to in a well-known saying that signifies the prestige and status of the chief Te Rangitawaea in "displaying his chiefly garments/e ka rukuruku a Te Rangitawaea i ōna pūeru e."[18] Te Rangitawaea, the man of the mountain, is yet another celebrated name in Ngāti Porou genealogy, and like others his association with the mountain Hikurangi is renowned in our oral history. However, by the time it had reached my generation, this proverb had been altered by incoming influences. With the advent of Christianity in Ngāti Porou territory during the mid-nineteenth century, the whiteness of the snow was made synonymous with the white surplices worn by Anglican clergymen, hence the modification "e ka rukuruku a Te Rangitawaea i āna rīnena/Behold Te Rangitawaea displays his white linen."[19] The changing nature of oral history was, at least in my youth, not commonly discussed, and it was not for some time that I understood the significance in the different intergenerational accounts.

To my mind, these oral accounts were as steadfast as our illustrious mountain, and the history that surrounded them soon became fixed as a central focal point in my own personal story. The prominence of Hikurangi was something instilled within me, not only as a child, but well into my adult life. Its meaning resonated with those of us raised in the cities, who associated home with a river called Waiapu, a mountain called Hikurangi, and a tribe called Ngāti Porou. This resolute connection to "home" was amplified in oral history, again and again centering on the mountain Hikurangi, as evidenced in proverbs like "Kei uta Hikurangi, kei tai Hikurangi, kia titiro iho ki te wai ō te pākirikiri anō ko ngā hina ō tōku ūpoko/In Hikurangi inland is the place, but at the seacoast look down at the blue cod soup, indeed white as the hair of my head."[20] One of my favorite stories, also associated with Hikurangi, recounts one of the most well-known narratives in not only Ngāti Porou history, but New Zealand mythology: that is, the fishing up of Te ika ā Māui/the great fish of Māui. According to our oral histories, as Māui hauled up his great fish—the North Island of New Zealand—from the depths of the ocean, the first part to emerge was our revered mountain Hikurangi. Māui's vessel, Nukutaimemeha, it is said, became stranded there and remains on its peak to this day in petrified form.[21] The lament "Haere rā e Hika/ farewell dear one" refers to this occasion in its closing lines, "Ko Nukutaimemeha,

ko te waka i hiia ai te whenua nui nei/Nukutaimemeha, the canoe which fished up this great land."[22] For us, Māui was inextricably tied to our tribal history, and a living being in our genealogy. His relevance to us is as real and vital as the oral histories transmitted across time and generations. They told us about who we were descended from, how we arrived here, and how our land was named and populated. This was history, but not the same written history we learned at school or were exposed to in the public arena.

The histories of Māui and Paikea that were common in the oral histories I grew up with were, in content, similar to those I encountered in schools or libraries, but in both form and nature they were clearly not the same. I recall the children's books that lined the shelves, yet never thought too much about them. Māui and Paikea were there, usually in compilations.[23] Next to these stood other myths and legends like Rapunzel, Cinderella, Beauty and the Beast, and Rumplestiltskin.[24] The inference was certainly there, but I had little awareness then of what that meant in terms of our tribal history. In these well-established and prolific public representations, Māui had for a long time been popularized as a mythic figure, the quintessential "hero" who slowed the sun and brought fire to the mortal realm.[25] But in the colonizers' world this was not history, this was fantasy and fable like those told by the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen. On the shelves, Māori oral histories were to be read as no different from tales of unicorns, magic beanstalks, goblins, witches, and wizards.[26] This subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, reinvention of Māori oral histories had been entrenched in writing, print, and popular public consciousness for well over a century before I came to them.

One of the key figures in establishing this relationship was the now infamous nineteenth-century New Zealand governor Sir George Grey, whose extensive collection on Māori "lore" culminated in a variety of influential publications including *Ko Ngā Mahinga ā Ngā Tupuna* (1854) and its English-language equivalent, *Polynesian Mythology* (1855).[27] Alongside Grey, other early writers on Māori mythology such as Rev. J. W. Stack, John White, and Dr Edward Shortland contributed to a canon of literature that would, in years to come, influence and inform almost every author and compiler of Māori myth and legend.[28] Their work, as New Zealand historian Peter Gibbons writes, was recorded "out of a mixture of personal curiosity (and at times astonishment at the 'superstitions' of Māori) and a sense of scientific enquiry."[29] Although originally produced in the mid-nineteenth century, they remained on the shelves for many years, and influenced a wide range of authors, including Edward Tregear, Stephenson Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, and later, Johannes Anderson and A. H. Reed.[30] Richard Taylor's *Te Ika ā Māui, New Zealand and Its inhabitants*, for instance, was first published in 1855, was reissued again in 1870 with some revisions, and then again in 1974. Writing in his original introduction, Taylor noted that his

intention was to "rescue from that oblivion into which they were fast hastening, the Manners, Customs, Traditions, and Religion of the primitive race."[31] Years later, A. H. Reed in his *Myths and Legends of Polynesia* would write: "They have been selected as typical of the imagination of a race that peopled land, sea, and sky with gods." "Māui," he wrote, was an appropriate "hero because he embodies the Polynesian idea of a hero—a gifted, clever, daring, impudent, rollicking fellow."[32]

The mythologizing of Māori oral histories developed a long legacy within New Zealand classrooms. As early as 1880, Elizabeth Bourke's *A Little History of New Zealand,* written for use in schools, included reference to the legends of Māui, Hinemoa, and Tūtānekai.[33] Around this time, former colonial soldier and surveyor Edward Tregear, in association with Whitcombe and Tombs, also assisted in the production of a set of school readers; yet his fascination with oral tradition was perhaps more reflective of an interest in the possible origins of Polynesian peoples, a topic he wrote on and published in *The Aryan Māori* in 1885.[34] In the early twentieth century, Whitcombe and Tombs printed a series of historical storybooks, *Legends of the Maori,* followed by *More Tales of Maori Magic* written by Edith Howes, which were written for schoolchildren aged between seven and fourteen.[35] Like her contemporaries, Kate McCosh Clark drew much of her work from Grey's earlier compilations. In *Māori Tales and Legends,* one of many books she scribed for young and older readers, she wrote of Māui as the "Hercules of the Pacific," a common reframing of the indigenous worldview within Western models that likened Māori figures often to their perceived mythic Greek and Anglo counterparts.[36] This connection between Western folk tales was certainly a part of the rationale behind Whitcombe and Tombs' association with the Dutch colonist, poet, and ethnologist Johannes Carl Andersen, whose *Māori Fairy Tales,* also intended for children, was published in the early twentieth century with the hope that readers already familiar with the genre would recognize the famous similarities, even if only in name.[37]

The race to lure young learners and inculcate within them important information regarding the ancient lore of their new country was a challenge happily taken up by a wide variety of colonial writers and publishers. A. H. and A. W. Reed, also eager to enter the school marketplace dominated by Whitcombe and Tombs, circulated four small booklets in 1943, the *Raupo Series of School Readers.* Educational texts similar to these were followed by other related issues, such as *The Coming of the Maori to Ao-tea-roa,* and then, *Māui,* by 1943.[38] In 1946, A. W. Reed published the highly popular *Myths and Legends of Maoriland,* again written for "young people" and specifically for the "children of New Zealand" so that they might better "treasure their heritage of ancient story."[39] These examples of early writing set the scene for what would emerge later in A. H. Reed's *Treasury of Maori Folklore* (1963) and *Wonder Tales of Maoriland*

(1964) and in Peter Gossage's *How Māui Found His father and the Magic Jawbone* (1980).[40] The prolific output of books by A. H. and A. W. Reed and Whitcombe and Tombs, together with the reprints of Grey, Taylor, Howe, and the emerging work of Gossage and others, packed school shelves and public libraries with a growing literature for both young and older readers on Māori mythology. Thus, indigenous Māori oral history through a century of European invasion was being remade, displaced, and repositioned by colonizers.

By the late twentieth century, and years into my own upbringing, publishers had commenced the production of a large array of school sets, picture books, and even oral soundtracks of storytellers reciting myths for younger listeners.[41] During this period, the work of Māori authors and compilers also appeared more regularly with contributions from Robyn Kahukiwa, Keri Kaa, and Meri Penfold, whose books on my own ancestors Māui and Paikea were popular with new generations.[42] The significance of Māori writing in our own language was also highlighted in the work of one of my own tribal leaders, Katerina Mataira, whose Māori language books for varying ages coincided with the Māori language revitalization movement and similar initiatives of the 1980s.[43] One of the most memorable books then in our household was Kahukiwa and Kaa's collaborative rendition of *Paikea,* although not because of the story, but more for the illustrations and the fact that we could say "here was our relative" in text, a person important enough to have a book of his own.[44] In reflection, with such a vast array of literature on our oral histories in public circulation—and for so long—the question of legitimacy, history, and myth was not a conscious issue for me as a young reader. The shaping of our stories in these books was such a normalized part of our world that even our own people engaged in the process were most likely unaware of the historical reconfiguring taking place, in which our oral histories had been steadily relegated to such a subordinate position.

This appropriation and displacement of Māori oral history essentially consigned a large amount of our history to the realms of Eurocentric colonizer "pre-history." Māui and Paikea, as historical figures, simply did not survive this transition to print, where myths were necessarily weeded out from the rigors of scientific objective empiricism, the core theory and practice within a growing professional history discipline.[45] In folk tales and myth they were merely antiquarian relics of a culture civilized beyond, as George Grey and A. A. Grace both argued, the invalid "mental workings of a primitive," "heathen," and "savage" people.[46] Outside of the classroom, books such as James Cowan's *Maori Folk-tales of the Port Hills* reflected a desire by some to know the history of the landscape, yet even in this genre myth too was carefully distinguished from historical fact.[47] But myths and fairy tales, more than simply the stuff of children's books, certainly had their place in popular public histories and academic writing.

The New Zealand national story, itself ironically a mythic tale of settlement and becoming, had steadily emerged in the writing of scholars such as W. H. Oliver, whose opening chapter in *The Story of New Zealand* reflected the "progressive" national narrative as one that tracked the country's evolvement "From Wilderness to Frontier."[48] W. P. Morrell's simply titled *New Zealand* published in 1935 also sought to "interpret the history of New Zealand as the growth of a nation."[49] Histories such as these were all too common throughout the twentieth century, rarely drawing on Māori oral history in any substantial or meaningful way. Keith Sinclair's *A Destiny Apart, New Zealand's Search for National Identity* in 1986, for instance, argued that "if we content ourselves with the Maori traditions as they were first recorded we find a mixture of unfiltered fact and fable, which contributes little to firm knowledge."[50] This was reflected in Sinclair's careful decision to include, albeit cautiously, an account of "The Fish of Māui" story as a prologue, in which he described our ancestor Hine-ahu-one a "Dawn-maid," and the male issue of Tāne-nui-ā-rangi, another ancestor, the "Maori Adam."[51] Most significant though, as was the case in Sinclair's *A Destiny Apart*, Māori oral histories were essentially absent or confined to quaint curtain "prehistories." By the end of the twentieth century, the legacy of this writing had become well entrenched in New Zealand classrooms as part of the history curriculum.[52]

The national myth of progress flourished in the writing of authors such as James Belich, but in *Making Peoples*, he commented on the surprise among Europeans "at how well [the Māui story] accorded with the size and the shape of the three islands."[53] Similarly, in his popular *Penguin History of New Zealand*, Michael King remarked that "the climax of Māui's expedition" could be viewed as "a poetic evocation of the up-thrusting, down-thrusting, volcanism, glaciations and erosion which sculpted New Zealand's modern land forms."[54] Their inclusion of Māori oral histories, cautious and sterile, were not the same as the living oral accounts heard and cherished in the tribal histories I grew up with. In mainstream histories such as these, oral histories were devalued as prehistory, and Māori experiences reduced to peripheral subplots within the dominant settler story of national progression. For some time, the only Māori account similar to the colonizer "national" story has been Ranginui Walker's *Ka Whāwhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle without End*, but even in this counter narrative, indigenous oral history was summed up as myth in what Walker described as "three major myth cycles."[55] More recently, Atholl Anderson has co-written another broad Māori history of *Tangata Whenua* (native people of the land), with his chapters driven primarily from an archaeological perspective in which indigenous oral accounts are sometimes employed to support the narrative.[56] But his is an approach founded, still, on the same empiricist views that continue to see indigenous oral history as unreliable tradition, and persists with the notion that Māori oral history should be tested and verified by Western methodological tradition.[57]

In my tribe, Ngāti Porou, the place of oral history in text has been surprisingly varied and rich, yet few homes, ours included, kept copies of the major literatures more easily available to readers now. I can recall only one, aside from the famous collection of old songs in Apirana Ngata's *Ngā Mōteatea* volumes, which itself was not common to most homes we visited, and was certainly not bedtime reading.[58] Beyond genealogy charts, which were items kept separate not only from children but other prying eyes, was Bob McConnell's history of the Township *Te Araroa*, a locally published book that was not owned by many.[59] Written sources regarding the oral history I grew up with were not conspicuous commodities in the home, and it was not until my years at university that I discovered the vast reservoir of work on our tribal area and people produced by early researchers. These oral histories in text, or as some called them, oral traditions, included Rongowhakaata Halbert's extensive study on the migratory voyages of the *Horouta* canoe, and the very early writing of Walter Edward Gudgeon, who as a Māori land court judge in the late nineteenth century produced "The Māori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand" for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in a range of volumes from 1894 to 1897.[60] Like Gudgeon, R. J. H. Drummond also drew extensively on "oral tradition," and in his master's thesis "The Origins and History of Ngāti Porou" in 1937 opined that traditions, particularly those that were associated with "deeds of the super-natural," could "at the least, make us slightly incredulous as to their foundation in fact."[61] This was certainly removed from Gudgeon's more liberal evaluation, in which he argued that Māui was a real person who lived, and whose stories might be understood as allegorical.[62]

Despite these varied appraisals of oral traditions as invalid or reliable sources, their place as central components of each historical narrative tended to reinforce them as history rather than myth. This much more palatable "oral history," then, could be researched and written from oral "traditions," thus constituting a valid interpretation of tribal origins, migration, settlement, wars, events, and peoples. Like Drummond and Gudgeon, other writing of our tribe included general references to oral history and tradition. Writing on "Tūwhakairiora," Waipaina Awarau stressed that "the story of Tūwhakairiora is no myth or mere tradition," but "a history which in the absence of writing was transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth."[63] Similarly, in "A History of Tokomaru Bay," Mark Isles argued that by "focusing on the concept of 'traditional history' we are in fact aided in understanding what stories are saying."[64] These texts, although inclusive of oral histories, drew widely on written documents, particularly the nineteenth-century Māori Land Court minute books and Māori newspapers, contemporary journal articles, and family manuscripts.[65] However, many moved beyond these types of written sources citing oral testimony and communication from varying informants and experts within the tribe and particularly their own family. This included Apirana Mahuika, whose thesis on "Ngā Wāhine Kaihautū

ō Ngāti Porou: Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou" (1974) collated evidence from print, while drawing widely on personal communication transmitted orally in a range of circumstances from varying social and political contexts.[66] Substantially different from the literature on myth and legend, these tribal histories did not enjoy the same public dissemination and were not readily available to schools or a general readership. Indeed, this lack of local history available to our tribal East Coast community was noted by Monty Soutar, who in his thesis, "A History of Te Aitanga-ā-Mate," sought to address this absence in educational resources.[67] This imbalance between preferred historical texts and local oral history accessible in schools and the public domain accentuated further the distance between what was considered essential for general consumption, and academically rigorous enough to constitute a viable history.

Despite a lack of indigenous oral history in schools, books that relied on oral histories as their main sources of reference were not completely absent from libraries and public spaces. When I grew up, there were a range of classic tribal histories available to interested readers. Don Stafford's tribal history of *Te Arawa*, for instance, was first published in 1967, while John Te Herekiekie Grace's similar tribal history of *Tūwharetoa* had appeared nearly a decade earlier in 1959.[68] The intellectual foundations of these histories, based as they were on tribal oral histories, spoke immediately to the tensions between myth, fact, history, and the perceived frailties of oral evidence. In regard to native oral testimony, Stafford stressed that numerous stories "must be open to doubt in the form given by tradition," in some cases simply defying all the "laws of logic." Later, he urged readers to draw their own conclusions, keeping in mind the notion that "tradition in its original form" was meant to be heard with all its inaccuracies.[69] This concern with the idea of oral tradition as history was certainly not new to these types of books. Elsdon Best, in his early work on *Tūhoe* people, echoed similar sentiments regarding the oral accounts of his informants.[70] Likewise, in *The Story of Aotea*, in 1924, T. G. Hammond wrote that "while I fittingly characterize that of which I write as 'a story'. I do not suggest that it is a story distinct from historical fact; but that it is history and traditions recounted as our ancestors would have told the same tales when they were living in the Stone Age."[71] Assertions such as this, although skeptical of oral traditions, fused together oral history as a way of thinking about how tribal histories, in spite of their weaknesses, might be thought of as more than simply mythic imagination.

Acknowledgment of tribal "oral history" gained momentum in the work of scholars such as Pei Te Hurinui Jones, who in the tribal history *Ngā iwi ō Tainui* argued vigorously that "Māori traditions are not located in some timeless past but are invariably diachronic narratives linked precisely to detailed genealogical lattices defining a chronology that is internally consistent and in conformity with biological constraints."[72] Rev. J. C. Laughton, writing in his foreword to the tribal

history of *Tūwharetoa*, commended it for rescuing "the tribal heritage from the ravages of time, and the danger of being irrevocably lost in a changing civilization."[73] Within texts such as these, Māori oral histories, then, were seen as more than just fables. Like the living and breathing stories heard in my upbringing, they too were considered oral history. However, in writing and print, Māori oral histories were predominantly reduced to fantasy, and in historical scholarship regularly excluded as unreliable and fickle sources, sometimes disconnected from their local communities by "experts" who failed to cite their informants.[74] In written tribal histories they found firmer footing as central components of the master narrative, and although still considered dubious by some, were defined more as oral history than just tradition, fable, or folklore.

Rethinking Oral History in New Ways

Not only do indigenous peoples think about oral history differently, we also think about oral tradition as very much overlapping and often interchangeable and not separate from oral history at all. On the international stage, and in its literature, however, there is a tendency to think of oral history and oral tradition as two distinctive and separate disciplines that are different in method, form, and practice. For Ngāti Porou, aural transmission is more nuanced and "living," while the printed and written is fossilized and therefore removed from the people and places they originated. And yet, we still embrace what has been collated from our aural transmissions that now appear in print and digital forms. But the disciplines of oral history and tradition that are popular globally today have created an odd division between orality and reliability, tradition and history. For Ngāti Porou, and other indigenous peoples, it is important to disentangle and reweave the truth of our oral histories and traditions. Beyond sources of vital importance for our history, distinguishing indigenous perspectives offers valuable instruction for the academy, drawn from the experience and alternative perspectives of our communities. In my time as an academic I have seen how both oral history and oral tradition have been defined in ways that simply fail to reflect native practices or views. It is these observations, my own research, and a deep desire to offer an indigenous voice on the topic of oral history that have led to the production of this book. The key questions at work here ask: how do indigenous peoples make sense of oral history? Are native understandings of oral history different from oral tradition, and how do native understandings of oral history like those in Ngāti Porou converge or depart from the definitions, theories, politics, and practices espoused in the disciplines of oral history and oral tradition today?

In exploring these questions, the intent is not to simply survey indigenous oral histories or traditions to see what is different from predominant mainstream oral history or oral tradition definitions. Rather it is an exploration of how the fields of oral tradition and oral history are themselves different before we even begin to think about indigenous perspectives. I argue that oral history and oral tradition share overlapping features and interests but remain distinctive disciplines. More important, I argue that indigenous oral histories and traditions cannot be adequately defined by non-indigenous peoples, and that Ngāti Porou perspectives converge and diverge from the work of oral historians and oral traditionalists and offer new ways of defining and understanding the discipline as a whole.

2

The Displacement of Indigenous Oral History

It is difficult to see indigenous perspectives in the handbooks and readers that dominate the field of oral history today. For natives who come from communities where oral history is crucial to cultural survival, this absence is a reminder of how our knowledge has been displaced not simply by the usual colonizing suspects but by the rise of global intellectual imperialism.[1] In the evolution of twenty-first-century oral history theory and practice, indigenous definitions and understandings of oral history have rarely been embraced or acknowledged. How could oral historians, so aware of the value of orality and so committed to amplifying marginalized and silenced voices, be so out of touch with indigenous understandings of oral history? This irony is nothing new for indigenous peoples, who have long endured the removal, assimilation, and other-ing of our worlds to make way for supposed superior societies. Even when native knowledge has been included, it has too often been mediated by non-indigenous researchers who claim to be experts in native history. "We talk, you listen" did not mean we were surrendering knowledge. It was a call to let native people speak.[2] In the expanding field of oral history, indigenous researchers have often wondered how our perspectives resonate at all with current ideas and definitions in the discipline. I recall having this very conversation with a group of indigenous researchers during an International Oral History Association (IOHA) Conference many years ago.[3] The hosts had organized a "break-out" session on "indigenous memory"—a reflection of the way oral history is sometimes used interchangeably with memory.[4] But many of the native scholars who spoke in that session were concerned that their understandings of oral history did not fit well within the association and conference. It was during this discussion that some suggested it might be good to write an indigenous perspective of oral history. This book is a direct result of that conversation and many more afterward. However, providing an indigenous understanding of oral history first requires a little more context. A brief review of how oral history became a field of study

separate from oral tradition and foreign to indigenous understandings reveals how native peoples were not merely left out of the shaping of both fields, but were effectively displaced and repositioned by those who redefined indigenous oral history without consulting the natives.

Naming and Claiming Native Oral Histories as Tradition

Somewhere in the colonizing process indigenous oral histories were claimed by invading scholars and then remade and named as oral traditions. In this colonizing of indigenous knowledge, the native oral past was stripped of history and repositioned as the unreliable ramblings of superstitious savages. This displacement reduced indigenous precolonial and preliterate experiences to the realms of "prehistory," essentially removing from native people the power to assert their own oral accounts as legitimate histories. Claiming indigenous oral history within this new intellectual framework where oral tradition and oral history diverged had a severe impact for native peoples. It invalidated indigenous oral accounts as unviable and set parameters that controlled how those oral records might be used, verified, considered reliable, or dismissed. Oral history and tradition, in this new world, became a set of sources and practices defined not by native peoples, but by their colonizers.

Although Western scholarship noted the presence of oral tradition in all cultures, the growing preference for robust scientific approaches following the Enlightenment began to radically change the way tradition and history were perceived in and beyond Europe. For those indigenous communities who became entrapped in the colonizers' webs of empire this meant having to ride the tides of intellectual change.[5] Indeed, as history and other disciplines began to develop "professional" organizations in the nineteenth century, native traditions were largely resigned to the confines of ethnographic and anthropological studies in tradition and folklore. By the twentieth century, the first signs of an emerging scholarly literature in "oral tradition" surfaced in the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord's analysis of the Homeric ballads. Lord, in *The Singer of Tales,* developed Parry's hypothesis, which he called the "oral formulaic theory." This, he argued, offered a way in which scholars might identify the orality of a verse or chant by examining the regularity of employed metrical conditions within the stanza that "express an essential idea."[6] For scholars of cultures whose traditions were predominantly sung, this theorizing on the form of their sources offered an engaging reading. Parry and Lord's theory, although not a comprehensive guide on the form and nature of oral traditions, would feature predominantly as a pivotal reference point in later writing by oral traditionalists passionate about the

rhythms of aural memory.[7] While folklorists were scrutinizing metrical patterns, scholars in the areas of ethnohistory and anthropology were considering the form of the oral traditions they worked with. One of the most influential of these writers was Jan Vansina, who wrote *De la tradition orale: essai de méthode historique* for French readers in 1961.[8] His study was acclaimed and promoted as a handbook for researchers interested in oral evidence.[9] Praised by reviewers for the success of his "intense" functionalist analysis of oral traditions, Vansina's manifesto spoke mostly to the concerns of anthropological and ethno-historical communities of the West rather than the perspectives of indigenous peoples.[10] Nevertheless, his primary argument that oral traditions are "valid and highly useful sources of knowledge about the past" no doubt resonated with indigenous readers. Oral traditions, Vansina contended, "occupy a special place," although little has been done "towards analyzing their special features as historical documents."[11] This assertion of not only their significance as credible sources but as historical documents accentuated the need for academics to be aware that the study of oral tradition should not be left just to anthropologists.[12] While some admired Vansina as a "legitimator of their research," his emphasis on the strict conventions of historical method made it difficult, as Selma Leydesdorff and Elizabeth Tonkins observed, to see how he could have been followed by many of them.[13] In this, the first of his major studies, Vansina hoped to draw attention to the richness of oral traditions through an examination of their form and transmission. Nevertheless, based as it was within a community of preliterate peoples, he conceded its limitations in being able to speak to broader indigenous audiences influenced by the advent of literacy.

Following various responses to his initial study, Vansina's second major work, *Oral Tradition as History*, was published some twenty years later.[14] One of those influenced by Vansina's work over this period was David Henige, an historian and archivist, who wrote a significant analysis in 1972 entitled *The Chronology of Oral Tradition*.[15] In it Henige explored how oral traditions "arose in response to a broad range of stimuli," particularly the printed word, which he argued played a major role in how oral traditions were remade in a process he termed "feedback."[16] Similarly inspired by Vansina, Kenneth C. Wylie, writing in 1973 on ethnohistory, defined it "as the use of ethnographic and traditional documentary evidence within a methodological frame-work which combines the best analytical techniques of both history and anthropology."[17] Wylie's appreciation of Vansina's systemization "of the best methods for the use of oral tradition" led him to insist on a closer working relationship between traditional historiographical methods and ethnography, where "oral traditions or other non-written sources would be given emphasis at least equal to written sources."[18] In 1980 a series of reactions to Vansina's work were published in a special edition of the *Journal of Cultural and Social Practice*.[19] In it Joseph Miller questioned Vansina's

involvement "in oral history as a performer," asking, "does he actually play the other role, that of interviewer when he collects traditions? Does he do oral history?"[20] In analyzing the messages and mediums evident within oral traditions, Jeffery Hoover Van Fossen argued that "oral traditions must be interpreted in their own socio-political contexts," while in another reading, Anthony Belgrano suggested further that although Vansina included myth in his typology, he never probed for its meaning.[21] These essays sought to expand on Vansina's seminal study, and in the process acknowledge it as a pivotal reference point in the literature on oral tradition. Vansina's groundbreaking work, as much as providing definitions and processes for academic engagement with oral tradition, made merely a fleeting reference to oral history, a literature largely ignored, or only briefly mentioned, by other writers in oral tradition.

Both Lord and Vansina's influential texts tended to explore issues of form as a verbally transmitted source, yet as Henige and others noted, oral traditions also shared close associations with textual materials. In 1988, Walter J. Ong explored the spaces where the oral and written intersected, arguing that "literate peoples cannot fully comprehend purely oral forms, but make sense of orality within a literate mindset."[22] Ong's problematizing of the oral nature of transmission within a literate world provided a valuable contribution to the expanding literature on oral tradition, and featured prominently in other studies. This included Jack Goody's *The Power of Written Tradition*, in which he questioned the very nature of "oral literature," what it is, and how researchers might better understand it. Rather than speaking of "oral literatures," Goody described them as "standardized oral forms," which he argued helped to avoid the implication of letters embedded in the concept "literary."[23] The problem of using oral literature as a way of talking about oral traditions had also been discussed by Ong, who described it as "rather like thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels . . . [that is] you cannot without serious and disabling distortion describe a primary phenomenon by starting with a subsequent secondary phenomenon and paring away the differences."[24] This focus on the form of oral tradition continued in the work of scholars like Ruth Finnegan, who in 1995 co-edited *South Pacific Oral Traditions* with Margaret Orbell, where Māori songs and chants were examined in reference to the ideas of Ong, Parry, and Lord.[25] In much of the oral tradition literature commentators tended to explore the written dimensions of aural transmission in folklore and ballads, exploring oral formulaic ideas but rarely engaging with oral interview methods more common to oral history research.

Research and scholarship in oral tradition, then, has not often converged explicitly with the work of oral historians. In 1975, however, *Envelopes of Sound*, edited by Ron Grele, brought together scholars from varying "oral" divides, including Vansina, to address the "problem of what the oral historian is all about,"

and to discuss ideas about different methods, theories, and techniques.[26] It did not deliver a decisive response to these questions, but it did provide an important debate on the practice and nature of oral history.[27] Despite this collaboration, writers in oral history and tradition have tended to remain anchored in their areas of interest, leaving little consensus about what divides oral tradition from studies in oral history. However, clarifying the blurred lines that divide oral history and oral tradition has not always been a question of orality, but a reconsideration of what is meant by "history" or "tradition." In 1983, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, for instance, argued that traditions are constructed by advanced nation-states, and are more than just the archaic sources of preliterate societies.[28] An emphasis on the *Invention of Tradition* as a modern phenomenon, and a political fabrication, effectively disturbed previous assumptions where "Western experience" had been discursively privileged in a dualism between modernity and tradition.[29] Thus, definitions of oral tradition shifted between already established disciplines, where questions of orality, history, and tradition were regularly critiqued, but not necessarily resolved.

A growing interest in oral tradition led to the founding of the *Oral Tradition* journal in 1986 driven by an intention to provide a forum for worldwide discussion on the topic. This proved successful, with the publication of various special issues dedicated to the study of African, South Asian, Arabic, and Native American oral traditions.[30] Much of the journal's content, though, lingered on Parry and Lord's oral formulaic theory and Ong's ideas about orality and the literate world.[31] The journal served to solidify the notion that the study of oral tradition was by this stage an internationally recognized field. In 1990, research on Māori oral tradition appeared in the journal in a special edition on the South Pacific.[32] In her introduction, Ruth Finnegan commented on how the international scholarly literature had taken "surprisingly little account of the study of Pacific cultural form."[33] She noted the controversial views among Pacific commentators surrounding oral tradition as a concept, and encouraged readers to bear in mind the question: "How far and in what sense are examples in this volume 'traditional' and/or 'oral'?"[34] Contributions to the special edition included studies based in Tonga, Tokelau, and the Cook Islands, with Margaret Orbell's essay on the form and content in Māori women's love songs the only New Zealand based analysis.[35] In it Orbell argued that "other traditions, such as that of the Maori, in which songs were not improvised . . . were constructed largely from set themes and expressions" rather than just set formulas or verbal building blocks. The oral-formulaic theory, she argued, "in its present form" was unable to "*fully* explain the presence in oral poetry of set components."[36] Orbell's article, typical of much of the literature, looked back to Lord and Parry through an examination of song in what some termed ethnomusicology. More recently, articles such as Thomas McKean's "Tradition as Communication" have

considered the intersections of memory, culture, and orality in the representing of oral tradition in the present. His consideration of a more horizontal synchronic tradition illuminates a more socially eclectic process beyond Vansina and Lord's original work. He contends that "if tradition is process rather than content," then "the mechanics are essentially the same today as they were in preliterate times."[37] This theorizing speaks more directly to the complicated political, cultural, and social realities of Māori and Ngāti Porou, who have considered their views on oral tradition significantly different from those imposed from the outside world.

Writing on oral history and oral tradition in 1994, Julie Cruickshank noted then that "increasingly, indigenous peoples [were] demanding their oral traditions be taken seriously as legitimate perspectives on history."[38] Cruickshank's observations and assessments, set within a resurgent period of indigenous intellectual activism, also appeared after centuries of colonial research, in which native views of history had been well suppressed beneath the weight of European thinking. During the twentieth century in New Zealand, for instance, so-called oral traditions long provided the foundations of Māori tribal histories. Scholarship on Māori tradition over this period, however, did not offer commentary on the form, method, politics, or practice. Oral tradition attracted considerable interest among early scholars in New Zealand, culminating in the establishment of the Polynesian Society in 1892 amid rising concern about the demise of the Māori population.[39] This written preservation of oral traditions had already begun in a variety of printed sources, such as the Māori Land Court minute books, a range of Māori language newspapers, and the transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute. In the first volume of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (*JPS*) in 1892, the editors were keen to point out its primary function in promoting "the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races."[40] New figures such as Apirana Ngata, an active member of the Polynesian Society and Ngāti Porou leader, also turned their attention to the gathering and writing down of oral tradition for the purpose of cultural revitalization. In 1911, the *JPS* published the Rev. Mohi Turei's short essay in both Māori and English on the Ngāti Porou chief, "Tūwhakairiora." Turei's version emerged in time as a tribal classic in print as much as it had long been in oral transmission.[41] Short pieces such as this in the journal often made reference to native oral history, but rarely focused on method or the form of Māori oral traditions. The transition from the oral to the print was not a matter of much contention for Māori, who appeared more interested in recording and maintaining their histories within tribal collective memory as a predominantly oral process.

In 1924 Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), in "The Value of Tradition in Polynesian Research," provided a much-needed methodological discussion on

Māori oral tradition. His essay considered not only the form of oral traditions, but how they might be cross-referenced against other Pacific traditions to reinforce their validity. Commenting on the definition of oral tradition he observed that:

> Tradition has been defined as the handing down of opinion or practices to posterity unwritten. This definition can only apply to a people with a written language. In the case of a people without writing, all information whether applying to the past, present, or future, must of necessity be handed down to posterity unwritten if transmitted at all. With the native races, the term tradition has come to be more closely associated with historical narratives that, in absence of writing, have been orally transmitted . . . tradition must be regarded as history derived from an unwritten source.[42]

Buck's essay, with its assertion of the value of oral tradition as history, appeared decades before Vansina's study. Since Buck's article, little was produced in New Zealand that rivaled its focus.[43] Instead, indigenous oral tradition continued to follow, and experiment with, European modes of analysis. This was perhaps best highlighted in Ngāti Porou during a tribal lecture series that advocated a method related to the use and dating of genealogy tables as an "indispensable" approach to reconstructing Maori history.[44] This analysis operated on the view that the "length of a generation may be taken as twenty-five years" and therefore could assist in placing certain events in oral history within a chronological frame.[45] One of the most notable examples of this method in practice calculated the generations from the crews of the "great fleet," which scholars estimated as migrating to New Zealand at about AD 1350.[46] The fragility of this theory was later critiqued by D. R. Simmons in 1976, who revealed that earlier researchers like Percy Smith had manipulated oral traditions to arrive at his conclusions about one major historic voyage.[47] Episodes like this were not uncommon in the collisions between Māori and European interpretations of native oral tradition.[48]

Much of the study of oral traditions in Aotearoa and the Pacific, as it had been for European oral traditionalists, revolved around the analysis of songs and ballads. In the early twentieth century, Ngāti Porou leader Apirana Ngata compiled *Ngā Mōteatea*, an extensive collection of laments, love songs, and ballads.[49] To aid interpretation and understanding, Ngata included short genealogical tables, notes on the origins and stories surrounding the composers, as well as explanatory footnotes for keywords, place names, and people in the verses. More than simply a compilation of songs, Ngata eagerly anticipated that these volumes might eventually be used as educational resources for the teaching of Māori studies. His work became some of the most popular reference books for Māori oral history, language, and tradition, but perhaps the most

prolific collector of Māori songs has been Mervyn McLean, who completed a doctoral study on "Māori Chant: A Study in Ethnomusicology" in 1965. His considerable collection of songs also provides a valuable resource for Māori that includes fascinating insights into the process of transmission. By the early 1970s "the range of data available for the study of Maori chant" had greatly increased, gaining popularity not only with the general public but also as an increasingly popular subject of study among scholars.[50] Nevertheless, despite a proliferation in textual and recorded materials, the transmission of chants remained a process largely undertaken by tribal experts, specialists who relied more on oral knowledge rather than written or audio recorded data.[51]

In New Zealand, oral histories recorded in court records, contemporary newspapers, or private collections served as the dominant source materials for tribal histories produced in the twentieth century. The underlying question of historical accuracy remained an ever-present issue. Tiaki Mitchell, for instance, drew on a wide range of written oral histories to tell the story of the descendants of the *Takitimu* canoe.[52] Of the place of oral tradition, he confessed restraint in recording myths or supernatural stories. Mitchell argued that "it is only a belittlement of the personal ability and daring adventures accomplished by these stalwart men of old, to overshadow their achievement with supernatural powers."[53] Likewise, Ngāi Tahu tribal scholar Atholl Anderson, in *The Welcome of Strangers* in 1998, largely used written oral records, including submissions from the tribe's historic claims hearings.[54] Oral tradition as history in New Zealand, then, although a product of both interviews and static manuscripts, continued to be framed within a predominantly Western legitimization of the past that remained doubtful of oral sources. This apprehension contributed to an often fleeting discussion of the process. Indeed, few tribal histories offered any sustained analysis on the form of oral tradition, with the exception of Ruka Broughton, who in his study of the history of his tribe Ngaa Rauru kiitahi devoted a number of pages to a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of oral tradition. In reference to the validity of oral evidence, Broughton noted Vansina's assertion that "the reliability of these sources should be examined according to the usual canons of historical methodology."[55] However, writing further on the issue, Broughton also pointed out that "according to the elders, conflicting opinions and dissension [in Māori oral tradition] do not necessarily blur the truth, rather it isolates the truth"[56] Oral "compositions" within these tribal communities, he added, "are transmitted orally almost word-perfect down the generations and their content, therefore, remained unaltered in most cases. This content contains much that can be regarded as factual material, whether biographical, historical, [or] genealogical."[57] Broughton's perception is one of the few examples, at that time, of a Māori researcher advancing beyond Vansina's strict empirical practice. His approach to oral source material, although annotated with reference to the international

literature, was attuned to the more immediate cultural realities within which oral stories and songs had survived. For many Māori scholars, particularly in Broughton's era and beyond, the need to protect their history and knowledge from further colonial appropriation became an increasingly urgent matter. One of the more prominent commentators on the issue was Hirini Moko Mead, who in 1977 argued that Europeans (Pākehā) were taking our knowledge without negotiation because they believed that it was essentially New Zealand culture.[58] Ngāti Porou scholar Keri Kaa argued further that "it is time we set things straight by getting down to the enormous task of writing about ourselves."[59]

In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was established in New Zealand as a means to redress past grievances.[60] However, far from liberating Māori history, the Tribunal's emphasis on legal process meant that oral histories and traditions once again became subject to the scrutiny of a foreign evaluative analysis. New Zealand historian Giselle Byrnes has pointed out, "this was history written to an agenda as set out in the claimants 'statement of claim,' one in which the kind of truth that the Tribunal produces is not absolute, but highly conditioned and constructed by the immediate social and political context."[61] In appraising the validity of Māori oral histories within a non-Māori framework, Tribunal histories severely influenced the way in which oral history has been researched within New Zealand for well over two decades. This subjection of Māori oral history to tradition and Western modes of analysis became a major concern for indigenous peoples. Commenting on the issue, Ngāi Tahu tribal leader Tipene O'Regan asserted that "my past is not a dead thing to be examined on the postmortem bench of science without my consent and without an effective recognition that I and my whakapapa [genealogy] are alive and kicking."[62] On Māori history and tradition, Joe Pere, a Tūhoe tribal scholar, also observed that:

> Our repositories are the people that we cling to; there is no deviation; whatever they've said, their word has been transmitted down to us. This is because our repositories have not only been trained, skilled, rote-learned, whatever we might like to call it. But they have also taken on board a very sacred mission of transmitting information.[63]

In describing the process of oral transmission in these ways, Pere, O'Regan, Broughton, and others fiercely rejected the notion that supposed Māori oral traditions should be merely subject to an examination within the interpretive parameters of Western historical methodology. Nevertheless, although aware of the need to ensure historical accuracy, most Māori writers on oral tradition have found it difficult to reconcile Western approaches with native understandings of oral history. Rather than reclaim Māori tradition as oral history, some remained committed to explaining how these native traditions remained viable

to present-day communities. Whakatōhea tribal scholar Ranginui Walker, for instance, argued that:

> Maori myths and traditions are logically arranged and related systems that fulfilled explanatory, integrating, validating, historic and socialization functions for the people who owned them. Although possessing super-normal powers in an age of miracles, the heroes of myths and traditions behave basically in human ways. They love, hate, fight and die just as their living counterparts do. Embedded in the stories are themes and myth-messages that provide precedents, models and social prescriptions for human behavior. In some cases the myth-messages are so close to the existing reality of human behaviour that it is difficult to resolve whether myth is the prototype or the mirror image of reality.[64]

Similar to Walker, other native scholars also produced their versions of how oral traditions might be understood by outsiders. In *Ngā Pikituroa ō Ngāi Tahu/ The oral traditions of Ngāi Tahu,* Rawiri Te Maire Tau, for instance, described Maui as "a figure of myth rather than history."[65] He argues that beyond a certain period of time known as "the distant past," unverifiable oral tradition can only be thought of as myth. In defining oral history, myth, and oral tradition, Te Maire Tau has contended that:

> The recent past refers to what the writer sees as human history. The distant past is seen . . . as the realm of myth. A definition of oral tradition is simply the passing down of tribal information that deals with the recent and distant past over a series of generations. Oral histories relate to events recalled within one's lifetime or of the lifetime of an informant.[66]

In exploring "truth" and reliability in oral traditions, Māori scholars have yet to settle on a consensus. Some, like Te Maire Tau and Ranginui Walker, suggest we look either at the deeper subjective value within the traditions or apply evaluative rubrics that might yet determine the difference between myth and history in order to make sense of their value and legitimacy. However, for other tribal thinkers, the more common approach has been to point scholars in the direction of Māori-centric frames of interpretive analysis with the intention of enabling oral histories to be told and understood on native terms. Writing on this approach, Māori historians Danny Keenan and Mere Whaanga have argued for the need to examine and present Māori oral history from the cultural contexts within which they belong. Keenan, for instance, has argued that "the concept of the paepae [a formal location for speech making] can be used when recording and arranging Māori oral histories . . . to ensure that they conform to the

same whaikōrero [speechmaking] conventions (of the marae or tribal meeting space)."[67] The most telling aspect in Keenan's writing is his consideration of oral history and oral tradition as essentially the same thing. "Oral history," he opines, "at once provides both narratives of the past, and frameworks within which to interpret those narratives [in the present]."[68] However, Keenan's focus on the performative transmission of the oral evidence such as formal speechmaking in local Māori ritual and practice is not the same as the life history interviews that have become common to oral historians. Keenan's underlying point, however, is that in researching and presenting Māori oral evidence, historians might more appropriately communicate them when portrayed in their own specific cultural contexts.

For Māori and other indigenous people, keeping up with, resisting, and modifying oral tradition has been a constant battle to try to reclaim authority over the way our oral accounts are actually viable histories. Most have not engaged too deeply with the now-established literature in the study of oral tradition aside from those who have been working with songs and chants, and many are similarly unaware that oral tradition and oral history are predominantly two separate fields. But understanding that oral tradition today is a field that developed with significant influence from the scholarship of Milman Parry, Albert Lord, and Jan Vansina is important to recognizing how it is not only different from oral history, but has been negotiated in the work of indigenous scholars. Among Māori and Ngāti Porou, for instance, the oral formulaic theory and tradition "as history" have been experimented with by local researchers.[69] Where orality and textuality were issues of major debate for oral traditionalists, Māori tended to consider them as part of the broader oral world they inhabit. While Ngāti Porou and other Māori scholars experimented with European definitions of oral tradition, they ultimately sought to refine them within their own tribal paradigms. In this way Māori never considered oral tradition as a separate discipline from oral history, but oral tradition was also not a subfield commonly heralded in the work of historians.[70] Thus, the vagueness or rather the multiplicities of oral tradition as folk songs, myths, and stories has made it difficult to neatly place in any one field. This was noted in mid-1990s by Julie Cruickshank, who observed that both oral history and oral tradition "remain ambiguous because their definitions shift in popular usage."[71] The differences and similarities between the studies of oral tradition and oral history, then, have not been substantially discussed in the literature either in or beyond the New Zealand context. Scholarship in Māori oral history despite its strong focus on oral tradition has not drawn on the international literature in tradition or oral history very often.[72] What is also striking is that the study of oral tradition has seldom accounted for the work of oral historians, where theories of memory, and thinking about the form of oral sources, have also been prominent topics.

From Native Oral History to Western Methodology

Like oral tradition, oral history too has its roots in verbal transmissions passed on through generations.[73] These were the oral histories indigenous peoples knew and kept, with many of these keepers trained intensively in remembering and reciting. But whether the recorded stories of the ancient Greeks, the scribed proverbial sayings of China's Zhou Dynasty (1122–256 BCE), or the *griot*'s transmission of genealogies in Africa, oral history, like "tradition," has been practiced for many centuries by all people.[74] This verbally transmitted practice, however, changed radically in the nineteenth century as professional history adopted empirical methods relative to the reliable evidence. The validity of oral history and oral traditions in this new "professional" climate came under intense scrutiny. While oral traditions developed into a study of myths, folklore, songs, and legends, oral histories became more a methodological endeavour in which handwritten notations of verbal interviews remained common practice for some researchers. In the collecting of oral traditions, native oral histories became fables and curious tales of the exotic other, while contemporary testimony recorded with indigenous peoples sometimes made it into serious oral history accounts like native land court hearings. Oral history, over this period, and for much of its evolution throughout the twentieth century, was reduced primarily to a methodological approach. In this new era of reliable and unreliable history, oral history survived a long period of exile.[75] During that time, as it became more and more about the recording of oral testimony, oral history steadily shifted away from the dynamic and varied forms and practices familiar to various indigenous communities. This survival was largely driven by those intent on using recorded "eyewitness" testimony and life experiences. In the United States, as Rebecca Sharpless writes, "some historians . . . were never won over by the scientific approach." In the 1890s, for instance, she notes that oral history research was conducted by Hubert Howe Bancroft, who hired assistants to interview and create biographies from a diverse group of people living in the western United States.[76] The introduction of the Federal Writers Project in American in the 1930s led to a collection of life stories produced by W. T. Couch in 1939.[77] In New Zealand, James Cowan published *The New Zealand Wars* (1922), drawing on oral accounts of veterans from the nineteenth-century conflicts between Māori and the invading British.[78] Like other European researchers in his era, Cowan's use of oral testimony reflected a desire to present the voices of marginalized peoples. Indeed, this has been a recurring theme in oral history. Graham Smith notes that "in the 1950s, the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University and the Welsh Folk Museum established 'folk

life' collections that drew on 'the recording of minority groups, such as Gaelic speakers.'"[79]

Although much of this work centered on the collecting of folklore, other projects focused specifically on the dialectal features retained within specific regions and communities.[80] To this extent, oral traditions sat nicely within the bounds of oral history practice, featuring in some of the first issues of the British *Oral History* journal (originally produced in 1971).[81] With the advent of sound recording technology, new source materials soon appeared. At the same time Couch had been collecting oral testimonies in America, Allan Nevins was amassing the life stories of influential Americans in an attempt to breathe life into a discipline he considered lacking in energy.[82] Following Couch's *These Are Our Lives,* a selection from interviews conducted with "ordinary southerners," Nevins set about establishing what many believe was the first oral history program in the United States, in an attempt to grow "the mass of information" potentially available for American researchers and historians.[83] Initially recorded in longhand, Nevins collection soon moved to transcriptions with the advent of the first American-made tape recorder in 1948.[84] In Britain, BBC recordings were also utilized, and by 1964 Charles Parker, together with Peggy Seeger and Ewan McCall, produced eight *Radio Ballads.* Graham Smith points out that "these were based on long recordings with 'ordinary people'; boxers, fishermen, migrants, miners and construction workers."[85] According to Smith, oral history in Britain had, for some time, focused on biographical narratives, the recollection of an event, movement, or a moment in the individual's life.[86] The value of oral history in amplifying the voices of not only the "ordinary" individual but the oppressed in society made it a highly useful methodology for the growing work of scholars in a rapidly changing twentieth century. In 1945, for instance, the American folklorist B. A. Botkin produced *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery,* in which vivid and personalized accounts provided powerful narratives about what it meant to be a slave, to be free, to endure, and to feel as a human being.[87] In contrast to the testimonies of influential public figures like those featured in Nevins's work, studies like Botkin's gave voice to the marginalized in mainstream scholarship. By the 1960s, feminists and labor historians were using oral history to reveal the views of those difficult to locate in previously written archives. In the United Kingdom, a "history from below," aided by the testimonies of the British working class, also provided sources for new histories.[88]

This "revival" of oral history developed from a new generation of historians "steeped in the politics of the New Left, civil rights and feminism."[89] However, oral history, for many, remained a dubious pool of data marred by personal subjectivity and seen as "a remarkably slippery medium for preserving fact."[90] Despite these reservations, the "new" oral history had by the late 1960s attracted attention from a broad array of groups interested in both its methodological

and political potential. As the discipline evolved, its underlying definitions and assertions were, however, seldom taken up by indigenous scholars who continued to see oral history as more than interview recordings, not distinctively separate from oral traditions, and not a key political enabler of native oral histories. Thus, oral history over the twentieth century continued to build, but with little input from indigenous scholarship. Several organizations and societies emerged during this period. In the early 1970s the Oral History Society in Britain was founded and chaired initially by John Saville.[91] Oral history organizations had sprung into existence earlier in the United States with the Regional Oral History Office created at University of California, Berkeley, in 1954. Other universities in the United States followed suit, and by the mid-1960s some believed that a critical mass of oral history work nationwide necessitated a unification of practitioners and interested parties. The National Colloquium on Oral History in 1966, as it was originally known, later became the Oral History Association (OHA) of America, officially chartered in 1967. Like its British counterpart, the American Association produced an annual journal, the *Oral History Review*, from 1973. Together with its British equivalent, *Oral History*, these publications considered a wide variety of oral history topics from interviewing and transcription to specific projects in both countries, but rarely touched on native and indigenous topics. In June 1996, the International Oral History Association (IOHA) was formally constituted in Göteborg, Sweden. Its journal *Words and Silences/ Palabras y Silencios* has been published since 1997.[92]

In the South Pacific, the Oral History Association of Australia (OHAA) was founded in 1978. Nearly a decade later in 1986, the National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) was established. During this period oral history in New Zealand was "much less visible" in university departments than it was overseas. This, Anna Green argues, was in part due to the way oral and written histories had been categorized in New Zealand historiography by acclaimed New Zealand historian Judith Binney, who in 1987 wrote that "the contradictions in what constitutes history—oral and written—cannot be resolved."[93] In this supposed binary, definitions of history, whether oral or written, remained in tension not because scholars considered oral evidence irredeemably unreliable, but because Māori and non-Māori perceptions of oral history differed. In New Zealand, "mainstream" oral history research focused for some time largely on essentially interviewing, doing, and archiving, in what some have called a "rock 'n' roll" approach free from the intrusions of overly academic interpretive theory.[94] For many in New Zealand, oral history has also never been seen as "a branch of history" but simply a method for gathering evidence.[95] Of the contentious relationship between oral history and traditions, there have been various views in New Zealand, but the methodological perspective has often counted as one of the key indicative factors noted by oral historians. Writing

on the differences between oral tradition and oral history, for instance, Megan Hutching has argued that oral traditions are essentially "recollections from another person's lifetime rather than that of the informant" while oral histories are recordings with interviewees.[96] This remains an issue for many Māori, who see oral tradition as history, and oral history as much more than just interviews. The connection between ancestors and living descendants to whom Most Māori oral histories have been entrusted is also a process understood within specific indigenous views about genealogy and remembering as an important act of representation and tribal identity politics.

As oral history evolved in Western methodology, its entanglements with, and rejection of, tradition made it hard to align with indigenous practice and perceptions. Indigenous oral histories that had been transformed into myths and traditions by colonizers found little support from oral historians convinced of their own methodological peculiarities. Ron Grele, for instance, had argued that oral traditions are themselves predominantly based on myth while oral history is made up of "accounts and narratives which only become created by the active invention of someone asking questions from an historical perspective." For Grele, Jan Vansina's work was closer to myth than oral history.[97] "Myth," he argued, "with its utopian vison," "sacerdotal nature," "doubt or disbelief":

> Functions as a cohesive element in a society, in contrast to history, which because it explains the past in order to offer ways to change the future and serves as the basis of political philosophy, becomes an ideological tool to alter the social order. Thus while actual consequences follow from each view of the world, it is history in its most ideological form, which offers a plan for social action.[98]

Grele's assessment, although severely limiting of oral tradition and myth, accentuated a specific divergence in the ways he believed tradition and history differed functionally. Like many other oral historians, he continued to emphasize the interview as oral history's primary method accentuating its role in history as a "tool" for social and political action. But despite Grele's view on myth, it has remained a prevalent aspect of narrative, whether in recorded interviews or folk songs committed to print. In defining oral history as something different, Grele and other oral historians have continually highlighted its distinctive interview methodologies, social action politics, and even the form, or orality of the sources, as key to what makes oral history "different." This was stressed, for instance, by Alessandro Portelli, who pointed out that the orality of the sources was crucial.[99] What really makes oral history "different," he explains, is that written and oral sources "require different and specific interpretive instruments."[100] This question of orality is a major issue, especially for oral traditionalists whose sources are

often drawn from written or printed materials. For indigenous peoples, where orality is a much more fluid concept, the form includes an oral world inextricably connected to living rituals, carvings, and environments rich with visual and other multi-sensory sources. The invocation of orality as a key indicator in what makes oral history or even oral tradition different, then, is ambiguous in the literature. Indeed, for some oral historians, oral tradition is believed to be "normally applied to the practice of those historians working on the history of non-literate societies" while oral history remains a method and "not a historical subfield such as political, economic or social history."[101] The reduction of oral tradition as a study of non-literate societies, however, has been strongly refuted by those who point out that literate societies too have, and still, invoke their own powerful traditions, both orally and in print.[102] In all this confusion and contradiction, oral historians have nevertheless remained constant in the view that the study is essentially drawn from useful and oral interview data. Indeed, up until the 1970s oral interviews were considered in much the same fashion as documentary data: as a simple "source of factual evidence."[103] This antiquarian approach to interviewing was described by Michael Roper as "oral history in the reconstructive mode" but changed as scholars became increasingly interested in the subjective realities of their interviewees.[104] As oral historians turned toward a deeper "interpretive mode" of analysis, the field expanded rapidly.[105] In this "mode," oral historians developed a number of theories about memory, subjectivity, and narrative, focusing on oral history as not merely an interview, but as a sophisticated co-production in which various intersectional politics, cultural values, memories, and identities mingle and interact.[106]

This theorizing in oral history has figured significantly in how scholars have expanded the literature in the field. One of the more influential ideas explored by oral historians has been French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs's collective memory theory, in which individuals are thought to only remember as part of groups, and that all memories are based on a collective memory or consciousness.[107] This idea remains relevant to oral history today, evident in theories of composure where narrators seek to "compose" comfortable life histories through a negotiation of the prevalent myths and discourses in their contemporary societies.[108] Composure and collective memory, alongside other interpretive theories about narrative, emotion, and critical theories evident in histories of the working class, race, women's words, and queer histories, have shown how diverse and sophisticated oral history has become as a field of study.[109] Oral history, then, has developed as a discipline with its own distinctive methodological outlook, and predominant theoretical focus on memory and narrative. But while these key threads of memory and narrative have gathered momentum in oral histories that deal with race, gender, and class, indigenous oral histories have remained largely absent from the oral history literature. This seems odd,

given the fact that oral history in the second half of the twentieth century especially came to be seen as an approach that gave voice to previously silenced and marginalized communities.

In its political evolution as a field of study, oral history came to be seen by some as "a social justice project."[110] On this issue, South African scholar Sean Field writes that "many qualitative researchers across academic disciplines still motivate their oral history projects with missionary zeal as recording the 'the voices of the voiceless' as if 'ordinary people' do not speak out."[111] An advocation of this politics of empowerment in oral history is one that would appear to resonate with oppressed peoples, but for indigenous peoples has not been expressed in the political terms that make sense in our communities. In one recent IOHA Conference, for instance, oral history was described "as a democratic tool" that "records and preserves the memories, perceptions and voices of individuals and groups at all levels and in all endeavours."[112] But for indigenous peoples who have endured colonization, democracy has long been associated with the subordination and subsuming of our identity, history, and rights.[113] For natives who struggle against national myths that prescribe collective memories of citizenship, democracy works not as a liberating force but as a destructive and controlling system. Within the powerful myths of democracy, indigenous peoples have been assimilated into maturing nation-states and national identities in which democracy came to enable a perverse sense of equality that had little tolerance for native minorities who resisted being absorbed. In the evolution of now celebrated democratic nation-states, indigenous oral histories were appropriated, disfigured, colonized, and repackaged in the discourses of progress, unity, one land, and one people. Oral history for indigenous peoples, then, is not a "democratic tool" at all, but is more a decolonizing approach that resists the very democratic discourses that have been used to control us.

This is not to say that indigenous peoples do not want their voices to be heard. What this means is that native oral histories have their own political nuances, their own forms, methods of delivery and transmission, and their own particular take on existing oral history theories popular in the field today. Some native scholars, for instance, remain interested in the interpretation of myth in the literature of both oral tradition and oral history. Beyond the dubious place of myth in oral tradition as reliable historical narrative, oral historians have pointed out how myth is a valid and meaningful part of the way interviewees' reconstruct their lives and memories. Commenting on the importance of "imaginative paradigms" in the process of remembering, Raphael Samuel has defined myth as "a metaphor for the symbolic order, or for the relationship between the imaginary and the real." He argued that "for the personal life narrative as anywhere else . . . no statement made about one's past individually, is in any way innocent of ideology or of imaginative complexes."[114] In *The Myths We Live By*

both he and Paul Thompson contend that "as soon as we recognize the value of the subjective in individual testimonies, we challenge the accepted categories of history," and the individuality of each story then "ceases to be an awkward impediment to generalization, and becomes instead a vital document of the construction of consciousness."[115] While oral historians have noted the differences between what they believe is oral tradition and oral history, this is one of the obvious overlaps, where myth and memory are addressed by both sets of scholars in their own ways. This significant revaluing of myth in oral history has tremendous resonance for indigenous peoples, for whom myth is often associated with the flawed fables and fantasies generally associated with flimsy oral traditions.

Alongside myth and memory, oral historians have also closely considered the form and structure of narrative.[116] Narrative models adopted by interviewees are processes that also have resonance to indigenous oral history.[117] In examining the structure, myths, refrains, key phrases, and co-construction of spoken narratives, scholars have shifted away from the oversimplification of oral history as merely a method. This expanded interpretive interest within the field has led to further explorations of the exchange and creative synergies between narrator and listener, including the significance of the environment, audience, and mnemonic devices.[118] This broadening of the oral history experience, its performative world, artifacts, and rituals, is also another area in which indigenous peoples appear to share some resonance with oral historians. Native peoples are definitely storytellers, but narrative theory has rarely been a theme focused on by indigenous oral historians. Indeed, there have been few explicit analyses that show whether these two varying perspectives about narrative actually converge in terms of the way native peoples understand story-ing and narrative transmission. However, for native peoples, the importance of mnemonic devices and the narrators' environment widens the scope of oral history sources to include many of the important cultural rituals, artifacts, and spaces crucial to various definitions and perspectives of indigenous oral history.

In addition to narrative, myth, and memory, one of the other intriguing themes in oral history that has resonance for indigenous peoples is the question of subjectivity. Alessandro Portelli's exploration of subjectivity, remembering, and forgetting, in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, for instance, is one of many interesting examples of how oral history embraces not simply the truth of the narrative but its varying subjectivities. For indigenous peoples, these complexities in oral history are also important to the so-called unreliability of oral transmission in native communities. The careful negotiation of what one remembers is as much about what they forget, omit, and how that history sits alongside what oral historians refer to as the "collective memory."[119] What some conventional historians might see as a slippery medium for fact is for oral historians a rich reservoir for revealing the human mind, the individual's historical consciousness,

and the ways in which memories and histories are retained and expressed over time. While oral historians explore the subjective narratives composed by individuals who negotiate the broad scripts, discourses, myths, and memories at play in their various communities, indigenous peoples also consider the same encounters, but with perhaps more specific emphasis on the crucial nature of the collective "we" and "our" vital to indigenous politics, culture, and identity making. Oral history, then, has tended to focus on the collection of marginalized experiences through various nuanced individual subjectivities.

In seeking to give voice to oppressed and silenced minorities, oral historians have not always enabled these groups to define oral history as something beyond merely an interview or the individuals' negotiation of collective memory. There is very little written in the literature that addresses, for instance, the way indigenous peoples make sense of, or create and disseminate, oral history, and where there is, scholars have noted how native perspectives are significantly different. Cree historian Winona Wheeler, for instance, has emphasized this disparity in North America, where academic definitions of oral history as "planned tape recorded interviews" are diametrically opposed to "how most Indigenous peoples relate to recorded voices."[120] In *Life Lived Like a Story*, Julie Cruickshank aimed to amplify the voices of Athapaskan and Tlingit women and their ancestors, but did so within their cultural definitions of what oral history is. Her attention to the "culturally embedded stories" told and retold by her participants illustrated how each "mobilize[d] traditional dimensions of their culture—in oral narratives, songs, names of places and people—to explain and interpret their experiences."[121] These were oral histories beyond strictly audio recorded interviewees, were inclusive of tradition, the chorus of community, songs, genealogies, and ritual. Importantly, these indigenous testimonies and stories had their own language and culture that presented oral history as much more than a method of data collection, but an entire cultural world of transmission and history making. Similarly, in *Narrating the Past*, Elizabeth Tonkin's mixture of anthropological, historical, and linguistic approaches to the accounts of local Liberian narrators highlighted the intense cultural and social intersections at work in the way the past is recounted from their indigenous perspectives.[122] These studies remain important examples of the way indigenous oral history differs from the dominant international definitions of oral history over the past half century.

At the same time in which European scholars redefined native oral histories as oral traditions, the field of oral history developed with a focus on interviews, recordings, and life histories. Oral history as it is defined in the literature today, then, has little resonance with the way indigenous peoples define and describe history or orality. While narrative, collective memory, and the democratic impulse of oral history are all part of common parlance among oral historians,

these are not the terms commonly used in indigenous communities to describe oral history. In the differences between oral history and oral tradition, the significance of the sources, methods, theories, and political approaches have become key focal points. Thus, while oral traditionalists focused on formulaic memory theory, folk songs, and lore, oral historians emphasized the orality of their sources and turned to theories about individual and collective remembering. Similarly, oral traditionalists have favored observational approaches free from problematic local subjectivities, while oral historians have frequently heralded their approaches as a democratizing practice. For many indigenous peoples, however, these oral history political and methodological approaches have little resonance with native assertions of autonomy that have resisted and sought to decolonize the democratic discourses of settler nation-states. Yet oral history, with its increasing attention to subjectivity, narrative, myth, and memory, and the coconstructed and dynamic production of the recording, offers some interesting potential crossovers to indigenous thinking and research. But these ideas are not yet developed in oral history scholarship—at least not by indigenous scholars. If oral historians are still interested in empowering the marginalized, they should engage with the large body of native scholarship on ethics, interviewing, transmission, myth, memory, tradition, and oral history. These were indigenous perspectives lost in the evolution of oral history as a field that absented native oral narratives to the realms of oral tradition.

