E Kore Te Tōtara e Tū Noa i Te Pārae, Engari Me Tū i Roto i Te Wao-Nui-a-Tāne

The Symbolism of Rākau and Ngahere in the Huia Short Story Collections

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Abstract

This thesis is a literary critical exploration of rākau/ngahere symbolism as it appears in the biennial short story collections, published by Huia Publishers, that have resulted from the Pikihuia competition for Māori writers. These stories are examples of modern Māori language fiction written for an adult readership, a section of the Māori literary world that has had limited critical attention. The methodology of this thesis is founded on the close reading process and combines the approaches of both Māori Studies and Literary Studies, looking to provide an example of what "Māori Language Literary Studies" might look like as a discipline. The chapters of the thesis are divided into discussions of the rākau/ngahere motif as it functions with regard to three broad themes that can be identified in the Huia collections. Chapter One explores the theme: "points of origin". This chapter includes close readings of four of the Huia short stories, especially focusing on the rākau/ngahere symbolism they employ and on how that symbolism and the general narrative content of each text relates to the "points of origin" theme. Chapter Two responds to the (post)colonial context in which these works were written and explores "Māori and Pākehā interaction" as a theme within two of the Huia texts. This chapter also raises questions about who the Huia authors are writing for and posits that a key feature of Māori language literature is that it is written for an almost exclusively Māori readership. Finally, Chapter Three discusses the theme of "different worlds" in three of the Huia texts. This critical exploration includes close readings of how different worlds are related to rākau imagery in the texts and shows how, rather than being "othered", they are presented as layer upon layer of intersecting and interconnecting Māori worlds. This chapter also highlights the role of fiction as a conduit through which the reader can access new "worlds". Ultimately, it is hoped that this thesis will create new space for the critical discussion of Māori language literature in a broad sense. The thesis is rooted in rākau/ngahere symbolism, but the lines of questioning that arise from this tight focus can potentially be expanded and applied to other Māori language texts, now and in the future.

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Introduction

Te Ngahere Kōrero

"He tīmatanga noa iho tēnei. Ki te kaha tātau ki te manaaki i te mahi, a tōna wā, ka taea e ō tātau uri ngā taumata o te hanga kōrero e whiti mai ai te rā hei pāinainatanga mō ngāi tāua"[1]

'He Kupu Whakataki', *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*

Setting the scene: Seeing the forest

In 1991, Reina Whaitiri (Kāi Tahu) and Robert Sullivan (Kāi Tahu, Ngāpuhi) wrote 'Forest of Tāne: Māori Literature Today'.[2] The two authors described the space in which they and their contemporaries write as a literary forest, full of many different rākau and other flora and fauna. They noted the diversity of past and present Māori literary voices and the many different influences and backgrounds that affect the work of modern Māori authors, saying:

> Contemporary Māori literature, like the forest of Tāne Mahuta, has large trees that shelter a host of smaller plants and saplings, each of them adding to a richly varied continuum. Altogether they create a cathedral filled with song. Not only do we hear in this place the many traditional voices of the country, but new sounds are constantly arriving from the city streets, from prisons, the marketplace, and corporate board rooms. The rhythms of these new sounds are exciting and multiform, drawing on languages and cultures that challenge and enrich the definitions of Māori literature. For a long time, Māori literature will be occupied with absorbing them all.[3]

[1] Huia Publishers, 'He Kupu Whakataki', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*, Wellington, Huia, 1995, p.8.
[2] Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan, 'Forest of Tāne: Māori literature today', *Homeland: Mānoa: New writing from America, the Pacific, and Asia*, 9, 1, (Summer 1991), pp.76-82.
[3] Whaitiri and Sullivan, p.76.

The Māori literary voice, then, is not homogenous but is made up of many different voices, and each contributes to the "cathedral filled with song" by drawing on their own whakapapa, kaupapa, pūkenga, and whiringa.[4] The authors who create Māori literature affect the attitudes that people adopt towards tāngata Māori and Te Ao Māori both internationally and locally, influencing the perspectives of non-Māori readers as well as Māori ones. As Whaitiri and Sullivan point out, the richness and variety of these voices engage and challenge Māori authors, readers, and literary critics, who are "occupied with absorbing them all."[5] Some of these voices within the forest of literature sing their songs in the language of their ancestors; their stories are written in te reo Māori. Māori language authors occupy a particular part of the literary forest and, notably, their readership is overwhelmingly Māori. Like their English language contemporaries, they each contribute unique melodies and harmonies to the multifarious waiata of this forest of literary song.

Māori people have telling their stories in te reo Māori for centuries, but in the days when these stories were primarily told in oral and not written form, academia did not necessarily recognise them as "literature". In the early 20th century, Tā Apirana Ngata made a case to the University of New Zealand for the establishment of Māori Studies and, in doing so, "proved"[6] the existence of Māori literature by transcribing and publishing the series of waiata now famous in the *Ngā Mōteatea* collections.[7] Before this, Māori Studies was considered to be unfit as a university topic because there was supposedly no literature to draw from.[8] Many ethnographic scholars at the time couldn't see that Te Ao Māori had a long literary history and a rich body of oral literature. Instead of looking at this body of work, they looked at individual instances of artistic expression and became obsessively interested in categorising the traditions and artworks of this "new world". The fascination with

[4] A note on Māori words in the body of the thesis: I have chosen to use Māori terms such as those in this sentence mainly because there is no exact equivalent or appropriate substitution in English. Further on in this introduction, I will explain that this thesis is written for a bilingual audience and, because of this, the reader with a knowledge of both languages will gain a deeper understanding than a monolingual reader. For the most part, I will not provide translations of individual Māori words used in the main body of the text. However, in this specific sentence, these terms can be loosely translated as "heritage", "grounding", "skills", and "choices" respectively.

[5] Whaitiri and Sullivan, p.76.

[6] Michael Reilly, 'The Beginnings of Maori Studies within New Zealand Universities', *He Pukenga Korero: A Journal of Māori Studies*, 10, 2, (2011), pp.4-9.

[7] Apirana Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea: He maramara whakarerenga nō ngā waka maha*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2004.

[8] Reilly, pp. 4-9.

individual categories is typical of the colonial mindset[9] and even of modern Western value-systems (individualism is the key to capitalism), but what were these colonial ethnographers missing by focusing so intently on fitting Te Ao Māori into neat little boxes? Fixing their gaze on these native "trees" they failed to perceive the forest of literature around them.[10] But for Ngata then, as for Whaitiri and Sullivan today, this forest was unmistakable, and he saw not only a large body of literary work but also many intricacies and details that were beyond the knowledge of the typical ethnographer.[11] Looking at Māori literature through a Māori lens enabled him to see the detail of the text and also the broader literary context. The whakataukī that provides the title of this thesis, "E kore te tōtara e tū noa i te pārae engari me tū i roto i te wao-nui-a-Tāne",[12] explains how a tōtara or, metaphorically, a rangatira (or an author, or an academic), does not and *cannot* successfully stand alone – they must live in the forest of Tāne, surrounded by others, in order to thrive. This thesis explores a body of Māori literature, looking at both the intricate detail of individual kōrero and also the bigger picture: the trees and the forests and even the seeds from which they were born. It is a comparative study of modern short stories in te reo Māori featured in the Huia short story collections. These stories have a range of themes and motifs, but one of the most prevalent symbols is one that converges with the concept of a "literary forest": the symbol of the rākau and ngahere. This thesis examines the rākau/ngahere motif as it is presented in these short stories.

Māori literature

What makes a story "Māori literature"? Does the text simply need to be written by a Māori author, or are there other criteria for this term? Is a text Māori literature if it is by a non-Māori author but about Māori characters? Is it only Māori literature if it is written in te reo Māori? Is a whaikōrero a kind of literature, or does the scope of the "L" word include only written texts? Māori writers and scholars have been debating these questions for decades. In order to define Māori literature, it is imperative to listen to the voices of those who are

[9] Thomas Richards has linked the process of categorisation to the process of colonisation. See Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the fantasy of empire*, London, Verso, 1993, p.3.
[10] They couldn't see the forest for the trees.
[11] Ngata's understanding of the finer detail of these mōteatea can be seen in his accompanying notes and introduction. Indeed, these notes are part of some of the same critical conversations about Māori literature that this thesis contributes to.
[12] Hirini Moko Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2001, p.36.

creating that literature,[13] and those writers are often the very people who are reading and critiquing other writers' works. Defining Māori literature depends on two questions: What makes something "Māori", and what makes something "literature"? Several different Māori perspectives can be found in different editions of the Māori literature anthology, *Te Ao Mārama*.[14] In the 'Kaupapa' section of *Te Ao Mārama 5* (1996), Witi Ihimaera points to a key issue: **"**the assumption that any writing by a Māori constitutes 'Māori writing' needs to be debated".[15] In fact, the Māori language aspect of this issue had already been debated in an earlier edition of the anthology: *Te Ao Mārama 2* (1993). In Merata Mita's 'Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society'[16] and Roma Potiki's 'The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence',[17] the two authors discuss their (opposing) views about whether Māori literature can be written only in te reo Māori. While Mita maintains that "*any true Māori literature must be written in the Māori language*",[18] Potiki argues that "to concur with the view that something is only Māori if in the Māori language would mean that I exclude not only myself but large numbers of practitioners and writers, and our audiences."[19] Potiki suggests a more inclusive definition; she stresses that Māori people should be able to produce Māori literature in their language of choice, including English. Ihimaera (taking up an intermediate position) proposes varying levels of indigenous[20] authenticity, saying, "Our belief is that the more informed our work is by Māori cultural aspects and understanding,

[13] Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln extensively discuss the importance of referring to indigenous academics, individuals, and communities while doing research in areas of indigenous knowledge. See Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, 'Introduction', in Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds, *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, Los Angeles, Sage, 2008, pp.1-20.

[14] The references for the following dialogue in the *Te Ao Mārama* anthologies and also the quote from Anton Blank have all been discussed extensively in Alice Te Punga Somerville's PhD Thesis. See Alice Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou, nau te rakau: The oceanic, indigenous, postcolonial and New Zealand comparative contexts of Maori writing in English', PhD thesis, Cornell University, 2006, pp.46; 55-64.

[15] Witi Ihimaera, 'Kaupapa', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.17.

[16] Merata Mita, 'Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society' in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, pp.310-314.

[17] Roma Potiki, 'The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence', in Witi Ihimaera ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, pp.314-319.

[18] Mita, 'Indigenous Literature', p.310 [Italicised in original text].

[19] Potiki, p.315.

[20] The appropriate applications for the term 'indigeneity' have been debated, and various different people (including some from various colonising groups) have claimed it as their own. There are also other terms that are often used synonymously with the word "indigenous", such as "first nations", "native", "aboriginal", "autochthonous", and "tribal" (cited in Clifford). However, in this thesis I will use the term to refer to the many colonised first peoples of the world who generally claim it as an identity. See James Clifford, 'Varieties of Indigenous Experience: Diasporas, homelands, sovereignties', in Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, eds, *Indigenous Experience Today*, Oxford, Berg, 2007, p.198.

reo, whakapapa, mauri, and wairua, the more Māori it is."[21] But while Ihimaera's assertion that "Māori writing in Māori is different to Māori writing in English"[22] is logical, it does not demonstrate that Māori writing in English is somehow *less* Māori. After all, every individual Māori writer has their own unique and legitimate Māori perspective. Irihapeti Ramsden elucidates this when she writes:

> It seems to me that Maoritanga, like all other realities, is personal. That within the outline of being Maori there exists a horizon of Maoriness which extends from our ancient kaumatua, secure in their world, through the emerging middle class, to our mokopuna with glue bags sleeping under the bridges in the land of nobody. All these Maori realities are legitimate. All have Maori ancestors, all have been subjected to the experience of colonisation, and each has reacted in their own way to the impact of the new culture.[23]

In yet another collection of Māori writing that Ihimaera has edited, *Growing Up Māori,*[24] Anton Blank echoes Ramsden's inclusive definition, adding that he is "bored with the authenticity debate".[25] Blank and Ramsden belong to a group of Māori who are tired of the constant need to prove themselves authentically Māori – their whakapapa is Māori, and for them, as well as for the purposes of this thesis, that is where the debate ends. All these authors take it for granted that Māori literature must be written by Māori authors. Subject matter on its own cannot make a text Māori – Māori literature must be produced by a person who identifies as Māori.

The debate about whether the oral language arts can be considered literature can also become "boring". The argument that in order to have texts that are "literary", a culture must possess "literacy" may sound etymologically logical (in that the two words come from the same Latin antecedent: *littera/litera*, meaning 'letter'), but it is founded on an outdated belief that only written texts are legitimate literature. As discussed above, Ngata realised that waiata were a kind of literature, and I too define the poetic oral arts as literature.[26] Numerous scholars have set a precedent for this oral-inclusive definition of Māori literature

[21] Ihimaera, 1996, p.17.
[22] Ihimaera, 1996, p.17.
[23] Irihapeti Ramsden, 'Borders and Frontiers', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao*, Auckland, Reed, 1993, p.349.
[24] Anton Blank,'Post-Modern Maori', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Growing Up Maori,* Auckland, Tandem Press, 1998, p.225.
[25] Blank, p.225.
[26] Chapter Two will explore the possibility that other Pacific and Māori creative genres, such as tā moko and whakairo, are also the literary tīpuna (and modern-day whanaunga) of modern Māori literature.

(for example, Dewes,[27] Thornton[28] and Melbourne[29]), and the inclusion of waiata in literary anthologies such as the *Te Ao Mārama* series shows that these oral genre are widely perceived as forms of Māori literature. Traditional Māori genre include, but are not limited to, waiata, kōrero pūrākau, and haka.[30] In this thesis, then, I will refer to any written or oral literary source produced by a Māori person as Māori literature. Another issue is whether a non-fiction text is "literature" in the same way that a fiction text is. In order to address this issue, we need to consider how far the terms "fiction" and "non-fiction" may be culturally relative. Many waiata would be defined as neither "fiction" nor "non-fiction" but rather as poetic retellings of historical events.[31] Ihimaera[32] has noted that the work of many Māori writers shows an intersection of fact and fiction, and this idea is particularly relevant to the Huia stories examined in this thesis (it is discussed in Chapter Three). All of these stories have been published as fiction, specifically as examples of the short story (a Western literary genre),[33] and so for the purposes of this thesis, I will consider them as works of creative writing that are ostensibly fiction. However, I recognise the limitations of this definition and acknowledge the potential for further critical exploration of this issue.

While I appreciate the depth and breadth of Māori writing in any language, recognising its diversity as legitimate and representative of Māori people, there are real benefits from writing in te reo Māori. Hirini Melbourne identifies some of the positive effects of doing so:

> it needs to be said that, by choosing to write in English, Maori writers lessen the chances of survival for the Maori language. By choosing to write in their own language, Maori writers allow Maori people generally to gain control over the way their own culture is perceived and expressed.[34]

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[27] Te Kapunga Dewes, 'The Case For Oral Arts', in Michael King, ed., *Te Ao Hurihuri: The world moves on*, Wellington, Hicks Smith and Son, 1975, p.55.
[28] Agathe Thornton, *Maori Oral Literature as seen by a classicist*, Wellington, Huia, 1999.
[29] Hirini Melbourne, 'Whare Whakairo: Maori 'Literary' Traditions', in Graham McGregor and Mark Williams, eds, *Dirty Silence: Aspects of language and literature in New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1991, p.130.
[30] The word "waiata" is an umbrella term that includes several different forms, such as pao, oriori, pōpō, waiata aroha, waiata tangi, and more. The term "haka" similarly covers several sub-genres.
[31] Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta relates them to the term "archives". See Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta, 'He kupu tuku iho mō tēnei reanga: a critical analysis of Waiata and Haka as commentaries and archives of Māori political history', PhD thesis, Auckland University of Technology, 2010, p.xii.
[32] Witi Ihimaera, 'A Maori Perspective' in 'A Symposium on Historical Fiction', *The Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 9, (1991), p.54.
[33] They were all entries in the Pikihuia Short Story Competition, outlined in detail below.
[34] Melbourne, p.130-131.

It is important to acknowledge that not all Māori writers are *able* to write in Māori; the legacy of colonisation has deprived many Māori of access to their own language. This thesis, however, foregrounds those Māori writers who can and do write in te reo. A choice to write in te reo opens up possibilities for the critical analysis of Māori language literature, an emergent academic field to which this thesis will contribute. The aforementioned conversation between Mita, Potiki, Ihimaera, Ramsden, Blank, Melbourne, and others about te reo Māori in Māori literature takes on a new perspective in this thesis, because the thesis discusses only Māori language literature.

A key question must be addressed in order to write a thesis on Māori language literature: where is the literature *about* this literature? Where do we look for literary criticism, for academic analysis of the Māori language literature that appears in books like the Huia Short Story collections? Daisy Coles, judge of another Huia competition for Māori writers (discussed below), said this of the 'Te Papa Tupu' competition she was involved in:

> One of the most valuable gifts a writer can get is the attention of somebody who will approach their work with an understanding of their motivation and a respect for their particular voice, but also a critical eye, with the aim of helping them ultimately share their unique vision with the rest of the world … A consciousness outside of your own can only be a good thing, even if the response you receive serves only the purpose of crystallising your own thoughts.[35]

For Māori language writers, this kind of critical treatment is much rarer than it would be if they were writing in English. There has been a strong focus on children's literature in te reo Māori publishing, and this may be one reason why Māori language literature has received only a limited amount of critical attention. Anita Heiss quotes Robyn Bargh, founder of Huia Publishers, as saying, "Not many books that have been published in Maori are for adults. Ninety-nine per cent are for children, so this [Pikihuia Competition] was a way of changing that."[36] Huia, then, is contributing to the pool of adult Māori language literature, but the great majority of Māori language texts are still aimed at a child audience. Is there less adult literary criticism simply because there is less adult literature in Māori? It is likely that the

[35] Daisy Coles, *Te Papa Tupu 2010: Judge's Comments*, [Internet], 2010, [accessed 10 September 2012], available from http://mlt.org.nz/news/te-papa-tupu/te-papa-tupu-2010/.
[36] Anita M. Heiss, 'Maori Literature', in *Dhuuluu-Yala = To talk straight*, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2003, p.218.

modicum of academic attention given to literature in te reo does correspond with the small amount of published adult fiction. Comparatively few local literary critics write about children's literature, and even fewer write about Māori language children's literature. In searching for Māori language literary criticism, we might approach the Māori Studies departments of universities. However, in an interview about Māori publishing, Geoff Walker (director of Penguin Publishers at the time), commented that while Māori Studies departments do analyse Māori language literature, "They don't adopt the same criteria as English academics ... instead, they measure in terms of historical significance."[37] If we add a few extra categories, such as linguistic, educational, political, and possibly anthropological significance, Walker's assertion may appear to be a statement of fact. Typing "Māori language literature" into the search engine of the Victoria University library database results in page after page showing linguistics and history texts (as well as several texts about Māori literature written in English!). However, one key critical study of Māori language literature is visible in the library database: Arini Loader's MA thesis 'Haere Mai Me Tuhi He Pukapuka, Muri Iho Ka Whawhai ai Tātou: Reading Te Rangikāheke'.[38] This work sets an important precedent for my own thesis. Further searching through the library databases also reveals Tane Mokena's thesis: 'The structural framework of the Māori quest story'. However, this is not a literary study per se, as Mokena states early on that his thesis does not focus on the "meaning, cultural significance or artistic merit of the narratives",[39] but rather looks at the formulaic nature of this genre of story and its roots in oral composition. Is *no one else* providing critical literary analysis of these texts? I contend that this is not the case. There is plenty of critical work that relates to Māori language literature, but the critical landscape for writing in te reo is different from that for writing in English.

Some of the most relevant critical conversations that relate to Māori language literature have occurred within the sphere of English language criticism about Māori authors. Since the 1970s (and the "Māori Renaissance"[40]), there has been much critical analysis of Māori

[37] Heiss, p.212.
[38] Arini Loader, 'Haere mai me tuhituhi he pukapuka, muri iho ka whawhai ai tātou: Reading Te Rangikāheke', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2008.
[39] Tane Mokena, 'The structural framework of the Māori quest story', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005. p.vi.
[40] It is important to note that not all Māori use or agree with this term – Tīmoti Kāretu sees it as problematic because of the many Māori who never stopped speaking Māori and conducting their lives according to tikanga

writing – notably, of the work of Patricia Grace, Witi Ihimaera, Keri Hulme, and Hone Tuwhare. While these authors write mainly in English, they are all Māori authors and varying Māori perspectives can be identified in their work. Furthermore, all of them draw from Māori literary history, use metaphors steeped in tikanga and mātauranga, write about Māori characters, and even use Māori language devices within their primarily English language works. Many of them also make a point of privileging the Māori reader. Grace interweaves te reo Māori with English "not so much to restrict her novel to a particular and identifiable readership as to privilege one group of readers at the expense of another, in the process attempting to reverse an historical relationship of power."[41] Reflecting on the critical treatments of these English language texts by Māori authors alongside the Huia texts will be relevant to this thesis.