Indigenous Peoples, Māori, and Oral History

Indigenous peoples have long been wary of history, anthropology, and Western research in general. While indigenous researchers have necessarily written and worked within various fields of Western academia, many have consistently sought to indigenize, decolonize, and reconfigure those fields to enable indigenous perspectives. In doing this, indigenous peoples have written at length about research methods and ethics, focused on the interpreting and production of native sources and narratives, and contemplated indigenous definitions of history by drawing on native languages and cultural worldviews. The caution that has arisen about Western research practice comes from generations of oppression in which indigenous peoples have witnessed the colonization of our knowledge.[123]

In reclaiming our meanings of history, law, education, and other academic disciplines, indigenous scholars have produced a large body of writing and research about what we think native history is. On this topic, native Hawaiian scholar Huanani Kay-Trask has written that "to know my history, I had to put away my books and return to the land... [and] learn the language." She points out that "our story remains unwritten. It rests within the culture, which is inseparable

from the land. To know this is to know our history."[124] Her argument emphasizes the need to understand indigenous histories from our perspectives. Likewise, Linda Tuhiwai Smith has argued that the reclaiming of history by indigenous people is an "essential aspect of decolonization."[125] This self-determining is a powerful focus in the work of Māori scholars.[126] It rejects the idea that our past belongs to the colonizers, and that our narratives are simply a subfield within their categories of their history.[127] For these reasons, indigenous scholars, especially in Aotearoa, have been resistant to the limited definitions of oral history promoted in the international literature. This does not mean that global mainstream oral history has no benefit or relevance to Māori, but that indigenous scholars here in Aotearoa like other native scholars remain unsure about how international definitions relate to the work they do.[128]

In New Zealand, few Māori researchers have undertaken major oral history projects similar to those common to oral historians overseas. Monty Soutar's interviews with Māori Battalion veterans is perhaps the most notable example.[129] Soutar's methodological insights from that project are especially reflective of many of the issues discussed by oral historians outside of New Zealand, but he does not explicitly reference any of those studies. This disconnection highlights the distance between most local Māori research and international oral history scholarship. However, one of the few Māori oral historians who does draw on international oral history writing is Rachel Selby, who undertook a study of the impacts on Māori punished for speaking their own language at school, thus losing in the process, she argues, "the skill of memorizing and telling our stories which our grandparents told us."[130] Her consideration of not only the oral history method itself but the topic of language loss and preservation among Māori is exemplary of how both oral history and colonial issues for indigenous peoples here are inextricably entangled. Selby and Soutar's research provides powerful examples of "oral history" within tribal communities, but both are also excellent illustrations of how indigenous oral history in New Zealand has not been reliant on, or even that interested in, the work of oral historians overseas.[131] There is not a lot of specific writing that connects Māori with the ideas of oral history in international scholarship. One of the only publications that has dealt with specifically with oral history from a Māori point of view in New Zealand is Alison Laurie and Rachel Selby's co-edited compilation *Māori and Oral History: A Collection*.[132] In it, various Māori researchers write not simply about oral history interviews, but the idea that oral history is part of community practices, rituals, and cultural life. But like Soutar, very few make reference to the international oral history scholarship, or engage with the major ideas, themes, or questions that have been common in the work of oral historians abroad.

Māori scholars, and other indigenous researchers overseas, have regularly emphasized that native oral history is a powerful and crucial site and process

for our past and present storytelling. Storytelling has long been a focus in indigenous studies that draw on oral histories. Like the indigenous "lives lived like a story" that were highlighted in the work of Julie Cruickshank, native peoples in various contexts have accentuated the cultural significance of narration and oral narrative in their communities. In Australia, Lorina Barker has revealed the important dynamic of "yarnin" in indigenous oral history among her people.[133] In Canada, Judy Iseke, in her discussions with Métis elders, emphasized local narrative making as a significant indigenous practice that sustains the community, and validates their experiences and epistemologies. Storytelling in this sense is central to indigenous epistemologies, pedagogies, and research approaches.[134] In 2013, Dovie Thomason, an indigenous author and storyteller, spoke on "Lessons from My Old people" to the OHA Conference in Oklahoma framing how embedded the cultural art of story is to the way history and orality are woven together by native narrators.[135] Indigenous peoples like Dovie have been speaking about issues of guardianship, history, and oral history for some time. Oral history and storytelling from indigenous perspectives have also been discussed in the context of biographies and indigenous dialogue and "conversations."[136] More recently, In New Zealand, the art of the story in oral history transmission is referred to as "kōrero tuku iho" (stories passed on), and occurs in many contexts and multiple forms. Indigenous oral historians are not content to allow our perspectives to remain boxed into existing oral history subfields, and are increasingly questioning the definitions of what public oral history means for native peoples in their own national contexts.[137]

While indigenous oral history writing may not be widely disseminated in mainstream oral history journals, there is a significant body of work on native oral history archives. Kōrero tuku iho or oral histories appear in multiple ways, and one of the most frequent areas of research that draws on native oral history today are the settlement claims processes that occur in Court hearings and trials. During the same conference in which Dovie Thomason spoke about Native American oral histories, Karen Fox, a Māori Land Court judge, also presented a keynote address on the use of oral history and testimony via the court process in New Zealand. Māori oral histories recorded by scribes since the establishment of the Native Land Courts in the mid-1860s have long been viewed as a valuable archive by historians. The more recent audio and digitally recorded testimonies with elders today are another archive altogether, but are nonetheless still part of the Māori Land Court process, and have been important to settlement claims research for the past two decades. For Māori and First Nations peoples in Canada, the reconciliation process has provided a specific focus for recent research in native oral history. Bruce Granville Miller's *Oral History on Trial: Recognizing Aboriginal Narratives in the Courts* is one example of how indigenous oral history has been explored as "viable" within the legal system.[138] In it Miller contemplates

the "wider perspectives" of native oral histories as important sources that should be more closely considered, and argues that there is a "common ground among various parties interested in the incorporation of oral narratives into legal proceedings."[139] These examinations are important, but an explicit focus on the ways in which indigenous peoples themselves define and explain oral history in form and practice, and as theoretical and methodologically rich, is still needed. The need for a more detailed native explanation of oral history has been voiced before, by Julie Cruickshank, who in 1994 while commenting on oral history and oral tradition noted that "the challenge for the Western historian is to understand that Māori oral history provides more than alternative sources or even alternative perspectives. It has its own purposes and the primary purpose of the historian is to ascertain those purposes and to be responsible to them."[140] One way in which oral historians can do this is by taking account of the broad literature now available on indigenous views around history, orality, ethics, methodology, native knowledge production, and indigenous political aspirations. When Cruickshank suggested over two decades ago that the "strongest affirmation" of the way native peoples see oral history comes from their own sense of "historically rooted identity," she also stressed that for indigenous peoples "the very act of constructing, remembering, and transmitting narratives continues to be a reassertion of autonomy."[141] In the colonial fallout that consigned native oral history to the wasteland of tradition, a new scholarly empire of oral history has emerged with barely a trace of the oral history indigenous people once knew. The occupants of these spaces, although sometimes aware of each other, have only fleetingly sat down in conversation. For indigenous peoples like Māori and Ngāti Porou, being on the outside of oral "history" has had severe repercussions for the validity of our past and our ways of knowing. Enticing both oral traditionalists and oral historians back to fresh discussions about the form, nature, politics, and purpose of these fields, then, presents a challenge inextricably connected to the disruption, recalibration, and potential redistribution of power.

Rethinking Oral History and Tradition

The lack of indigenous perspectives in oral history readers and handbooks today is a reflection of the displacement of native knowledge by colonizers and the power of a global intellectual imperialism that has favoured Western methodologies and definitions. Oral history as a field of study arose and evolved as a practice that asserted itself as different to oral tradition in terms of its method, form, politics, and theory. This had a major impact for indigenous oral histories that had been claimed and repackaged as tradition, fable, and fantasy. But while oral historians and traditionalists outlined the differences in their approaches,

sources, politics, and theoretical interests, native peoples like Māori and Ngāti Porou necessarily experimented with and contemplated in various ways their understandings of tradition, history, and orality. Jan Vansina's affirmation of oral tradition, for instance, resonated to some extent with Māori researchers, but his ultimate fealty to Western historical methodology made his work difficult to reconcile with local perspectives. The oral tradition Vansina advocated featured predominantly in anthropological and ethnographic research and studies in folklore driven by ideas in Milman Parry and Albert Lord's oral formulaic theory. In oral history, memory theory was not focused in metric formulas but in the negotiations of individual and collective remembering. These are ideas that have some resonance in native communities and their understandings and experiences of oral history. It is crucially important to reemphasize the point that both oral history and oral tradition have become fields of study that are generally considered different from each other. These differences are important because they illustrate how oral history has been defined in specific categories that accentuate the form of oral history sources, the politics of oral history research, the methodologies of oral history practice, and the key theoretical threads of oral history interpretive analysis. To understand indigenous perspectives of oral history, like those in Ngāti Porou, it is, then, helpful to unpack how the form, politics, practice, and theory of oral history have their own resonance in native communities. For Ngāti Porou, the first step in understanding oral history is to revisit the idea of its "form": to examine how it is created, shaped, and viewed by those who transmit and share it across generations.

3

Rethinking the Form of Oral History

"Whakatete mai ko Hikurangi"

Thrusting upwards is Hikurangi[1]

When our ancestor Māui hauled in his great fish, Ngāti Porou oral history asserts that Mount Hikurangi was the first point to emerge from the ocean depths. It is recorded in the lines of the haka mentioned above in the saying "Whakatete mai ko Hikurangi"/"Thrusting upwards is Hikurangi," which is recited in various family and tribal occasions to this day. This event is commemorated in songs and stories, and serves as a political statement that affirms Māori indigeneity, and my tribal origins. For Ngāti Porou, this *is* oral history and tradition, or *kōrero tuku iho*.[2] Of Māori oral history and tradition Bradford Haami writes:

> The traditional Māori world was an oral culture. Language and memory (aided by mnemonic devices) were used by pre-literate Māori to preserve and communicate information and knowledge. Such a world reproduces its culture by embodying memories in words and deeds; "the mind through the memory carries culture from generation to generation." . . . The words and compositions of revered ancestors were sacred, and had great power and validity. They were "kōrero tuku iho" ("words handed down").[3]

The orality of kōrero tuku iho is implied here, yet with the advent of writing and other technologies, the "words" have found additional forms in new modes of expression that have modified and enhanced them.[4] Thus, for Ngāti Porou, oral history is not simply a matter of speaking or hearing, but reading and writing: it is an art form. Despite these variations, the orality of our histories and traditions continues to be emphasized. Why is this? Why is the oral so significant when our histories are so multifaceted and diverse? Indeed, when we speak of kōrero tuku iho as oral history, does it bear any resemblance with the sources used by oral historians?

Oral History as Ownership

For Ngāti Porou and other indigenous peoples the defining of oral history is a matter of power and liberation as much as it is a process of revitalization and preservation.[5] Linda Tuhiwai Smith has pointed out that for many indigenous peoples the reclaiming of history "is an important aspect of decolonization." She writes that "there are numerous oral histories which tell of what it means, what if it feels like, to be present while your history is erased before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people."[6] Taking ownership of the past, or what oral history is, and what oral tradition might be, is a common theme for indigenous. Ngāti Porou elder and spokesperson Apirana Mahuika had this to say about oral tradition:

> It is Ngāti Porou talking about Ngāti Porou. It is not anybody else talking about us. It is not about us writing about ourselves. It is about us talking about ourselves: that is oral tradition. It is about us singing about ourselves in terms of ngā mōteatea and so on, because our mōteatea is part of our history. It is about us doing the haka about ourselves. It is not us being written about by other people. That is what I define as oral. It's us, e kōrero ana mō tātou anō (talking about ourselves). Kaore e noho mā tētahi kē e tuhituhi ngā kōrero mō tātou (it is not about others writing about us). Kaore e noho mā tētahi kē e kōrero ngā kōrero mō tātou (it is not about others talking about us). In terms of this I don't expect a Ngā Puhi to come along and talk about Ngāti Porou, in the same way he doesn't want me to go there and talk about Ngā Puhi. I can talk about my experiences with Ngā Puhi, but that is totally different to Ngāti Porou talking about himself or herself.[7]

Ownership here is embodied in the unbroken form of oral communication that is kept and maintained by indigenous people on their own terms. Although this is an important aspect of oral history to Ngāti Porou, the intergenerational issue is considered one of the key indicators of difference between those in the international arena who study oral traditions and oral histories. Some oral historians, for instance, consider oral traditions a different "category of oral evidence" precisely because they "have been handed down by word of mouth" beyond the lifetime of their informants.[8] This was also the prevailing view maintained by Jan Vansina, who considered oral history a type of "immediate history," different from oral traditions, which he argued were no longer contemporary.[9] In contrast, oral history for indigenous peoples was always seen to be recurring in the present, thus traditions were not viewed as something beyond the lifetime of a person, but inextricably connected to their contemporary worlds. The

manipulation and regurgitation of oral history, then, is seen as an entirely acceptable way to envision the form and process of oral history and tradition. Ngāti Porou carver and artist Derek Lardelli found little difficulty with the fact that native oral traditions had "been tampered with" or "played with" across generations. This process, he argued, was normal for a "people who are deeply rooted in their own culture . . . [because] it's been negotiated so that it survives . . . it will always survive but it will reinvent itself in another form."[10]

This "negotiation" has an underlying purpose; at once an issue of survival and revitalization, it is also highly political and related to power. The fluid nature of what indigenous peoples consider "oral" in oral history or tradition is allowed for, and even expected and deliberately adapted, so long as it is managed by those who are proficient in the culture. Conversely, oral historians and oral traditionalists have tended to favor a far more strict adherence to the "oral" form and nature of their sources and practice. Alessandro Portelli, for instance, writes that "in the search for a distinguishing factor we must turn in the first place to the form," which for oral historians is distinctively oral despite the use of transcriptions.[11] Likewise, those who have worked with oral traditions have emphasized the notion that their sources are "verbal messages" or "oral statements," which distinguishes them from written messages.[12]

In defining the form as specifically oral, there is a danger of reducing the text and the voice to an unhelpful dichotomy, where orality and literature are polarized rather than complementary. The fluidity and adaptability of oral history, for many indigenous communities, is seen as necessary to the survival and autonomy of a people who have considered writing a tool of colonization, yet vital to liberation and resistance. However, for others like Api Mahuika, the intimacy and seeming immediacy of orality more adequately enables ownership because the authors of books are not always present when their words are delivered, and thus appear less accountable than their oral counterparts. Moreover, the oral dissemination as it is understood in indigenous perceptions of oral history is predominantly based on genealogical connections, which in theory ensure that the listener is immersed in the culture and is then able to interpret the oral history and tradition appropriately. On this issue, indigenous elders like Apirana have remained resolute in their condemnation:

> Again you will find that people who are not Māori have a propensity to interpret what for us is a fact by calling it a myth. For example, they refer to Māui as a mythical character. For us, as Ngāti Porou, Māui is an ancestor, to which we all have a whakapapa (genealogy) to Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga. Some people would say "you know, Māori are reifying this person." But the reality for us is that such is the skill and ability of this person that it is almost impossible to say that Māui is just something else.[13]

Alongside the binary of the voice and the text is tradition and history, which have been frequently juxtaposed as unreliable or authentic, the imaginary and the real.[14] Indigenous oral traditions, to Apirana, are closer to "history" because he is aware that oral traditions have quickly been reduced to fiction predominantly by non-indigenous scholars.[15] But it is not always the "outsiders" who have presented Native oral traditions and histories as myth.[16] In *Ngā Pikituroa ō Ngāi Tahu; The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* Rawiri Te Maire Tau examines oral tradition on a continuum between myth and history, placing Māui in the category of myth because he is considered to have "super-human powers" and communicates directly with the gods.[17] This adversarial division between history and myth has a bearing on the way we might consider not just orality and the text, but oral history and oral tradition. Like kōrero tuku iho, the form of oral history and oral traditions are similarly defined in assertions of ownership. These definitions accentuate a dualistic relationship between the written and the oral, fiction and fact, history and myth, or tradition. The truth is, they are not as mutually exclusive or oppositional as they first appear.

Oral History as the Living World

More than simply a phenomenon to be heard, the forms of oral history and traditions in the lives of indigenous communities take shape in a variety of ways. These include formal speeches, private discussions, and accidental eavesdropping, but are also observed in daily chores, remembered in the repetition of ritual, and reiterated and transmitted in the carvings and aesthetics of tribal meeting houses and dining rooms. Often, these spaces dictated the types of histories recounted by narrators and determined the form as a direct result of the occasion, the protocols, audience, and the setting. For many indigenous peoples, these physical spaces convey histories, reflect and reproduce traditions, and are living environments and embodiments of their ancestors and oral histories.

The tribal meeting, for Māori, is the most potent site to see, hear, and experience oral history in action. For some, it is considered a "sacred place": "We never wandered on there."[18] Morehu Te Maro remembers that it "was always a curiosity for people—what goes on at the marae (tribal meeting grounds), but they were very very strict. We were allowed there for a period of time, but when the pressures on them you go home."[19] Others, like Kura Tibble, had different memories of the place of children on the marae: "Growing up here, our life always revolved around the marae."[20] For those in the generations after Kura and Morehu, the communal nature of the marae was something they associated

with their own family homes, a place where oral histories could be heard and learned:

> Anything, if it was a funeral (tangi), or a birthday, or a meeting (hui) about anything, we were always down there, so even though we were hovering around on the fringes of what was going on you understand it, and speeches (whaikōrero) and songs (waiata), you picked that up, and so there was a lot of learning that went on.[21]

Oral history and traditions in these spaces were heard and experienced, its form transmitted in living contexts, where the performance weaved together the ceremonial cries of welcome to visitors (karanga), the art of formal speeches (whaikōrero), and the singing of ancient songs (mōteatea). Here the form is aural and physical, seen in body movement, traditional gestures, and facial expressions, where intonation, rhythm, and silence are displayed and seen. The wealth of oral transmission in these indigenous spaces is layered and living, but perhaps the most significant aspects of the Māori tribal meeting grounds are their aesthetics, fully carved meeting houses, walls adorned with carvings, photographs, intricate patterns, weavings, and other visual stimulants.

In reference to our tribal meeting houses, Ngāti Porou scholar Te Pākaka Tawhai argues that they are imbued with ancient histories that give "meaning to our lives by narration or through the medium of the Meeting house (wharenui)."[22] He contends that within the artwork of the house exist messages that "lie too deep for verbal expressions."[23] Of the lessons to be learned and the stories to be told in this setting, Ngāti Porou elder, Anaru Kupenga had this to say:

> They could not be measured on the same level as that of an ordinary house or meeting house, no, every house had a purpose to live for and they were carved beautifully to speak of all its genealogy (whakapapa), to speak and talk about the coming of one ancestor after the other, described by the carvings, the year they came would be beautifully carved, the time they came would be carved into the main carvings. Everything was well recorded in a time and place. So yes, they were living monuments and they're still alive today, and practiced as such from that day to this day. It is white persons' (Pākehā) methodology that has removed the Māori from understanding who and what he is, what those things represent and their depth.[24]

As Anaru stresses here, the form of oral histories and traditions in the ancestral houses is considered living and breathing because they "speak" and tell

stories, and are personifications of tribal ancestors. Despite this popular and romantic view of the environment, the reality is that without people to interpret and mediate them, they are more visual sources than they are oral. The histories of many Māori houses have been recorded in print, but the nuances in the oral histories have largely remained in the memories of individuals, like matriarch Turuhira Tatare, who recounted this story about the shifting of one of her ancestral houses:[25]

> Putaanga (ancestral house) used to be across the river towards the hills, and they never had really a proper dining hall. They had a meeting house which was [called] Putaanga, open at both ends. Where have you seen a house (marae) with a doorway at the back and a doorway at the front? Well, that was Putaanga. And what happened was, I think they had a beehive, or wasps, and somebody went to burn it and burnt the whole meeting house. And so nothing was shifted from there to Putaanga's present site. They just put up that building to remember Putaanga, but I don't think anything from the old Putaanga was transferred because it's really standing on Tawata land—it's not Putaanga, but I think they're going to call that Putaanga where we said "Why wasn't Putaanga built right next to Te Rahui ō Kehu?," eh that big empty paddock there, so we can have big functions?[26]

According to nanny Turuhira, the wharenui was never shifted, but just rebuilt. This history is not found in the literature, but in the memories and voices of those who retain the oral histories. The orality of these sources then is conveyed to the listener by those who have the tribal knowledge. This is a contentious implication for some of our own people, who would denounce a description of our carvings and houses as inanimate, inaudible, and seemingly dead objects. Indeed, for many, these are sites of history, living environments that speak to our perspectives of the past.[27]

The tendency for our people to see ancestral meeting houses and carvings as oral sources likely stems from the belief that they are "living" entities that carry the life force (mauri) of the ancestors they represent. Expanding on the function of carving (whakairo), particularly those carvings in, and on, the meeting house, Anaru Kupenga points out that:

> The Māori use these traditional carved monuments as memorial stones, as books to relate perhaps a thousand words, perhaps ten thousand words. Those were the physical aids, again they used the resources available wherever they were, more importantly in those carvings.[28]

Oral histories and traditions that are displayed in the meeting house, as Anaru suggests, can function like "books." This, in his view, does not dilute their orality but enhances it. His perspective, one that was expressed by many other interviewees, shares some vague parallels to the notion of oral literature that has been espoused by classicists like Agathe Thornton, who writes that "the most important aspect of Māori literature is that it is oral literature written down for the first time."[29] To an extent this is also the form of carvings. Indeed, if their creation is considered unique they too are always a "first" because they are regurgitations of both the oral and written transmissions retold from the artist's consciousness and memory.[30] They are derived from oral testimony in print and voice, but to think of them as oral literatures imagines texts, letters, and conventions that are not the same in their texture, colors, and shape.[31] Indeed, their fluidity is perhaps best explained by one of our most prominent Ngāti Porou artists Derek Lardelli, who offered this deeply philosophical and fascinating exposition on the topic:

> And so a maggot (iro) does something—a maggot—a maggot does something. It has a role to play. Ka haramai te ngaro (along comes the fly), ka tau mai ki runga i te tupāpaku (and lands on the cadaver), miti rānei (or the meat), miti pirau (rotten meat), koko rānei (or the joint). Kātahi ka mahi (it begins its work), ko ana mahi ka whānau mai ko te iro (its job is to lay its egg, to give birth to the maggot). Ko te mahi a te iro nei (then the maggot does its job). Kei whiwhi haere nei (it is selective). Ka ngaungau haere nei . . . i āna mahi (it eats away—that is its work) . . . and you can see it happening on the joints. It eats, it moves in a circular motion to eat that period out—"period of ira"–and it's removing the negative. So "whaka-iro" is the same process, you dig into wood and your removing a negative, and you're creating a positive, which is the ancestor (tipuna). And that's what tipu means, it grows out of that. It grows out of the essence of the wood. So you're connecting it back to the wood. And that's an oral tradition. He aha tēnei mea te whakairo? (what is this thing we know as carving/whakairo?). He tangata mohio ki te whakairo i te kupu (A person who knows how to carve out words), whakairo i te rakau (to carve wood), whakairo whare (carve houses), te hinengaro (and the mind). The word goes to all aspects of language delivery.[32]

The essence of the oral history "grows out" of its original form (which was oral); thus, in the process of revisiting we are inscribing and adding to it, growing it in various ways. This is, as Derek alludes to, the application of oral tradition to "all aspects of language delivery." In other words, indigenous oral histories can be expressed and carved out in multiple shapes, from its aural origins to

regurgitations in the same form, or new and enhanced versions in visual and other forms. Nevertheless, in each instance, the carving tells a story, and that story reflects a certain style or perspective, as Apirana Mahuika explains:

> When I talk about carving to us, I talk about Pine's style. But if I talk about Pine Taiapa's style I will talk about his style and give all sorts of reasons why his style is easily detectable, and similarly with John's (John Taiapa is Pine Taiapa's brother). And the story in these two carvings was that uncle Pine carved this massive figure, and the man's penis was huge because that's uncle Pine. And then on the other side, John knew that his brother was carving this, and so carved the woman's private part. So that the two can actually come together, and one was female and one was male, and they were talking about a whole story, but one preferred to talk about this. Does that mean to say that the meaning was less significant than the other? No, it wasn't. So, if you have a look at the carving, the two of them complemented each other. And so when the Māori tells a story, it may concentrate on this, but what is not said is the complementary aspect to the rest of the context wherein most of the story is told.[33]

Pine Taiapa and his brother John, both famous Ngāti Porou carvers, as Apirana points out, have different styles, but in their work strive to complement what already exists, to add to and grow it, as Derek alluded to earlier. The form of the oral history here is woven by other threads and layers, like a community of memories that speaks to each other and weaves in and out, thus enabling a multifaceted display of the past. Perhaps a closer example of this process can be seen in tukutuku (traditional lattice-work), these decorative wall panels, which were traditionally made by binding together vertically and horizontally placed dehydrated stems from various plants such as the kākaho, toetoe grass, or even the more solid woods such as rimu or tōtara, and using finer plant materials to weave intricate patterns across the front face of the panel. This was a practice that Jenny Donaldson remembers as a child: "Part of my life was [about] learning to tukutuku. . . . I did the back and he did the front, and then he would say, 'Moko, hara mai, hara mai, titiro (granddaughter, come here, come here, and watch)', and he would explain what it was he was doing."[34] This weaving together offers a useful metaphor to think about the form of oral tradition and oral history for indigenous peoples: this is that they overlap, are interlaced, and at moments are definable in their pattern of orality, but are more complementary than they are antagonistic or hostile. Oral history as the living world operates on the notion that orality is not a static or fossilized phenomenon, but dynamic and evolving in form. This is vital to a more nuanced understanding of oral history, because

as Alessandro Portelli suggests, an oral approach that is more "additive and paratactic" assists us in appreciating the notion that new forms do not remove the oral, but add to, and modify it.[35] For many indigenous peoples, these adaptions can be heard, seen, and experienced in "living" environments that weave together multiple forms that are considered oral histories and traditions.

Oral History "Caught" in Osmosis

Many indigenous peoples refer to the process of "catching" the oral history. One of those was Tui Marino, who remembered: "I was never told, do it like this, do it like that, I just knew how to do it . . . and I suppose that's how you kind of catch it, rather than taught it. We weren't actually taught, but definitely caught a few things in terms of the meaning and the value."[36] The idea of catching might be more familiar to anthropologists, whose methodologies resonate in the processes of observing hailed in Clifford Geertz's analysis, "thick description."[37] "Catching" the oral history, for many indigenous peoples, takes place in a process of osmosis, where the oral sources are not singular or easily definable, but multiple. Reminiscing about his upbringing, Herewini Parata, an expert in Māori dance and song, points out that for him "they [the old people] sung songs and genealogies. All those things went together. And it's learning by osmosis."[38] The elusive nature of the form of oral tradition or history, for many indigenous peoples is akin to something hanging in the air as if it could be absorbed like a scent left lingering on your skin or clothing. At a deeper level it is considered simply a matter of observation, listening and attuning to one's surroundings. Catching the oral history, as Iritana Tawhiwhirangi explains, requires an attentive ear: "today as we talk about teaching the language (te reo), it wasn't taught to us, we caught it, we heard it."[39] Her emphasis on the language and teaching is reflective of a lifetime working in the field of Māori language revitalization. The form, as she and others remember, is distinctively oral, with access granted to those prepared to listen and work, as Kura Tibble points out:

> No, they never talked to us about the history and things like that, we just grow up and hear it being spoken and that's how we learned it. Like our own customs (tikanga), it's just part of us. We just learned it. You know, the children play around and we knew that you don't go and play on the paepae (a seat for orators), when you have visitors on the marae (meeting house).[40]

The form then of the indigenous oral traditions and histories is more than simply a source to be heard, but an experience to be had. In the "doing" of chores,

the cooking of food, the preparation of beds, mattresses, and the collecting of wood, oral histories and traditions were absorbed, remembered in the scent of specific aromas in the cook house and beyond. The passing of oral histories, particularly the rationale inherent within these distinctive cultural scripts, was presented in sometimes seemingly menial work, explained in the daily rhythms of life, where routines were textured with underlying stories that gave meaning to their existence in tribal practices and affairs. The form of the oral histories then, as Herewini Parata highlighted, could be heard, observed, and passed on in various ways. His knowledge of oral histories, he says, was gathered over a lifetime of listening and learning:

> By observation, and being there, [there] was nobody who sort of write a list out and said, oh you do this and that and everything else, all I learned by observation. . . . I suppose, in the meeting grounds, when I learned all these things, you had people who knew why they were doing things, and I suppose I caught the time when—you know like setting up the meeting house—I was there helping as a male. Really, that's a woman's job. That's a woman's role, not because it's anything less, but koira te wā ō te wāhine (that's the domain of the woman), te whakatakato ngā whāriki (the preparation of the mats), ngā moenga (the sleeping arrangements), ngā hīti (sheets), ngā perakehi (pillowcases), ēra āhuatanga (all those sorts of things), even te whakapae, te whakatau i te wāhi mō te tupāpaku, nā te wāhine kē ēra mahi (the preparation of the area for the arrival of the deceased, this was also a ritual undertaken by women), but like I said, I observed all that and the people that told me how to do things and all that. Well they told me, why, and when, and all that, and so that's why I know what to do.[41]

The contextual nature of the transmission then, for some, was more a type of "visceral" experience that called on more of the senses than just hearing.[42] Nevertheless, in referring specifically to oral history, listening remained the core sensory mode of communication for most of the interviewees. Looking back on her childhood, Turuhira Tatare remembered the distinctive way in which they were taught to remember the scriptures. She recalls: "we had no lights inside [the meeting house], and so it was by ear, and you listened, and because the concentration was so deep you learned a prayer (karakia) in no time."[43]

Turuhira's recollection here of an aural experience is ironically informed by a textual source. The form then is a blend of both the written and the oral, the old and new, as the traditional aspects recited and heard in prayer drew on symbols, images, and motifs reforged in Christian narratives and theologies. It is an insightful demonstration of one way in which the aural and textual forms collide,

converge, and then re-emerge as a more multidimensional form of oral tradition and history. Despite the presence of the text, her emphasis on the importance of listening was also a common refrain in most of the other interviews. Similarly, for Hetekia Nepia, listening to the oral history was the key to its transmission:

> I te wa e taitamariki ana, ka haere au, ka mutu ngā mahi i roto i te kauta haere au ki mua ki te whakarongo, te ariari mai ngā taringa ki te whakarongo ki ngā whaikōrero, ki ngā kōrero hōhonu, ki ngā kōrero tapu ō ou tātou matua tipuna, ngā whakapapa, ngā tauparapara, ngā karakia tahito, ngā hononga tangata, ngā hekenga whakapapa.
>
> When I was still a child, I went, after I had finished working in the cook house, I went around the front to listen, so I could listen more clearly to the speeches, to the depth of the histories, to the sacred stories of our forebears, the genealogies, the incantations, the ancient prayers, the links made between people, and the genealogies that have come down to us.[44]

Like Turuhira, Hetekia highlights the orality of the form, stressing the need to listen clearly in order to access and retain the stories. Although texts are seemingly absent in his recollections, his narrators are themselves inescapably members of a literate society that Walter Ong warned if left unchecked could subsume and "destroy memory."[45] In the case of Hetekia's elders, the literate mindset that Ong refers to likely worked to "restore" and retain memory rather than obliterate it, thus the text in this way is not so much a destructive force than it is an "infinitely adaptable" resource.[46] Although listening played a substantial role in the way oral traditions were understood by our people, the idea that listening in and of itself confined the source to an oral form was not necessarily the case. Moreover, in relation to the form and nature of oral traditions and histories: what can be heard and observed at first might be far less than oral beneath the surface. For oral traditionalists intent on exploring the worlds of purely oral cultures these are not the forms of orality they would identify with. Conversely, for oral historians who rely on the recorded interview or transcript, the oral histories heard on tribal meeting grounds are made available not in their living contexts, but "caught" in the memories and words of their informants.

For many indigenous peoples, the catching of oral history is a highly reflective process, an ongoing dialogue that shifts over time. Reflecting on his childhood, John Coleman, an elder from Tokomaru Bay, recalls:

> Part of our own histories pertaining to here, te whānau ā Ruataupare (the family of Ruataupare)—I learned that when I was at home with

> my grandparents, and my parents, and you listen to speeches and you go to a funerals (tangi), and a birthday, and you know all that sort of history was only spoken during those sorts of occasions. Funerals, birthdays, weddings, or meetings at a meeting grounds (marae). And if you were prepared to listen, well that was okay. But . . . when I was going to school the Treaty (Treaty of Waitangi) was hardly ever spoken about, until I became a bit closer to my grandfather. . . . There was my grandfather Hori Ngawai, and there was the likes of Hori Keti, and they were all part of this movement, Kōtahitanga. And that's when I started hearing a lot of things.[47]

The oral histories that John remembers are included in his evolving political consciousness. They are twisted together with other memories highlighting the absence of the Treaty of Waitangi at school, and mourning the lack of attention paid to family members involved in political movements.[48] John begins with an emphasis on listening, but reminds us later that he didn't actually listen that well despite "hearing." The reference to listening here tells us that what John heard all those years ago were oral histories, yet what is eventually remembered is drawn from a broader life narrative, where the oral history has been absorbed and reworked.

For most indigenous peoples, the form of oral history takes shape in a variety of ways that could be accessed without directly listening. This catching of oral traditions and history may have something to do with a lack of books, and other technologies. Indeed, a lot of elderly indigenous folk speak about listening to the native speakers, and the immersion they experienced with family members who only ever spoke in their native tongue. Kuini Tawhai, for instance, had this to say about her childhood: "I would listen to it not realizing that what was going in here, that what I heard, was implanted in my mind."[49] This was a common theme shared by many interviewees, who claimed that even though they had only heard it, the knowledge itself remained there, dormant, until it was recalled and revitalized later in life. Those who study oral traditions have generally described this type of remembering as "glosses on the meaning of history," yet potentially useful "embellishments" that may have some relevance to studies of the "historical consciousness" or "contemporary mentalities."[50] In advancing the notion that oral histories and traditions are "caught" in osmosis, the interviewees' perceptions of orality were more fluid than fixed. From the actions of doing, hearing, seeing, and listening, oral history could be conveyed and learned in various ways, even unknowingly "implanted in the mind." In these ways, they resemble more the types of oralities encountered by anthropologists, while for oral historians they can appear in the memory "traces" of individual life testimonies.[51]

Oral History as Narrative and Performance

For indigenous peoples, listening to, and catching, the oral histories and traditions occurs in "living" settings, usually in certain occasions, complete with their own audiences and specific narrators. The most commonly observed performance is the whaikōrero, or "Māori oratory," which one elder, Te Kapunga Dewes, argues "is quite dissimilar to white peoples' (Pākehā) public speaking, [it] is fused together to give the speaker diverse ways of expressing thoughts and feelings, and its mastery is the pinnacle reached by one well-versed in the oral arts in all their aspects."[52] Speaking on the nature and form of Māori oratory in his interview, Derek Lardelli remarked:

> Ko te whaikōrero, he taonga anō te whaikōrero. Engari, i te mutunga mai, ko tō reo, ko tō reo me ki pēnei "He reo mō tēnei, ko koe te pū kanohi mō tō iwi, ko koe te mangai mō tō iwi, ehara ko koe te mea anake kei te kōrero, whai muri i a koe, ko tini rāua ko mano e ngangau ana," nā reira ka ki "mā te manaia ka tū te whakairo" . . . kei tè tū te whakairo kore te manaia, kua kore e kiko. Kua moumou taima. Ko te manaia, ko te pa tūwatawata e ngaungau ana ki te rangatira. Ko te mahi ā te rangatira, ka mohio ana ki ngā tira whakaeke mai nei kei runga i tōna marae.
>
> The art of speech making within Māori customs is regarded as a highly developed art form that has been passed down from generation to generation, but in the end, it is the language, it is the language, let me put it like this: "It is a contemporary language, you are the [spokesperson] face of the people, the mouthpiece for the tribe, but you are not the only person speaking, following behind you, are the multitudes who are biting at your heels [back]," so it is said "the ornamental eloquence of the manaia adorns and beautifies all other carvings." Carvings in a meeting house that exclude the manaia lack character and substance. The manaia is the fortification from the backbiting directed at the rangatira (leader or chief). The role of the rangatira is to know those who proceed on to his/her marae.[53]

Like the "singers of tales" referred to by Albert Lord, the exponents of Māori oratory also tended to maintain a certain role in the tribe as representatives and repositories of the communities' history and knowledge.[54] As Derek mentions, they are spokespeople, who are assessed constantly by the people, and expected to know the subtleties and nuances of their craft. On the performance of formal Māori oratory, historian Anne Salmond writes:

> They (whaikōrero/formal oratory) are enacted in the full publicity of a ceremonial encounter. They are evaluated by the fire and drama of delivery, the appropriateness of content, and their general entertainment value. . . . The accomplished speaker wins prestige by demonstrating control over the formal devices of oratory, and the facility with which he can match the content of his speech to the immediate situation.[55]

The performance of oral tradition, as Vansina suggests, serves to create a multidimensional oral source, as the teller and the "public" weave the tale together.[56] Indeed, in Ngāti Porou, formal oratory is not simply a singularly crafted source, as Herewini Parata recalls:

> They'd be sitting there on the marae and listening to speaker, and they be correcting, you know someone would use an o, and they go "a," and someone would use incorrect words, and there were all these little words that they (the old women of the tribe) used to correct, not so much on the content, but they were always correcting the vowels, the a, the o, the e, the u, and the little words between, the joining words . . . those old women used to correct the word, they'd say it just loud enough so that the person who used it had heard, but not the whole world's heard.[57]

Formal oratory, although produced in a solo performance, has a number of sometimes unseen forces controlling its delivery. Speaking on his first time to stand and give a formal welcome, Morehu Te Maro remembers that the old people there would "get up," "make apologies," and "tidy up" if you had made "mistakes." His recollection of his first speech reveals not only how reluctant he was to be thrust into the role, but how he had been unknowingly prepared to fulfill it:

> One day, there's another group of people come up (to the tribal meeting grounds) and they're (my uncles) talking away to themselves, and I heard my uncle say, "we'll try our boy out." I would have been about fifteen I guess at that time. Most of them (the visitors) were young people, and they didn't have a good enough speaker with them, but one of them did get up to speak. And I got up. And your mind goes backwards, what to say oh yeah "hara mai, hara mai, hara mai" (welcome, welcome, welcome). I even tried the pacing up and down after I got a bit used to it, but . . . this is not me. But that's where I learned formal oratory. I sit there and listen.[58]

Morehu is considered one of the key mouthpieces of the tribe and has fulfilled that role in a number of ways for many years. His reference here to pacing has resonance in the broader literature, and can been associated particularly with the timing and rhythm with which some oral traditionalist might be familiar. Gregory Schrempp, for instance, writes that the:

> Speed of *whaikōrero* delivery varies radically from speaker to speaker and occasion to occasion, but the ability demonstrated by some speakers to speak extemporaneously with rapid fire delivery, and yet maintain a regular cadence, strongly suggests that some degree of formulaic composition is involved.[59]

In Ngāti Porou, however, the use of formulaic types of oral expression in our oratory such as incantation is not a common feature of our speaking style, at least not in recent times. The changing form of formal oratory was an issue addressed by a number of people, like Turuhira Tatare, who recalled that:

> The oratory that I knew years and years ago there was no God or Jesus Christ or holy spirit or holy angels, there was none of that, it was purely Māori, and paying homage to the land, and to the prayers that was invented in that time, nature's prayers, not God's prayers, like the proverb and that "Hutia te rito ō te harakeke, kei hea te Kōmako/If you were to pluck out the center of the flax bush, where would the bellbird sing?," we had to learn that, and then find out exactly what it meant. The Bible was different, the prayer, the Ringatū services was different, you had to learn "Ko Ihoa tōku hēpara/the lord is my shepherd." . . . We could recite that but then we had to think about translating it back into English. Luckily the Bible at that time came out for us to have a look at how to translate it into English. It was a challenge. To me it was more of a learning thing than going to school.[60]

Over the space of only a few generations, Māori oratory has changed significantly, yet maintained many of its core elements, structure, and expressions. As an oral source, formal speech making is perhaps one of our most valued treasures because it replicates the expression of our language in ways that enable our customs to thrive and our oral histories to be told in their natural settings. The form of Māori oratory is not conducive to a one-on-one interview, not only because it is a formal speech, but because it is produced in the refined conditions of the meeting ground, where it is forged in the immediate surroundings of the peoples for whom it is intended. Formal oratory more immediately appears to carry many of the elements that are of interest to those who study oral traditions,

such as formulaic expressions and the varied rhythms of speech. Nevertheless, as these interviews only briefly reveal, there is much that can be learned from individual interviews with people who are able to reflect on the art form, the learning, nuances, and politics of Māori oratory beyond its performance at the time.

Oral Tradition and History as Prayer and Incantation

In addition to formal oratory, the use of prayer, incantation, or what many know as "karakia" is a significant vehicle in the transmission of Māori knowledge from generation to generation. Like Māori oratory, karakia has also changed over time and become embedded with multiple colonial discourses, as Anaru Kupenga notes in this extract from his interview:

> The whole process of prayer (karakia), I don't call it karakia. There were kawa—rituals, tohi—purifications and so on and so forth, our people did that. It's an immersion, total immersion, go to the church and see the Priest dab a bit of water out of the bowl and put the sign of the cross on the head, and sprinkle a bit of... I don't know where that comes from, but each man to his religion so they say. I can't say we had religion, we were born religious. I mean think for yourself crossing those vast oceans into never nevers, they were great expeditioners—they were fantastic. We can't flow into their mind thought unless we actually leave the contamination here and move back in purity to understand the depth of what they went through, how they experienced it is as clear as a picture, same as their carvings and so on and so forth. So much today that people are confused, when they go to Rapanui they see those other Totem poles, what does this mean? Those are sign posts, when our people traversed the oceans backwards and forwards they knew where they were going, they didn't arrive here on an ill wind like it was stated in the white man's (Pākehā) history, by accident, coincidence—you forget those words, throw it back in the rubbish you believe what was stated by our people, it's still in the history.[61]

When Anaru refers to purity and contamination here, he is implying that the prayers, rites, and rituals that are dominant among our people today are not the same as those used and recited by our ancestors prior to the arrival of the colonizers. The changing form of what has now become prayer, as he opines,

is "contaminated" by the colonizing impact of white colonial (Pākehā) history and spirituality. In Ngāti Porou this is an issue of some importance because the two dominant religions in our tribal history, the Anglican Church or Te Haahi Mihinare (or Matua) and the Ringatū Church, have both heavily relied on biblical texts. The advent of Christianity has been viewed by some as one of the reasons why incantation (tauparapara) is not used as commonly in Ngāti Porou oratory today. On this topic, one of the younger generations of interviewees, Hetekia Nepia, expressed this view in relation to incantations and formal oratory:

> I mua o te taenga mai ō ngā tauiwi kāore a Ngāti Porou e tauparapara. Nā te hokinga mai ō Amster Reedy, tā mātou principal ō Ngata i mua rā. Ka ako ia i ngā rangatahi ō te kura ki te mahi tauparapara, ki ngā karakia tahito. Kī mai ētahi ō ngā pakeke ō te tairawhiti, kāore a Ngāti Porou e tauparapara i mua. Ki ahau nei, kei te hē terā whakaaro, terā kōrero, kei konei kē ētahi o ngā whare wānanga o te ao tahito, o te ao kohatu, ara, kei Rangitukia tētahi, Te Whare Tāpere o Whatonga, he whare wānanga terā, Te Rawheoro kei te Aitanga ā Hauiti, kei Uawa, ētahi anō kei Rongowhakaata, te whare kōrero, kei Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa. Ētahi anō kei konei, wareware te ingoa. I ngā rā o mua, koira o rātou mahi, tauparapara, whakapapa, ngā karakia tahito.
>
> It has been said that before the arrival of the foreigners, Ngāti Porou did not recite incantations. When Amster Reedy returned, he was our Principal at Ngata (College), and he began to teach the young people of the school the art of ancient prayers and incantations. Some of the elders on the East Coast here said, "Ngāti Porou did not do incantation in the past." To me that way of thinking is not correct, just stories, because there existed here a number of the old schools of learning, of the old world, so, for instance there was one at Rangitukia, Te Whare Tāpere ō Whatonga (the school of Whatonga), that was a whare wānanga (a higher school of learning). There was Rawheoro at Te Aitanga ā Hauiti at Uawa (for the Hauiti people at Tologa bay), and others in Rongowhakaata (a neighboring tribal group), a whare kōrero at Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (a house of oratory in the Gisborne area), and others here, I forget their names. So in the old days, that was their practice, the incantation, genealogy, and ancient prayers.[62]

For Hetekia, a return to the old ways, and particularly the use of ancient prayers, enables a reconnection with what he believes is a more pure form of Māori oral history. This desire to reclaim more authentic oral histories returns to the issue of ownership. It therefore rejects "contaminated" forms of indigenous

oral history referred to by Anaru, and in the process is cautious of the way writing has transformed Māori oral histories and traditions. In contrast to both Anaru and Hetekia's perspectives on the issue of prayer and incantation, Apirana Mahuika had this to say:

> The other significant thing about our dialect, and we've been instituted in terms of this: is that we don't play around with flowery languages to the boredom of those that are listening, because a lot of the oratory, a lot of the incantation that is currently used—a lot of people don't really understand what that means, except that they use it. For God's sake it could be that we are cursing one another, who knows, but with us we did exercise incantation, but we don't use it now and haven't used it pre-Ngata days till now. And we go straight into the business of greeting our guests, paying homage to our dead, and then getting on with the business at hand. Our oratory uses the same language we use in daily speech. We don't muck around and say there is a language more superior than the language I use. Some people would say rather rudely that Ngāti Porou's language is te reo o te kauta (the language of the cookhouse)—I've heard us being described like that—hey nobody says that Ngāti Porou's language is the reo ō te kauta. Our reo (language) is the language handed down to us by our ancestors. If you listen to our old people you play the old tapes of Ngata and all those old people giving formal oratory. They are doing it in a Ngāti Porou way. The language that they are using in that ritual and ceremonial occasion is no different from the language they would use in conversing with one another. Language is a tool of context, and language is an adaptable tool of context, and you don't have to change your language, because if you change your language into something that is so archaic then you are not communicating anything to our people at all.[63]

Here, Apirana contends that it is important for speakers not to become lost in the deep metaphorical and "archaic" contexts that he believes are beyond the reach of those in today's world. These views reflect an upbringing in the Anglican Church and years of theological training. However, in the interview Api quietly expressed his own reservations about the role of the Church, and its weaknesses in regard to the empowering of his people. He was adamant that the language used in everyday conversation in Ngāti Porou is no different from the words used in formal oratory. Thus, he argues that it is Ngāti Porou custom to move directly to the issue at hand rather than dwelling on the elaborate incantations. The merits and reality of reviving ancient incantation in our formal speech-making, although not the primary focus of this chapter, provides a useful context to point

out the debates between the revival of traditional prayers and the form of those in popular use today. As a category of oral tradition, incantations appear to be a more "pure" oral tradition than Christian prayers. Both are repetitious and formulaic, and enable a fascinating reading of our cultural and social worlds, and the spiritual dimensions that inform them. Indeed, prayer, as Turuhira Tatare noted in her interview, is a daily activity for most of our people: "Whenever you go fishing, you pray and protect yourself, and whenever you go eeling, you protect yourself, and you give thanks for what you get."[64]

In the one-on-one interview familiar to oral historians, it is unlikely that prayer or karakia will feature very often. Indeed, only a few of the people interviewed in this study chose to begin the interview with a prayer. This included Pine Campbell, who it should be noted was a practicing member of the clergy at the time of his interview.[65] The closest any speaker came to using incantation in their recording was Anaru Kupenga, one of the more elderly interviewees, who began his testimony with the following words:

> I te timatanga ko te kore, nā te kore i ai, ko te kore te rawea, ko te kore te whiwhia, ko te kore te tamua, ko te kore te matua, e hua, e hua ioio nui, ioio ariki ngahua, ioio taketake ki taku aro tēnei au, nā te kukune te pupuke, nā te pupuke te hihiri, nā te hihiri te mahara, nā te mahara te hinengaro, nā te hinengaro te manako ka nohoia te rironiro ka puta ko te pō, mai i te pō tuatahi ki te pō tuangahuru, ko te pō whawha, ko te pō tiwhatiwha, ko te pō namunamu, ko te pō kerekere, ko te pō tahuri atu, ko te pō tahuri mai ki taiao, ka tāpapa atu ā Ranginaonao ariki, ki Rangi maomao, ki Rangi tatara tiritiri o rangi, e io e taketake, tākiritia te ara tipua, tākiritia te ara rangi, tākiritia te ara matua, he tipu, e rea, he nihoniho, he rearea, he kateatea, te pū, te more, te weu, te rea, te waonui, ko Ranginui e tū ake nei, ko Papatūānuku e hora atu rā, tihei mauri ora.
>
> In the beginning there was the empty void, and from this nothingness a begetting, it is the nothing becoming, it is the nothingness possessed, it is the nothingness held fast, be formed, be formed, it is a big twitch, a parent twitch, fight fiercely, a long-lasting twitch to my desire, there I am. From the conception comes the increase, from the increase comes the thought, from the thought comes the remembrance, from the remembrance comes the consciousness, from the consciousness comes the desire, from thence a rupturing that begat the night, from the first night to the tenth (month?), it is the night of feeling, the dark night, the night of seeking, the intense night, the night of turning, the night of turning toward the revealed world, Ranginaonao Ariki was named (the sky as a chief was named), at Rangi maomao (a distant sky), at

> Rangi tatara (distant sky) of the placing of Rangi, the long lasting twitch, loosen the demon way, loosen the heavenly way, loosen the godly way, grow, multiply, spring up, scatter forth, the shoot, the roots, the fiber, the growth, the great forest, 'tis Ranginui stretched above, 'tis Papatūānuku spread forth, there is life.[66]

These are phrases to be heard usually during formal occasions on tribal meeting grounds, as an invocation and acknowledgment of Māori indigenous origins, the creation of life, and humanity, and our continual link to the world around us. The depth of imagery and allusion in these poetic, and rhythmic, lines are very difficult to interpret in another language, which simply fails to appropriately convey their meaning. Even once translated the stories that weave through each message, such as the significance of the long night, the void, and the pathway to the revealed world, are so vast that the written word is simply an inadequate space to present them.[67] The form of his type of oral history is severely distorted when flattened out in writing and print, yet equally limited in a captured recording removed from the place where it is living and breathing. Indigenous oral histories in these forms are best heard in the context of the communities in which they are recited, where the cultural relevance is constantly interpreted by the people who live there.

Rethinking the Form of Oral History

Ngāti Porou and many other indigenous people define their oral histories and traditions in various ways. They refer to them as kōrero tuku iho, taonga tuku iho, and kōrero tahito. The insistence of the "oral" is significant to indigenous communities, despite the fact that native oral histories are actually believed to be multifaceted and diverse. Emphasizing their "orality" is a matter of ownership that is often locked in a binary struggle between the voice and the text, but extends to the problematic use of the terms tradition and history. In their dichotomies they perpetuate the antagonistic relationship between the imaginary and the real, the unreliable and the authentic.

The interviewees here have revealed that for indigenous peoples the form of oral history and tradition can be found in "the living world," and observed when it is "caught" in a process of osmosis. It is the product of generations of audiences and narrators, refined in particular settings, seen as much as heard, and always modified and evolving as they are recaptured and regurgitated in new ways. Thus, indigenous oral histories tend to bear a resemblance with the sources used by oral historians, and are often similar to that of the anthropologist, folklorist, and oral traditionalists. But they resist narrow classifications, and

are more than just aural phenomena, which in Ngāti Porou and other indigenous communities acquire visual forms in carvings and other physical "monuments" and moments. One of those key moments is in formal oratory where the dissemination of oral histories and traditions is woven together by multiple threads. Similarly, incantations and prayers are also significant strands in the retention and transmission of Māori oral histories, and are most effectively interpreted and understood in the communities to which they belong and resonate. The patterns of orality displayed in the interweaving of these various forms reveal an array of intersecting issues, from modernity and tradition, colonization and reclamation, writing and orality, to interviews and observation. This sophisticated tapestry of oral history is multi-layered and complementary, and requires further unravelling and re-stitching to reveal its true brilliance to the untrained ear and eye.

4

The Dynamics of Indigenous Oral Sources

For Māori, the voice has long been thought of as the primary carrier of memory, and is said to linger beyond the lifetime of the speaker.[1] This idea is captured in this refrain from the lament written by Hinekauika for her son:

> "Mairātia iho te waha kai rongorongo ē, hei whakaoho pō i ahau ki te whare rā." And leave behind the sweet sound of your voice, to comfort my wakeful nights within the house.[2]

Such is the prevalence of orality in the way indigenous people perceive the transmission of the past that even when the spoken word finds expression in new forms it is still referred to as oral. This is oral history as a living phenomenon, not lost or silenced in print, but enhanced by it. For oral historians, the emphasis on orality is much more explicit. Indeed, the oral form of their interviews is seen as the key to what makes their work *oral* histories.[3] Likewise, oral traditionalists, and folklorists especially, accentuate the orality of the songs and ballads they examine when demonstrating the ways they have been transmitted and memorized over time.[4] If oral history and oral tradition is about the study of oral sources and transmissions, then how might we account for writing and print? Can we make sense of oral histories and traditions when we look more closely at the ways in which they are shaped and produced?

Oral History as a Product of Power

Writing and literacy in many indigenous communities has provided a means of modifying and enabling local oral histories, but has also been used as a tool of oppression. The scars left by writing have recently been lamented by one leader as "raupatu ā te pene/confiscation by the pen," a phrase used to describe Ngāti

Porou colonial history.[5] Speaking on the advent of writing in the tribe, Derek Lardelli draws attention to the inequality Ngāti Porou have endured:

> Nā rātou tonu e tuhi ēra whakaaro, me te mea mōhio ano i ēra wā matemate haere tātou, nā reira, te whakaaro ka pēnei ai rātou akuanei ka mate katoa te Māori. Nā reira, ka whakaaro pēnei ai, ka tuhituhingia ō rātou whakaaro mō te iwi matemate nei. E kāore rātou e tino whakaaro nui ki a tātou ki te Māori. Ki to tātou kaha ki te whawhai mō to tātou e tirohia ana te oranga (??)- nā reira ka pēnei ai rātou e ēnei wā kei te ora rawa atu te Māori. Engari, ko te mate kē, ko te Pākehā kei te whakaaro tonu ko ā rātou kei runga, ko ā tātou kei raro. Rarurarutia kia noho tahi ai tātou, te Pākehā me te Māori. Ahakoa kua tipu toto ki te whenua mai ngā pākanga tuatahi, tuarua, kei te pēhea tonu rātou e kore rātou e huri, ko rātou te rangātira kei runga, ko tātou kei raro. E kore rātou e huri ki ō tātou ake whakaaro.
>
> It was they who wrote these things down because they believed at the time we were a dying race, so they really did think Māori were going to die out. Thus, the intention was that they would record in writing their memories of these people whom they supposed would soon be extinct. Their main priority was not really about us (our welfare), what was best for Māori. We fought for our survival and it is still the same today, Māori are still here, but the problem is the same, that White colonists (Pākehā) consider themselves superior to us, and therefore position us as subordinate. There is still inequality between the Māori and the white settlers (Pākehā). Although we spilled blood on the battlefields of the First and Second World Wars, it was not enough to change their attitudes toward us. They retained their position of power and perceived us as inferior. They have continued to disregard our point of view.[6]

In the transition from the oral to the text, Derek contends that Māori oral history was transformed in a new hierarchy of power.[7] His criticism is aimed at the "Pākehā" (European) colonizers, their process and mindset, where writing is seen to have served an imperialist function in displacing indigenous voices with the views of a culture that considered the text a sign of its own superiority.[8] Their dominant accounts of history, tradition, and orality rarely accommodated Māori worldviews, but advanced discursive binaries between civilized settlers and rebellious natives.[9] Although most oral historians are adamant about the orality of the sources they use, some have asked whether the "typed memoir" or manuscript might yet be considered oral history.[10] Of the process of writing, Richard Cándida Smith asserts that authors of oral history must consider the

important question of "whose voice or voices will provide the narrative spine."[11] For Ngāti Porou, written texts are similarly identified as oral histories, but there are unresolved tensions surrounding their validity because, as Derek reminds us, the voices of white colonial authors have too often subordinated our own. Despite this, Māori have not been passive victims but active agents and agitators, who embraced literacy if only to advance their own ambitions. Reflecting on her upbringing, Tinatoka Tawhai recalls that in her generation "there were always books, all sorts of different books."[12] From its inception, reading and writing spread like a "fever" on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, with a particularly high demand for biblical texts.[13] These books, as other interviewees noted, were later read alongside newspapers, comic strips, diaries, workbooks, and private memoirs.[14] Māori were not just consumers of the word, but prolific authors.

The form of indigenous oral histories, then, multiplied in print, with some viewed as more authoritative than others. In the early twentieth century, Sir Apirana Ngata urged Māori to "study" specific texts deemed "classics" that everyone should know.[15] Ngāti Porou oral history, in this rapidly changing world, took on drastic new forms in collections of poetry and song, children's books, and court records. Although modified in print, their oral dimensions remained the key to their interpretation, but as Apirana Mahuika points out, were too regularly overlooked in favor of the perceived authority of European writers:

> The problem in relying on European historians [is that] . . . they don't know the context to all these stories. If Gudgeon (a European ethnographer) knew and recorded the history accurately he would know who Porourangi is: Porourangi is shortened for Porou Ariki Te Matātara a Whare Te Tuhi Māreikura ā Rauru. That's an entire genealogy there, you know "Te Matātara" are patterns of decoration in a house, which symbolizes the interweaving of all of the senior lines in this one man called Porou Ariki—Te Matātara a Whare, then Te Tuhi Māreikura ā Rauru, which shows that he is also a descendent of Toikairakau, because Toi had Rauru. That's the context, but a lot of Europeans don't understand, don't know this.[16]

To know and retell Māori oral history requires an immersion in the oral worlds of the people. Apirana's criticism is not so much of the form of the text, but who is writing. He suggests that oral histories *can* be written, but their veracity is borne out in "living" contexts, where the community to whom it belongs is able to test, correct, and contextualize them. This is a familiar idea in the work of Walter Ong, who has similarly argued that "writing establishes what has been called 'context free' language or 'autonomous' discourse": that is discourse "which cannot be

directly questioned or contested as oral speech can be because written discourse has been detached from its author."[17] Oral traditionalists make note of the need to contextualize, and in the process have often adjudged the oral form more consistent than the written.[18] This notion resonates in Māori contexts, where, as Monty Soutar contends, the oral records are considered primary sources, while written documents are viewed as secondary evidence.[19] Some oral historians have stressed the need to reconsider what is oral history, not on their terms, but from the perspectives of their participants. Andrew Roberts, for instance, writes that oral historians "have not always taken sufficient note of the fact that their informants may think of time very differently."[20] Indeed, for many indigenous peoples, a linear schematic of time puts far too much distance between their oral histories and the present, and can lose their shape when refashioned in paradigms foreign to native worldviews.[21]

Despite his reservations, Apirana accepts that it is necessary "for us to put all these things—the things that we know—on paper so that generations of our people will not forget," but reiterates the view that the ones he trusts "are those that are written by people who know what the customs and protocols are all about."[22] In the transition from the voice to the text and back again, the form of indigenous oral histories, for many of the interviewees, spiraled between purity and contamination.[23] Most of these textual adaptions then were still considered oral histories and traditions, not because they were viewed as aural sources, but because they were believed to retain the essence of ancestral oral stories so long as the writer had sufficient ability.[24] The form of indigenous oral narratives as history or tradition has been highly influenced by their reconfiguring in print. For Bob McConnell, the oral testimony recorded in nineteenth-century Land Court minute books became his key source of evidence.[25] These, he considered oral histories because they were narrated and recorded in the court hearings. However, in writing, Bob struggled with the idea of the form as an "oral" transmission:

> I did have this reluctance, because this has to be recorded for people to read it, and that's why after writing the [book]—as a history—I extracted stories from it and retold them in my two other books, have you seen *Ngā Taonga tuku iho*, as if I was an old man telling the kids at each place, visiting places.[26]

His other texts, one a children's storybook, accentuated more emphatically the oral delivery, which McConnell felt was problematic in written history. Although he considered the speakers in the Land Court to be skilled storytellers, he was concerned that they sometimes "got the stories a wee bit wrong."[27] He doesn't mention the fact that they may not have been willing to tell him, or that some

of the testimonies in the Land Court hearings were deliberate fabrications.[28] Indigenous oral histories in this way have tended to be divided between supposedly accurate history and dubious traditions. This has also been a common theme in the literature of both oral history and oral tradition. Jan Vansina, for instance, despite his assertion that oral traditions were viable historical sources, argued that their reliability must first be substantiated within the rigors of historical method.[29] Similarly, many oral historians have emphasized the need to corroborate oral information with textual records to affirm their legitimacy.[30] For Ngāti Porou, the nuanced realities of their oral histories allowed them to move freely between both the written and the oral, with most emphasizing the need to return to the oral contexts in which the oral histories and traditions could be verified and understood more fully.

Indigenous Oral History Shaped in Competing Conventions

Beyond just publicly available manuscripts, Māori oral histories are also kept and passed on in private texts. Shaun Awatere, for instance, spoke of the personal "research materials" on tribal "kōrero" (stories) he was given from an elder relative.[31] Others, like Terri Lee Nyman, kept journals and "folders" where they wrote down oral histories found in songs and haka (dances).[32] Concerns about forgetting knowledge prompted some to record tribal oral history for their own personal collections, including Whaimutu Dewes, who says that he rarely trusted his own memory.[33] Jenny Donaldson recalls seeing genealogy books in her home that were finely crafted texts with "beautiful writing."[34] Genealogy books, in most Māori communities, have been kept by various families, and these books, as Michael Taiapa explained in his interview, are used to highlight connections:[35]

> He pukapuka whakapapa tāku, tēnei pukapuka mohio koe ki tēnei nē? 100 years old now te pukapuka, ki taku mohio nā Pine Taiapa nōna nei taua pukapuka i tuhi a rongonui rawa a Pine Taiapa puta noa i te rohe o te Tairawhiti hei tohunga mō te whakapapa e ai kī te kōrero a tōku nei mama ka haere mai te katoa ki a ia mō ngā hononga ki tēnei, ki tēnā, ki tērā, ka hoki mai tētahi whānau pea ki te kite i a ia, kia ora e koro Pine, kei te mohio te whānau nei ki te whakapapa o tēnei taha, mohio ana koe ki tēra mēnā ka mōhio, mēnā kāore i mohio a kei te pai, ko te nuinga o te wā mōhio ana ā Pine Taiapa ki ngā whakapapa cause about tekau mano ngā ingoa i roto i te pukapuka nei, te tini rau mano.[36]

> I have in my possession a genealogy book that you already know about, it's about 100 years old now and I recall it being written by Pine Taiapa who was well known throughout the East Coast as a keeper of genealogy. According to Mum, many would come to see him about kinship relations such as a family member who went to see him and inquired about the genealogy on this side, as you would know, and if he did or didn't know it, then it wasn't a problem. However, in saying that, he was well rehearsed in reciting genealogy as his book contained a multitude of about 10,000 names.

Despite keeping books, the communicating of genealogy and tribal oral history as Michael noted, was more an oral process than a matter of reading or writing. Commenting on the impact of texts in Māori communities, Jennifer Garlick reiterates the view that Māori "preferred to hear the matter, whether written or printed, read to them." Māori, she argues have "preferred education through the ear, conveyed by artists in intonation and gesticulation."[37] This appeared to be the case in most of the interviews too, where tribal histories in writing were often considered a type of oral performance. Tūhoe scholar Timoti Karetu has observed how Māori writers in nineteenth-century Māori-language newspapers developed written conventions "based largely on the etiquette and protocol of the marae or tribal meeting-ground, and particularly that of whaikōrero (oratory)."[38] Thus, in the collision between indigenous oral traditions and the advent of Western written traditions, the form of genealogy as oral history appeared to shift between these two competing modes of transmission.

In line with Western written conventions generations of Ngāti Porou were specifically instructed to "enter the genealogical tables on the left-hand side of a foolscap minute book," with "the opposite page being reserved for notes."[39] Influenced by the Polynesian Society, Sir Apirana Ngata was positive that genealogy could "supply the dates for our story" in that "the length of a generation may be taken as twenty-five years."[40] Within the written form, Māori oral history often appeared to depart from a focus on the inclusionary protocols of genealogy, to the exclusionary politics of difference, obsessed with ownership and the creating of a history that could be verified on Western terms.[41] In contrast, the conventions in Māori customs, as Derek Lardelli pointed out, accentuated a focus on the prestige of the individual and tribe, whose recitations are produced in "te hinengaro Māori/the Māori mindset:"

> Kei te pai tēnā te kaiwhakapapa, engari ko te mahi kē kei te tukuna ngā kōrero whakapapa kei roto i ngā Kooti Whenua Māori, ka ngaro te Māori ki te mau e tērā momo. Ko ngā koroua ō mua e hiana kē atu ngā ingoa Māori i pupuri i te hinengaro Māori. Ka tukuna kei roto i

te pukapuka, ka honohono ki te pukapuka—Kāore e piri, ngā mea i ēnei rā, te ako i ngā whakapapa onamata. Ka mea mai, ka mina koe ki te ako i tō whakapapa rā kei roto i te pukapuka, engari i ngā ra o mua, kei roto i te hinengaro Māori nei. Nā reira, ka pai ngā whakaaro, me ki ngā whaikōrero i runga i te wā kaenga. Nā mea tino matatau rawa ki te whakapapa, ka mohio tonu rātou ka mauhia ake ngā whakapapa kei roto i te hinengaro, kātahi ka karawhiua i runga i te marae. I ēnei rā, ka pēnei, "ah, taihoa, kei te wharangi rua tekau mā wha o te pukapuka ngā whakapapa nei. . . . Kei reira, kei reira." He aha tēnei mea ka tukuna atu i te pukapuka te mana, ko te mana kei te tangata tonu.

To be an exponent of genealogy is good, but it is a different thing entirely to draw your genealogy from the Māori Land Court. Māori lost ownership of it in that form. The old people in those times cared for and contained the names in a consciousness that was irrevocably Māori. When it was reorganized in writing, the people today have not adhered to, or learned, the genealogy as it was in former times. You might say you are hungry to learn genealogy from a book, but in the old days this information was stored in the Māori mind. So, it's good that we have great speakers back home, people who are extremely knowledgeable of genealogy, who still know how to carry their own genealogy in their minds, and then are able to impart it on the marae. Today it's like this: "ah wait, hold on, the genealogy is on page twenty-four. . . . There it is, there it is." What is this practice that affords such authority to a book, when it should be the person who has the expertise.[42]

To know indigenous oral history it is important to understand how indigenous people conceptualize it. Of genealogy Derek explains: "Ki te kore te tangata i te mohio tēnei, ka mate te tangata/If a person does not know this, then they do not exist."[43] These conventions inherited from oral traditions were also ascribed to genealogy books. Indeed, these books had their own sense of sacredness, and were not made available to everyone. Some books were burned because they were believed to be causing spiritual and emotional injury.[44] Other interviewees lamented the fact that some of their family genealogy books were lost and buried with relatives, while others, remembered them being taken, destroyed, or hidden.[45] On the customs related to genealogy books, Whaimutu Dewes argued that a better understanding of the conventions related to our cultural protocols would help to dispel some of their "taboo":

Ahakoa he taonga, me tuku tonu atu ki te iwi, nō rātou ake te whakapapa. Ehara i te mea, he mea huna . . . he mea tapu tērā pukapuka? Ae, kei a

> ia tonu tōna tapu, engari ehara i te mea he tapu, kia wehi, kia wehi te tapu, he tapu nā te mea ko ngā tipuna, ko ngā ingoa, me te ingoa o tō tipuna kei roto, a, me te whakamaumahara ō rātou mahi. Engari, koira te mea ki tā taku Pāpā, koira te mea e tapu ai te pukapuka. Ehara i te mea whakamataku, kia wehe ai.
>
> Although it is to be treasured, you must take it to the people, because it is their genealogy, it is not something to be hidden away. Are these books supposed to be untouchable? Yes, it is a priceless and precious item, but it is not meant to be taboo, we shouldn't be afraid, or fear it, it is sacred because it carries our ancestors and their names within it, and the histories of their exploits. But, according to my father, that's the reason the book is sacred or taboo (tapu), but it is not something to be scared or afraid of.[46]

Although modified in writing, genealogy books were still considered oral histories and traditions by the majority of interviewees. This is because their interpretation of the form of oral history was generally conceived within a worldview that favoured tribal customs and oral ritual rather than Western written traditions that focused on chronologies and validity. Books and writing assisted memory, and were considered by many as necessary to revitalization and empowerment:

> In the old days it was all word of mouth it got passed down in the song, in the hakas (dances), in the genealogy (whakapapa). And they were amazing, they retained all that stuff, but for future generations, my own personal feeling is that that stuff has to be written for us to retain it. It has to be. It has to be recorded, whether it be written, whether it be on video, whatever, but for our survival it has to.[47]

As Tinatoka Tawhai notes here, the utility of writing enhances the ability of indigenous peoples to retain their own epistemological integrity, and is a matter of survival. The form of Māori oral history remained present in print where authors were active in following the indigenous worldviews, customs, and conventions in expressing the oral histories. For scholars of oral traditions these conventions have been recognized in their examinations of formulas and metric verse that appear when the songs and lineages are committed to print.[48] The rituals of oral tradition also appear in the recordings of oral historians, and were evident in many of the interviews undertaken in this study, including Anaru Kupenga's recording:

> Ngā herenga o tāua whakapapa mai i a te akau ko Ngā Kuri Paaka ko koutou i heke me kī i ngā Kuri pāka a Uetuhiao rāua ko Tūtehurutea, ko koutou tērā, ko ngā Mahuika i heke mai i ā Te Harata, ā ko mātou i heke mai i Ngā Kuri Paaka i a Kuku, Korohau me Rongotangatakē. Tuia ā tāua whakapapa ki te maunga mai i te timatatanga, ahakoa i wehe ko ētahi o ngā tamariki whakarerea mai ki muri he kōrero rāua ki a koe mō tērā o ngā tipuna, mō Tāwhai Winiata tētahi ō ngā kaiarahi tohunga ō te maunga ō Hikurangi. Nā reirā ahakoa nāhau ngā pātai engari nāu anō ngā kōrero, ngā kōrero ō tāua mātua, ō tāua tīpuna, e kore e wehea.
>
> The descent lines of that particular genealogy descend inland to Ngā Kuri Paaka (the brown-skinned dogs of Uetuhiao—her three sons), from which you come from but more specifically Ngā Kuri Paaka a Uetuhiao and Tutehurutea. That's where the Mahuika family descend from, that is, from the line of Te Harata, and we descend from the lines of Ngā Kuri Paaka from Kuku, Korohau, and Rongotangatakē (the names of the brown-skinned brothers). Our genealogies interlink back to the sacred mountain from the beginning despite the occurrence of a separation from those who were regarded as castaways sometime later on. These connections can provide a personal witness concerning our ancestors, which can be validated in the guided and historical narratives of Mount Hikurangi as given by Tawhai Winiata. However, not only do you possess the right questions, but you also possess the answers as contained within the oral histories of our forefathers, which will never fade away.[49]

Anaru's recounting of genealogy here, albeit in a one-on-one interview, bore a strong resemblance to the intonations, style, and conventions common to oratory in formal occasions. Genealogy, whether written or spoken is one of the major threads of Māori oral histories, and is at once, an ongoing product of oral history and tradition, while simultaneously an essential part of the way in which it is produced. For many indigenous peoples, the orality of oral histories and traditions are not lost in writing and print, but enhanced by them. They are made and remade within specific cultural conventions that sometimes distort them and divide them between tradition and history. In written forms, indigenous oral histories exist in multiple genres, from testimonies in the Land Court minute records, published histories, and indigenous newspapers, to private diaries, and genealogy books. All of these forms are created in a process of transmission that has for some time now spiralled between the voice and the text, but keeps coming back to the spoken word that lingers in the lived realities of our people.

Indigenous Oral History a Product of the "Classroom"

Oral traditions and histories in most indigenous contexts are made and remade in a process of transmission. Some time ago now, Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson observed that "there are numerous styles of oral transmission," and urged scholars to pursue the question of transmission and its form to "better understand how it shapes historical messages and what we remember."[50] In Māori communities, the form of our oral history is passed on within a world of protocols or customs that influence the speakers, teachers, listeners, and learners. Of these customs Waldo Houia, from Ngāti Uepohatu, recalled that all that was "sown into you orally":

> Kāore i kōrero mai me pērā rawa koe engari koina tāku wā ka kite koe i te āhuatanga ō tēnei mea te manaakitanga engari i kōrero noatia mai kare, so it was handed down orally, so those sort of values are being instilled in you. Ka peka mai he tangata, whangaihia nā te mea koina te mahi ō ngā wā ō mua ahakoa ko wai.
>
> It was never really mentioned why you had to do the things you did, it was just the way things were. One would observe the principle of hospitality, but it was hardly spoken about, so it was handed down orally, so those sorts of values are being instilled in you. Whenever people came to visit us they were fed no matter who you were because that was the custom of the time.[51]

Waldo emphasizes, as did most other interviewees, the orality of the transmission, but also the reality that these things were learned in experiences, actions, and routines. This process of remembering, as Turuhira Tatare recounts, was not something you did while just sitting and reading:

> When we used to go to Ngāti Putaanga practices on horseback, this Henare Waitoa would be sitting at the back on the horse with his wife, and he would be singing songs that he had just composed, by the time we got to our destination we knew the song. Because of the training that we had through Ringatū (the Ringatū Church), by listening, . . . we were taught by the old women, and even, it was the old ladies who taught our men how to haka (dance), oh it was funny.[52]

Learning on horseback was part of the process of transmission for Turuhira, the form of the narrative primarily heard in an oral experience, but the

environment and the mode of teaching also a vital stimulant. Writing on the topic of oral traditions, Robert Darnton notes that the "transmission process affects stories differently in different cultures." He argues that "oral traditions are tenacious and long-lived" and that they do not simply "collapse at their first exposure to the printed word."[53] Likewise, some oral historians have similarly stressed the need for scholars to "pay more attention than they usually do to the means by which still living traditions have been transmitted." Andrew Roberts, for instance, writes that "it may also be helpful to have a study of the transformation of traditions" in which historians might think much harder about their informants' own views of history, and about the way in which these are shaped by social horizons.[54] These views are shared by many in indigenous contexts, who have asserted the need for historians outside of our communities to pay more attention to our process, cultural values, and worldviews. As a listener, observer, and participant, Apirana Mahuika described the Māori "process" of transmission as a phenomenon that occurred in tribal "classrooms," where local epistemologies are affirmed by the words of "speech makers and singers of songs."[55] For most of the interviewees, the teachers and learners in these classrooms were made up from the community as a whole. This was stressed by Hilda Tawhai, who recollects: "you didn't just get raised by your mother and father—you got raised by everyone in your community."[56] The transmission of indigenous oral histories then, for most of the interviewees, occurred within broad definitions of the family, not confined to just immediate relatives, but inclusive of larger tribal groups. Moreover, this broad community of "classrooms" stretched over a wide expanse that included the meeting grounds, the ancestral, the community cooking shed, private homes, gardens, horseback, and more formal sites such as meeting for tribal learning (wānanga), and sometimes even schools.

The wānanga (or traditional school of learning), for instance, is still, today, a key site where Māori history and traditions have been taught. It is in these spaces that many believe the "powers of memory were developed," where the histories were memorized, incantations recited, and all the necessary rituals and customs observed.[57] Of these tribal schools of learning, Mita Carter writes that "only the most brilliant young men [were] accepted as entrants based on the powers of a retentive memory."[58] In prior times, not just anyone would be accepted, but were subject to special selection and rituals, based on their ability to memorize and retain information. In Ngāti Porou these were special and sacred places.[59] According to Apirana Mahuika, tribal wānanga were not just for specialist people, but specialist knowledge:

> We had several schools of higher learning, we had Tāperenui-ā-Whatonga, and in Tāperenui-ā-Whatonga we had such things as musical

> instruction, as religious instructions, land care instruction, conservation instructions, fisheries instructions, genealogy instructions.[60]

Different types of "classrooms" were also mentioned by other interviewees, such as Ihipera Morrell, who recalled her grandmother speaking about the education of their revered ancestor Rongo-i-te-kai at a "whare wānanga mō ngā toa, mō ngā taua, ki te ako pakanga, patu tangata/school of learning that specialized in the training of fighters and war parties. There he learned strategies for battle, and armed combat training."[61] According to Mervyn McLean, during the 1930s, Ngāti Porou held educational meetings for the learning of traditional chants in which one individual would act as a "prompter" (kai makamaka), while another, the "kai wetewete" (analyst), would listen for errors.[62] In all of these instances, these "traditional" schools of learning incorporated specific oral techniques to enable memory such as repetition and rhythm. One of these practices included the use of waha kōhatu (a stone placed in the mouth), which Mita Carter asserts functioned as an "aid to memory, and to prevent stammering."[63]The pedagogical approach of the tribal school of learning, then, has been built on customs, which in former times included specific rituals that incurred severe repercussions if errors were made.[64] Forged in this process, Māori oral traditions and histories have often been viewed as deeply sacred forms, their orality a matter of high importance. Understanding how this oral transmission takes place is similarly a key interest of folklorists, "historical musicologists," and oral traditionalists, who examine the repetitive and rhythmic expressions and themes in songs, chants, ballads, and histories.[65] Commenting on the transmission of South Pacific oral traditions, Ruth Finnegan has observed "how verbally articulated traditions are constructed as artistic genres or oral narratives developed through the dynamic interaction between culturally recognized conventions, personal creativity, and varying voices of differing individuals or groups."[66] This has certainly been the case in Māori tribal schools of learning, where the oral histories are produced with specific attention to local protocols, by individuals and groups, in various ways.

The emphasis on the orality of the learning remains a significant aspect of tribal "classrooms" today. Of her own learning experience Tia Neha recalls that first it was oral "and then modeled . . . we would have sit down wānanga and just go through it for about an hour, two hours every week."[67] Wānanga (higher education) today still offers opportunities for indigenous people to practice and perfect aspects of tribal ritual, including speechmaking and singing, as Morehu Te Maro remembers:

> They used to go in the meeting house, and they sit in there, and they have their wānanga there. And they learn from one another. They practice on

> one another. The house is divided, and one part is the home-front and the other part is the visitors. They practiced their oratory like that to each other, and they get up and do traditional chants. Things like that.[68]

In these specific locations, complete with their own protocols and rules, indigenous oral histories were transmitted in classrooms that embodied local cultural practices. For those who have lived away from home, the replication of these experiences is viewed as an important part of the process of learning. "We used to have Ngāti Porou traditional singing sessions here [in Dunedin]," says Riria Tautau-Grant: "For me it was about being in the space."[69] The "space" she refers to is the hui or the "classroom," its significance marked by the people who attend and the protocols they establish. The act of holding wānanga, learning schools, served as a moment, place, and opportunity to enable the survival of tribal oral history in a living process. These are sites of immersion, where, as Apirana Mahuika noted earlier, the people's oral histories can thrive because the environment as a whole speaks to our way of being and thinking. In her interview, Tinatoka Tawhai noted the merits of holding tribal learning schools at home because:

> It's actually brought all the people that are the exponents of those different tribal knowledges (home). So we've had uncle Prince in and we've done traditional chants with him and Connie. We've had traditional Māori medicine, and we've brought the appropriate people in to do that. We've had traditional oratory. You know it's really brought our marae alive. The other thing is our kids are there too, so they're taking it all in. They're part of it. And it's actually been a savior for us. Without them I doubt we'd be where we are today.[70]

The shaping of indigenous oral history is more than an oral or written endeavour. Indeed, as the interviewees revealed, it is a process brought to life within custom and protocols that remake native history and traditions in local contexts, and on their terms. Conversely, in the classrooms of mainstream and early Native Schools, the form of indigenous oral histories differed markedly from its shape in tribal schools of learning because the underlying aspirations, rules, and regulations were not our own.[71] The absence of Māori perceptions of oral histories in the school curriculum was noted by many of the interviewees. Tūwhakairiora Tibble, for instance, recalled that:

> We knew Hikurangi the mountain, Waiapu the river, Ngāti Porou the people. For me that was about it. I didn't know about Pukemaire, the tribal reservation in Tiki . . . things like Umuariki (ancestor), Tinatoka

> (ancestor), all those ancestors, Hinetapora, the tipuna (ancestors) Hunaara, Putaanga, all those tipuna (ancestors). Those were things that we were never taught at school, but we learned about who Captain Cook was.[72]

Most of the interviewees remember either a complete absence of tribal oral history from their time at school or its reduction to fairy tales, myths, and legends. Schools, as Boy Keelan remembers, were white institutions, where the European mindset, language, and history prevailed.[73] Of his time as a student John Coleman recalls that "we were never told" anything about the Treaty of Waitangi, but were taught "all about Shakespeare" and wheat fields in Canada.[74] Other interviewees had slightly different experiences, like Hera Boyle, who recollects local history lessons about the people, landscape, and politics; this she says was "spoken stuff."[75]

The shaping of indigenous oral histories in tribal or European schools relied on varying rules, regulations, and politics. Its form dramatically shaped or disfigured depending on whose underlying frames of reference were in ascendance. The relevance of understanding oral history and tradition within the minds of its communicators is a notion expressed by an array of both oral traditionalists and oral historians. Some time ago now, the celebrated oral historian Studs Terkel in an interview with Ron Grele expressed the view that "if it is their truth, it's got to be my truth . . . the memory is true. It's there."[76] In understanding the form of oral history and oral tradition within indigenous contexts, an appreciation of the process in which it is shaped requires an attentive ear and open mind to know native truths. These are truths forged in a world of customs and protocols that lie beneath the oral testimonies, and explain the silences, rhythms, and routines that dictate how they are heard, who hears them, and why.

Oral Histories Transmitted by Specialists and Custodians

In many indigenous contexts, certain underlying protocols determine not only who would hear stories and songs, but how they should be transmitted to others. Reflecting on his upbringing, Herewini Parata recalls his early training as a "conduit" and "custodian" of tribal oral history:

> I am a product, and I'm doing a lot of things [that] were a part of probably my mother's upbringing, and the people that brought her up, and my father's upbringing and the people that brought him up. . . . So I am

> the conduit of both of them . . . I'm just a, I suppose, a custodian of the traditions, of the oral history of both of my father's genealogy and who he was, and my mother's genealogy, and who she was.[77]

Oral history and tradition in Ngāti Porou, as Herewini illustrates here, is varied, and tightly connected to the sub-tribes and families individual's represent. The form of these oral histories, then, is powerfully shaped by genealogical ties, which offer access to elders and teachers, and determine both what is heard and who hears it. Recipients of oral traditions and histories can be found in an adherence to genealogy, as Derek Lardelli points out:

> We know we had the ability to jump generations . . . oral tradition, for Māori, is still alive and well—it manifests itself in certain people. Pēnei te tipuna nei, pēnei ā Māui (like this ancestor Māui) . . . special people like Apirana.[78]

Chosen people, in these terms, are those who are deemed to have special abilities and skills. The hereditary factors in tribal genealogy, as Derek notes, helps determine who is given access to knowledge, and most importantly whom they represent. This selection of people followed a specific custom, or process that ensured native and local ownership of the knowledge and, as Anaru Kupenga points out, the survival of the culture:

> They put these things in place and very selectively chose their people very carefully, in order to achieve that they sited those people that had the potential in those directions. I mean, waste of time trying to teach someone to be a surgeon when they're only a butcher, so they selected the best. The real reason why, was to ensure the survival of the race, of our people and also to ensure you have the scholars, the wise men taught to retain all that knowledge so that successive generations can continue. They knew their life span would end someday. They were willing to die, but in order to ensure that following generations—I mean you select an idiot for a captain, you got a thousand dead soldiers.[79]

Indigenous oral history, then, is a process as much as it is a product, and indeed, in the process is carefully shaped to reflect the worldviews of the people who have passed the knowledge on, and whom it represents. In Ngāti Porou, these are not just tribal experts, but family experts. Together they tell us about the past with multiple voices and skills that range from singing to carving, dancing, tattooing, weaving, and speechmaking.[80]

The notion of specialists is not uncommon to oral traditionalists.[81] However, the issue of who is granted access to oral histories has not been as well documented in the literature. Jan Vansina observed how African historians have now taken over from the work he had begun, and what is most important is that "it is they who are saying it."[82] His ideas about ownership and representation resonate, although not in exactly the same way, with the rationale Māori maintain in relation to the selection of their repositories.[83] Oral historians such as Linda Shopes have written more about the codes of conduct and ethical guidelines maintained by national oral history organizations than the ethical protocols important to indigenous research.[84] In the shaping of indigenous oral history, the protocols regarding access are a highly political matter, where outsiders are often viewed with suspicion.[85] This politics concerning Native oral histories is an important part of the process of transmission, particularly the selection of custodians and conduits, to borrow Herewini's terminology.

For the majority of interviewees, indigenous oral histories were learned from songs, informal conversations, rituals, and speeches, with living experts or specialists, rather than from books or writing. Many, for instance, learned from various composers, who retold and taught tribal history and traditions in local anthems, chants, ditties, action songs, and dances. During her interview, Jenny Donaldson shared this memory about her father, Henare Waitoa, one of Ngāti Porou's most well-known composers:

> I can remember being with dad when he was chopping the wood, ka hara mai ā uncle Maru (uncle Maru arrived), and my father looked up, and this is funny, because I was only a young girl, but somewhere along the line I can remember just a little bit of dad saying to uncle, "how do you call yourself coming into this wood heap?," and uncle said "tomo mai." . . . I was only young but the words "tomo mai" stuck in my head, and that was from Maru Karaka riding in, dad cutting the wood, and me standing there.[86]

"Tomo mai" is a phrase associated with one of Waitoa's most famous compositions, written for the Māori battalion in 1946, its tune taken from a popular song of the time, "Goldmine in the Sky."[87] It was later rehashed by the Howard Morrison Quartet, and became a popular party song in Māori households throughout the second half of twentieth century. The form of the oral here is blended with contemporary influences of the time. Yet in many of the songs, the fundamental messages in indigenous oral traditions and histories remained intact, as Te Kapunga Dewes indicated in his interview:

> Nā hoki a Tuini, koia anō tētahi tohunga ki te tito waiata; titoa ngā waiata i te wā a ngā kirikiri tonu ō Ihipiana, āe rā patua te Māori nā, ka titongia a Tuini Ngāwai āra Te Hokowhitu a Tū te waiata, [singing] engari ka whakamārama au ki āku tauira, he ringatū hoki a Tūini kei roto kē i tōna hinengaro, i roto i āna mahara, e Te Hokowhitu a Tū ko te atua Māori tērā ō Tūmātauenga, e te hokowhitu a Tū, engari nā te waiata a Tū e te hokowhitu a Tū engari e te hokowhitu a Tū whakarongo atu a Tūmatauenga. Ko Tūmatauenga te atua o te iwi, Tūmatauenga te atua o te tangata koina īnoi atu rā ki a Tūmatauenga kāti rā te hingahinga ki raro rā. Anō tētahi waiata a Tuini a te hokowhitu a Tū, [singing] nā reira kare he whakararuraru ki te mauri o ngā atua māori i te atua o te taha ki te hāhi Mihingare, te hāhi Momona rānei.[88]
>
> Tuini, now there's another well-known prolific song writer who composed a range of songs when our Māori troops were in Egypt dying in the war. And of course, she composed "Te Hokowhitu a Tū." Anyway, as I explain to my students, Tuini was a staunch Ringatū (Ringatū church member) at heart. In her reference to Te Hokowhitu a Tū, she was actually referring to the Māori god of war; nevertheless, because the song of Tū was actually referring to the band of Tū (the war party or Māori battalion) Tūmatauenga still listened with intent to the war cries of his warriors. Tūmatauenga is commonly referred to as the god of both kindreds and nations and it was to Tūmatauenga that prayers were given when soldiers lamented or fell on the battlefield. However, there was another version of Tuini's song, "Te Hokowhitu a Tū," but this did not seem to interfere with or disrupt the mauri (essence/spirit) of Māori gods when contrasted with the beliefs of Christianity as found in the Anglican or Mormon churches.

Tūmatauenga for some is a figure of myth and oral tradition, and despite religious and spiritual differences, remains well entrenched in Māori traditional and modern songs. This is indigenous oral history alive in composition, reinvigorated, but not abandoned in the process. The custodians of these oral histories were people grounded, and active, in the genealogy, cultural practices, and politics of the tribe. Often their songs would accentuate the connections between tribes, and the genealogical links that have been retained in oral history.[89] Tuini Ngawai, Henare Waitoa, and Ngoi Pewhairangi wrote most of their songs for the Māori battalion, but also wrote about the native language, culture, geography, and genealogies. Their songs were composed and written long after Māori had become literate, and thus are not the usual types of oral sources that ethnomusicologists and other oral traditionalist have focused on when considering

"purely" oral traditions. Similarly, these songs are seldom heard in the life narratives common to oral historians, unless specifically requested. They were sung in the some of the interviews though, but only by a few, like Prince Ferris, considered an authority on the haka (war dance) "Rūaumoko" (the Earthquake God), and Te Kapunga Dewes, an expert, or specialist, in the songs of Henare Waitoa.

All of the interviewees shared the same belief that the transmission of indigenous oral histories, whether in songs, speeches, genealogies, books, or the spoken word, were passed on to people under a set of expectations and strict tribal customs. These protocols often shaped the form of the histories to encapsulate the practices and views of specific sub-tribes and families, and were entrusted to certain people for safekeeping. These chosen repositories were viewed as conduits or custodians of tribal knowledge, and were expected to be familiar with the rituals and practices within which these oral traditions and histories were shaped.

Oral History in Songs, Chants, and Dance

The form of indigenous oral histories and traditions has constantly evolved in new and dynamic contemporary settings. As many of the interviewees noted, the composing of songs was relative to the "lifestyle" of each generation. Of the people he grew up with, Herewini Parata recalls:

> That was their lifestyle, everything, when they were in the garden they were singing about, you know, waiata mō te garden (songs for the garden), when they were farming they were singing those sort of songs, when they were making flax they were singing chants related to that, when they went to funerals they were singing all that sort of thing (laments).[90]

In today's world, evolving technology and the fact that the many indigenous people live away from their tribal homelands have altered the way indigenous people now compose, learn, and transmit songs.[91] Traditional songs, as Wayne Ngata points out, were received and conceived in contemporary settings, influenced by the tunes and topics of the day and the impact of technology: "Ko ngā waiata i rongo ai mātou ko ngā waiata o te wā . . . ko ngā waiata i rongo ai mātou ko ngā mea o te reo irirangi/Well the songs we heard were the songs of the times . . . the songs we were familiar with were the ones on the radio."[92]

Despite the seemingly destructive impact of changing demography and developing technologies, the customs embedded in the content and transmission

of indigenous songs and chants is what makes them traditional. Indeed, as Turuhira asserts in her interview, the specific tribal historical narratives in songs serve a particular function:

> We were lucky with people like Jacob, who composed genealogy, like "Ko Hauiti te tipuna e, nāna ko Kahukuranui—Hauiti is the ancestor, and from him comes Kahukuranui," and of course I belong to Tokomaru Bay (to the people from there), "Ko Kapihoromanga, Whakapawhero, ko Hine Maurea, ko koe Ruataupare/I am of Kapihoromanga, of Whakapawhero, of Hine Maurea, and her daughter Ruataupare," so we knew then how we were linked to Hauiti and Tologa. And then somebody did one for Tikitiki (a place on the East Coast), about Tamataua and Putaanga (two ancestors), and then of course wherever we went we were able to stand up and say who we were by our genealogical song (that connects us to that place).[93]

The oral history used in the song above, as Turuhira suggests, works to uphold the custom of relationship building or remembering (the strengthening of intertribal relationships), and to serve as an affirmation of various interrelated identities. Speaking on the customs of tribal songs, Herewini Parata observed certain protocols related to where and when songs are sung, and for what occasion: "You know, some of the chants we sing now, they're supposed to be sung in the wharemate (in the house for the dead), they're not supposed to be sung on the marae ātea (outside the front of the house)."[94]

Observing custom and protocol in relation to when and where the song is most appropriate is part of what makes them "traditional." Not only is history and tradition carried in the content, as in the case of Turuhira's example above, but it is lived in the procedures surrounding its performance. However, these elements often change over time and in different contemporary settings take on new histories when songs are borrowed or reshaped for new occasions and audiences, like the one referred to here by Te Kapunga Dewes:

> Whakamutua atu, nā Apirana Ngata tonu nāna i tito a Pōkarekare ana, Pōkarekare ana ngā wai o Waiapu, heoi anō ki a Te Arawa pīrangi rātou ki ngā waiata a Ngāti Porou, Pōkarekare ana ngā wai o Rotorua e tā! Ka tika anō te whakaaro pēnei i a koe puku kata tonu, ko Hinemoa hoki te wahine nāna i kau te roto o Rotorua, ā, ko te kōauau a Tūtanekai ki te arataki ki a ia ki te moutere. I roto i ngā pūrākau ka haere mai te karere ki te whakaoho i a Tūtanekai taenga atu ki te wharemoe o Tūtanekai . . . i roto i te whare o te Māori rā e whā kē ngā waewae i kite atu au, kua moea kētia e ia a Hinemoa . . . e whā kē ngā waewae.[95]

> On the contrary, it is a known fact that Apirana Ngata composed the song "Pōkarekare ana nga wai o Waiapu" and that Te Arawa (another tribe) adapted it as evident in their wording "Pōkarekare ana ngā wai o Rotorua," well what do you think of that. I agree that it is laughable. According to the story, Hinemoa (Te Arawa ancestress) was the maiden who swam the length of Lake Rotorua as she was guided to the island by the sound of Tūtanekai's (her lover's) flute. It was reported that a servant was sent to the sleeping quarters of Tutanekai to awake him and as he approached the door of Tūtanekai's house he looked into the room and could see two pairs of feet and not one lying in Tūtanekai's bed. It was then that he realized that Tūtanekai and Hinemoa had already married.

In the appropriation of songs, new histories often emerge, and the form of one tribe's oral histories refashioned to accommodate different or additional perspectives. The song referred to here has been altered, with Lake Rotorua replacing the Waiapu River, and the accompanying history of Hinemoa and Tūtanekai recounting a past that belongs elsewhere. Examples like this are commonplace, yet there are many others that show how old tribal songs and dances are used regularly to comment on new issues. Love songs, laments, and songs of disdain or disapproval are frequently performed because the generic messages inherent within them are timeless. They also invoke the histories and ancestors of a certain group or people. This sense of ownership, particularly by specific tribal groups and families, is universal to not only Ngāti Porou, but Māori in general.[96] To understand the form of indigenous oral histories and traditions it is important to unravel the multiple layers that lie beneath and give them meaning. These layers reflect the customs and protocols of various families, broader kinship groups, and bigger tribes, whose histories have been fashioned by living experiences. Thus, the learning and performance of songs, as some interviewees noted, required this familiarity to present it in the way that it was meant to be disseminated. This was a lesson Angela Tibble learned from one of her nannies, who asserted, "you're not gonna get it cause until you've felt grief yourself you're always gonna sing it differently to how I sing it."[97] As Angela reminds us here, the form of tribal oral history is produced in a world of protocols and expectations, and is dynamic and evolving as succeeding generations take ownership of old themes and present them in new ways.

Looking back, some people confessed that they could not "stand traditional chants (mōteatea)," yet most of the interviewees had at some stage in their lives heard or learned chants and songs that are considered classics in their tribal history.[98] The chants and songs learned in native communities are similar to what some have termed folklore, which has been described as "the living oral

culture of a society" and "includes popular songs."[99] For Māori, these songs are embedded in ritual, particularly the protocols of the homeland, where speakers are usually accompanied with supporting songs that relate to the occasion. The chant or lament in Ngāti Porou is most often viewed as an ancient song, and the prose and words of these compositions are generally associated with highly esoteric forms of the language, as Apirana Mahuika notes:

> We were very metaphorical in the way we expressed things in a way that we didn't give the full answer, we kept part of it in reserve, but Ngata in *Ngā Mōteatea,* if you read in *Ngā Mōteatea,* he talks about our language, he talks about the beauty of our language, he talks about the way in which we do our things in language. For example [reading from Ngata's book], "In these songs the poetical genius of our ancestors is made evident in their use of the Māori language. In latter times, in these days of the European, the language is regular, phrases are frequently broken up like an infant walking. In former times, a wealth of meaning was clothed within a word or two as delectable as a proverb in its poetic form, and it in its musical sound" . . . then he goes on to give an example "Like a stranded school of tattooed bodies at Kaiweka," and so he explained in Māori as spoken in our days like the school of wales stranded on the shore at Kaiweka. So our language was full of that kind of thing. It painted images conjured up in your mind: you can almost see it in just the mention of a word.[100]

Language is vital to the understanding of indigenous oral histories, whether in a spoken or written form. The conventions of most native oral histories, as Apirana refers to here, are deeply metaphorical and poetic rather than literal. It is interesting that he reads from Ngata's book to elaborate this point, and then returns to the notion that the words, whether in print or voice, conjure up the images from a distant past. Thus, in this short extract, Māori oral history is spread thinly from its orality to the visual dynamics of print and the mind, its interpretation and accessibility dependent on the ability to think as one's ancestors did. This, as other interviewees expressed, has been one of the major issues in the transmission of indigenous oral histories. Angela Tibble, for instance, points out that because the language is changing, it is now more difficult to understand what it was our ancestors and elders truly meant when they composed these songs. She says:

> At that time when Nanny was teaching us those chants, kāore mātou i te tino matatau ki te reo (we were not that knowledgeable in the language), ko āna akonga katoa ki a mātou kei roto i te reo (All that she taught us was us in the Māori language) because that was the best way

> she could express it so we pretty much understand but were not able to. *te hōhonu o tōna kōrero (the depth of her explanation)?* Yeah āna kōrero (her explanation) so koira anō tētahi o ngā mate o ēnei rā (that's one of the major problems today). I know the tune, I know a bit of the history (korero), but not necessarily the in-depth-ness of the reo (language) behind it.[101]

The threat of losing the language also pertains to a loss of understanding in relation to local tribal history and tradition, and particularly the ability to interpret old ideas in a changing language that sometimes fails to capture the meanings of its forebears. Nevertheless, the orality of Native transmission, as Derek Lardelli argues, encapsulates far more than the surface elements of the spoken word, but a reservoir of deeper meaning, stimulants, and worldviews:

> Initially as human beings, our first teachers are our mothers, and it will always be that way you can't change it, you can't change the nature of that... traditionally the oral stimulus was sound, and the visual stimulus was obviously the carving, and the visual display of carving (whakairo). But as indigenous people, our indigeneity still lies in the language—what is the carving (whakairo)? What do we really mean when we say whakairo? He aha tēnei mea te iro what is this thing the "iro"? Kua mau i a koe te iro/do you carry the "iro"? Have you got that knowledge base set in your mind? . . . Do we have the conceptual delivery of our language base enough to understand what's in behind the chant? What's in behind the spoken word? So that we can understand it's not just the literal translation we're looking at. We're looking at something far more deeper than that, and that's the reason and the rationale behind why the language of most indigenous peoples needs to be removed from colonial oppression because it's the language that ties us into the land. It's a language that stems from the land, and therefore its sounds and its mechanism of delivery are all based around the land and the sea, and the natural environment.[102]

What lies "in behind" the song, dance, or spoken word, as Derek implies, is vital to the underlying meaning of the form from an indigenous perspective. Without it, we cannot hope to describe indigenous oral history at all. The language, environment, and customs are important to the shaping of indigenous oral histories and are invoked in the words of individuals and collective groups. Indeed, for the majority of the interviewees, the shaping of Native oral histories has been as much a group experience as it is an individual one. Reminiscing on his time as a young haka (cultural dance) performer, Prince Ferris noted the multiple leaders

of the songs and chants in his day, such as George Reedy, Merekaraka Ngarimu, and Lucy Kupenga.[103] Each took charge of different items, and the key process of teaching and learning, he recollects, was oral:

> In my time, when they sing, I listen. I listen for the action songs. Not so much the actions, but once you know the tune. Once you've got the song you can follow with the actions. That's how most of us do it in those days. But now it's all different now: all paperwork.[104]

Other interviewees were asked about whether the words were displayed on paper for the group to read and learn. For many, this was their experience, but for some, like Angela Tibble it was predominantly "just by ear, none of those charts or anything like that, all by ear (ā-taringa), by your eyes (ā-whatu), and the body (ā-tinana)."[105] The stressing of a distinctively visceral experience remained a common pedagogical feature for most of the interviewees, and for many the most important aspect was not a verbatim knowledge of the words, but an understanding of the deeper meaning: Tinatoka Tawhai, for instance, explained that:

> Before you even started learning the song, you had to research it yourself. Who composed the song? What was the song about? And this was where my dad was one advantage 'cause I'd just go home and ask him you see, so yeah, you had to do your research. You'd have to find out who wrote the song, when it was written, what the song meant, because how could you sing it if you didn't know what it meant.[106]

Tinatoka is referring to a tribal custom here, a protocol to learning songs, chants, and dance that placed the importance on understanding it as meaningful to the learner's identity, for whom it was written, and by whom it was composed. In this way, the form of oral history and oral tradition is not accessed in a single source, but through multiple voices that are connected. In Ngāti Porou, the songs were generally "caught" in the daily activities of the tribal meeting grounds, as Angela Tibble recounts: "it was just pure, oh the songs are being sung again you stand up, watching, listening, singing." At various wānanga, she added, "the history is given to go with the song," but otherwise: "it was just all by ear, 'Kereruhuahua' and all the chants at home, we know the stories behind them—just knew them from hearing them a hundred billion times."[107] The repetitious elements of oral transmission, in the modern world have not been hijacked by technology. Turuhira Tatare, a generation earlier, recalled learning songs while riding on horseback.[108] Similarly, Matanuku Mahuika learnt haka (war chants) in the car with his father on road trips "while we were traveling back and forth" to the East Coast.[109]

In retrospect, Matanuku saw these as significant moments in the shaping of his mind and the trajectory of his life:

> I thought the fact that he taught us "Te Kiringutu" before he taught us any other haka (men's ceremonial dance), because I don't know when I developed an appreciation of what that haka meant, but I did understand the haka. The haka was a haka (dance/war cry) of protest, and about the rating and taxing of lands, and the operations of the Native Land Court . . . the reason I became a lawyer is probably because I was taught "Te Kiringutu" from an early stage.[110]

Matanuku reminds us that the orality of the process is still there, that the protocols behind the process remain, and that the lived experience behind the history is vital to the relaying and understanding of its meaning beyond one generation to the next. This is indigenous oral history in our song, dance, and chant, weaving in and out of each other in a sophisticated interplay, where customs and protocols, language, orality, and new technologies overlap in the making and remaking of personal and tribal histories. They are shaped in contemporary societies, but always with an awareness of the customs and worldviews that give emotion and relevance to the spoken word.

An Indigenous Articulation of Oral History Sources

For Ngāti Porou and many other indigenous peoples, the orality of their oral histories is not necessarily lost in writing and print but enhanced by it. This is because the fundamental oral conventions of tribal custom and protocols that shape and define their histories and traditions are still there in the voices of those authors who remain connected to their local epistemologies. Nevertheless, since its inception the majority of writing has deliberately ignored indigenous perspectives, favouring supposedly superior Western written traditions and discourses. This has been denounced by Native people as "raupatu ā te pene/colonization by the pen" for its alienating of not only indigenous lands and language, but local frames of reference and perspectives regarding the past. The subordination of indigenous oral histories and traditions in these ways tended to distort them in a binary between verifiable written history and unreliable oral evidence. In response, many of the interviewees argued that in order to know native oral history it is necessary to be immersed in the oral worlds of the people. The need to understand oral traditions in "context" is a view shared by some oral traditionalists, but it is unclear the extent to which they are committed to enable

those views. Similarly, oral historians have not always paid sufficient attention to the views of their informants, and despite an awareness of ethical issues regarding informed consent and access, have rarely addressed these issues from indigenous perspectives.

For the majority of the interviewees, the nuanced realities of indigenous oral histories allowed them to move freely between both the written and the oral. The text is viewed as a supportive tool of remembering, while the oral is considered more authoritative because it can be tested in living traditions and rituals. Thus, in understanding the form of native oral histories, the interviewees asserted that they are made and remade within specific cultural practices. Genealogy, for instance, shifted between prescribed written conventions and the customs and protocols of the indigenous mindset, where the sacred and tribal protocol dictated what is said, silenced, conveyed, and used. Shaped in a process of transmission, oral histories and traditions were produced in "classrooms," schools, and wānanga that rely on varying rules and regulations depending on whose views are in power. For all indigenous peoples, the "truth" of their local oral history then is forged in a world of customs and protocols that lie beneath the form, and explain the silences, rhythms, and routines that dictate how they are heard, who hears them, and why.

The form of our oral histories and traditions, as most of the interviewees attested, were shaped by chosen repositories and specialists, whose responsibilities and actions corresponded to a set of expectations. As custodians of tribal knowledge, these people acted as "conduits" with a requirement to be familiar with the rituals and practices that bring native oral histories to life. Thus, indigenous oral history is not meant to be simply an individual retelling, but the view of entire communities, formed in a collective that encapsulates the stories of kinship groups, families, and whole tribes. An interweaving of these voices is then patterned in contemporary contexts, where old themes are recreated in innovative forms, enhanced by popular tunes, or reworked with different emphases. The specialists, or composers, grounded in their own culture are tasked with the duty of safeguarding the traditional and historic threads and refrains that speak to our identities and worldviews. Indigenous oral history produced in these ways accentuates the oral, and returns constantly to this form, because this is where they are predominantly heard, passed on, and lived.

Hearing the oral history was the common pedagogical experience of most interviewees, where verbatim, or rote-learned, knowledge paled in comparison to the acquisition of deeper meanings. Most important, what lies behind the song, dance, or spoken word was considered vital to the underlying meaning of the form. Subsequently, a more comprehensive understanding and ability in the language was a key aspect of retaining the essence of tribal oral history. In addition, the land, ocean, rivers, and mountains were also viewed as crucial to the

contextualizing of native oral histories and traditions. Together with local customs and protocols, it is these layers of the indigenous world that give shape and meaning to what native people understand as oral history and tradition. They are carried in the voices of the people, whether written or oral, shaped in a process of transmission that is layered and sophisticated, and formed in dynamic and evolving contemporary settings that speak to indigenous worldviews.

5

The Politics of Power in Indigenous Oral History

Oral history in many indigenous communities has its own specific political nuance. Because native peoples like Ngāti Porou have spent centuries negotiating the complex colonial invasions and imperial political games of invaders, as well as navigating local intertribal and internal politics, they have necessarily evolved their political ideas and statements over time to reflect the tribes' multiple positionalities. These political refrains have their origins in deep and pivotal historical moments where tribal identity, law, and affirmation have been deeply woven into the core of what Ngāti Porou oral history is. For our people, the politics of oral history is, no matter the topic, usually a statement about the advancement and empowerment of the tribal autonomy. Self-determination and identity affirmation have long been key refrains in the politics of indigenous oral histories, in and beyond Ngāti Porou. When our revered tipuna (ancestor) Te Kani ā Takirau declined the position of Māori King in the mid-nineteenth century, his reference to the steadfast nature of the Ngāti Porou mountain Hikurangi had intended to highlight more the resolute declaration of the tribe's independence rather than a mere rejection of the mantle of king.[1] Of his status as a leading Ngāti Porou figure in his day he issued this firm reminder to other tribes in New Zealand:

> Kua kingi mai anō au i ōku tipuna
>
> I am already a king by my lineage.[2]

Proverbs like this are powerful political statements, and have been recounted over generations within new contexts, where the tribe's oral histories are retold to fit evolving circumstances and agendas. This is typical of the way history is made and remade across the world. Writing on the topic of oral history, for instance, Paul Thompson has argued that "all history depends ultimately on its social purpose."[3]

Anthropologists, ethnologists, and others who have studied oral traditions also note a "sense" of the political in the processes they observe, and the research they undertake.[4] But, to what extent are these political ideas, aims, and motivations shared across the studies of oral history and oral tradition? Are they similar, or vastly different, from indigenous perspectives? Moreover, how important are these objectives to understanding the way oral history is understood, researched, and "created" beyond the dominant refrains of mainstream oral history writing?

Oral History as Indigenous Self-determination

Oral history and traditions are produced and contested in multiple ways that reflect the underlying political aims and aspirations of individuals and collective groups. From questions of gender and tribal identity to religion and language, indigenous oral histories shape, and are themselves shaped by, an array of political issues. Despite the influence of new ideologies and even spiritual perspectives, Ngāti Porou political awareness has remained steadfast in its affirmation of tribal identity and autonomy.[5] Te Kani ā Takirau's statement of "independence," as Tamati Reedy writes, "characterizes the tribe even today."[6] More recently, Apirana Mahuika has called for Ngāti Porou people to be mindful that "we, and we alone, are the commanders of our destiny going forward."[7] This affirmation of indigenous identity and political positioning has often been misinterpreted by others who have labelled Ngāti Porou "kūpapa; ('Colonial loyalists' to the Crown), and those who have described the pursuit of Māori history as an expedition in 'treacherous waters.'"[8]

To comprehend Ngāti Porou oral histories and traditions it is vital to understand the underlying political objectives that shape the way they are expressed and applied over time. During his interview, Nolan Raihānia recalled that when the late twentieth-century tribal leadership group of Ngāti Porou was first "officially" established, its initial goal was to "receive back" Mount Hikurangi.[9] Speaking on this episode in the tribe's history, Matanuku Mahuika noted that the ownership of Hikurangi remained present in the tribe's political consciousness through local oral history despite legal title being held between the Crown and the Williams family.[10] In addition, Matanuku emphasized the long-standing assertion of local indigenous ancestral rights resonant in this saying:

> E kore te mana tipuna e waimeha, he mana tūturu mō ake tonu.
>
> Tipuna rights never diminish, they endure forever.[11]

Like Te Kani ā Takirau's statement, the key concept here accentuates genealogy as key to native land rights.[12] These oral histories reflect explicit Ngāti Porou

political aspirations related to land ownership and indigenous occupation.[13] Similarly, oral historians and oral traditionalists have their own identifiable objectives. Rebecca Sharpless records that the aim for many oral historians has been to simply obtain "a fuller record of the past": to document particularly the "lives of ordinary people."[14] Despite these political overtones, Paul Thompson has pointed out that "oral history is not necessarily an instrument for change," but "depends upon the spirit in which it is used."[15] Alternatively, social and cultural anthropologists who study oral traditions, as Joy Hendry argues, have primarily focused on "the different ways people have of looking at the world they live in."[16] Nevertheless, as Erich Kolig writes: "whatever the short-term mission of an individual anthropologist . . . the noble cause of anthropology per se is surely the pursuit of truth."[17] Whether a pursuit for "truth" or a "fuller" exploration of the past, these aims are inextricably connected with issues of ownership and representation. Indeed, the "ordinary" voices, the previously overlooked, or even the marginalized and indigenous are strategic representations created in the power politics of binary and intersecting identities.[18] They overlap, and may share underlying goals for empowerment, but their political trajectories often part ways when dreams of national identity or cultural unity depart from tribal autonomy or indigenous rights.

Thinking in binaries and intersectional identity politics was a very real, and often subconscious, aspect of the way each interviewee made sense of the oral histories they have nurtured in their own lives. Although critiqued for their narrow essentialism, Paulo Freire has noted how strategic binary identities encourage deeper levels of "conscientization" because "consciousness, although conditioned, can recognize that it is conditioned." He argues that it is "this 'critical' dimension of consciousness" that "accounts for the goals men assign to their transforming acts upon the world."[19] When the interviewees from home spoke of authentic indigenous identity, of colonizers or devious Europeans, they did so with various intersecting binary identities in mind. Moreover, the underlying aim of Ngāti Porou self-determination remained a consistent theme, in which the leadership of women, the independence of families and wider kin groups, and the interrogation of contemporary and traditional tribal worldviews were regularly revisited.

The Power and Politics of Identity in Indigenous Oral History

The collective, rather than individual, nature of indigenous politicization is reflective of the significance of genealogical status, and the customs and tradition

that informs it. For Māori, and Ngāti Porou specifically, this political resonance is emphasized by Apirana Mahuika, who noted:

> [Sir Apirana] Ngata established C Company of the 28th Māori Battalion on customs and traditional lines.... He adopted the common genealogy of those tribes that made up the company. The genealogical basis he used was the canoe concept and, in this case, the Horouta canoe tradition.[20]

Tribal genealogy, here, enables a unifying politics of identity, where connections are reinforced and used to organize on a pan-tribal basis. In contrast to the protocols of inclusion and connection, genealogy has also been employed to highlight divisions. Speaking on this issue, Wayne Ngata lamented the "disconnectedness" involved in this way of using tribal oral histories:

> Kare au i tiki atu i te whakapapa hei whakawehewehe kia noho, me ki ko ahau ki ko he wā anō kia whakaaetia tahitia a te wehe mea, te wehe mea engari e kore e taea te whakawehewehe i runga i ngā tahu heke i mea tipuna i mea tipuna koira ko te mate nui kua kitea e au i roto i ngā mahi ā kerēme Waitangi kia hoki anō ki tō patai mai mehemea kua mohio kē atu au ki a au a kua tino mohio ahau ki a au anō engari ko te mea kei te whakararu i a au ko te whakaputa kōrero a te tangata e mea ana ko to wehenga ki mea he motuhake ana mā reira anō e mea ai kua raru tātou ā Māori nei haunga anō te kerēme ki Waitangi engari ki te kaha a tātou whai i tērā huarahi i ngā kerēme ka mutu ka tino wehewehe te noho a ngāi Māori nei mehemea ko te Tairawhiti tēnei a kua tino wehewehe te noho a ngāi Māori nei kua kore a tamariki, a mokopuna rānei e mohio ki te whanaungatanga o mea ki a mea a koira tētahi āhuatanga e mahara nei au, e tino mahara nei au.
>
> I will never use genealogy as a means of separation and to remain as such, I acknowledge my other connections, but at times there seems to be individual agreements on separatism. Anyway, it is impossible to separate genealogy when you consider the male lines that descend from one ancestor and another. And as a result, it's a major issue as I have witnessed it for myself through Treaty of Waitangi claim submissions. To answer your question: if I know who I am, then I understand who I am, but what concerns me is when people say that your own connection (or individualism) to such and such is your own unique identity and it is through such statements that problematic issues of disconnectedness begins to occur *and* in addition to those already fueled by ongoing Treaty claims. Consequently, if we continue down this path, then Māori will become divided among itself. And if the East Coast tribes

> (Te Tairāwhiti) continues on in this manner, then it will suffer the same fate and our children and grandchildren will not know their kinship relationships one to another. That is one aspect of this whole situation that I feel very strongly about.[21]

In achieving indigenous self-determination, genealogical activism advances more a notion of inclusivity than it does exclusivity. This was the experience of the majority of interviewees, such as John Coleman, who remembers the learning of songs that "made us all one . . . we didn't go as individual sub-tribes but we were representing our kin groups to combine as *a* united body of tribes."[22] The songs John refers to here are tribal anthems, oral histories from various sub-tribes that essentially pooled together in a united political or "corporate" tribal body. He remembers that when we got together as a tribe, people from specific areas would be put in front when a song from their sub-tribe was sung, "because they're the owners of these songs."[23] Far from a politics of division, this dynamic interaction, as Apirana Mahuika argues, highlights collaboration, where the people come together as a single unit to achieve a specific purpose and then "revert back to the activities of their family/sub-tribe."[24] This is a familiar idea for those who study oral traditions, such as Ton Otto, who observes that traditions "can be used to legitimate or naturalize existing relations of power, but they can also be employed to mobilize a group of people for political change."[25] An interdisciplinary approach to thinking about traditions has been influenced by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's work on *The Invention of Tradition*, in which:

> "Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[26]

Traditions as political fabrications have proved troublesome for some scholars, who have been intent on exposing them as false culture and consciousness.[27] Moving away from this research agenda, as Juri Mykkänen argues, "underlines not only the durability of culture but also the necessary sense that accompanies any social act, whether driven by power motives or not."[28] For Māori, the politicization of one tribe's oral histories resists the imposition of "invented tradition" in favour of the innovative continuity that characterizes a tribal dedication to resistance and self-determination. In other words, indigenous peoples consider oral history the continuation of living tradition rather than the invention of nationhood referred to by Hobsbawm and Ranger.

Oral history as a living history in Ngāti Porou, for instance, is thus created in the collision of multiple political intersections and is highly influenced by the continuation of fundamental political ideas such as those related to the communal and inclusive self-determining of inter-tribal genealogies. For oral historians, as Richard Crowenshaw and Selma Leydesdorff write, "it is the task of oral history to maintain both a sense of the individual and the collective, and to make sense of memory despite its differences."[29] More than individual and collective tensions in memory making, many of the Ngāti Porou interviewees tended to highlight differences in broader political intersections and binaries. One of the key sites of collision was religious affiliation. Whaimutu Dewes recalls, "of all the kids brought up there at Horoera, I was the only one who didn't get baptized . . . because I ran away [laughing]":

> The elder who was giving us the listen before we all got onto the bus to go down to the river where this was going to take place, he was giving us this story from Genesis, and he slanted it . . . what he said was, dark people are the descendants of Cain, Cain killed Abel, therefore they have the curse of Cain on them . . . therefore they're going to go to hell, but it's okay if you get baptized then you're in the Church of Latter-day Saints and therefore all your ancestors' sins have been washed away and you can go to heaven . . . and I was thinking, I don't know about this [laughing] . . . it just wasn't right and it seemed to me that it was him.[30]

Whaimutu's recollection here illustrates the collision between religious affiliation and racial discourses of inferiority common to most indigenous people's experiences of colonization. The political influence of religion in Ngāti Porou had a profound impact on the tribe's oral histories. According to Apirana Mahuika, the initial strength of the Anglican Church in Ngāti Porou came from its targeting of the senior genealogical ranks, but failed as a system because "the status of seniority/(chieftainship) was not accorded to those people," and "their leadership roles within the tribe was not recognized by the Church."[31] This clash, between an incoming theological order and an already established tribal hierarchy, created distinct political tensions. In regard to tribal oral history, the underlying religious fervour in the church sanitized traditional songs that were previously considered too sexual or provocative, removed the male genitalia from carvings, and impacted on the underlying spiritual narratives of the local indigenous oral histories, as Apirana Mahuika explains:[32]

> Then of course there is the immediate conflict that Māori people have with the afterlife, because the Anglicans say, and so does Roman Catholicism and others, that for you to go to heaven you have to be

> baptized, otherwise that gate is closed to you. And Roman Catholics said that you go into a state of purgatory . . . it conflicts with the Māori position in terms of the Afterlife. Because for us the afterlife is that you are forgiven at death for all your shortcomings, and so that you get the oratory (whaikōrero), the bereavement (tangi), and the farewell ceremony (poroporoaki) are all part and parcel of the Māori spiritual theology talking about your life after death with your ancestors. The life after death is the home where we're all going to. The life after death is where all the chiefs and everybody else are gathered. That's where you are going. Reconciliation is made at death. Whereas other Churches say there is none, you will be judged in heaven.[33]

Indigenous oral histories have often conveyed a theology, a philosophy, and a spiritual autonomy that has evolved, and contended with Christianity. These evolving oral histories and traditions must therefore be understood within varying political intersections, where religion and gender converge, the tradition and modern collide, and the authenticity of indigenous identity has been debated and played out. Testing authenticity is a concept familiar to many who work with oral traditions. Erich Kolig writes that "anthropological investigation has shown the inherent difficulty involved in testing the validity of claims in terms of the identity and continuity of 'tradition.'"[34] Beyond the search for truth, the aims, or rather "initial impulse" of oral historians, as Alessandro Portelli notes, has been to "search for 'more reality,' for direct experience, and for first person 'testimony.'"[35] In varying ways, each of those interviewed in this study highlighted how the realities of old and political ideas impacted on individual lives, but also on the collective familial and tribal histories that have been handed down to them over generations.

Reflecting on the collision between traditional and new beliefs, Apirana Mahuika referred to the infusion of tribal protocols in the Ringatū Church, and the reinterpretation of biblical doctrines in the church's "expressions" and interpretations.[36] This, he asserted, is an intertwining of indigenous oral history and tradition, of local customs, but not a concession of native genealogical rights, or spiritual autonomy.[37] Indeed, in terms of the politics of power inherent in tribal religious affiliations, Derek Lardelli asserted that the underlying aims were to benefit the people, explore possibilities, and retain tribal independence into the future:

> I have a personal view that religion really was entered into because it allowed an opportunity for intellectual exploration, and our old people were so well grounded in their cultural delivery that there was a challenge there. And they took up that challenge with both arms, and entered into

> that particular religious belief, knowing very well that they had their own. They just wanted something to balance off it. What happened is that inevitably the colonial religion dominated because that's what they do. And hence, the theory of sending in the missionaries first is an old tactic that you're well aware of. What it does is that it breaks down the language, it breaks down the art . . . it makes it easier to colonise.[38]

Māori underlying political aims did not dissipate with the arrival of religion and foreign ideologies. Instead they accelerated and adapted as new opportunities arose to express and assert tribal autonomy in new ways. To this extent tribal oral histories never remained fixed or static, but evolved. The underlying politicization of indigenous oral histories like those in Ngāti Porou, then, depended then on who was telling the story. Tribal sovereignty remained a constant political objective, yet in spiritual and religious matters, incantations tended to give way to new prayers, and religious affiliation often marked departures between those who resisted European indoctrination and those who saw it as a means of furthering tribal self-determination.[39] This collision was perhaps best illustrated by Anaru Kupenga, who argued:

> Religion didn't belong to us, that's an import. Māori didn't have religion, he didn't need religion, he was religion because he was God himself. Man didn't need religion, he practiced it, he was in harmony with nature and with his God. . . . What's religion? . . . our people never had religion . . . That's an introductory word to divide understandings of different cultures to how they effectively see and communicate with their God. But as for us, we were in total harmony with our Gods, our one God.[40]

Anaru's perspective here illustrates one side of the divide between those who perceive Māori conversion to Christianity as a form of colonial indoctrination and others who saw it as a means to enhance tribal well-being. Understanding indigenous oral history then requires a need to see the presence of multiple intersections and binaries, where religious views often converged and diverged with colonial attitudes and the politics of tribal autonomy.

An Indigenous Politics of Gender and Women's Words

Ngāti Porou is a tribe who have long been led and directed by influential and powerful women. This is reflected in the proverb "Waiapu kōkā huhua," or "Waiapu of many mothers," but is also prominent in many other sayings. The

tribe's oral histories, and particularly its genealogies, speak to, and celebrate, the political power and importance of women, as Te Kapunga (Koro) Dewes highlighted in his interview:

> Ko ngā pakoko, (statues carved), kei reira, kei Rongomaiāniwaniwa, ko ngā wāhine nei ko rātou kē kei runga i ngā ūpoko o ngā tāne he tipua tēnā otirā ka titiro koe i ngā tuhituhinga tērā māua ko Apirana Mahuika ngā tohu o ngā wāhine nei tirotiro haere tonu koe i ngā pū, ngā whānau ingoa wāhine, ngā wharenui ingoa wāhine, ana koina te tohu toa, te tohu nui o ngā wāhine o Ngāti Porou.
>
> Let me say, the statues standing at Rongomaiāniwaniwa (a meeting house in Tikitiki) are those of women who stand upon the heads of the males and are our great ancestors. As you read the accounts given by Apirana Mahuika and myself and their related symbolisms you will then become familiar with the origins of female descent lines and ancestral houses named after women. For in them, are noble symbols indicative of female leadership (mana wāhine) within Ngāti Porou.[41]

Rongomaiāniwaniawa is the daughter of the tribe's eponymous ancestor Porourangi and is also the name of the meeting house at Rahui-ō-Kehu in Tikitiki. Like many other ancestral houses in Ngāti Porou, the carvings depict, as Koro notes, the prominence of women in the tribe's history. Their leadership is also emphasized in songs, and the naming of family groupings, and are distinctive of Ngāti Porou tribal identity and politics, as Derek Lardelli points out:

> Mōhio koe kei roto o Ngāti Porou ngā wāhine Kaihautu—mai ra anō tēnā āhuatanga—me mai anō ki a . . . Paikea—i tana urunga mai ki uta, puta mai te patai "i ahu mai koe i whea?" Me mai "ara, i tau karemoana," mahea koe i uru mai ki uta? "Ka hara mai au ki runga i te tuara o toku kōkā ko Rongomaitahanui." Ka moe a Taneuarangi ka puta ko tama ko Paikea. Ko Te Rongomaitahanui is the southern white whale. Ka moe a Taneuerangi ki te "white whale" ka puta ko Paikea, "Sperm whale." Kei te kōrero tātou mō Tutarakauika mo te wahine [unclear in the recording], Kei te kōrero mai tātou mō te haerenga mai . . . [a big bit missing here] . . . he wahine, he momo mahi, he momo mana mō te wahine. Te kaihautūtanga.
>
> You're already aware about the great female leaders in Ngāti Porou, which is an integral part of our makeup from time immemorial. When Paikea landed on these shores he was asked, "from whence cometh thou?" He answered, "from Tau Karemoana" and again he was asked, "how

> cometh thou to these shores?" and he replied, "I came to these shores on the ancestral whale of my mother Rongomaitahanui who married Taneuarangi and begat Paikea, a son." It is said that Rongomaitahanui is the Southern White whale and that Taneuarangi married the White whale and begat Paikea who is known as the Sperm whale. Here we are talking about the leadership (of Tutarakauika) in regard to the role of a woman and its connection to great ocean voyages and family kinship. We therefore see that women, born of destiny, can possess certain rights in roles of leadership.[42]

Paikea as the Sperm Whale, recounted here by Derek, is one of many symbolic characterizations in Ngāti Porou oral history, and makes specific mention of the genealogy from a union between the Southern White Whale and White Whale. This is a common aspect of indigenous oral histories, the relationship between human beings and the natural world.[43] They are political statements about custodianship as caretakers of land, water, and the natural environment, and the leadership of native women in this continual relationship. Similarly, an amplification of women's voices has been one of the key political aims in oral history. Described as "women doing oral history with other women," this approach focuses on the recovery of women's "stories" complementary to the principles of feminist research, which as Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai note, advocates the notion of "research by, about, and for women."[44] This self-determination has political resonance for many indigenous communities, who empathize with the feminist contention that "traditional oral history methodology did not serve well the interests of women," in the same way it has overlooked various indigenous aspirations.[45] Nevertheless, a number of interviewees addressed specific concerns about the inequalities affecting native women in a changing society. Tūwhakairiora Tibble, for instance, was adamant that "we should have some women" standing on the tribal meeting grounds because "they make more sense" than the men.[46] In fact, as Tinatoka Tawhai pointed out, women already exercise leadership in these contexts, yet the question of how this works together with tribal customs, she suggested, is an unresolved issue:

> You know where we went to today, the marae was really in a period where there was no-one there, there were no buildings, so we've sort of started from scratch, so our customs and protocols still haven't really been set in place, and we're talking about this now. You know, what was the protocol down here? Can we change our customs? You know we have no men down there. We have no men down there. It's women that run that marae, and so can we get up and speak on our meeting grounds? Can we set our own customs up? My aunty did it, why can't

> I do it? It's not who says it, it's what gets said eh. . . . And what's going to happen if we don't do it? What about our marae? What about our kids? What about our grandchildren?[47]

Questions surrounding the continuation of traditional tribal customs and its application, like the ones asked here by Tinatoka, are related to the notion of a "living tradition." "My aunty did it," she recalls, so "why can't I do it?" The underlying self-determination she invokes is a commentary on multi-layered political issues, where women's rights converges with a collective tribal sense of self-determination, and the impact of a creeping colonial patriarchy invested in various religious ideals and mainstream discourses regarding the role of women and "natives."[48] Much of the feminist analysis in oral history, however, has rarely accounted for these types of complex intersectional politics.[49] Although interested in "women's words," Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet writes that "above all," the focus in oral history remains on the "condition" of women, and "with the collective representations of women as they have been shaped by the society" within which they reside.[50] Oral traditionalists have seldom considered women's voices to the same extent, yet some studies on folk songs have noted a distinctive pitch and tone to women's performance, and the predominant role of female composers in certain societies.[51] For Ngāti Porou, female self-determination and empowerment is often asserted within a collision of multiple political perspectives. Nevertheless, it predominantly works to reassert a collective autonomy because it is a vital aspect of tribal identity. Moreover, despite uncertainty regarding its reality in daily practice, it remains a consistent theme that stretches across various sub-tribes and families' collective and personal histories.