Much of the critical work about Māori literature is happening amongst the authors themselves – in anthologies and collections such as the *Te Ao Mārama* series, in articles and essays such as Miriama Evans' 'The Politics of Maori Literature'[42] or Whaitiri and Sullivan's 'Forest of Tāne', and in journals such as *Te Ao Hou*.[43] Certain modes of metatextual critical analysis can also be identified in works of fiction themselves or even in the way those works are presented. *Where's Waari?: A History of the Maori Through the Short Story*[44] is an anthology that attempts to track the ways in which Māori are depicted in literature, making the collection a kind of critical enquiry in itself.[45] Alice Te Punga Somerville's *Once Were Pacific*[46] is the only published, book-length, critical treatment of Māori literature written by a Māori author to date. Te Punga Somerville notes that despite the abundance of dialogue about Māori literature, there are only five books other than her own about Māori literature

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Māori. See Tīmoti Kāretu, 'Tōku Reo, Tōku Mana', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993*,* p.225.

[41] Elizabeth Gordon and Mark Williams, 'Raids on the Articulate: Code-switching, style switching and post-colonial writing', *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 33, 2, (1998), p.87.

[42] Miriama Evans, 'The Politics of Maori Literature", *Meanjin*, 44, 3, (September 1985), pp.358-363.

[43] *Te Ao Hou*, [Electronic Journal], [retrieved September 3 2012], available from http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/index.html.

[44] Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Where's Waari?: A history of Maori through the short story*, Auckland, Reed, 2000.

[45] Te Punga Somerville discusses the anthologising process and Māori literature in her PhD thesis: see 'Nau te rourou', pp.34-36.

[46] Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Māori connections to Oceania*, Minneappolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

(all by non-Māori critics); *Blood Narrative* by Chadwick Allen,[47] *The Circle and the Spiral* by Eva Rask Knudsen,[48] and *From Silence to Voice* by Paola Della Valle[49] are all referenced in this thesis. However, there are a number of theses, by both Māori and non-Māori scholars, that explore and critique Anglophone Māori literature. Te Punga Somerville's own PhD research is one of those theses: 'Nau te rourou, nau te rakau: The oceanic, indigenous, postcolonial and New Zealand comparative contexts of Maori writing in English'. Kelly Lambert's thesis: 'Calling the Taniwha: Mana Wahine Maori and the Poetry of Roma Potiki',[50] is especially relevant to this thesis in terms of Lambert's discussion of how Potiki privileges the Māori readership.[51] Charlie Holland's thesis explores Māori literary nationalism and the short stories of Alice Tawhai;[52] Jon Lois Battista's thesis explores a Māori aesthetic in English language Māori literature;[53] and Ann Katherine Pistacchi's thesis focuses on the idea of "survivance" (a term used by Chadwick Allen) in the work of three Māori authors: Patricia Grace, Paula Morris, and Kelly Ana Morey.[54] There are also many other theses that have contributed to the ongoing critical discussion of Māori fiction.

In a Māori language context, I conjecture that critical analysis of Māori literature is happening often, in a variety of Māori language contexts and spaces. But those spaces are not necessarily text-based (and therefore cannot always be accessed via library databases). I have personally witnessed and participated in numerous oral and online discussions that centred a critical literary analysis of Māori language literature in contexts such as wānanga, classrooms, comment-sections on blogs, private conversations, and discussions at hui. Arguably, Huia Publishers themselves are doing some critical literary analysis, albeit in a private setting, when they work closely with their writers on improving the texts they are

[47] Chadwick Allen, *Blood Narrative: indigenous identity in American Indian and Māori literary and activist texts*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2002.
[48] Eva Rask Knudsen, *The Circle and the Spiral: a study of Australian aboriginal and New Zealand Māori literature*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2004.
[49] Paola Della Valle, *From Silence to Voice: The rise of Maori literature*, Auckland, Libro International, 2010.
[50] Kelly Lambert, 'Calling the Taniwha: Mana Wahine Maori and the poetry of Roma Potiki', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2006.
[51] Lambert, p.25.
[52] Charlie Holland, 'Looking at the works of Alice Tawhai: An argument for Maori literary nationalism', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2009.
[53] Jon Lois Battista, 'Me he korokoro kōmako: 'With the throat of a bellbird': A Māori aesthetic in Māori writing in English', PhD, University of Auckland, 2004.
[54] Ann Katherine Pistacchi, 'Spiralling Subversions: The politics of Māori cultural survivance in the recent critical fictions of Patricia Grace, Paula Morris, and Kelly Ana Morey', PhD thesis, Auckland University, 2009, p.ii.

producing for publication. Heiss notes that Te Reo Publishers and Te Pou Taki Kōrero[55] engage in a similarly personal and analytical editing process with their Māori writers. The judging process and changes in the assessment criteria and comments for kapa haka competitions like Te Matatini[56] involve some level of critical dialogue (even the performances themselves sometimes include critical commentary). Also relevant are the dialogues emerging in various media – in feedback sent by viewers to Māori Television, on Facebook pages such as 'Te Mana o te Reo Māori',[57] within higher level wānanga/institutions like Te Panekiretanga and various Kura Reo, and at seminars and conferences such as those held by Manu Ao Academy.[58] Of course, many of these modes of criticism are also occurring in English language literary spaces[59] and are not generally defined as literary criticism in the academic sense. A key aspect of traditional, formal scholarship is its self-consciousness about being a process which is inseparable from, and seeks to contribute to, an existing scholarly conversation.

There may be an argument for the significance of these more informal critiques of Māori language literature in their particular context – do the readers, writers, and critics of Māori language texts pay more attention to these relatively informal discussions partly *because* there is less published critical work to draw from? Groups of people who have been marginalised and systematically oppressed (such as Māori speakers) often don't have access to publication to the same extent as the privileged majority (English speakers) – and this means that Māori Studies scholars need to pay attention to what is happening in non-academic contexts such as conversations between editors and writers, contributors to Internet forums, and kapa haka judges. Furthermore, some of these contexts *do* contribute to exisiting critical conversations, conversations that are only available to Māori speakers and are not restricted to academia. The Internet forum 'Te Mana o te Reo Māori'[60] was

[55] Heiss calls this publisher "Maori Learning Media"; the company's full name is Learning Media Limited/Te Pou Taki Kōrero.
[56] Details of the Te Matatini kapa haka competition are available from: http://www.tematatini.co.nz/
[57] 'Te Mana o te Reo Māori: Facebook Group', [Internet], [accessed 10 March 2012], available from https://www.facebook.com/groups/temanaotereo/?fref=ts.
[58] 'Manu Ao Academy', [Internet], [accessed 20 November 2012], available from http://www.manu-ao.ac.nz/.
[59] English language editors also work closely with their writers, English speakers also have critical literary discussions online and in private, and the judges of English writing competitions also conduct critical literary analysis and assess the wider critical landscape for the texts they are judging.
[60] Acushla D. O'Carroll, doctoral research for Massey University, unfinished December 2012. O'Carroll is currently completing her doctoral research. She will discuss the 'Te Mana o Te Reo Māori' page in terms of how

specifically established by Māori speakers to foster these kinds of critical discussions; the contributors are limited to those who speak te reo and have Internet access, but their participation is not conditional on university qualifications, income, or social status. There are also cultural differences between English Literature and Māori Studies departments. To draw from my own personal experience in each department, when I asked a English Literature lecturer for guidance on a particular research topic, I would usually come away with a recommendation for a book or suggestions for search terms to enter into a database. When I asked my Māori Studies lecturers for research advice, I would likewise come away with book recommendations and possibly also database search terms, but almost every time I would also come away with recommendations of a person or several people to talk to "kanohi ki te kanohi" (or sometimes "īmera ki te īmera", depending on where they were located). In fact, the emphasis on face to face interaction is so fundamental to Māori Studies that Fiona Cram has identified "He kanohi kitea" as one of the key principles of kaupapa Māori research.[61] While this thesis does not claim to be a work of kaupapa Māori research, my own research process, the guidance of my supervisors and mentors, and the advice of the many Māori academics who I have reached out to have all been influenced to some degree by kaupapa Māori research methodologies. My consideration of critical dialogue that exists outside of the "blackened word" (to borrow a phrase from Keri Hulme[62]) reflects that influence.

As noted above, traditional Māori genre such as waiata, haka, karanga, and whaikōrero can be considered as forms of Māori language literature. Therefore, the critical texts written about these genres can be valuable to a study of Māori language literature such as this thesis. Books such as *Call of an Elder: Karanga a te Kuia* by Mihi Edwards,[63] *Whaikoorero: Farewell Ceremonies to the Dead* by Val Brooke-White and Robert Mahuta,[64] *Whaikōrero: The world of Māori oratory* by Poia Rewi,[65] *Whaikōrero: Hunga Mate 1: A study of the*

Social Network Services (SNS) are impacting on Māori cultural practices, including te reo Māori, and how te reo is becoming normalised in certain sectors of SNS.

[61] Fiona Cram, 'Rangahau Māori: tona tika, tona pono: the validity and integrity of Māori research', in M. Tolich, ed., *Research Ethics in Aotearoa New Zealand: Concepts, Practice, Critique*, Auckland, Longman, 2001, p.43.

[62] Keri Hulme, quoted in Philip Hayward, *Sound Alliances: Indigenous peoples, cultural politics, and popular music in the Pacific*, London; New York, Cassell, 1998, p.33.

[63] Mihi Edwards, *Call of an Elder: Karanga a te Kuia*, Wellington, Steele Roberts Ltd, 2002.

[64] Val Brooke-White and Robert Mahuta, *Whaikoorero: Farewell ceremonies to the dead*, Wellington, Continuing Education Unit, Radio New Zealand, 1981.

[65] Poia Rewi, *Whaikōrero: The world of Māori oratory*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2010.

'sacred references to the dead' and formal conclusions in indigenous oral literature, by Sam Rerekura,[66] and even the notes and introductions in the *Ngā Mōteatea* series of books all provide some level of critical literary analysis of these various traditional Māori literary genres. Educational institutions such as Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi offer degrees such as Ngā Mana Whakairo a Toi: Bachelor of Māori Performing Arts[67] – study for this degree involves close analysis of the performance material. There is also a growing repository of knowledge about traditional Māori literary forms found in the vibrant range of theses being produced across Aotearoa. Some examples of this are Te Kapunga Dewes' research on 'Ngaa waiata haka a Heenare Waitoa o Ngaati Porou',[68] Frances Rangihuna's study of 'Te haka a Tanerore raua ko Hineruhi',[69] and Ngamaru Raerino's exploration of '"Pure" and "Karakia" as a window to Maori epistemology'.[70] In his thesis about the nature of waiata and mōteatea, Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal likens waiata to a "rākau nui nō te whare Māori" that is able to "tiaki i te kawa o taua whare."[71] Traditional Māori literary genre like waiata, then, provide valuable material not only in the context of literary studies but also in the broader Māori Studies academic context; these literary forms are viewed by many scholars as central to Te Ao Māori. It's not that no one is thinking critically about Māori literature, it's just that the spaces in which this criticism occurs are different from the corresponding English critical literary spaces.

This leads me to consider what is arguably the most traditional context for Māori literary criticism. On marae around the motu, individual whaikōrero and karanga are responding to previous karanga and whaikōrero and thereby contributing to a kind of ongoing critical literary dialogue that has been evolving in Aotearoa for centuries.[72] The same can be said of

[66] Sam Rerekura, *Whaikōrero: Hunga Mate 1: A study of the 'sacred references to the dead' and formal conclusions in indigenous oral literature,* Auckland*,* Te Whare Wānanga o Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, 2008.
[67] Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Website, 'Ngā Mana Whakairo a Toi: Bachelor of Māori Performing Arts', [Internet], [accessed 5 December 2012], available from http://www.wananga.ac.nz/schools/undergraduate/Pages/Nga%20Mana%20Whakairo%20a%20Toi.aspx.
[68] Te Kapunga Dewes, 'Ngaa waiata haka a Heenare Waitoa o Ngaati Porou', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1972.
[69] Frances Rangihuna, 'Te haka a Tanerore raua ko Hineruhi', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2001.
[70]Ngamaru Raerino, '"Pure" and "Karakia" as a window to Maori epistemology: Koi rō pure me karakia e oke ana', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1999.
[71] Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal, 'Hua noa nei te ua i aku kamo he whakaputanga whakaaro mō te waiata: The well-spring of tears, a discussion concerning song-poetry in the Māori world', MA thesis, Massey University, 1991, p.3.
[72] The patere genre of waiata can also be seen as a series of ongoing critical dialogues in which personal criticism is intermingled with literary criticism.

many waiata and haka.[73] It is beyond the reach of this thesis to undertake a literature review that would involve attending hui and noting the critical dialogue(s) that evolve in the karanga and whaikōrero, but the apparent difficulty of this task may reflect the limitations of academic research in a university context.[74] In the process of writing this thesis I have, like many scholars, become keenly aware of these limitations. Methodologies and institutions often operate on a scale that is beyond the control of the individual scholar. The university context is a complex structure, permeated by hierarchies, privileges, and specific philosophies. Academia provides support mechanisms and academic opportunities, and simultaneously it enforces limitations that can restrict or even undermine the research process. But part of the responsibility of an academic is to push the boundaries of the academy – to create new spaces for discussion and to breathe fresh air into any stagnant scholarly spaces. Jeff Corntassel discusses the pushes and pulls of being an activist *and* an academic – particularly with regard to his own indigeneity.[75] Richard Benton likens the academy to a den of "Tuoro", a creature which barks and bites (even the hand that feeds it) but ultimately represents a kind of academic freedom.[76] As someone who wants to research and write about Māori language literature, I am grateful for all the privilege that allows me to write this thesis, including the support of the wider university, and especially that of my own department, Te Kawa a Māui, and my many academic mentors, supervisors, teachers, colleagues, and friends. However, I am mindful of the limitations that accompany work conducted in a university context, and like the Tuoro, I may need to push the boundaries sometimes.

The Huia short story collections

Huia Publishers was established in 1991 by husband-and-wife team Robyn and Brian Bargh,

[73] Pātere, particularly, are often composed as part of an ongoing critical (often *highly* critical) dialogue between the composers.
[74] This is not to say that no university would allow research that involves spending time discussing the content of karanga and whaikōrero. Indeed, several of the theses mentioned above address this very topic. But it could be difficult to include such research as a part of the process for a Literary Studies MA thesis. Time restraints alone would make this almost impossible.
[75] Jeff J. Corntassel, "An Activist Posing as an Academic?", *American Indian Quarterly* 27, 1 and 2, (2003), pp.160-171.
[76] Richard Benton, 'Te Tau o te Tuoro', in *He Puakitanga Whakaaro*, Auckland, The James Henare Māori Research Centre, University of Auckland, 2002.

along with other whānau members.[77] Since that time, Huia has consistently put an emphasis on publishing work written in te reo Māori, "Core to Huia Education's work is our commitment to the revitalisation of the Māori language,"[78] and Huia has also maintained a commitment to publishing fiction. Robyn Bargh explains her belief that

> the development of Maori writers writing fiction will be more enduring, long term, than non-fiction. Non-fiction often has a social context which ten years later is out of date. Good fiction can stand the test of time.[79]

An article on Huia published in *Mana* magazine, 2006, enthuses:

> For 20 years, Huia Publishers has been committed to producing quality books, describing the diverse range of Māori perspectives – telling stories that no one else is telling, saying things that are not being said.[80]

The Huia Publishers Pikihuia[81] competition is a biennial short story competition for Māori writers in English or Māori, and the successful stories appear in the collections on which this thesis draws as its primary source. Heiss discusses the usefulness of these competitions in her article on Māori publishing.[82] She describes the purpose of the competition: to contribute to the production of more Māori literature and the mentoring of emerging Māori authors. The Huia competitions themselves belong to a tradition of Māori literary competitions already established by the *Te Ao Hou* competitions organised by Schwimmer,[83] which produced an earlier generation of Maori published writers such as Arapera Blank and Mason Durie. Like the Huia competitions, these were open to writers of both English and Māori language texts: "One prize of ten guineas is available for the best story in Maori and another similar prize for the best story in English."[84] In addition to the Pikihuia competition, Huia has extended their commitment to fostering new Māori authors by running the Te Papa

[77] *Kōkiri Magazine*, [Internet], 2012, [accessed 1 December 2012], available from http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/in-print/kokiri/kokiri-27-2012/huia-publishers-21-years-in-flight/.
[78] *Mana Magazine*, [Internet], 2006, [accessed 1 May 2012], available from http://www.huia.co.nz/?sn=8&st=1&pg=275.
[79] Heiss, p.201.
[80] *Mana Magazine*, [Internet], 2006, [accessed 1 May 2012], available from http://www.huia.co.nz/?sn=8&st=1&pg=275.
[81] Details of the Pikihuia Competition are available from the Huia Website: see http://www.huia.co.nz/?sn=31&st=1&pg=1409.
[82] Heiss, p.218.
[83] The Maori Affairs Department, [Electronic Journal], *Te Ao Hou*, 14, 2, (1956), p.2., [accessed December 1 2012], available from http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao14TeA/full.html
[84] The Maori Affairs Department, p.16.

Tupu writing competition, which involves a six-month intensive writing programme for six successful up-and-coming Māori writers producing work in English and Māori.[85]

The choice of the short story as the genre for this competition could provide ample material for critical analysis. My own Honours dissertation was about the complexities of attempting to fit a work of Māori language literature (*Te Ātea* by Katarina Te Heikōkō Mataira[86]) into a Western literary genre "box".[87] *Te Ātea* has been defined as a children's picture book, a novel (it was heralded on the Huia website as the "first Māori novel"[88]), or an epic poem. Māori language is often described as poetic, and Robyn Bargh comments on the two genres of the poem and the short story in relation to Māori oral tradition:

> I feel sure we did have a poetry, a Maori literature where we used metaphor; alliteration, onomatopoeia and all those literary forms are used in Maori language and literature, but I think you can translate those just as easily into short stories.[89]

In this thesis, my primary focus is on content – the symbolism of rākau and ngahere – rather than on genre. However, there are several places within the thesis where the short story genre will be identified and examined in reference to the central themes and rākau/ngahere symbolism within the texts. One broadly applicable way in which the short story genre has affected this thesis is that the "shortness" of these stories has allowed more intensive examination of the individual words and sentences, which are particularly important in short stories.

Methodology

As a researcher, I have sought guidance in my choice of focus from the texts themselves. Before I began to structure my thesis and before choosing theories and methodologies to inform my analysis of the texts, I let my close reading of those texts guide me to a significant feature, one that could inform my perspective and suggest an appropriate structure. During

[85] To date, only one writer, Fred te Maro, has written in and been mentored in Māori. His story won best short story in Māori category of the Pikihuia Awards 2011. Te Maro is currently finishing off a young adult novel under the Papa Tupu scheme. Brian Bargh, personal communication, November 2012.
[86] Katarina Mataira, *Te Ātea*, Wellington, School Publications Branch, Department of Education, 1975.
[87] Kristin Jerram, 'Te Ātea e Kore e Oti: Making connections in limitless "space"', unpublished Honours dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, 2009.
[88] Huia website, *Author Page for Katerina Te Heikoko Mataira*, [Internet], [accessed 9 August 2009], available from http://www.huia.co.nz/about/katerina-te-heikoko-mataira/.
[89] Heiss, p.199.

my first close reading of the texts, I identified the rākau/ngahere motif that ran through so many of the stories, and I could not help but notice and be intrigued by it. I did have a concern though: would my readers assume that I chose the rākau focus because of a romantic association of Māori people with the natural world?[90] Rousseau's racist "Noble Savage" stereotype may no longer be fashionable, but it is arguably still alive and well in academia, albeit under new guises.[91] I am hopeful, though, that this thesis will show the depth and breadth of Māori experience as reflected in these stories and the wider Māori literary context, rather than pigeonholing Māori or perpetuating racial stereotypes. The process of close reading has guided the growth of this thesis from start to finish. I began by conducting two separate close reading processes. Firstly, I read all the Huia short stories written in te reo and identified the rākau motif as a key component of many stories. Secondly, I reread all those stories that featured this motif, identifying key themes that related to rākau. This led me to divide my thesis into three thematically based chapters: Chapter One discusses the theme of "points of origin"; Chapter Two examines the theme of "Māori and Pākehā interaction"; and Chapter Three explores the theme of "different worlds". The content of these chapters will be outlined in more detail below.