The Politics of Collective Identities

The oral histories and traditions of Māori and other indigenous peoples descend from multiple lines that carry with them diverse perspectives. In its communal and collective form, these oral history threads are bound together in genealogies that have "lived" through generations of conflicting internal politics. One of the long-lasting political contests recounts the rivalry between Rāpata Wahawaha from Ngāti Porou and Te Kooti from the nearby tribe Rongowhakaata, the former a staunch advocate of the Anglican Church, and later the founder of the Ringatū Church.[52] Many of the interviewees spoke about this tension, including Turuhira Tatare, who was passionate in her views regarding each individual:

> Te Kooti, he was all Māori, he was all Māori, and he defied people who defied him. Whereas Rāpata Wahawaha, he joined the constabulary,

> and in recent times someone suggested to celebrate his hundred years, and one old gentleman from the coast, said, "that will be the day. He was a murderer. No, we're not celebrating his birthday. You can celebrate it, but don't ask us to we're too senior for that." And so there you are. You had a man that was Māori, but adopted European ways, and then you had a Māori who was Māori.[53]

Turuhira's assessment here is drawn between the binaries of authenticity and fraudulence, between being Māori and an adoption of European "ways." In this dichotomy one is characterized a defiant hero, while the other a subservient "murderer." Despite this view, other members of the tribe remembered Wahawaha for his drive to defend Ngāti Porou independence. Writing on Wahawaha's leadership, Monty Soutar argues that his decisions were based on the "perpetuation of tribal independence and autonomy."[54] Rāpata Wahawaha's prevailing leadership, he writes, "positioned Ngāti Porou to take advantage of new technologies and new alliances."[55] These differing views were maintained by the interviewees, some who shared Turuhira's perspective and others who subscribed more to Monty's view. Despite these divisions, the majority remained parochial and affirmative of Ngāti Porou autonomy. These complex, highly charged, and divergent interpretations, as Herewini Parata explains, are common and widely accepted within the tribe:

> My uncle Tamati, he'd done this research and he'd found this history about the Tūwhakairiora written by Waipaina Awarau—Waipaina Awarau's thesis on Tūwhakairiora—so he thought he found something, you know, totally new . . . so he went over to papa to tell papa that he had found this great story about Tūwhakairiora. And he had put it onto a tape. Anyway, the tape had started, and it was going, and papa stopped the tape and he said, "Kaati (enough!), that's not the story, this is the story." So papa started to talk the Tūwhakairiora story from his slant, because Waipaina's was from an different sub-tribe's perspective, papa's was from Pākānui perspective . . . and so you'd probably get somebody else from the Wharekāhika (a place on the northern end of the coast), Te Araroa perspective. It would be slightly different, but it's all the same story. But at the end of the day you are aligned to the stories that you've been told.[56]

All of the groups mentioned here have their own genealogical connection to the ancestor Tūwhakairiora, and each emphasize their own particular sub-tribal aspects of the oral history as it relates to them. This is the nature of oral history

for a people who are intertwined through multiple descent lines, as Apirana Mahuika notes:

> You know if you get two people reporting on the same incident, they will have different emphases in different aspects of the story they will tell. And they forget the other aspects of the story. Not that those other aspects did not occur, but because of their particular interest in terms of what they're observing they tend to talk about that more.[57]

Forgetting is a frequently neglected aspect of how people remember, and as Api contends here often accounts for some of the differences in each perspective.[58] Nevertheless, not all accounts of the past are equally valid representations, and in some instances indigenous oral histories have been grossly distorted and inadequately presented.[59] This form of remembering has become one of the growing concerns in oral history, where the once "naïve claim" to give voice to the previously silenced is, as Luisa Passerini argues, now "not enough." "Fighting silence," she contends, is no longer an appropriate term for the "task" of oral history, which must also consider "distortions" and false memory.[60] This more engaged and seemingly activist view of the practice and aims of oral history is not as common in the work of oral traditionalists, who tend to observe traditions at work rather than participate in a transformative critique of their influence. Thus, the approach taken, particularly by anthropologists, has been to describe, rather than subvert, traditions as political resources in the context of "national claims," or as phenomena "frequently invented in the period of emerging nationalism."[61] In contrast to the political aims of oral history, which has sought to "empower women, the working class and ethnic minorities," studies in oral tradition have appeared content to simply portray the problems rather than contribute solutions.[62] For the interviewees, oral histories and traditions were inextricably connected to their lived realities, to their identities, past, present, and future, and were constantly retold in an ongoing struggle for self-determination.

Many of the interviewees in this study discuss autonomy in an antagonistic relationship between the perceived purity of tradition and the "corrupted" nature of modernity.[63] Derek Lardelli warned against this limited binary of "new" and "old," arguing against narrow views of traditional or modern art because "for me there's no such thing. It's about continuum of movement because tomorrow my art will be tradition."[64] Those interested in the study of culture and tradition have also noted this "dualism" between tradition and modernity, some comparing it with Edward Said's "oriental-occidental" critique noting the discursively privileged position of the West and the "negative" *other-ing* of tradition.[65] Despite this apparent sense of consciousness in anthropology, some scholars have used it to

argue against the continuity of tribal oral histories. Steven Webster, for instance, argued that "Māori culture must not be understood abstractly in the romantic tradition as 'a whole way of life' somehow unique, integral, [and] harmonious."[66] His misunderstanding of local oral histories and Māori realities fails to account for the evolving nature of living traditions. Indeed, as the interviewees highlighted, the "turning" of oral traditions in an evolving contemporary world was often viewed as an "ugly" transformation, where meanings were regularly reimagined within dynamic new forms.[67] This was a common view of the changing styles in the Māori performing arts, where older "traditional" movements and sounds were constantly rehashed by changing technologies. "The preservers of all those items are now gone," laments Turuhira Tatare, "and here we've turned to guitars, banjos, ukuleles, [and] drums."[68] Retaining the old songs, as John Coleman contends, is as much, if not more, a practical issue than a resistance to change: "we don't have to be adding to that list, otherwise in another hundred years time we'll have about five or six hundred songs and we'll only know about fifty of them."[69]

Nevertheless, this innovative adaption to the changing world has long been a part of the Ngāti Porou political consciousness, and is echoed in the history of the tribe's forebears like the revered chief Uenuku, who in his departing words urged the people to remain faithful in their religious convictions: "I muri nei kia mau ki te whakapono/after I am gone hold fast to Christianity."[70] This willingness to adapt and evolve has sometimes drawn criticism from within. However, as Derek Lardelli stresses, the underlying political aim was not to remain passive and become subsumed, but to be proactive, assertive, and liberated in an ever evolving world:

> People also say things about Apirana Ngata; that he harnessed the culture and closed it down in—the arts, but in actual fact, when you look at some of the tukutuku work that he did it was revolutionary for its time. And the templating of Māori meeting houses under Ngata—he succeeded in his aim: to revitalize that cultural demise that was happening. But what he always pushed, was the next level, was to start recreating it in another realm. So, the adaptation would change as it moved. As our people moved and adapted to change, orally, physically, spiritually, then those houses would change to look like us.[71]

It is this political worldview that has shaped the way Ngāti Porou oral history is retold, performed, and communicated. Oral histories, envisioned in these ways, are never static or fixed, but always moving, living, and growing in new contemporary situations that give fresh perspectives to old themes. This is a level of ownership that rejects a closing down of oral history and embraces the more

fluid and innovative interpretations that open up possibilities for growth and empowerment. They can never be simply invented traditions because the physical and intellectual genealogy that ties them together occurs in an ongoing process that reiterates indigenous self-determination.[72] Of the aims in oral history, Alessandro Portelli writes that "this is where the specific reliability of oral sources arises: even when they do not tell the events as they occurred, the discrepancies and the errors are themselves events, clues for the work of desire and pain over time, for the painful search for meaning."[73] Beneath the surface of indigenous conceptions of oral history lie similar "clues," threaded in political nuances that reveal the "desire and pain" endured for survival and autonomy. They are not merely fabrications, but fluid and reliable sources that disturb, preserve, and reshape who we are, have been, and might yet become.

Oral History as a Politics of Survival

Framing indigenous oral histories and traditions within a proactive politics of self-determination has simultaneously been a matter of resistance and survival. Within this process, discourses of colonization have become more and more a part of the political terminology in indigenous contexts. Thus, in asserting native autonomy, various colonized native communities have for some time now invoked the colonized and colonizer alongside phrases such as invaders, outsiders, first nations, and people of the land. For Māori, sayings such as "ahi kaa roa/long-burning fires of occupation" and "kauruki tū roa/long-ascending smoke" make reference to an occupation and indigenous position still conscious of an ongoing colonial threat.[74] Of the deliberate subordination of Māori history, Derek Lardelli remarked: "they [the colonizers] need to write about us to justify their existence here."[75] This is exactly what they did, and in their colonial mis-education Māori and iwi were reduced to "natives" and "savages," while the discursive constructions of the "settler" and "New Zealander" became powerful political archetypes and histories.[76] Subsequently, many of the interviewees' life stories told of a re-education, or awakening, in which they reworked memories of racial abuse in the new terms of colonial oppression. Jason Koia, for instance, "hated being Māori" when he was going to school: "I wanted to be a white (Pākehā) because Māori were toothless alcoholics and drunken bums—and they were poor." Looking back now he sees that view as the traumatic damage "of being colonised . . . assimilated into being the 'New Zealander' so to speak."[77] "I was born in an era," Maud Tautau recalls, "when Māori was being shoved out the door and English was being brought in, so if you spoke Māori in the school grounds you got six of the best or mustard on your tongue."[78] These stories illustrate an emergent consciousness, where their experiences are now recounted in

specific political terms, colonial discourses, and binaries. For some, like Anaru Kupenga, the impact of colonization has corrupted the indigenous culture:

> When I think back on those many years . . . our old people in those days empowered us to use 95 percent of our brain because today I believe the Europeans (Pākehā) methodology only uses 5 percent, they put the other 95 percent on hold, therefore we rely on the aid of books, etc. to carry our brain which we are not using and becomes useless we become so dependent on those things that we actually become useless, we have forgotten how to retain that information to carry it, so that it's immediately at your side when you're in need of it, so you don't have to look in a book or hunt for it.[79]

Anaru's underlying message here is really about independence, and the erosion and undermining of Ngāti Porou knowledge and autonomy. For Anaru, the invaders' "education was a farce," while the native epistemologies inherent in the oral narratives that were retained and passed on by successive generations are seen as empowering to Māori identities and desires.[80] This is at odds with the objectives of various scholars of oral traditions such as Erich Kolig, who writes that "the fluidity of culture, and the creativity of invention involved in the revitalisation of tradition, have led many within the dominant society in New Zealand and Australia to be sceptical of indigenous claims and to stress the need for them to be thoroughly and objectively checked by anthropologists."[81]

The checking, validating, denying, and controlling of indigenous oral history by foreign invaders was something that many of the interviewees fiercely rejected.[82] Turuhira Tatare, for example, was adamant that "we have to learn to defend ourselves."[83] Her view was repeated by others, whose suspicions regarding the ulterior motives of non-Māori researchers was often reinforced with reminders about the lack of partnership supposedly advocated in the Treaty of Waitangi—New Zealand's founding document. Views such as these have long been intertwined and represented in indigenous oral histories, particularly in songs and chants of defiance. Perhaps one of the best examples of this in Ngāti Porou can be found in varying renditions of the haka "Te Kiringutu," as Ngata wrote:

> This composition has come down the generations and had its greatest revival with topical adaptions in 1888, when the Porourangi meeting house was formally opened. Led by the late Tuta Nihoniho, a noted chief of the Hikurangi sub-tribes, a section of Ngāti Porou registered their protest against the rating of their lands and the taxation of articles

> of every day consumption, specifying the "pu tōriri" or the tobacco plant. It was revived again at the Waitangi celebrations in 1934 and was adopted by the men of the 9th and 10th Māori reinforcements as the "piece de resistance" of the recent celebration of the opening of Tamatekapua at Rotorua. Its main theme is not outdated, the complementary, yet seemingly, contradictory features of civilisation with the still novel but bitter pill of taxation.[84]

Communicating disapproval in the aggressive form of haka is part of the underlying resistance echoed in a declaration of Māori independence. In its own fierce and confronting prose, "Te Kiringutu" reasserts in poetic form the principal affirmation stressed in Te Kani ā Takirau's statement of independence: to protect what is in the best interests of the people. In this regard the haka asserts:

A haha! Nā te ngutu o te	To remove the tattoo from Māori
Māori, pōhara,	lips, relieve his distress,
Kai kutu, nā te weriweri koe	Stop him eating lice, and cleanse
i hōmai ki konei	him of dirt and disgust
E kāore ia ra, i haramai tonu	Yea! But all that was a deep-lined
koe	design, neath which to
Ki te kai whenua	devour our lands![85]

Beneath the "deep-lined design" lies the threat, a reminder to descendants that the potential benefits can sometimes obscure the lurking danger to indigenous self-determination. The notion of deception is a familiar idea in the work of some oral traditionalists. Ton Otto notes that "a particular tradition may serve ideological functions by 'disguising' power inequalities or by 'persuading' those who are subordinated that the inequalities are in their very best interests."[86] For the majority of interviewees, the deceptions and dismissals of indigenous rights engendered suspicion of the powerful nation-making discourses that advanced colonial agendas. The act of reclaiming the past, and of decolonizing the past, then has become an increasingly more urgent strategy if indigenous peoples are to resist subsumation and realize their political aspirations and ambitions, as Derek Lardelli notes:

> It's important that you write the history of Māori. The rest of New Zealand will have already written their histories, would already have documented what they considered to be our histories. We should be writing about what we consider to be our history. . . . I can be a New Zealander too, but I choose to be Māori because it gives me my identity.

> It gives me a sense of who I am. Anyone can be a New Zealander you just have to wait two years.[87]

Retelling, here, is an act of survival that is inextricably connected to indigenous autonomy. Implicit in Lardelli's remarks are various binary layers beneath the identities of Māori and New Zealanders, such as first peoples and invaders, or insiders and outsiders.[88] For those who work with oral traditions, the insider/outsider duality is a familiar political dilemma. Indeed, as Steven Webster writes, "social anthropologists make a profession of being outsiders," but should not be drawn into a "naïve" advocacy of the "interest of their hosts."[89] This has been an issue for native scholars, who have vigorously criticized the research of outsiders, particularly those who have deliberately ignored indigenous political views in the delusion that their own were somehow absented by an "objective" empirical practice.[90] For indigenous peoples, as the interviewees revealed, there can be no understanding or interpretation of native oral history from the "outside," without a greater appreciation of tribal aims conveyed in native forms and practices. In this way, the language is one of the keys to self-determination because it is the ultimate expression of indigenous oral history, the most unique and exact transmission of native thoughts and worldviews.

The survival of indigenous languages has become a key focus not only for Māori, but multiple native communities across the world. Within this process indigenous oral history has been interwoven, invoked, and reimagined because, as Apirana Mahuika states, the local language "is an important tool which transmits our history down to us over the generations."[91] Language is a strong indicator of who is in power, and whose knowledge is in ascendency.[92] For Māori, as Anaru Kupenga maintains, the language is vital to an enabling of tribal history and identity and to the social and political well-being of the people:

> To understand oral language, oral transmission, is to understand the language fluently, so it would be quite difficult to take our people down that path, we can employ the English words to help them understand, but it won't have the same effect as our own language because our language, our oral tradition, is an emotional language, it's a very passionate language, it's a language that uses eye contact, body language, hand signals, face language to employ the thinking of a people and if you can't understand or speak the language fluently you're going find it quite difficult.[93]

Anaru's assertion here is one of ownership, in which the language is key to unlocking the meaning of the indigenous psyche. The language he refers to is multidimensional, emotional, and physical, yet is also culturally distinctive in

its appearance and expression. For others, like Turuhira Tatare, this body, hand, and facial language was described as its own style of performance, where traditional protocols and new ideas were blended with a requisite understanding of the meanings behind the words:

> We (Ngāti Porou) had two rhythms, the waltz timing, and then the foxtrot timing. And the actions really had to express the words. And it fits, if you're paying homage to someone who's just passed on, you wouldn't be smiling. But most times you smiled as if you were absolutely enjoying your item. And there was no seriousness with your facial expressions.[94]

This is typical of all Māori tribes, yet for many Ngāti Porou people specific movements became signatures of the tribe's style, such as the exaggerated swing in action songs.[95] Of the stance and rhythm in haka, Te Hāmana Mahuika noted that "mō te takahi o te waewae . . . kotahi tonu te takahi o te waewae/in regard to the stamping of the feet . . . the rhythm is maintained with one leg."[96] These aspects of body movement, together with the native language and dialect, combine in a multidimensional performance that is in essence a political statement of identity. Many of the interviewees made mention of a specific tribal style, including Angela Tibble, who in reminiscing about her nannies remarked: "I don't see anyone who performs like them now. You know they say Ngāti Porou's got a special style and swing of performing, and to me no one performs like how they did."[97] Despite a general consensus about these instantly recognizable tribal traits, others like John Coleman, issued the reminder that "we all say we are Ngāti Porou, but there are a few things that we do differently on our marae, and you know we can't say that we do things exactly the same."[98] This was reiterated by Herewini Parata, who emphasized the language of Ngāti Porou as a living language within sub-tribes that are still active today.[99] Indeed, songs and haka were generally performed by the specific communities and families of their composers, but came to the collective tribal consciousness as a means of creating and presenting a united front or often to express their political concerns.[100] One of the more well-known examples in recent generations is the haka "Poropeihana"—a composition about the prohibition of alcohol on the East Coast. Reflecting on learning this haka Shaun Awatere recalls:

> I actually found out what it meant later on, but we were just taught we must learn this. They didn't really teach us the history behind it, this . . . It was a hard case finding out about it. It was about this old fella who couldn't stand Ngata for introducing the Act into Parliament

> banning beers [laughing] I cracked up when I saw that: that's a typical Ngāti Porou haka.[101]

Shaun understood that the essential political message of the haka is about an assertion of autonomy by those within the tribe who disagreed with the tribe's parliamentarian Apirana Ngata's stance on prohibition. Nevertheless, as a tribal classic it reiterates this message to a larger audience as an expression of Ngāti Porou independence. In renditions after its original performance, Poropeihana's principal political aim has not sought to undermine Ngata's leadership, or to insist on the sale of alcohol to local people.[102] Instead, like numerous other songs, chants, proverbs, and haka in the canon of Ngāti Porou oral histories, it posits an uncompromising political message:

> E horahia mai o ture ki ahau/Sir, disclose to us your laws (of prohibition). Aha! Ha! E me whakairi ki runga ki te tekoteko o te whare e tū mai nei rā Aha! Ha! Let these laws be placed to lie suspended upon the carved figure of the house yonder.[103]

The message, an underlying politics of tribal autonomy, places the ideas, laws, and demands of outside peoples within a tribal setting, subjecting it to a reading on our terms, framed in our carvings, history, and statements of power that are reminders of how even very powerful external forces are always placed within a local indigenous framework or house. This politics of indigenous oral history does more than give voice to the oppressed. It demands the entire topic, field, and discussion more generally be naturalized, indigenized, and "suspended," or rather articulated on native terms, in the native language, and in native ways. This, however, is a significantly different approach from the objectives of most oral historians who, as Rebecca Sharpless observes, aim to "'give' back history to the people."[104] Writing on the approaches taken by anthropologists, Joy Hendry contends that "it is important to learn the language of the people" because "first-hand knowledge is the only way to become fully aware of the meanings and implications of the words used."[105] Looking in from the outside in these ways requires a connection with those on the inside who are often suspicious of "outside" researchers and their motives. Subsequently, in fighting for the survival of their language and culture, Ngāti Porou has been active in ensuring that their native tongue is revitalized on their terms.[106]

This was emphasized by Turuhira Tatare during her interview, in an anecdote where she recounts an altercation in which she and Api refused to subject Ngāti Porou dialects to the conventions of other tribes. Her response to that challenge was furious and resolute: "I'm not going to be guided by [others]. . . . I'm not changing my language (reo) for nobody!"[107] Ensuring the survival of the

language is vital because, as Lardelli asserts, "our indigeneity still lies in the language."[108] Taking ownership of language learning, what is learned, how, and by whom, was an important political decision for many of the interviewees, including Herewini Parata, who recalls:

> I went to university at Waikato, and Sam Karetu was there, and I was sitting there and he was giving a lecture on the Māori language. And I thought, far out, why am I sitting here listening to him telling me about the language when I can go home and get it live. And so I did, I stood up in the back of the lecture room, and I went like this (waving), walked out, went home, packed my bags, and went home. Sam Karetu I never saw till about eight months later, and he said, "I didn't realize you were, I thought you were just going out of that lecture, I didn't realize you were going right out." And I said to him, "that's why I went home. No disrespect to you but I thought why am I listening to this when I can get it live at home."[109]

Herewini's reaction here might be better understood as a decision to place his tribal worldviews at the center of his language learning. Going home to "get it live" highlights the fact that indigenous languages are the vehicles for the living traditions that inform tribal epistemologies. Indeed, of the importance of home, the chief Kōkere once uttered these words:

> Waiho a Kōkere ki konei. Kia rere āku toto ki ngā wai ratarata ō Makarika
>
> Let Kōkere remain here so that my blood will flow into the cool rippling waters of Makarika.[110]

The prevailing significance of home, and the survival of their own language, was a theme expressed by one of Ngāti Porou's most outstanding advocates, Ngoi Pewhairangi, who issued this reminder in one of her last compositions:

> Kua ngaro ngā mōrehu, Tū mokemoke noa
> our remnants have passed on, leaving us desolate. . . .
>
> Tō reo karanga e, tō reo karanga e
> Your language calls, your language beckons.[111]

Survival as an integral aspect of Ngāti Porou ambitions to re-energize the language weaves through the theme of autonomy passed on from one generation to the next. For the interviewees, these were political views maintained in the living traditions of home, expressed in distinctive terms, and an

inescapable reality in their daily lives. Because the subject matter is culture and traditions, Ton Otto notes that anthropologists often "get entangled in politics and morality," and should "guard oneself against potential misuse" by working "according to the highest professional standards for knowledge production."[112] However, indigenous scholars have pointed out that these "standards" are rarely our own, and are usually inadequate frameworks to apply to native worldviews and knowledge systems.[113] Conversely, as Paul Thompson notes, "there are academics who pursue fact-finding research on remote problems, avoiding any entanglement with wider interpretations or contemporary issues, insisting only on the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake." He goes on to argue that "they have one thing in common with the bland contemporary tourism which exploits the past as if it were another foreign country to escape to. . . . Both look to their incomes free from interference, and in return stir no challenge to the social system."[114] Living tribal oral histories and traditions are not only goals and ambitions, but realities of an outlook that distinguishes indigenous political entrenchment from the "tourism" of researchers who might interpret native oral histories within foreign frameworks. While survival, revitalization, and self-determination are constant in Māori oral histories, the search for "truth" and meaning dominate the approach of oral historians and oral traditionalists.[115] These differences reflect to an extent the insider/outsider dynamic, in which the political tension between ownership and dispossession is a more immediate threat to peoples who have been colonized.

Oral History Politics Inherited and Achieved: E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tōu ao

Remaining steadfast in the affirming of indigenous autonomy is not a rejection of the outside world. Of Ngāti Porou politics, Apirana Mahuika writes that "our cultural survival was reliant on how dynamic and, therefore adaptable it can be, to meet new challenges." "Over the centuries," he argues, "we have made changes, based on tribal customs," which guaranteed continuity across generations.[116] Indigenous oral histories reflect this attitude, and are rehearsed frequently in Apirana Ngata's famous proverb "e tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tōu ao" (grow up in the days destined to you), in which he encourages an active embracing of new technologies that might enhance and enable tribal well-being. This was a familiar theme in many of the interviews. Speaking about his parents' outlook, Tūwhakairiora Tibble suggested that they may have "felt it was more important for us to be educated in a European world."[117] For Derek Lardelli, the use of new

technologies has been an important part of the cutting edge of native, and particularly Māori, cultural survival:

> The *tā moko* (traditional tattoo) movement wouldn't be as strong today if we didn't have an electric gun, and it's the excitement and the entrepreneurial push that our people have to get involved with it and challenge ourselves at the cutting edge of survival, and also to take that cutting edge and deliver it back at the enemy. We do a lot of trips overseas now, and the rationale behind it is that we are revisiting a lot of those types of Hawaiiki, and we are revisiting those histories . . . if you can use Eurocentric practices and theories to enhance something that needs enhancing then do it but make sure you have full control over what it's doing.[118]

Despite this active adaption of "Eurocentric practices," others like Eru Potaka Dewes opined that "we started to buy into the white man's game of writing our local history up." "Once it gets into print," he argues, "it belongs to somebody else . . . it's made more accessible to somebody else."[119] Eru's apprehensions were largely related to the transformation he has observed of tribal oral histories in literature, and particularly the intellectual ownership he believed some European scholars claimed over Māori knowledge.[120] Similar concerns were shared by other interviewees, who reinforced the view that tribal engagement with, and adaption of, external knowledge should be carefully negotiated. Conversely, Iritana Tawhiwhirangi lamented a lack of appreciation in the "modern world" for indigenous ways of thinking:

> Modern society places so much emphasis on qualifications, and there is quite a mystique around this kind of academic achievement, I'm not saying it isn't important, of course it is, but what I am saying is that in my view there is a lack of in-depth understanding about the learning that goes on in indigenous societies.[121]

Likewise, Apirana Mahuika made mention of the flawed nature of writing Ngāti Porou history within a text that he argued might succumb to university regulations. "White people cannot interpret our way," he argued, but "universities have got to adapt to that otherwise they'll muck it up."[122] Views such as these illustrate the tension between a desire to evolve and enhance indigenous epistemologies, and the need to ensure it is not appropriated or distorted in ways that dissolve native knowledge or power. These are not new concerns and have been repeatedly addressed in Ngāti Porou oral histories. One of the

most pertinent examples can be found in the highly metaphorical haka "Tīhei Tāruke," composed by the Rev. Mohi Turei.[123] In his interpretation, Wiremu Kaa suggests that it is a commentary on the tension between traditional Māori and Christian theologies. He writes:

> Mohi had come to the realisation that his taha Ngāti Porou cannot be abandoned or trashed because the spirit (wairua) from his ancestors (mātua and his tīpuna) are the material essence of his being. . . . In today's climate, Ngāti Porou individuals are at liberty to choose a particular source of spiritual preference. However, Ngāti Porou individuals have no choice with regard to the (Ngāti Porou theology) customs and beliefs that belong to our landscape. We are all born into and all form part of our Ngāti Porou wairua. We may choose to ignore it or even to place it to one side. These Ngāti Porou beliefs are part of us. Our genealogy is the bond that affirms our indigeneity (tūrangawaewae) here in Tairāwhiti. Our individual basket (tāruke) will always contain the spirit (wairua) that is truly Ngāti Porou (tūturu). Whatever else we place in that tāruke is up to every Ngāti Porou individual.[124]

Messages like this across generations are resonant in compositions such as Tīhei Tāruke. In this case, as Wiremu Kaa implies, the haka transmits an assertion of indigeneity as authentically Ngāti Porou while allowing space for individuals to "choose a particular source of spiritual preference."[125] This view of agency was evident in the way many of the interviewees recounted their lives and experiences. When her daughters were born, Tīnatoka Tawhai remembers making a deliberate decision to become involved back home, to contribute, and take with her whatever skills she could to support the people:

> Once I had my girls I'd take them. It didn't matter who died, I'd toddle along to the marae. In the beginning I didn't have a clue what I was doing, but I thought well I can take my hands, and I can peel some spuds, and I can wash some dishes. You know, those sorts of things, and it did a lot for me spiritually, wairua wise, because I'm with my relations (whānaunga), you know, my extended family. That's where I've learned a lot of my culture (tikanga).[126]

What she describes here is an intricately connected set of values and customs, at once a form of relationship building (whakawhānaungatanga), service (manaakitanga), and the reciprocal relationship that runs through them in a process of osmosis. The continuation and evolution of the ritual, customs, and practice in local protocols was an issue that many of the interviewees referred

to in the recordings. Speaking on the fluid nature of our tribal customs, Maria Whitehead observed that "we are highly flexible" and often change our protocols "to suit ourselves."[127] Tūwhakairiora Tibble pointed out that "tribal protocols (tikanga) can vary from tribe to tribe," but questioned what he believed was the hypocrisy of those who transgressed some of its basic principles.[128] Similarly, Boy Keelan remembers "people drinking on the meeting grounds, and elders turning up [who] could barely stand."[129] What the protocols and values are or should be, where their origins lie, and how they are authentic, are questions that relate not only to the way indigenous people shape their identities and mold their histories, but the underlying values that inform the tribal epistemology that gives rise to aspirations and aims. In her interview, Tinatoka Tawhai stressed that today, tribal customs "have developed out of a need really," as a matter of survival:

> If we are to survive as a people, as a marae, we have to evolve with it. We can still hold onto our things and retain those things that are important to us culturally, but they do have to evolve in some way. Now something that frustrates me though is that some of our older people are the very ones that put us wrong. And so, we go onto the marae and then we've got these older people who we're supposed to be taking a lead from saying, "Now, this is how it is, you don't do this. This is how this is done, and this is done." But they're the very ones you see just ten minutes later doing exactly the opposite. An example is crossing the floor when people are making speeches. You know that sort of thing—basic protocol, but ten minutes later you see them doing it, and I'm like eh? So, it's really hard because we haven't got a lot of really good role models. Not so much role models, ones that we respect, that we believe in, that can teach us. You know we're wandering around in the dark basically.[130]

Oral histories provide opportunities for indigenous peoples to see tribal customs and rituals in historical perspective as living and dynamic phenomena. However, as Tinatoka notes, the underlying political act of survival is intertwined with a desire to see it lived and not mythologized. Oral histories, for Māori, inform a way of life, and are not static and fleeting inventions. Looking beyond the notion of fabricated and invented traditions, some anthropologists have stressed a need to consider local "manifestations of living traditions," but most seem to deny creativity or agency in an overly deterministic sense of invention.[131] Oral historians, as Anna Green writes, have also grappled with an exaggerated collective constructivism that minimizes "the value of individual memory."[132] Of this approach in oral history, Alessandro Portelli notes that it "is basically the process of creating relationships: between narrators and narratees,

between events in the past and dialogic narratives in the present." "The historian," he argues, "must work on both the factual and the narrative planes, the referent and the signifier, the past and the present, and, most of all, on the space between all of them."[133]

From an indigenous perspective, this space is a highly politicized expanse, in which assertions of autonomy, resistance, and survival coalesce in living oral histories. Although the advocating of autonomy has regularly manifested a rejection of overbearing outside influences, it has also engendered a tenacious struggle for survival. Within this politicization, as the interviewees and local oral histories have illustrated, resides a willingness to adapt new possibilities that enhance and enrich native autonomy. Thus, as Api Mahuika writes:

> Ngata's message will materialize only if we, and we alone, are in control of the cultural adaptations necessary with each age of time, because it is only we who have by genealogy, our treasured oral inheritance, it is only we who live and practice the customs and its values, we who have knowledge of it and how effective it can be in our lives, because its interpretation is an expression of our Ngāti Porou epistemological worldview.[134]

If indigenous peoples are to realize the aspirations and messages conferred to each generation, then the epistemologies in each tribe's oral histories must become a living part of today's communities. Only then, as Api implies, can the indigenous truly exercise self-determination, control the way their culture evolves. This is the space within which indigenous oral histories take shape, as the dynamic expressions of political affirmations that secure native identity in relationships past, present, and future.

Indigenizing the Politics of Oral History

Indigenous peoples, oral traditionalists, and oral historians have varying political aims and objectives when it comes to the conception and shaping of oral histories. Oral historians focus on documenting the "lives of ordinary people" and empowering the silenced, but this explicit activism is not as pronounced in the work of oral traditionalists. In contrast, the immediate realities for indigenous peoples, as the interviews revealed, are inherited in deeply entrenched political themes that speak to autonomy and native identity. Built on the fundamental assertion of tribal self-determination, proverbs like those uttered by Te Kani ā Takirau resonated in all of the political binaries and

intersections addressed by the interviewees. Indeed, thinking in binaries and complex intersectionalities was common to native strategic politics, but is not shared by anthropologists who argue against the limitations of what they perceive as romantic and invented identities and traditions. For Ngāti Porou, the continuity of its tribal oral histories emphasized a living and ongoing political strain of thought, while for oral historians the collective consciousness tended to give way to a more refined search for the "creation of meaning" that complements nuance. In Māori communities, this nuance is marked within the inclusionary politics that highlight multiple lines of descent and an innovative adaption of new ideologies. Thus, for indigenous peoples, oral history has never remained fixed or static, but has instead accelerated in new and diverse expressions.

In the recordings, the status of women is well noted as essential to Ngāti Porou tribal identity, and regularly invoked to accentuate connections to the natural world. Acknowledging women's perspectives is similarly a key aim in oral history, yet the intersectional politics where gender, race, and colonialism collide remains a problematic and rarely discussed phenomenon. Alternatively, anthropologists have seldom considered the autonomous empowerment of women's voices, although some studies note the prominence of female composers, and the differences in women's singing. Conversely, in Ngāti Porou, the political perspectives of women are reiterated constantly in oral histories, passed on in the multiple descent lines that constitute multiple genealogical lines. It is here where the nuanced political contests are living and vibrant, and could never be simply invented, but resonate themes of autonomy in well-known proverbs, songs, and haka such as Te Kiringutu, Tihei Tāruke, and Poropeihana. Understanding the messages, as the interviewees asserted, requires knowledge of the language because it unlocks the meaning to interpreting a distinctive style and assertion of native autonomy. In contrast to these themes of survival and independence, the search for "truth" appears to dominate the approach of oral traditionalists. Oral history, on the other hand, has long been viewed as a liberating approach, but as some argue is dependent on the underlying spirit in which it is used.

For indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, oral histories are shaped in an intersecting politics that affirms an identity based on tribal autonomy. From Te Kani ā Takirau's statement of independence to Apirana Ngata's exhortation to adapt to the evolving world, Ngāti Porou oral histories have been constantly invoked, and shaped, within specific political themes. They converge more with the emancipatory aims of mainstream oral history politics, yet depart significantly from the distanced, objective, yet seemingly benevolent motivations of oral traditionalists. This is perhaps symptomatic of the underlying theoretical

and methodological approaches that inform their practice. Nevertheless, despite the significance of these methodological and theoretical dimensions, studies in oral history and tradition are not simply passive products of external ideologies, but realizations of internal perspectives refined in the politics of lived identities and experiences.

6

Indigenous Oral History in Method and Practice

Indigenous peoples are often cautious, and reluctant, about the use of external methodologies and theories in research, particularly when it comes to analysing or presenting our history and knowledge. More recently, there has been a desire to ensure we decolonize previously destructive and oppressive research methods that have sought to control and define indigenous communities.[1] Native peoples, however, remain open to experimentation with all available methods, but are much more assertive about the need to have our own methods and definitions at the forefront of research that impacts our health and well-being. For my tribe, Ngāti Porou, where "outside" ideas, technologies, and approaches are used, some of our elders and scholars stress the idea that "if you can use Eurocentric practices and theories to enhance something that needs enhancing then do it, but make sure you have full control over what it's doing."[2] Rethinking oral history from an indigenous perspective includes a focus on how the methods used by oral historians and oral traditionalists resonate with, converge with, or diverge from native practices and approaches. What types of interview approaches, for instance, are employed by mainstream oral history scholars, and to what extent are they useful or culturally and politically relevant to the way native peoples shape, transmit, and disseminate oral history? Similarly, is observation an appropriate method in indigenous oral history, and are transcriptions also a practice that works well with indigenous peoples?

Method and theory is inextricably intertwined because theory informs method.[3] Nevertheless, many researchers still undertake methodological approaches without an appreciation, or acknowledgment, of their deeper theoretical implications.[4] This is certainly the case in oral history, where the field itself has often been defined primarily with a focus on interview methods. For this reason, before we think about, or rethink, the underlying theories that inform the methods researchers use in oral history, it is helpful to take stock of what methods are common in oral history and oral tradition, and to be clear

how they overlap, diverge, or are similar. Moreover, to understand how indigenous oral history is different, we need to also have a grasp on what methods have become standard practice for oral historians and oral traditionalists. For Ngāti Porou, there are clear resonances with some of the existing methods in oral history and tradition, but they are localized and accented in our cultural norms. We do interviews, but our methods of imparting, shaping, recording, and sharing oral history are far broader and culturally distinctive.

Interviews and Recordings

The interview has long been a key research method employed by those who study oral histories and oral traditions. Oral historians, as Donald Ritchie explains, collect "memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interview[s]," but this approach, he contends, "does not include random taping... nor does it refer to recorded speeches, personal diaries on tape or other sound recordings that lack the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee."[5] Based on this view, oratory in formal tribal settings, even if they are recorded, would not be classified by some as an oral history approach. Nevertheless, this form of dissemination, including the informal moments of "capture," is the primary means of communication maintained in Māori contexts. Interviewing, for Māori, is predominantly a formal and foreign method of oral transference, despite the fact information was heard and recorded by those with an "attentive ear" as far back as the nineteenth century.[6]

Beyond the narrow description of oral history interviewing defined above, Alistair Thomson points out that "there is no single 'right way' to do an interview." He writes: "the interview is a relationship embedded within particular cultural practices and informed by culturally specific systems and relations of communication."[7] Capturing indigenous oral histories and traditions, and ensuring that it follows local cultural "systems" is difficult to fit into the "oral history" interview approach described by Donald Ritchie. Although interviewees told stories, performed songs, and referred to proverbs, their narrations were significantly different from the renditions of oral history and tradition heard in formal occasions.[8] In most of the interviews, narrators began by reciting genealogies, a cultural practice common in the welcome of visitors. Pine Campbell, for instance, spent some time before the interview recounting genealogies from photos on the walls of his office, emphasizing the connections between our families.[9] Likewise, Tūhorouta Kaui, spoke about the close relationship that binds us together through my great-grandmother.[10] These interviews were entirely in the Māori language, and included prayer (karakia), but tended to follow a chronological order rather than the protocol or sequence one would hear in

formal oratory. Aside from these moments, the interviews rarely reflected formal cultural ritual, but offered insights as individuals recounted their personal experiences in oratory and tribal songs.

Despite its commonality to oral history, interviewing is a method employed by most researchers. The interview, as Alice and Howard Hoffman observe, has value as a text "that can be subjected to literary, anthropological, or social analysis."[11] Well before the arrival of the "oral historian," it was ethnographers and anthropologists who spoke with and captured Māori oral histories and traditions.[12] Of these researchers, Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes that their practice "conjures bad memories" for indigenous peoples, and that the "ethnographic gaze" employed by anthropologists especially have led them to be "popularly perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of all that is bad with academics."[13] This mistrust of researchers, and "outsiders," who have taken indigenous knowledge and claimed it as their own, has remained an issue for Māori and other indigenous people.[14] However, during this study, these concerns were alleviated by the fact that the recordings were intended to highlight understandings of the world from the interviewees' perspectives, rather than a supposedly objective "outside" representation.[15] Most of the participants were vastly experienced with interviewing, and a large number, also well versed with academic study, asked questions about the ethical issues related to their recordings.[16] Some remained cautious about the use of video and audio equipment, were skeptical of my role as the researcher, and inquisitive of the underlying intent of the interview. Tui Marino, for instance, questioned the objectives of the interviews, asking if they were politically motivated by the divisions within the tribe.[17] Similarly, Jason Koia was also careful to ensure that his interview was not being used to discredit his position on opposition to the current tribal leadership.[18] To this extent, my status shifted back and forth between "outsider" and "insider," at once on the "inside" through a shared genealogy, while often resituated to the "outside" by age, gender, occupation, or a perceived political difference.

For the majority of participants, the oral history interviews we recorded were seen as methodologically simplistic: an interviewer asking individuals questions.[19] In many ways, this understanding accords well with Donald Ritchie's view that "an oral history interview generally consists of a well-prepared interviewer questioning an interviewee and recording their exchange in audio or video format."[20] Despite this basic assumption, what might be called an "oral history" interview is in fact no different from the various types of interviews employed by other scholars. Oral historians and folklorists both use interviews, but "the two practices," Ritchie maintains, might be thought of "as opposite ends of a continuum," where the personal experiences of the interviewee is the preferred focus for oral historians, while traditional stories, songs, and community expressions are of most interest to folklorists.[21] These divergent interests, as they

are applied to the interview methodology, not only shape what is said, and how it is interpreted, but the underlying way the oral testimony is identified, mined, and represented as possibly an "historical" narrative, an anthropology, or psychoanalysis.[22] Indeed, interviews that claim to be oral history approaches could quite easily be regarded as life interviews, group interviews, semi-structured, one-on-one, interactive, or even single-issue interviews.[23] What makes them specifically oral history or tradition has little to do with the methodology itself, but the underlying interpretive focus. More than simply a "methodology," an oral history approach takes shape in the distinctive frames of analysis and conversation that accentuate the historical and oral features of the interview.[24]

From Group Interviews to Surveys and Questions

Oral history interview methods range from surveys to individual and group recordings, rather than one distinctive technique. In Ngāti Porou, one of the most comprehensive "oral history projects" drew on over four hundred hours of interviews with C Company veterans of the 28th Māori Battalion, who served during the Second World War. The interviews differed between individual and group recordings, were predominantly conducted in the Māori language, included family participation, and had different interviewers, not just from the research team.[25] Reflecting on the interviews during this project, Monty Soutar writes that there was a "distinctive difference in the information offered by a person when they were being interviewed on their own rather than when they were being interviewed in a group."[26] Individuals, he later indicated, would often dominate the discussion, particularly if they were a higher-ranking officer. As well as the monopolizing of group interviews, other scholars have also noted the difficulty of "identifying who is speaking" in recordings with multiple voices.[27] Groups, as some oral historians observe, often "pressure people towards a socially acceptable testimony," yet "in many societies, group interviews may be more in keeping with the customary ways of communication."[28] The group as a collective force in constructing oral history and tradition is common to Māori, and has significant traction in ritual practices such as official welcomes (powhiri). Conversely, recorded interviews, where the conventions are generally applied from Western traditions, "captures" group voices, but not in their common cultural settings. Subsequently, the idea of a group account, from a Māori perspective, has more relevance to the method of participant observation, than it does a recorded interview.[29] For those who study oral traditions, "group accounts," as Jan Vansina points out, "are the typical oral traditions of many authors . . . are told on formal occasions . . . [and] are often the property of a group."[30] This is certainly the case with Ngāti Porou oral histories, yet traces

of traditions are also found in one-on-one interviews, where individuals invoke genealogies, proverbs, songs, and other stories to make sense of their personal identities, past, present, and future lives.

The notion of simply observing, even within the interview, is one that David Henige cautions against. He writes that "any historian satisfied with group interviews is content to be a bystander to his own research."[31] As a methodology, then, the interview, whether with groups or individuals, accentuates a collaborative interplay, a negotiation of power between a listener and narrator, an informant or interrogator. To this extent, the use of questions impacts on the interview method employed by those interested in oral histories and traditions, particularly the power dynamic produced in structured, unstructured, or even semi-structured interview approaches. Ranjit Kumar observes that in-depth interviews have "roots in interpretive tradition," and seek "to understand the informant's perspective."[32] He notes the "spur of the moment" approach to unstructured interviews, as opposed to the "predetermined questions" in structured interviews that rely on a schedule.[33] For oral historians, as Trevor Lummis points out, the unstructured interview allows the narrator "to relate their experience in terms of their own priorities and interests," but warns:

> This would be fine if the aim of oral history was to collect lots of biographies.... Researchers should not aspire to a non-interventionary role somehow assuming that this results in less biased information.... Few oral historians today would advocate such an unstructured approach.[34]

Allowing the narrator to dictate the direction of the interview was a major objective in this study. However, in one recording, an observer interjected and began to ask their own questions because they felt the interviewee needed to be led rather than left to drift along.[35] Some apologized because they felt they were "getting off track," while others came prepared with books, photo albums, and narratives they wanted to tell, irrespective of the questions that may have been asked by the interviewer.[36] Writing on the interviews undertaken for the C Company project, Monty Soutar found that "the best interviews were often those where we used elders (kaumātua) as interviewers."[37] This would have been a much more preferable option, particularly at those times when my questions bordered on a cross-examination rather than a free-flowing discussion. Indeed, whenever too many questions were asked during this study, the interview tended to be reduced to a type of quantitative exercise rather than a qualitative methodology. On this issue, Grant McCracken has written that "the purpose of the qualitative interview is not to discover how many, and what kinds of, people

share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world."[38]

The interview as a qualitative, rather than quantitative method is widely considered the strength of oral history, but many oral historians often draw quantitative data from the interview projects they undertake.[39] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, for instance, in the *Presence of the Past*, undertook a large-scale "oral history" project, or rather an "oral" survey, that explored the way "ordinary" Americans made sense of the past in their everyday lives. Conducted as phone interviews, Rosenzweig and Thelen confessed their own "scepticism about the scientific claims of survey research," but believed that this would allow them to "listen to people as they used the past in their daily lives to map out patterns."[40] Such an approach in a Māori context would be culturally inappropriate, and deny the "face-to-face" protocol that is a part of local protocols.[41] The survey, or questionnaire design, as Trevor Lummis contends, "has very different assumptions and conditions from those of oral history. They require answers which can be numerically processed with the minimum of preparation and so limit the choice of answers to pre-planned categories."[42]

Taking a completely unstructured approach to the interviews in this study—without any questions at all—would also have been entirely inadequate. Questions, although potentially intrusive, were also necessary to prompt the speaker and stimulate discussion.[43] A closed question would often help clarify issues, while open questions enabled deeper reflection. But most important, questions are the staple diet of dialogue, verbal interaction, and interviewing, and were useful in the interviews conducted in this study inasmuch as they assisted rather than drove the recording. Nevertheless, for oral historians, the use of questionnaires, as Louise Douglas writes, is "one of the most fiercely debated areas in oral history." She notes that for many:

> A questionnaire is too formal and that a list of topics used as a framework by a skilled asker of questions is more useful and flexible. Some prefer to interview with no framework at all, giving the interviewee the opportunity to determine the subjects to be discussed and the order in which they are discussed.[44]

Operating without a schedule or list of questions does not mean that there is no focus or frame of reference at work in the recording. In order to enable a more free-flowing interview, the participants in this study were asked to talk about their lives, yet throughout the interviews they were questioned regularly about the songs they remember, the stories they were told, the books they read, and other issues related to the transmission of oral tradition and history. Most were asked about where their name came from, the first time they remember speaking

at a formal tribal gathering, whether they recall their family's genealogy books, or their experiences within tribal performing arts, carving, or other rituals and skills related to the passing of oral history and tradition. In these ways, they were at once the "standalone" or one-on-one "oral histories" familiar to scholars such as Valerie J. Janesick. However, they were also similar to what she calls "collective oral histories" where "individual stories" are considered in relation to "a particular theme or stories in which all people share a particular experience."[45]

The life story approach, yet another popular term related to the oral history method, is also used by social scientists, who undertake "life course" research that plots and charts life narratives, and draws significant quantitative data from set questionnaires.[46] Nevertheless, this highly quantitative approach is not the life history most oral historians are familiar with, but emphasize just how slippery the notion of a life history interview method really is. For some scholars, the interview, far from an oral history, can be viewed as "collaborative storying," where the words of participants and researchers "merge" in narratives "co-joint" constructions and meanings.[47] Those who specifically study oral traditions, such as folklorists, ethnomusicologists, and even anthropologists, also utilize a range of recordings. Like oral historians, they employ various interview techniques to gather the data and qualitative information they seek, whether one-on-one or grouped interviews, or more "episodic" interviews that focus on specific events or experiences. For Ngāti Porou, recorded testimony as court minutes, written diaries, and interviews have become normal modes of transmission, yet are all removed from the traditional customs and rituals in which indigenous oral histories are best seen in practice.

Interactive Life Narratives, Sights, Sounds, and the "Walk-along"

Despite the multiple methods that are used in studies of oral history or tradition, the life narrative interview remains one of most recognized and popular approaches used by oral historians today. According to Trevor Lummis, because oral history has such an affinity with life history it is "sometimes loosely referred to as the life history method."[48] He contends further that:

> The difference between the way social scientists use life story methodology and oral history is one of central focus: life story emphasis is on the subjective world of the informant (although that is understood within the structures of history and sociology), whereas oral history is primarily concerned with gathering information about historical and social structures (although the persons subjectivity will be apparent and of interest at the same time).[49]

The "focus" here, as Lummis concedes, is blurred between a search for broader structures and an examination of the subjective worlds of individual narrators. To this extent, it is not the method itself that makes the interview an oral history approach, but the researcher's analytical and interpretive framework. Life narrative, as a method, is employed not only by oral historians, but scholars from various fields, including those who study oral traditions. As Julie Cruickshank observes, "documenting life histories has always been an approved fieldwork method in anthropology." She writes that "instead of working from the conventional formula in which the outside investigator initiates and controls the research, this model depends on on-going collaboration between interviewer and interviewee."[50]

In recounting their life stories, the participants in this study regularly spoke about their personal memories related to the traditions and histories they were raised with. Reminiscing about the old people he grew up with, Ned Tibble remarked, "we called our grandfathers nanny eh, te ingoa o te koroua nei (the name of this old man), we used to refer to him as Nanny Māka":

> I remember one day, this old man, he and I got on a horse. And I jumped on behind him and rode down to Hicks bay . . . down to the beach by Horseshoe Bay there, and he took me down that creek, and he got off and we used to collect pipi (type of shellfish), yep . . . we used to get pipi along that foreshore there. . . . He used to kōrero (say) to me, "you don't bring a rake and you rakuraku (sweep/gather) them eh, ka ngaro ngā pipi (the pipi will disappear)." Nothing there now, I don't know why.[51]

Testimonies like this provide nuanced perspectives into the collective worlds in which the traditions, rituals, language, and histories of the coast have thrived. Their "subjective" narratives, similar to the narratives Lummis refers to above, constantly intersected with the social systems and structures of interest to sociologists and anthropologists. In their individual life histories, the interviewees in this study regularly offered glimpses into the way traditions and histories were lived and practiced in the community. Reflecting on his life and particularly the loss of his father, Rawiri Wanoa recounted this story relevant to Ngāti Porou tribal customs and histories:

> Heoi anō rā, tekau mā toru tōku pakeke ka mate taku pāpā i toromi i roto i te Awatere . . . ngā mea i whaia ake ai i roto i te Awatere koinei ngā kōrero a ngā mātua tīpuna i aua wā, he taniwha kei roto i te awa, ki te kite koutou i te taniwha, kaua, engari me tiki e koutou he tohunga tikina atu te tohunga e mea mai i roto i Te Whānau-ā-Apanui kua wareware i a au tērā tohunga koira ngā kōrero a āku mātua tīpuna i a au . . . ināianei,

> nāna pea i whakamakere te mana o te taniwha rā i roto i te awa. I muri mai i tērā kua pai te awa, kua pai ngā whakahaere, ā, kua kore aituā.
>
> Well, I was thirteen years old when my father drowned in the Awatere River. According to the stories of my elders in those days people were chased often in the Awatere, there was a taniwha (leviathan) in the river and if you saw one, then you wouldn't go in the water, but you would seek out a tohunga (priest), the tohunga was chosen from among Te Whānau-ā-Apanui (another tribe in the area). I forget now who that person was, but that is the story of my elders that was told to me... now, I think it was he who got rid of the influence of the taniwha in that part of the river, after that, the river was fine, it was safe to use, and there were no more deaths at that place.[52]

Like Ned, Rawiri's life history interview enabled personal perspectives regarding Ngāti Porou traditions and rituals. Through the interactive and collaborative method of life history, the oral traditions best heard in formal occasions could also be found in individual testimony, where the narrators were free from the constraints inherent in the protocols of tribal and sub-tribal gatherings. For those interested in the oral traditions of communities, Julie Cruickshank writes that "by looking at the ways people use the traditional dimension of culture as a resource to talk about the past, we may be able to see life history as contributing explanations of cultural process rather than as a simply illustrating or supplementing ethnographic description."[53]

Indeed, the life history interviews employed in this study, although not explicitly driven by questions surrounding oral tradition, offered invaluable personal testimonies about how tribal histories have been stored and recounted by individuals. For some scholars, these types of interviews are considered "standard autobiography" or "oral memoir[s]," which Mary A. Lawson observes, "features the subject telling his or her own story, with the writer adding explanations and footnotes."[54] As Hugo Slim discusses, these interviews are the "most wide ranging," and "are normally private, one-to-one encounters between interviewer and narrator."[55] They are significantly different from the life course method, which explores how "the social meanings of age and work differ between working-class, middle-class, and professional men."[56] The life course approach, according to Kim Lacy Rogers, focuses more on "operative age units within populations in terms of cohorts rather than generations."[57] For Ngāti Porou, this is an entirely inadequate approach for a people whose history and traditions are tightly interwoven by genealogies. Despite this, the narrative aspect within life history interviews enables storytellers, and was a significant methodological strength in the interviews undertaken in this study.

"The narrative technique," as Ranjit Kumar writes, "may have a therapeutic impact" because it assists a person "to feel more at ease with an event."[58] Rawiri Wanoa's story about his father might be considered in this regard, but it was more explicit in other testimonies, like Terri Lee-Nyman's interview, during which she candidly spoke about her traumatic awakening, and journey of rediscovery: "I'm still learning, you know, I want to be known as a wahine (woman) who is strong in Ngāti Porou."[59] Telling her story was as much a personally therapeutic act as it was a straightforward autobiography. The narrative aspect of the recording provided an opportunity for Terri to strategically place her traumatic moments in a life story that served to empower her as the ultimate interpreter of her own life. Life history interviews are not only common to oral history, but to a wide range of scholars. For the participants in this study, the life history method enabled them to retell the past in their own words, and offered glimpses into tribal tradition and stories from personal perspectives rather than simply observed in formal settings.

In telling their stories, many of the interviewees used props, referred to the environment, and moved about during the recording. My interview with Rawiri Wanoa, at his home in Te Araroa, began in a batch, not far from the main house. After only a few minutes, he prompted me to bring my recording equipment and follow him as we walked to the marae (community meeting grounds). For some this might not be understood as your typical seated life history interview, but for many Māori, these physical sites and spaces are intrinsic to understanding the individual, who they are, and whom they represent. In this instance, the land becomes part of the life narrative, the hills and buildings physical reference points from which hang stories about the individual's life and world. This connection to the landscape, as Keri Brown writes, "is crucial" for Māori, "goes beyond a purely physical attachment," and is "central to Māori identity" and the maintaining of genealogical links.[60] Interviewing in the moment, and capturing as much of the surrounding world, for me, meant having to move, follow, observe, and view. The walk that we undertook at Te Araroa enabled him to relax and helped me to see and experience the narrative beyond the interviewer's chair. This methodological variant on the seated life history required an engagement with the sights and sounds of the local setting, and allowed Rawiri to literally take control in steering the interview.[61]

Katie Moles writes that by walking, "people are able to connect times and places through the grounded experience of their material environment."[62] This natural setting, as Donald Ritchie observes, usually provides "an abundance of stimulants" for the interviewee.[63] Being aware of how to tap into, view and read, these visually dynamic words requires a multisensory approach to research. Robyn Longhurst, Lynda Johnston, and Elsie Ho have suggested that this might be thought of as a "visceral approach"; visceral in reference "to the sensations,

moods and ways of being that emerge from our sensory engagement with the material and discursive environments in which we live." "Paying attention to the visceral," as they contend, "means paying attention to the senses—sight, sound, touch, smell and taste."[64] Many, if not all, of the interviews I undertook involved eating, drinking, walking, singing, and of course talking, at varying stages. More than just mundane experiences or simple social ritual, these acts and interactions were often parts of a performative politics relative to each person's subjectivity.[65] For instance, I was told by one aunty that in order to interview her mother I would effectively have to chase her around the kitchen, because she was a "kāuta (kitchen) person," who never stayed still, and felt much more comfortable moving, cooking, and working.[66] This was at once an affirmation of her commitment to the people and a personal ethic of hard work, while simultaneously a protective strategy to place her world at the center of our interview.

Ron Grele maintains that oral historians "do not usually go into the field to test memory, we often especially in archival projects, bring along memory jogs."[67] However, other oral historians note that "revisiting a place" or conducting a "walk about" is a common method in oral history interviewing.[68] Beyond simply an oral history approach, this method is known to other scholars as "the go along method": a form of qualitative in-depth recording that Richard M. Carpiano writes "is conducted by researchers accompanying individual informants on outings in their familiar environment."[69] Reference to the environment, and the use of props and other stimulants, were a common feature in the majority of interviews undertaken in this study. Most referred to photographs to recount stories similar to this one told by Turuhira Tatare:

> My great-grandfather there in that photo was an Anglican minister. He's from Wairoa. Before he died, he couldn't speak English. He couldn't read nor write. On the third day of his death he came back to life. Uncanny story, but it's true. He came back to life. He could read. He could write. And he knew the Bible from cover to cover. That's history in Wairoa. And he built his church at Ruataniwha in Wairoa and he married a Stapleton.[70]

Photographs were significant mnemonic devices, often set out in a type of narrative sequence meaningful to the interviewee.[71] Prince Ferris, for instance, referred to the photographs of various trucks he owned and operated, noting their successive years in a display familiar to the genealogical arrangements often seen in the ancestral meeting house (wharenui).[72] These types of mnemonic stimulants are often extremely important objects for the people who talk about their significance in their own lives. Not only were they utilized to tell personal

life stories, but in the following extract was used to convey what the interviewee believed were appropriate moral and ethical codes of conduct:

> She [sister-in-law] walked into my house one day, and this photo of Apirana Ngata was on the wall, and so she said to me, "who is that fella?" you know, "tell me all about him." You know, it's really difficult to explain to a Pākehā (white person), who doesn't really want to know the answer, and "Yes, is he a relative of yours?," "Yes," "Yes, but how is he a relative of yours?," and so I got stuck into her, and I said to her, "Not only is he a relative of mine, but he is a relative of your husband, and that makes him a relative of your children as well, so you better start paying attention." And for the first time, her husband told her off.[73]

This anecdote, although a story about a strained relationship with her sister-in-law, highlights underlying cultural issues relevant to research, in which it is vital to ensure you are well prepared, and have paid "attention," before stumbling into the interviewee's social and cultural environment.[74] Paying close attention to the way props are used is important in communities where different protocols and cultural understandings dictate not only the types of objects used, but their function in the recounting of oral histories and traditions. In Ngāti Porou, and other Māori communities, the use of props and mnemonic devices are significant to the way we recount our oral histories and traditions. On this topic Jacob Karaka and Nēpia Mahuika Sr. refer to the use of carved walking sticks (tokotoko) in formal oratory to recount genealogy and history.[75] Carving, as Apirana Mahuika notes, is generally considered a written form of what was initially transmitted in an oral form. He argues that reading the environment, the stars, tides, and landscape has long been a key aspect of the way our people tell stories.[76] On the use of tokotoko, Anne Salmond writes:

> The carved walking-stick (*tokotoko*), a whalebone *kotiate* or a *mere* (hand weapons) are indispensable props for a dramatic performance, and some people say they repel *mākutu* (black magic) as well. They give the orator authority and lend emphasis to his gestures. Sometimes the speaker has no walking stick, so he picks up an umbrella instead and uses that in his oration.[77]

Although various participants drew on props, such as letters, books, photographs, and even the natural environment, their utilization of these stimulants was framed within the life narrative interview method. In life histories, as Dan Sipe contends, narrators respond and "refer to their setting and objects" in ways that reveal how "the spoken word" is always "embedded in a setting, a situation, [and] context."[78] The interview, in this sense, is different from the formal events and rituals that

are located in specific contexts and practices that have their own conventions. Capturing the native oral histories in these spaces includes all the sights, sounds, and other voices that contribute to the event. The interview as a method applicable to Ngāti Porou oral history and tradition is limited by the interviewee/interviewer dynamic. As the interviewees highlighted, the transmission of oral history was often something caught in multiple moments of observation. To this extent the "walk-along" method has particular resonance for a people who have grown up with tribal educations similar to the one described here by Tinatoka:

> My father was a person who never went past a creek or a hill without giving you the history (kōrero) . . . so although half the time we weren't all listening, it actually stuck in there, years later. So we'd never go past a creek, and he'd name it and he'd tell us a bit of history pertaining to that particular area. He always told us who our real relations were, and so I really learned a lot from him without really realizing it. And he had a lot of knowledge, particularly with our history and genealogy. . . . I think it was inherent in him—that was his thing.[79]

For those who study oral traditions, as Jan Vansina writes, these types of "commentaries" on the environment are "explanations . . . often for remarkable features in a landscape, or to explain monuments. People often explained small depressions in rocks as imprints of hands and feet of founding heroes, kings, or prophets."[80] Oral history as a method breathes life into an historical discipline once dominated by the silent sources in archives. But there is much more to the senses than just listening to the interview, than simply asking questions, and much more to the way indigenous oral history is conveyed than an aural recording could possibly hope to capture. With the rapidly advancing technologies available to researchers, the visual and multisensory realities in research enable interviews that are more than simply "aural" histories.

These developments have been keenly observed by various scholars, who note the potential to incorporate visual methodologies that enhance the way interviews might be analyzed and understood. Video recordings, as Jeff Friedman and Catherine Moana Te Rangitakina Ruka Gwynne observe, allow the interviewer to be seen in the frame, ensuring that the audience understands "how the interview emerged from a mutual interaction of two subjects . . . [and] took place on the porch of their marae meeting house so that the natural landscape, from the ground plane up into the sky, was included as context for the interview."[81] Including the landscape, and setting, particularly for those who were interviewed at home, and within the boundaries of Ngāti Porou, offers a far richer interpretive lens through which tribal oral histories might be communicated. Gillian Rose points out that "the interpretation of visual images" must then "address questions of cultural meaning and power."[82] The interview, although

a highly useful approach, has an immediate power dynamic created in the direction imposed by the interviewer, whether subtle or obvious. As a conventional means of conveying oral history and tradition it has slowly become a more and more normative research practice in Māori and indigenous communities. However, there are many who are still highly uncomfortable with oral, let alone visual recordings of their image and privacy. Understanding the cultural aspects of native oral delivery is a difficult task in an interview that is essentially a foreign method, yet the study of "culture" is a primary focus for many who collect and examine oral traditions. Moreover, interviews are not the only methods employed in the researching of oral tradition and history. Ethnographic and anthropological observations have long been a popular practice related to the investigation of indigenous storytelling.