The source (the roots) of the key influences on my methodological choices lie in my own experiences of learning and studying te reo Māori as well as English literature. Drawing on Māori modes of critical analysis is especially applicable to a thesis on Māori language literature. Kim McBreen, of the 'Ahunga Tikanga' programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, points out that "those of us who have been raised within exclusively Western philosophical frameworks need to be open to the limitations of those frameworks. Others understand the world differently, they may understand the world better."[92] There is a tendency for non-indigenous scholars discussing indigenous literature to look to Western postmodern or postcolonial frameworks in order to define indigenous literature.[93] However, in her article, 'Postcolonialism, Postmodernism, Postwhatever: Just an/'other' Waka', Bella te Aku Graham points out that in trying to "clear" space for indigenous writers, these academics can actually

[90] Of course, many Māori *do* define themselves as having an important relationship with the natural world, but I will leave that definition up to them rather than assigning values to Māori people in a general, homogenising fashion.
[91] Terry Jay Ellingson, *The myth of the noble savage*, Berkley, University of California Press, 2001.
[92] Kim McBreen, *Superstition, spiritualism, religion, philosophy*, [Internet], 2012, [accessed 4 November 2012], available from http://starspangledrodeo.blogspot.co.nz/2012/10/superstition-spiritualism-religion.html.
[93] Knudsen, p.8.

shut down indigenous voices: "I have noticed that the poststructuralists, postmodernists and postcolonialists tend to clear spaces for me – either on the margin or in some other 'world'. This process of assigning signifiers is, again, not liberation: this is recolonisation!"[94] This thesis does not attempt to "clear space" for the writers of the texts, who already occupy their own spaces; instead it is grounded in an approach that is common to both Anglophone literary studies and Māori critical dialogue: the process of close reading.[95] Specifically, this thesis will be rooted in close readings of texts with a focus on the rākau/ngahere motif. The "bringing out" of a key, repeated motif is a widespread phenomenom in Māori modes of literary and social analysis. In the context of a pōhiri,[96] for example, if one kaiwhaikōrero on the paepae references a tōtara as a symbol for a certain rangatira, then another speaker may pick up on that metaphor and refer to it in their own whaikōrero. They might disagree with the first speaker and use a different tōtara meaning, such as the whakataukī "He aha i kiia ai ko koe hai tōtara haere wā, ko au hai kauri tū i te wao?",[97] which draws on the use of tōtara wood for building waka and consequently links the tree with travel and exploration. They might discuss the physical attributes of a tōtara or the ngahere environment in which it stands, or they might extend and carry on the first speaker's metaphor. There is often an element of analytic deconstruction to the way in which a kaiwhaikōrero treats a word or sentence. The rākau-focused whakataukī "Ruia taitea kia toitū ko taikaka anake"[98] emphasises the need to peel away many layers to reveal a tree's heartwood. Kaiwhaikōrero, like literary critics, often focus on stripping back the meaning of words and sayings to find the layers of underlying meaning and metaphor that lie at the heart of the text.

Earlier in this introduction, when I outlined some of the critical work about Māori language literature that is happening in several different forums, I emphasised the important material that is coming out of various Māori Studies departments across Aotearoa. This thesis, too, is

[94]Bella Te Aku Graham, 'Riding Someone Else's Waka: Academic theory and tribal identity', in Suvendrini Perara, ed., *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities: Special Edition of Meridian: the La Trobe University English Review*, 1995, p.60.

[95] In this thesis, I use the term "close reading" to mean closely considering and analysing written literary texts but also literature that is not text-based. This is consistent with my methodological approach towards "what constitutes literature" as outlined in this introduction.

[96] This example is hypothetical and is not drawn from a specific pōhiri. It illustrates key techniques used by kaiwhaikōrero that have influenced my own close reading process and the critical explorations which have resulted from this process.

[97] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.61.

[98] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.351.

positioned within the school of Māori Studies, but it also draws heavily on the academic approaches found in the school of Literary Studies (or English Literature). The methodology of this thesis combines the two disciplines – it explores what Māori Language Literary Studies might look like. Some of my fellow scholars are currently working on analyses of Māori language texts with specific reference to Literary Studies. Arini Loader's MA thesis (mentioned above) on the writings of Te Rangikāheke has been a key influence on my work, and Loader is currently working on her PhD which looks at 19th century writing in Ōtaki. In *Once Were Pacific,* Te Punga Somerville links my own work on this thesis (at the time, still unfinished) with Loader's work and with the work Jillian Tipene is doing on literary translations of Māori-language texts.[99] Te Punga Somerville herself uses a rākau metaphor to describe the relationship of the work that is being undertaken by the three women (myself included), and she points out that the unavoidable limitations of each individual project need not be problematic. She advocates a colloborative "reaching out" approach, where we, as researchers, connect with others who are participating in the related discourses. She says: "No single scholar can be proficient in all these areas of research, and no scholar needs to be. At the same time, it is too easy to focus only on one genealogical line and forget about the branches between."[100] So although this thesis has a close focus on rākau and ngahere in a relatively small selection of short stories, it will still reach out to the work of other researchers, which will mean, ultimately, that my discussion can be expanded and linked to others. When writing my Honours dissertation, I came to appreciate that, often, the broader the topic, the fewer opportunities it provides to get into the fine detail that makes literature so fascinating and inspiring. I anticipate that those who read and/or discuss this thesis will see ways in which the dialogues I contribute to here can be related to other dialogues about Māori literature. The discussions advanced in this thesis will branch out to other conversations growing out of the same literary roots that I (and the authors of the Huia texts) draw on.

So, just as the pre-colonial Māori literature that Ngata knew so well can be seen as a forest, made up of individual tree-stories (or tree-waiata/kōrero pūrākau/haka/tātai whakapapa …) whose roots all drew from the same sources of nutrients and whose branches reached out

[99] Te Punga Somerville, *Pacific*, p.204.
[100] Te Punga Somerville, *Pacific*, p.204.

to one another, so this thesis can be seen as a forest, with tree-stories that include not only the Huia short stories which are the primary subjects of this research, but also many other forest inhabitants. These include other stories by Māori authors, in both Māori and English, some stories by non-Māori authors, non-fiction texts, other pieces of academic research, personal conversations, and even (perhaps especially) some of the Māori literature that Ngata saw in the pre-colonial literary forest of Aotearoa – the tīpuna of all modern Māori texts.

My role as a researcher: Choosing pathways

Aroha Harris emphasises the need for subjectivity in Māori scholarship, saying: "western scholarship often questions subjectivity; Maori scholarship embraces and even demands it."[101] This leads me to examine my own situation – what does Māori scholarship demand of me as a Pākehā academic working within Māori spheres of knowledge? At Waitangi in 2006, Dr Hone Kaa emphasised a specific need for Pākehā to be aware of our subjective perspectives: "It's good that you Pākehā *are* who you are, and it's important that you *know* who you are … but you need to understand *how* you are who you are – and how *powerfully* you are who you are."[102] The concepts of objectivity and subjectivity come into play in any academic work, but they are especially important for scholars who occupy a position of historical privilege. We must describe our stance, whether we claim objectivity or subjectivity, and endeavor to be as upfront as possible about what is influencing our perspective. The stance we take as researchers can be especially important when we are dealing with people "kanohi ki te kanohi". We must remember that the stories which a member of a group tells in front of an outsider differ from the stories that group members tell one another, which differ again from the stories we tell ourselves, which may well differ from what actually happened. This doesn't make the stories any less valid, informative, and interesting, or culturally, artistically, and socially valuable. I would even argue that it doesn't make them any less true, because "true" is one of those words, like "objective", that only

[101] Aroha Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives of Māori and Integration in the 1950s and 60s'*, Journal of New Zealand studies*, October 2007 - October 2008, p.140.
[102] Hone Kaa, cited in *Whiteness matters: on domination and seeing what's not to be seen*, [Internet], 2012, [accessed 5 November 2012], available from http://turangawaewae.wordpress.com/2012/03/16/whiteness-matters-on-domination-and-seeing-whats-not-to-be-seen/.

has meaning when it is grounded in the perspective of the truth-teller. It simply reminds us that "the truth" is, by definition, subjective. However, when a researcher describes their own perspective, they may present a more truthful kind of subjectivity. In writing this thesis, my time was mainly spent "kanohi ki te *pukapuka"* rather than "kanohi ki te kanohi", but the issues raised above are still pertinent, especially since my ablity to read te reo Māori has allowed me access to a literary space that arguably wasn't intended for a non-Māori reader. In the past, Pākehā academics working in Māori fields have often fallen within one of two groups: either they go to pains to point out their own status as an "outsider", or they completely ignore the issues of their own colonial (and white) privilege and non-indigeneity and claim academic "objectivity". Throughout my own journey within Māori Studies, I have found it difficult to identify fully with either of these groups.

I began to learn te reo for a rather trivial reason, but my reasons for staying in Māori Studies were much more significant. My academic training began at Te Kawa a Māui, at Victoria University of Wellington, learning to speak te reo Māori (majoring in Māori Language) and going on to take papers in tikanga Māori, Māori history, Māori methodology, and so on (taking on a second major of Māori Studies). I later picked up a third major in English Literature, after doing a New Zealand literature paper and getting excited about applying the close textual analysis skills I had learned in my Māori language studies to texts written *by* Māori authors (such as Ihimaera's *Bulibasha*[103] and Renee's *Jeannie Once*[104]). While the two disciplines of Māori language and English literature were completely different in many ways, my ability to use the close reading (or sometimes close *listening*) process was fostered by my teachers in both departments. My journey to learn te reo also brought to my attention many of the social privileges I had benefited from throughout my life, particularly within the education system and in terms of ethnicity and language. MAOR211 was my first rumaki reo class, and not only was it taught in te reo Māori, which I'd had little previous exposure to, but it also involved using a cultural "language" that was new to me. I was lucky enough to have peers and mentors who went out of their way to support me and help me learn, and I was able to spend time on the unversity marae and to form relationships with Māori

[103] Witi Ihimaera, *Bulibasha*, North Shore, Raupo, 2009.
[104] Renee, *Jeannie Once*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1991.

speakers connected with that marae. Te Tumu Herenga Waka marae has always had a place for me, and it has always had a place for Māori students at the university.[105]

My interactions with the whānau of Te Herenga Waka, and my participation in the MAOR211 class in particular,[106] were some of the best and most formative experiences of my adult life. My school friends were Māori, my kaiako were Māori, my academic tuākana were Māori. However, being welcomed and nurtured by Māori people in Māori spaces didn't make me an "insider" and it certainly didn't make me Māori. I also needed to maintain my awareness of the structural social power Dr Kaa mentioned in the quote above, which has contributed to who I am. So what role was I taking on in these Māori spaces? And how do I position myself now, as I begin my thesis and undertake this journey within the forest of Māori literature?

As an academic working in Māori spaces, I have chosen to look at my role as that of a manuhiri. After all, in the context of a pōhiri, the manuhiri are welcomed onto the marae (Māori space), and as they are made noa (after the hongi or harirū), they are given access to that space.[107] However, this doesn't give them the same rights, privileges, and obligations that the actual tangata whenua of that rohe have. They may stay on and even be able to do familiar things like help out in the kitchen, but they must respect the tangata whenua. It is a privilege to be given access to these spaces and the privilege comes with its own limitations and obligations. Reading stories in te reo Māori is like spending time in a Māori space. I am fortunate enough to have been welcomed onto these spaces by hearing the karanga of te reo Māori, and I have responded by learning to speak te reo and coming onto the conceptual marae of Māori literature.[108] Those who have been welcomed onto a marae aren't tangata whenua, but after the pōhiri they are no longer waewae tapu. They now have a relationship

[105] Rangi Chadwick emphasises the crucial role that on-campus marae can play in supporting Māori students and in providing a Māori space within a university space that often privileges Western ideals and methodologies: "As marae are the last bastion of mana motuhake, so university is still a pākehā fortress, and a campus marae is apt both as our retreat into our own cultural mileu and as a base for the future expansion and penetration of a Māori awareness into the rest of the university. Not something to be academically dissected and empirically quantified, but something to be appreciated for its own internal dynamism." See Rangi Chadwick, 'The Pākehā Fortress', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.262.

[106] My whole journey to learn te reo Māori has been life-changing, but this class was a real turning point for me. It was when I stopped having to translate every sentence into English in my head and started hearing the kupu Māori on their own terms. It was also where I made some life-long friends, and where I met one of the most influential kaiako I will ever be lucky enough to study under: Teurikore Biddle.

[107] Hiwi and Pat Tauroa, *Te Marae: A guide to customs and protocol*, Auckland, Reed, 1986, p.69.

[108] Tīmoti Kāretu refers to the anthology as a "marae, of sorts". See Kāretu, 'Tōku Reo, Tōku Mana', p.223.

with that marae and with its people and, in all likelihood, they will have obligations to that marae.

As an academic then, I must respond to the gifts of language, knowledge, and theory that I have been trusted with and try my best to fulfil the set of obligations that comes with them. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains in *Decolonizing Methodologies*,[109] only Māori people can carry out kaupapa Māori research, but this thesis does not position itself as a work of kaupapa Māori research. There is space for non-Māori academics to contribute to research that can benefit Te Ao Māori without trying to appropriate kaupapa Māori research methodologies. I consider myself obligated to do something meaningful with the skills I have learnt, as a mihi to those who have welcomed me and shared their knowledge. Furthermore, as someone who has benefited from white privilege and the structural power given those of the colonising group in a colonised land, I feel a sense of duty to contribute something valuable, but without stepping on the toes of people who have been marginalised, namely Māori people. This is quite a challenge, and some Pākehā academics who are aware of their colonial privilege suffer from what Martin Tolich describes as "Pākehā paralysis".[110] This is a state of inaction where the Pākehā concerned is so afraid of being rebuked by Māori that they refuse to take any action whatsoever.

A more productive approach might be to look at Pākehā scholarship in Māori Studies, and even the work pertaining to Te Ao Māori that is carried out by Pākehā scholars from other disciplines, as a genealogy, beginning with the widely published (and widely critiqued) writers Elsdon Best and Percy Smith and evolving over the years to take in well-known scholars such as Anne Salmond and Joan Metge and, more recently, people like Tolich, Avril Bell, and historian Michael Reilly. Rachel Fabish (anthropology) is currently completing her doctoral research project; this involved establishing and participating in a group of mainly Māori anarchists, using anti-oppressive methodology to discuss the privilege that affected the inner workings of the group and the participants' complaints about the wider anarchist scene.[111] Non-Māori academics who belong to other indigenous cultures, like Chadwick Allen

[109] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*, London; New York; Dunedin, Zed Books; University of Otago Press, 1999.
[110] Martin Tolich, 'Pākehā "paralysis": Cultural safety for those researching the general population of Aotearoa', *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand/Te Puna Whakaaro,* 19, (2002), pp.164-178.
[111] Rachel Fabish, doctoral research for Victoria University of Wellington, unfinished December 2012.

and Christina Gonzalez, have also contributed to the critical dialogues that are evolving in Māori Studies.[112] To return to the pōhiri metaphor, though (and noting a role that rākau play within pōhiri), the challenge set out by Māori academics such as Smith can be seen as a wero, laid down as a part of the pōhiri process, where a branch is placed between the tangata whenua and manuhiri groups so that the tangata whenua can assess the intentions of the manuhiri. The manuhiri can respond by taking up the wero or by leaving it there. Manuhiri who want to cultivate a mutually beneficial relationship will choose to pick up the branch, to accept the challenge, with the knowledge that they are on someone else's marae.

This leads me to make an important admission as a literary critic: I cannot cover all aspects of my subject or include everyone's voices. By focusing this study on the symbolism of rākau and ngahere in these particular stories, whose marae am I visiting?[113] What voices am I potentially leaving out in this study of Māori literary voices? Some omissions can be readily identified. While they do feature in the Huia stories, the voices of modern urban Māori are not well represented in the stories that I discuss. I have particularly noticed this because many of my friends and colleagues, and many of the Māori authors I know, live in urban environments. Perhaps it is the ngahere focus of these stories that leaves those voices under-represented. Furthermore, many of the stories I discuss personify trees, and this means that there may be less space for those authors who are interested in writing interpersonal (human) dialogue: kanohi ki te kanohi.[114] And what about those Māori who aren't interested in reading and writing fiction, those who *are* interested but whose work has not been published, those who produce work in other genres, such as poetry or waiata, or, perhaps most importantly, those Māori who don't speak te reo? Quite clearly, this thesis is privileging the voices of Māori-speaking writers and readers, but this is something that I see as vitally important for the study of Māori literature and the survival of the Māori language. After all, the overwhelming majority of literary scholarship in Aotearoa relates to English language texts. Finally, although I cannot claim to speak as a Māori academic myself (since I am not one), I do aim in this thesis to privilege the voices of Māori writers and academics, and beyond that other indigenous voices, wherever possible.

[112] Allen, cited previously, and Christina Gonzalez, 'Be(com)ing' Ngāti Kahungunu in the diaspora: Iwi identity and social organisation in Wellington', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010.
[113] Or, what part of the Māori literary forest am I visiting?
[114] Although, arguably, the stories show that this is not true, as many of them are simply using rākau characters within an allegorical story about human beings.

This thesis is written first and foremost for a bilingual readership, and it is mainly for this reason that I have elected to leave all the Māori language text in this thesis untranslated. Bilingual readers are at the heart of Māori Studies, and this thesis consciously centres this bilingual audience. I recognise that the lack of English language translations may disadvantage some potential readers, even potential Māori readers. However, I am also aware that a significant proportion of Māori readers can *understand* a lot more Māori language than they can speak themselves. A bilingual reader will have access to multilayered meaning in this thesis and may enjoy a richer and more refined reading experience without translations. Privileging the bilingual audience enables Māori Studies academics to have the conversations we want to have without becoming limited by the demands (and restraints) of translation. Loader draws on the discipline of Comparative Literature when she addresses the question of translation in her Masters thesis. She points out that a choice not to translate can even enhance academic discussion when the language in which the thesis is written and the language of the original text "intercept and interact at multiple junctions in often surprising ways that facilitate a complementary relationship."[115] Furthermore, this thesis aims to generate space in which to discuss Māori literary texts, not to reauthor them. It is problematic when Maori literary criticism becomes an act of translation rather than an act of literary studies.[116] The texts I will analyse in this thesis were written in Māori, and they use te reo in a way that cannot be replicated in English. I intend to engage with these texts on their own terms and without changing their original form.

So why are my own words in this thesis not written in Māori? Any scholar of Māori literature and any keen reader of te reo Māori texts knows that we desperately *need* more writing, fiction and non-fiction, to be produced in Māori. I was tempted to try to write my thesis in Māori – I want to contribute to the pool of literature in te reo. However, several indigenous scholars have identified political reasons for producing academic work in the language of their colonisers, even seeing this as a way of reclaiming a previously occupied space in order to renew dialogue between indigenous groups.[117] Loader emphasises the potential of an English language thesis to connect indigenous scholars on a global level: "The English

[115] Loader, p.24.
[116] Loader, p.24.
[117] Jace Weaver, Craig S. Womack, and Robert Warrior, *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

language in this way facilitates a mobility of ideas and conversations between diverse people and Peoples both locally and internationally."[118] I am not an indigenous scholar, so this thesis is not the kind of reclamation described above, but because it is written in English, this thesis will be more accessible to the other Māori Studies, Indigenous Studies, and Literary Studies scholars I wish to reach out to. Another key reason why I have not written this thesis in te reo lies in my own grasp of te reo Māori. As mentioned above, I learned to speak Māori as an adult. My proficiency is such that I consider myself a conversational speaker of Māori, with basic comprehension/listening skills, who is able to get by in most Māori language environments. I would also describe myself as a competent reader of Māori language texts. However, while I feel that I was able to read deeply into my primary texts, using the reo that I have, and to see many layers of hidden meaning within the kupu, I do not feel confident enough to write an entire thesis in Māori. I also accept that my own level of fluency, coupled with the fact that Māori is my second language, may have obscured many details of the texts from my view. However, part of what I love about literary studies in *any* language is that every reader can see some things in a text and not others – a text is not a mathematical equation with one correct answer. The task of the literary studies academic is to give context for their own perspective and to elaborate on the layers that they can see, accepting that there are many other layers and many other perspectives that other readers may uncover.

Like any piece of academic work, this thesis will be open to criticism from the moment it is sent out into Te Ao Mārama. This is the nature of academic writing, and I welcome it both as a scholar and as manuhiri. In particular, I am aware that for Pākehā working in Māori Studies, receiving criticism from Māori scholars can be beneficial in terms of highlighting the limitations of the Pākehā scholar. I am a manuhiri, and manuhiri only provide some of the kōrero in a pōhiri context. In fact, during a pōhiri, each kaikaranga or kaiwhaikōrero builds on and responds to what the person who came before them has said. Everyone is talking horizontally out to each other, responding in turn and also open to both critique and support from other contributors. Whaikōrero are often translated as "speeches", but really they are a kind of dialogue with very specific cultural protocols. This thesis, then, is intended to contribute to the many related conversations that are taking place in both academic and

[118] Loader, p.27.

non-academic spaces. Perhaps it may even initiate some new conversations, which in turn may plant the seeds of even *newer* conversations, and so on and on.

Rākau and ngahere

From a Māori perspective, people have a whakapapa connection to rākau. In Māori tradition, it was Tāne Mahuta, the atua of the forest and its inhabitants, who separated his parents, Rangi and Papa, and brought about Te Ao Mārama.[119] Te Wao-nui-a-Tāne has always provided shelter, food, and other resources for Māori, and there are many tikanga that relate to treating Tāne and his children with respect. Trees provide the raw materials for whare, waka, and whakairo. Specific trees have specific associations in Māori oral literature. Trees are frequently the protagonists in pakiwaitara about how the natural world came to be as it is today. In Te Ao Māori, forests continue to be the focus of much thought and debate as many iwi find themselves defending their rights of kaitiakitanga in disputes with the government or with neighbouring iwi. Trixie Te Arama Menzies links the colonisation of people with the consequences that colonisation has for nature:

> To the Māori psyche, growing up in the contemporary world has a special bitterness: it brings the realization that the people are no longer in control, but are constantly forced to operate within systems that originated outside Māori tradition. The land, Papatūānuku, remains, but her face is in many places transformed beyond recognition.[120]

According to the tikanga associated with whakapapa, whanaungatanga carries obligations and responsibilities that must be remembered when we write about rākau. McBreen discusses this tuakana/teina dynamic in her essay on the WAI262 claim:

> Our place in the cosmogony, as teina to the forest, reflects our reliance on the forest for nurturing with food and rongoa, and protection by providing the resources for our shelter. As teina, we are responsible for accepting and acknowledging this support, and for taking only what we need. Like Tāne, we can experiment and attempt to change our situation—by clearing forests, by introducing species, by genetically altering species to better serve our

[119] A.W. Reed, *Raupō Book of Māori Mythology*, Auckland, Penguin Group, 2008, p.11.
[120] Trixie Te Arama Menzies, '*From* E Pā Tō Hau', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.57.

> wants—but we can only push the boundaries so far, and there will always be consequences."[121]

As tēina, then, do we also have a familial responsibility to represent our[122] tuākana rākau? Should we acknowledge our whakapapa ties to them in kōrero, as a kaiwhaikōrero acknowledges whakapapa? The stories examined in this thesis all demonstrate that the whakapapa ties that a Māori author has to rākau are multilayered and myriad, but each author, in their own way, acknowledges the special relationship between people and rākau.[123]

The impetus for this kaupapa has grown from the stories themselves, which have revealed many different uses and interpretations of the tree motif. For example, in stories by Hagen Tautari and Poia Rewi,[124] the forest is a place for hunting, but while Tautari's main character is at home in this setting, Rewi's protagonist is out of his comfort zone.[125] In Basil Keane's 'Te Taiaha a Tama', the tree is a literal entry point to another world and a metaphor for a person's coming of age. Te Rongopai Morehu and Joe Everitt personify their trees, which literally speak for themselves. Mona Riini's kauri and pine trees are also personified and respectively represent the colonised and the coloniser, the indigenous and the intruder. The ever-present tree motif shifts and changes from story to story. The roots of these trees extend from Te Ao Maori to western symbolism, religion, and literature, and their branches stretch out to, and intertwine with, the works of other contemporary writers in te reo Maori.

Key themes identified in this thesis

The chapters of this thesis are presented under three thematic headings, which arose from the close reading process. Chapter One discusses four of the Huia stories, Chapter Two

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[121] Kim McBreen, *Te Wao-nui-a-Tāne, Wai 262 and the Mataatua Declaration*, [Internet], 2010, [accessed 4 March 2012], available from http://starspangledrodeo.blogspot.co.nz/2010/10/te-wao-nui-tane-wai-262-and-mataatua.html.

[122] I have used the word "our", therefore including myself in this lineage, as this is what I was told was appropriate by my kaiako, years ago, in a discussion that arose in Māori language class. However, I recognise that there are varying viewpoints among Māori over whether non-Māori are related to rākau in the same way as Māori.

[123] Indeed, the very fact that they draw on rākau imagery can be seen as implicit acknowledgement of this relationship.

[124] Poia Rewi, 'Me I Roa Ake Aku Waewae!', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 3*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1999, pp.55-59.

[125] Furthermore, Tautari's story emphasises the rākau as a motif in the story, whereas Rewi's story gives no attention to the ngahere setting and therefore is not explored as a primary text in this thesis.

discusses a further two, and Chapter Three explores the final three of the nine Huia stories that provide the primary subject of this thesis. Each chapter discusses the texts most relevant in terms of its theme, and while the number of texts discussed in each chapter differs, the length of each chapter is similar. The exploration of some texts involved longer discussions than others, and I have retained these longer analyses where the content was valuable in context. The Huia texts discussed in this thesis were chosen because they each rely in some way on rākau symbolism to convey their narratives. There are some other stories in the Huia collections that briefly mention rākau or are set in a forest but have no real focus on rākau symbolism. However, while some of these stories are mentioned along the way, this thesis is intended to be a critical discussion of rākau/ngahere symbolism in the Huia texts, and therefore I have focused on those texts that best embody this symbolism. It is important to note that I began to write this thesis in 2010, before the publication of *Huia Short Stories 9*.[126] This most recent addition to the Huia collections, therefore, will not be discussed in this thesis.

This thesis itself is like a growing rākau kōrero. This introduction is the setting, the ngahere kōrero, and from here we will watch the rākau evolve. Chapter One will be the kākano of this rākau kōrero/thesis. This first chapter explores the theme 'point of origin' and the rākau/ngahere symbolism in 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau' (1995) by Te Rongopai Morehu,[127] 'Kōtiro' (2001) by Okeroa Waitai,[128] 'Pai Kare e Kui, Kino kē Koe!' (2009) by Mōrehu Nikora,[129] and 'Te Wehenga o ngā Rākau' (1995) by Joe Everitt.[130] It involves discussion of the coming of age story, urbanisation, a confident return to a childhood home, and a pakiwaitara style creation myth for the forest. Chapter Two will be the rākau grown from the seed planted in the previous chapter. This chapter highlights Māori and Pākehā interaction as a theme conveyed by the rākau/ngahere motif throughout the texts of 'He Raruraru' (1997) by Mona

[126] It may appear that over the past two years I would have had ample time to both finish this thesis and take in the newest Huia collection, but in fact, I wrote the first draft of this thesis in late 2010/early 2011. I then took time off study to have a baby and came back to work on my final draft midway through 2012. See *Huia Short Stories 9: Contemporary Māori fiction*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2011.
[127] Te Rongopai Morehu, 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995, pp.19-22.
[128] Okeroa Waitai, 'Kōtiro', in *Huia Short Stories 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2001, pp.257-261.
[129] Mōrehu Nikora, 'Pai Kare e Kui, Kino kē Koe!', in *Huia Short Stories 8*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2009, pp.203-209.
[130] Joe Everitt, 'Te Wehenga o ngā Rākau', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995, pp.25-28.

Riini[131] and 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia' (2005) by Megan Ellison.[132] Although focusing on only two stories, the discussion is broad and involves several different aspects of Māori and Pākehā interaction, including colonisation and injustice, literary genres, devices, and influences, and the ways in which these authors choose to privilege Māori interaction with other Māori in their Māori language texts. Chapter Three looks at the theme of "different worlds" and the rākau/ngahere motif, and this chapter will also be the blossoming of the rākau/thesis. It contains a discussion of 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai' (2003) by Hagen Tautari,[133] 'Te Taiaha a Tama' (2007) by Basil Keane,[134] and 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere' (1995) by Hurihia Tomo.[135] This third chapter explores the concept of worlds within worlds – the ways in which different worlds can be seen to intersect within these texts, and particularly the ways in which Māori worlds are shown as intersecting with other Māori worlds rather than with Te Ao Pākehā. This chapter also includes a discussion of the past as a kind of world that intersects with the present and explores the idea that the reader is transported to various worlds by the act of reading. The final pages of this thesis present some conclusions and also some new questions, all driven by the discussion throughout the body of the thesis/rākau kōrero. These concluding pages will bring us to the forest canopy, where we can look down on the branches of critical work that have made up the thesis and reassess them within the larger context of the ngahere kōrero.

Te kaupapa – Standing with our feet on the forest floor

This introduction has introduced the concept of the ngahere kōrero, and that is where I now position myself as the writer of this thesis and you as its reader, as we prepare to turn to the next page and begin the thesis proper. The word kaupapa literally means 'the basis' or 'the foundation', though it is generally used to indicate 'subject matter', especially in terms of academic writing. In this thesis, the kaupapa is the forest floor within the ngahere kōrero – all that must be established and made ready before a tree can be planted. This thesis is like a

[131] Mona Riini, 'He Raruraru', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1997*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1997, pp.25-27.
[132] Megan Ellison, 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2007, pp.95-103.
[133] Hagen Tautari, 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai', in *Huia Short Stories 5*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2003, pp.183-188.
[134] Basil Keane, 'Te Taiaha a Tama', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2007, pp.7-13.
[135] Hurihia Tomo, 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995, pp.29-31.

forest, full of tree-stories, but it is also like the tiny seed of a rākau kōrero, the conception of a story ready to be planted in a much greater forest of dialogue that is already growing.

Chapter One: He Kākano

The theme of "points of origin"

"here the roots would go back down to the past –
a search for a time
when it was all tū kākariki –
where the trees stood tall, & they stood green,
and they made you feel good

that's what I like about begininnings" [1]

'Official Opening' by Rangi Faith

The language relating to ngahere, rākau, and the various parts of trees is culturally linked to the concept of "origin". In te reo Māori, whakataukī say that people are the seeds of their ancestors, waiata are sung about how people's roots are intertwined in solidarity, and kaiwhaikōrero might declare that each point of their argument is hanging from a different branch on their rākau kōrero. In English, we talk about "the seed of an idea", "going back to our roots", and "our family tree". Procreative vocabulary in both Māori and English draws on tree-related metaphors like 'rākau' for 'ure' and 'seed' for 'sperm'. The words and phrases that we use link us to the natural world, which is, in both environmental and cultural terms, our point of origin. In Māori cosmogony, several procreation stories are based on the actions

[1] Rangi Faith, 'Official Opening', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.146.

of Tāne, who breathed life into the first human being at Kurawaka.[2] Many creation stories from other cultures also use trees and forests as symbols to convey their messages about beginnings. In the Garden of Eden, it was the forbidden fruit tree that contained the origins of human knowledge of good and evil, and references to a "Tree of Life" pervade the literature of many cultures.[3] Throughout literary history, tree imagery is associated with the notion of family origins and the search for the original self.

This chapter will explore how trees and forests are consistently used as symbols that represent "points of origin" in 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau' by Te Rongopai Morehu, 'Kōtiro' by Okeroa Waitai, 'Pai Kare e Kui, Kino kē Koe!' by Mōrehu Nikora, and 'Te Wehenga o ngā Rākau' by Joe Everitt. In these stories, although the concept of origin may be woven into various thematic and structural patterns, it emerges with a common focus on the tree image. The discussion of each text will involve analysing the specific text's use of rākau symbolism and interplay of themes, techniques, genres, and narratives. Morehu's story is a kind of coming of age story; Waitai's story presents a dangerous urban situation and a restorative forest; Nikora's story emphasises the notion of tūrangawaewae; and finally, Everitt's story is a kind of literary "creation story", which provides an opportunity to explore the literary origins of these Huia texts alongside the concept of origin as a theme within them.

The coming of age story

The cultural phenomenon of one's "coming of age" is often associated with casting off the ties of youth and reliance on family to go forth alone, as an adult, into the world. However, for many people (and certainly for many Māori authors), the journey into adulthood fundamentally involves a journey back, a reconnection with their family origins. In the context of Māori literature, and particularly Māori *language* literature, reconnections with family origins and ancestry are not only essential to many of the plot lines, they are also made manifest in the words on the page and in the fact that those printed words are Māori words. The concept of adolescence has historically been associated with the field of indigenous studies. In fact, much of the early anthropological study of indigenous people

[2] Reed, p.32.
[3] Claire Russell, 'The Life Tree and the Death Tree', *Folklore*, 92, 1, (1981), p. 56.

was bound up with racially motivated concepts of indigenous "naivety", and the whole process of "civilisation" has been viewed by some as the coming of age of indigenous cultures. Margaret Mead's[4] writing about adolescence has permeated our society so thoroughly that any piece of writing about "coming of age" and indigenous literature must respond to it in some way. However, Mead's work and the views associated with it have generally come from outside the indigenous group, and this kind of ethnographic research has already been effectively criticised by numerous indigenous academics (for example: Tuhiwai Smith[5] and Deloria Jr[6]). This chapter will not focus on addressing the claims of scholars like Mead; rather, it will focus on the purposes and perspectives of Māori writers as revealed in their own literary texts. The first story discussed, 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', will help to illuminate what a coming of age story can mean in a Māori literary context. Te Rongopai Morehu tells a story that deals with the themes of identity and isolation. The story raises the question, If we do not know our whakapapa, how can we know who we are ourselves? By personifying[7] Kahikatea and the other inhabitants of the forest, Morehu is able to include the theme of comradeship and working together as well as evoking aspects of whanaungatanga that are common to people and rākau. The story is ultimately a kind of *bildungsroman*: Kahikatea is able to come of age and "find himself" when he finds his family.

The very first line exemplifies how personification is used to point to the key theme of whakapapa. Kahikatea begins the story by saying: "he kākano ahau",[8] and although the statement is used literally here, it also refers to the well known whakataukī: "He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea."[9] This whakataukī is widely used to acknowledge the importance of tīpuna and the role they have played in making us who we are. In Morehu's story, Kahikatea is a personified tree, and conversely, in the whakataukī, people are "tree-i-fied", showing the whakapapa links of all living things.[10] In his use of personification, we can see

[4] Margaret Mead, *Coming of age in Samoa: A psychological study of primitive youth for Western civilization,* New York, Morrow, 1961.
[5] Tuhiwai Smith, p.67.
[6] Vine Deloria Jr, 'Marginal and Submarginal', in Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, eds, *Indigenizing the Academy, transforming scholarship and empowering communities*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2004, p.17.
[7] Chapter Two contains further discussion of personification in a Māori language literary context.
[8] Morehu, p.19.
[9] Another of the stories in the Huia Collections is about the origins of this whakataukī. See Wiremu Tawhai, 'Taputapuatea: Te marae kōhuru o neherā', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 3*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1999, pp.9-17.
[10] This naturally relates to the idea that humanity was first created by Tāne, who is also the atua of the forest.

that Morehu is exploring not just Kahikatea's whakapapa, but also the whakapapa of Māori literature. Trixie Te Arama Menzies notes that, in Māori language poetry, personification as well as "[l]andmarks, seamarks and the direction of wind or clouds were often employed as lead-ins to human subjects".[11] Roberts and Wihongi explain that the use of personification goes back to the earliest Māori cosmogonic kōrero: "Two aspects fundamental to this cosmogony are the whakapapa (genealogy) and the personification of natural phenomena. The latter, combined with metaphorical language, enabled Māori to clothe explanations and meanings in poetic imagery".[12] They even go on to describe these personified relationships as "cosmogonic trees".[13] 'Kahikatea' begins with a nod to its literary origins and continues throughout to draw on Māori literary tīpuna.

Morehu sensitively employs the nuances of the Māori language to give multi-layered meaning to Kahikatea's expressions of isolation. At the beginning of this story, Kahikatea lacks knowledge of his whakapapa because his links to his family have been severed. As a seed, he was eaten by a kererū and then deposited to grow in another part of the forest. He responds to this situation by calling out: "Auē, kei hea ōku mātua?"[14] When Kahikatea meets other forest dwellers, the comprehensive nature of his isolation becomes even more evident. When the young Kauri children ask him who he is, he replies, "Kāore au e mōhio."[15] The tense marker "e" in this sentence can be read as either present or future tense. If Kahikatea had said "Kāore au i te mōhio", the sentence would have a clear connotation of the present tense. However, because "e" is used, the sentence implies not only that Kahikatea doesn't know who he is *now*, but also that he may never find out. Fortunately, the Kauri father recognises Kahikatea and tells him which family he belongs to; this is where Kahikatea's journey of self-discovery begins. The interconnectedness of different groups in the forest is emphasised by the fact that Kauri and the other forest inhabitants play such a key role in Kahikatea's self-discovery, and Morehu takes every opportunity to highlight the value of community over individuality.

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[11] Menzies, p.55.
[11] Mita, 'Indigenous Literature', p.310 [Italicised in original text].
[12] Dr M. Roberts and Dell Wihongi, 'Traditional Kaitiakitanga Rights and Responsibilities', in *WAI262 Report*, [Internet] (2011), p.62. [accessed 10 December 2012] available from http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/doclibrary/public/wai262/matauranga_maori/Chapt06.pdf.
[13] Roberts and Wihongi also demonstrate how "trees" are used metaphorically to describe a certain kind of whakapapa, p.62.
[14] Morehu, p.19.
[15] Morehu, p.19.

Throughout the narrative, the emphasis is on the family group that the young tree belongs to. He asks: "He Kahikatea ahau?"[16] In the text, he asks this question about himself, but it is related to a social more common in Māori contexts – when meeting a stranger, Māori speakers will often ask *where* you are from ("nō hea koe?"), i.e., *what group* do you belong to, rather than what your name is.[17] The family group that you belong to defines you. At the end of the story, the young tree asserts his identity in a seemingly individual tone, "Ko Kahikatea ahau", but the fact that his individual name is exactly the same as that of his wider family group gives this assertion a double meaning. Kahikatea is both an individual being ("ko Kahikatea") and part of a wider family group ("he kahikatea"), and it is only when he gains knowledge of *both* parts of himself that he is able to stand strong and confident.[18]

The ngahere environment heightens this sense of community because the trees are cast in the dual roles of location (the forest setting) and participants. Kahikatea himself is part of the forest – he is a tree. The other characters, who assist him on his journey, are also trees and forest dwellers. Kahikatea's ultimate self-discovery enables him to realise that his whole family are an intrinsic part of the forest, and this leads him to reassess his position and see himself as part of a wider community. Morehu's personification of rākau presents the perspective that nature has its own mauri and mana, with individual rākau even having their own thoughts and emotions. This encourages the reader to assess their own origins and realise that humanity is a part of nature and does not exist apart from it. When Te Whiti o Rongomai was asked by journalist William Bauke about what happened at Parihaka, he famously replied, "Ask that mountain, Taranaki saw it all."[19] In Morehu's story, it is through Kahikatea that the reader is able to "see it all" and feel that they too are a part of the wider community to which the young tree belongs.

[16] Morehu, p.19.
[17] Sometimes, the question posed is even "Nā wai koe?". Margaret Mutu has discussed this focus on identifying people based on tribal affiliations in: Margaret Mutu, 'Ko Pūwheke te Maunga – Pūwheke is the Mountain: Māori language and Māori ethnic identity – reaffirming identity through language revitalisation', *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 6, 2, (2001), p.1.
[18] This concept can also be identified in the title of Hana O'Regan's book. See Hana O'Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kāi Tahu tribal identity*, Christchurch, Horomaka Publishing, 2001.
[19] This quote also provides the title for Scott's book. See Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain: the story of Parihaka*, Auckland, Reed, 1981.

The whakataukī "Me uru kahikatea"[20] encourages people to be like kahikatea and support each other, particularly in their family groups. The kahikatea can survive in isolation, but it thrives best when it stands with other kahikatea, their roots binding together in a way that gives the whole group added strength. This is how Kahikatea first sees his family: "e tū ngātahi ana i roto i te wai māori".[21] This line gives the reader a clue about the deeper meaning of the text – are these kahikatea a symbol for Māori people in general? Although the term "wai māori" means "fresh water", and not specifically *Māori* water, the connotation of Māoritanga is there. The kahikatea are standing strong together as a family unit in the "māori" water.[22] This striking reference to Māori unity could resonate with many Māori people in modern Aotearoa who are, like Kahikatea, searching for their origins and for a source of strength and support.

This analogy could be especially relevant to younger readers who are looking to find their place in the world, and indeed, while included in a collection of adult literature, 'Kahikatea' could also be read as a children's story. The protagonist is a "tree-child" on a quest to find his family. The text is short, uses simple language and familiar collocations, and has straightforward positive messages about reconnecting with family origins and being part of a supportive wider community. This story would be suitable for children who are reasonably fluent speakers of Māori. 'Kahikatea' could also be seen as describing, by analogy, the position of the Huia short stories as a "coming of age" for Māori language literature. But is Māori literature really so "young" that it is only now coming of age? The assumption that Māori literature is a new phenomenon is based on a subjective assessment of modern Māori literature that ignores large sections of Māori literary history. Te Punga Somerville discusses the tendency of many academics to focus on the "newness" of Māori literature, ignoring all the creative and critical work that has gone before. She suggests a much longer history of Māori literature, saying, "it is well and truly time to think about the literature as something more established than recent, more substantial than tenuous, more nuanced than

[20] Federation of Māori Authorities Website, 'About Us', [Internet], [accessed 1 December 2012], available from http://www.panui.co.nz/about-us/.
[21] Morehu, p.22.
[22] Perhaps this idea can be extended further. If the water is Māori, does this point to the idea that the natural resources of Aotearoa are inherently connected to Māori people? This section of the story could relate to current political issues such as the Foreshore and Seabed legislation.

emerging."[23] Still, there is a sense in which the creation of the Huia texts can be seen as a coming of age if we reframe the concept. Instead of simply meaning a journey from infancy to adulthood, coming of age could mean a journey from one age into another. When Tāne pushed his parents apart and brought about Te Ao Mārama, a new era began; could the publication of these Huia short story collections indicate a new era for Māori literature?

The youthful content and style of many Māori language texts may also reflect another facet of the coming of age concept in Māori literature. Knudsen links the common theme of *rite de passage* in Māori texts[24] to the focus on movement and transformation in these texts, and she notes how this is in opposition to "nativist views" of indigenous cultures as static and unchanging.[25] Those holding nativist views also assert (incorrectly) that indigenous cultures are inherently more childlike than so-called "civilised" cultures. Of course, *rite de passage* is not a synonym for *bildungsroman*, but if we follow the line of thought that a "coming of age" can mean entering a new era, the idea of *rite de passage* is applicable. Not only are many of the stories thematically linked to transformation, but these collections also create new, transformative space for Māori writers. They are a regular and contemporary source of published literature written in te reo, and they mark two important shifts for Māori language literature. One is the fact that they are fiction written for an adult readership, and the other is the fact that they are not an educational resource aimed at teaching people to speak Māori but are written for those who *already* speak the language reasonably fluently.