Participant Observation, Field Notes, and Ethics

Beyond the interview method, oral histories are also recorded in participant observation, a research approach popular to anthropology and ethnography.[83] According to Ruth Finnegan, anthropology traditionally uses a "combination of in-depth fieldwork with a comparative perspective." This distinctive approach, she claims, "has become increasingly important as older divides between anthropology and such other disciplines as oral history, literary study and, in particular, folklore are now narrowing."[84] Influenced by the work of Bronislaw Malinowski, Franz Boas, and Clifford Geertz, the "observation" approach in anthropology adapted, eventually moving "off the verandah" to a more involved practice that required immersion in the daily rituals of the researched.[85] This method has drawn considerable criticism from indigenous scholars, who for over a century have called for a reclaiming of the past in order to "straighten up" what has been produced about us by colonial researchers.[86] For Māori and other colonized peoples, historians and anthropologists have often been condemned as "takers and users," whose intellectual imperialism thrives in "insulated" disciplines that regularly "distance" and "absolve themselves of responsibility."[87]

Amiria Henare writes that "social anthropology by and about Māori people today is virtually a thing of the past."[88] Nevertheless, working among his own people, Des Kahotea claims that his approach moved beyond traditional understandings of anthropology. As an "ethnographic insider," he asserts that his upbringing within the community and involvement in tribal politics relocates him as a "native informant anthropologist."[89] The idea of an "indigenous anthropologist" is also emphasized in the work of other Pacific scholars, who note the importance of genealogy in their practice, and accentuate a focus on "homework" rather than "fieldwork."[90] In this sense, observation as a method remains a

viable approach, so long as the "insiders" have control over the way their worlds are conveyed to outsiders.[91]

Within Ngāti Porou, the notion of "fieldwork" is a similarly problematic idea, which re-orientates their tribal world on the periphery of research as a community to be visited rather than "lived" in. Capturing and representing indigenous oral histories is not simply a gift, but a responsibility, as Herewini Parata points out in his interview:

> Oral history (Kōrero tuku iho), no one else is going to validate it. We've got to validate it ourselves. And if it's validated by ourselves for ourselves then who is any other historian . . . or any other race of people to say that our oral history is not valid . . . so we've got the oral history, we've got the written word, we've got the image of the history, in carving, in tukutuku, we've got it in paintings, and all that. And I think we've got to use all those mediums and maintain them as valid forms of transmitting history . . . on to the next generation. Because all our talk now and what we do is going to be oral histories for our children.[92]

For Herewini, and many other interviewees, oral histories were heard and learned not only in formal ritual, but in everyday activities. The methodology of participant observation, where the researcher becomes immersed in the world and practices of the community, has long included the learning of the language.[93] Monty Soutar notes the importance of "competency in the language" as a factor that has enabled historical research within Ngāti Porou. Despite this ability, he goes on to highlight how cultural insight and awareness are in actuality more important to a robust interpretive analysis of Ngāti Porou history.[94] Indeed, language competency was a strategy employed in the methods of early ethnographers to "facilitate the completion of colonisation."[95] Nevertheless, simply being in the field, or learning the language, are insufficient to acquiring an understanding if the aim and focus is applied from elsewhere. Thus, the intention then—the underlying political and intellectual objectives—is significant to the application of the method. Paul Thompson writes:

> The historian comes to the interview to learn: to sit at the feet of others who, because they come from a different social class, or are less educated, or older, know more about something. The reconstruction of history itself becomes a much more widely collaborative process, in which non-professionals must play a crucial part.[96]

The "collaborator" rather than the "informant" is often considered a more empowered partner in interviewing and observation.[97] However, in both the

interview and participant observation, it is the observer who retains power, even if it is seemingly "silenced during the interactive process."[98] Observers in "field-orientated" disciplines record their experiences, then select extracts from their field notes, or wait to write them up afterwards.[99] This, as Willa K. Baum contends, is a familiar practice for oral historians, who she maintains, should keep "jottings on the surroundings, appearance of the narrator, [and] other persons present."[100] A more distanced observation method, though, as Trevor Lummis contends, is different from an oral history approach that seeks to establish the "authenticity of recorded information, not hearsay or various combinations of note-taking in the field or writing-up in retrospect which leave the actual words and evidence of the informant available only at second hand."[101]

Recorded interviews, as some claim, enable those on the inside to "speak for themselves," while participant observation tends to rely more heavily on the listener's interpretation.[102] Both are viable methods that have relevance to the way Ngāti Porou oral history and tradition is transmitted, but are similarly dependent, as Monty Soutar has asserted, on the researcher's ability to present the history in a "form characteristic of Ngāti Porou thought."[103] Interviews capture voices, yet observational recordings often do the same thing within the normative routines and rituals of the community.[104] This notion of "participant observation" might be reconsidered in indigenous communities like Ngāti Porou, where oral history is "caught" in the multiple modes described earlier in this study. Writing on the research experience with her people in the Australian outback, Lorina Barker saw it as an opportunity to re-immerse herself in the culture, and to participate in different activities:

> I have adapted the anthropological use of the term "hanging out" which involves participant observation, to my use of hangin' out to mean, hangin' out in my community, and with my family yarnin' and catchin' up. . . . The ritual of "catchin' up" offered an opportunity for the researcher and participants to get to know one another both on a professional level, as researcher and participant, and informally as community people, insiders, sharing memories and stories of Weilmoringle and some aspect of our lives. "Hangin' out" was not deliberate, but rather an unconscious and natural act, part of the "ways of knowing," "ways of being" and "ways of doing" in one's own cultural and social spaces.[105]

Despite its obvious anthropological roots, Lorina employed this method in an approach she called "collecting oral histories." The notion of "hangin' out" has resonance for Ngāti Porou, whose oral histories are often recounted in tribal "ways of being" and "doing." At funerals they are whispered over the departed by aunties and grandmothers, and both cheerfully and solemnly remembered by

elders late at night in the kitchen (kāuta). For the interviewees, they were heard in daily rituals from gardening and hunting, to fishing, and chopping wood. These moments are not artificially manufactured in the way interviews are, but are spontaneous "natural acts" difficult to capture in digital recordings.

Studies in oral history or oral tradition then are not dependent on any particular "oral" method but can be found in both observations and interviews. The practice of "hangin' out," referred to by Barker, offers the opportunity to hear indigenous oral histories in impromptu moments, but recorded observation of more formal occasions are also viable to Māori. Indeed, the ceremonial rituals on the marae are immensely valuable opportunities to see, hear, and experience oral history as a living phenomenon. Beyond the interview, these occasions illustrate the ways oral history and traditions are retold within the specific tikanga of the marae, as Tūwhakairiora Tibble noted in his interview:

> From my own perception of what I saw of it—if you went on to the marae you went on as a group and you didn't go on until the old woman (kuia) called you on . . . then we went on, we went so far then we stopped. Paid our respects, and then we sat down, and the men all went to the front. Then it (the meeting) was opened up with a prayer, and then a speaker, and then it was handed over to our side, and then the men on this side would speak. Each time a speaker finished speaking then it would be followed with a song. To me it would be boring because it would take too long . . . [but] that was the custom. That was the protocol of the marae.[106]

Being able to experience oral history in practice is vital to understanding how it is understood within tribal contexts. The interview, although a highly useful and insightful oral source, is a limited method in that it is unable to capture the protocols and customs that shape the way oral histories and traditions are made and remade in our formal tribal customs. The need to see, hear, and live oral history to understand it requires an evolvement of the methods that focus on the capture of orality. In conjunction with interviews, hangin' out, walking alongside, and becoming immersed in the culture and community are vital to a more appropriate study of indigenous oral histories. Writing on the way oral traditions are considered by some researchers, Ruth Finnegan observes that "oral folklore, like stories, songs or proverbs is distinguished from material culture." She maintains that "such contrasts need care for they sometimes reflect less local distinctions than unthinking western models or verbal 'text' as self-evidently differentiated from visual, auditory or bodily signs."[107] Reconfiguring "Western" models and methods in ways that reflect local cultural protocols can radically transform interview and observation methods from the insular disciplines that

claim them as *their* approaches. From a Ngāti Porou perspective, this reclaiming places the local tribal terminology and epistemologies at the center of a methodological and theoretical reimagining. Inextricably connected to this process then are the underlying protocols and ethical considerations that are crucial to the reorienting of foreign methods within native frames of reference.

Commenting on the access to Ngāti Porou research manuscripts and knowledge, Monty Soutar writes that Māori "are careful as to who has access and are not keen to part with the material even if it will help historians toward a more informed view of history."[108] He notes further that:

> In the past there has been concern that in the wrong hands, either Māori or European (Pākehā), the information might be used inappropriately. . . . While such manuscripts were probably never intended for an audience beyond the writer's particular family (whānau), the difficulty facing the tribal historian using this material is to present the facts without diminishing the value of the material in the eyes of those who carefully guard it.[109]

Irrespective of the method, whether oral recordings, observations, archival, or documentary analysis, the underlying protocols (tikanga) that drive the research are of most significance to Ngāti Porou people. This was reflected in many of the interviews, where face-to-face interaction was required, and where relationship building through genealogical links was the norm. In all of the interviews in this study, it was an adherence to particular protocols that dictated the success and relevance of the method in practice. One of the key protocols focused on the importance of "connecting" and acknowledging tribal genealogical ties. Waldo Houia, for instance, reminded me that "Nēpia, our uncle was named after your name, your great-great-grandfather and of course his youngest daughter was Hirena that was the links between us, Ngāti Rangi."[110] "You know, our transport in those days was your grandfather's truck," remembers Jack Takurua, who also noted the close-knit connections of our families at Whakawhitira.[111] The genealogies that bind us together carry underlying inherent protocols that assist access, yet simultaneously involve reciprocal responsibilities in relationships of trust and respect. During his interview, while making reference to our familial connections, Herewini Parata spoke of the familial relationships significant in our shared genealogies:

> I spent a lot of time at Mahora, with nanny Pee Tawhai and nanny Jim Tawhai. I spent a lot of time there. Nanny Pee Tawhai and those sorts of people, they just doted on my grandfather. They supported my grandfather and whatever he said they agreed with him, they were supportive

> of that. And nanny Pee Tawhai's first husband was Turanga Tuhaka, that was nanny Hana's cousin. And so, you had those ties, and nanny Jim Tawhai. Well that was your great-grandmother's brother, nanny Tangipo's brother.[112]

For our people, the customs and protocols that our forebears exercised in respect of one another is important to any method employed within research by, for, or about indigenous people like Ngāti Porou. It defines the roles of insiders and outsiders, interviewers and interviewees, observers and the observed, within protocols that make sense within our worldviews. This epistemological framework has also been adopted in the work of those who claim an "indigenous anthropologist" position relevant to their evolutionary methods. "Genealogy," as they explain, is central to their practice because it "provides a solid foundation or a 'standing place' for researchers, whether or not indigenous, who go into the field carrying their genealogies and histories."[113] This application of lineage is not simply the recognition of our physical and ancestral genealogy, but an intellectual pedigree, which informs the oral histories and traditions passed on through generations.[114] An epistemological re-defining of oral history methods in practice necessarily requires an ethical code of conduct that reflects what is important to indigenous people. From a Ngāti Porou perspective, this epistemological outlook, as Apirana Mahuika asserts, is based within Ngāti Porou epistemologies:

> The key to Ngāti Porou epistemology is having a knowledge of tribal custom and protocol, or in the English terms, culture. In culture or "tikanga" we find all those elements that are essential to life, namely, the rules and regulations about norms of behaviour and respect for people and property, rules of lore out of which arises systems of law, moral codes of behaviour and justice, sets of value systems, political and economic systems and religious and spiritual sanctions.[115]

To accurately represent indigenous oral histories, the methods utilized by oral historians must be grounded within those practices that speak to native cultural worldviews, moral codes, and value systems. Interviews, or observational recordings, that follow the correct native values should initially be organized and overseen by a supervisory group of elders. Donald Ritchie refers to these groups as "advisory committees," yet for Ngāti Porou, these people are caretakers (kaitiaki), who are not only aware of the experts within the tribe, but are themselves custodians of history and native protocol.[116] In relation to Māori research, Stephanie Milroy argues that "it is important to find the true leaders in the community and not just the most public Māori."[117] This is an issue reflected in the

writing of Elizabeth Tonkin, who observes that "people without access to authoritative voices . . . are hampered in representing their accounts of the past to themselves as well as to others."[118]

"Authorities," or "true leaders," can sometimes be confusing for those who are unaware of the political dynamics and history of the tribe. Of the role of the researcher who is guided by their elders, Monty Soutar points out that the protocol in this approach is perhaps best expressed in the proverb "whakarongo ki te kupu o tōu mātua/pay heed to the words of your elders."[119] Age and gender are also factors that are governed by various protocols in Māori research, yet differ between tribes in Aotearoa New Zealand because each have their own protocols relative to the roles of women or young people. The rationale that informs these principles of indigenous ethics are often alien to many outside researchers, who seem incapable of understanding indigenous perspectives. Linda Tuhiwai Smith has noted this "denial" of indigenous ways of knowing as a lack of respect, yet respect, she insists, is a key principle in indigenous research ethics that advocates:

> Aroha ki te tangata (respect for people)
> Manaaki ki te tangata (to share and host people, to be generous)
> Kaua e takahia te mana ō te tangata (do not trample on the dignity, status or humanity of a person)[120]

These principles are vitally important to the methods of interviewing and observation within Ngāti Porou, but are expressed in different ways by other scholars. Valerie Yow points out that "codes of ethics in sociology, anthropology, and psychology emphasize the researcher's responsibility to avoid harm to human subjects," and have become even more proactive in "admonishing researchers to protect subjects."[121] In the National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) Code of Conduct, researchers are encouraged to "guard against possible social injury . . . or exploitation"; to "develop sufficient skills and knowledge . . . through reading and training"; and "to conduct interviews with an awareness of cultural or individual sensibilities."[122] These broad guidelines though lack specificity, and are grounded within the intrusive Western paradigms that Apirana Mahuika criticized during his interview: "Maori writers, especially you guys in the world of academia . . . at the end of the day you have to succumb to that, which naturally would distort your view of our history."[123] "Aroha ki te tangata/respect for people," as an ethic significant to oral history method, is inclusive of the informed consent referred to by scholars such as Linda Shopes, who point out that:

> Interviewees need to know the intended use of the interview as well as possible future uses; that they will have the opportunity to review and

> amend the transcript, if project protocols include transcription; and where the interviewer or project intends to place tapes and tapes for permanent preservation.[124]

Sentiments such as these are familiar to "Māori people," as Stephanie Milroy writes, who "like to see proof that the good intentions of the researcher are being carried out."[125] However, in practice, tribal understandings of these principles "extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality."[126] They include a responsibility to empower speakers beyond the interview or observation approach, to ensure that the tribe is adequately and appropriately represented. To this extent, a reversal of the power should enable the participant rather than the researcher or listener, creating a "collaboration" that is driven by the community to whom the research matters most. "For Māori," as Milroy notes, "there is none of the concept of 'researcher' as an independent, neutral observer who is accountable to himself/herself or the academic community rather than the community being researched."[127] In alignment with these protocols, the interviews undertaken in this study were rarely short visits, but were often rather long and extended.

The ethical protocols embedded in these occasions were less about the interviews themselves than they were a matter of social etiquette. Meals were shared, connections were re-forged, politics were discussed, questions and observations were directed not simply at the participants but at the researcher whose skills, attitude, and character were constantly being assessed. For the interviewees, these were familiar and common principles, similar to the preparation afforded those who are eventually considered ready to take on new roles and responsibilities, as Nolan Raihania stressed in his interview:

> Preparation for the oratory role (pae—seat) was just going along and sitting in the back seat, the ones that are already on the pae well they take the front seats they usually have a couple of seats one at the back or even starts from before that arā ki waho rā (pathway from outside) of course it really starts at the back of the cook house peeling spuds that's where it starts and cutting the meat, that's where it starts everywhere really and gradually move in and sometimes there's no one there to do the talk (whaikōrero) and say one of you fellas haere mai ki te mea (come in here and do this) and they go up and talk the best you can.'[128]

This aspect of the methodology in observation and interviewing is sparsely mentioned in the literature. Nolan's story here illustrates a lived apprenticeship, which is often a long drawn-out process where individuals essentially prove themselves as trustworthy, responsible, and adequately skilled recipients.

In contrast, outside researchers have often sought to justify their presence as much needed objective observers and experts. Angela Ballara, for instance, writes that "Māori families sometimes prefer that an unrelated historian or experienced writer, Māori or Pākehā, be appointed author, while they assist with evidence."[129] Similarly, Mervyn McClean, writing on the work of folklorists and "ethnomusicologists" claims:

> It cannot be taken for granted that just anyone is a suitable recipient for recorded waiata just because she or he is Māori. . . . I have always walked a tightrope trying to balance usually legitimate claims for use of archival materials on the one hand with deeply held cultural values on the other which are no longer subscribed to by all Māoris.[130]

Although genealogical connection is important, it does not guarantee access. However, Monty Soutar points out that "descent from the families who have been repositories of history within the tribe increases one's right to continue the role."[131] This was reflected in the interviews for this study, where participants noted the selection and education of people who lived "day and night" at the marae, who were taught and raised by their grandparents to fulfill certain responsibilities.[132] In these ways the methods of oral transmission and communication have precedents already established within Māori communities. Interviews and observations are approaches that have become increasingly common with advancing technologies and a willingness to adapt new techniques that enable the retelling of our histories. In addition, the methods in observations are particularly relevant to formal gatherings, yet participation is perhaps best practiced in tribal schools of learning (wānanga), which not only has roots in traditional ritual, but is set within the methodological frames of tribal epistemology and ethics and protocols. Many of the interviewees spoke at length on the importance of tribal "classrooms," including Angela Tibble, who referred to the use of "hīkoi" (walk-along) classes—sightseeing tours—held at Whareponga and other areas of the coast since the turn of this century.[133]

Although the oral history interview method is designed to capture the voices of narrators, it is not so much the practice that is emancipatory and enabling, but the interpretive analysis researchers assign to it. The participant observation approach facilitates an opportunity to hear, see, and experience oral traditions and histories in action, yet is not a method renowned for its empowerment of the researched. Paul Thompson has suggested that "historical information need not be taken away from the community for interpretation and presentation by the professional historian," but "through oral history the community can, and should, be given the confidence to write its own history."[134] This is at odds with the underlying aims that accompany the practice of other scholars, who contend:

> There is the ethical problem of, on the one hand, maintaining regard for the people one is interviewing and, on the other, adhering to the disciplinary imperative to tell the truth, not in some essentializing, positivist sense, but by trying to get the whole story, even if following the evidence where it leads undercuts one's sympathies; by probing hesitations, contradictions, and silences in the narrator's account; by getting underneath polite glosses; by asking hard questions; and by resisting the tendency to create one-dimensional heroes out of people interviewed, for romanticization is its own form of patronization.[135]

Operating within "outside" paradigms that impose foreign methods in the search for "truth," not only removes indigenous knowledge from its intellectual context, but often distorts it beyond the perspectives of those to whom it belongs. For indigenous peoples, the underlying epistemological foundations relevant to their oral history transmission provide protocols and ethics that are vital to the success of methods such as interviewing and participant observation. These protocols, anchored within tribal worldviews, reposition, translate, and make relevant any approach that seeks to represent native oral histories. Subsequently, a study of Ngāti Porou oral history cannot be carried out via a simplistic application of foreign methods, but only through a sophisticated reconfiguration where those methods are securely anchored by underlying native theories and practices. This inextricable connection between indigenous epistemologies and customs highlights the fact that a greater reflective understanding of theory is the key to unlocking and improving the methods we use. Moreover, theory has the potential to enable tribal ethical approaches, because it helps to explain the connections between the necessity of protocols, practice, and the rationale that transforms sterile methods into active and emancipatory practice.

Rethinking Oral History Methodology

The study of oral history is not determined simply by the methods researchers use, but by an underlying interpretive focus. Despite its centrality to the field of oral history, interviews, for instance, are employed by many researchers, who likewise claim them as significant aspects of their approach. The interview itself can be implemented in multiple ways that shift between structured and unstructured questionnaires, surveys, group discussions, or one-on-one exchanges. Indeed, what might be called an oral history interview could in fact be no different from the various types of interviews employed by other scholars. Group interviews, far from simply an oral history method, are popular across multiple disciplines, yet have some resonance for the collective construction of oral

histories common to indigenous ritual and practices. Similarly, surveys have also been utilized by scholars who consider them part of an oral history approach, but for Ngāti Porou they are inadequate because they deny the face-to-face protocol important to local etiquette.

The most common interview associated with oral history research is the life narrative recording. However, life histories, or life course methods, are also common to other disciplines and scholars, whose intellectual focus examines them beyond history or tradition. In addition to this, the one-on-one aural emphasis is similarly problematic, particularly when oral histories and traditions are communicated in specific rituals and formal settings. For indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, interviews that are not anchored and understood in local protocols are limited in their ability to explain the tribe's oral histories in living practice. Nevertheless, in accounting for various sights and sounds, some interview methods such as the walk-along, or "hikoi" illustrate the way individuals interact with their surroundings. Many of the interviewees, for instance, employed props and utilized mnemonic devices to tell their stories, requiring then a multisensory approach to unpack and interpret their world. Life narrative interviews, then, offer valuable personal insights and accounts of traditions, rituals, and language in practice, and are thus applicable to personal histories and broader collective traditions.

Beyond interviews, oral histories are also captured in the participant observation method. Although an apt way to experience the formal performance of indigenous oral history in action, it is an approach still considered a tool of colonial research. Other indigenous scholars note their own reimagining of this method as indigenous anthropology, which is anchored within a genealogical frame of reference, and accentuates a focus on homework rather than fieldwork. While the interview approach used by oral historians is viewed as empowering and liberating, participant observations tend to rely heavily on the observer's role as interpreter and lead collaborator. Moreover, although the oral history interview method is designed to capture the voices of narrators, it is not so much the practice that is emancipatory and enabling, but the interpretive analysis researchers assign to it. The participant observation approach facilitates an opportunity to hear, see, and experience oral traditions and histories in action, but is not a method renowned for its empowerment of the researched.

Reconfiguring participant observation within an indigenous frame of reference might be closer to the hangin' out model that emphasizes the need to be guided by custom, ritual, and life, on the inside. This requires a greater understanding of tribal ethics, which works to relocate power in the hands of the observed rather than the observers. Anchored in native epistemologies, researchers would necessarily need to find the true leaders, and abide by protocols relative to gender and age. In the implementation of foreign methods,

researchers might then be expected to serve an apprenticeship to prove themselves as trustworthy, responsible, aware, and adequately skilled recipients. Thus, understanding acceptable tribal approaches requires knowledge of the underlying epistemological foundation that informs and reflects what is important to indigenous people. It entails a reversal of the power, where the underlying intellectual foundations favor protocols and ethics relevant to the empowerment of the researched rather than the researchers. Oral historians use multiple methods, which overlap and have shifting resonance to indigenous worldviews. They are informed by interrelated theories, underlying political aims, and epistemologies.

7

Interweaving Oral History Theories with Indigenous Patterns

Weaving in the Māori world is an art form that serves practical, cultural, social, and aesthetic purposes. It is a traditional practice and a way of life that requires specific knowledge, commitment, and skill. There is significant cultural depth in the art of weaving, and it is used here as an apt way to describe how indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou interweave interpretive theories with local definitions and understandings of oral history.[1] In the production and dissemination of tribal oral histories, layered theoretical tapestries are carefully interwoven to suitably depict nuanced local perceptions of identity and history.[2] In Ngāti Porou, a willingness to experiment with, and utilize, external ideas, theories, practices, and technologies is commonplace and expected. Thus, all fluid and workable theory, in this way, offers real value and utility in that they can be refashioned—rethought and indigenized—to ensure specific tribal patterns or worldviews are visible in the final design. However, this requires a conscious application of theory.[3] In oral history, there are multiple theories that are closely associated with the studies of oral history and tradition.[4] These include theories about the way individuals and communities remember and forget, tell stories, transmit oral accounts, employ myths, and define and compose identities. In rethinking oral history from an indigenous perspective, it is important to explore the ways in which native theoretical strands resonate with those theories common to the fields of oral history and oral tradition. But what are the key theories used by oral historians and those who study oral traditions? How are they similar, and in what ways are the different? Most important, how do those theories interweave, converge, or diverge from indigenous theoretical views and perspectives on oral history?

Interweaving and Indigenizing Theories in Oral History and Tradition

Many indigenous peoples "do not relate to imported theory, practices, and methods very well," yet some have become more adventurous in their willingness to test theories in their local contexts.[5] In New Zealand, Graham Hingangaroa Smith has stressed the need to utilize theory in supporting strategies for Māori intervention. He writes that "all theory is important; the critical point is that 'theories,' because they are socially constructed phenomena, are likely to be laden with 'cultural' and 'social' interests. In this sense the 'validity' of theory will obtain its true worth in the outcomes of its practice and application."[6] For Ngāti Porou, the need to accommodate and utilize "foreign" ideas is well rehearsed in local oral histories. On this issue, Apirana Mahuika has pointed out that:

> Our cultural survival was reliant on how dynamic and, therefore adaptable it can be, to meet new challenges. It was this dynamic attribute of our culture which enabled our forebears and our culture to survive on arrival from Hawaiki.[7]

"Outside" theories that enable the tribe's aims and aspirations have long been employed to support Māori independence and autonomy.[8] By ensuring that the autonomy of the tribe and family remains intact during this process of adaption, Māori have been able to use new knowledge more effectively. For many, it is tribal customs and protocols that embody the underlying theoretical and philosophical strains that materialize from this interaction between foreign ideologies and tribal epistemology.[9] In the same way that theory informs method, tribal ethics is similarly the enacted practice, customs, and protocols designed in the interweaving of indigenous knowledge systems. It is this foundation of tribal theory, politics, and philosophy that elaborately patterns the histories Ngāti Porou call their own. Re-centering the world within local frameworks is an argument developed in the work of postcolonialists and Kaupapa Māori theorists.[10] Postcolonial theory evolved from literary scholarship in an historical practice that "revised" the perspective of the colonized, seeking to place their views "at the centre of the historical process."[11] Kaupapa Māori also seeks to "retrieve" those spaces that enable Māori people to set the directions of research on their own terms.[12] Both draw on deeper theoretical genealogies, but Kaupapa Māori reconfigures those ideas within the more immediate settings, protocols, and aspirations of the indigenous people.[13] Similarly, for indigenous people like

Ngāti Porou, it is their tribal identity and politics that reshape and interweave external ideas within an underlying epistemology and theory that brings this native knowledge to the forefront of scholarship.[14]

The fundamental role theory plays in the research and production of history is also a well-rehearsed argument in the literature. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, for instance, contend that "every piece of historical writing has a theoretical basis on which evidence is filtered and understood."[15] Likewise, Mary Fulbrook asserts that all history writing, whether historians acknowledge it or not, is "an intrinsically theoretical as well as empirical enterprise."[16] Despite the case for a more theoretically minded understanding of research and history, there are many practitioners of oral history and tradition who have little time for the intrusions of theory.[17] Indeed, oral history has often been thought of as a methodology more than a theoretically driven discipline. African-American oral historian Alfredteen Brown Harrison describes it as "a planned, organized method of eliciting information from selected narrators about their personal experiences for preservation and scholarly use."[18] From the New Zealand literature Alison Laurie refers to oral history as:

> A recorded interview made by agreement with an interviewee willing to tell a particular story or series of stories about themselves on tape, with an intention that this tape be archived under conditions agreed to by the interviewee.[19]

Oral history as essentially a methodology fails to account for the underlying interpretive analyses that give enhanced meaning, planning, and explanation, to what is said and heard. A sterile empirical approach to gathering and presenting oral testimony has been termed "oral history in the reconstructive mode," while a more theoretically aware practice embraces an "interpretive mode" that accounts for the strengths of subjectivity and individual remembering.[20] Empiricism, even if it advocates an antiquarian collection of recordings, is itself a theoretical premise. Indeed, far from a study identified by methods of interviewing or observation, research in oral history and oral tradition is significantly influenced by theoretical assumptions about the nature of remembering, storytelling, transmission, and representation. Jane Moodie observes that there are three main strands in oral history theory: the sociological and anthropological, which "identifies the social context as an important influence in the shaping of memory"; the literary or linguistic, which is "particularly attentive to the narrative and linguistic structures" that influence oral testimony; and the psychological or psychoanalytical, which "emphasizes the subjective nature of oral testimony."[21] Those who study oral traditions also draw on anthropological and sociological strands, and have similarly developed linguistic and memory

theories relevant to folklore and epic ballads. The question of memory in both oral history and oral tradition looms large, and is a pivotal part of how scholars in these areas make sense of their work as this chapter discusses.

Retheorizing Oral History Memory and Myth

Various theories about how groups and individuals remember are central to the study of both oral history and oral tradition. The unreliable memory has been a key criticism of oral history, with scholars calling for more work between oral historians and psychologists to establish the "parameters of memory."[22] What people remember, as Paul Thompson contends, is influenced by "social interest."[23] Similarly, this view was shared by a number of the interviewees, including Jason Koia, who claimed:

> If you're really passionate about it, if you're really in tune with it, you don't need to record or write anything down. It just automatically stays in your head for some reason.[24]

Remembering, for tribal people like Jason, entailed a pulling together of experiences and ideas in a finely textured reconstruction. Reminiscing about her childhood, Materoa Collins recalls:

> In my early years I have vivid memories of my dad and uncle Scarlet going out on horses and doing all that farm work, and being part of that, and playing in wool sheds and all that.[25]

Her personal memories, like most of the other participants, intertwine with what is remembered of other lives, generations, and collectives, and woven in layered narratives that broach topics of gender, work, education, religion, and identity. In reference to the topic of memory, Ron Grele describes this "as a process dynamically related to history, not as a timeless tradition but as being progressively altered from generation to generation."[26] The distinction made here between the "progressive" remembering of history and the static transmission of tradition is blurred in the lives of most indigenous people, who consider tradition to be an ongoing negotiation between past, present, and future. This is addressed in the cultural views regarding bloodlines, and the inherited nature of "tradition," as Derek Lardelli points out:

> If he comes from that line, he should be able to do this and this in his bloodline. And it's the same with carving—was passed down family to

> family, tradition, and oral tradition, was kept in that family tree because they had that type of whakapapa (genealogy).[27]

For some scholars, this may be a challenging theoretical premise, but as Elizabeth Tonkin observes, "the past is not only a resource to deploy, to support a case or assert a social claim, it also enters memory in different ways and helps to structure it. Literate or illiterate, we are our memories."[28] Taking "ownership of the past" is an intersecting theoretical strand that has significant traction in Ngāti Porou and other indigenous communities.[29] Asserting ownership in a "transformative" reclamation of tribal history was a common feature in many of the interviews within Ngāti Porou. In specific relation to memory, Materoa referred to them as gifts and abilities that are held by, and passed on to, certain people:

> All we have are stories . . . from my uncle . . . he could name every hill, and he was almost down to naming every tree sometimes, I used to think he was making it up, but he would look at a hill and say "that hill is . . . and on that hill, this happened, and this happened, and this over there because this happened, and that happened" that's what we had. . . . He was raised by my nanny too, and because I was named after her, I got that special treatment from him, and he'd come and pick me up, and whenever he was traveling anywhere, tangi, and I'd go and he'd just talk, but I don't have that genealogy brain, you know, some people can hold names and hold events—I don't have that. I can't remember the names of half the kids in my class most of the time.
>
> Was that deliberate on his part?
>
> Yep, I think he had a plan, but I didn't fulfill it very well. The chosen one that you are so supposed to put all that knowledge in to. . . . It missed me. I think it's gone to my son. My oldest son has that ability, but he doesn't have his koro with him anymore.[30]

Remembering, in Ngāti Porou, is often considered a skill and trait significant to who might be considered an able repository and custodian of tribal history. What one person remembers as an individual is significant to the collective memory of the tribe as a whole because they are charged with the responsibility to hold, and pass on, histories and traditions together. This relationship between the individual and collective memory is also a key theoretical strand in the study of oral history. The collective memory, as the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs claims, encompasses "individual memories while remaining distinct from them."[31] Paula Hamilton writes that the collective memory "usually refers to the making of a group memory so that it becomes an expression of identity, and accepted by that group as the 'truth' of experience."[32] For Ngāti Porou, this

interplay in memory aligns well with the knowledge base and values related to genealogy and tribal oral history. However, the collective memory as a theory is not distinctive just to oral history, but is part of a growing field dedicated to memory studies.[33] Conversely, those who specifically study oral traditions have not developed collective memory theory to the same extent as oral historians. Of the remembering in oral traditions, Robert Darnton suggests that:

> These "singers of tales" do not possess the fabulous powers of memory and memorization sometimes attributed to "primitive" peoples. They do not memorize very much at all. Instead they combine stock phrases, formulas, and narrative segments in patterns improvised according to the response of their audience.[34]

With a focus on "formulas" and "stock phrases," the research in oral tradition has rarely expanded on memory theory beyond a focus on rhythm and repetition. Nevertheless, this aspect of remembering, or rather "memory" transmission, has significant relevance to Ngāti Porou oral history. Speaking on the traditional methods of remembering, Anaru Kupenga said this about the process:

> They [the elders] would wait late at night at the marae, until late and then the lights went down, all the lights were switched off, tilly lamp, candles, they blew it out and the room was in total darkness and they'd practice on us as little children for the retention of memory. They'd practice talking so that we can beam in with our ears and we were more comprehensive and tentative of the information because there was no visibility of our eyes to contaminate our brain, it was totally clear. I marvel at the use of original and traditional methods of learning, and here it was being displayed by our elders. No doubt they carried on doing that throughout the years but slowly technology I guess you could say won the day. Hence the decline of history within our people, which now requires scholars to maintain and retain those kinds of resources for the future.[35]

Our tribal history, Anaru argues, declined with the advent of technology, and the loss of old practices and theories used to perfect the retention of memory. Similar to the theories of repetition advanced in the work of oral traditionalist and folklorists, our practices confirm the idea that the past is carried in rhythm and recurring phrases.[36] For a people whose history is conveyed in formal speeches, proverbs, and songs, the repetition of sayings and stories is necessarily an integral part of the way many indigenous peoples theorize our worlds, and account for how it is remembered.[37] Likewise, the collective memory in which that history is

produced allows for the nuanced accounts of individual tribal members, so long as they have a base understanding of the community's protocols and values.[38] Moreover, the collective memory theory reflected in tribal oral histories assists a necessary resistant narrative to dominant "mainstream" memory making that has pushed indigenous oral histories and traditions to the margins. This strategic survival process evident in the way collective memories operate in marginalized and oppressed communities is noted by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, who write that:

> The collective memories of minorities need continual active expression if they are to survive being absorbed or smothered by the historical traditions of the majority. Nor is this dominance a mere matter of numbers. The powerful have a breath-taking ability to stamp their own meanings on the past. Our tales of Empire are of bravery and benign administration of a "master race," rather than of superior military technology or back-breaking slavery in plantation or pit.[39]

Collective memory theory has specific relevance to indigenous oral history and is reflective of the way native history and tradition are connected in genealogy and practice. Although a highly deterministic theoretical approach, from an indigenous perspective the homogeneous identities it reveals are strategically important to the disruption of those dominant memories imposed by oppressive groups.[40] Subsequently for Ngāti Porou, collective memory theory is exceptionally useful, yet would necessarily be refined within local conceptions of Kaupapa Māori and postcolonial theories that both share a mistrust of the imperial "centering" of history by the colonizers.[41] Beyond the collective memory, however, are other theories in oral history that emphasize the subjective memories of individuals. Alistair Thomson's theory of "composure," for instance, underlines the reality that individuals in fact struggle to achieve a "sense of composure" more than they are "composed" within collective scripts and discourses.[42] Within indigenous communities, the nuanced testimonies of local people reflect this theoretical claim, yet as a group, tribal collective memories also struggle to find "composure" within dominant national myths.[43] Speaking on his experiences with the Māori battalion, Nolan Raihania recalls:

> Well there were bugger all changes when we came back, it was still the bloody same, ko ngā Pākehā ngā rangātira (Pākeha were still in charge), you got to go and work for the white man, our Māori farms, they weren't really up to scratch i ērā wā (in those times), not like now we got some pretty good corporations now that have built up over those years since then, but those years they weren't very financial, you had to go to the

> Pākehā farms for work; te mahi taiapa (fencing), tope manuka (tree felling), all those sort of jobs, koira ngā mahi mā te Māori (that was the work for Māori) and that was the same as before we went, nothing had changed in that respect.[44]

Māori soldiers found that the "price of citizenship" paid in their sacrifices simply did not translate to equality when they came home from the war.[45] For many, the myths of national unity commemorated in the ANZAC legend were simply at odds with the realities of poverty, racism, or abandonment by the government, they remember in their postwar personal lives. However, these were not simply individual recollections kept in private stories, but part of Māori collective memories held together by families within a long history of colonial distrust.[46] This theoretical tension between individual agency and particularly deterministic collective remembering is recognized and discussed at length by oral historians, who note that:

> Collective memory then is the screen on to which different subjectivities project their discrepant versions of the past for different (political) reasons. It is the task of oral history to maintain both a sense of the individual and the collective, and to make sense of memory despite its differences.[47]

In the transmission of indigenous oral histories from one generation to the next, Māori oral history is at once a collective enterprise, yet in its living reality is expressed in multiple and nuanced individualities.[48] Memory, as a device or process used to "define ourselves," is a common assertion in the oral history literature, yet the act of remembering often entails a considered denial of the past, or forgetting.[49] Thus, in defining what is oral history or oral tradition, the binary process of remembering and forgetting is a vital interpretive component.[50] Moreover, it is not necessarily distinctive of either a study of oral "history" or "tradition," but relative to both despite the fact collective and individual memory theories are more prominent in oral history scholarship. Nevertheless, the ambiguity of tradition is highlighted in Renate Siebert's "Don't Forget: Fragments of a Negative Tradition," in which she asks:

> What is, in fact, tradition? Is it that relationship with the generations that come before me and the institutions that they have left? It is the past that comes near me, touches me, absorbs me, and surrounds me. But there are ancient traditions and those that are still alive; fossilisations and caricatures of traditions. Furthermore, there are good and generous traditions, and those that are bad and evil, stenching, or deathly. What

> is the relationship between institutions and traditions? Do traditions select, save the good, obscure the disturbing and deathly? Do they lead us or do they deceive us? What is the authority of traditions and how do they affect the individual?[51]

Oral traditions exist in personal recall, in interviews, and are easily historicized in both individual and collective memories and contexts. This notion of oral tradition as history is also asserted by Jan Vansina, who reminds us that "reminiscences become family traditions known and told by one or more people even after the death of the person whose reminiscences they were."[52] Within indigenous communities, oral histories and traditions are woven together in the process of remembering and forgetting, but are more closely aligned to collective memory theories than the individual acts of composure referred to by oral historians. The "trauma" of colonial injustice here is felt more keenly, and explained more coherently, in a collective tribal memory that highlights and enables genealogies and indigeneity as crucial to community within which each individual finds his or her place, belonging, and identity. This aspect of native memory making is vital and shares a certain level of activism visible in oral history memory theories. In theorizing these tensions in power and oppression, Richard Crownshaw and Selma Leyesdorff point out that "recent work [in oral history] has particularly exciting applications in colonial and postcolonial studies," particularly in the accentuating of subjective memories that advance human agency and autonomy.[53] Although most oral historians focus on the individual and collective memory binary in memory theory, Ngāti Porou oral history initially considers the indigenous and colonial distinctions in the tribe's collective memory before personal nuances.[54] Thus, what is forgotten or remembered, and what is considered history or tradition, are highly political acts, and viewed as inextricably linked and often interchangeable.

Although collective and individual memory theories such as "composure" are predominant in the work of oral historians, they are not as explicit in the study of oral traditions.[55] Nevertheless, both have significant relevance to the way indigenous communities remember, and are especially useful in illuminating the way native peoples like Ngāti Porou maintain traditions as personal and collective histories. Also evident in the individual and collective remembering developed by oral historians is the question of myth: that is, the way myths are employed and negotiated in people's lives. Myths, like collective and individual remembering, have a strong presence in oral history scholarship. Paul Thompson and Raphael Samuel, for instance, have written extensively about the "myths we live by," which below the surface, they argue, contain "residues of a magical world view" that include:

> Notions of destiny in blood embodied in self characterisation . . . often a story will pivot on a moment of revelation or truth, and in the talismanic importance attached to "extraordinary coincidence" and "pluck" it is possible to discern, concealed as a memory trace, ideas of a destiny and fate, a hidden hand guiding the subject forward.[56]

What some call "myths," are considered histories and important tribal knowledge for Ngāti Porou. Prophetic dreams and sayings are for many indigenous people not mythic fables, but vital parts of individual life scripts and family histories. The births of many of the tribe's great leaders, for instance, are accompanied by prophecies, from the revered warrior chief Tūwhakairiora to the celebrated early twentieth-century leader Sir Apirana Ngata.[57] However, the myths we live by are now powerfully entangled with other cultures and histories. Consider for instance this story recounted by Tia Neha:

> Another one [story] about the kuia (old ladies) that would be playing cards in the wharenui (meeting house), no, not in the wharenui (meeting house) in . . . [the] kāuta (cooking shed), and they looked up at the urupa (graveyard) and there was this light, and there was this man that came in, came into the whare, and basically he sat down and played with them, and they were having jokes and whatnot, and then one of the kuia dropped her card and looked down and Hika! (oh man!) this fella had one hoof, and one shoe, and I don't know whether this was myth, or this was kōrero pono (a true story), but that remained in me as a kid, and so whenever we went back to the coast I was too scared to go to the toilet in case I'd see that man with the hoof . . . and about a year ago I was having a kōrero (chat) with mum and I said, "I read somewhere in one of your biblical passages that the man with the hoof may be described, half man, half beast, may be described as Lucifer, or the Demon, the Devil," and she said "That is one explanation."[58]

For many Ngāti Porou people, the "hoofed man" is a figure that appeared with the arrival of European stories, particularly the Bible, but is not a part of precolonial tribal history. Joan Metge has argued that for Māori, myths are both "historical and ahistorical," but are always contemporary constructions where "time is annihilated" as the past is "brought into the present."[59] An explanation of myth from a Ngāti Porou perspective was offered by Apirana Mahuika during his interview:

> For us mythical is 'pūrākau' . . . I remember when we were little, at night, because there was no power and you would try and go to sleep,

> and then you get people to give you a pūrākau, a story, that you make up going around the room. And the sooner you sleep the better off you are, you know, because, we always were mātaku kēhua (afraid of ghosts) in those days. And so, if you can get someone to talk you a long pūrakau it can give you time to sleep. And so, I remember all sorts of pūrākau. These were myths—made-up stories—koina te pūrākau ki te Māori (that is the myth to the Māori). But legends are kōrero tahito (ancient stories/histories), mo tētahi tangata, mo tētahi iwi (for people and tribes). Koina te (that is the) legend. He tangata rongonui (a renowned person). Koina te legend, tēna mea te tangata. Tūwhakairiora ki a tātou (that is who Tūwhakairiora the person is to us)—the legend because he was one of our warrior ancestors. For me, Umuariki is a legend because he was one of our warrior ancestors that also relates back to us.'[60]

The notion of what is real and imaginary, "made-up stories," as opposed to an account of historical accuracy are not unfamiliar distinctions for native people.[61] As Api pointed out, what some call legend or myth, Māori reinterpret and magnify in the skills and status of a person, thus presenting histories that are deeply laden with imagery and metaphor to deliver and assert a cultural understanding of an event or historical subject.[62] Writing on family myths in oral history testimonies, Jane Moodie points out that myths can be identified by "the use of certain stereotyped images, and the connotations of particular words, as well as by attitudes and behaviours."[63] This lifting of models, or stereotypes, from "pre-established frameworks" is, as Jean Peneff claims, not an unusual process in life narratives.[64] Indeed, myth in oral history interpretive theory, as Ron Grele notes, work as "organizing principles of memory," which are "crucial to the construction of a collective vision of the past—a history."[65] This is certainly the case in Ngāti Porou, where so-called myths in the tribe's oral history are viewed by people as history:

> That takes me back to Māui, when Māui was fishing on the ocean. He didn't fish New Zealand out of the sea. He witnessed the splitting of the continents. So, it's been turned into a myth. No, it's true. He saw the big land mass splitting up. He heard the rumble of the ocean from beneath before the land sunk, and lands erupted from the sea to divide Hawaiiki-nui into the countries that they are today. No fable. No mystery—but a fact. If one bothered to push those land masses back together, they'd fit neatly like a jigsaw puzzle.[66]

Anaru Kupenga's articulation of tradition as history here is connected to the shifting of tectonic plates noted in the seismic event that is said to have fractured Gondwanaland creating the various South Pacific land masses we inhabit today.[67] His interpretation of the Māui legend as valid history accentuates the historical relevance of myth in his own indigenous cultural frame of reference. Like Anaru, most of the other interviewees considered their oral history to be history, not myth: a deliberate differentiation that underscored for them the legitimacy and "truth" of tribal knowledge.[68] This rejection of myth reflects a resistance to outside definitions that have distorted and displaced indigenous oral history as a suspect mythology.[69] However, for oral historians a more analytical appreciation of myth is one of the strengths in oral history theory. Of the significance of myth Paul Thompson and Raphael Samuel write that:

> Myths are a way not only of structuring memory but also of exploring experience. . . . In such instances mythical accounts of the past can powerfully evoke the ways in which life was formerly experienced and perceived. Myth may take us closer to past meanings and certainly to subjectivity than thick description and the painstaking accumulation of fact.[70]

Far from problematic and unreliable, myths in oral history are welcomed for what they reveal about memory rather than fact or fiction.[71] Furthermore, because oral testimony is "pre-eminently an expression and representation of culture," specific "dimensions of memory" such as myth are seen to be best understood within their local contexts.[72] This has resonance for Ngāti Porou, who maintain that their oral history and traditions should be understood within their own epistemological frameworks. To this extent, the interpretive theory related to myth has considerable relevance to indigenous oral histories because it allows it to breathe, yet at once actively interrogates those "mythical elements" that are vital to its evolving shape and form.[73]

Like memory, myth is also a theory advanced more in the oral history literature than it is the work of oral traditionalists. Within the study of oral tradition, myth is often narrowly defined in contrast to historical fact, and therefore reduces indigenous oral histories and traditions to fairy tales and the unreal. Oral historians, on the other hand, focus more on the subjective and psychoanalytic utility of myth in the way groups and individuals organize memories and tell stories. Subsequently, theories in oral tradition differ markedly from oral history when it comes to the analysis of myth, the former generally content to accept myth as less reliable accounts, while the latter intrigued by the use of myth in the way the past is massaged into cultural meaning and realities.

Retheorizing Oral History Narratives and Formulas

Narrative theories are also significant interpretive approaches employed in the study of oral traditions and histories. The narrative "turn," as Mary Chamberlain writes, has added a much-needed degree of sophistication to the understanding of oral history narratives, shifting the focus from the "observable and measurable to the symbolic and semiotic."[74] Telling the story is an important art form in the indigenous world, and in Ngāti Porou the transmission of history has long been crafted in the interplay between multiple orators. Reflecting on memories of his father's generation, Whaimutu Dewes recalls that when they got together "they'd talk . . . and tell tales to each other."[75] Passing on tribal oral traditions and histories, although left to specifically skilled orators, is a communal narrative construction for Ngāti Porou more than an autobiographical account.[76] With the advent of writing and print, the traditions and history of previously oral cultures have been reshaped in collisions between new and old narrative structures.[77] For instance, Rewiti Kohere in his autobiography tells a series of short stories that are general tribal histories. Here he recounts an incident that connects to the naming of one of our most famous leaders:

> Te Rangitaukiwaho, a chief, was strongly advised not to put out to sea, for the moon was in its *takirau* phase and the sea would be rough, or *kani*. The chief replied that he was aware of the fact but he was prepared to risk the *takirau*. He and all his crew perished when sailing off the notoriously dangerous Tauhinu Point, off Tokararangi reef, and a child which was born later was given the name Te Kani-ā-Takirau. This child grew up to be the great Tologa Bay Chief known throughout New Zealand.[78]

More than an autobiography, Rewiti's life history is also a narrative of the tribe as a whole, of its places, people, events, and politics. It is typical of oral history in Ngāti Porou. This personal, yet collective and traditional, history reads as "life lived like a story," an approach familiar to those who study oral traditions, such as Julie Cruickshank, who accentuates the use of "tradition" in the life narratives she found among Athapaskan women in the Yukon territory.[79] For Ngāti Porou, the narrative traditions maintained in formal rituals observe a specific protocol, from the acknowledgment of the natural world, places and local people, specific commemoration of the deceased, to all the genealogies relevant to those people and places. However, in these oral histories, as John Coleman notes, the "focus of the day" governs the structure of the narrative:

> Everything also referred to the gathering of the day, or the focus (kaupapa) of the day, and the two tribes getting together or the two hapū (kin groups) getting together, and reflects on whether we've gone there for the opening of a meeting house or a dining room.[80]

Telling stories together, as a group, accentuates a collective rather than personal narrative approach. William Schneider observes that these types of gatherings highlight a "neglected genre of oral history," different from interviews, which tend to consist of "people asking questions."[81] In this way both the study of oral history and tradition draw on narrative theories, with oral traditionalists interested more in collective storytelling, while oral historians often focusing on individual life narratives. For both scholars, the linguistic and literary aspects in narrative theories offer various insights. The semiotic conceptualization of culture, for instance, lifted from linguistic and anthropological study has particular relevance for those who work with the oral traditions of indigenous communities.[82] Likewise, paying closer attention to the construction of narratives in biographical life histories is of specific value to oral historians, who contemplate the processes of meaning, time, imagination, memory, and subjectivity in their interactive interviews.[83] Indeed, the connection between narrative and memory has been an important theoretical strand in oral history.[84] Drawing on the work of Alan Megill, some oral historians have highlighted the "conceptual coherence" at work in narrative scales, from micronarratives, to grand and metanarratives, each with their own emphasis.[85] These layers can also be seen in the multiple narrative scales forged through personal and collective memories in Ngāti Porou. Turuhira Tatare, for instance, recalls:

> . . . going to the water at midnight, and frightened of ghosts, even the hooting of an owl would make us jump, scream, and carry on, and we had to go to the water barefooted, but there was no smacking of a child, there was too much tapu, but then that was a good guideline for us, don't touch people's properties. When you're told don't it means don't. You know, don't eat in the meeting house, you eat at the table. There was always prayer (karakia). And you're praying for all sorts, you're praying for guidance, and you're paying homage to Tangaroa (deity of the sea), to the departmental Gods. And you're also taught to pray, but you're never told why there was such a religion as the Ringatū until we reached the age of about fourteen I think, no sixteen sorry, when our tohunga (priest) died . . . he was, and then I asked. Some religions say the Lord's Prayer right through, why is it that we finish the Lord's Prayer halfway? I didn't know the answer until many years later, but those questions were still on my mind, and then I found that Te Kooti

> started the Ringatū faith, and that he was still in the era of the man-eating stage at that time, so he took the Lord's Prayer halfway. It was only when Jesus Christ was made known to us that's why we completed the Lord's Prayer.[86]

At the center of her story is a personal negotiation with various narrative layers, in this case, the competing metanarratives of Christianity and traditional tribal cosmological narratives and epistemologies. These deep narratives of creation, human purpose, and moral conduct are important to Turuhira because they work to inform her interpretations of other narrative layers in the interview. Thus, based on her underlying narrative constructions, she later refers to Europeans (Pākehā) as "the rebels" in a counternarrative that reframes New Zealand history within a story about struggle and resistance rather than progress and colonization.[87]

Beyond the micro- and metanarrative structures, other oral historians such as Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet have urged scholars to consider various narrative models. She notes three specific types: the epic that reveals "an identification with the values of the community"; the romanesque, which considers "the quest for authentic values in a degraded world"; and the picaresque, "an ironical and satirical position in relation to hegemonic values."[88] These narrative models also have particular relevance to the way our people told their stories, albeit within more local and distinctive archetypes. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, for instance, spoke of her life in three major epochs:

> Here I am, next month I'll be seventy-nine, year after I'll be eighty. I was born in 1929, and I think in everybody's lives there are certain milestones that become key milestones . . . my life has been, sort of, every twenty years has been a significant happening, and I'm going to talk about that to start off with because 1929 I was born. 1949 I was married, and my son was born. That's first twenty years. Second twenty years from 49 to 69, your relation my husband died, Porourangi in 1969, so that was the second twenty years. . . . The third twenty years was not so much that anybody died, but in 1989 Maori Affairs died. I was working in Maori Affairs and it was disestablished in '89, so it was another twenty-year period. Also this twenty-year time factor applies to the Kôhanga Reo movement (language revitalization movement). I was appointed to manage the movement in 1982, and so in 2002 I was going around the country with the trustees, and Te Arikinui, Dame te Ata was with us, and as we were going around to the different rohes celebrating the twenty years anniversary . . . we were moving on from Mataatua to Tairawhiti Gisborne, and I suddenly realized, my goodness

> this is twenty years we're celebrating, and I made up my mind in the car on the way to Gisborne that I would seriously consider stepping down.... I guess what I'm saying is that in my life, and in anybody's life, there are significant happenings and milestones, and so the twenty-year thing for me has always had a significance for me.[89]

Iritana's narrative is a story of service, divided by three significant moments or "happenings." She is a survivor, an agitator, and activist; her narrative is a combination of the epic and romanesque model, but only inasmuch as they relate to the values of *our* tribal community. The narrative model interpretive theory here opens up possibilities, which can only be realized once they have been reconfigured within indigenous cultural frames of reference. Taking the narrator's cultural understandings into account is a familiar issue for those who study both oral histories and traditions. Writing of narrative in oral history, Mary Chamberlain argues that "what is remembered, when and why is moulded by the culture in which they live, the language at their disposal and the conventions and the genre appropriate to the occasion."[90] Similarly, in regard to indigenous life histories and traditions, Julie Cruickshank observes that:

> Narrators who make sense of apparent archaic imagery are utilizing a traditional dimension of cultural life as a resource that translates and makes sense of their life experiences. I would argue that storytelling is central to their intellectual tradition and that we should pay attention to how it continues to be a communicative act.[91]

Most of the stories told in the interviews undertaken in this study referred explicitly to Ngāti Porou imagery and epistemology. In reference to carving, identity, and history, Derek Lardelli spoke of the "manaia" (mouthpiece of the people) and the "iro" (the maggot that turns a negative space into a positive one), while many others referred to the customs and ethics related to senior (tuakāna) and junior (taina) lines, and other genealogical relationships. Some, like Turuhira Tatare and Te Kapunga Dewes, made reference to meeting houses (wharenui) and schools of learning (whare wānanga), and the deeply poetic nature of our language and storytelling. Others, like Anaru Kupenga, made mention of the environment, and the cosmological and theological relationships embedded in local histories and practices. Here, he refers to the process undertaken by the tohunga whakairo (expert carver):

> He utters his prayers before he's selected the tree to cut down and take its life, knowing full well that the trees, the birds, and the fishes were the first creations of Io (Io is considered a deity by some), they were

> his tuakana (seniors), he was the last of all creation, so he utters his prayers asking forgiveness before he cut them down. In cutting it down he returned the beauty back to the tree in the form of a carving, giving the tree or that carving life to speak again, but in a form that can be left as a message for coming generations. He didn't take a life just for the sake of it, he dared to do that knowing full well that was his tuakana. So those were just one of the many aids that he used to erect houses and so on and so forth.[92]

Applying narrative theories to an exploration of the oral histories or traditions of individuals and groups requires an understanding of their epistemological foundations. Narrative interpretive analyses, however, are not explicitly oral history or oral tradition theories, but show how both are entangled in the process of storytelling and narrative construction. Storytelling then, whether in a one-on-one interview or woven together from the paepae (where formal oratory takes place) are already imbued with prior "content," or ideologies that locate them within specific contexts as both histories and traditions.[93] The difference between oral history and tradition, then, is not identifiable in the method or theory, but the underlying perspective from which they are heard and disseminated. Nevertheless, narrative theories offer significant relevance and value to interpretive research in indigenous oral history, particularly biographical interviews. Anna Green, for instance, has observed that "sometimes a person will identify the 'key' to the composition of their narrative, pointing to an early event or experience that set the direction of his or her life."[94] This was the case in many of the interviews, and was perhaps most obvious in Materoa Collins narrative, where she recalled an important story about her father that she believes shaped the trajectory of her life:

> He left school when he was legally able to in those days, and I'm not sure whether he made it to thirteen or fourteen, when he left school. He left school an intelligent person, really really intelligent man. What happened to him that finally drove him out was (a) you couldn't speak Māori, and he could only speak Māori, and (b) he got into a bit of an altercation with a teacher there. The night before he had burned his hand getting something off the fire: his hand had blistered, but the next day at school his hand was bandaged, wrapped up, and had some rongoa (medicine) on it from his nanny. One of his mates had stolen some fruit, and he had eaten it as well, and the teacher finds out and he goes to give everybody the strap because of eating this fruit, and so dad being dad "yeah, I ate it," holds out his unburned hand, but the teacher asked for the burned one, and he took the bandages off and strapped

> him on that hand. And it opened up his blisters. He took the strapping and told the teacher where to stick his school, and then he left. And so for him, he felt that education was what we needed, and Māori was not. So, he refused to teach his kids Māori. He refused, he kept saying, "It's not going to get you anywhere," but my nanny who didn't speak English . . . that Māori in me was planted and blossomed.[95]

Materoa went on to carve out a long career in teaching, predominantly with Māori children. Reflecting on her life, this story is a pivotal part of her journey. The "key" to the life narrative, like the one expressed by Materoa, is in some ways similar to the idea of a "peripeteia," or turning point, which others like Jason Koia noted in their life stories:[96]

> I went back to a funeral (tangi), and it started raining. Next minute . . . this light came down from the sky and it shone on this headstone, and it was the tallest headstone in the urupa (graveyard). . . as it came down I saw the Waiapu valley around and I got this warm feeling, this really strong warm feeling. It was strength, I couldn't describe it, it gave me goose-bumps . . . it was a really warm awesome feeling. And basically, it just said, it was like freedom, "come back and help your people." That's what it said, and I didn't know it. I was working at Woolworths then . . . and I was slaving away as you do—you know, Māori are good workers . . . and I thought, "you know I'm sick and tired of having Pākehā bosses that sit on their arse and do absolutely nothing, while I'm doing work and their getting paid more than me . . . it's not right! We should be Kings and Queens on our own soil, and here we are being fodder, being laborers, being honest, while other people are getting wealthy and prosperous off our backs". . . and so I was chopping my cabbages, and that's when I made my decision, "I ain't working for a white man for the rest of my life," so I just quit my job.[97]

Jason's turning point is marked in a vision, a spiritual experience, which serves as an awakening that later accounts for his opposition to the Ngāti Porou settlement claim mandate. Interpreting the narrative, particularly the way it is organized and composed, requires an understanding of the way the storyteller engages with the motifs and themes evident in their communities. These, as Alessandro Portelli suggests, can often include "standing up to the big man" or "personal confrontations with figures of institutional authority."[98] In Jason's story it is the slothful Pākehā boss, and later in his interview the deceitful and oppressive tribal governing body, while for Materoa it is the institution and colonial system that betrayed not only her father, but Māori as a whole.

Storytelling is a crucial aspect of both oral history interviewing and the study of oral traditions. However, oral traditions are also regularly employed in the interactive biographies common to life narratives and are therefore inseparable from what some call "oral histories." Closely linked to theories of memory, narrative interpretive analyses deal predominantly with the ways individuals shape their histories, yet not always with the ways in which oral histories are produced in specific contexts. Elizabeth Tonkin, among others, has noted how the social and cultural context contributes to the way narratives are told.[99] Indeed, within indigenous communities, an understanding of oral traditions and history requires a reconsideration of these terms as native oral history. By looking at indigenous cultural dimensions, the expansive realities of both oral history and oral tradition shift between personal negotiations of collective scripts reiterated in private and public contexts. In these spaces, narrative and memory theories are equally relevant, yet many who study oral traditions within communities that have a strong oral culture employ oral formulaic theories which they apply to ballads and songs.[100] The oral formulaic theory, advanced in the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord, deals with "repeated word groups," with standard stock phrases, and the way these are metrically employed in an explicitly oral composition.[101] However, the irony of most oral formulaic theory research is that it is carried out with written sources to ascertain whether the song or ballad was at one stage conveyed orally. It is a theory of memory, but not with the same emphasis as collective memory or composure. Walter Ong, for instance, observes that:

> In a primary oral culture, to solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence. Your thoughts must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antithesis, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulary expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's helper, and so on), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone, so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall or in other mnemonic form.[102]

Considering the memorization of "traditions" as an oral formulaic act has some relevance to Ngāti Porou, yet is difficult to examine in a community that has been highly literate for some time.[103] The rhythmic and mnemonic "patterns" were not specifically addressed by the interviewees, nevertheless, they did note the process of remembering as a repetitious activity that mimicked the tone, phrases, and orality of their teachers and mentors. Tia Neha recalls that the oral

dimensions of songs and stories were "modelled" and practiced for hours every week over a select period of time.[104] Her mother, Ihipera Morrell, pointed out that this oral transmission was similar to the way she learned in her generation to "imitate" the oral expressions of their matriarchs (kuia).[105] Memorizing oral compositions, as Angela Tibble contended, has changed, though, because on the one hand the songs and histories could be "caught" when you "go to the pā (tribal village)" and others "sing them," but are now often learned outside of these rituals in artificial contexts.[106] Indeed, songs, as Prince Ferris observed, were predominantly learned now by "paper" rather than by ear.[107]

Parry and Lord's oral formula has become one of the key theories in the literature on oral tradition, but is largely used by ethnomusicologists and folklorists. Some scholars have argued that it is an outmoded "phase in the history of Homeric scholarship," while others such as Merit Sale have leapt to its defense, arguing that "oral composition is consistent with considerably more individual freedom in the use of formulae than Parry appears to permit."[108] This theory of orality and memory rarely features in the writing of oral historians, but has been considered in the work of scholars who explore "traditional" Māori songs. Margaret Orbell, for instance, claims that Māori traditional "songs were not improvised" but "constructed largely from set themes and expressions" of which the oral-formulaic theory is unable to fully account or explain.[109] Similarly, in a more recent study, Raukura Roa argues that "although there is little evidence for the extensive use of oral formulae in traditional mōteatea, there is nevertheless not only compelling evidence of extensive use of formulaic themes, but also evidence of the use of formulaic structuring."[110] As both assert, the oral formulaic theory has considerable relevance to the study of Māori songs (mōteatea), but is more a matter of formulaic structuring than metric conditioning. For Māori, this theoretical approach has application to further study regarding the way their oral history is structured and disseminated. Indeed, as Iritana Tawhiwhirangi observed in her interview, traditional songs were rehearsed over and over again in "an essentially oral environment," where the set expressions in speeches and songs were highly repetitious.[111] Tribal oral history, in Whaimutu Dewes's experience, are told verbally "over and over again" drawing on set stories, themes, and motifs.[112] The oral formulaic theory then supports the notion of a sophisticated remembering in communities that maintain strong oral customs and conventions, yet is limited by its focus on ballads and songs.

As an approach to the study of oral tradition, the oral formulaic theory pays only partial attention to interpretations of culture, despite the fact that it is heavily used by ethnographers. Like memory studies, culture is a topic explored across many disciplines, and is popular in anthropology, where structural and functionalist theories have been developed in the work of scholars such as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Bronislaw Malinowski.[113] Focused on "symbolic rituals" as a means

of investigating culture, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz also proposed that a type of "thick description" could highlight symbolic behaviors evident in wider society.[114] Influenced by Geertz's theory, the cultural historian Robert Darnton produced an "anthropological history" in which he explored the symbolic significance surrounding the torture and massacre of cats in Paris toward the end of the eighteenth century.[115] These theories, a blend of linguistic and literary hermeneutics, as well as symbolic and synchronic structural and functionalist theories, have relevance to the way indigenous oral histories might be explored. Indeed, understanding our symbolic and ritual conventions is essential to the study and interpretation of our oral histories, as Derek Lardelli has pointed out: "He tangata mōhio ki te whakairo i te kupu (A person who knows how to carve out words), whakairo i te rakau (to carve wood), whakairo whare (carve houses), te hinengaro (and the mind)" will know how to engage with, research, and present our oral histories and traditions on multiple levels.[116] To know indigenous theories is to understand their form, the methods used to disseminate them, and the protocols that govern the way they are communicated.