Why was so much of the earlier fiction published in te reo written for children?[26] Māori storytellers have historically had plenty of "adult" tales to tell, and Māori writers have produced plenty of adult fiction in English – so why the dominance of children's fiction published in Māori? Perhaps this reflects the "young age" of publishing in Māori in general. Fiction published in te reo is still an emerging genre, so while writers who write in te reo are

[23] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.49.
[24] However, Knudsen's focus is on Māori writing in English, not in te reo.
[25] Knudsen, p.25.
[26] Many authors writing in te reo begin by writing fiction for a young audience. In the 'Mihi' section of *Te Ao Mārama 4*, Ihimaera claims that children's fiction is a new genre in the world of Māori literature: "Sure, there were stories told on the marae, but they were in the realm of whakapapa and too 'tall', or adult, to be children's stories at all. Children's literature has not been a Māori idiom. Story telling yes, but children's literature, no." However, others argue that there is a literary history of stories, and certainly waiata, in Māori aimed at a child audience (oriori and pōpō, for example). See Witi Ihimaera, 'Ngā Mihi', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Te Ao Marama 4: Contemporary Māori writing for children – Te Ara o te Hau*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1994, p.17.

finding their feet, it could be that they are drawn to more youth-focused themes. Even the Huia short stories discussed in this thesis include several that, like 'Kahikatea', seem to lean towards a young readership in both content and language.[27] The easy answer to why writing for youth dominates Māori language literature comes down to simple supply and demand – the Ministry of Education has funded a lot of writing in te reo for students at early childhood and school levels.[28] The generation of "kura kaupapa kids", emerging young Māori speakers, provide a readership for these pieces, and the authors who write for this audience are paid for their work. So the economic factor plays a role, but the kaupapa of language revitalisation is something that Māori people have brought about themselves, often at a grassroots level (kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, and Te Ātaarangi all began as community-led movements[29]) and often without any monetary recompense. Even when provided within a government initiative, such as Māori language classrooms in mainstream schools, many Māori language resources have been created by individual teachers because they needed more literature than what was available to them – some, like Katarina Te Heikōkō Mataira, went on to become prolific writers.[30] The Māori language revitalisation movement began with a focus on children, and people both at grassroots levels and at government strategic levels have generally focused their revitalisation efforts on supporting the new generation of first language speakers, so the prevalence of child-focused literature reflects that focus. However, today many "kura kaupapa kids" are coming of age themselves, and as they reach adulthood they will provide a new set of readers, not to mention potential authors, for books aimed at an adult readers.

[27] It is worth noting that children's literature can be deep and complex in its own right. Mataira's *Rēhua* series (written in te reo) combines elements of Māori mythology, such as the Hōkioi bird, with elements from science fiction, such as the "warp drive", and also tackles subject matter as serious as nuclear war and people being forced to eat other people for their own survival. Morehu's story is no more childish than Mataira's books, although (like them) it is accessible to a young audience. Conveying complex ideas with simple language can be seen as a sign of maturity, and regardless of the age of its intended audience, the story 'Kahikatea' is centred on themes that are deeply important for many Māori today. See Katarina Mataira, *Rēhua*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2006.

[28] Bernard Spolsky, 'Reassessing Māori regeneration', *Language in Society*, 32, 4, (2003), p.563.

[29] Bernard Spolsky, 'Māori lost and regained', in Allan Bell, Ray Harlow, and Donna Starks, eds, *Languages of New Zealand*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2005, p.73.

[30] Kani Worsley, 'Whakanuia! Whakamanatia!', in Migoto Eria, ed., *Te Wharekura: He Kōrero Whakamaumahara 1960-2010*, Wellington, Te Pou Taki Kōrero, 2010, p.10.

The final lines of Morehu's story evoke a pōhiri for the return of a lost child. Kahikatea and his family karanga back and forth to one another about his homecoming and how the land they dwell on is a part of them:

> Karanga mai, karanga mai, karanga mai e tōku whānau ē!
>
> Haere mai e tama e, whai ake i ōu tūpuna
>
> Nō rātou kē tēnei whenua, he taonga tuku iho
>
> Koinei te wāhi pai mōu, tō kāinga tūturu e
>
> Hei whakapai i tō tupu, kia ora ai e i.[31]

In this karanga, right at the end of the story, we see the themes of "origin" and "coming of age" fully synthesised. This karanga also reinforces the allegorical reading of the text in which Kahikatea represents those Māori individuals who wish to reconnect with their whānau. Following the usual tikanga, there are two voices in this karanga, the voice of Kahikatea and that of another kaikaranga from the family unit that he[32] is approaching. Kahikatea's opening line immediately establishes the whakapapa connection between them, "karanga mai e tōku whānau ē", as well as elucidating what Kahikatea has been needing his family to do throughout the story – to call him home![33] The reply : "Haere mai e tama e, whai ake i ōu tūpuna" confirms the relationship between them immediately and affirms Kahikatea's role in the family in two ways. Firstly, the term of endearment, "e tama", which is used for young boys, shows his place – although he has never before met his whānau, they greet him as their child. Secondly, he is told: "whai ake i ōu tūpuna", which gives him a specific action to take. Indeed, by following his tīpuna he will be finding his point of origin in more ways than one. He will return to the physical space, the tūrangawaewae that his tīpuna are bound to (*literally* bound by their roots in the earth), and he will also return to follow the path symbolically laid down by his ancestors; now that he has reconnected with his own

[31] Morehu, p.22.
[32] There is one way in which this karanga departs from the usual tikanga, though: Kahikatea is a male kaikaranga. The text does not explain why Morehu has chosen to give the rākau a specific gender. However, it makes sense that a personified rākau would have a gender identity, as if he were a human being.
[33] Tane Mokena's thesis on "the Māori quest story" discusses how this genre of oral literature is based on stories of a search for an absent parent. See Mokena, p.vi.

people (or rather, *rākau*), he will be surrounded by their tikanga and will be able to learn the history of his whānau and to form relationships with his whanaunga. The rest of the karanga is about the connection that Kahikatea and his whānau have with the land. They belong with it, "Nō rātou kē tēnei whenua" and know that they must maintain this connection in order to survive: "kia ora ai e i." This karanga sends a message then, both to Kahikatea and to the Māori reader of the text, who can identify an allegory. It implies that Māori who wish to reconnect with their whānau will, like Kahikatea, be welcomed and treated with warm familiarity. Like the kahikatea, Māori have inherited the land from their ancestors, "he taonga tuku iho", and that connection with both whānau and ancestral land is vital for the well-being of Māori people. Kahikatea comes of age when he reconnects with his origins, both his family and his tūrangawaewae.

Tāone

'Kahikatea' could also be read as an allegory about urban Māori. Kahikatea's ad-hoc relocation (by way of kererū) has an effect similar to that of the "pepper-potting" policies implemented in Aotearoa in the 1950s and 1960s, which aimed to disperse Māori families in an (unsuccessful) attempt to prevent the establishment of new, urban, Māori communities.[34] One outcome of the urban migration was that many young Māori became increasingly isolated from their whānau and, like Kahikatea, didn't always know how to find their way home. However, there were also many new Māori communities,[35] and even marae, that evolved in these Pākehā-focused city environments. In the work of many Māori authors, both the negative and positive aspects of life in the urban environment have become a common theme – for example, in the novels *Cousins*[36] and *Hibiscus Coast*[37] and the poems 'Sad Joke on a Marae'[38] and 'urban iwi: tihei mauri ora!'.[39] Powhiri Wharemarama Rika-Heke discusses the pervasiveness of the "urban drift" in Māori writing: "[a]lmost universally we spoke of the experience of leaving our rural land, and, inherent in this, our

[34] Joan Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967, p.216.
[35] Aroha Harris discusses some of these communities and the ways in which they established "Māori enclaves". See Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives', p.139.
[36] Patricia Grace, *Cousins,* Auckland, Penguin, 1992.
[37] Paula Morris, *Hibiscus Coast,* Auckland, Penguin, 2005.
[38] Apirana Taylor, 'Sad Joke on a Marae', in *Soft Leaf Falls of the Moon*, Birkenhead, Pohutukawa, 1996, p.9.
[39] Samuel Cruikshank, 'urban iwi: tihei mauri ora!', [Internet], [accessed 3 September 2012], available from http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/features/whetumoana/cruickshank.asp.

culture, for the cities. They [the pieces of writing] were invocations of loss, filled with regret, nostalgia, and resignation which did not threaten anybody."[40] The second story discussed in this chapter, 'Kōtiro' by Okeroa Waitai, is indeed filled with invocations of loss, regret, and nostalgia, but the characters rediscover themselves when they ultimately return to their point of origin in the forest.

Many academics have discussed urbanisation in Aotearoa in terms of its social and cultural effects on Māori (Walker,[41] Taonui,[42] Metge[43]). The schools of history, anthropology, and sociology often focus on the urban migration of Māori during the 1950s and 1960s as a key period of change for Māori people.[44] According to Ranginui Walker, this migration was generally motivated by "the 'big three' factors of work, money and pleasure",[45] but Walker also recognises the role that the government played in managing this urban migration. He points out that the government deliberately furthered its own objectives by placing Māori families in certain areas and Māori individuals in certain jobs and by implementing assimilationist (and integrationist[46]) policies, such as the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act [47] and the Māori Land Amendment Act.[48] Those Māori who left their tūrangawaewae to live in urban environments had varied experiences, and while some did experience distance from their Māori whānau, others set about creating new urban Māori groups and spaces. Pan-tribal rōpū such as Ngāti Pōneke and Ngāti Ākarana provided spaces for Māori to connect with one another and celebrate their Māoritanga. They also exemplified an evolving sense of urban Māori identity; urban Māori were (and are) no *less* Māori than Māori who live in rural areas.

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[40] Powhiri Wharemarama Rika-Heke, 'Margin or Centre? "Let me tell you! In the Land of my Ancestors I am the Centre": Indigenous writing in Aotearoa', in Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajan, eds, *English Postcoloniality: Literatures from around the world*, Westport and London, Greenwood Press, 1996, p.153.
[41] Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without end*, Auckland, Penguin, 2004, p.197.
[42] Rawiri Taonui, 'Māori Urban Protest Movements', in Danny Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Māori*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2012, pp.230-259.
[43] Metge, p.216.
[44] Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives', p.146.
[45] Walker, *Ka Whawhai*, p.198.
[46] Harris discusses the differences and the similarities between these two ideas and points out that while the official government line was one of "integration", the intended outcomes were similar. See Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives', p.143.
[47] Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945.
[48] Māori Land Amendment Act 1952.

'Kōtiro', however, does not explore the potential for a positive city experience. This personal story of a family explores particular negative effects of urbanisation that were experienced by some Māori and focuses on the feeling of disconnection with whakapapa experienced by many who moved to the city. The forest is positioned as a setting that is in contrast with the city. The forest represents a world that is simpler, safer, older, and more reliable, and also a world that is *Māori*. The reader's attention is drawn to the setting of the story: the 1960s,[49] a time when "e whakaaro nui ana te tangata mō te ao me ōna tini āhuatanga katoa,"[50] and when urbanisation was a key social issue for Māori. In 'Kōtiro', a young girl leaves the forest, and her extended whānau, to go and live in the city with her parents. What follows is the almost complete breakdown of the relationship between this girl and her two parents, and there is a mounting atmosphere of despair. It seems as though all three will suffer in the city for the rest of their lives. However, the girl and her mother are not defeated by the city. The two women return to their kaumātua in the forest, where they are able to rediscover loving family relationships and their tūrangawaewae.

The story begins with the birth of the girl, Kōtiro. This event is narrated from the perspective of her grandparents, who wish to attend the birth in order to "maioha te mokopuna ki te aotūroa."[51] The emotional and spiritual significance of the forest is made clear by the kuia, whose desire is that "kia whānau mai te pēpi hou i tō rāua kāinga, i ngahere kē",[52] rather than in the "Pākehā" hospital. However, her daughter's partner does not agree. This clash in family values is immediately linked to the influence of the Pākehā world; the partner says "Kua mate kē ngērā āhuatanga o nehe rā. … kei te mātauranga o te Pākehā[53] te tino oranga mō tātou ināianei."[54] He makes a clear binary distinction between Māori and Pākehā ways (worlds) and links this distinction to the binary model of old versus modern. In 'Kōtiro', this is paralleled by a third binary distinction – the division between forest and city. Waitai emphasises the connection between the old people and the forest, something that is evident in several of the Huia stories. The grandparents and their traditions are presented as

[49] Waitai is one of the only authors in the Huia collections to draw attention to the period in which his story is set.
[50] Waitai, p.257.
[51] Waitai, p.257.
[52] Waitai, p.257.
[53] In 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', discussed in Chapter Two, the old man says the same thing about the "mātauranga o te Pākehā" being better equipped to take care of the whakairo. In both stories, though, this faith in "te mātauranga o te Pākehā" proves to be a serious misjudgement.
[54] Waitai, p.257.

belonging in and belonging *to* the forest. The characters in the text see the forest and the old people as inherently linked to the concept of "origin". This connection relates to the place of trees and human ancestors on whakapapa lines; trees have contributed to our current existence and therefore our origins lie partly with them. However, in the context of 'Kōtiro', there is another association at work: during the mass urban migration of Māori in the 1960s, those who stayed behind were generally the old people, and staying in a rural environment would often mean having a physical (as well as emotional and spiritual) connection with the forest.

What is missing from the picture of urban Māori life in 'Kōtiro' is the experience of Māori whose mana whenua is with land that has been "developed" into an urban environment. Knudsen posits that "Placelessness and cultural rootlessness go hand in hand",[55] but this leaves out a key group of urban Māori who are not "placeless", those who have remained in their rohe while the landscape of their tūrangawaewae has been urbanised and, to varying degrees, compromised by Pākehā buildings, customs, and people. Moreover, the voices of those Māori who feel at home in an urban environment,[56] whether or not they have ancestral ties to that place, are not clearly represented by any of the stories studied in this thesis. That is not to say that such voices don't exist in Māori literature, or even within the Huia collections. The Huia stories: 'Taku Whakakai Heitiki' (1995), by Wena Tait,[57] and 'Ko Māui me ngā Kūmara a Wiwīwawā' (2005), by Basil Keane,[58] are each set in an urban environment, but their authors pay almost no attention to this – their characters appear to be so comfortable in this setting that it is not worth mentioning. In 'Pai Kare e Kui, Kino Kē Koe', Mōrehu Nikora hints at the existence of Māori who are comfortable in the city, who feel that the city *is* or can be a Māori space. However, it is notable that none of the Huia texts that focus on rākau symbolism represent this kind of urban Māori voice. I conjectured in my introduction to this thesis that a focus on rākau symbolism might exclude the voices of

[55] Knudsen, p.81.
[56] Harris says: "They somehow put down roots in the cities, while simultaneously retaining tribal life-ways that transcended tribal boundaries." See Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives', p.151.
[57] Wena Tait, 'Taku Whakakai Heitiki', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995, pp.33-37.
[58] Basil Keane, 'Ko Māui me ngā Kūmara o Wiwīwawā', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2007, pp.119-127.

Māori who feel comfortable in an urban environment, and this has proved to be a valid concern.[59]

Aroha Harris has discussed the advent of Māori narratives which focus on the shift from urban to rural environments. Her take on these stories is worth quoting at length:

> It could easily be argued that home was largely the nostalgic creation of a generation encouraged to relocate to the city. Indeed, such an argument may help to explain the apparent absence of stories of negative experiences of home, even though those stories and realities are known to exist. It would be a mistake, therefore, to romanticise home and homogenise its people. … City living could result in the dreaded detribalisation for some, especially for young people who moved beyond the reach of the social sanctions of their elders. And petty racism was an everyday occurrence. Still, threaded through these various understandings and experiences was reference to a kind of leadership that gave children in the cities social and cultural ground rules.[60]

Harris's point that there was an "apparent absence of stories of negative experiences of home" is applicable to 'Kōtiro'. The story sets up a series of binary oppositions: the reader is encouraged to compare the nurturing forest/Māori/whānau environment with the damaging city/Pākehā/stranger environment. Much of the action in 'Kōtiro' is set away from the safe haven of the old people in the forest. Unlike the characters in the narratives discussed by Harris, which have "reference to a kind of leadership that gave children in the cities social and cultural ground rules", Kōtiro has no positive role models in the city, and she and her parents experience a damaging disconnection from their Māoritanga and their origins. The sad reality of their life there comes to a dramatic climax when Kōtiro hits her mother one night during an argument.[61] It is this loss of control that awakens Kōtiro and her mother to the negativity of their situation. They decide to return home to the ngahere together "ki te taha o ō tūpuna mātua … Kei reira pea te rongoā, te oranga hoki mō tāua."[62] The forest is presented as a kind of panacea for the ills of the city and provides healing on both physical and spiritual levels.[63] Kōtiro and her mother choose to let their home in the forest revitalise

[59] Missing here, too, are the voices of the many Māori for whom the rural Māori experience is not linked to the forest, but rather to the farm, the island, the mountain, or the ocean, river, or lake.
[60] Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives', pp.148-149.
[61] Kōtiro's father is no longer a part of the picture by this time.
[62] Waitai, p.260.
[63] This draws on the fact that traditional rongoā were often sourced from the ngahere.

them. They say: "Me hoki atu tāua ki ngā mahara o mua whakaoho ai."[64] Though they are talking specifically about the physical place they will go to (the ngahere), the wording of this statement adds a spiritual layer, as if the forest itself is built from memories ("ngā mahara o mua"[65]).

Central to the vision that Kōtiro and her mother have of the forest is their image of their whānau, especially their "tūpuna mātua."[66] The importance of strong family relationships is a key theme of 'Kōtiro' and of many of the Huia stories. How does the forest symbolise these relationships? As previously discussed, many of the origins for this association can be seen in the metaphorical use of "tree" language that is prevalent in whakataukī, waiata, and everyday language. The growth patterns of trees provide excellent material to build metaphors about family,[67] as can be seen when kaiwhaikōrero compare offspring (or sperm) and seeds, or note the way that a family of trees may all choose to grow in a particular area. It is also relevant to note that because trees can live longer than human beings, they provide a natural link to the past and to our ancestors. If a human family group has been based in the same area over several generations, many of the trees there will have been around as witness to the lives of all those generations. In this way, trees provide a symbolic link with ancestors long dead.[68]

The beginning and end of 'Kōtiro' are linked in a way that reflects the circular journey of mother and daughter from their point of origin and back to it again. The girl's koroua

[64] Waitai, p.260.
[65] In 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere', discussed in Chapter Three, the forest is described as being made of shadows in a similar vein.
[66] Waitai, p.260.
[67] In both English and Māori, we talk about family "trees" (though te reo Māori generally uses a more specific metaphor, as in the whakataukī about kahikatea families mentioned above).
[68] The movements of the characters in 'Kōtiro' are mirrored in some ways by those of the characters in 'He Rarururaru' by Mona Riini (further discussed in Chapter Two). In this story, the personified kauri trees (read: Māori trees) argue with the pine trees (read: Pākehā trees) about sharing space on the land they co-occupy. This allegorical narrative makes several points about Māori and Pākehā interactions, and one relevant to 'Kōtiro' is made at the end of the story, when the kauri decide to go back up North, to the area occupied by their whanaunga. On the surface, it appears that the kauri have given in to the pine trees. However, a more in-depth reading reveals an allusion to the same problem of urbanisation that affected Kōtiro and her family. In 'He Rarururaru', the pine trees represent a specific Pākehā archetype, one driven by the will to achieve growth and acquire wealth. The pine trees are capitalists and therefore inherently part of the city culture. Until this becomes clear at the end of the story, the reader might think that the forest setting for the trees' dispute symbolises all of Aotearoa, or all Māori land. When the kauri trees leave to return to the north, however, it raises the possibility that the setting actually represents the urban environment and the pine trees, Pākehā city-dwellers. When the kauri leave, they are not giving up their rights, but rather, like Kōtiro, they are reconnecting with their point of origin.

compares her to an atua wahine, Hine-tītama, first when she is born[69] and again at the very end of the story.[70] This image recalls a specific whakataukī, said about beautiful women: "Ko Hinetītama koe, matawai ana te whatu i te tirohanga".[71] Hine-tītama was famously first the child and then the lover of Tāne Mahuta; a double connection is made, then, between this woman and the primal force of the forest (as represented by Tāne). Kōtiro, like Hine-tītama, is the child of the forest. Both women reject Tāne and flee to an "underworld", but in 'Kōtiro', the ending is very different. When Kōtiro returns to her tūrangawaewae in the forest, she realises the value of her home, "kua tau ia ki tōna kāinga tūturu, ki tōna āhuru mōwai."[72] The story of Hine-tītama also shares the spiral narrative structure of 'Kōtiro' and reflects particular Māori world views that draw on the spiral or koru shape as a metaphor for whakapapa. Scholars such as Knudsen[73] and Elizabeth Deloughrey[74] have discussed the use of spiralling temporality and narrative structure in the works of Māori writers, particularly those of Patricia Grace. They see this spiral structure as particularly effective in a text dealing with a search for origins, because it demonstrates one way that Māori connect to their whakapapa. They point out that according to a particular Māori world view, we walk through life backwards around a spiral (like a koru), always looking back towards our ancestors in their various positions on the inner revolutions of the spiral, passing alongside the same spaces as those ancestors but never in exactly the same position. In 'Kōtiro', we can see this koru structure (another metaphor drawn from the ngahere) when the two women return home to stand beside their elders. They have come around in a circle, essentially returning to their point of origin, but in a slightly different position because of all their experiences away from home.

A place to stand

In both 'Kahikatea' and 'Kōtiro', the main characters are searching for their true home, their place to stand. But this does not mean that all Māori characters, authors, or people necessarily feel disconnected from their tūrangawaewae. 'Pai Kare e Kui, Kino kē Koe!', by

[69] Waitai, p.258.
[70] Waitai, p.261.
[71] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.229.
[72] Waitai, p.261. it is notable that in terms of the Pākehā government policy at this time, Kōtiro's return home would be seen as a failure, but in this Māori narrative it is a success.
[73] Knudsen, p.128.
[74] Elizabeth Deloughrey, 'The spiral temporality of Patricia Grace's "Potiki"', *ARIEL*, 30, 1, (1999), p.59.

Mōrehu Nikora, also tells a story of a return to one's birthplace. However, in this story, the return home is a walk down a familiar road, and the protagonist appears confident about belonging both to the city and to the land of his grandmother's home. The narrative of 'Pai Kare' is permeated by the past; the character of the narrator has been shaped by his family origins and his experience of childhood. This story consists of a series of recollections the narrator relives when he returns to his Nani Puti's house. Almost all of these recollections are connected in some way with trees, with plants, and with natural phenomena.

In this autobiographical-style[75] narrative, the narrator returns home from university in Hamilton to walk around his kuia's house and property, and he reminisces about Nani Puti, their relationship, and the relationship Nani had with the land and plants. Like other stories in the Huia series,[76] this story links old people with nature and the forest, which in turn are linked with the "old world" and with tikanga Māori. As the story progresses, no evidence is presented that this narrator regrets the time he has spent in the city. Instead, the focus is on his confidence in himself and his heritage, which arises from the strong foundation given him by his kuia and the connections he still has to the place where he was raised. What is notable in Nikora's story (in terms of his treatment of a Māori person's return home from the city to the country) isn't what he explicitly tells us, but rather the absence of any negative generalisations about the city. This absence becomes significant when we compare this story to other "return home" stories. In this one, there is no allusion to the city as Pākehā or the country as Māori (as there is in 'Kōtiro'). The story stands out among the rākau-focused stories from the Huia collections, and it reminds the reader of the depth and breadth of the Māori experience of urban living – we realise that the city is not necessarily a negative place for all Māori. The confident, positive tone leads the reader to reassess any assumptions they may have formed about Māori characters in reading these stories.[77]

[75] Several of the Huia stories read as if they were autobiographical. They are written from first person perspective and are either set in present day Aotearoa or presented as the memories of someone who is currently living there. Although these stories may well be works of fiction, the autobiographical style of writing encourages the reader to associate the text's narrator with its author. The reader might feel as if the author is sharing an intimate moment or even an in-joke with them.

[76] 'Kōtiro' provides another example of this theme. Allen's *Blood Narrative* points out that many Māori texts focus on the grandparent/grandchild bond. See Allen, p.133.

[77] Te Punga Somerville discusses the danger of homogenising Māori experience in terms of literary studies in 'Nau te Rourou', p.51.

The focus of 'Pai Kare', however, is not on giving a confident urban Māori perspective, and issues of urbanisation are more notable for their absence than their presence. 'Pai Kare' is about a return to a childhood home and the memories associated with it. The first of the memories recalled in this story establishes an immediate link with the distant past and presents a traditional Māori origin story alongside the contemporary one:

> I ngā rā o mua, e ai ki a Nani Puti, i kapia te whenua rā ki te rākau makauri. Ko tāna anō, i kawea mai tētahi peka ki uta e te mōkai taniwha nā Māhakirau. Ā, nā te tipuna anō taua peka i whakatō iho ki te whenua e tū rā tō kuia whare.[78]

Both Nani Puti and her home have grown from the seeds of the past. The house itself is linked with the trees that surround it because they have both "grown" from the same branch, which was brought inland by Māhakirau's taniwha. The building of Nani's house above the buried branch draws on the tikanga where a stone (or other object) containing the mauri of the whare is buried underneath the spot where a building is to be erected. The story about the rākau makauri is also given by some iwi as an origination story for the kahikatea tree.[79] Orbell describes how a particular rākau, known as the "rākau makauri" was planted out at sea, and this rākau was the ancestor of all kahikatea trees. This story explains why kahikatea like to have "wet feet" – they grow in swampy areas because of their whakapapa to that original sea-dwelling rākau. In Nikora's story, the link with kahikatea is not made explicit, but they are a fitting rākau for him to allude to in this story. 'Pai Kare' is essentially about family memories and connections and, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this is something that the kahikatea tree famously represents: "tātou, tātou ē".[80] The main character has special knowledge about the history of the land that his whānau belongs to, and his connection with his own family origins is strong.[81]

By making this link with the origins of the physical dwelling-place, Nikora underlines the close relationship between the people of the land and the trees that grow on it. The house, its inhabitants, and the rākau are symbolically related to each other in that they all came from the same "branch of origin". This idea reminds us that if we acknowledge Māori world

[78] Nikora, 'Pai Kare', pp.203-204.
[79] Margaret Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2007, p.95.
[80] This refers to the final lines of the widely known waiata: 'E Tū Kahikatea'.
[81] This kind of special knowledge is also featured in 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai' (discussed in Chapter Three), when Kiwi and his nephew walk on the hillside amongst the remains of the pā, which is invisible to others.

views as we read this story, we must recognise the relationship between trees or forests and ourselves, human beings. In the Māori cosmogony, we are the tēina of forests. Tāne first created the forest world and then went on to seek out the ira tangata and to create humanity.[82] The narrator in Nikora's story finds that his own personal history is interwoven with this broader cosmic narrative. When he sees the place where the rākau makauri once stood and looks on to Nani's house, he is overwhelmed by memories, some too complex to put into words: "He ngāhau ētahi, he aroha ētahi, ko ētahi anō he uaua tonu te whakahuahua mai."[83] In fact, it is through connections with the rākau and other plants that surround Nani's home that the narrator *is* able to establish a sense of those memories and emotions. For example, the fact that the rākau are now gone from the land conveys the broader concept of loss as it particularly applies to Māori. The reader may think of historic land losses and the waiata 'Taku Rākau'[84] or the whakataukī, "He peka tangata, apa he peka tītoki",[85] both of which draw on rākau symbolism to evoke the feeling of loss.

In 'Pai Kare', the humans, the trees, and the flowers are all presented as characters. This characterisation is not as pronounced as that of the personified rākau in 'Kahikatea', but when the narrator returns home, he experiences a warm reconnection with the local plants, and his memories of these are presented in the same kinds of ways as his memories of people. Nani Puti herself is often compared to nature, initially through her nickname, Nani Puti, given her for the putiputi that she grew in her garden (the narrator says "Kei te kite tonu, ā-mahara nei, i a Nani Puti e piko tuarā ana ki te taha o āna putiputi"[86]). The reader is also encouraged to identify Nani with the rākau makauri. These connections between rākau and old age become explicit when the narrator has a sensory reconnection with his youth. He welcomes the familiar smell of the walnut tree: "Mmm … nau mai te kakara wōnati."[87] This walnut tree represents his own youth, but it also represents old age. It is likened to an

[82] Reed, pp.29-34.
[83] Nikora, 'Pai Kare', p.204.
[84] Mihi-ki-te-Kapua, 'Taku Rākau', in 'Te Rōpū Whakahau Website' [Internet], [accessed 10 December 2012], available from http://www.trw.org.nz/waiata.php?page=moteatea.
[85] Bushman's Friend Website, 'New Zealand's Plant Heritage', [Internet], [accessed 10 December 2012], available from http://www.bushmansfriend.co.nz/proverbs-and-quotes-xidc18714.html.
[86] Nikora, 'Pai Kare', p.204. In Mere Whaanga's story,' All My People', Mata looks on an old tree as the nurturer of younger life: "She looked with appreciation at the prolific life the old tree supported". Nani Puti, similarly, is an older living creature who has supported and sustained the growth of younger living things – particularly the narrator of the story. See Mere Whaanga, 'All My People', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.161.
[87] Nikora, 'Pai Kare', p.206.

old man: “Kua kaumatua rawa taua rākau ināianei”,[88] and, like all the trees in the story, it is linked to Nani Puti and her role as kuia of the whānau. It is worth noting that the walnut tree, a non-indigenous tree, is so closely linked to Nani Puti and the narrator himself. In the context of the Huia stories discussed in this thesis, this use of an exotic tree is unique – for example, ‘He Rarururaru’ (discussed in Chapter Two) specifically correlates non-indigenous rākau with Pākehā people. However, the walnut tree in this story is clearly linked to and even representative of Māori. Although not endemic to Aotearoa, this rākau is rooted in a Māori space, just as the narrator is connected both to an urban space *and* to his tūrangawaewae.

The walnut tree provides a link to specific events in the narrator’s youth – it draws him back to childhood memories of stealing walnut bread at night. The tree also has a close connection with Nani Puti’s childhood: “Nō Nani e tamariki ana, nāna te kākano wōnati i whakatō ki te papa.”[89] The tree and the woman have grown up and grown old together. This draws the reader’s attention to a significant difference between us (humanity) and our tuākana (rākau): rākau can live much longer than people.[90] Nikora’s narrator comments on the enduring nature of the tree in comparison to humanity’s brief time on earth:[91] “mahue mai nei te rākau, kua riro kē tōna rangatira [Nani Puti].”[92] The reader is also reminded of the narrator’s own part in the cycle of life and death.[93] As in the whakataukī, “mate atu he tētē kura, ara ake he tētē kura”,[94] the narrator of this story is part of Nani Puti’s living legacy. Nani Puti has died (mate atu he tētē kura), but her whare, her putiputi, her rākau, and her mokopuna live on (ara ake he tētē kura).

‘Pai Kare’ is about an adult returning to his roots and rethinking their significance. Nikora is not the only Huia author to emphasise the special relationship between the young and the

[88] Nikora, ‘Pai Kare’, p.206.
[89] Nikora, ‘Pai Kare’, p.206.
[90] Of course this is not true of all rākau; in fact the whakataukī quoted above, ‘He Peka tangata, apa he peka titoki’, relates the shortness of human life to rākau.
[91] This concept also comes into play in other stories of the Huia collections, such as ‘He Tino Kino Tōna Pai’, and ‘Te Taiaha a Tama’.
[92] Nikora, ‘Pai Kare’, p.206.
[93] Trees can also represent both youth and old age. Traditional whakataukī reinforce this idea. “Ka haere te tōtara haemata, ka takoto te pukatea wai nui” is a whakataukī that compares old people to pukatea trees, which are ‘settled’ in the their own region, and young people to tōtara, which move around and are more transitory. See Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.153.
[94] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.286.

old (as we have seen in 'Kōtiro'), or the return to an ancestral home (as seen in 'Kahikatea' and 'Kōtiro'), and this relationship cannot be separated from the theme of origins. In 'Pai Kare', the character is sure of his origins and has special knowledge about them because of his relationship with his Nani. He can move forward as an individual, despite her death, because she has passed on important family history to him. He is able to stand confidently in his homeland because he *knows* it.[95] The close relationship which the narrator of 'Pai Kare' has had with his Nani Puti is evidently the root of his self-confidence. Merata Mita wrote that her origins gave her a similar kind of stablity and self-confidence. "Being Māori was nothing to be ashamed of. I've never lost the security I got from that upbringing, and the very strong sense of identity. It made me, if you can say such things. I never had to have a crisis about who I am, where I came from or where I am going."[96] The character in this story is able to move confidently from an urban situation to a rural one. He lives and breathes his origins when he returns to his ancestral land and, because of this, he has no anxiety[97] about his place in the world.

Te pū o te rākau kōrero

The Huia collections also provide us with an origin story that is completely different from the three we have looked at so far, one that adopts a traditional style of storytelling to create an "origination myth" for different parts of the forest. 'Te Wehenga o Ngā Rākau', by Joe Everitt, follows the convention of certain pakiwaitara or pūrākau which explain how the world came to be as it is.[98] 'Te Wehenga', like 'Kahikatea', uses the literary technique of personification.[99] The trees in this story speak, move, and even fall in love. The story also invokes Tāne, the primary atua and creator of the ngāhere, as the voice of order and reason and as a kind of personified force of nature. Both the plot and the genre raise questions

[95] Conversely, in another Huia story, 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia' (discussed in Chapter Two), an old man is unwilling to pass on what he knows to his granddaughter, and because of this, the links of origin are lost in the void between the generations. In both these stories, trees or wood contain the stories of the past within them. The rākau makauri of Nikora's story have a role that is similar to the role of the whakairo in 'E Kore ā Muri'. Both kinds of rakau are the bearers of essential knowledge about the whakapapa of the iwi, but in each case this kōrero needs to be passed on to a younger person by an elder who understands the need for intergenerational transmission of knowledge.

[96] Mita, 'Indigenous Literature', p.279.

[97] As its title suggests, Roma Pōtiki's 'The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence', quoted in the introduction to this thesis, discusses Māori confidence and anxiety in terms of creating literature.

[98] The rākau makauri story embedded in 'Pai Kare e Kui' is this kind of pakiwaitara or pūrākau .

[99] This term is discussed further in Chapter Two.

about the author's intentions for his story. Is Everitt retelling a traditional Māori story, or is he drawing from genre like pakiwaitara and pūrākau in order to create a new literary work, one that does not attempt to inform the reader of historical fact, but rather creates a storytelling atmosphere in which literary and mythical points of origin can be intertwined?

The story begins by drawing attention to a peaceful setting: a world where all the trees of the forest live in harmony together. The use of trees as the key protagonists in this utopian society is valid and effective in a "creation myth" that draws on pakiwaitara and pūrākau for its structure, and it is also effective in other ways. The opening sentence points to symbolic connections between the forest setting and the idea of peacefulness: "I roa tonu tēnei āhua o te rangimārie ki waenganui i a rātou."[100] The forest at the beginning of this story has always been peaceful. Western literary history is permeated by tree imagery as a symbol of peace; examples of this include the biblical Garden of Eden, Shakespeare's Forest of Arden,[101] and the works of Romantic poets such as Wordsworth and Coleridge, who used nature as a symbol for peace, purity, and innocence.[102] There are also traditional Māori associations of the forest with peacefulness. As discussed above in relation to 'Kōtiro' and 'Pai Kare', the forest can be portrayed as a point of origin linked to whānau and as a nurturing, calm environment. Before colonisation, the forest was the primary source of food, shelter, and literal as well as metaphorical warmth in the form of firewood for many iwi. The atua of the ngahere, Tāne Mahuta, although not an atua of peace,[103] was involved in many of the aspects of life that made for a happy existence; indeed, he brought about Te Ao Mārama. But the symbolic connections of trees in both Māori and Western literary traditions are complex and varied. The Garden of Eden may have been idyllic, but in it lived the snake that was, according to some traditions, the source of all human conflict. In the famous pakiwaitara/pūrākau about Rona and the moon, a tree root trips Rona, causing her to curse the moon and consequently to be punished. It is also notable that one key association rākau have in Te Ao Māori is with weaponry. Weapons made from wood were often referred to simply as "rākau". In 'Te Wehenga', any peaceful forest associations the reader has made are

[100] Everitt, p.25.
[101] William Shakespeare, 'As You Like It', in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, Halifax, Milner and Sowervy, 1863, pp.146-162.
[102] Harold Bloom, *The Visionary Company: A reading of English romantic poetry*, Cornell University Press, 1971 p.186.
[103] That status is generally accorded to Rongo. Reed, p.29.

shattered when the previously tranquil trees declare war on one another. The conflict-based symbolism of trees is (quite literally) mobilised in the text for full effect when the trees begin to fight.

The specific trees featured in this story have their own associations in Te Ao Māori. The story centres around the actions of Kauri, Pūriri, and Miro. Both Kauri and Pūriri fall in love with Miro, but it is Kauri whom she prefers. The rationale for choosing Kauri as the romantic hero could be based on whakataukī which refer to kauri trees as rangatira, such as: "Ngā tai whakarewa kauri ki te uru."[104] However, some historians argue that the kauri tree has only had associations with high status in more recent times, due to the impact of colonisation and the newfound worth of kauri gum as a commodity valued by Pākehā.[105] Many traditional sayings featuring kauri reference the use of kauri to make ink for tā moko[106] rather than focusing on its status as a "rākau rangatira".[107] One whakataukī even associates it with meanness: "Puritia tō kauri hei ō matenga mōu."[108] Pūriri trees are imbued with the qualities of attractiveness, high status, and amiability in the widely known whakataukī: "Ka kata ngā pūriri o Taiāmai."[109] However, a more wide-ranging study of the pūriri in whakataukī shows that there are several other whakataukī that cast it in an unfavourable light.[110] The end of Everitt's story makes it clear in two ways which traditions it draws from. Everitt has extended the way these rākau appear in nature to apply to their personified personalities. The narrator tells us that, in a forest setting, "Ka kitea e koe te kauri ka kitea e koe te miro e tupu tata ana."[111] The close physical proximity of Kauri and Miro in the ngahere reflects their loving relationship in the story. A second rationale comes when Tāne Mahuta explains, "I te kore o Kauri i hiahia ki te whawhai, ko tohua e Tāne Mahuta ko ia ko Kauri kia mōhiotia, kia karangatia he rangatira."[112] The clear definition Kauri is given as a rākau rangatira may reflect the period in which this text was written. As mentioned above, since colonisation the

[104] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.330.
[105] Richard Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori land in the North Island 1865-1921*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2008, p.281.
[106] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.127; p.347.
[107] Elsdon Best, *Forest Lore of the Maori*, Wellington, Te Papa Press, 2005, p.106.
[108] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha,* p.347.
[109] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha,* p.161.
[110] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha,* p.113; p.76; p.327.
[111] Everitt, p.27.
[112] Everitt, p.27.

kauri tree has been linked with prosperity, due to the value of its gum and timber; in this way, the text may betray its own contemporary production.

The trees' actions within the narrative, which parallel the human emotions of love, anger, and jealousy, become the origination myths for the different parts of the forest as we know it. Pūriri throws his spear at Kauri in a jealous rage, but Kauri steels himself: "ka whakapakeke ia i tōna tinana."[113] In the series of clashes between the two trees that follow, the reader learns about the genesis of one forest dweller after another. For example, when Pūriri's first spear glances off Kauri and falls to the ground, it becomes the first pūpū-rangi (kauri snail).[114] The succeeding spears become other kinds of trees: "Ko ērā i taka ki te whenua ka puta ko ngā rākau piri ki te whenua. Ērā anō i taka ki roto ki ngā manga, ka puta he rākau kē anō."[115] In this series of instantaneous creations, Everitt plays on the use of the word "rākau" as a synonym for "tao" in te reo. Tao, taiaha, rāti, etc. are often referred to in Māori under the more general term "rākau" because they are made from rākau – their *origins* are in rākau. However, this very idea of origin is reversed in a conceptual chicken-and-the-egg scenario – the rākau/trees originate from the fallen rākau/tao as they fall to the ground, but presumably those rākau/tao must have been made from a rākau/tree in the first place. Moreover, the word "rākau" is also used colloquially in Māori as a synonym for "ure", adding a further layer of meaning – the idea of rākau procreating with other rākau.

Features of Māori oral storytelling surface throughout the text. The reader is repeatedly addressed directly: "Ina titiro koe ka kite koe i te hiako o te Kauri e takataka tonu ana".[116] Both rhetorical and direct questions are also addressed to the reader: "He aha rā te take? Nā te tangata anō."[117] Although most of the text has no identifiable narrator, these devices envoke a particular narrative style in which the reader feels that they are actually being told the story. The lives of the rākau characters, then, are shaped by the voice of an implied narrator (alongside the author of the story). They are also shaped, to some extent, by a character-author who appears within the narrative and decides for them how it will end.

[113] Everitt, p.25.
[114] Everitt, p.25.
[115] Everitt, p.26.
[116] Everitt, p.26.
[117] Everitt, p.27.

This character is Tāne Mahuta,[118] who arrives just as Pūriri and Kauri are about to form armies. Tane rebukes the two factions and separates them, sending Pūriri (with his consort) away from the forest as punishment for being the one who initially disturbed its peace. Kauri is allowed to remain with his lover Miro, and this narrative event is used to explain how these plants are seen naturally in close proximity.