Specific templates and linguistic scripts provide insights to the way indigenous people theorize the world. This includes a politics of activism that declares "kua kingi mai anō au i aku tipuna/I am a King already by my lineage." Native theories, like Ngāti Porou histories, are embedded in songs and proverbs. For Matanuku Mahuika it was haka—like Te Kiringutu—that he invoked to theorize his working life as a lawyer. Indigenous peoples draw on these scripts to construct their identities, from songs similar to this one composed by Ngoi Pewhairangi:

> If you're from Tokomaru, Tūranga, Te Araroa
> Any place beyond that smoky East Coast line
> Then you're from Naati
> From Ngāti Porou
> 'Cause I'm from Naati too.[117]

Ngoi's song repeats the underlying messages found in other proverbs, sayings, genealogical renditions, haka, and chants that affirm Ngāti Porou tribal identity. In this sense, native theories define the indigenous person and community, and are "lived" in the very context that gives shape and meaning to oral history sources and practice in communities like Ngāti Porou. Grounded in an indigenous world, collective memory theory is best described within the theoretical dimensions of genealogy. This has already been addressed in this study in the words of various tribal spokespeople like Api Mahuika, Wayne Ngata, and Herewini Parata, who stressed the importance of inclusivity and nuanced realities in genealogy: that collective and individual memories in indigenous

living genealogical lives are always a negotiation and disruption. Similarly, the duality in structuralism can be seen in Ngāti Porou understandings of "ahi kaa roa/the long-burning fires of occupation" and "kauruki tū roa/the long-ascending smoke," as well as the deeper political divisions we see between indigenous occupier status and the unsettled national colonial identity.[118] Likewise, indigenous theoretical understandings of myth can perhaps best be observed in the continual evocation of the stories told in songs and haka, such as "Rūaumoko," which recounts a famous historical incident between Uenuku and Tutaua in archaic and metaphorical allusions:

... ko te rakau a Tungawerewere	... It is the rod of Tungawerewere
he rakau tapu nā Tutaua ki a Uenuku,	the sacred stick given by Tutaua to Uenuku
I patukuia ki te tipua o Rangitopeka	It struck the monster Te Rangitopeka
pakaru te ūpoko ō Rangitopeka	and smashed the head of Te Rangitopeka
Patua ki waenganui o te tau ki Hikurangi	Cleaving the twin peaks of Hikurangi
he toka whakairo e tū ake nei	where the carved rock emerges
He Atua! He Tangata! He Atua!	a gift of the gods! a gift of men!
He Tangata! Ho!	The wonder of men! the miracle of Heaven![119]

Myths in Ngāti Porou are different from pūrakau or "made-up stories," but are highly imaginative and historical. The haka "Rūaumoko" refers to the earthquake god, but the event commemorated here recalls the provocative phallic dance of Tutaua used to entertain and amuse the high chief Uenuku so as to avoid the likelihood of an impending death—a common fate for many of his food-bearers.[120] Retelling events such as these accentuate the fabulous and "legendary" that Apirana Mahuika noted in the story of Māui, and are deeply metaphorical so as not to "give the full answer," keeping it safely "reserved."[121] Ngāti Porou then theorize myth, not as fantasy or the unreal, but elaborate histories that draw on the deeply symbolic and metaphorical motifs and terms found in Māori epistemologies. To this extent the oral formulaic theory also has relevance to indigenous aural transmission and can been seen in oratory and recurrent phrases similar to the incantation uttered by Anaru Kupenga during his interview:

Nā te kukune te pupuke,	From the conception comes the increase,
nā te pupuke te hihiri,	from the increase comes the thought,
nā te hihiri te mahara,	from the thought comes the remembrance,
nā te mahara te hinengaro,	from the remembrance comes the consciousness,
nā te hinengaro te manako.	from the consciousness comes the desire.[122]

Here the rhythmic and repetitive is framed in set expressions, but connected to key themes in our world: in this case an intellectual genealogy that accounts for the "birth" and development of consciousness and desire.[123] Exploring the discursive elements beyond the formulaic theory in Ngāti Porou requires an advanced knowledge of the language, and insight to the way they theorize themselves and their world. Theory offers a conceptual lens to the interpretation of "reality" and the significance of the "imaginary," yet not all realities are the same.

Ngāti Porou theories offer a considered and reflective indication of an indigenous reality, are not abstract or ethereal, but are informed with specific aspirations that give meaning and purpose to the way they decode the world around them. On one level it deals with the esoteric, the "kauae runga" (the upper jaw), or the spiritual, holistic, and religious. While on another level, it accounts for "te ao o te tangata" (the world of man) or the "kauae raro" (lower jaw), which involves "operational tasks," including the "implementing and interpretations of the esoteric."[124] It also latches itself together in the parent vines of genealogy that account for relationships, responsibilities, collectives, and multiple identities. At its heart, indigenous theories entwine and encapsulate the steadfast political aims of self-determination that at times celebrate the role of female leaders in a reconfigured gendered and feminist view that is a deep part of the historical narrative. This theory of autonomy is one of action, in which "manaaki ki te tangata/ the service for others" is weaved together with declarations of exceptionalism that remind natives who they are and who they represent. These theories of the self are rehearsed and passed on in the words of tribal songs that recount not only the past, but inherited ideas across generations:

> Whakaangi i runga rā he kauwhau ariki ē, koi tata iho koe ki ngā wāhi noa.
>
> Soar gracefully on high, O chieftainess, and do not descend too near to the common places.[125]

Genealogy, as these lines remind us, remains a powerfully interpretive lens into the roles and identities transmitted in indigenous oral histories.[126] Understanding these roles, and more importantly the responsibilities that are embedded in the claim for autonomy and power, is a theoretical premise that runs throughout native knowledge systems. It accounts for service and hospitality, ethics, and the underlying rationale that governs indigenous moral, social, and cultural codes. In relation to oral history, the active realities in Māori theoretical foundations transform their oral traditions and oral histories into living and breathing adornments. They are vigorously defended, not because Māori believe every sentence to be true, but because they are invaluable to the explication of each

tribe's past, present, and future. Thus, in affirming oral history as living tribal history and tradition, the interviewees were unanimous, all in consensus with this view summed up by Derek Lardelli:

> Ki tāku, kei te ora te taha ō te rongo. Kei te ora te taha ā waha. Haere ki konei ngā āhuatanga hou pēnei ko te rorohiko, pēnei te tuhituhi, engari, ā waha, mai te māmā, mai te kōkā ki te tamaiti, te kōrero-ā-waha tenei. E kore rawa e ngaro nei. . . . Kei reira tonu te oral tradition. Kei reira tonu te oral tradition. . . . We'll never ever lose it, ever.
>
> To me, the listening is still alive, and the oratory is ongoing. New technologies have arrived here, like the computer, like writing, but, from our mouths, from the mothers, and from the mother to the child, this is word of mouth, and it will not be lost. . . . The oral tradition is still there, it is still there. . . . We'll never ever lose it, ever.[127]

This is a statement more than an observation, connected to a tribal assertion of activism and autonomy, a theory of action that accentuates indigenous intellectual and political ideas. In the rich tapestry that displays indigenous oral history and tradition, the methods used to illuminate the form of native oral histories are embroidered with theories that are weaved together in local political and epistemological foundations. The textures, patterns, and shapes displayed reflect specific tints and colors that shimmer off the twin peaks of each sacred mountain: a symbol of Māori the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual center. How else can we understand and explain the ways in which oral history and oral tradition might be seen and understood from a Ngāti Porou perspective? Moreover, how could anyone else hope to explore and tell these indigenous histories, employ a method, or advance a hypothesis, until they have become familiar with the intricate strands that tie the tribe's theoretical perspectives together?

Rethinking Oral History Theory

There are a number of theories that are considered "key" interpretive approaches in the studies of oral history and oral tradition. However, not all researchers—or practitioners—in these disciplines have been mindful of the fact that theory informs the methods they employ. This chapter began with the assertion that an appreciation of "theory" is crucial to a more informed understanding of the study of oral history and/or oral tradition. A deeper consideration of theory reveals the fact that they are social, cultural, and politically constructed phenomena. Thus for Ngāti Porou, external theoretical strands are constantly interwoven

within an epistemology that recenters and retheorizes the world based on our local patterns.

Scholars in oral history and oral tradition have developed different types of memory theories that have become key approaches used in each discipline. Oral historians, for instance, have advanced collective memory theory, noting the way individuals remember as part of wider groups. The collective memory is congruent with Ngāti Porou theories of whakapapa (genealogy), where individuals are always part of the wider bloodlines they inherit. Some oral traditionalists are aware of this, particularly Elizabeth Tonkin and Julie Cruickshank, who emphasize the fact that "we are our memories" and note the part tradition plays in indigenous recall. Nevertheless, collective memory is a key theory in oral history scholarship more than oral tradition. Likewise, the theory of composure is also attributed to oral history research, yet in Ngāti Porou it is rather a lack of composure that highlights the way people struggle against the subsuming public memories created by the colonizers. This binary, and selective, process of remembering and forgetting in "composure" is not necessarily distinctive of either a study of oral history or tradition, but relative to both despite the fact it is predominant in oral history scholarship. Indeed, oral traditions exist in personal recall and in interviews, and are easily historicized in both individual and collective contexts and negotiations. Thus, in the study of oral tradition and oral history, remembering is a key theoretical premise to both groups. However, indigenous oral histories and traditions are more closely aligned to collective remembering through the retheorized patterns that assert a more coherent tribal memory, which serves as a strategic identity in the advancement of native autonomy and self-determination.

Another key theoretical focus in oral history is myth. This has not been as highly developed in the literature in oral tradition, which tends to treat myth as unreliable and fictitious. Myths in indigenous contexts are not necessarily the same interpretations of myth maintained by non-indigenous peoples. Thus, for Ngāti Porou, myth, or pūrakau, can be "made-up stories," but are also associated with oral histories, which are considered fact more than fiction. In this regard, oral history theories of myth are highly relevant to indigenous communities because they acknowledge the strength of myth in the construction of subjective realities. This interpretive theory in oral history is significant because it seeks to understand myths from the perspectives of the narrators, yet interrogates the mythical "elements" evident in their retelling.

In conjunction with myth and memory, narrative, or storytelling, is also a key theoretical approach employed by both oral historians and oral traditionalists. Indigenous peoples draw on multiple narrators as a matter of cultural tradition and convention, yet the voice they take is a voice shared, which has responsibility as a conduit to the tribe as a whole. Thus, there are no single storytellers.

This is similar to the ideas found by some who study the oral traditions of other indigenous peoples, noting the way they live "life as a story" in the pulling together of their tribal histories: a practice some believe is a neglected aspect of oral history. Nevertheless, oral historians have developed exceptionally useful narrative theories linked to the construction predominantly of life narrative or biographical interviews. They draw on narrative scales, the key to narratives, turning points, and the structure of narrative in epic, romanesque, or picaresque, terms. These were evident in the interviews in this study but were reshaped in "counter" narratives that highlighted Māori theoretical conceptions of activism and autonomy. Moreover, this storytelling, whether in a one-on-one interview or woven together in specific cultural rituals, is imbued with "content" that retheorizes it in proactive scripts that generally advocated underlying tribal political and cultural objectives.

Beyond the theories of memory, myth, and narrative, popular in oral history, oral traditionalists have developed a specific type of memory theory in the oral formula that tests the aural authenticity of epic poetry and ballads. This repetitive and rhythmic mnemonic structuring is also evident in many indigenous oral histories, and can be seen in songs, incantations, oratory, and other modes of expression. However, the oral formulaic theory focused on metric and linguistic evidence tends to neglect the deeper cultural components that influence aural memory, tradition, and history. Indeed, the more immediate cultural frameworks transform and retheorize external theoretical strands. It has argued that a deeper understanding of indigenous theory allows scholars to see how collective memory and composure are renegotiated by genealogy and self-determination. Reading the patterns of indigenous theory highlights the way the oral formula is present within native oral histories. Resituated in these theories, myths are accounted for as pūrakau and traditional narrative, rather than dismissed as fiction or fact. Most important, an indigenous theoretical realignment brings tribal political and activist approaches to the fore, and transforms oral tradition and oral history to indigenous histories. Although similarities and differences between oral history and oral tradition can be seen in the form and method, it is the politics and theoretical developments that illuminate the most significant distinctions. For indigenous peoples it can be found in the adornment created in a sophisticated interweaving of theories that redesigns method and gives shape and meaning to the oral histories and traditions we call our own.

8

The Indigenous Truth of Oral History

Indigenous perspectives are hard to find in the popular handbooks and guides that dominate the fields of oral history today. This is hardly surprising for native peoples who have witnessed the appropriation and displacement of our knowledge as a part of the long and still present colonial process. Whether the topic is education, law, governance, politics, or history, indigenous perspectives tend to be treated as alternative views or disregarded altogether. Indigenous oral history, for instance, has for some time been reframed as suspect oral traditions or dismissed entirely as the "prehistory" of uncivilized peoples. While indigenous knowledge and perspectives are welcomed in some established academic disciplines, they are too often expected to conform to, or reside within, "mainstream" definitions and frameworks. In these contexts, indigenous perspectives are sometimes "added" as subfields or given token acknowledgment as an interesting supplement. Indigenous practices and understandings of oral histories are not alternatives, but reflect the underlying truth that oral history has always been more than simply an interview methodology driven by a supposed "democratic impulse" to amplify silenced voices. The indigenous truth of oral history reveals it as a diversely political endeavor, a multidimensional practice, and multisensory product, exceedingly more complex than the narrow perceptions evident in today's popular literature. This book has disputed the idea that oral history should be thought of as a distinctively different field from oral tradition and has more broadly rejected the ghettoization of indigenous oral practice and knowledge as anything less than history. Indigenous peoples have our own ways of defining history and oral history, and Ngāti Porou natives especially define oral history on our own terms, surviving the onslaught of colonialism by retaining and asserting our views of history and orality in our own words.

For Ngāti Porou, oral history is expressed in various ways through speakers who interweave memories, songs, proverbs, and stories that present our oral history explicitly in our language. They consist of sayings, metaphors, and chants, many of which have been, and are still, used to drive home important ideas about how we transmit knowledge verbally, visually, and spiritually, in personal and

collective ways. This is a key lesson in indigenous oral history: that language is often the crucial element necessary to begin to define what oral history is for us. In the Māori world, oral history is often referred to as "kōrero tuku iho": those stories and accounts passed on verbally and orally. Oral histories in Ngāti Porou are sophisticated, nuanced, and fluid, narrations usually embedded with an awareness of the need to assert in our own language a native meaning of our world. Indigenous oral histories like those in Ngāti Porou are self-determining productions driven by collective voices and influenced by memories of colonization and oppression that have reinforced the need to uphold and affirm tribal knowledge through our native language together. To each generation, the responsibility of upholding our inherited knowledge by expressing it in our own language and terms defines oral history as essential to our shared indigenous authority as Ngāti Porou speakers. As keepers of *our* history, driven by our oral practices, language, and forms, there is little room to allow others to dictate the meaning of the past and orality or to impose their language and definitions of oral history upon us in the context of indigenous determination and empowerment today.

Indigenous oral history, then, as it expressed in Ngāti Porou is inextricably connected to an intergenerational tribal politics that aspires to do more than simply enable the marginalized to speak. It seeks to empower each voice within our collective to reconnect and reclaim power, which is only achievable through living connections from past to present together as a group. Contemporary narrators invoke previous generations and ancestral speakers, building on, advancing, and evolving what it means to be an indigenous Ngāti Porou person in the present. Oral history, then, for us is a valuable and foundational gift for future generations. This is an empowerment of the silenced that is more than simply a matter of putting people on playback and turning up the sound, as if oral history is primarily about the collection of voices from the past. It is a shared authority of a different kind that is connected intimately to the preservation of identity and the politics of that narrative memory and movement across time and into the future: it is what we would call a living oral history (what some have oversimplified as tradition). In other words, there is no such thing as a simple individual oral history in a Ngāti Porou indigenous world. It exists as part of a vibrant tribal collective that collapses what oral historians and others see as time and the binary between individual and collective identities. Those who are removed or distant from that collective reflect the trauma of displacement, colonization, and disconnection that our tribal oral history reconnections and remembering seeks to decolonize and heal.

For indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, genealogy (whakapapa) is at the heart of the ways in which we record, practice, and impart oral history. These genealogical connections accentuate "kinship obligations" and emphasize

inclusivity. This does not mean that all indigenous oral histories are homogenous essentializations. Indigenous peoples too "compose" and accent tribal stories with explicit familial and individual perspectives. In indigenous communities like Ngāti Porou there is more than enough room for individual remembering beyond the collective memories that are so important to the survival of tribal identities and knowledge. However, it is vitally important not to forget the large population of native peoples who are disconnected from "home," from their culture, language, practices, and people. Their histories are also indigenous narratives, but for many, the collective memories and oral histories they keep are no longer woven into the vital tapestry that is protected and asserted within native communities today. What do we do, then, with those indigenous oral histories held by native peoples whose voices draw primarily on the colonizers' collective memories and are disconnected from the crucial collectives of home that hold the key to their liberation, healing, and well-being? Can the authority of their voice be found and amplified by oral history methods, theories, and politics, dominated by those scholars who have inherited and proclaimed the settler colonial perspectives of indigenous oppressors?

The form of oral history sources are clearly different for indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, who see oral sources as more than merely interview recordings. Native understandings of oral history are drawn together in dynamic interweaving of theory, practice, and politics, which inform and shape native oral sources and archives. In these indigenous perspectives of oral history, oral sources are thought of as multidimensional forms beyond a simplistic orality that some have argued makes oral history different. In thinking about the form of oral history sources more broadly, then, indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou also see oral history as so much more than a methodology. Understanding oral history as complex in their form and not just the products of interview methods is critical to an accurate rendering of the indigenous past. In the creation of oral history sources there is an expectation in some native communities to value the relationship between spaces, stories, and generations, and to pay proper attention to contextualizing narratives within the nest of these relationships and their power dynamics. The separation of oral history and oral tradition as different studies is a problematic divergence that has displaced and marginalized indigenous definitions of oral history. This divergence has, in many ways, severed important relationships, where more accurate understandings of orality and history have been isolated and for indigenous peoples erased or silenced.

For Māori, the complementary relationship of oral history together with tradition remains fluid and adaptable and informs theory and practice everywhere. These are not, nor should they be, easily separable fields. Indigenous oral history is embodied, as many of our Ngāti Porou peoples attest, in a coherent and thriving theory of the past, and learning about the past, that is indivisible into

discrete fields of oral tradition and oral history. Native perspectives regarding the way oral history is produced, politicized, practiced, and theorized, should not be thought of as alternative to mainstream definitions. Indeed, the overlaps and convergences between tradition, mainstream oral history definitions, and indigenous views of these fields offer more inclusive, nuanced, and broader ways of thinking about what oral history is. The voices of those interviewed in this book reveal how Māori approaches to the past disrupt invisible but powerful binaries of voice and text, history and tradition, and sight and sound. Their narratives and experiences show how the life history method in Māori communities is where oral tradition and oral history appropriately intersect and therefore should not be thought of as two distinctively different studies.

Rethinking Oral History

To rethink oral history, we need to understand that its evolution as a modern field of study essentially repositioned indigenous oral histories as traditions, and devalued their reliability as unreliable myths and legends. In this divergence, oral history became a study in which native oral sources were repositioned as "hearsay" and transmissions "beyond the lifetime of interviewees." In oral tradition, indigenous peoples could no longer claim their oral narratives as history, and in the work of scholars like Jan Vansina were told that native traditions must first be verified by Western historical methodology before they could be considered viable history. In these studies, indigenous perspectives have never been more than alternatives to be sampled or assessed through foreign, often colonizer, frameworks. Nevertheless, native peoples still engaged with both fields, although predominantly with studies in tradition that took interest in indigenous songs, memory transmission, and the rituals and practices of oral storytelling in tribal communities. In these entanglements, indigenous peoples have taken what they can, experimented with, and at times rejected or reconsidered, the place of their histories and knowledge within these fields. A rethinking of oral history, then, should break down the walls that divide history from oral tradition and indigenous perspectives of oral history. Indigenous definitions of oral history enable these discussions to take place within specific contexts that provide insights to the various intersections where tradition and oral history practice converge and diverge. But to understand how these exchanges work, scholars need to move beyond the already dominant definitions that frame oral history methods, politics, forms, and theories. They need to learn to listen to native voices, and make room for indigenous perspectives.

Rethinking oral history requires an awareness of the various intersections where oral history has been separated from oral tradition, and how reductive

definitions of the form of oral sources and oral history practice have become normative in research globally. In rethinking oral history, a reconsidering of the purpose and validity of oral sources should also encourage oral historians to broaden the political language and ideologies in the field as much more than simply a "democratic tool" that amplifies the previously silenced. Giving voice to the voiceless, for Ngāti Porou, has not been, and is not, about fitting native experiences into an already established disciplinary universe, but is about a redistribution of power that re-centers indigenous definitions of what oral history is in the first place. A rethinking of the field of oral history, then, inclusive of indigenous perspectives deepens the very definitions of the form and methodology within which oral histories are produced and transmitted. Native politics, for instance, in today's world often emphasizes decolonization, reconciliation, reclaiming, and indigenous autonomy as significant in research regarding indigenous peoples and oral history. This rethinking of what oral history is for indigenous peoples is a much more empowering politics than a supposedly liberating democratic model imposed by invading colonial cultures. Reconsidering oral history as a discipline that no longer displaces indigenous oral history but embraces it, requires a rethink of how oral history is done, theorized, and lived in other cultures. This begins with a revisiting of oral tradition and oral history as narrowly defined fields of study that have poorly accounted-for indigenous perspectives. More important, a rethinking also needs a strong indigenous perspective that provides examples of the way native peoples themselves make sense of oral history in their own tribal contexts.

Rethinking the Form of Oral Sources

Oral history has, for many indigenous peoples, its own language, words, and phrases that best explain the form of oral sources, the practice and protocols of storytelling, speaking and listening, and history making. For Ngāti Porou, oral history is kōrero tuku iho (stories handed down), which encapsulates not only the practice of oral history, but the form of oral sources in multiple contexts. Rethinking the field of oral history from an indigenous point of view requires a correction of the way orality is understood and valued. While oral historians emphasize the orality of their sources, oral traditionalists work predominantly with written records, yet assert the orality in the forms they use predominantly in reference to perceived metric conditions. But for indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, both oral history and oral tradition are multifaceted and more than simply oral phenomena. In describing the form of oral sources Ngāti Porou speakers referred to them as multidimensional productions found in the living world and caught in osmosis. They are products of intergenerational audiences

and narrators, refined in particular settings, seen as much as heard, and always modified and evolving as they are recaptured and regurgitated in new ways. For Ngāti Porou people, the oral remains significant, but is a matter of ownership that is often locked in a binary struggle between the voice and the text. The orality of the source, or form, is then also related to the power dynamics entrenched in the term's tradition and history, where history has been equated with reliable written evidence, while tradition has been the product of unreliable oral transmission. The true nature of oral records in an indigenous Ngāti Porou setting is more than just aural, but created and acquired in visual forms, carvings, and other physical "monuments" and art forms. Māori indigenous oral history can be experienced, passed on in informal and formal settings, whenever an orator performs formal speeches (whaikōrero), tells the story, or recites and expresses chants (tauparapara) or incantations/prayers (karakia). Thus, the sophisticated tapestry of oral history and oral tradition for indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou are complex and complementary, rather than distinctly oral or textual. The indigenous truth of oral history in living practice is that they are not simply aural, but multisensory productions.

The orality of indigenous oral history is not necessarily lost in writing and print but enhanced by it. Indeed, the majority of writing on Ngāti Porou history has deliberately ignored indigenous perspectives, favoring Western written traditions, which have been denounced by our people as "raupatu ā te pene" (confiscation and colonization by the pen). Of the form of oral history, the interviewees argued that in order to know our oral history (kōrero tuku iho) it is necessary to be immersed in the oral worlds of the people. These are worlds shaped by protocols, ritual, laws (tikanga), and genealogy, where specific cultural conventions influence what is said, silenced, conveyed, and used. Revitalized in a process of transmission, indigenous Ngāti Porou oral histories are produced in tribal "classrooms" and places of higher learning (wānanga) that rely on varying rules and regulations depending on whose views are in ascendency. For Ngāti Porou, the truth of oral history is forged in a world of customs and protocols that lie beneath the form and explain the rhythms and routines that dictate how they are heard, who hears them, and why. This understanding of knowledge in context is a view shared by some oral traditionalists, yet is not always evident in practice. Rethinking oral sources requires a broader appreciation of orality that takes into account the way it is lived and breathed in tribal contexts.

For indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, oral history is shaped by chosen repositories and specialists who are expected to be familiar with the rituals and practices. Oral history is a cultural practice and form. Indigenous oral history then is inextricably connected to genealogy that is tied to the land, ocean, and people. This interweaving is patterned in contemporary contexts, where old themes are recreated in innovative forms, enhanced by popular tunes, or

reworked with different emphases. Hearing oral history was the common pedagogical experience of most interviewees, where verbatim, or rote-learned, knowledge paled in comparison to the acquisition of deeper meanings. What lies behind the spoken word was considered vital to the underlying meaning of the form, where the language, land, ocean, rivers, and mountains were seen as key to the contextualizing of Ngāti Porou oral history. Thus, this dynamic rethinking of oral history sources, from an indigenous perspective, speaks more to the overlaps and commonalities than the differences maintained by scholars in present day handbooks on oral history.

Indigenous Politics as Oral History

Indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou experience, define, reshape, practice, and pass on oral history within inherited political frameworks that speak to who we are, and who we want to be. As the interviewees revealed, the form of the sources in native oral history are inextricably connected to political objectives that aim to revitalize and preserve language, arts, identities, and histories. The transmission of these political views is embedded in the narratives and memories we share and contest, the proverbs we affirm as tribal peoples, the songs we sing that tell ourselves and the world about who we are, the protocols and ethics that situate speakers and listeners, and the very act of doing oral history within our communities. These inherited ambitions have also been evident in the shaping of methods and theories that correspond to cultural, social, and gendered politics preserved in the community over time.

An underlying politics regarding the authority (mana) of women, for instance, was a key feature in the way Ngāti Porou oral history has been, and is, understood and conveyed. This politics has been well rehearsed and developed in international oral history research but has not been as evident in the scholarship of oral traditionalists. Women's voices in Ngāti Porou, however, have their own distinctive political history, which are often invoked and heard in the memories and narratives of tribal speakers and seen in the practices significant to rituals of oral transmission. There is no indigenous oral history in Ngāti Porou without these matriarchs, callers, singers, composers, cultural and political reference points, and revered female leaders. In practice, or methodology, the voices of men and women are designated to various contexts within which Ngāti Porou oral history becomes an interwoven chorus of storytellers, singers, and performers, versed in the deeply nuanced politics that enable their messages to be imparted according to tribal codes and protocols (tikanga). It is the underlying politics of these practices that drive the way oral histories are told, whether in formal or informal settings, large gatherings, or one-on-one co-constructed interviews.

In addition to these political threads, a knowledge of the language is also vital because it unlocks the meaning to interpreting our own distinctive style and assertion of autonomy and tribal determining. Speaking in our native tongue is as much a political statement for the assertion of our linguistic universe as the ultimate mode of expression for indigenous memories and narratives. The very language native people invoke is loaded with deeply political and cultural meanings that accent our oral histories with specific positionalities that reveal important sub-tribal, familial allegiances.

Both oral traditionalists and oral historians have varying political aims and objectives that drive their research. Many oral historians focus on documenting the "lives of ordinary people" and empowering the silenced, yet this has not been a common aim in the work of oral traditionalists. For Ngāti Porou, oral histories are inherited, transmitted, and reworked in deeply entrenched political themes that speak to autonomy and tribal self-determination and decolonizing. Reductive and useful political binaries and complex intersectionalities were common concerns addressed by oral historians, traditionalists, and Ngāti Porou. For some oral traditionalists there is a clear binary between "invented" and "authentic" traditions, while for oral historians the collective consciousness tended to give way to a more refined search for the "creation of meaning" that complements nuance and individual subjectivity and agency.

In Ngāti Porou, individual nuance was evident within an inclusionary politics based in genealogy (whakapapa) that highlighted multiple lines of descent and an innovative adaption of new ideologies. For indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou, oral history is less a democratic tool than it is a means to decolonize and revitalize indigenous knowledge. It is more than just amplifying silenced voices but is an entire cultural practice that requires an appreciation of its entrenched political discourses in order to appropriately account for the memories passed on through generations. Pronounced tribal self-determination in indigenous communities like Ngāti Porou actively critiques New Zealand nationalism, and seeks to disrupt notions of so-called equality and democracy. The indigenous truth here is that these were, and are, not oral histories as democratic devices and liberating mechanisms, but narratives based on indigenous and tribal values, paradigms, and politics. They provide new ways to see oral history sources, methods, and theories as political interpretations beyond the democratic discourses so popular in current practice. Indigenous definitions of the politics of oral history provide oral historians with self-determining, transformative, decolonial, and liberative political terms that have been well rehearsed and practiced in native communities.

The truth of indigenous oral history is that its politics are evident in the refrains passed on in kōrero tuku iho across generations and are therefore nuanced and tribal. These refrains might yet have greater resonance for oral historians who

are serious about the power problems that have suppressed silenced minorities. Enabling the oppressed to speak requires more than a straightforward oral history interview method, but a deeper appreciation of how oral history in the interpretive mode relies on the political refrains and perspectives that carry the messages of the previously marginalized. The indigenous politics of oral history is in this respect a collective enterprise, in which there is an accountability and set of protocols that are bound together by genealogical and traditional codes of conduct. When you interview Māori, these protocols are often at work: senior lines of genealogy, gendered positionalities, and assertions of tribal memory and what Ngāti Porou call mana or power and self-determination. They are ethical parameters that not only guide the interview but pervade the narrative. Thus, in the interactive dialogue and co-produced history that summons the memory of the narrator to the fore, specific cultural and political values and ideas are at work.

The Truth of Native Oral History Methods

A key assertion in this book has been that oral history cannot and should not be simply determined or defined by research methods. Despite its centrality to the field of oral history, interviews, for instance, are employed across a range of disciplines that claim them as significant aspects of their approach. What might be called an oral history interview, then, is in fact no different from the various types of interviews employed by researchers in other fields. Group interviews, surveys, and life histories, far from simply oral history methods, are popular across multiple disciplines. The recorded aural emphasis is similarly problematic, particularly when oral histories and oral traditions are communicated in rituals and formal settings. In accounting for various sights and sounds, some interview methods such as the walk-along, or hīkoi, facilitate more of an interaction with the environment, while other methods encourage the use of props and other mnemonic devices, thus requiring a multisensory approach to unpack and interpret the narrators' performance.

Beyond an oral emphasis, oral histories are also captured in the participant observation method popular among many who have studied the oral traditions of various cultural groups. However, for Ngāti Porou, this approach is still considered a tool of colonial research, yet for some an "indigenous anthropology" works to alleviate this problem by anchoring the method within a "genealogical" frame of reference, which focuses on "home"-work rather than fieldwork. Nevertheless, while the interview method used by oral historians is viewed as liberating, participant observations tend to rely heavily on the observer's role as interpreter and lead "collaborator." Oral historians, then, tend

to see the interview as interactive and empowering and a key feature of the discipline, while in contrast the majority of those who study oral traditions do not see the recording as a fundamental part of their approach.

Despite these differences, both oral historians and oral traditionalists use multiple methods, which overlap and have shifting resonance to Ngāti Porou views and practices. Group interviews and surveys, for instance, have significance for the collective construction of oral history common to Ngāti Porou indigenous ritual and practices. However, surveys for Ngāti Porou are problematic because they deny the "face-to-face" protocol important to tribal etiquette (tikanga). It is not so much the practice or method of oral history that is emancipatory and enabling, but the interpretive emphasis researchers assign to it. Conversely, the participant observation approach facilitates an opportunity to hear, see, and experience oral traditions and histories in action, yet it is not a method renowned for its empowerment of the researched. Thus, a rethinking of participant observation within an indigenous frame of reference might be closer to the "hangin' out" model that emphasizes the need to relocate power in the hands of the "observed" rather than the "observers." In the implementation of foreign methods, researchers might thus be expected to serve an apprenticeship to prove themselves as trustworthy, responsible, aware, and adequately skilled recipients. These protocols entail a reversal of power, where the underlying epistemological foundations favor guidelines and ethics relevant to the researched rather than the researchers. Moreover, it is not the method that defines oral history from oral tradition, but a sophisticated interweaving of the underlying political aims and epistemologies that emerge in the theories that drive the research as a whole.

Indigenizing Oral History Theory

The interpretive theoretical dimensions that have driven and expanded oral history research in recent decades are essentially different from the theoretical interests and ideas employed by oral traditionalists and many indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou. In tradition and oral history, some researchers have expressed little interest in theory, while others have focused on theories about narrative, myth, and memory. Oral historians, for instance, have developed collective memory theories like composure, noting the way individuals remember as part of wider groups. The collective memory in Ngāti Porou can be seen in theories of whakapapa (genealogy), where individuals are always part of the wider genealogies they inherit. Collective memory theories like composure are theoretical presuppositions used more in oral history scholarship than oral tradition. However, the binary, and selective, process of remembering and

forgetting in "composure" is not necessarily distinctive of either a study of oral history or tradition, but relative to both despite the fact it is predominant in oral history scholarship. Oral traditions, for example, exist in personal recall and in interviews, and are easily historicized in both individual and collective contexts and negotiations. Therefore, whether in the study of oral tradition or oral history, remembering is a key theoretical premise to both groups.

The overlaps between oral history and oral tradition can also be seen in the theorizing and relevance of myth. Myth and memory theories have been developed more in oral history scholarship than the literature in oral tradition, which tends to treat myth as unreliable and fictitious. The importance of myth in oral history, on the other hand, has substantial relevance to indigenous peoples like Ngāti Porou because it acknowledges the strengths of myth in the construction of subjective realities. This interpretive theory in oral history accentuates the importance of myths as they are expressed from the perspectives of the narrators, yet interrogates the "mythical elements" evident in their retelling. In conjunction with myth and memory, the theoretical developments in narrative, or storytelling, is also common to both oral historians and oral traditionalists. The truth of indigenous oral history is that these myths and narratives coalesce in lives lived "like a story," where they are woven together through personal and collective tribal histories. In rethinking oral history, narrative theories explored in life narrative or biographical interviews have significant resonance for indigenous peoples. While oral historians draw on narrative scales, the key to narratives, turning points, and the structure of narrative in epic, romanesque, or picaresque terms, indigenous peoples have their own ways of naming and conceptualizing these narrative constructs. For native peoples, there are often shaped in counternarratives, narratives of historical colonial trauma that highlight tribal and sub-tribal political activism and autonomy.

While myth and narrative have resonance to indigenous oral history perspectives, so too do oral tradition memory theories based in the "oral formula." This repetitive and rhythmic mnemonic structuring focused on metric and linguistic evidence adds meaning to the way indigenous peoples structure songs and chants, but tends to neglect the deeper cultural components that influence aural memory, tradition, and history. Nevertheless, reading the patterns of indigenous Ngāti Porou oral accounts highlights the way the oral formula is present within our oral history. The prevalence and theorizing around the importance of myth in current oral history and oral tradition literature aligns with the importance of myth for indigenous peoples. In Ngāti Porou, they are accounted for as "pūrākau" ("fantasy" stories) and kōrero tahito (old stories) and are not fiction or fact. Rethinking oral history theory, particularly where it resonates with, and is interpreted by, indigenous communities, opens up possibilities for new discussions about the relevance of narrative, myth, and memory in native spaces. But enabling a rethink of oral

history theory requires an indigenization of these existing theories within various native communities. Indigenizing oral history theory, then, brings new theoretical worlds to the fore in order to interpret and recontextualize common assumptions about memory, myth, and narrative. In Ngāti Porou, we already use theoretical ideas in order to do this work. Our mountain, for instance, works as a metaphor and reference point to facilitate this indigenizing process, and provides one of many approaches to reflecting broad ideas within our cultural lens. In many ways, this sophisticated rethinking of the theory and philosophy relevant to oral history lies at the heart of an indigenous perspective. It is here, where once we have peeled back the many layers, from the form, politics, and methods, we see the truth of what oral history really is for native peoples. In Ngāti Porou it is many things, some of which have strong resonance with memory theory, narrative, and myth, but are immediately and distinctively local, cultural, and tribal in the way we define and express those theoretical assumptions.

The Indigenous "Truth" of Oral History

The truth of indigenous oral history is that it is, in many instances, intimately connected to decolonization and more importantly to native determining and empowerment: it is a deeply political and cultural act. To understand indigenous oral history, the recurring theme evident here is a call for more deeper readings and a broader rethinking of the form, politics, theory, and practice of oral history as a whole. For many indigenous peoples, oral history is inextricably connected to cultural revitalization, and is an important part of resistance and native empowerment. It is lived in communities like Ngāti Porou that have their own language and ways of thinking that embody and express what oral history is from a specific tribal view. Indigenous perspectives reveal the truth that oral history is not a new phenomenon, but was, and still is, an enduring part of our life and identity. This crucial knowledge was displaced by Western methodologies and definitions that repositioned native oral history as myth, legends, and puerile traditions. The truth is oral history is not, and never was, different from oral tradition. The form of oral history was always more than a simplistic orality, and the politics of oral history has long been driven by autonomy, which for many native peoples today is not about democracy, but a decolonizing self-determination that resists imposing cultures, nation-states, and empires. Oral history, contrary to various definitions, is not primarily an interview methodology or recorded testimony, but is all of the various occasions and ways by which storytellers speak their pasts. If we decolonize and rethink the field of oral history today, then, practitioners should carefully consider the way power is present in definitions of the discipline itself.

But who decides what oral history really is? The reality in today's world is that native perspectives have rarely been included in the way oral history is articulated on the global stage. The prevailing languages, for instance, that dominate the International Oral History Association at present are English and Spanish, incidentally two of the most destructive modern colonial regimes known to indigenous peoples. The irony that this book, a Ngāti Porou perspective, must be written in the colonizers' language in order to challenge popular definitions highlights the normative power within which current definitions of oral history reside. But decolonizing the field is not about providing space to enable silenced natives to speak the colonizers' language or to demonstrate how we fit in to entrenched colonial frameworks. Instead, decolonizing oral history addresses existing views—as this book has endeavored to do—and therefore seeks to reconfigure the field entirely in order to normalize indigenous knowledge as part of a broader and more nuanced understanding of what oral history could be.

So what might oral historians learn from indigenous perspectives like Ngāti Porou? The message of this book has been simple: if oral historians learn to listen, and more importantly are committed to empowering the marginalized, then a rethinking of the field inclusive of native definitions and perspectives is an important step forward. Oral historians have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, in dissolving the lines that divide oral history and oral tradition, and in embracing indigenous knowledge that redefine the borders of the field. A native-led rethinking opens up the potential of oral sources as multisensory forms inclusive of visual and performative expressions and experiences. Indigenous perspectives, in these ways, offer a reminder that oral history is something that happens even when recording equipment is absent. Most important, decolonization is not simply the politics of angry natives, but provides real solutions to those who have inherited the power positions left by previous colonizers. It connects oral historians to the deeply rooted cultural and historical "truths" of oral history in the many territories new "settlers" now call "home." First peoples' perspectives of oral history that have survived the onslaught of colonization are complex, sophisticated, and broad. They remain living and treasured as definitive accounts of native connection to land, people, oceans, and waterways. For those who aspire to be free from colonial guilt or oppression, and hold still a dream of freedom or belonging, then, indigenous oral histories offer a vital key to decolonizing transformations. They provide perspectives that are authentic and unique, pivotal to the empowerment of indigenous peoples, and, for those who hope to settle and become part of the land, are the ultimate expressions of being native.

Appendix 1

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

ahi kaa roa	domestic fire, signifying continuous occupation of land
āhua	form, appearance
Aotearoa	land of the long white cloud, another name for New Zealand
awa	river, stream
Haahi Mihinare	Anglican church
haka	dance, war dance/chant
Hapū	clan, sub-tribe, descendants, pregnant
Hawaiki	ancestral homeland
hīkoi	step, walk
hōhā	annoyed, annoying, annoyance
hōri	(colloquial) rough, rugged, poor
Horouta	ancestral canoe in the east coast region
hua rākau	fruit, grubs, forest foods
hui	assembly, gathering, meeting
Io	an omnipotent being, god of creation
iro	maggot
Iwi	iwi, tribe, bone, people
Iwi kaenga	home people
kai	food, agent when used with a noun, for example, *kaimahi* (worker)
kaimahi	worker
Kaimakamaka	prompter
kaitiaki	protector, caretaker
Kaiwetewete	analyst
Kākaho	native plant

Kākaka	native plant
kanohi ki te kanohi	face-to-face
kapahaka	dance group
karakia	incantation, prayer
karanga	call, welcome
Kauae raro	lower jawbone, operational tasks that implement the interpretations of the esoteric
Kauae runga	upper jawbone, refers to higher esoteric knowledge
Kaumātua	elder, elders
kaupapa	plan, principle, philosophy, proposal
Kaupapa Māori	a Māori political and theoretical approach to research
Kauruki tū roa	long ascending smoke, signifying continuous occupation of land
kāuta	cooking shed
kawa	custom
Kingitanga	king movement
Kōhanga reo	language nest
Kōkā	mother, aunt
kōrero	talk, speech, narrative
kōrero tuku iho	oral history or tradition
Koroheke	old man, old people
kotahitanga	Māori political movement, unity
kotiate	whale bone hand weapon
kōtiro	girl
Kuia	grandmother, elderly woman
kupapa	stoop, be neutral in a quarrel, loyalists to the British Crown
mai ra anō	long ago
makutu	spell, hex, sorcery, curse
mana	authority, power, prestige
manaaki	hospitality, help, care for
Manaia	ornate beaked lizard figure
mana motuhake	ultimate authority, power, and independence
mana tangata	authority and power exercised by people
mana wāhine	authority and power exercised by women
mana wairua	authority and power derived from spiritual sources
mana whakapapa	authority and prestige derived from ancestors
mana whenua	authority and prestige derived from control over land
Māori	normal, natural
marae (atea)	courtyard in front of meeting house
mataku	afraid, fearful

Mataatua	ancestral canoe
mātauranga	knowledge, learning
mātauranga-a-iwi	knowledge belonging to an iwi
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
matekite	seer, second sight
mātua	parents
matua	parent or father
Māui	ancestor of Ngāti Porou (and other iwi)
maunga	mountain
mauri	life force
mere	hand weapon, club, mace
Mīnita	minister
moana	ocean
mōkai	servant, pet
mokopuna, moko	grandchild
mōteatea	lament
motu	island, sever, cut
nehe rā	ancient, old days
ngahere	forest, bush
Ngāpuhi	confederation of northern tribes (North Island)
Ngatoroirangi	ancestor of Te Arawa and Tūwharetoa
Ngāti Porou	east coast tribe of the North Island
Ngāti Porou ki te whenua	Ngāti Porou not living within their traditional region
Ngāti Poroutanga	the essence of being Ngāti Porou
Nukutaimemeha	ancestral canoe belonging to Maui
pā	fortified village
paepae	horizontal board, speakers of the tangata whenua
Paikea	ancestor of Ngāti Porou
Paimārire	good and peaceful, Māori religious following
Pākehā	person of European descent
Pākeke	adult, old person
papakainga	homestead
Papatūānuku	earth mother
paru	dirt, dirty
patupaiarehe	sprite, fairy
pēpeha	tribal sayings
pono	true, honest
poroporoaki	farewell
pōtae	hat
puna	spring

pūrākau	legend, myth, story
rangatira	chief
rangatiratanga	chiefly control and authority
Ranginui	sky father, also a genealogical ancestor (Māori)
rātou	them
rāwaho	outsider
reo	voice, language
Rimu	native tree
Ringatū	upraised hand, Māori religious following
rīwai	potato
rohe	district
roto	lake, inside
Rūaumoko	god of earthquakes and volcanoes
rūnanga	council, assembly
taha-wairua	spiritual side
taina	younger male relative of male/younger female relative of female
Tainui	west coast tribe of the North Island
takatahi	impatient, unequal
Takitimu	ancestral canoe
Tāne	male, god of the forest, also a genealogical ancestor (Māori)
Tangaroa	god of the sea, also a genealogical ancestor (Māori)
tāngata whenua	people of the land
tangi, tangihanga	to cry, Māori funeral ceremony
taonga	treasure, treasured item, prized possession
Tāperenui ā Whatonga	traditional house of learning in Ngāti Porou
tapu	sacred, prohibited, restricted
taringa	ear
tātou	us, inclusive of speaker and listener
tauiwi	foreigner
tauparapara	incantation
tautoko	support
Tāwhaki	legendary ancestor of the Waikato/Tainui region
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Huripūreiata	turning point (an event in Ngāti Porou history)
tika	correct, straight
tikanga	customs, protocols
tinana	body
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tipu	grow, develop

tipuna	ancestors, grandparents
Tīpuna koka	grandmother, grand-aunt
Toetoe	native grass
Tohi	type of customary ceremony
tohunga	expert, doctor
tokotoko	walking stick
Tōtara	native tree
tuakana	older male relative of male/older female relative of female
Tūhoe	inland Bay of Plenty tribe of the North Island
tukutuku	traditional lattice work
Tūmatauenga	god of war, also a genealogical ancestor (Māori)
tupāpaku	deceased person, corpse
tūturu	authentic, real, true
uri	descendants
waewae	leg, legs
waha kōhatu	stone placed in the mouth
wahine/wāhine	woman/women
waiata	song, sing
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	spiritualism, spirituality
waka	canoe
wānanga	school of learning
whaikōrero	formal speech
whakairo	traditional art of carving
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauākī/whakataukī	proverb, sayings
whakatika	to correct
Whakatōhea	eastern Bay of Plenty tribe of the North Island
whānau	family, birth
whanaunga/whanaungatanga	relations, relationships with others
whāngai	adopt, adopted person
wharemate	house of death
wharenui	traditional meeting house
whāriki	woven mat
whatu	to weave
whenua	land
Wīwī nāti	idiomatic term used to refer to Ngāti Porou

Appendix 2

SELECTED MŌTEATEA, WAIATA, AND HAKA

A Note on the Importance of Haka, Mōteatea, and Songs

Māori have a number of oral compositions. A mōteatea (or apakura) is a lament used predominantly at funerals. Waiata are songs that are performed in various forms and for different other occasions. Haka means to dance, but its commonly mistaken as simply a war dance or war cry. These selected songs, haka, and laments compiled in this appendix are classic Ngāti Porou compositions. To better understand the use of songs and haka in Māori oral history it is not enough to speculate or rely on a single verse. The brief references to these songs and haka that appear in the book are presented in their full form here with translations so that readers can see the broader context within which they appear as a coherent historical narrative.

Mōteatea/Waiata

He Waiata Oriori nā Hinekitawhiti

Kia tapu hoki koe nā Tuariki, ē!
Kia tapu hoki koe nā Porouhorea!
Kāti nei e noa ko tō taina ē!
Whakaangi i runga rā he kauwhau
ariki ē,
Koi tata iho koe ki ngā wāhi noa.
Whakatūria te tira hei Ngapunarua,
Tahuri ō mata ngā kohu tāpui, kai
Runga o Te Kautuku, e rapa
ana hine ī
Te kauwhau mua i a Hinemakaho hai
A Hinerautu, hai a Tikitikiorangi, hai
Konā rā kōrua, ē!

May you be set apart, as is fitting for a
descendant of Tuariki;
May you be set apart, as is fitting for a
descendant of Porouhorea;
Let only your younger relative be free
from restriction.
Soar gracefully high, O Chieftainess,
and do not descend too near to the
common places.
Project your journey to Ngapunarua
Then turn your eyes to the
interlaced mists,
which float above Kautuku; for
the maiden
Seeks the first-born line from
Hinemakaho,
Such as Hinerautu and Tikitikiorangi;
And there you will be with your elder.

Āna, e koro! Auaka e whāngaia ki te
umu nui
Whāngaia iho rā ki te umu ki tahaki,
hai
Te pongi matapō hei katamu mahana
Kia ora ai hine takawhaki atu ana ngā
Moka one rā i roto o Punaruku, tē,
Mā Te Rangitumoana māna e
whakapeka,
Moe rawa ki konā, ē!

Do not, O sir, give her food from the
common earth oven,
But feed her from the over reserved
for her kind,
With the dark-fleshed taro, that she
may chew with relish,
And be sustained, when presently in
her roaming
She comes to the small stretches of
beach inside Punaruku.
There Te Rangitumoana will
invite her
To turn aside and rest the night.

Māu e kī atu, "Arahina ake au ki
Runga o Te Huia ki a
Ngarangikamaea,
Kia mārama au ki roto Tawhitinui."
Tēnā rā Kakahu māna e ui mai
"Nā wai rā tēnei tamaiti, ē?"

Say to him, "Lead me
To lofty Te Huia, to Ngarangikamaea,
Whence I may see clearly into
Tawhitinui."
Kakahu will be there to ask,
"Whose child may this be?"

Māu e kī atu, "Nā Te Au-o-Mawake,"
Kia tangi mai ai ō tuākana kōkā,
"I haramai rā koe ngā kauanga i
Kaituri, nā!
I haramai rā koe ngā uru karaka i Te
Ariuru, nā-
Hau te mau mai i ngā taonga o
Wharawhara, hai Tohu rā mōhou,
koi hēngia koe, ko
Te Paekura ki tō taringa, ko
Waikanae ki tō ringa, hai Taputapu
mōhou, e hine!"

You will tell her, you are of Te
Au-o-Mawake;
So that your relatives may greet you
and cry,
"Ah! You have come from the
crossings at Kaituri,
You have come indeed from the
karaka groves at Te Ariuru.
You are bedecked with the ornaments
of Wharawhara
To signify, that no one may
mistake you,
Te Paekura pendant from your ear,
Waikanae in your hand—
Precious things for you, little maid!"

Ngata, A. T., and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā Mōteatea The Songs Part 1, Revised Edition* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), pp. 2–7.

Haere rā e Hika

Haere rā e hika, koutou ko ou mātua
Unuhia i te rito o te harakeke
Ka tū i te aro-a-kapa
Aku nui, aku rahi, e
Aku whakatamarahi ki te rangi
Waiho te iwi, māna e mae noa

Depart, dearest one, in the company
of your elders.
Plucked like the centre shoot of
the flax,
As you stood in the foremost rank.
My renowned one, my noble one,
My proud boast oft flung to the
heavens!
Bereft the tribe, seeking solace all in
vain!

Kia mate ia nei koe, e hika	You are gone indeed, dear one,
Ko Atatmira te waka, Ko Hotutahirangi,	(For your) canoe there are Atamira, Hotutahirangi,
Ko Tai-o-puapua, ko Te Raro-tua-maheni e	Tai-o-puapua, Te Raro-tua-maheni,
Ko Areiteuru, Ko Nukutaimemeha	Araiteuru, and Nukutaimemeha
Te waka i hiia ai te whenua nui nei	The canoe which fished up this widespread land.

Ngata, A. T., and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā Mōteatea The Songs Part 2, Revised Edition* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), pp. 10–11.

Kaati rā e Hika

Kaati rā e hika te takato ki raro rā
He ue ake ra ka hē to manawa
Ka titiro ki uta rā ki Hikurangi maunga
Ko te puke tēnā i whakataukī ai a Porourangi ē
Ka rukuruku ā Te Rangitawaea i ōna rinena ē

Kei hea mai koe e te tai whakarunga e te tai whakararo
Nā Porourangi e, ko Roro nāq Tawake
Nā Hikatoa e, ko Ponapatukia
Ko koe rā e hika ē

K. Ka mamae hoki rā
Ka mamae hoki rā te tini o te tangata
Ka mamae hoki rā ki a Tama nā Tu
Ka takitahi koa ngā kaihautū o te waka ō Porourangi
Ka areare koa
Puanga i tona rua

K. Ko taku hiahia ē
Kia ora tonu koe, hai karanga i ō iwi
Ka tutu o rongo ki ngā mana katoa
Ko Tama i te mania, ko Tama i te pa heke
Ka ngaro koe e hika ki te po
Aue!
Ko ngā iwi katoa e aue mai na
Ka nui taku aroha na e

He Tangi mō Hinekaukia

E hika mā ē! I hoki mai au i Kererūhuahua
Noho tūpuhi ana ko au anake i te tamaiti mate.
Me te tai hokohoko ki te awa i Tirau, ē ī;
Tangi whakaroro ana ki te Houhangapa

O friends! I am now returned from Kereruhuahua,
A fugitive bereft am I, because a child is dead.
Like the tides within Tirau forever rising and falling is my wild lamentation within Houhangapa

Tērā ia taku mea kei te tau o te marino, ē,
Kei ōna whakawiringa i roto i Te Apiti;
E taututetute ana, kia puta ia ki waho rā ē ī,

Yonder lies my cherished one on a peaceful slope
Beyond the winding course within Te Apiti;
(His spirit) strives in vain to open up the pathway
To the tasty tiotio loosened with the māpou.

Ki te kai tiotio i tiria ki te māpou.
Tērā Te Rerenga whakatarawai ana ē ī,
Whakaangi mai rā, e tama, me he manu.
Mairātia iho te waha kai rongorongo ē
Hei whakaoho pō i ahau ki te whare rā.

Lo, Te Rerenga like a misty apparition appears
Soar hither then, O son, like the bird,
And leave behind the sweet sound of your voice,
To comfort my wakeful nights within the house.

Ngata, A. T., and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā Mōteatea The Songs Part 1, Revised Edition* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), pp. 174–177.

Haka

Rūaumoko

Kaea: Ko Rūaumoko e ngunguru nei!
Katoa: Au! Au! Aue ha!
Kaea: Ko Rūaumoko e ngunguru nei!
Katoa: Au! Au! Aue ha!
Kaea: A ha ha!
Katoa: E ko te rākau a
Tūngawerewere! A ha ha!
He rākau tapu, na Tūtāua ki
a Uenuku
I pātukia ki te tipua ki Ōrangitopeka,
Pakaru te ūpoko o Rangitopeka,
Patua ki waenganui o te tau ki
Hikurangi,
He toka whakairo e tū ake nei,
He atua! He tangata! He atua! He
tangata! Ho!
Kaea: He atua, he atua,
Tauparetaitoko,
Kia kitea e Paretaitoko te whare haunga!
Katoa: A ha ha! Ka whakatete mai o
rei, he
kuri! Au!
Kaea: A ha ha!
Katoa: Na wai parehua taku hope kia
whakaka te rangi
Kia tare au! Ha!
Kaea: He roha te kawau!
Katoa: Ha!
Kaea: Kei te pou tara
Katoa: Tū ka tetē, ka tetē! Tau ha!
Kaea: Ko komako, ko komako!
Katoa: E ko te hautapu e rite ki te kai na
Matariki,
Tapareireia koi tapa!
Tapa konunua koiana tukua!
I aue!

Solo: Hark to the rumble of the
earthquake
god!
Chorus: Au! Au! Aue ha!
Solo: 'Tis Rūaumoko that quakes
and stirs!
Chorus: Au! Au! Aue ha!
Solo: A ha ha!
Chorus: It is the rod of Tūngawerewere,
The sacred stick given by Tūtāua to
Uenuku.
It struck the monster Rangitopeka,
And smashed the head of
Rangitopeka,
Cleaving the twin peaks of
Hikurangi,
Where the carved rock emerges,
A gift of the Gods! The wonder of
men! A miracle of Heaven! The lure
of mankind!
Solo: 'Tis divine! 'Tis divine!
Behold Paretaitoko searches and
finds hidden places!
Chorus: A ha ha! Where the dogs
gnash their
teeth in frenzy! Au!
Solo: A ha ha!
Chorus: They have gnawed and
bitten deep
until in pain I see the heavens blaze,
Ere I faint! Ha!
Solo: Like the shag with
outspread wings!
Chorus: Ha!
Solo: In the throes!

Chorus: With its last expiring
breath, Ha!
Solo: 'Tis komako, 'Tis komako
Chorus: No translation available.

Dewes, Te Kapunga, ed., *Māori Literature, He Haka Taparahi: Men's Ceremonial Dance poetry, na Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taunaunu, Sir. Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Anthropology, 1972), pp. 7–9.

Tihei Tārukei

KAEA: Ko ngā iwi katoa e kanga mai nei . . .
KATOA: Ki taku ūpoko
KAEA: He tapu . . .
KATOA: Taku ūpoko
KAEA: Ko Tuairangi
KATOA: Taku ūpoko
KAEA: Ko Tuainuku
KATOA: Taku ūpoko
KAEA: Ahaha
KATOA: Hei kai māhau te whetū
Hei kai māhau te marama
Tuku tonu, heke tonu te ika ki Te Reinga, Whio.
KAEA: Ko Rangitukia rā te Pāriha i tukua atu ai ngā Kai-whakaako tokowhā:
Ruka ki Reporua,
Hohepa ki Paripari,
Kāwhia ki Whangakareao,
Apakura ki Whangapiritia e.
KATOA: E i aha tērā,
E haramai ki roto ki Waiapū kia kite koe i Tawa Mapua,
E te Paripari Tihei Tāruke,
I kiia nei e Rerekohu,
"Hoatu karia ōna kauae."
Pūrari paka, i kaura mōkai. Hei.

If from Te Aowera: Kaea: Ko Te Awe Mapara kai kōareare, ūpoko kāuka, rama tuna pakupaku, o papa hamupaka,
E kanga mai rā . . .

KATOA: Ki taku ūpoko
If from Te Koroni: Kaea: Te Koroni mākutu kai hua pāua
O toka tūroto e kanga mai nei . . .
KATOA: Ki taku ūpoko

Dewes, Te Kapunga, ed., *Māori Literature, He Haka Taparahi: Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry, na Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taunaunu, Sir. Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Anthropology, 1972), pp. 4–6.

Te Kiringutu

Kaea: Ponga ra! Ponga ra!
Katoa: Ka tataki mai Te Whare o
ngā ture!
Ka whiria te Māori! Ka whiria!
(E) ngau nei ona reiti. (E) ngau nei
ōnā take! A ha ha!
Te taea te ueue!
I aue! Hei!
Kaea: Patua i te whenua!
Katoa: Hei!
Kaea: Whakataua i ngā ture!
Katoa: Hei!
Kaea: A ha ha!
Katoa: Na ngā mema rā te kohuru
Na te Kawana te koheriheri!
Ka rarurarau ngā ture!
Ka raparapa ki te pua tororī!
I aue!
Kaea: Kāore hoki te mate o te
whenua e
Te makere atu ki raro ra!
Katoa: A ha ha! Iri tonu mai runga
O te kiringutu mau mai ai,
Hei tipare taua mot e hoariri!
A ha ha! I tahuna mai au
Ki te whakahaere toto koa,
A ki te ngākau o te whenua nei,

Solo: The shadows fall! The
shadows fall!
Chorus: The house which makes the
laws is
chattering
And the Māori will be plaited as a
rope
Its rates and its taxes are biting!
A ha ha!
Its teeth cannot be withdrawn. Alas!
Solo: The land will be destroyed!
Chorus: Hei!
Solo: The laws are spread-eagled
over it!
Chorus: Hei!
Solo: A ha ha!
Chorus: The members have done
this black
deed,
And the rulers have conspired in the
evil;
The laws of the land are confused,
For even the tobacco leaf is
singled out! Alas!
Solo: Never does the loss of
our landed
heritage cease to burden our minds!

Ki te koura! I aue, taukiri e!
Kaea: A ha ha!
Katoa: Ko tūhikitia. Ko tūhapainga
I raro i te whero o te Māori!
Hukiti!
A ha ha! Na te ngutu o te Māori,
pohara,
Kai kutu, na te weriweri koe i homai
ki konei
E kāore iara, i haramai tonu koe
Ki te kai whenua!
Pokokohua! Kuaramokai! Hei!
Kaea: A ha ha!
Katoa: Kei puta atu hoki te ihu o
te waka
I ngā torouka o Niu Tīreni,
Ka paia pukutia mai e ngā uaua
O te ture a te Kawana!
Te taea te ueue!
Au! Au! Aue!
Kaea: Ko komako, ko komako
Katoa: E ko te hautapu e rite ki
te kai na
Matariki
Tapareireia koia tapa!
Tapa konunua koia ana tukua!
I aue!

Chorus: A ha ha! Ever it is upon
our lips,
clinging
As did the headbands of the
warriors arranged to parry the
enemy's blow! A ha ha!
I was scorched in the fire of the
sacrifice of blood, and stripped
to the vital heart of the land,
Bribed with the Pakeha gold! Alas!
Ah me!
Solo: A ha ha!
Chorus: Was it not your declared
mission
To remove the tattoo from Māori
lips, Relieve his distress,
Stop him eating lice, and cleanse
him of dirt and disgust?
Yea! But all that was deep-lined
Design 'neath which to
Devour our lands!
Ha! May your heads be boiled!
Displayed on the toasting sticks!
Solo: A ha ha!
Chorus: How can the nose of
the bark
(canoe) you give us
Pass by the rugged headlands of
New Zealand,
When confronted with the
Restrictive perplexing laws
Obstacles that cannot be removed
Alas! A me!
Solo: It is komako. It is komako
Chorus: translation unavailable.

Dewes, Te Kapunga, ed., *Māori Literature, He Haka Taparahi: Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry, na Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taunaunu, Sir. Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Anthropology, 1972), pp. 12–15.

Paikea

KAEA: Uia mai koia, whakahuatia ake, ko wai te whare nei?
KATOA: Ko Whitireia, ko Whitireia
KAEA: Ko wai te tekoteko kei runga?
KATOA: Ko Paikea, ko Paikea
KAEA: Whakakau Paikea
KATOA: Hei
KAEA: Whakakau he tipua
KATOIA: Hei
KAEA: Whakakau he taniwha
KATOA: Hei

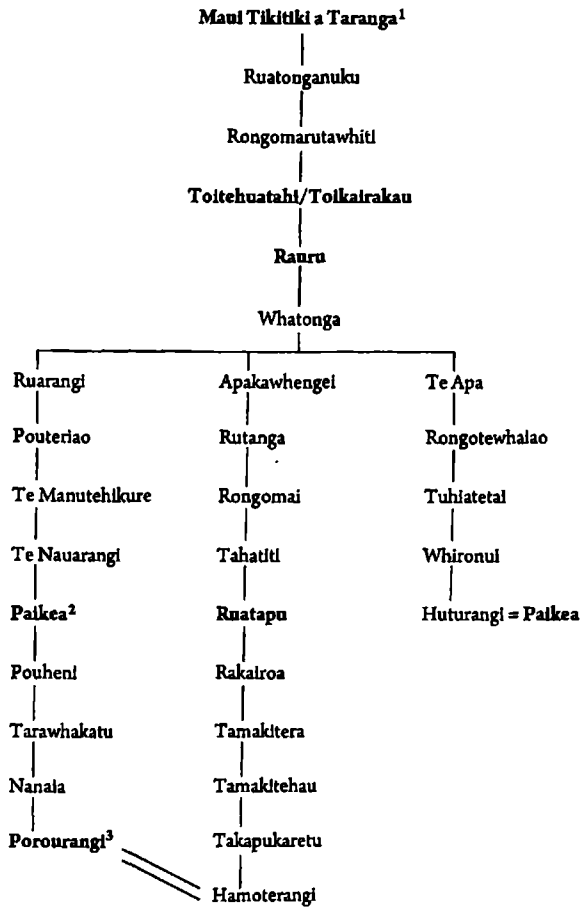
Ka ū Paikea ki Ahuahu, pakia,
Kei te whitia koe ko Kahu-tia-te-rangi,
E ai to ure ki te tamahine a Te Whironui,
Nāna i noho Te Rototahi,
Aue, aue, he koruru koe e Koro e.

Dewes, Te Kapunga, ed., *Māori Literature, He Haka Taparahi: Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry, na Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taunaunu, Sir. Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Anthropology, 1972), pp. 22–35.

Appendix 3

SELECTED GENEALOGY TABLES

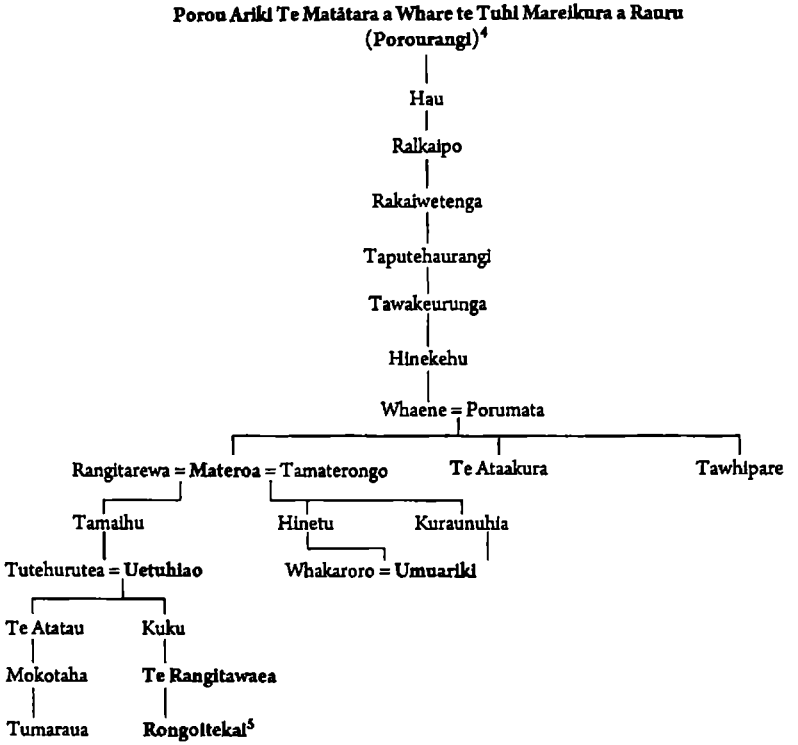
Genealogy Table 1



[1] Maui Potiki, or Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga, is considered an ancestor not simply a 'demi-god'.
[2] This is the same Paikea that is said to have been borne ashore on the back of a whale.
[3] Porourangi is the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Porou.