Despite appearances, this story does not follow or retell any specific traditional pakiwaitara/pūrākau. Rather, it is a completely new story that Everitt has written using the model of creation myths as a framework. Older, traditional myths tell different stories about the origins of the plant and animal species that Everitt describes in this story.[119] Everitt is positioning himself as both a modern writer and a continuation of his oral literary ancestors. He is creating something new, writing as if to explain the origins of the world around him, and simultaneously he is speaking to (and from) the storytellers who built the framework he is replicating. However, Everitt's story differs from a traditional pakiwaitara or a retelling of one (such as 'Ngā Toa Maunga'[120]) in that it was, presumably, never intended as an educational account of the cosmogonic creation of the forest. The value of this story does not lie in its usefulness in explaining how the world came about or what tīpuna Māori believed about how the world came about, but rather, in its merit as a literary work which draws on those older creation stories, rather like Rudyard Kipling's *Just So Stories*.[121] However, Kipling's work is often playful, whereas Everitt's story is written "with a straight face".

Do contemporary Māori stories that use traditional frameworks have to be serious? Apparently not; the Huia collections provide several examples of stories that draw on and sometimes subvert traditional storytelling forms. Darryn Joseph's 'Māui me Tama-tere-i-te-rā: Te Takenga Mai o te Tikanga'[122] and Basil Keane's 'Ko Māui me ngā Kūmara o Wiwīwawā'[123] each reinvigorate the traditional Māui character and make light of both

[118] I have omitted any attempts to describe the deeper significance of Tāne Mahuta because that topic is too broad for this thesis and its limited word count.
[119] Most of the inhabitants of the ngahere have their origins in Tāne Mahuta's various procreative acts. See Reed, pp.51-54
[120] Katarina Mataira, *Nga Toa Maunga*, Raglan, Te Ataarangi Publications, 1983.
[121] Rudyard Kipling, *Just So Stories for Little Children*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995.
[122] Darryn Joseph, 'Māui me Tama-tere-i-te-rā: Te Takenga Mai o te Tikanga', in *Huia Short Stories 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2001, pp.127-140.
[123] Keane, 'Ko Māui', pp.119-127.

modern society and the forms and techniques associated with traditional storytelling. The tone of these stories is humorous and irreverent; for example, the full name of Joseph's Māui is "Māui-tikotiko-ō-tarau",[124] and Keane's Māui opens a "Makitānara" restaurant to challenge the monopoly of the Ware family, who own the "Warewhare".[125] Wayne Ngata's story, 'Takaroa, Takahē',[126] follows a traditional pakiwaitara structure, is seemingly serious, and ends with the moral lesson of the story's title ("don't take too long to make a decision"), but the characters are a family of fleas, and the tone is humorous. The snapshot of Māori language literature that the Huia collections provide proves that Māori authors who write in te reo can choose whether, when, and how to draw on traditional storytelling styles and how seriously to take them.

At the end of 'Te Wehenga', Everitt overtly links the role of the trees in his story to the history of Māori literature, particularly pakiwaitara/kōrero pūrākau: "Ko tēnei rākau ka kitea ki roto ki ngā whare whakairo e whakaatu mai ana i ngā kōrero o mua."[127] The subheading of this analysis of 'Te Wehenga', "Te pū o te rākau kōrero", draws on the word "pūrākau", a term often used interchangably with "pakiwaitara". When researching these terms, I found varying definitions of the words. The NZQA website made a clear distinction: "Pakiwaitara are accounts or stories associated with humankind, as opposed to pūrākau which are accounts associated with the gods and demigods. Importantly, pakiwaitara provide accounts of the history of hapū and iwi."[128] Orbell emphasises that pakiwaitara deal in "ideas and preoccupations of central significance in traditional Māori thought and religion".[129] She maintains that concepts like tapu, noa, manaakitanga, rāhui, and rangatiratanga underlie all pakiwaitara and that they are nearly always set in the past.[130] However, on the Mauri Ora Website, Jude Roberts indicates that this distinction may vary between iwi, and that generally the two words are used interchangeably to indicate stories about ancestors or

[124] Joseph, p.127.
[125] Keane, 'Ko Māui', p.119.
[126] Wayne Ngata, 'Takaroa, Takahē', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 3*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1999, pp.29-31.
[127] Everitt, p.27. This mention of whare whakairo links the story to a tradition of pūrākau/pakiwaitara, because in an oral storytelling situation it is likely the storyteller and their audience would be in a where whakairo, and so the storyteller would be able to refer to the visual elements of that whare as a part of the storytelling experience.
[128] NZQA website, *Describe a Pakiwaitara*, [Internet], [accessed 10 October 2009], available from http://nzqa.govt.nz/nqfdocs/units/pdf/19624.pdf.
[129] Margaret Orbell, *Traditional Maori stories*, Auckland, Reed, 1992, p.1.
[130] Orbell, *Maori stories*, p.4.

gods. Roberts also emphasises that "pakiwaitara" is a compound word –"paki" is the story, "wai" is the context, and "tara" signifies 'a lack of exactness'.[131] "Pūrākau" is another compound word, consisting of two root words: "pū" (meaning 'origin') and "rākau". Everitt's story is a kōrero pūrākau in that it follows on from the pūrākau/pakiwaitara tradition of origination myths, and it is a kōrero "pū rākau" in that the traditional stories it is influenced by contain the origins (pū) of this story (rākau kōrero). It is also a story (kōrero) that is *about* the mythical origins (pū) of rākau; and finally, it is a kōrero pūrākau because it has been one of the primary texts (which provide the basis of this thesis: the "pū") studied in this thesis, which is itself a rākau kōrero.

Roots and routes

In English idiom, the word "backward" has a connotation of cultural regression, and it has been used in the past by colonisers to describe indigenous peoples and languages, alongside other derogatory terms such as "savage", "uncivilised", and "primitive". However, Māori world views are founded on the idea that we must look backward as we move forward, keeping an eye on our roots as we grow and change. Every adult Māori speaker in Aotearoa can also speak English, and writing in English would give an author a wider audience, so why have the Huia authors chosen to write in Māori? The very act of Māori writers writing in te reo *is* a kind of return to their origins. These writers are "backwards thinking", but not in any sense of cultural regression; rather, they are finding nourishment from their roots in order to forge new routes, new literary pathways. For these authors, Māori is the language not only of their past but also of their present.[132] The way that they draw from their literary predecessors shows that they do not view the past and present as opposing forces but rather as different points on an ever-changing, ever-growing spiral continuum, which will also become the pathway ahead into the future.

The analysis of rākau symbolism and the concept of origin in this chapter has followed several lines of enquiry. The reading of Morehu's 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau' sparked a discourse

[131] Jude Roberts, Mauri Ora website, *Pakiwaitara*, [Internet], 2008, [accessed 23 August 2009], available from http://mauriglobal.blogspot.com/2008/06/pakiwaitara-par-key-why-tar-ra.html.

[132] In *Potiki*, Patricia Grace writes: "What we value doesn't change just because we look at ourselves and the future. What we came from doesn't change. It's your jumping off place that tells you where you'll land. *The past is the future*." [emphasis mine]. See Patricia Grace, *Potiki*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1986, p.94.

around the coming of age story which led to questions around the ways in which Māori literature itself is coming of age. This discourse raises some new questions about the audiences of Māori language literature and its purpose(s). When so much fiction in te reo has been written with an eye to teaching people *how* to speak the language and/or privileging writing for children over writing for adults, where is the space for Māori-speaking authors to write freely and create works that will be read by their peers (i.e., adult, fluent Māori speakers)? The analysis of Waitai's 'Kōtiro' threw up a series of questions around the dichotomy of "forest" versus "city" in Māori language literature. What do these places symbolise in this story? Why is the city so often depicted as a purely Pākehā and inherently damaging environment in Māori stories? The exploration of this text led to identifying some problems that arise from romanticising and homogenising Māori experience. 'Kōtiro' also had a focus on the warmth, familiarity, and nurturing aspects of the forest as a point of origin. In contrast, 'Pai Kare' showed a positive return to a childhood home from a city environment. The narrator of this story looked to the rākau around his Nani Puti's home as a means of reconnecting with his past and with his kuia. 'Te Wehenga' was quite different in tone and structure, and it elicited an examination of the creation myth as a literary work rather than a *bona-fide* attempt at explaining ecological origin. The concept of origin and the symbolism of rākau echoed throughout this story on different levels, and the critical discussion explored the genre of pūrākau/pakiwaitara as a kind of literary origin in itself.

Eva Rask Knudsen links the concepts of "origin" and "legacy" within indigenous literature and notes the "perpetual interchange of beginning and end, end and beginning".[133] Knudsen also uses the botanical metaphor of "roots" alongside the concept of "routes", recontextualising the words in terms of indigenous literature to show how Māori and Aboriginal authors reach backwards, sideways (to each other), and forwards to the future; they explore new routes by drawing on their indigenous roots. This chapter has involved a rediscovering of literary roots and an examination of the routes explored by four of the the Huia authors. Furthermore, it has brought to light the way that roots themselves are a kind of route, in that they bring nourishment from the surrounding environment up into their host. As we consider the older, established antecedents of these stories, we become aware

[133] Knudsen, p.128. Knudsen also says, "Indigenous writing proliferated … in a regenerative space where roots and routes were made to interact". See Knudsen, p.314.

of the new “roots” that are seeking out and laying down new “routes” to influence the growth patterns of rākau within the ngahere kōrero. These Huia stories, the traditional stories that influence them, the contemporary stories they branch out to, and even the critical work *about* them, like this thesis, are all part of the many interconnected dialogues that can be heard from the ngahere kōrero. This conversation is just beginning ...

Chapter Two: He Rākau Ora

The theme of "Māori and Pākehā interaction"

"the truth about Maori life would be better understood, if more stories were published describing the life and efforts of the people from a Maori point of view. They would be useful to the pakeha, but that is not the main value of these stories."[1]

Te Ao Hou Journal, 1956

The complex relationship between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa is a topic that permeates this thesis and the stories it explores. Any reader of Māori fiction will be aware of the recurring theme of the injustices that Māori have experienced at the hands of Pākehā as part of the experience of colonisation. Ihimaera described it this way: "Literature is language. Maori literature is Maori politics. For Maori, literature, whether in English or in Maori, is a Waitangi issue, a Treaty issue, a sovereignty issue."[2] Several critics[3] have examined the ways in which this cultural interaction is depicted in the work of the "Māori canon" of authors writing in English (authors such as Grace, Ihimaera, Tuwhare, and Hulme), and these texts themselves can be seen as a kind of cultural interaction in that they are Māori-authored, English language texts. As discussed in the introduction, some indigenous academics have

[1] *Te Ao Hou*, 'The New World', in *Te Ao Hou*, 14, 4, 2, (1956), p.1., available from http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/index.html.

[2] Witi Ihimaera, 'Bookmarking the Century', *Landfall 199,* 8, 1,(2000), p.40.

[3] For example: Valle, Knudsen, Deloughrey, Allen (all cited previously) and Hulme. See Keri Hulme, 'Mauri: An introduction to bicultural poetry in New Zealand', in Guy Amirthanyagam and S.C. Harrex, eds, *Only Connect: Literary perspectives East and West*, Adelaide and Honolulu, Centre for Research in the New Literatures in English, 1981, pp.290-310.

even argued that indigenous groups should mobilise the language of their colonisers in order to simultaneously defy the colonial construct and reach out to other English-speaking indigenous groups. The Māori language stories published by Huia occupy a different space: they are not written in the language of the coloniser and therefore they centre Te Ao Māori and readers of te reo. However, like many Māori authors writing in English, the writers of these stories do often focus, directly or by analogy, on Māori interaction with Pākehā. In addition, because they have chosen to use the short story genre and a written text format (along with other stylistic choices), these writers draw on Pākehā as well as Māori literary influences.

This chapter explores how the relationship between Māori and Pākehā is presented using rākau imagery in specific examples of Māori language literature, particularly in terms of the effects of colonisation on tino rangatiratanga and mātauranga Māori. It looks at the plot development and themes of two of the Huia stories and discusses the techniques that their writers use to reflect on Māori and Pākehā interaction. Although several of the Huia short stories relate to this theme, I will focus on 'He Raruraru', by Mona Riini, and 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', by Megan Ellison. In discussing 'He Raruraru', I will consider the use of allegory, traditional styles of storytelling, and the theme of colonisation, and in discussing 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', I will show how the main character's inner conflict about sharing his mātauranga Māori is paralleled by the conflict surrounding the mātauranga within a specific carved rākau and look at how a dream is used as a narrative device.

"He tina ki runga, he tamore ki raro"[4] *– The forest as a setting for allegory*

"He tina ki runga, he tamore ki raro*"* is a whakataukī that describes how the outward appearance of a rākau is represented by its bark, but the heart of the rākau is beneath this surface layer. In 'He Raruraru', Mona Riini uses a confrontation within the forest world as a direct allegory for Māori and Pākehā interaction in the years following the colonisation of Aotearoa. On the surface, the story is about a dispute between groups of rākau, but on a deeper level, the narrative reveals the range and variety of responses and reactions that

[4] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha*, p.125.

followed colonisation. The intricate plot details an argument as it develops between the indigenous trees (particularly Kauri) and the non-indigenous trees (represented by the pine, Paina[5]): "Ko ngā kauri kei te whawhai mō tō rātou tino rangatiratanga".[6] Like the trees in 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', the trees in this story are personified, so that they speak, move, and even confront one another. The use of personification allows the author to make several political points while exploiting the narrative freedom that fiction provides. As mentioned in Chapter One, personification is one of the key devices used in traditional Māori oral literature to explain and exemplify the Māori cosmogony. But Riini's use of talking trees in this text raises questions about the application of the term "personification". Is this concept aligned with specific cultural beliefs? If we define personification as a Western literary concept, surely 'whakatangata' would be the best Māori equivalent. However, the term whakatangata would generally mean to assume a *human* physical form, and the trees in this story are still (walking, talking) trees. What if Riini's trees are meant to be trees that are really talking? What if they are intended for an audience who believe that trees do talk, in their own way – is this still personification?[7] Or is the author simply describing what the trees in her story are actually saying? The characterisation of the rākau in this story not only tells a tale of Māori-Pākehā interaction, it also exemplifies it. Each of the tree-characters has a distinct voice, and these voices, along with the voice of the narrator, present various perspectives and demonstrate the shifts in attitude that often characterise conflict situations. It is through these shifting voices that the reader becomes aware how this story relates to the history of colonialism in Aotearoa. At the end of the story, the reader is also made aware of alternative realities in which the consequences of colonisation may vary.

The theme of interaction between Māori and Pākehā is evident in the content, the form, and even the genre of the text. Riini's use of allegory connects her not only with a post-modern and post-colonial corpus of fictional work but also with an atavistic approach – she draws on the storytelling techniques and the language (words, sentences, and literary allusions) of her

[5] The poem 'Spencer's Tarawera Mission, 1844-70', by Māori writer Patricia Bell, also uses indigenous and non-indigenous rākau to symbolise Māori and Pākehā. See Patricia Bell, 'Spencer's Tarawera Mission, 1844-1870', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.36.

[6] Riini, p.25.

[7] In 'Te Au', by Bruce Stewart, a mother introduces her son to a rimu tree: "Boy, meet Rimu ... press your nose with humility, then both your strength join." The boy asks her if the tree can speak, and she replies, "Can so ... different to us." See Bruce Stewart, '*From* Te Au', in *Te Ao Mārama 3: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Pūāwaitanga o te Kōrero,* Auckland, Reed, 1993, p.142.

ancestors. 'He Raruraru' uses the nuances of te reo Māori to give the reader subtle hints about the hidden meanings of specific Māori words (such as the word "wera", which can mean both 'hot' and 'angry'), and there are also places where this Māori language text interacts with English language. For example, the character of Paina is identified by its name – a transliteration of the English word pine. The interplay between Māori and Pākehā literary forms and categories heightens the effect of the thematic exploration of Māori and Pākehā interaction that is at the core of this text.

The story begins with a discussion around land ownership issues, which have been crucial for Māori since the colonisation of Aotearoa began. The kauri make their perspective clear: "Nō mātou kē tēnei whenua."[8] This assertion leads the reader, at the very beginning of the story, to infer that the kauri are speaking for Māori, and therefore to infer also that Paina, a non-indigenous tree, represents Pākehā.[9] This establishes the parameters of the allegory. The assertion of the kauri focuses attention on the importance of land rights within Māori–Pākehā interactions. The use of the word "kē" in this sentence implies not only that the land belongs with the kauri *rather than* with the pine, but also that the land *already* belonged to the kauri. The use of the word "mātou" is also significant, in that it means "us, but not *you*" (a distinction that cannot be made with the English words "we" and "us") and so can be seen to exclude the listeners, the pine trees. This word may also be interpreted in two possible ways by readers. Are the readers included in that "mātou", or are they excluded? Each reader has to decide. The kauri trees have been established as the indigenous group in the story, but despite their conviction that they belong with the land, they are suffering from displacement and inferior living conditions, and their claims so far have not been addressed. They ask the pine trees to move "kia whai wāhi ai hoki mātau ki ngā hihi o Tama nui te Rā",[10] but the pine trees do not listen. The first half of the story covers the debate that follows between the indigenous kauri and the coloniser pine.

Several recognisable "Pākehā voices" are heard in the debate as Paina successively adopts different patronising attitudes in reacting to the complaint of the kauri. The pine trees' initial

[8] Riini, p.25.
[9] Karlo Mila has written several poems that link pine trees with Pākehā. Notable are her poems about the pine tree atop Maungakiekie. 'Manuhiri' contains these lines: "oh those pines / they're everywhere you go / We're not exotic anymore they argue / We have roots here too they say / Ask that old guy on One Tree Hill / and Tane Mahuta's laughing". See Karlo Mila, 'Manuhiri', in *Dream Fish Floating*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2005, p.55.
[10] Riini, p.25.

reaction is to simply ignore the kauri. From their lofty living quarters, looking down on the kauri, they find it easy to ignore the indigenous trees' protests. Instead of responding to what has been said, they set about making themselves at home: "Kātahi ka toro whakawaho rawa atu ngā peka, anō nei nō rātau anake tērā wāhi."[11] This reaction – "Just ignore them and they'll eventually give up" – reflects a Pākehā voice that is familiar both in the realm of Māori literature[12] and in New Zealand politics. For a literary example, consider 'Te Pirimihia Haka', by Ngāpō Wehi, in which the kaea asks the Prime Minister to pay attention: "(Kaea) Whakarongo mai koe ki te tangi a te iwi e patu kinotia nei ō ture e". The whole kapa haka then mourns the lack of response: "(Katoa) Kua kore rawa e aro i ahau. E ahu ana koe ki hea …"[13] Another example can be found in Moana Jackson's writing about the politics of the Pākehā "cold shoulder" that often followed violent clashes in the context of land loss: "Military and other Māori resistance was overcome and continues to be ignored."[14] Jackson notes that this attitude continues to prevail in New Zealand politics. Because of their societal privilege, many Pākehā people have chosen to ignore the Māori voice, whereas most Māori people have to pay attention to Pākehā voices because of the impact of Te Ao Pākehā on their ability to survive. Riini's Paina can ignore the kauri because it already has access to sunlight, but the kauri have been supplanted and need to regain access – they must make their collective voice heard.

As noted in the introduction, the corpus of Māori literature was overlooked by Pākehā academics for many years – another example of the "just ignore them" attitude. More recently, several modern Māori critics and authors have pointed out the common (Pākehā) tendency to view Māori literature as still in its infancy (Te Punga Somerville,[15] Kouka,[16] Ihimaera and Long[17]) and have noted that this attitude ignores the extensive body of written Māori work produced in the 19th and 20th centuries as well as the legacy of non-written

[11] Riini, p.25.
[12] Dave, in Merata Mita's film *Mauri,* says "It's all been tried before". See Merata Mita, 'From *Mauri'*, in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.322.
[13] Ngāpō Wehi, 'Te Pirimihia Haka', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.166.
[14] Moana Jackson, 'Land Loss and the Treaty of Waitangi', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.78.
[15] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.49.
[16] Hone Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai: Three plays of the 1990s*. Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1999, p.28.
[17] Witi Ihimaera and D.S. Long, 'Contemporary Maori Writing: A context', in Witi Ihimaera and D.S. Long, eds, *Into the World of Light*, Auckland, Heinemann Publishers, 1982, p.2.

Māori literature dating back to pre-European times. Paola Della Valle gave the Māori literary voice close attention in her book, *From Silence to Voice: The Rise of Maori Literature*.[18] However, Valle's text, like her choice of title, implies that the Māori literary voice has recently emerged from an initial phase of silence. Riini's story challenges this idea in two ways. Firstly, her text draws on Māori literary tradition going back to pre-European times, for example, talking rākau feature in pakiwaitara. The Māori literary tīpuna that 'He Raruraru' looks back to were not silent, as the production of this and many other Huia texts shows. Secondly, the story presents a kauri/indigenous/Māori group who continuously voice their collective concerns despite the reluctance of the pine/colonial/Pākehā to listen. Like Māori writers, the kauri are far from silent.