(adapted from A. T. Mahuika, "Origins of the Tribal Name Ngāti Porou")

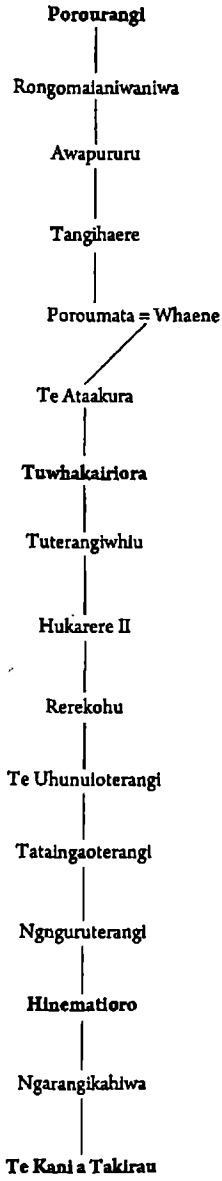
Genealogy Table 2



[4] Porourangi's full name shows his high born status as a descendent of Rauru.
[5] Rongoitekai and Te Rangitawaea are descendents of Porourangi.

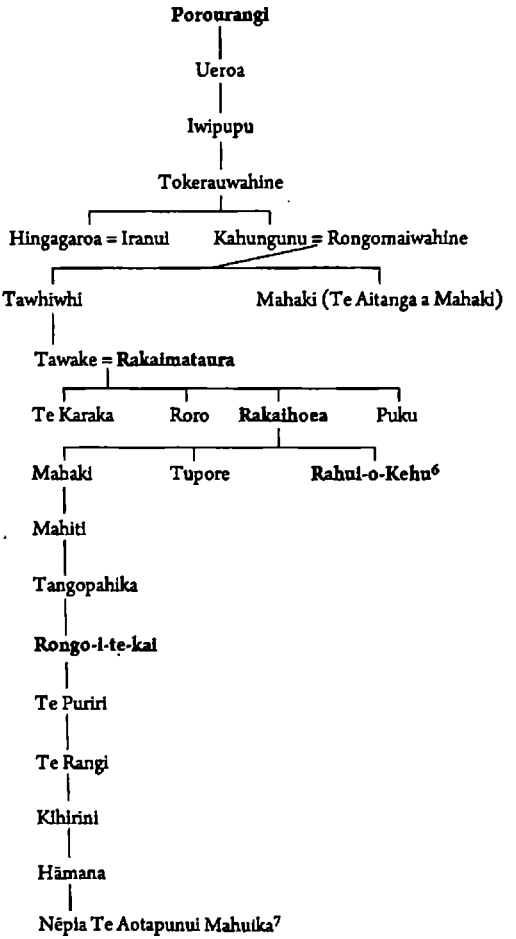
(adapted from A. T. Mahuika, Private Papers)

Genealogy Table 3



(adapted from A. T. Mahuika, Personal Correspondence)

Genealogy Table 4

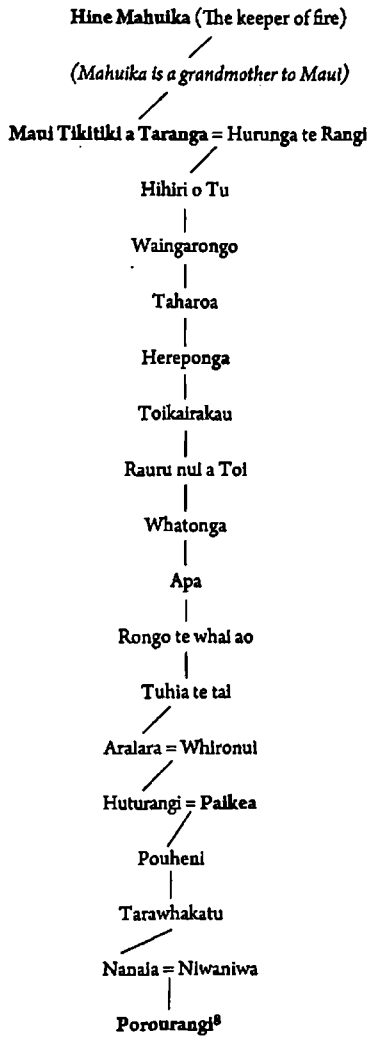


[6] Rahui marae at Tikitiki takes its name from this tipuna.

[7] As argued in this study, Porourangi, and other 'legendary' ancestors are considered real people. This table highlights that descent to my great great grandfather, Nēpia Te Aotapunui Mahuika.

(adapted from A. T. Mahuika, Private Papers)

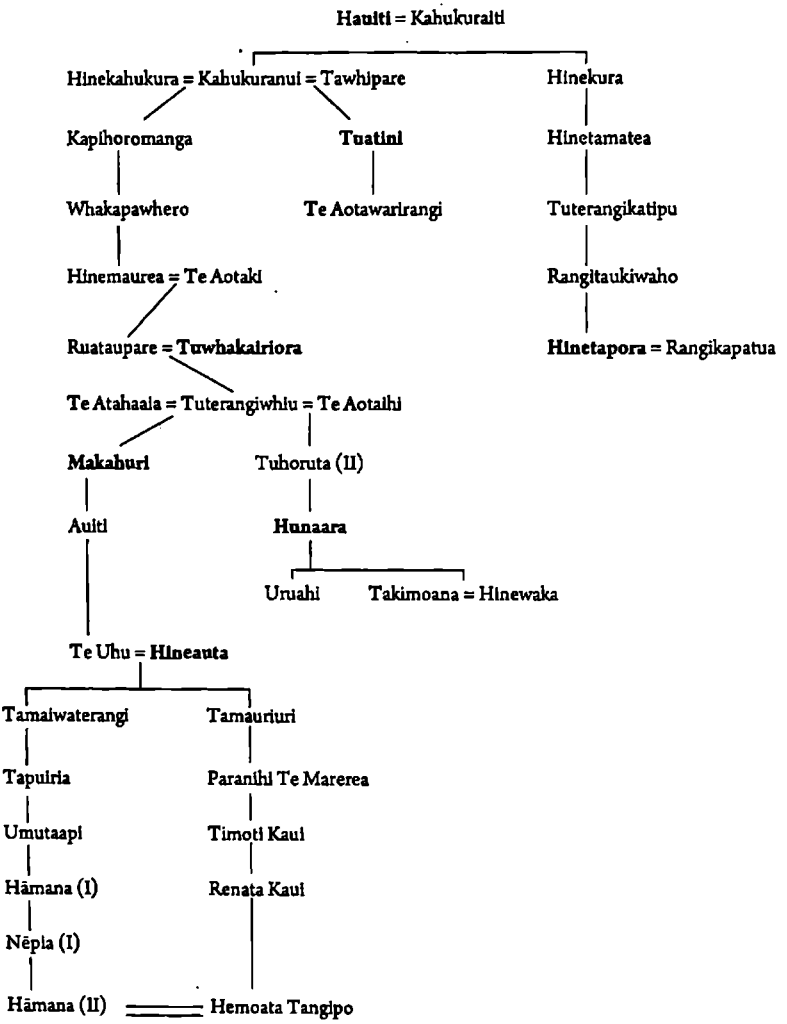
Genealogy Table 5



[8] Porourangi is also a descendent of Hine Mahuika (the mythologized 'goddess of fire').

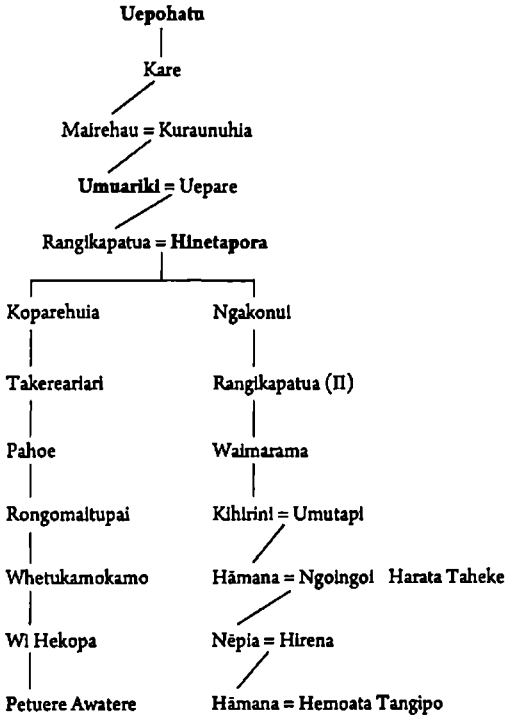
(adapted from Nēpia Mahuika Snr, Genealogy Papers)

Genealogy Table 6



(adapted from A. T. Mahuika, Private Papers)

Genealogy Table 7



(adapted from A. T. Mahuika, Private Papers)

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. I deliberately use "articulation" here to highlight how my indigenous perspective in this book is complex, diverse, and reflects multiple intersecting narratives and cultural knowledges relevant to how I identify and see native-ness. For further discussion on "indigenous articulations," see James Clifford, "Indigenous Articulations," *The Contemporary Pacific*, vol. 13, no. 12 (Fall 2001): 468–490. Clifford writes that "[t]o think of indigeneity as "articulated" is, above all, to recognize the diversity of cultures and histories that currently make claims under this banner" (Clifford, 472). Clifford notes that "'Articulation theory' finds it equally difficult to see indigenous, First Nations claims as the result of post-sixties, 'postmodern' identity politics" or 'invented traditions'" (Clifford, 472).
2. Oral history has been described as a "democratic tool" at a recent International Oral History Association Conference in Barcelona. Scholars in the field have long defined oral history as an interview methodology, co-constructed, and generally based on life narrative. "Power and Democracy: The Many Voices of Oral History," 14 International Oral History Association Conference. 9–12 July 2014. Barcelona, Spain.
3. This book refers interchangeably to indigenous peoples and Māori. I draw on Marie Battiste's interpretation here where she asserts the importance for indigenous peoples to "research and reclaim a voice that contributes to the dismantling of an old order of research practice." She also draws on a description of indigenous peoples as "tribal peoples in independent countries in whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish themselves from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regarded wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations" found in the International Labour Organization definition of indigenous peoples. Cited in Marie Battiste, "Research Ethics for Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: Institutional and Researcher Responsibilities," in the *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, edited by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (London: Sage, 2008), 499.
4. Derek Lardelli, oral history interview, Gisborne (18 December 2007), Interview 37.10–37.18.
5. A "haka," simply translated, is a dance, but is often narrowly oversimplified as a war dance. I learned the actions and words of the haka "Rūaumoko" as a teenager from my grandfather. For further reading on haka of Te Tairawhiti see Te Kapunga Dewes, ed., *Māori Literature: He Haka Taparahi, Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1972).
6. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 6, 7.
7. Paikea, or the "whale rider," is a prominent figure in the oral history of the East Coast, but has become a widely recognized story through recent novel and film adaptions. See Witi Ihimaera, *The Whale Rider* (Auckland: Heinemann, 1987); and Niki Caro, director, *The Whale Rider* (South Yarra, Vic: Buena Vista Home Video, 2003). Appendix 2, "Paikea."

8. Tamati Reedy, "Ngāti Porou," in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand, Ngā iwi o Aotearoa*, edited by Basil Keane, Rangi McGarvey, and Jock Phillips (Auckland: David Bateman/Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2006), 165.
9. Ruatapu was born from a liaison between Uenuku and one of his female servants. A. T. Mahuika, Personal Communication (Wed, 22 July 2009). He is also descendent of Toi; see Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 1, 5.
10. Another account is offered by Moni Taumaunu, who makes specific reference to the composition of the haka Paikea. Dewes, *Māori Literature*, 27–34.
11. Anaru Reedy, *Ngā Kōrero ā Mohi Ruatapu, Tohunga Rongonui ō Ngāti Porou: The Writings of Mohi Ruatapu* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1993), 142–146. Te Huripūreiata might be described as a "turning point," a "turning of events, from an act of tragedy to one of survival." A. T. Mahuika, Personal Communication (July 22, 2009).
12. Nēpia Mahuika Snr, *Aku Kōrero* (Ngaruawahia, 1997), 1. Appendix 4, Map "East Coast—Te Araroa to Whareponga."
13. The Rev. Pohipi Kohere had inquired of the old man "as to the name of the child," Nēpia Mahuika, *Aku Kōrero*, 1–2.
14. A. T. Ngata, *The Porourangi Māori Cultural School, Rauru nui ā Toi Course, Lecture 1–7* (Gisborne: Māori Purposes Fund Board/Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2011, originally presented in 1944), 6. Tuhi Māreikura refers to "a method of ornamenting the forehead and face with red ochre."
15. Mahuika, "Origins of the Tribal Name Ngāti Porou," 7.
16. Mahuika notes that "mātātara refers to a greenstone skewer pin to fasten together a korowai or garment when worn. Porourangi symbolically speaking was the skewer or pin used to fasten together various whakapapa [genealogy] lines." Ibid., 9.
17. The reference here is in regard to other mountains that pursued the maiden mountain Pihanga, whereas Hikurangi desisted, electing to remain steadfast in its original place. A. T. Mahuika, Personal Communication (August 22, 2011). Appendix 4, Map "East Coast—Te Araroa to Whareponga."
18. "Behold Te Rangitawaea displays his chiefly garments" from the lament "Kaati ra e Hika." A. T. Mahuika, Personal Communication (August 22, 2011). Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 2, 18. Appendix 2, "Kaati ra e hika."
19. It was thought that the original version was too provocative, and thus needed to be "sanitized." Ibid.
20. This is an old proverb, one of a large number of similar sayings, which refers to the importance of home. Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha ā Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), 206.
21. Tamati Reedy recounts this story, Reedy, "Ngāti Porou," 164–165. Māui is considered an ancestor rather than a mythic figure. He is a grandchild of Hine Mahuika, a renowned female ancestor, who has similarly been mythologized. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 1, 3, 12.
22. Reedy, "Ngāti Porou," 165.
23. A. Perry, *Hinemoa and Tūtānekai: A Legend of Rotorua* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1910); H. J. Calendar and Val Dixon, *Hinemoa and Tūtānekai* (Hamilton: H. J. Calendar, 1976); Joy Cowley and Robyn Kahukiwa, *Hatupatu and the Birdwoman* (Auckland: Shortland, 1984); E. Tregear, "The Woman in the Moon," in *New Zealand Readers, Fairytales of New Zealand and the South Seas* (Wellington: Lyon and Blair, 1891), 86–87; A. W. Reed, "Rona," in *Treasury of Māori Folklore* (Wellington and Auckland: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1963), 413–416.
24. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Rapunzel: A Story by the Brothers Grimm* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960); Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Rumplestiltskin: A Story from the Brothers Grimm* (London: Bodley Head, 1970); Nola Langner, *Cinderella Retold and Illustrated by Nola Langner* (New York: Scholastic Books, 1972); Rosemary Harris, *Beauty and the Beast, Retold by Rosemary Harris and Illustrated by Errol Le Cain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979).
25. See for instance A. W. Reed, *Māui: Legends of the Demigod of Polynesia* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1943); June Melser and Cliff Whiting, *Māui and the Sun* (Wellington: School Publications/Department of Education, 1984).

26. Jack David Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002); Elias Bredsdorff, *Hans Christian Andersen: The Story of His Life and Work 1805–75* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975).
27. Grey governed twice, from 1845 to 1853 in his first and most successful term and then again from 1861 to 1868. During his time in New Zealand he worked with Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke in compiling and authoring a large body of Māori history. George Grey, *Ngā Mahi ā Ngā Tūpuna: He Mea Kohikohi nā Sir George Grey* (London: George Willis, 1854); George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by Their Priests and Their Chiefs* (London: John Murray, 1855). He also oversaw John White's extensive work. John White, *Ancient History of the Māori: His Mythology and Traditions*, vol. 1–6 (Wellington: Government Print, 1887).
28. J. W. Stack, *Early Māoriland Adventures* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); John White, *A Chapter from Māori Mythology* (Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891); Edward Shortland, *Māori Religion and Mythology: Illustrated by Translations of Traditions* (London: Longmans Green, 1882).
29. Peter Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," Private Papers, 4. Much of this chapter draws on Gibbons's unpublished chapter. I would like to thank him for allowing me to cite his research here.
30. Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," 7.
31. Rev. Richard Taylor, *Te Ika ā Māui, New Zealand and Its Inhabitants* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1974; originally published, London: Wertheim and McIntosh, 1855), vi.
32. A. H. Reed, *Myths and Legends of Polynesia Illustrated by Roger Hart* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1974), 1.
33. Elizabeth Bourke, *A Little History of New Zealand: Progressive from Discovery to 1880 for Children* (Auckland: Upton, c. 1880).
34. Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Māori* (Wellington: G. Didsbury, Government Printer, 1885).
35. *Whitcombe and Tombs Historical Story Books: Legends of the Māori* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1926); Edith Howes, *More Tales of Maori Magic* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957).
36. Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," 3. Kate McCosh Clark, *Māori Tales and Legends* (London: D. Nutt, 1896).
37. Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," 8. Johannes Andersen, *Māori Fairy Tales* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1908).
38. A. W. Reed, *The Coming of the Māori to Ao-tea-roa* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1934); A. W. Reed, *Māui: Legends of the Demigod of Polynesia* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1943).
39. Later he would write that it was not intended as a children's book at all. Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," 13. A. W. Reed, *Myths and Legends of Māoriland* (Wellington: A. W. Reed, 1946).
40. A. W. Reed, *Treasury of Maori Folklore* (Wellington: A. W. Reed, 1963); A. W Reed, *Wonder Tales of Maoriland* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1964); Peter Gossage, *How Māui Found His Father and the Magic Jawbone* (Auckland: Lansdowne Press, 1980).
41. Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," 13–14.
42. Robyn Kahukiwa, *The Koroua and the Mauri Stone* (Auckland: Puffin Books, 1994); Keri Kaa and Robyn Kahukiwa, *Taniwha* (Auckland: Puffin, 1986); Merimeri Penfold, *Te Ika a Māui, Translated from Peter Gossage The Fish of Māui* (Auckland: Ashton Scholastic, 1990); Gavin Bishop and Katerina Mataira, *Ko Māui raua ko te atua o te ahi; he pūrakau Māori/kua kōrerohia anō, kua waituhia hoki e Gavin Bishop* (Auckland: Scholastic, 2001).
43. Katerina Mataira, *Te Átea* (Wellington: School Publications Branch, 1975).
44. Robyn Kahukiwa and Keri Kaa, *Paikea, He Kōrero Pūrākau Tahito* (Auckland: Viking, 1993).
45. The notion of a professional history discipline emerged in the nineteenth century influenced by scholars like Leopold von Ranke, who focused on empirical methods. His contemporary, Georg Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel, emphasized the role of great men in history, and along with von Ranke and other "empiricists" advocated a rationalist approach to investigating the past. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 2.

46. A. A. Grace, *Folk-Tales of the Māori* (Wellington: Gordon and Gotch, 1907), i; George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by Their Priests and Their Chiefs* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, reprinted in 1956), x.
47. Cowan's book was also aimed at younger readers, but was most probably purchased as a gift for reading in the home—not aimed at schools. Gibbons, "Myths and Legends," 10–11. James Cowan, *Maori Folktales of the Port Hills, Canterbury, New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1923).
48. This progress from wilderness to frontier was a theme reverberated decades later in the popular book and televised documentary series *Frontier of Dreams*. W. H. Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand* (London: Faber, 1960); Bronwyn Dalley and Gavin McClean, eds., *Frontier of Dreams: The Story of New Zealand* (Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2005).
49. His work began with "The Establishment of British Sovereignty," then progressed through various chapters, from "The Ripening of Nationality" to the important topic of "The Place of the Maori in National life." W. P. Morrell, *New Zealand* (London: Ernest Benn, 1935), vii, xiii. This narrative of becoming, though exclusive of Māori stories and tradition, had been largely influenced by J. B. Condliffe's *New Zealand in the Making* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1930).
50. Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Auckland: A. Lane, 1980), 18; Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1986).
51. Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 11–28.
52. The Ministry of Education would later institute "The Search for New Zealand Security" as a standard unit topic in the year twelve history curriculum. NCEA Level 1: "The Search for New Zealand Security" (Ministry of Education), http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/classroom/ncea1/search-for-security, accessed April 16, 2016.
53. James Belich, *Making Peoples, a History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), 40. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1800s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane; Penguin, 2001). James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Penguin, 1986).
54. Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2004), 21.
55. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whāwhai Tonu Mātou, Struggle without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), 11.
56. Anderson, a Ngai Tahu scholar, wrote a large number of chapters in the book that took a particular Western scholarly approach to Māori history, including "Ancient Origins, 3000 BC–AD 1300" and "Pieces of the Past, AD 1200–1800." Atholl Anderson et al., *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (Auckland: Bridget Williams Books, 2015).
57. This was Atholl's view about how Māori history should be researched and presented, and how he used "oral traditions." "Tangata Whenua: Making a Difference in History." Panel Presentation, Atholl Anderson, Ngarino Ellis, Aroha Harris, Nēpia Mahuika, Michael Stevens. New Zealand Historical Association Conference, Christchurch, New Zealand, 2 December, 2015.
58. A. T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā Mōteatea, The Songs Part 1*, rev. ed. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004).
59. Bob McConnell, *Te Araroa an East Coast Community: A History* (Te Araroa: R. N. McConnell, 1993). Appendix 4, Map "East Coast—Te Araroa to Whareponga."
60. Walter Edward Gudgeon, *The Māori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand; Reprinted from the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 3–6, 1894–1897* (Wellington: University of Victoria Press, 1972).
61. R. J. H. Drummond, "The Origins and History of Ngāti Porou" (Master's thesis, University of Victoria, 1937), 14.
62. Gudgeon, *The Māori Tribes of the East Coast*, 189.
63. Te Waipaina Awarau, "Tūwhakairiora" (Master's thesis, University of Canterbury, 1972), 1. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 7.
64. Mark Isles, "A Māori History of Tokomaru Bay, East Coast, North Island" (Master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1981), 10.

65. Waipana Awarau had drawn on the work of Rev. Mohi Turei, whose Māori and English renditions of the Tūwhakairiora story were published some time ago in an edition of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*; Mohi Turei, "Tūwhakairiora," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 20 (1911): 18–32.
66. Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, "Ngā Wāhine Kaihatu ō Ngāti Porou/Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou" (unpublished Master's thesis, Sydney University, 1974). Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 11, 16, 17, 18.
67. Monty Soutar, "A History of Te Aitanga-ā-Mate" (Master's thesis, Massey University, 1998), i. Appendix 3, Genealogy Table 18.
68. Don M. Stafford, *Te Arawa: A History of the Arawa people* (Auckland: Reed, 1986, first published by A. H and A. W. Reed, Rotorua, in 1967); John T. H. Grace, *Tūwharetoa: A History of the Māori People of the Taupo District* (Auckland: A. H. Reed and A. W. Reed, 1959).
69. Ibid., v.
70. Elsdon Best, *Tūhoe, the Children of the Mist: A Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths, and Beliefs of the Tūhoe Tribe of the Māori of New Zealand, with Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty Ddistrict* (New Plymouth: Board of Māori Ethnological Research for the Polynesian Society, 1925).
71. T. G. Hammond, *The Story of Aotea* (Christchurch; Lyttleton Times, 1924), 1–2.
72. Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi ō Tainui* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995), 7.
73. Rev. J. C. Laughton's "Foreword" was written in 1957 some two years before the book was first published. Grace, *Tūwharetoa*, 7.
74. This process, as some scholars argue, has created a different understanding of the past, where history with a capital "H" is juxtaposed to indigenous histories. This is discussed in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Newbury Park: Sage, 2000), 499.

Chapter 2

1. "Knowledge," Lyotard writes, "in the form of an informational commodity indispensable to productive power is already, and will continue to be, a major—perhaps the major—stake in the worldwide competition for power." Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1979] 1984), 5.
2. Vine Deloria, *We Talk You Listen, New Tribes, New Turf* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1970).
3. "Dancing with Memory: Oral History and Its Audience." 14th International Oral History Association Conference. Sydney, Australia, July 2006.
4. Valerie Janesick writes that "Memory is often used as a synonym for oral history." Valerie J. Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher: Choreographing the Story* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2010), 11.
5. Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire, Missionaries, Māori, and the Question of the Body* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015). Some scholars have emphasized the exchanges in colonial encounter. This is true, but for indigenous peoples, these entanglements often meant having to give up much more than their colonizers. For Māori, and other indigenous peoples, it meant having to give up their history and oral history to the supposed superior intellectual institutions that advocated European definitions of history, oral history, and tradition.
6. Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 30.
7. The oral formula remains a topic of interest in the literature on oral tradition. There are various articles and studies that refer to Lord and Parry's work. Many of these can be found in the *Oral Tradition* journal, now accessible online. Another typical example can be found in the work of Minna Skafte Jensen, who in *The Homeric Question and the Oral Formulaic Theory* in 1980, noted the growing interest in oral composition generated by Parry and Lord's work, stating that "publications are now appearing" that test their theory in relation to other traditions beyond Greek and modern Serobcroation epic. M. S. Jensen, *The Homeric Question and the Oral Formulaic Theory* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1980), 9.

8. Jan Vansina, *De la tradition orale: essai de méthode historique* (Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961). It was later published for English speakers in 1965 under the title *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).
9. See for instance Francis West's review in *Oral History and Theory*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1996): 348–52.
10. The "Functionalist" employed by social anthropologist drew on the work of Emile Durkheim. In the functional theoretical paradigm, espoused by Durkheim and other social scientists, human behavior is fundamentally shaped by the moral, religious, and social society within which the individual lives. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, introduction by Lewis Coser, translated by W. D. Halls (London: Macmillan, 1984).
11. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A study in Historical Methodology*, 12.
12. Selma Leydesdorff and Elizabeth Tonkins, "Aldine Transaction Introduction: The Volatility of the Oral," in Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), xiii.
13. Ibid.
14. Vansina comments on the responses to his 1965 book in the preface of *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985), 27–28.
15. David Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
16. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition*, 95–96. Also see David William Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 230–231, for a broader contextual discussion on Henige's work as it relates to historical scholarship.
17. Kenneth C. Wylie, "The Uses and Misuses of Ethnohistory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 3, no. 4 (Spring 1973): 708.
18. Ibid., 711.
19. Kenneth Brown and Michael Roberts, eds., "Using Oral Sources: Vansina and Beyond," special edition of the *Journal of Cultural and Social Practice*, no. 4 (September 1980).
20. Joseph Miller, *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1980), 5.
21. Jeffrey Hoover, "Message and Medium: Some Recent Developments in Oral Tradition," *Journal of Cultural and Social Practice*, no. 4 (September 1980), 19; Anthony Belgrano van Fossen, "Oral Tradition, Myth, and Social Structure: Historical Perception in a French Messianic Movement," *Journal of Cultural and Social Practice*, no. 4 (September 1980): 39.
22. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy, the Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982), 11–13.
23. Jack Goody, *The Power of Written Tradition* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2000), 26.
24. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 12–13.
25. Ruth Finnegan and Margret Orbell, eds., *South Pacific Oral Tradition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).
26. Ronald J. Grele and Studs Terkel, eds., *Envelopes of Sound, Six Practitioners Discuss the Method, Theory, and Practice of Oral History and Oral Testimony* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1975), 6–7.
27. The book drew on a number of recorded interviews in which Vansina and others openly discussed issues relating to oral history methodology.
28. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
29. These points have been noted by Ton Otto and Paul Pedersen, eds., *Tradition and Agency: Tracing Cultural Continuity and Invention* (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2008), 7, 20; and John Tomlinson, *Globalisation and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999), 64.
30. *Oral Tradition* can now be accessed online (http://journal.oraltradition.org), and contains comprehensive archives dating back to its first publication. These special editions include "African Oral Traditions," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1994); "South Asian Oral Traditions," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1997); "Hebrew and Tradition," vol. 14, no. 1 (1999); "Arabic Oral Traditions," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 4, no. 1–2 (1989); and "Native American Oral Traditions: Collaboration and Interpretation," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1998).

31. Special editions often concerned themselves with poems and ballads, such as "Hispanic Balladry," Oral Tradition, vol. 2, no. 2–3, in (1987). A festschrift to Walter Ong was published in *Oral Tradition*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1987) illustrating his importance to the discipline.
32. Ruth Finnegan, ed., "South Pacific Oral Tradition," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 5, no. 2–3 (1990).
33. Ruth Finnegan, "Introduction; or, Why the Comparativist Should Take Account of the South Pacific," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 5, no. 2–3 (1990): 159.
34. Ibid., 166.
35. Margaret Orbell, "'My Summit Where I Sit': Form and Content in Maori Women's Love Songs," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 5, no. 2–3 (1990): 185–204.
36. Ibid., 185.
37. Thomas A. McKean, "Tradition as Communication," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2003): 49. Studies and short essays on oral tradition surfaced elsewhere in other journals and books, such as Timothy B. Powell, "Native/American Digital Storytelling: Situating the Cherokee Oral Tradition within American Literary History," *Literature Compass*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2007): 1–23.
38. Julie Cruickshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History: Reviewing Some Issues," *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 75, no. 3 (1994): 403.
39. The circular was distributed on the June 19, 1892. M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years* (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1992), 21.
40. Stephenson Percy Smith and Edward Tregear, eds., *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 1 (1892): 3.
41. Rev. Mohi Turei, "Tū-whaka-iri-ora," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 20 (1911): 18–32.
42. Sir Peter Buck, "The Value of Tradition in Polynesian Research," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, no. 35 (1926): 181.
43. One of the other writers to briefly examine oral tradition was J. B. W Robertson, whose "The Evaluation of Tribal Tradition as History," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 71 (1962): 293–309, did little to advance, or even match, the work done by Buck.
44. A. T. Ngata, *Rauru-nui a Toi Lectures*, 4. Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, and Edward Tregear had also popularized the myth of a great fleet, Smith arguing that it followed the initial discovery by Kupe in AD 950, and earlier visits by Whatonga and Toi between AD 1000–1100.
45. This method, advocated by the Polynesian Society, was derived from the work of Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, 3 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1878–1885).
46. Ngata, *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi*, 5. The great fleet theory circulated within a wide range of writing on Māori and iwi history in Ngata's time. He also encouraged those present to purchase, borrow, and read Te Rangihiroa's earlier and smaller work on the *Coming of the Māori* and *Vikings of the Sunrise* (Buck's larger volume did not appear until 1949), as well as Stephenson Percy Smith's *Hawaiiki*, which he felt were seminal texts in Polynesian literature and history. Ngata, *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi*, 2.
47. D. R. Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Māori* (Wellington: Reed, 1976).
48. One of the better discussions surrounding the negative impact of "outsiders" within Polynesian research has been written by Lilikala Kamelihiwa, *Native Land Foreign Desires*. Of the New Zealand, and Māori context, Linda Tuhiwai Smith has written in more depth on this issue, see *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 230.
49. A. T. Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea · The Songs Part 1*, rev. ed. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004).
50. Hirini Moko Mead, "The Study of Māori Chant," *Te Ao Hou*, no. 68 (1970): 42–45. According to Mead, McLean had indicated that there must have been "at least 5,000 texts in the literature and in tape-recorded collections" available to researchers around this time.
51. Māori dance groups had by this time become both a common and vital part of the transmission of traditional compositions in most tribal communities, including a growing urban Māori population. The role of these groups in supporting cultural revitalization had earlier been envisioned by leaders such as Ngata and Te Puea, but by the late twentieth century had blossomed into an immense array of both competitive and non-competitive festivals maintained at school, adult, and tribal levels, to a highly lucrative national tournament that evolved from its first festival at Rotorua in 1972. For further reading see Wira Gardiner,

Haka (Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2010); Timoti Karetu, *Haka, te tohu ō te whenua rangatira/The Dance of a Noble People* (Auckland: Reed, 1993).

52. Mitchell did draw on oral interviews as well, but did not reference his evidence, only providing a list of some selected sources. Tiaki Hikawera Mitira (Mitchell), *Takitimu* (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997), 267.
53. Ibid., 9.
54. Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Māori AD 1650–1850* (Dunedin: Otago University Press in association with Dunedin City Council, 1998).
55. Cites Vansina from his 1969 publication, 8. Ruka Broughton, "Ko Ngaa Paiaka ō Ngaa Rauru Kiitahi/The Origins of Ngaa Rauru Kiitahi" (MA thesis, University of Victoria, 1979), 6.
56. Ibid., 5.
57. Ibid., 7.
58. Hirini Moko Mead made this observation some time ago now; "Māoritanga, Should It Be Shared?," *Listener*, Dec 10 (1977): 56.
59. Cited in Michael King, *Being Pākehā Now* (Auckland: Penguin, 1999), 184.
60. The Tribunal's retrospective gaze was expanded in 1985 to include historical grievances from 1840 to the present day.
61. Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*, 18, 20–21.
62. Tipene O'Regan, "Who Owns the Past? Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past," in *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Māori*, edited by John Wilson (Auckland: Penguin in association with New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1987), 142.
63. Joe Pere, "Oral Tradition and Tribal History," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 3 (1990–91): 2.
64. Ranginui Walker, "The Relevance of Māori Myth and Tradition," in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga*, rev. ed., edited by Michael King (Auckland: Reed, 1992), 182.
65. Rawiri Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikituroa ō Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), 18.
66. Ibid., 17.
67. Danny Keenan, "The Past from the Paepae: Uses of the Past in Māori Oral History," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 12, no. 13 (2000–2001): 33–38.
68. Ibid., 33.
69. In general, there has been no substantial discussion in the local New Zealand context that compares and contrasts studies in oral history and oral tradition.
70. Indeed, oral tradition aside from being the focus within its own field of study is also considered very much a part of other fields, like folklore. Julie Cruickshank noted that in China, for instance, folklore emerged as a field of study at National Beijing University in 1918. Cruickshank, 1994, 407.
71. Ibid., 404.
72. Studies of waka traditions, for instance, although essentially examinations of kōrero tuku iho, have focused largely on debates surrounding the migratory myth of the great fleet. Although such research includes oral testimony from informants, there has been little attention given to the methodological issues, theory, and discussions of form relevant to the sources themselves. See Rawiri Taonui, "Te Haerenga Waka: Polynesian Origins, Migration, and Navigation" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1994), and Rawiri Taonui, "Ngā Tātai-Whakapapa: Dynamics in Māori Oral Tradition" (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2005).
73. Valerie Janesick argues that "oral history has been around for all of time." Janesick, 7.
74. See Rebecca Sharpless, "The History of Oral History," in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira Press, 2007), 9–10.
75. See Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, "Oral History," in *The Houses of History*, 230.
76. Sharpless, "The History of Oral History," 10.
77. Ibid.
78. James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Māori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1922).
79. Graham Smith argues that "while Eric Cregeen proved an inspirational figure in Scotland in England it was the work of George Ewart Evans that provided an important and lasting

contribution." Graham Smith, "The Making of Oral History," http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/oral_history, accessed April 16, 2016.

80. Smith notes for instance the work conducted at the School of English at the University of Leeds and the Centre for English Cultural Tradition at Sheffield. Ibid.
81. Oral history remains an important means of researching tradition, as exemplified by researchers such as Doc Rowe, *Living Memories* (London: Thames Television, 1988); and Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry, Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
82. Sharpless, "The History of Oral History," 11.
83. W. T. Couch, *These Are Our Lives* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939); Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1938).
84. Modeled on the German Magnetophon, the American-made tape recorders did not become widely available until several years later. Eric D. Daniel, C. Denis Mee, and Mark H. Clark, eds., *Magnetic Recording, The First 100 Years* (New York: Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers, 1999).
85. Smith writes that "the approach of combining recollections based on lengthy recordings with music would be taken up in the 1980s by Billy Kay for his BBC Radio Scotland series." Smith, "Making Oral History."
86. Graham Smith, Personal Communication, Auckland (November 2008).
87. B. A. Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk-history of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).
88. See for instance Staughton Lynd, "Oral History from Below," *Oral History Review*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1993): 1–8.
89. Green and Troup, "Oral History," 231.
90. Ibid., 230.
91. Smith, "The Making of Oral History."
92. Grele writes that "The internationalization of the world of oral history, it strikes me, has had three phases, and is on the verge of a fourth." Ron Grele, "From the Intimate Circle to Globalized Oral History," *Words and Silences*, vol. 4, no. 1 (November 2007/2008): 1.
93. Anna Green and Megan Hutching, eds., *Remembering, Writing Oral History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), 4.
94. This was the view taken by some at the 2007 National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) Conference 28–29 July, Wellington. Smith also notes this contention between academic oral history, noting that for some time, "oral history was not closely associated with mainstream academic history departments." He suggests that this "perhaps in part accounts for the eclectic variety of approaches taken by oral historians." Smith, "The Making of Oral History."
95. Megan Hutching, *Talking History: A Short Guide to Oral History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993), 1.
96. Ibid., 2.
97. Grele's assertion regarding the categorical differences between oral history and oral tradition is briefly discussed in "Oral Sources: Vansina and Beyond," *Social Analysis, Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, vol. 4 (1980): 5–6.
98. R. J. Grele and Studs Terkel, eds., *Envelopes of Sound*, 139.
99. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).
100. Ibid., 46.
101. Trevor Lummis, *Listening to History: The Authenticity of Oral Evidence* (London: Hutchinson Education, 1987), 21–24.
102. Literate societies also invent and keep traditions. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.
103. Green and Troup, "Oral History," 231.
104. Michael Roper, "Oral History," in *The Contemporary History Handbook*, edited by Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton, and Anthony Seldon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 346.
105. Ibid., 347.

106. Green and Troup, "Oral History," 231.
107. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, translated from the French by Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).
108. Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
109. Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, eds., *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
110. "Oral history as a Social Justice Project" is noted by Valerie Janesick. Janesick, 16.
111. Sean Field, *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York: Palgrave, 2012), 4.
112. "Power and Democracy: The Many Voices of Oral History." International Oral History Association Conference. Barcelona, Spain. July 9–12, 2014. In the call for papers, the organizers described oral history as a democratic tool: "As a democratic tool, oral history records and preserves the memories, perceptions, and voices of individuals and groups at all levels and in all endeavors." See https://2014iohacongress.wordpress.com, accessed April 19, 2016.
113. See for instance Mentan Tatah, *Decolonizing Democracy from Western Cognitive Imperialism* (Cameroon: Langaa, 2015). Christine Keating, *Decolonizing Democracy: Transforming the Social Contract in India* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).
114. Raphael Samuel, "Myth and History: A First Reading," *Oral History*, vol. 16 (1988): 15.
115. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, eds., *The Myths We Live By* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 2.
116. Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet, "Narrative Structures, Social Models, and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story," in *Women's Words, The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, edited by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 77–92.
117. Ibid., 80.
118. Graham Smith writes that "in the 1980s insights were being drawn from across the disciplinary spectrum. This included history, from which oral historians adopted methods of testing the reliability and consistency of testimonies, as well as combining oral testimonies with other sources. But it also included: sociological purposive and representative sampling methods and theories about difference and relationships in interviews; social psychological ideas about life review and remembering; psychoanalytical understandings of unconscious desires present in testimonies; community publishing, with its record of enabling groups to produce and disseminate histories." Smith, "The Making of Oral History."
119. Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 413.
120. Winona Wheeler, "Reflections on the Social Relations of Indigenous Oral Histories," in *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representation*, edited by Ute Lischke and David T. McNab (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 194–95.
121. Julie Cruickshank, *Life Lived Like a Story, Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), x.
122. Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
123. Moana Jackson, "Research and Colonization of Māori Knowledge," *He Pukenga Kōrero*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1998): 69–76.
124. Huanani Kay-Trask, "From a Native Daughter," in *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 176, 178.
125. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, London, and New York: Zed Books, 1999), 29–30, 183.
126. The importance of "reclaiming" for indigenous peoples is addressed by Moana Jackson, "Colonization of Māori Knowledge," 69–76.
127. For further reading here see Tipene O'Reagan, "Who Owns the Past? Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past," in *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Māori*, edited by John Wilson (Auckland: Penguin in association with New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1987), 141–145.

128. These scholars, like those I met with at the International Oral History Association Conference in 2006, still consider indigenous oral history to be significantly different. For many, mainstream oral history does not adequately define or explain native oral histories.
129. Monty Soutar, "C Company Oral History Project," *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, vol. 3 (2009): 9–22.
130. Rachel Selby, *Still Being Punished* (Wellington: Huia, 1999), 2.
131. Danny Keenan, "The Past from the Paepae: Uses of the Past in Māori Oral History," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 12/13 (2000–2001): 33–38; Mere Whaanga, "Telling Our Stories: Hapū Identity in Waiata, Pakiwaitara, and Visual Arts," in *Māori and Oral History: A Collection*, edited by Rachel Selby and Alison Laurie (Wellington: National Oral History Association of New Zealand, 2005): 23–27.
132. Rachel Selby and Alison Laurie, eds., *Māori and Oral History: A Collection* (Wellington: National Oral History Association, 2005).
133. Lorina Barker, "'Hangin' Out' and 'Yarnin": Reflecting on the Experience of Collecting Oral Histories," History Australia, vol. 5, no. 1 (2008): 9.1–9.9.
134. Judy Iseke, "Indigenous Storytelling as Research," *International Review of Qualitative Research*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2013): 559–577.
135. Dovie Thomason, http://www.oralhistory.org/2013/07/18/oha-annual-meeting-spotlight-on-saturday-awards-dinner-and-keynote-speaker, accessed April 16, 2016.
136. See for instance Alice Te Punga Somerville, Daniel Heath Justice, and Noelani Arista, Special Edition Guest Editors, "Indigenous Conversations about Biography," *Biography*, vol. 39, no. 3 (2016).
137. Nēpia Mahuika, "An Outsider's Guide to Public Oral History in New Zealand," *The New Zealand Journal of Public History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2017): 4–18.
138. Bruce Granville Miller, *Oral History on Trial: Recognizing Aboriginal Narratives in the Courts* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).
139. Ibid., 2, 9.
140. Julie Cruickshank, "Notes and Comments," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 75, no. 3 (1994): 410.
141. Ibid., 418.

Chapter 3

1. These lines are taken from the haka "Whakarongo ake ki te hirea waka ā Māui/Hearken to the faint call of the voice of Māui." It refers to the emergence of Mount Hikurangi from the ocean depths, and the moment at which it captured Māui's canoe Nukutaimemeha. Tamati Reedy, "Ngāti Porou," *Māori Peoples of New Zealand, Ngā iwi o Aotearoa* (Wellington: Bateman, 2006), 165.
2. "Kōrero tuku iho" here literally means to pass on words and stories.
3. Bradford Haami, *He Putea Whakairo: Māori and the Written Word* (Wellington: Huia/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2004), 15. The quote that Haami refers to here is from Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), xi.
4. Timoti Karetu writes that once our "ancestors mastered the art of writing" they became "prolific correspondents," and that much of their early writing was based on "conventions" developed from the etiquette and protocol of the marae and formal speeches (or whaikōrero). See Timoti Karetu, "Māori Print Culture; the News Papers," in *Rere Atu Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language, and Politics in the Māori Language Newspapers*, edited by Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa, and Jane McRae (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), 1.
5. Privileging our definitions of oral history allows native peoples to reclaim the past using our own epistemological frames of reference rather than having them provided for us by those who do not understand our world. This is an issue addressed by other indigenous scholars. Hawaiian scholar Huanani-Kay Trask, for instance, writes that "if it is truly our history Western historians desire to know, they must put down their books and take up our practices." Huanani-Kay Trask, "From a Native Daughter," in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, edited by Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 178.
6. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, London, and New York: University of Otago Press/Zed Books, 1999), 29, 30. Tuhiwai

Smith's words have even more resonance for us, not only because of the fact that she is Ngāti Porou, but because she is viewed a leader particularly for Ngāti Porou people in academia.

7. Apirana Tūahae Mahuika, oral history interview, Kaiti (7 July 2009), Rec. 3, 8.30–9.40.
8. Megan Hutching, *Talking History: A Short Guide to Oral History* (Auckland: Bridget Williams Books, 1993), 2.
9. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 12–13.
10. Derek Lardelli, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (18 December 2007), 13.53–14.06.
11. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 47.
12. Vansina concedes that this is also indicative of oral history, but that oral traditions are different because they move beyond the contemporary life of the oral history informant. Furthermore, he argues that oral traditions are not just about "the past" or just narratives: a point that he appears to imply is yet another differentiation between oral traditions and oral history. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, 27–28.
13. Api Mahuika, 00.55–1.51.
14. Vansina argues for the validity of oral traditions, but only inasmuch as they could be verified in Western historical tradition. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006, originally published in English in 1965), 1.
15. There are multiple examples of this from the nineteenth century to more recent publications. See, for instance, George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by Their Priests and Their Chiefs* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956), Rev. Richard Taylor, *Te Ika ā Māui, New Zealand and Its Inhabitants* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855), and more recently A. H. Reed, *Myths and Legends of Polynesia Illustrated by Roger Hart* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1974).
16. For an explanation of "outsiders," see Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 137.
17. Rawiri Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikituroa ō Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), 18–19.
18. Maria Whitehead, oral history interview, Tologa Bay (11 May 2008), 9.39–11.14.
19. Morehu Te Maro, oral history interview, Ruatorea (13 December 2007), Rec Two 2.22–3.05.
20. Kura Unuhia Tibble, oral history interview, Tikitiki (12 December 2007), 6.21–7.06.
21. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, oral history interview, Wairarapa (24 February 2008), 15.46–16.15.
22. Te Pākaka Tawhai, "He Tipuna Wharenui ō te Rohe ō Uepohatu" (Master's thesis, Massey University, 1978), 122. Te Pākaka is a descendent of Uepohatu, Umuariki, and Porourangi. These ancestors are connected. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 4, 14, 15.
23. Ibid., 121.
24. Anaru Kupenga, oral history interview, Ruatorea (9 January 2008), 17.10–19.10.
25. Aside from Te Pākaka Tawhai's thesis written in 1978, there are other studies such as D. Simmon, *Meeting Houses of Ngāti Porou ō te Tairawhiti* (Auckland: Reed, 2006), a study originally undertaken in the 1970s, and, more recently, Ngārino Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition: 100 Years of Ngāti Porou Carving 1830–1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016).
26. Turuhira Tatare, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 May 2008), 26.17–27.19. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 9, 10.
27. Mere Whaanga, for instance, writes that "we tell our important stories in many art forms,—in mōteatea or waiata of various types, through the carving and tukutuku that adorn the wharenui." Mere Whaanga, "Telling Our Stories: Hapū Identity in Waiata, Pakiwaitara, and Visual Arts," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 15 (2003): 8.
28. Anaru Kupenga, 13.39–14.16.
29. Agathe Thornton, *Māori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1987), 10.
30. In other words, carvings are always a "first" because no two are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the artists produce a type of oral "literature" because they have a literate mindset. This is not possible for purely oral cultures to whom literature would be anachronistic in the transformation from the oral to the physical (visual).
31. The problem of an oral literature is addressed by Jack Goody, who prefers standardized oral forms. He argues that the term literature is problematic because it derives from letters

and alphabetic written concepts, which are anachronistic in purely oral societies. This, of course, is not the case for Māori—at least the carvers of modern whare tipuna—who have all been exposed to literature, and therefore are able to make assumptions about the "literary equivalent" they might visualize in their work. Jack Goody, *Myth, Ritual, and the Oral* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 41–42.

32. Derek Lardelli, 25.58–27.05.
33. Api Mahuika, Rec Three, 5.08–8.16.
34. Jenny Donaldson, oral history interview, Otepoti (18 April 2008), 4.00–4.47. It is common in Ngāti Porou to refer to both male and female grandparents, and sometimes others of their generation as "nan" or nanny. Here, Jenny is speaking about a male relative.
35. Alessandro Portelli, *The Text and the Voice: Writing, Speaking, and Democracy in American Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 5.
36. Tui Marino, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 December 2008), 20.23–20.59.
37. Geertz's theory of "thick description" invites researchers to pay closer attention to the cultural layers evident in what they observe and experience. See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
38. Herewini Parata, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (26 January 2008), 28.08–28.30.
39. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, 12.20–12.29.
40. Kura Unuhia Tibble, 23.11–23.43.
41. Herewini Parata, Rec Three, 1.09.06–1.10.21.
42. The idea of a visceral experience is a concept adopted here from the work of Robyn Longhurst, Lynda Johnston, and Elsie Ho, who argue for a more multisensory approach when understanding the way people interact with their environments. See Robyn Longhurst, Lynda Johnston, and Elsie Ho, "A Visceral Approach: Cooking at Home with Migrant Women in Hamilton, New Zealand," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 34, no. 3 (2009): 334.
43. Turuhira Tatare, 7.37–8.07.
44. Hetekia Nepia, oral history interview, Reporua (8 January 2008), Rec One 8.35–9.10.
45. The old people who would have stood on the paepae when Hetekia was a young man would have all been highly literate (personal communication with Tamati Reedy, 2008). Walter Ong makes this point in *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982, reprinted 1988), 15.
46. See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 15. The adaptability and application of the text as a form that enhances and supports oral history and tradition is explored more deeply in the following chapter.
47. John Coleman, oral history interview, Te Pula Springs (14 December 2007), Rec One, 7.43–9.30.
48. The Treaty of Waitangi is considered a founding document of New Zealand nationalism. For further reading on the history of the Treaty see Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011).
49. Kuini Tawhai, oral history interview, Mahora (15 December 2007), 55.37–56.13.
50. See Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, 7.
51. Trevor Lummis suggests that this is what oral historians are interested in, "an understanding of society from the material traces they leave behind." Oral tradition, Lummis argues, is unreliable because the "process of transmission from generation to generation presents problems of validity." Trevor Lummis, *Listening to History: The Authority of Oral Evidence* (London: Hutchinson Education, 1987), 21, 26.
52. Te Kapunga Dewes, "The Case for Oral Arts," in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga*, edited by Michael King (Wellington: Hicks Smith, 1977), 55–56.
53. "Mā te manaia ka tū te whakairo"—this saying uses the imagery of the manaia (usually a beaked, lizard-like figure in ornamental carving) to express an intended concept. In this case, the manaia adorns and adds extra beauty to all other carvings in the ancestral meeting house for all to see in the same sense that it represents the rhetoric and eloquent prose of a speaker, which adorns and beautifies his speech for all to hear. Thus, if a speech is lacking in prose and eloquence, then it runs the risk of lacking character and substance. Derek Lardelli, 18.09–1849.

54. Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).
55. Anne Salmond, "Mana Makes the Man: A Look at Māori Oratory and Politics," in *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*, edited by M. Bloch (London: Academic Press, 1975), 52, 55.
56. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, 34.
57. Herwini Parata, Rec Two, 48.21–49.20.
58. Morehu Te Maro, Rec Two, 5.41–7.40.
59. Gregory Schrempp, ed., *A Whaikoorero Reader: Comparative Perspectives for the Study of Whaikoorero and Other Traditional Māori Speech Forms/Readings Selected by R. T. Mahuta* (Waikato: University of Waikato, 1984), 5.
60. Turuhira Tatare, 13.31–15.12.
61. Anaru Kupenga, 26.38–29.00.
62. Hetekia Nepia, Rec Two 2.38–3.56.
63. Api Mahuika, Rec Three, 9.57–13.02.
64. Turuhira Tatare, 7.11–7.27.
65. Pine Campbell, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (15 November 2007).
66. Anaru Kupenga, 2.20–3.29. The translation of his words here is taken from various personal communications, but also from other available texts where some of the phrases he uses also appear; see for instance Rev. Richard Taylor, *Te Ika ā Māui* (Auckland: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1855), 14–15; and D. R. Simmons, *Iconography of New Zealand Māori Religion* (Netherlands: Leiden E. J. Brill, 1986), 8–10.
67. One interpretation alludes to the copulation between Rangi and Papa, the duration of the pregnancy referred to in the long nights, and eventual birth into the world of light. These are whakapapa (genealogies) of the natural and intellectual worlds. Alternatively, the growth, planting, and shooting up of the seeds and other vegetation also refer to these acts of evolvement and becoming.

Chapter 4

1. William Schneider argues that oral traditions among Native American peoples are "shared orally . . . [and] are told over time in recognizably similar ways but with variations of detail and emphasis subject to the circumstances of each performance and the liberties taken by the speakers." See William Schneider, "The Search for Wisdom in Native American Narratives and Classical Scholarship," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2003): 268.
2. From a lament for her son by Hinekaukia, this is a well-known Ngāti Porou waiata tangi (funeral song). A. T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, eds., *Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs Part One*, rev. ed. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), 174–177. "Mairātia iho" can be translated "leave behind" but also means to "make audible." The term "waha kai rongorongo" refers to a pleasant voice or singing voice. Appendix 2, "He Tangi mō Hinekaukia."
3. This is emphasized by Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 64. Portelli's original chapter can be found in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 45–58.
4. David C Rubin, for instance, argues that oral traditions rely on "human memory for storage and oral/aural means for transmission." David C. Rubin, Memory *in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3.
5. Raupatu as a term has been used to refer to physical confiscation usually by the gun, but this was not the case in Ngāti Porou. Ngāti Porou were viewed by some as loyalists, or Crown supporters, while other tribes were positioned as rebels. For further reading see James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Penguin, 1986).
6. Derek Lardelli, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (18 December 2007), 10.03–11.06.
7. On the topic of colonization and writing Jennifer Garlick observes that "the intelligent members of a race renowned for its schools of learning, for its orally transmitted poetry, traditions and myths, were avid of the new knowledge, in the forefront of which western

propagandists placed a knowledge of the new God. Reading and writing, the basis of the mechanism and the art of the new civilization! . . . printed matter . . . was hailed as only one more wonder, the undoubted convenience." Jennifer Garlick, *Māori Language Publishing, Some Issues* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1998), 17.

8. The issue of writing, imperialism, and colonization for indigenous peoples is discussed in more depth by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, London, and New York: University of Otago Press/Zed Books, 1999), 28–29.
9. These discursive constructions in the writing of New Zealand history are well documented. See for instance Peter Gibbons, "Cultural Colonisation and National Identity," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 36, no. 1 (1997): 15.
10. Valerie Raleigh Yow contends that the term oral history also refers to these forms of writing, as well as the method of interviewing. Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History, A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. (New York: Altamira, 2005), 3.
11. Richard Cándida Smith, "Publishing Oral History: Oral Exchange and Print Culture," in *Thinking about Oral History: Theories and Applications*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008), 170.
12. Tinatoka Tawhai, oral history interview, Mahora (15 December 2007), 5.49–6.42. She remembers being read Shakespeare and other poetry.
13. Parekura Tamati White writes that "the Old Testament book became a valuable trade commodity on the East Coast. As pointed out by William Williams in November 1839, the demand for books on the East Coast was so great that Gilbert Mair, a Bay of Plenty trader, told Williams that if he had access to the small prayer books he could have purchased a cargo with them alone." Parekura Tamati White, *Te Aitanga a Mate, Te Aowera and Te Whānau a Rakairoa, vol. 2 (WAI 792)*, (2001), 24.
14. Boy Keelan and Jack Takurua remember reading comic books, while others like Wayne Ngata read newspapers. Tate Pewhairangi referred to workbooks and other written materials kept by people he knew working in the shearing sheds. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, oral history interview, Wairarapa (28 February 2008), 14.36–14.57. Boy Keelan and Jack Takurua, oral history interview, Ruatorea (13 December 2007), 20.17–21.26. Wayne Ngata, oral history interview, Uawa (17 December 2007), 15.29–17.23. Tate Pewhairangi, oral history interview, Tokomaru Bay (18 December 2007), 10.11–10.24.
15. These included John White, *Ancient History of the Māori*, vol. 1–6 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1887–1891), and George Grey, *Ngā Mahi ā Ngā Tūpuna: He Mea Kohikohi nā Sir George Grey* (London: George Willis, 1854). See Ta Apirana T. Ngata, *The Porourangi Māori Cultural School, Rauru-nui-ā-Toi Course, Lectures 1–7* (Gisborne: Māori Purposes Fund Board/Te Rūnanga o Ngati Porou, 2011, originally presented in 1944), 8.
16. Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, oral history interview, Kaiti (7 July 2007), Rec. 3, 13.46–18.12. Walter Edward Gudgeon, a judge in the Māori Land Court in the late nineteenth century, published successive volumes in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* on "The Māori Tribes of the East Coast" between 1894 and 1897. See Monty Soutar, "A Framework for Analysing Written iwi Histories," *He Pukenga Kōrero*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1996), 45. Porourangi is a descendant of Toi and Whatonga. Appendix 3, Genealogy Table 5.
17. Walter Ong cites Hirsch (1977), who referred to "context-free" language, and Olson (1980), who wrote on "autonomous discourse." See Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982), 77.
18. See Ruth Finnegan, "Preface," in *South Pacific Oral Traditions*, edited by Ruth Finnegan and Margaret Orbell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1.
19. Soutar, "Analyzing Written Iwi Histories," 48.
20. Andrew Roberts, "The Use of Oral Sources for African History," *Oral History, the Journal of the Oral History Society*, edited by Paul Thompson, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 50.
21. For Māori, the past is produced in the present, in the local and living context rather a foreign country. The tensions between chronological time and Māori views of the past have been addressed by a number of scholars. See, for instance, Rawiri Te Maire Tau, "Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology," in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past—A New Zealand Commentary*, edited by Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 61–73; and Danny Keenan, "The Past from the Paepae: Uses of the Past in

Māori Oral History," in *Remembering, Writing Oral History*, edited by Anna Green and Megan Hutching (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), 145–151.

22. Api Mahuika, Rec Two, 0.02–0.52.
23. Alessandro Portelli writes that "orality and writing are forever changing roles, functions, and meanings in a mutual relationship of seeking and desire rather than exclusions and polarisations." Alessandro Portelli, *The Text and the Voice, Writing, Speaking, and Democracy in American Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), xiv. I refer to this exchange here as a type of "spiraling" process where the oral and textual are mixed and spun together.
24. But they also had to have the mandate of the people. An example of this was the assertion of Arnold (Hanaara) Reedy as a tribal spokesperson widely supported by the people. Herewini Parata refers to this in his interview. Herewini Parata, oral history interview, Kaiti (26 January 2008), Rec. Three, 1.18 39–1.21.06.
25. Bob McConnell, *Te Araroa: An East Coast Community—A History* (Te Araroa: R. N. McConnell, 1993); *He Taonga Tuku Iho: Ngāti Porou Stories from the East* Cape (Auckland: Reed, 2001); *Taonga Anō: More Ngāti Porou Stories from the East Cape* (Auckland: Reed, 2002).
26. Bob said that he felt "confined by the writing of a history." Bob McConnell, oral history interview, Te Araroa (8 December 2009), 31.40–32.20.
27. Ibid., 16.22–16.40.
28. False testimony in the Courts occurred on numerous occasions. For further reading, see Ann Parsonson, "Stories for the Land: Oral Narratives in the Māori Land Court," in *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand*, edited by Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 29–40.
29. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 27–28
30. Despite the view that oral history deals primarily with oral sources, Ron Grele reminds us that "where written sources are available, they should be used as background as well as corroboration. Oral data does not exonerate the historians from searching for and using written documents exhaustively." Ronald J. Grele and Studs Terkel, eds., *Envelopes of Sound, Six Practitioners Discuss the Method, Theory, and Practice of Oral History and Oral Testimony* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1975), 5.
31. Shaun Awatere, oral history interview, Hopuhopu (17 January 2008), 11.52–12.17.
32. Terri Lee Nyman, oral history interview, Otepoti (17 April 2008), 7.46–8.15.
33. Whaimutu Dewes, oral history interview, Rotorua (12 April 2008), 44.18–44.20.
34. Jenny Donaldson, oral history interview, Otepoti (18 April 2008), 35.35–36.48.
35. Api Mahuika, Rec One, 18.48–19.02.
36. Michael Taiapa, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (8 December 2007), 28:53–30:30.
37. Jennifer Garlick, 17.
38. Timoti Karetu, "Māori Print Culture; the Newspapers," in *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language, and Politics in the Māori-language Newspapers*, edited by Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa, and Jane McRae (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), 1.
39. Apirana T Ngata, *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi Lectures*, 5.
40. Ngata argued that "by using this method the mean of generations from the crew of Te Arawa, Mataatua, Takitimu, Tainui and other canoes of what is called the fleet, the date of the migration is given as the year, 1350 AD." See Apirana T. Ngata, *Rauru-nui-ā-Toi* Lectures, 4–5.
41. Particularly in the Land Court minute books, but as Timoti Karetu notes, in the newspapers, many Māori wrote as if they were speaking on the marae. These two very different conventions shaped kōrero tuku iho in significant ways. See Timoti Karetu, "Māori Print Culture," 1–16.
42. Derek Lardelli, 14.47–15.41.
43. Derek Lardelli, 23.07–23.24.
44. Mere (pseudonym), oral history interview, Kirikiriroa, Rec Two, 2.29–4.10.
45. Angela Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (10 December 2007), 50.50–52.03. Tinatoka Tawhai, 50.56–52.51. Mana tangata here refers to the family's status within the tribe, and together with mana whenua (land rights) enables them to make claims for land use, ownership, and unbroken rights specific to their hapū (subtribe). Mervyn McLean has also written that "on the death of a singer, his manuscript waiata books are often buried with

him." Mervyn McLean, "Sound Archiving and the Problems of Dissemination of Waiata," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 2 (1989): 14.

46. Whaimutu Dewes, 40.41–41.04.
47. Tinatoka Tawhai, 39.50–40.34.
48. A more recent discussion of the orality and literacy question for indigenous peoples is considered by Ruth Finnegan, who notes that the oral transition to print now has not been envisioned "as some predestined oral-to-literate trajectory, but in each case a historically specific process." Oral formulaic examinations are now expanding to accommodate "multi-literacies," and as she suggests, perhaps even a "multi-orality." See Ruth Finnegan, "Response from an Africanist Scholar," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2010): 8, 14–15.
49. Anaru Kupenga, oral history interview, Ruatorea (9 January 2008), 3.40–4.42. Appendix 3, Genealogy Table 18, 370.
50. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 15
51. Waldo Houia, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (24 July 2008), 09:22–09:41.
52. Turuhira Tatare, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 May 2008), 32.09–32.12.
53. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Perseus Books Group, 1984), 20.
54. Andrew Roberts, "The Uses of Oral Sources," 51.
55. Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, "Ngā Wāhine Kaihautu ō Ngāti Porou: The Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou" (Master's thesis, Sydney University, 1974), ii, iv.
56. Hilda Tawhai, oral history interview, Tuparoa (29 December 2007), 15.17–17.10.
57. Mita Carter, "The Preservation of the Māori Oral Tradition," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 3 (1990–91): 5.
58. Ibid., 5.
59. Maria Whitehead, oral history interview, Uawa (11 May 2008), 51.03–54.18.
60. Api Mahuika, Rec One, 24.33–25.26.
61. Ihipera Morrell, oral history interview, Otepoti (19 April 2008), 14.59–15. 34. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 2, 9.
62. McClean writes that "after a song was learned, omission of words was regarded very seriously as a *whati* or omen of disaster." Mervyn McLean, "Sound Archiving," 14.
63. Carter writes that "before beginning a recital the Māori would put the stone in his mouth, repeating the formula 'with this, thus we remember.'" Mita Carter, "The Preservation of the Māori Oral Tradition," 5.
64. Writing on the whare wānanga Elsdon Best recorded that instruction is stated to have taken place under conditions of intense *tapu* (sacredness) in special schools of learning known as *whare wānanga* where the object was to hand on knowledge "free of any alteration, omission, interpolation or deterioration." Elsdon Best, *The Māori Division of Time* (Wellington: Government Print, 1959), 6.
65. There is no clear definition of what, or who, is an oral traditionalist, thus folklorists and ethnomusicologists tend to be considered oral traditionalists and even oral historians. In more recent scholarship, Francesca R. Sborgi Lawson provides a reminder of the fact that oral formulaic theory and questions remain relevant to current research. See Francesca R. Sborgi Lawson, "Rethinking the Orality-Literacy Paradigm in Musicology," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2010): 432.
66. Ruth Finnegan, "South Pacific Oral Traditions," 1–2.
67. Tia Neha, oral history interview, Otepoti (19 April 2008), 35.10–35.50.
68. Morehu Te Maro, oral history interview, Ruatorea (13 December 2007), Rec 2, 4.59–5.20.
69. Riria Tatau Grant, oral history interview, Otepoti (17 April 2008), 47.15–47.52.
70. Tinatoka Tawhai, 41.19–42.19. These are common across the coast. Angela Tibble referred specifically to the wānanga she has attended: "So we started having hard out wānanga" and we were "taking them around the coast." Angela Tibble, 27.30–27.35.
71. In Native Māori Schools (from 1867 to 1969), and indeed in mainstream schooling, "the state had been concerned to "civilize" Māori by encouraging them to abandon their traditional cultural values, customs and language in favour of those of the European." Judith Simon and

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *A Civilizing Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native School System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), 301.

72. Tūwhakairiora Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (2 December 2007), 11, 14–12.53. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 10, 13, 14, 17.
73. Boy Keelan, 6.26–6.57.
74. John Coleman, oral history interview, Te Puia Springs (14 December 2007), Rec. 1, 7.00–7.41.
75. Hera Boyle, oral history interview, Tikitiki (13 December 2007), 13.59–15.22.
76. Ronald J. Grele and Studs Terkel, *Envelopes of Sound*, 14.
77. Herewini Parata, Rec 2., 00.52–2.50.
78. Derek Lardelli, 28.31.–29.10.
79. Anaru Kupenga, 31.51–33.20.
80. Joseph Pere notes that "many of our repositories know the responsibilities of and the repercussions that are associated with the ritual of transmission. So they have to be as accurate and direct as required, as has already been set out by our tipuna of the past. There is to be no deviation, no allowances; in other words you can't afford to water it down." Joe Pere, "Oral Tradition and Tribal History," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 3 (1990–91): 3.
81. Elizabeth Tonkin, for instance, notes the role of experts in African oral tradition. Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts, the Social Construction of Oral History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 92.
82. Vansina, cited in *Envelopes of Sound*, 91.
83. Vansina still considered empirical historical methodology important; Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, 1985, 187–192. Ngāti Porou depart from this view in the sense that we do not want to perpetuate, or emulate the work of an outsider, but to reclaim the history that they have distorted.
84. Linda Shopes, "Legal and Ethical issues in Oral History," in *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira Press, 2008), 135–169.
85. I draw on Linda Tuhiwai Smith's definition of the "outsider" here. See Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 137–141.
86. Jenny Donaldson, 13.01–14.01.
87. Maru Karaka was Henare's brother-in-law, and according to him the waiata "Tomo Mai e Tama Mā" was written the night before it was first performed by the hapū. See Te Kapunga Dewes, "Ngā Waiata Haka ā Henare Waitoa ō Ngāti Porou/Modern Dance Poetry of Henare Waitoa of Ngāti Porou" (Master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1972).
88. Te Kapunga Matemoana Dewes, oral history interview, Rangitukia (11 December 2007), 02:17–05:56.
89. This was noted by John Coleman, Rec. 2, 3.48–4.49.
90. Herewini Parata, Rec. 2, 44.20–45.43.
91. The census and statistics reports have shown that the majority of our people live in the main centers, such as Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. New Zealand, *2001 Census: Iwi*, 1, 11. See also "Ngāti Porou kei te kainga–Ngāti Porou at home," http://www.Ngātiporou.com/Whānaungatanga/Whenua/default.asp, accessed April 16, 2016; "Ngāti Porou Kei te whenua—Ngāti Porou in Aotearoa." http://www.ngatiporou.com/Whanaungatanga/Whenua/default.asp, accessed April 16, 2016.
92. Wayne Ngata, 17:55–19:19.
93. Turhira Tatare, 24.21–25.11. Appendices 3, Genealogy Table 14.
94. Herewini Parata, Rec Three, 1.11.28–1.12.52.
95. Te Kapunga Dewes, 00:15–02:08.
96. This was mentioned by John Coleman, who referred to the compositions in Ngata's *Ngā Mōteatea* that he argued belonged to Te Whānau ā Ruataupare ki Tokomaru. John Coleman, 14.13–14.57.
97. Angela Tibble, 41.11–42.10.
98. Maria Whitehead, 47.56–49.09.

99. Louise Douglas, Alan Roberts, Ruth Thompson, eds., *Oral History, a Handbook* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1988), 5.
100. Api Mahuika, Rec. 1, 13.42–15.16.
101. Angela Tibble, 42.30–43.41.
102. Derek Lardelli, 24.19–25.57.
103. Prince Ferris, oral history interview, Ruatorea (10 January 2008) 32.43–33.56.
104. Prince Ferris, 34.07–34.45.
105. Angela Tibble, 25.30–26.01.
106. Tinatoka Tawhai, 18.53–19.36.
107. Angela Tibble, 26.16–27.16. Appendix 2, "He Tangi mō Hinekaukia."
108. Turuhira Tatare, 32.09–32.12.
109. Matanuku Mahuika, oral history interview, Kaiti (12 December 2008), 41.26–43.33.
110. Matanuku Mahuika, 43.43–44.22. Appendix 2, "Te Kiringutu."

Chapter 5

1. Te Kani a Takirau's response "Ehara taku maunga Hikurangi i te maunga haere, engari he maunga tū tonu/My mountain Hikurangi never moves. It remains fast in one place" as a political statement urges a resistance to external influences, reminding Ngāti Porou people that it is vital to assert our own tribal views as paramount, to remain steadfast to our own knowledge systems.
2. Te Kani a Takirau was of highborn status; through his grandmother Hine Matioro he descended from Te Uhunui ō te Rangi, Rerekohu, Tūwhakairiora, Ruataupare, and other prominent figures significant in Ngāti Porou history. Appendix 3, Genealogy Table 8.
3. Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 21.
4. The "politics of meaning," for instance, was discussed at length by Geertz, who saw political influence as "an indubitable proposition." His interest was to consider the "stream of events" between "political life and the web of beliefs that comprise a culture." Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 311.
5. The idea of mana motuhake—authority and sovereignty—here is explained more fully by Apirana Mahuika in "A Ngāti Porou Perspective," in *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change*, edited by Malcolm Mulholland and Veronica Tawhai (Wellington: Huia, 2010), 145–163.
6. Tamati Reedy, "Ngāti Porou," in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand, Ngā Iwi ō Aotearoa* (Auckland: David Bateman/Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2006), 168.
7. A. T. Mahuika, "A Ngāti Porou Perspective," 161.
8. Monty Soutar writes that "kūpapa" can mean "neutrality," but has also been associated with the notion of "traitor" and loyalists to the Crown. See Monty Soutar, "Ngāti Porou Leadership: Rāpata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict 'kei te ora nei hoki tātou mō to tātou whenua'" (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2000), 21. Angela Ballara has asked, "should European scholars even attempt to enter the treacherous waters of Māori history?" Angela Ballara, "'I riro i te hoko': Problems in Cross-Cultural Historical Scholarship," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 34 (2000): 21.
9. Nolan Raihānia, oral history interview, Tokomaru Bay (18 December 2007), 1:02:22–1:04:03. Initially the rūnanga was formed to deal with the return of Mount Hikurangi, but became the official governing body of the tribe as a whole up until the recent settlement negotiations when a new governing entity was elected. There were other rūnanga in operation at the time following the devolution of Māori affairs, such as Te Rūnanga ō Paikea. Apirana Mahuika, Personal Correspondence (28 May 2011).
10. He says: "no law can ever remove the deep cultural and spiritual connection that [we] have to the coast . . . we didn't cross it [Hikurangi] out from the whakatauki [proverb] when we got up on the marae." Matanuku Mahuika, "Where to From Here? Issues around the Takutai Moana Bill," *Manu Ao Presentation*, Victoria University, Wellington (18 May 2011), 34.10–35. 20.

11. According to Matanuku, this was a phrase uttered by Timoti Kaui. Matanuku Mahuika "Where to From Here?" Appendix 3, Genealogy Table 14.
12. Apirana Mahuika has asserts that "mana whenua rights as with all others is whakapapa or genealogically determined." Apirana Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero nā Apirana Tuahae Mahuika—Evidence Statement for Apirana Tuahae Mahuika (WAI262)" (April 12, 1999), 8.
13. Mana tangata here is based on mana whakapapa (the authority we inherit through our genealogy) and refers to the rights of our people to claim control, and governance, over our own land, history, and future.
14. Rebecca Sharpless, "The History of Oral History," in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira Press, 2007), 21; 24.
15. Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past," 22.
16. Joy Hendry, *Sharing Our Worlds: An Introduction to Cultural and Social Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 2.
17. Erich Kolig, "The Politics of Indigenous—or Ingenious—Tradition," in *Tradition and Agency: Tracing Cultural Continuity and Invention*, edited by Ton Otto and Paul Pedersen (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2008), 309.
18. Binaries and essentializations are often criticized for their simplistic reductionism, but their utility lies in their ability to facilitate dialogue in specific power relationships, thus encouraging greater and deeper levels of consciousness. Paora Meredith has argued that "'Essentialist frameworks' have been and will continue to be employed as a strategic movement in creating certain spaces of resistance against immutable colonial elements." Paora Meredith, "Revisioning New Zealandness: A Framework for Discussion," in *Revisioning and Reclaiming Citizenship*, edited by Gay Morgan and Paul Havemann (Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1998/2001), 58.
19. Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education Culture, Power, and Liberation* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1985), 69–70.
20. The Horouta waka "tradition" is only one of many that are relevant to Ngāti Porou. Tamati Reedy, "Ngāti Porou," 165. A. T. Mahuika, "A Ngāti Porou Perspective," 158. Monty Soutar notes that lineage alone did not guarantee nomination as an officer, but genealogy was a significant consideration. Monty Soutar, *Ngā Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship, C Company 28 (Māori) Battalion 1939–1945* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2008), 45–49.
21. Wayne Ngata, oral history interview, Uawa (17 December 2007), 50:16–57:09.
22. John Coleman, oral history interview, Te Puia Springs (14 December 2007), Rec Two, 14.49–16.01.
23. John Coleman, Rec Two, 6.42–17.28.
24. He describes this as a process of fission and fusion. See A. T. Mahuika, "A Ngāti Porou Perspective," 152. Others have referred to the Ngāti Porou tribal collective as a "corporate" entity, an identity our families and subtribes use "when we wish to present a united front." Te Pākaka Tawhai, "He Tipuna Wharenui ō te Rohe ō Uepohatu" (Master's thesis, Massey University, 1978), 45.
25. Ton Otto, "Rethinking Tradition: Invention, Cultural Continuity, and Agency," in *Experiencing New Worlds*, edited by Jurg Wassmann and Katharina Sockhaus (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 52.
26. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.
27. This prevailing attitude in anthropology is noted by Juri Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics: A New Political Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 2.
28. Ibid., 2.
29. Richard Crownshaw and Selma Leydesdorff, "Introduction to the Transaction Edition," in *Memory and Totalitarianism*, edited by Luisa Passerini (London: Transaction, 2005): xvi.
30. Whaimutu Dewes, oral history interview, Rotorua (12 April 2008), 13.28–15.51.
31. Apirana Mahuika, oral history interview, Kaiti (7 July 2009), Rec One, 1.59–3.02.
32. Api believed that "the Anglicans looked upon our art-forms, particularly for example the penis of men . . . and they saw all of this as being signs of a barbaric and primitive race, and so

they came along with their saws, and they chopped off the penises from these carved figures, which in essence was an interference and a breach of the significance of the total art-form to our history." Api Mahuika, Rec One, 4.40–5.14.

33. Api Mahuika, Rec One, 6.21–7.41.
34. Erich Kolig, "The Politics of Indigenous—or Ingenious—Tradition," 309.
35. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories, Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), vii.
36. Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki was the founder and leader of the Ringatū Church. Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, 1995).
37. Api Mahuika, Rec One, 10.17–13.07.
38. Derek Lardelli, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (18 December 2007), 27.12–28.05.
39. The discontinuance of tauparapara (incantations) has become common to Ngāti Porou whaikōrero (formal speechmaking). This transformation has roots in the tribe's conversion to Christianity, which has led some to opine that this change is the product of foreign indoctrination or for others an assertion of tribal autonomy. Apirana Mahuika, Personal Communication (2011).
40. Anaru Kupenga, oral history interview, Ruatorea (9 January 2008), 23.33–26.38.
41. Te Kapunga Dewes, oral history interview, Rangitukia (11 December 2007), Rec Three, 10:12–11:47. Appendix 3, Genealogy Tables 7, 19.
42. Derek Lardelli, 19.03–21.10.
43. This is common to other tribes, not just Ngāti Porou. See for instance Naomi Simmonds, "Mana Wāhine Geographies: Spiritual, Spatial, and Embodied Understandings of Papatūānuku" (Master's thesis, University of Waikato, 2009).
44. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, eds., *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 1–2.
45. Ibid., 1.
46. Tūwhakairiora Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (2 December 2007), 45.58–47.12. Despite this assertion of leadership the lack of female speakers on the marae today is noticeable, yet the leadership of Ngāti Porou women is obvious if not as formal speakers during powhiri (formal welcomes). For further reading on the history of female leadership in Ngāti Porou, see Apirana Mahuika, "Ngā Wāhine Kaihautu ō Ngāti Porou: Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou" (Master's thesis, Sydney University, 1974).
47. Tinatoka Tawhai, oral history interview, Mahora (15 December 2007), 35.43–36.57.
48. For a more in-depth discussion on these issues, see Ani Mikaere, *The Balance Destroyed: Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (Auckland: International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 2003).
49. This was noted for instance by Judith Stacey, who also argued that "while there cannot be a fully feminist ethnography, there can be (indeed there are) ethnographies that are partially feminist, accounts of culture enhanced by the application of feminist perspectives." Judith Stacy, "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnology?" in *Women's Words, the Feminist Practice of Oral History*, edited by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), 117.
50. Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet, "Narrative Structure, Social Models, and Symbolic Representations in the Life Story," in *Women's Words, the Feminist Practice of Oral History*, edited by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), 77.
51. See Elizabeth C. Fine, *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). Margaret Orbell has written on the frequency of female composers in Māori communities. Margaret Orbell, "My Summit Where I Sit: Form and Content in Māori Women's Love Songs," in *South Pacific Oral Traditions*, edited by Ruth Finnegan and Margaret Orbell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 30–31.
52. Soutar writes that "throughout his life [Wahawaha] remained fiercely constant to his Anglican allegiance." He became a leader of Ngāti Porou, yet was considered a traitor by others, particularly those involved in rebellions against the invading settler colonial government. Soutar, "Ngāti Porou Leadership," 129, 229–305.
53. Turuhira Tatare, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 May 2008), 17.47–18.59.
54. Soutar, "Ngāti Porou Leadership," 298.

55. Ibid., 302.
56. Herewini Parata, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (26 January 2008), Rec Three, 1.22. 52–1.25.12.
57. Api Mahuika, Rec Three, 3.44–5.07.
58. "Forgetting" is as much an aspect of remembering aspect, which will be considered more in the following chapter. Paul Riccouer, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
59. According to Api Mahuika, this misrepresentation had been part of a departure from the underlying protocols (tikanga) and political aims of our collective autonomy. This departure in political objectives he explained in a dichotomy between "moni" (money) and "mana" (status), where the pursuit of money had caused some to distort genealogy by closing it down within an exclusionary interpretation rather than the inclusionary practice that is crucial to our authority as tribal people (Api Mahuika, Personal Communication, 28 May 2011).
60. Luisa Passerini, ed., *Memory and Totalitarianism* (London: Transaction, rev. ed., 2005, originally published 1992), 16.
61. Otto, "Rethinking Tradition," 52–53.
62. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, eds., *The Houses of History, a Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 231. This political difference between studies in oral history and oral tradition is perhaps best illustrated in the methodological and theoretical approaches employed by each.
63. Anaru Kupenga used the word "corrupted" in this way a number of times during his interview.
64. Derek Lardelli, 35.42–36.15.
65. John Tomlinson, *Globalisation and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999), 64. See also John McKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
66. Steven Webster, *Patrons of Māori Culture: Power, Theory, and Ideology in the Māori Renaissance* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1998), 48.
67. This was Turuhira's view of waiata that became party songs, but were originally "dedicated to the fallen," 41. 07–41.47.
68. Tatare, 46.54–47.19.
69. Coleman, Rec Two, 9.50–11.07.
70. An "ōhaki" (final words) retained in Ngāti Porou history noted by Te Hāmana Mahuika in his explanation of the haka "Tihei Tāruke." Te Kapunga Dewes, ed., *Māori Literature, He Haka Taparahi: Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry, nā Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taumaunu, Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1972), 5.
71. Lardelli, 36.32–37.18.
72. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
73. Alessandro Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 16.
74. These terms are described more fully in Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 12–13.
75. Lardelli, 33.32–33.34.
76. For more on the education of Māori see Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native School System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001). The discursive construction of New Zealandness is noted by Peter Gibbons in "The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2003): 38–47.
77. Jason Koia, oral history interview, Kaiti (10 May 2008), 12.11–12 49.
78. Maud Tautau, oral history interview, Kaiti (19 April 2008), 2.47–3.04.
79. Kupenga, 6.17–6.13.
80. Kupenga, 37.53–40.00.
81. Kolig, "The Politics of Indigenous—or Ingenious—Tradition," 308. Anthropologists, who look in from an outside position lack accountability, are often unable to comprehend the emic perspectives of the culture, and regularly misread and misrepresent it. They assume that the fluidity they perceive corrects the romanticism maintained by the indigenous peoples.

However, these views fail to account for the strategic resistance indigenous people's exercise in response to colonial power, and the secrets and nuance they retain and keep from the prying eyes of outsiders.

82. "Pākehā" is a problematic and fluid rather than fixed term. It is used here because this is the word that most interviewees used to refer to European peoples in Aotearoa, and particularly colonizers. But application of the word Pākehā has evolved and has often been used to refer to an identification of whiteness and oppressor, and also to the white nation-making construction known as the "New Zealander." The discourse of Pākehā nativeness is evident in Michael King, *Being Pākehā Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native* (Auckland: Penguin, 1999).
83. Tatare, Rec Two, 22.53–23.54.
84. Dewes, *Māori Literature*, 13.
85. Ibid., 13. Appendix 2, "Te Kiringutu."
86. Otto, "Rethinking Tradition," 52.
87. Lardelli, 32.41–34.49.
88. The problematic insider/outsider duality has been well documented in indigenous research. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 137–141.
89. Webster, *Patrons of Māori Culture*, 10, 258.
90. For more discussion about these concerns see the set of essays published in the 4th ed. of the Māori Historians Association Journal, Aroha Harris and Alice Te Punga Sommerville, eds., *Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori History, Māori People* (Wellington, 2010).
91. Mahuika, Rec Three, 9.57–10.35.
92. A phenomenon noted by a range of scholars, including Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975–76* (London: Penguin, 2003, originally published in 1997), 153–55.
93. Kupenga, 1.19–1.26.
94. Tatare, 38.37–39.56.
95. Although, some have noted variations between hapū (subtribes), for instance a more exaggerated lifting of the leg by those living in the Waiapu valley as opposed to their relations at Tokomaru bay. See *Te Hokowhitu ā Tūmatauenga*, Documentary, screened Waka Huia, 27 June 2010.
96. Taken from an excerpt where Hāmana is commenting on the tikanga of the haka. See Te Kapunga Dewes, *Māori Literature*, 2.
97. Angela Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (10 December 2007), 28.30–29.24.
98. Coleman, Rec Three, 19.43–20.32.
99. Parata, Rec Three, 1.03.53–1.04.55.
100. This was noted by a number of the interviewees, including Prince Ferris, Turuhira Tatare, Herewini Parata, John Coleman.
101. It is said that Tamati Kaiwai composed this haka around about 1927 in response to the prohibition of the sale of alcohol on the East Coast to assist in the payments of the mortgages taken out for dairy farming (headed by Apirana Ngata). Apirana Mahuika has said that it was composed by more than one person, each contributing a verse before the arrival of Ngata at Mangahānea meeting grounds. Personal Communication (2011). Shaun Awatere, oral history interview, Hopuhopu (17 January 2007), 00.31–1.46.
102. Ka'ai-Mahuta cites Wiremu Kaa's view of Poropeihana (Prohibition) as a significant "model" or "template for protest." See Rachael Te Āwhina Ka'ai-Mahuta, "He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reinga: A Critical Analysis of Waiata and Haka as Commentaries and Archives of Māori Political History" (PhD thesis, Auckland University of Technology, 2010), 192. Despite its specific focus on prohibition, and its direction at Ngata, the protest in haka Poropeihana relates more deeply to a rejection of imposed and restrictive laws, and is a call for self-determination, thus it has relevance beyond Ngata's time.
103. Apirana Mahuika gives this explanation: "If these laws are suspended to rest on the carved figure of the house, they will cease to have any impact on Māori." He points out that "this haka was a collective composition by Ngāti Porou pākeke who were at Mangahānea marae, waiting for the arrival of Ngata for a hui with them." A. T. Mahuika, Personal Communication (16 July 2011). Appendix 2, "Poropeihana."

104. Sharpless, "The History of Oral History," 29.
105. Hendry, *Sharing Our Worlds*, 2–3.
106. This is similar of other iwi, yet there is a growing emphasis on the specific revitalization of tribal dialects and language as opposed to a standardization approach to the Māori language as a whole.
107. Tatare, 48.55–50.51.
108. Lardelli, 24.19–25.57.
109. Parata, Rec Three, 1.42.41–1.43.48.
110. This exchange between Kōkere and Tomokai is referred to in Rewiti Kohere, *He Konae Aronui: Māori Proverbs and Sayings* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1951), 15. The translation and account I refer to here is from Apirana Mahuika, Personal Correspondence (15 July 2001).
111. Ngoi composed this song for the opening of the dining room at Mataura. Many of our people had shifted there to work in the freezing works or shearing gangs, including Nolan Raihānia, who was instrumental in the establishment of that particular marae, "Te Hono ō te Ika-ā-Māui ki Ngāi Tahu" (the connection of the great fish of Māui to the people of Ngāi Tahu). For further explanation of the waiata see Tania M. Ka'ai, *Ngoingoi Pewhairangi: A Remarkable Life* (Wellington: Huia, 2008), 94–5. My translation here.
112. Otto, "Rethinking Tradition," 55.
113. This is an argument made by a number of scholars; see for instance Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony? Ko Hawai'i 'Aina a me Na Koi Pu'umake a ka Po'e Haole: Pehea Iā e pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Rawiri Te Maire Tau, "Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology," in *Histories, Power, and Loss: Uses of the Past—A New Zealand Commentary*, edited by Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 61–73.
114. Thompson, *The Oral History Reader*, 21.
115. Although, for oral historians, the search for "meaning" often disturbs the notion of "truth" because it focuses more on the way individuals compose, distort, and disturb the "facts" of their stories.
116. Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 68.
117. Tibble, 13.27–13.48.
118. Hawaiiki here has many meanings; it can be a birth place, a point of origin and connection, and a place where it is believed some go after death. It is used often in oratory on the marae. The proverb "Ehara i te mea poka hōu mai, nō Hawaiki mai anō/ It is not a new thing done without proper cause, it has come to us all the way from Hawaiki," for instance, signifies an intellectual and spiritual location. Derek Lardelli, 31.15–32.28.
119. Eru Potaka Dewes, oral history interview, Hopuhopu (22 January 2008), Rec three, 55.12–55.34.
120. Potaka Dewes, Rec Three, 1.00.03–1.01.06.
121. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, oral history interview, Wairārapa (24 February 2008), 13.00–13.52.
122. Api Mahuika, Rec Two, 2.38–4.56.
123. Tāruke here refers to "a wicker trap for crayfish," and the haka itself according to Apirana Mahuika refers to the authority over fishing grounds of the families in the Rangitukia area. Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," ix. In his explanation of the haka, Hāmana Mahuika notes the highly skilled ability of its author as an expert in the language. Te Kapunga Dewes, *Māori Literature*, 5. Tihei Tāruke, relates to the advent of Christianity in Ngāti Porou: "E, i aha tērā, e hara mai ki roto ki Waiapu? Alas! What is this that prevails upon the Waiapu." This translation from "Piripi Taumata-ā-Kura: The Seeds of Christianity," in *Ngā Māunga Kōrero, Te Nupepa ō te Tairāwhiti* (July 6, 2007): 18. Appendices 2, "Tihei Tāruke."
124. The first part of this extract is cited from Rachael Te Āwhina Ka'ai-Mahuta, "He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reinga," in which she quotes from an "unpublished paper" written by Wiremu Kaa, 201. Compare Wiremu Kaa, "He Haka te Waka ko tōna hua, he Whakapono Māori," in *Mai i Rangiātea*, vol. 1 (2003): 57–64. The rest of this extract, also quoted by Ka'ai-Mahuta, can be found in Wiremu Kaa, "Ngāti Porou Spirituality," in *Mai i Rangiātea*, vol. 3 (2007): 72.
125. Kaa, "Ngāti Porou Spirituality," 72.

126. Tawhai, 28.42–29.31.
127. Maria Whitehead, oral history interview, Uawa (11 May 2008), 1.01.07–1.01.49.
128. Tibble, 35.34–38.52.
129. Boy Keelan, oral history interview, Ruatorea (13 December 2007), 19.06–19.49.
130. Tawhai, 38.06–39.27.
131. Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics*, 2.
132. Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2004): 42–3.
133. Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 15.
134. A. T. Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 68.

Chapter 6

1. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research, and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, London, and New York: University of Otago Press/Zed Books, 1999).
2. Derek Lardelli, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (18 December 2007), 31.15–32.28.
3. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup have emphasized that "every piece of historical writing has a theoretical basis on which evidence is filtered and understood." Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, eds., *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), vii.
4. Some oral historians in New Zealand describe a theorized oral history practice as a boring "Shakespearean" approach used predominantly by academics, and thus favour a "rock 'n' roll" approach made popular by journalists. Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson, "Historically Speaking: Twenty Years of Oral History in Aotearoa New Zealand," in *Looking Backwards, Moving Forward—The Past and Future of Oral History in New Zealand*, National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) Conference 2007 (Wellington, July 28–29).
5. Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19.
6. One of those who was especially "attentive" in this regard was Walter Edward Gudgeon, whom Monty Soutar notes "enjoyed the confidence of at least one tohunga [expert]" yet gathered the majority of his research from the Native Land Court minute books. Monty Soutar, "A Framework for Analyzing Written Iwi Histories," *He Pukenga Kōrero*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1996): 45. James Cowan is also credited with an "oral history" approach based on interviews undertaken with veterans from the New Zealand Wars. See James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Māori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1922).
7. Alistair Thomson, "Fifty Years On: An International Perspective on Oral History," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, vol. 21 (1999): 82.
8. Te Kapunga Dewes, for instance, sang during his interview, but the narrative of the interview was not situated within any broader ritual context that would be normative for marae. Te Kapunga Dewes, oral history interview, Rangitukia (11 December 2007).
9. Pine Campbell, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (15 November 2007).
10. Tūhorouta Kaui, oral history interview, Otautahi (1 September 2010), 00.20–01.36. We share a genealogical connection through both my paternal grandparents.
11. Alice Hoffman and Howard Hoffman, "Memory Theory," in *Thinking about Oral History: Theories and Applications*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira Press, 2008), 49.
12. See, for instance, Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by Their Priests and Their Chiefs* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956); Rev. Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Māui or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855); Elsdon Best, *The Art of the Whare Pora: Notes on the Clothing of the Ancient Māori, Their Knowledge of Preparing, Dyeing, and Weaving Various Fibres, together with Some Account of Dress and Ornaments and the Ancient Ceremonies and Superstitions of the Whare Pora* (Wellington: Government Print, 1899); S. Percy Smith, "An 1858 Journey into the Interior," *Taranaki Herald* (New Plymouth, 1953).
13. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1, 67.

14. Nēpia Mahuika, "Closing the Gaps: From Post-colonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 45, no. 1 (2011): 15–32; and Moana Jackson, "Research and Colonization of Māori Knowledge," *He Pukenga Kōrero*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1998): 69–76.
15. This did not mean that my position was necessarily always understood as "insider." My occupation as an academic, my familial and sub-tribal connections, while at other times my age and gender, or my perceived political connections within the tribe, all impacted my position as insider or outsider. The shifting positionality issues evident for an indigenous researcher are addressed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 138.
16. Derek Lardelli, for instance, noted some of the ethical issues he had encountered in his own work, and was keenly aware of the frailties in signing consent forms that take knowledge and mana (power) away from our people. Others were not as attentive to the consent forms and appeared disinterested and impatient when we discussed ethics.
17. Tui Marino saw the interview as an opportunity to counter the Ngāti Porou governing body's perspective. Before the interview we discussed the intentions of the research, particularly the influence of the Rūnanga ō Ngāti Porou. Tui Marino, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 December 2008).
18. Jason's interview had been arranged by family members connected to both us. Jason Koia, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (10 May 2008).
19. The majority of participants asked whether I wanted to leave questions with them prior to the interview and considered the interview a personal history about their tribal knowledge.
20. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 19.
21. He further states that "folklorists are more likely to interview more than one person at a time being 'more interested in the interplay' between interviewees" and that "availability for general research, reinterpretation, and verification defines oral history." Ritchie also asserts that an interview becomes an oral history only when it has been recorded, processed in some way, made available in an archive, library, or other repository, or reproduced in relatively verbatim form to publication. This is not the common view maintained by oral historians in general. Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 24, 37.
22. Alessandro Portelli notes that the control in this relationship remains with the interviewer, or historian, who has the ultimate control over what is omitted, kept, and emphasized from the interview. In this process, the underlying theories, philosophies, and perspectives of the narrator are reassembled and interpreted as much as they are amplified or illuminated. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 56.
23. Single-issue testimony "may be carried out on a one-to-one or group basis." "They are the main method for learning about a particular event." Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson, with Olivia Bennett and Nigel Cross, "Ways of Listening," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 117.
24. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup note that oral history is "usually referred to as a methodology," despite the increase of interpretive theories. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, "Oral History," in *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory*, edited by Anna Green and Kathleen Troup (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 230.
25. Monty Soutar, "C Company Oral History Project," *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, vol. 3 (2009): 16–17.
26. Ibid., 16.
27. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 62.
28. Likewise, they can be less inhibiting by "taking the focus off individuals." Hugo Slim et al., "Ways of Listening," 118.
29. It should be noted here that there are various types of group interviews. In "focus group" interviews, as Ranjit Kumar writes, "you explore the perceptions, experiences, and understandings of a group of people who have some experiences in common with regard to a situation or event." Ranjit Kumar, *Research Methodology, a Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage, 2011), 160. These are different from "community interviews," which "may resemble public meetings more than group discussions," or "diary interviews," which "involves selecting a sample of people who contribute regular diary entries as part of a

continuing and long-term study of social trends." "The participants make a commitment to keep a written or oral, tape recorded diary." Hugo Slim et al., "Ways of Listening," 117–119.

30. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 19.
31. David Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 81.
32. He notes that these are usually more than one interview. Kumar, *Research Methodology*, 160.
33. Ibid., 145.
34. Trevor Lummis, *Listening to History, The Authenticity of Oral Evidence* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 43.
35. The names of these participants are withheld here to protect their anonymity. During the interview, one of the participant's close family members interjected, after which an argument between the observer and the narrator ensued. Eventually, the observer became part of the interview, and later asked a number of questions themselves.
36. "Getting off track" was a concern voiced by a number of the participants in this study, who apologized when they thought they were drifting off topic.
37. Monty Soutar, "C Company Oral History Project," 17.
38. Grant McCracken, *The Long Interview*, Qualitative Research Methods Series 13 (London: Sage, 1988), 17.
39. Paul Thompson, one of many authors, notes the quantitative and qualitative differences related to oral history Interviewing. See Paul Thompson, *Voices of the Past, Oral History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 78–80.
40. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past, Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 2–3.
41. Meeting face-to-face is an important aspect of research relevant to Māori. Cram and Pipi maintain that "Kanohi ki te kanohi is regarded within Māori communities as critical when one has an important 'take' or purpose. This form of consultation allows the people in the community to use all their senses as complementary sources of information for assessing and evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of becoming involved." F. Cram, and K Pipi, *Māori/Iwi Provider Success: Report on the Pilot Project* (Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland: International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 2000), 14.
42. "Survey questionnaires," he notes, "are concerned with the technique of formulating questions so that they mean the same thing to everyone," and usually ask participants to respond to a scale, in a continuum between options such as agree or strongly disagree. Trevor Lummis, *Listening to History*, 40–41.
43. These strengths related to questioning, and questionnaires are addressed by oral historians, see Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 86–87, 92–93.
44. Louise Douglas et al., eds., *Oral History, a Handbook* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1988), 73.
45. Valerie J. Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher, Choreographing the Story* (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), 2–3.
46. See, for instance, Janet Z. Giele and Glen H. Elder Jr., eds., *Methods of Life Course Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (London: Sage, 1998).
47. This is a methodology undertaken by Russell Bishop, who contends that "interviews as "collaborative storying" goes beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focuses on connectedness." He contends that these interviews should account for the "cultural world view" within which the participant functions. Russell Bishop, "Interviewing as Collaborative Storytelling," *Education Research and Perspectives*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1999): 41.
48. Lummis, *Listening to History*, 25.
49. Ibid., 25.
50. Julie Cruickshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 1.
51. Ned Tibble, oral history interview, Tawata (12 December 2007), 2.30–3.38.
52. Rawiri Wanoa, oral history interview, Te Araroa (8 January 2008), 00:27–03:55.
53. Cruickshank, *Life Lived Like a Story*, 1–2.
54. Mary A. Lawson, "Research Design and Strategies," in *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008), 108.

55. "An average life story," he writes, "may need two or three sessions and can take anything from one to eight hours." Hugo Slim et al., "Ways of Listening," 116.
56. Kim Lacy Rogers, "Aging, the Life Course, and Oral History," in *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008), 312.
57. "Generations are understood to have genealogical or familial derivation, but cohorts are composed of individuals born within a generally limited number of years, say intervals of five to ten years." Life course scholars then prefer to work with cohorts rather than generations. Ibid., 312.
58. Kumar, *Research Methodology*, 161.
59. Terri described a number of traumatic incidents that had dramatically changed her life. The interview itself, she believed, allowed an opportunity to talk about, and work through, many of the issues and challenges that she and her immediate family have faced. Terri Lee-Nyman, oral history interview, Otepoti (17 April 2008), 7.18–7.40.
60. This connection to the landscape, as Keri Brown writes, "is crucial" for Māori, "goes beyond a purely physical attachment," and is "central to Māori identity" and the maintaining of genealogical links. Keri Brown, "Upsetting Geographies: Sacred Spaces of Matata" (Master's thesis, University of Waikato, 2008), 24.
61. It also required portable equipment. The video recorder that had initially been mounted on a tripod delivered poor sound quality, so the remainder of the interview captured shaky handheld visual scenes; while he held and spoke into the audio recorder like a microphone, I followed with the camera.
62. Katie Moles, "A Walk in Thirdspace: Place, Methods, and Walking," *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2008), http://www.socresonline.org.uk/13/4/2.html, accessed April 16, 2016.
63. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 139.
64. Robyn Longhurst et al., "A Visceral Approach: Cooking 'at Home' with Migrant Women in Hamilton, New Zealand," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 34, no. 3 (2009): 334. The notion of a visceral multisensory experience has immense relevance to the interviews undertaken in this study, where recordings were accompanied regularly by food, and were conducted in kitchens (kāuta) and workshops.
65. For further reading here, see Longhurst et al., "A Visceral Approach," 342.
66. A kāuta is a cooking shed. Personal Communication: Nēpia Mahuika with Ariana Ngatai (pseudonym), Tikitiki (12 December 2007).
67. Ronald J. Grele, "Oral History as Evidence," in *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008): 85.
68. Hugo Slim et al., "Ways of Listening," 120.
69. Carpiano notes that this is a sociological approach interested in examining people's "experiences, interpretations and practices" within their own environment. Richard M. Carpiano, "Come Take a Walk with Me: The 'Go-Along' Interview as a Novel Method for Studying the Implications of Health and Wellbeing," *Health and Place*, vol. 15 (2009): 264.
70. Turuhira Tatare, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 May 2008), 32.19–33.16.
71. Penny Robinson writes that "photographs, are sometimes used as mnemonic devices that allow' interviewees "to refer to certain people or events." Penny Robinson, "Whose Place? Mine, Yours, or Ours," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 15 (2003): 14.
72. Prince Ferris, oral history interview, Ruatorea (10 January 2008).
73. Raiha Green (pseudonym), oral history interview, 38.03–38.54.
74. The narrator here draws on a powerfully negative Pākehā (European) archetype to suggest that her sister-in-law's behavior is reflective of a perceived lack of courtesy and understanding believed common to Pākehā peoples. This is not always the case, certainly not the truth of all Pākehā people, yet remained a regular stereotype used by the majority of interviewees.
75. Jacob Karaka and Nēpia Mahuika Sr. interview at Hopuhopu. Video (DVD) Recording. Held by author.
76. These interviews were conducted at Hopuhopu (the interviewer, unknown). Recordings held by author.

77. Anne Salmond, *Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1994, originally published in 1976), 172.
78. Dan Sipe, "The Future of Oral History and Moving Images," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 382.
79. Tinatoka Tawhai, oral history interview, Mahora (15 December 2007), 10.10–11.58.
80. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, 10.
81. Jeff Friedman, with Catherine Moana Te Rangitakina Ruka Gwynne, "Blood and Books: Performing Oral History," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 19 (2007): 16.
82. Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage, 2001), 2–3.
83. The "participant observation" method, according to Ranjit Kumar, is "where you participate in the activities of the group being studied." Ranjit Kumar, *Research Methodology*, 141.
84. Ruth H. Finnegan, *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 1.
85. For further reading see Michael W. Young, *Malinowski: Odyssey of an Anthropologist, 1884–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Vernon J Williams Jr., *Rethinking Race, Franz Boas and His Contemporaries* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
86. This was addressed by Te Rangihiroa, who wrote of the need "to straighten up what has been written by our Pākehā pioneers" in a letter to Ngata well over a century ago now. M. P. K. Sorrenson, ed., *Na to hoa aroha: From your Dear Friend, the Correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck, 1925–1950*, vol. 2 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1987).
87. Huanani Kay Trask, cited in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 67.
88. Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Māori: Culture, Invention, and Its Logic," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., vol. 91, no. 4 (December 1989): 890, cited in Amiria Henare "Ngā Rakau a te Pākehā: Reconsidering Māori Anthropology," in *Anthropology and Science: Epistemologies in Practice*, edited by Jeanette Edwards, Penny Harvey, and Peter Wade (New York: Berg, 2007), 93.
89. Des Tatana Kahotea, "The 'Native Informant' Anthropologist as Kaupapa Māori Research," *MAI Review*, vol. 1 (2006): 1.
90. Ty P. Kāwika Tengan et al., "Genealogies: Articulating Indigenous Anthropology in/of Oceania," *Pacific Studies*, vol. 33, no. 3/3 (2010): 141, 150.
91. Similar ideas have been debated by scholars on Australian and South Pacific tradition and history for more than a decade. See, for instance, Tim Rowse, "Culturally Appropriate Indigenous Accountability," *American Behavioural Scientist*, vol. 43, no. 9 (June/July 2000): 1514–1532; Marcia Langton, "The Edge of the Sacred, the Edge of Death: Sensual Inscriptions," in *Inscribed Landscapes: Marking and Making Place*, edited by Bruno David and Meredith Wilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 253–269.
92. Herewini Parata, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (26 January 2008), Rec 3, 1.44.01–1.45.22.
93. Joy Hendry asserts that it is common practice for anthropologists to learn the language and the "world view it portrays." Joy Hendry, *Sharing Our Worlds: An Introduction to Cultural and Social Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 5.
94. Soutar, "Analyzing Written Iwi Histories," 47–50.
95. This is noted by the anthropologist Toon Van Meijl, "Historicising Māoritanga: Colonial Ethnography and the Reification of Māori Traditions," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 105, no. 3 (September 1996): 323.
96. Paul Thompson, *Voices of the Past*, 12.
97. See Hendry, *Sharing Our Worlds*, 3–5.
98. Ranjit Kumar warns about the possibilities of "observer bias." Kumar, *Research Methodology*, 141. For indigenous peoples, this bias has significant consequences, and has been heavily criticized. See, for instance, Haunani-Kay Trask, "From a Native Daughter," in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, edited by Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 171–179; and Tipene O'Regan, "Who Owns the Past? Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past," in *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Māori*, edited by John

Wilson (Auckland: Penguin in association with New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1987), 141–145.

99. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 38.
100. Willa K. Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History* (New York: Altamira Press, 1991), 8.
101. Lummis, *Listening to History*, 25.
102. Interviews are themselves interpretations as much as they are "recordings." Alessandro Portelli reminds us that "the control of historical discourse remains firmly in the hands of the historian. It is the historian who selects the people who will be interviewed, who contributes to the shaping of the testimony . . . and who gives the testimony its final published shape." Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 56.
103. Soutar, "Analyzing Written Iwi Histories," 46.
104. Ranjit Kumar points out that "when individuals or groups become aware that they are being observed, they may change their behaviour" and become uncomfortable. Kumar, *Research Methodology*, 141, 143.
105. Lorina Barker, "'Hangin' Out' and 'Yarnin'': Reflecting on the Experience of Collecting Oral Histories," *History Australia*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2008): 09.3–09.4.
106. Tūwhakairiora Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (2 December 2007), 35.34–37.18.
107. Finnegan, *Oral Traditions and Verbal Arts*, 6.
108. Monty Soutar, "Ngāti Porou Leadership: Rāpata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict: 'kei te ora nei hoki tātou mō to tātou whenua'" (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2000), iv.
109. Ibid., v.
110. Waldo Houia, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (24 July 2008).
111. Jack Takurua, oral history interview, Ruatorea (13 December 2007), 16.24–16.28. Whakawhitira is a specific location on the East Coast—where my family and others come from. Whakawhitira is a small community, within which various families maintain homesteads (our family homestead is called Kaitaha), farm or lease our land, and share a kinship, sub-tribal grouping under specific prominent ancestors, like Rakaimataura and the warrior chief Tinatoka. We all share these genealogies.
112. Herewini Parata, 30.11–32.11.
113. Tengan et al., "Genealogies," 160.
114. Ibid.
115. Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 65–66.
116. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 54.
117. Stephanie Milroy, "Māori Women and Domestic Violence: The Methodology of Research and the Māori Perspective," *Waikato Law Review* (1996): 61.
118. Elizabeth Tonkin, "History and the Myth of Realism," in *The Myths We Live By*, edited by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), 26.
119. Soutar, "Analyzing Written Iwi Histories," 44.
120. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 120. My expanded English translations of these concepts are included in brackets.
121. Valerie Yow, "Ethics and Interpersonal Relationships in Oral History Research," *Oral History Review*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1995): 51–52.
122. National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ), *Code of Ethical and Technical Practice* (Wellington: NOHANZ, 2001).
123. Apirana Mahuika, 3.38–3.52.
124. Linda Shopes, "Legal and Ethical Issues in Oral History," in *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008), 138.
125. Milroy, "Māori Women and Domestic Violence," 61.
126. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 119.
127. Milroy, "Māori Women and Domestic Violence," 60.
128. Nolan Raihānia, oral history interview, Tokomaru Bay (18 December 2007), 54:23–57:27.
129. Angela Ballara, "Te Taha Māori ō te Papatangata ō Aotearoa: The Māori Dimensions of the DNZB," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 7 (1995): 3.

130. Mervyn McLean, "Sound Archiving and the Problems of Dissemination of Waiata," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 2 (1989): 18.
131. Soutar, "Analyzing Written Iwi Histories," 44.
132. This was a topic referred to by many interviewees, including Te Awhe, who spoke about the upbringing of leaders by their grandparents. Materoa and Tiawhe, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (10 July 2008) Rec Two, 6.44–7.25.
133. Angela Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (10 December 2007), 36.45–37.09.
134. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 17.
135. Shopes, "Legal and Ethical Issues," 157.

Chapter 7

1. This includes theories that are common and traditional to our tribal knowledge, as well as theories that have been developed elsewhere and are then adapted to work in a native cultural context.
2. Ngāti Porou theoretical understandings have long been dynamic and evolutionary. For instance, our tribal theories of origin are nuanced perceptions, which have embraced and tested various theories of time, including Apirana Ngata's insistence on a twenty-five-year standardization between generations to a more culturally reflective approach in favour of Ngāti Porou "mana motuhake" (self-determining) expressed in the work of Apirana Mahuika. Compare A. T. Ngata, "The Genealogical Method as Applied to the Early History of New Zealand (to be read to the Wellington Branch of the New Zealand Historical Association)," Private Papers (University of Auckland Library).
3. This is noted by Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, "Oral History," in *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory*, edited by Anna Green and Kathleen Troup (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 231; and Michael Roper, "Oral History," in *The Contemporary History Handbook*, edited by Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton, and Anthony Seldon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 345–352.
4. The use, and presence, of theory in historical scholarship has also been criticized by some scholars. See, for instance, Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How a Discipline Is Being Murdered by Literary Critics and Social Theorists* (Paddington: Macleay, 1994).
5. Kayen G. Tomaselli et al., "'Self' and 'Other,' Auto Reflexive and Indigenous Ethnography," in *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, edited by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (London: Sage, 2008), 354–355.
6. Graham Hingangaroa Smith, "The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis" (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1997), 67.
7. Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 68.
8. This is perhaps best reflected in the mass conversions to Christianity in the nineteenth century, the large numbers of soldiers enlisted to the Māori Battalion in the twentieth century, and a strong connection to national politics and "Pākehā" education as a means of building capacity within our own ranks.
9. Changes then are expected, but as Api notes, they are woven into our tikanga: "Over the centuries we have made changes, based on tikanga, but done in a way which does not compromise tikanga, so, in this way, have guaranteed the continuity of tikanga from one generation to another, present day included." Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 68.
10. One simple translation of Kaupapa Māori is that it is the practice of being Māori—all research within a Kaupapa Māori framework aspires to the assertion of Māori knowledge and mana (power, autonomy, and authority). Kaupapa Māori, then, is a practice and theory that is at once attuned to a decolonial transformation of the oppressive state of indigenous peoples in Aotearoa, but more importantly focused on moving beyond that state to a normative and empowered position in which other Māori frameworks, like manaakitanga (care of all peoples), and kotahitanga (unification), can flourish.
11. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, "Postcolonial Perspectives," *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory*, edited by Anna Green and Kathleen Troup (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999): 278.

12. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, London, and New York: University of Otago Press/Zed Books, 1999), 183.
13. Both groups of scholars refer to the work of Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Granada, 1970); and Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge/Kegan Paul, 1978). Kaupapa Māori scholars have also drawn on the "transformative" theories of Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Continuum Publishing, 1970).
14. This idea is developed more in Nēpia Mahuika, "Closing the Gaps: From Post-Colonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 45, no. 1 (2011): 15–32; and Apirana Mahuika, "A Ngāti Porou Perspective," in *Weeping Waters, the Treaty of Waitangi, and Constitutional Change*, edited by Malcolm Mulholland and Veronica Tawhai (Wellington: Huia, 2010): 145–163.
15. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, eds., *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), vii.
16. Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (London: Routledge, 2002), 4.
17. Most notably here in the New Zealand context, the intrusive problem of theory in oral history research was central to a discussion held by Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson, "Historically Speaking: Twenty Years of Oral History in Aotearoa New Zealand," in *Looking Backwards, Moving Forward—The Past and Future of Oral History in New Zealand*, NOHANZ Conference 2007 (Wellington, July 28–29).
18. Alfredteen Brown Harrison, "Oral History: The Pathway to a Peoples Cultural Memory," *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 2 (1989): 1.
19. Alison J. Laurie, "Manufacturing Silences: Not Every Recorded Interview Is an Oral History," in *Māori and Oral History: A Collection*, edited by Rachel Selby and Alison J. Laurie (Wellington: National Oral History Association of New Zealand, 2005), 78.
20. See Roper, "Oral History," 435–452.
21. Jane Moodie, "Family Myths in Oral History: The Unsettled Narratives of Descendants of a Missionary-settler Family in New Zealand" (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, 2004), 6.
22. Green and Troup, "Oral History," 230.
23. He writes that "accurate memory is much more likely when it meets a social interest and need." Paul Thompson, *The Voices of the Past, Oral History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 132.
24. Jason Koia, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (10 May 2008), 45.01–45.11.
25. Materoa Collins and Tiawhe Musson, oral history interview, Kirikiriroa (10 July 2008), Rec One, 3.31–3.49.
26. Ronald J. Grele, "Oral History as Evidence," in *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008), 83.
27. A number of scholars have written about whakapapa as a theoretical and philosophical approach. See, for instance, J. Te Rito, "Whakapapa: A Framework for Understanding Identity," *MAI Review*, vol. 2 (2007). www.review.mai.ac.nz, accessed April 16, 2016; Takirirangi Smith, "Ngā Tini Ahuatanga o Whakapapa Kōrero," *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2000): 53–60; and Richard Benton et al., "Whakapapa as a Māori Mental Construct: Some Implications for the Debate over Genetic Modification of Organisms," *The Contemporary Pacific*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 1–28. Derek Lardelli, oral history interview, Turanganui-a-Kiwa (18 December 2007), 29.38–30.48.
28. Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts, the Social Construction of Oral History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.
29. A number of scholars have written extensively on this proactive and transformative politics in theories lifted from postcolonialism, feminist theories, neo-Marxist theories, and other "critical" theories. Kaupapa Māori theory, for instance, draws on the work of Paulo Freire, and adapts to the way Māori might expand its relevance in our local contexts. See, for instance, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, "Paulo Freire: Lessons in Transformative Praxis," in *Paulo Freire, Politics, and Pedagogy, Reflections from Aotearoa–New Zealand*, edited by Peter Roberts (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1999), 35–41; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Kaupapa Māori Research," in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, edited by M. Battiste (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 225–247; Anaru Eketone, "Theoretical Underpinning of Kaupapa Māori Directed Practice," *MAI Review*, vol. 1 (2008): 1–11.

30. Materoa and Tiawhe, Rec Two, 00.28–1.46.
31. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, translated from the French by Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 51.
32. Paula Hamilton, "Memory Studies and Cultural History," in *Cultural History in Australia*, edited by Hsu Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003), 90.
33. Anna Green notes that "collective memory theory," although part of the theoretical literature in oral history, is part of a growing field in "memory studies." See Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2004): 35–44.
34. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Perseus Books Group, 1984), 19.
35. Anaru Kupenga, oral history interview, Ruatorea (9 January 2008), 9.17–11.14.
36. The oral formulaic theory more commonly associated with the study of oral tradition and folklore will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.
37. The use of "theories" in relation to Māori history is addressed in the work of Aroha Harris, who writes that we have recently reaffirmed the presence of theory in the way we construct the past. Aroha Harris, "Theorize This: We Are What We Write," *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, vol. 3 (2009): 83–90.
38. This requirement was noted by the majority of interviewees, particularly the need to know tikanga and mātauranga before changing or adapting it. It is in essence a safeguard to ensure that our history is not distorted beyond our recognition. This is an issue discussed in the literature, particularly in relation to Māori theories of resistance and activism. See for instance the writing of Moana Jackson, "Research and Colonization of Māori Knowledge," *He Pukenga Kōrero*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1998): 69–76; and S. Walker, "Kia tau te Rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori Theory as a Resistance against the Construction of Māori as the 'Other'" (Master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1996).
39. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, eds., "Introduction," in *The Myths We Live By* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), 18.
40. In this case, the "other" here represents the collective memory advanced in the New Zealand public consciousness, which advocates a unified national identity and master narrative. See Nēpia Mahuika, "Revitalizing te-ika-a-Māui: Māori Migration and the Nation," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2009): 133–149.
41. See, for instance, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, London, and New York: University of Otago Press/Zed, 1999); and Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Colborne, eds., "Editorial Introduction: The Utility and Futility of 'the Nation' in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 45, no. 1 (2011): 1–14.
42. On the theory of composure, Alistair Thomson writes, "we compose our memories to make sense of our past and present lives. 'Composure' is an aptly ambiguous term to describe the process of memory making. In one sense we compose or construct memories using the public languages and meanings of our culture. In another sense we compose memories that help us to feel relatively comfortable with our lives and identities that gives us a feeling of composure." Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories, Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 8.
43. It should be noted that Thomson's theory of composure was adapted "from the writings of international oral historians and the Popular Memory Group. I developed the theory of memory composure, which has informed my study of Anzac memories." Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 229.
44. Nolan Raihānia, oral history interview, Tokomaru Bay (18 December 2007), 38:41–42:26.
45. "The Price of Citizenship" had been a powerful discourse in the arguments for Māori participation in the Second World War. However, the realization of social and racial equality inherent within the notion of "citizenship" and "one nation for all" has remained an embedded phrase in our national and historical consciousness, despite the diverse realities between Māori and European New Zealand servicemen after the wars. See A. T. Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship: Ngarimu VC* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1943).

46. The political and social purpose inherent in Ngāti Porou collective remembrance is nuanced in the individual testimonies, which reflect varying familial and sub-tribal trajectories, but are connected by tribal affirmations, proverbs, leadership, and the underlying genealogical strands that note indigeneity, ownership, identity, and knowledge (mātauranga). This is noted by those who highlighted intersectional differences in particular subtribes, yet the corporateness of iwi.
47. Richard Crownshaw and Selma Leydesdorff, "Introduction to the Transaction Edition," in *Memory and Totalitarianism*, edited by Luisa Passerini (London: Transaction, 2005), xvi. The significance of individual testimonies in collective memory is perhaps best highlighted in Alessandro Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out, History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); the issue of agency and constructivism is also noted in Anna Green, "Individual Remembering," 35–44.
48. The collective memory in intergenerational transmission is discussed in the work of Howard Shuman and Jacqueline Scott, "Generations and Collective Memories," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 54 (June 1989): 359–381. Similarly, Eviatar Zerubavel emphasizes both the personal recollections and social/collective remembering as equally viable; see Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
49. Ulric Neisser, *Memory Observed* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1982), cited in Alice Hoffman and Howard Hoffman, "Memory Theory," in *Thinking about Oral History: Theories and Applications*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira Press, 2008), 35. See also Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 413.
50. Anna Green has pointed out that "all forms of historical understanding—even those that do not engage the faculty of personal memory at all—are increasingly classified as memory." She notes this problem particularly in relation to the individual, who she argues has become increasingly "detached from memory." Green, "Individual Remembering," 37.
51. Renate Siebert, "Don't Forget: Fragments of a Negative Tradition," in *Memory and Totalitarianism*, edited by Luisa Passerini (London: Transaction, 2005), 166–167.
52. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985), 18.
53. They also note how the critical analysis of those who have struggled under totalitarian regimes can be found in other locations beyond the Holocaust, and can thus "merge from the shadow of the Holocaust." Crownshaw and Leyesdorff, "Introduction," xi–xiii.
54. This is because our immediate contention comes from the subsuming national myths and histories that threaten our tribal and eventually personal realities. The nuanced and personal remembering that occurs within the tribe is careful to account for this dilemma.
55. Memory theories in oral tradition generally focus on the oral formulaic theory. Theorists in this area draw heavily on the work of linguists, but also on cognitive psychology. One of the more comprehensive contributions in this area is David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions, the Cognitive Psychology of Epic Ballads and Counting-out Rhymes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
56. Paul Thompson and Raphael Samuel, *The Myths We Live By*, 10.
57. The prophetic saying uttered by Te Ataakura is in reference to the birth of her son, Tūwhakairiora, "E whana koe i roto i au he tane, ki a ea i a koe te mate o to tipuna/if thou who kicks violently within me is a son, then it is you who will avenge the death of your grandfather." A. T. Mahuika, "Ngā Wāhine Kaihautu o Ngāti Porou: Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou" (Master's thesis, University of Sydney, 1974), 41. Likewise, Ngata's birth was foreseen and proclaimed by a tohunga (priest) and recorded by Paratene Ngata (Apirana's father), who recounted the use of incantation (karakia), the rising smoke from a paua shell, and the appearance of a rainbow as well as other rituals pertaining to the ceremony performed by the seer (tohunga). These prophesies are known, now written, and retained in Ngāti Porou history. Michael King, *Apirana Ngata, E Tipu e Rea* (Wellington: Department of Education, 1988), 4–5.
58. Tia Neha, oral history interview, Otepoti (19 April 2008), 25.33–27.09.

59. Joan Metge, "Myths Are for Telling," in *Sporen in de Anthropologie*, edited by Paul Van der Grijp, Ton Lemaire, and Albert Trouwborst (Nijmegen: Instituut voor Kuturele en Sociale Antropologie Katholieke Universiteit, 1987), 174.
60. Api Mahuika, oral history interview, Kaiti (7 July 2009), Rec Three, 2.16–3.21. Appendix 3, Whakapapa Tables 14, 15.
61. Metge argues that Māori had "no sense of history as a Western historian understands it," but presented the past in "contemporary idiom" where "scope for choice and therefore change is built into and an inevitable consequence of the transmission process." Metge, "Myths Are for Telling," 168, 176.
62. He goes on in the interview to give the example of Māui, who he argues is seen to be reified by those who look in at Māori culture, yet for our people is an historical figure whose abilities and deeds are emphasized as extraordinary. Apirana Mahuika, Rec three, 00.55–1.51.
63. Moodie, "Family Myths in Oral History," 10.
64. Jean Peneff, "Myths in Life Stories," in *The Myths We Live By*, edited by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 36.
65. Grele, "Oral History as Evidence," 86.
66. Anaru Kupenga, 22.13–23.14.
67. This is the predominant theory maintained by scholars in New Zealand. For further reading see George Gibbs, *Ghosts of Gondwanaland: The History of Life in New Zealand* (Nelson: Craig Potton, 2006).
68. Eru Potaka Dewes, for instance, was adamant that "history" rather than "myth stories" were the key kōrero heard on marae. Eru Potaka Dewes, oral history interview, Hopuhopu (22 January 2008), Rec Three, 25.26–26.28; 29.57–30.15.
69. See Nēpia Mahuika, "Kōrero Tuku iho: Our Gift and Our Responsibility," *Te Pouhere Kōrero IV, Māori History, Māori People* (2010): 21–40.
70. Samuel and Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, 13.
71. Thompson and Samuel contend that just because "memory can be structured like myth does not mean that it can or should be reduced to it." Ibid., 13.
72. Luisa Passerini, "Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Facism," *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 8 (1979): 84. Ron Grele has argued further that "if personal identity is structured collectively through myth it is given agency through ideology." The ideological and psychological aspects of desire in memory then should also be considered in their cultural contexts. Grele, "Oral History as Evidence," 90.
73. Thompson and Samuel write that "In identifying mythical elements in our own cultural or professional assumptions, we threaten our ethnocentric self-confidence." Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, 5.
74. Mary Chamberlain, "Narrative Theory," *Thinking about Oral History: Theories and Applications*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2008), 143, 163
75. Whaimutu Dewes, oral history interview, Rotorua (2007), 1.02.45–1.04.44.
76. This collective storytelling is also common to other peoples. See William Schneider, *So They Understand: Cultural Issues in Oral History* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002).
77. This is also noted by Bradford Haami, who highlights the specific change in Māori oral tradition with the advent of writing. Bradford Haami, *Putea Whakairo: Māori and the Written Word* (Wellington: Huia/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2004). The evolution of oral traditions in creative literature is also discussed in Gayl Jones, *Liberating Voices, Oral Tradition in African American Literature* (New York: Penguin, 1991).
78. Kohere notes that takirau is "The fifth night of the moon," and that the literal meaning of kani here is "to saw, as the bow of a canoe cuts into the sea." Rewiti Kohere, *The Autobiography of a Maori* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1951), 62.
79. Julie Cruickshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).
80. John Coleman, oral history interview, Te Puia Springs (14 December 2007), 3.48–4.49.
81. Schneider, *So They Understand*, 6, 81–92.
82. This is highly influenced by Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

83. This is noted by Chamberlain, "Narrative Theory," 149. Of the potential in narrative analysis, Hayden White writes, "narrative is never a neutral discursive form that may or may not represent real events in their aspect as developmental processes but rather entails ontological and epistemic choices with distinct ideological and specifically political implications." Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), ix.
84. Adapted from the work of Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
85. Green and Troup, *The Houses of History*, 204.
86. Turuhira Tatare, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (12 May 2008), 4.32–6.46.
87. Tatare, 17.19–17.23.
88. Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet, "Narrative Structures, Social Models, and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, edited by Sherna Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), 77–92.
89. Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, oral history interview, Wairarapa (24 February 2008), 00.47–4.12.
90. Chamberlain, "Narrative Theory," 157.
91. Julie Cruickshank, "Myth as a Framework for Life Stories: Athapaskan Women Making Sense of Social Change in Northern Canada," in *The Myths We Live By*, edited by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), 176.
92. Anaru Kupenga, 14.44–16.21.
93. Hayden White, *The Content of the Form*, xi.
94. Anna Green and Megan Hutching, eds., *Remembering, Writing Oral History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), 15.
95. Materoa and Tiawhe, Rec One, 15.17–17.10.
96. The "peripeteia" or turning point in narrative is referred to by Jerome Bruner, "The Uses of Story," in *Making the Stories, Law, Literature, Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 6.
97. Jason Koia, 27.11–31.14.
98. Alessandro Portelli, "Oral History as Genre," in *Narrative and Genre*, edited by Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (London: Routledge, 1998), 26.
99. Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts*, 53–54.
100. The "oral formulaic theory," though, as John Miles Foley notes, is only "one approach to oral tradition." John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition*, xiii.
101. Although this study of "orality" has for some time been an examination of printed sources, as Lord notes, "students of epic have now willingly applied themselves to the study of repeated phrases by textual analysis." Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1960), 30.
102. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy, The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), 34.
103. The defining of this area of study as oral "tradition" is problematic. Many of the mōteatea (songs) collected by A. T. Ngata and others were composed in the nineteenth century, at a time when reading and writing was a popular activity encouraged in Ngāti Porou communities.
104. Tia Neha, 35.10–35.50.
105. Ihipera Morrell, oral history interview, Otepoti (19 April 2008), 11.41–12.46.
106. Angela Tibble, oral history interview, Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa (10 December 2007), 25.30–26.01.
107. Prince Ferris, oral history interview, Ruatorea (10 January 2008), 34.07–34.45.
108. Merrit Sale, "In Defence of Milman Parry: Renewing the Oral Theory," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 11, no. 12 (1996): 374.
109. Margaret Orbell, "'My Summit Where I Sit': Form and Content in Māori Women's Love Songs," *Oral Tradition*, vol. 5, no. 2–3 (1990): 185.
110. Raukura Roa, "Formulaic Discourse Patterning in Mōteatea" (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, 2008), 204.
111. Tawhiwhirangi, 17.04–17.51.
112. Dewes, 43.11–45.10.

113. Claude Lévi-Strauss, a French anthropologist, developed structural theories based on the idea of a social "synchronic" system, where similarities and difference could be explored in the various symbolic aspects of culture. His thinking reflective of the linguistic theories posited by Sassure and later Roman Jakobson, accentuated the notion that binary oppositions are embedded in language, myth, and history. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1978). Anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski also adopted the functionalist theories of Emile Durkheim, a sociologist, and emphasized how rituals and ceremonies contribute to social cohesion. Randall Collins, *Four Sociological Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Durkheim's functionalist collective paradigm is also evident in the scholarship of Maurice Halbwachs.
114. For further reading see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
115. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, xix.
116. Derek Lardelli, 25.58–27.05.
117. Tānia M. Ka'ai, *Ngoingoi Pewhairangi: A Remarkable Life* (Wellington: Huia, 2008), 121.
118. These terms are addressed more fully in Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 12–13.
119. Ibid., 19–20. He refers to Ngata's translation. Appendix 2, "Rūaumoko."
120. See also Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 18–19; Te Kapunga Dewes, ed., *Māori Literature: He Haka Taparahi, Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry, na Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taumaunu, Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Anthropology, 1972), 7–11.
121. These were heard in Api Mahuika, Rec Three, 00.55–1.51; 13.42–15.16.
122. Anaru Kupenga, 2.20–3.29.
123. Raukura Roa notes the existence of formulaic structures rather than metric formulation in her research. She argues that specific and general macro patterns can be seen in many compositions, and that certain "genres" also exist that include hortatory and explanatory purposes. She calls for a study of the "thematic" aspects, motifs, and type settings, in mōteatea. Roa, "Formulaic Discourse," 199, 202.
124. Mahuika, "He Kupu Kōrero," 66.
125. From "He Waiata Oriori" by Hinekitawhiti, in Apirana T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, eds., *Ngā Mōteatea, the Songs, Part 1*, rev. ed. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), 5.
126. Apirana Mahuika draws attention to the genealogical lines of seniority that are significant in these lines; A. T. Mahuika, "Ngā Wāhine Kaihautu," 89–91.
127. Lardelli, 13.12–13.52.

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