As the story develops, another familiar Pākehā voice is heard in the exchange between the two rākau groups. The pine trees give up trying to ignore the kauri and respond, but in a tone that is grumbling and unsympathetic: "Auē! Kauri. Ko wai koe, koutou katoa ki te amuamu mai ki a mātau?"[19] Paina suggests that the kauri have had enough "special treatment" already: "Arā tērā whenua, kei te hiku o te motu, he mahana ake i konei. Ko koutou anake ki reira."[20] Here, the pine trees maintain that the kauri "have it better" than anyone else, pointing out that the area up north is "mahana ake i konei".[21] The idea that Māori people constantly complain while actually getting special treatment is one that permeates social and political discourse in Aotearoa.[22] Te Punga Somerville discusses it in reference to Don Brash's famous 'Orewa speech',[23] and Tilly Reedy[24] and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku[25] both refer to the idea that Māori receive "handouts". Currently, this rhetoric dominates the "comments" section of almost every online mainstream media article that

[18] Paola Della Valle, *From Silence to Voice: The rise of Maori literature*, Auckland, Libro International, 2010.
[19] Riini, p.25.
[20] Riini, p.25.
[21] Riini, p.25.
[22] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku quotes this remark made by a Pākehā student about grants for Māori at university, citing it as typical of her experience with Pākehā: "You Maoris. Always getting handouts – money from this fund and that fund to help you along. Pākehās don't have these privileges. Look at that Education Foundation. What a set-up. Money falling out of the sky. And yet you still complain. I reckon it's racism, that's what it is. The Government helping you along." See Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, '*Tauiwi: Racism and ethnicity in New Zealand (extract)'*, in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993*,* p.233.
[23] Te Punga Somerville, *Pacific*, p.205.
[24] Tilly Reedy, 'The Shark and the Kahawai', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.274.
[25] Te Awekotuku, pp.233-234.

features Māori. Whether the article is about Māori achievement, Māori crime, the Waitangi Tribunal, Māori poverty, government policies affecting Māori, or anything else involving Māori people (except, perhaps, athletic achievement), the comments are likely to include a barrage of complaints about the special treatment that Māori people supposedly receive in this country. Morgan Godfery summed up the general Pākehā attitude towards special treatment of Maori when writing about John Key's National Government's proposed asset sales: "Most New Zealanders hold a base fear of Maori and politicians from the left and right understand this. The worst perception a politician can attract is the 'pandering to Maori' line. This is why Key is ruling out 'preferential treatment' for iwi re asset sales."[26] What all these examples have in common is that the Pākehā people who identify special treatment for Māori as unfair are actually reinforcing the existing scenario in which they, as Pākehā, consistently get preferential treatment. In 'He Rarureru', the kauri are viewed by Paina as being lazy and complaining while, at the same time, benefitting from privileges handed to them purely by virtue of their ethnicity. However, the text repeatedly draws attention to the inaccuracy of this view and leads the reader to identify with the kauri trees rather than with Paina.

The third familiar response the pine trees give to the kauri draws on the long tradition of condescending colonial paternalism. Paina says: "Tēnā, kāti noa iho te riri. Kāore koe e koa kei raro koe i ō mātau ngira?".[27] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin discuss the colonial tendency to view colonisation in terms of a binary child-parent relationship.[28] Initially, the colonised group plays the role of parent by feeding and sheltering the newcomers in their land. But when it grows strong enough, the coloniser group inverts the roles, taking on the role of the parent who "knows best" and beginning to "civilise" and "educate" the "childlike native". Colonisers of New Zealand, from the very start, perceived their role in terms of the parent-child model. The Victorian Humanism movement stressed the importance, for Crown representatives as well as for missionaries, of "looking after" Māori. Later, in early 20th Century New Zealand, many Pākehā individuals and institutions

[26] Morgan Godfery, 'Campaign Racism Nov 21 2011', [Internet], 2011, [accessed 10 April, 2012], available from http://mauistreet.blogspot.co.nz/2011/11/campaign-racism.html.
[27] Riini, p.25.
[28] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The key concepts*, London, Routledge, 2000, p.47.

saw it as their Christian duty to "soften the pillow of this dying race",[29] and there was a general belief that New Zealand as a whole was safest under the protective shadow of "Mother England". In 'He Rarurarau', the allusion is clear when Paina says, "He pai ake tō noho i raro i te marumaru o ō mātau peka."[30] A piece about tino rangatiratanga by Shane Jones (another Huia author) draws on a historical story about Alexander the Great and Diogenes to illustrate the problem with paternalism. He writes how Alexander made a pretence of manaakitanga: "'Oh Diogenes, if there is anything I can grant you, just ask and I will grant it.' To this offer, Diogenes replied, 'You are standing in my sunlight, get out of my way.'"[31] Just as Māori don't need Pākehā to "shelter" or "guide" them, the kauri in the story don't need the pine.

A Pākehā fear of Māori solidarity is another familiar voice or reaction illustrated in this part of the story, as Paina goes on to say: "Ākene pea ka tino wera koe i te mahana rawa o tō tipuna."[32] The tipuna mentioned here is Tama nui te Rā, and there is an implication that kauri (and therefore Māori) are unable to handle the dangerous nature of their own heritage. Paina warns of potential damage to the kauri if they look to their own history and their own tikanga by reconnecting with their tipuna.[33] Poet and scholar Aroha Harris has reframed the concept of "history" in her poem 'Knowledge Exchange', emphasising a Māori perspective:

> My personal is political
> Your colonial is countered
> I am history
> You merely have it[34]

[29] Manu Bennet discusses this term in his piece 'Quo Vadis?'. See Manu Bennet, 'Quo Vadis?', in Witi Ihimaera ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.195.
[30] Riini, p.25.
[31] Shane Jones, '*From* Iwi and Government', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.247.
[32] Riini, p.25.
[33] This calls to mind the proverb: "Divide and conquer".
[34] Aroha Harris, 'Knowledge Exchange', in *The Six Pack Three: Winning writing from New Zealand book month*, Waitakere, New Zealand Book Month with Whitireia Publishing, p.72.

Pākehā people are often able to "opt in" or "opt out"[35] of dealing with the inequalities resulting from colonisation, but Māori people cannot opt out. However, as Harris' poem implies, there is a strength in being so personally connected to political and historical realities. Her line, "I am history", is a play on words. In the usual colloquial sense, it would mean, I am dead/over/done with (which is what many Pākehā colonisers once thought would happen to Māori). This line could also refer to the way indigenous people have been viewed as inherently "historic" and tied to the past. But both those interpretations rely on the reader privileging Pākehā perspectives. Harris directly encourages the reader to read her poem as an affirmation of her Māori identity – this poem is a counter narrative ("your colonial is countered"). The final line, "You merely have it", recontextualises the "I am history" line that precedes it. Harris' "history" involves an innate connection with the past, a *living* connection. It is clearly better to *be* history than to "merely" have it. The kauri in 'He Raruraru' also want to "be history" in that they want to remain in contact with their ancestor, Tama nui te Rā. They say at the beginning of the story: "Nō mātau tērā tipuna whakamahana."[36] They feel that they have rights to the rays of the sun precisely because he is their tipuna, whereas the pine see this relationship as having potential for danger. But the danger that Paina foresees is not actually a potential risk to the kauri, it is a threat to the pine trees' own colonial hegemonic structure.

Danger appears (literally) on the horizon for Paina as the narrative moves forward. The kauri trees' heightened sense of solidarity and connection with their tipuna leads them to prepare to take action, and the process they use is one that many iwi used in the years after colonisation: they hold a rūnanga.[37] Instead of continuing to react and respond to the obstinate pine trees, the kauri shift their focus to one another. Their kauri-to-kauri discussion reflects the kind of textual environment that the story itself occupies. The very

[35] Feminist theorist Peggy McIntosh points out how privilege can enable "opting out". She writes: "I can choose to ignore developments in minority writing and minority activist programs." See Peggy McIntosh, 'White Privilege and Male Privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in Women's Studies', in Richard Delgado and Jean Stephancic, eds, *Critical White Studies: Looking behind the mirror*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1997, p.294.

[36] Riini, p.25.

[37] The history of rūnanga is quite complex. In the past, rūnanga have been used by colonial representatives to try to control and govern Māori (Ranginui Walker discusses Governor Grey's unsuccessful attempts to establish a system of district rūnanga). However, Māori also have their own history of establishing rūnanga, for their own purposes and in line with their own tikanga – this is the kind of rūnanga that the kauri in Riini's story establish. See Walker, *Ka Whawhai*, p.118.

publication of stories written in te reo Māori represents a congregation of Māori voices that are speaking primarily to other Māori. Riini is not "writing back"[38] to the Empire in complaint, she is writing out to other speakers of te reo, with a sense of unity. It is this indigenous unity that Paina senses as dangerous, which suggests yet another reading of the word "wera" in Paina's warning. Though it initially appears that Paina is trying to be a good "parent-coloniser" by seeking to ensure that the kauri are not burned (wera) by their tipuna, in fact, the pine trees fear for themselves, lest the kauri become enraged (another definition of wera) when their reconnection with Tama nui te Rā sparks a new determination to fight for their rights.

In their rūnanga, the kauri reach an agreement and declare their willingness to fight for tino rangatiratanga. They then confront the pine trees (confirming Paina's premonition that it could be dangerous if the kauri were to look to their ancestors). The kauri say: "Ka hinga koutou i a mātau ko aku whanaunga. Ahakoa nui te whenua kei a koutou, kei ō mātau taha ngā rangatira ake o te motu."[39] The end of this sentence has a double meaning. While it states explicitly that the kauri will win the battle because they have more (or better) "rangatira", it also draws on the wider concept of rangatiratanga, which was mentioned at the beginning of the story ("tō rātau tino rangatiratanga"). Tino rangatiratanga was promised to Māori in the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the term is often used by Māori to describe their right to self-determination in their own lands; it evokes a plethora of historical and political associations. Although exploring its wider social significance would require much more space than is available in this thesis, there are a few points that are particularly pertinent to this literary discussion.

Te Punga Somerville discusses tino rangatiratanga as it is mobilised in (and in reference to) Māori literature: "Rather than sitting aside from, and merely reporting on, or 'representing' 'real Maori' and 'Maori realities', these are moments and articulations *of*, rather than *about*, the struggle."[40] The story of Paina and Kauri is an allegorical retelling of dialogues and exchanges that have occurred repeatedly throughout the struggle for Māori self-determination – it is therefore *about* them – but it also completely reframes and

[38] This term is seen in the title of the book by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, London, Routledge, 1989.
[39] Riini p.26.
[40] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.75.

recontextualises the struggle, giving a Māori perspective via the personified kauri – it is *of* them. The publication of Māori literary voices writing in te reo Māori (te reo *rangatira*) is a form of tino rangatiratanga. It affirms Māori viewpoints and it also contributes to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. The role this kind of text plays in the struggle for tino rangatiratanga can be seen to extend even further when we analyse the word "rangatiratanga". It is made up of two root words, "ranga" and "tira", plus a suffix, "tanga". The word "ranga" means 'to weave' and "tira" denotes a group of people.[41] The full form of the widely known whakataukī, "Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero", includes a follow-up sentence that draws on the root word "tira" (in this case "whakatira") to elucidate the role of a rangatira: "Ko te mahi a te rangatira he whakatira i te iwi".[42] It is the task of the rangatira to weave (ranga) the people of the iwi (tira) together. 'He Raruraru' can be seen not only as illustrating each type of articulation of the struggle for tino rangatiratanga, but also as participating in the act of "rangatiratanga" as a "weaving together of Māori people". By writing in te reo Māori, Riini is reaching out to other Māori people, and so these articulations of tino rangatiratanga are manifested not only through the voices of the characters and narrator but also by the text as a whole.

The final parts of 'He Raruraru' draw out the theme of cultural interaction and convey a message about the importance of intercultural communication. A battle between kauri and pine is about to commence when the voice of the narrator intervenes. The narrator gives a prophecy and a reminder (reminiscent of kupu whakaari[43]) about the benefits of communication over violence:

> I roto i ngā kūnanunanu kore hua noa iho, ka wareware a tērā pea mā te pai, ka puta he pai, mā te kōrero tahi ka puta he māramatanga, mā te whakarongo tētahi ki tētahi, ka kitea he huarahi[44]

The narrator here conveys a message of hope to the reader. However, this message is not extended to the story's rākau characters; they must discover its truth independently. This

[41] "Tanga" is what is known in linguistics as a "Canga nominalisation"; it makes the word into a noun. See Winifred Bauer, *The Reed reference grammar of Māori*, Auckland, Reed, 1997, p.17.
[42] Migoto Eria, ed., *Te Wharekura: He kōrero whakamaumahara 1960-2010*, Wellington, Te Pou Taki Kōrero, 2010, p.13.
[43] Kupu whakaari are often described as "prophecies" or "predictions". In this story, the warning of the narrator evokes the concept of kupu whakaari, while also coming across as the "voice of god" literary device. Pou Temara's thesis about kupu whakaari provides invaluable research into kupu whakaari. See Pou Temara, 'Te ahua o te kupu whakaari: The nature of prophetic sayings', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991.
[44] Riini, p.26.

happens when the kauri notice a group of kahikatea standing close together, roots entwined, as in the whakataukī which encourages people to stand as one: "Me uru kahikatea".[45] Kauri observes the features of the kahikatea grove that enable them to stand so strongly as a collective. Their roots differ from those of other trees; rather than reaching down deep, "i te waiū o Papatuanuku", they only go a short way into the ground. However, they secure the tree firmly by intertwining with the roots of other kahikatea, weaving a strong network of roots under the earth: "ka karanga haere, ka whiri tahi, ka awhi mai, ka awhi atu, kia tū torotika ai ngā tinana o Kahikatea mā".[46] The description echoes a famous waiata:

> E tū kahikatea
> Hei whakapai ururoa
> Awhi mai awhi atu
> Tātou tātou e [47]

The line, "Tātou tātou ē", emphasises that, in singing the waiata, we (human beings) *are* the kahikatea. Like the waiata, this part of 'He Raruraru' emphasises the value to a group of standing united so that all members support each other. At the beginning of 'He Raruraru', the word "mātou" was used to exclude, but here, although the word "tātou" is not used directly, the allusion to 'E Tū Kahikatea' evokes the message that we all need to support each other, and the word "tātou" underpins that message. The allusion to specific waiata in her story is also evidence of Riini's literary whakapapa. Manu Bennet claims that modern Māori have a particular skill of combining "the rhythm and poetry of their Māori ancestors with the ambiguous acquisitiveness and analytical mind of Pākehā forebears"[48] because they whakapapa to both groups.[49] We need not be convinced that an author's biological genes have a direct effect on their writing styles to accept this claim, because a Māori worldview

[45] Cited in Chapter One.
[46] Riini, p.26.
[47] Lyrics to this waiata are widely available online. See Tariana Turia, 'Speech: E tu and Pasefika positive messaging campaign' [Internet], 2011, [accessed 5 December 2012], available from http://www.infonews.co.nz/news.cfm?id=73111.
[48] It is worth noting that tīpuna Māori also had "analytical minds" and Pākehā ancestors also had their own "rhythm and poetry". However, I have chosen to interpret Bennet's statement as a comment on the combination of Māori and Pākehā influences in modern Māori writing rather than an attempt to pigeonhole people's ancestors. See Bennet, p.196.
[49] Knudsen points out that content can still be authentically indigenous even if the text is written within a Western formal structure. See Knudsen, p.316.

does not tie whakapapa exclusively to genetic ancestry. Bennet's idea is helpful if we interpret the concept of a varied whakapapa as the various literary and cultural influences that the author has been exposed to. We can see that the connections Riini makes to waiata and kupu whakaari, as well as her use of whakataukī, draw on traditional Māori storytelling devices along with Western literary frameworks.

Up to this point in the story, the dialogue has echoed many of the ways in which Māori inhabitants and Pākehā settlers reacted and responded to the consequences of colonisation, and it appears that the two sets of trees are destined to clash in a violent confrontation, just as the two groups of people did historically. However, at this point Riini departs from her historical allegory and insteads looks to the future.[50] A rejection of the historical solution (warfare) is voiced through Kauri, who, having observed the unity of the kahikatea, now tries to convey a new message of togetherness. Kauri emphasises the fact that some of the kahikatea are putting themselves out in order to give space and light to the smaller trees (the tī kōuka and matipō) that grow in between them: "Kei te tū tītaha ētahi, kia kore ai ngā rākau takitahi e noho ki raro i te maru o ngā peka … Koirā te tohu o te whanaungatanga."[51] This is a turning point in the story. As the kauri trees notice the whānau-centred tikanga of the kahikatea, their perspective on the pine trees shifts. The whole story changes dramatically, in tone and in narrative direction, and encourages the readers to reassess their attitude towards Paina.

The voice of the pine begins to sound naive and vulnerable: "He aha tēnei mea te whanaungatanga?"[52] The pine trees appear to have no real voice of their own but to follow their leader's orders like robots: "Kāore ō mātau rangatira e whakapono ki tērā."[53] In working to become efficient servant-soldiers, they have become isolated and exploited: "Tūtira ana pēnei i te hoia nei."[54] They cannot understand the concept of community-focused growth and believe that by standing alone, each individual pine tree can grow very

[50] Note that this book was published in 1997, in the wake of the "Māori Renaissance" of the 1970s and the political reform of the 1980s, which brought a new hope for the Māori language. See also Witi Ihimaera, D.S. Long, Irihapeti Ramsden, and Haare Williams, 'Kaupapa', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed, Books, 1996, p.15.
[51] Riini, p.26
[52] Riini, p.26
[53] Riini, p.26.
[54] Riini, p.26.

tall and strong and use time more efficiently: "Koirā te ture a tō mātau rangatira. E rua tekau mā rima tau noa iho kua rite ki tāna i hiahia ai."[55] The repeated reference to Paina's "rangatira"[56] reveals how the pine trees are being exploited by their leader, who prioritises capitalistic gains over rākau lives.[57] This priority is in stark opposition to the priorities of the kahikatea, who focus on thriving as a community, and it also contrasts with the priorities of the kauri, whose proactive, collectivist tikanga is revealed first in their rūnanga and later in their connection with the kahikatea. The kauri are described in different words as the story progresses. At the start, they are "*ngā* rākau taketake",[58] but increasingly they appear as a holistic organism: "Ka riri atu a Kauri."[59] In the final paragraphs, Riini writes: "ka wānanga ia i a ia anō",[60] which could sound as if Kauri were talking to itself, but the reader knows now that Kauri is simultaneously one individual and representative of a large community.

The story's conclusion provides a surprising twist, one that could lead the reader to reexamine the idea that 'He Raruraru' is an allegorical retelling of the colonisation of Aotearoa. The kauri completely change position in their argument with Paina. They agree to leave the pine trees to "their" forest and to return themselves to their northern home, to be with the rest of the kauri family, "He pai kē tōku whānau, he mahana."[61] Kauri's statement about those "mahana" relatives recalls the suggestion, made by Paina earlier in the story, that the kauri were lucky because their homeland was "mahana ake i konei", and here the text exploits the multiple meanings of the word "mahana".[62] Kauri's relatives come from a warm region, but they are also "warmer" in nature than the pine. Kauri also emphasises the connection of their whanaunga to the mauri of the land: "kua rite mātau ki te moa . … kua ātawhaitia hei taonga pupuri i te mauri o te whenua."[63] As they prepare to depart, the kauri

[55] Riini, p.26.
[56] Presumably used here in the modern Māori sense of "boss" rather than in the tradional iwi leader sense.
[57] Pita Rikys says "It is important that all oppressed people, as well as those concerned about damage to the environment, understand the structures and functions of international capitalism, for at the end of the day it is those structures and functions which must be subverted and destroyed." See Pita Rikys, '*From* Essays Towards Revolution in Aotearoa', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.238.
[58] Riini, p.25. [Emphasis mine]
[59] Riini, p.25.
[60] Riini, p.27.
[61] Riini, p.27.
[62] In the same way, the text earlier on exploited different meanings of the word "wera".
[63] Riini, p.27. Riini is using the moa as a metaphor – does this make links to extinction and the early 20th Century idea that Māori were a dying race? In context, the moa is used here as a symbol of connection with the land rather than of disappearance from it.

realise that the pine trees will ultimately be cut down for timber, and for the kauri, this ends their quarrel with the pines: "Nō reira, ka mutu tana amuamu."[64]

In the context of the story, the sudden departure of the kauri seems rather abrupt. The narrative has appeared to be building up to a reclamation of occupied indigenous space (the forest of Kauri and Paina), yet it concludes with the indigenous rākau, although now feeling grounded, connected, and confident, leaving "their" land in the hands of the coloniser, Paina. This conclusion could disappoint a reader who was expecting an indigenous triumph. However, it could be explained by an alternative reading: if the forest in which the story is set represents an urban environment,[65] and if the kauri represent Māori who have moved there from their tribal rohe further North, then this final development is in keeping with the rest of the story.[66] Like the mother and daughter in 'Kōtiro', the kauri are returning home to the country after suffering in the Pākehā-dominated city. But this reading could leave the reader wondering (as with 'Kōtiro'), about the Māori who are excluded by this single Māori perspective. What about those Māori who thrive in urban spaces? What about the potential for urban spaces to *be* Māori spaces? What about the iwi who are the tangata whenua of that (now) urban area?

This story provides a possible answer to these questions because it includes the kahikatea characters. The kahikatea are also in this (urban?) space, but they stand apart from Paina in their own strong community, which consists of many diverse indigenous flora. The text specifically mentions that the kahikatea are strong despite disconnection from one of their tīpuna, in that their roots do not reach down to "te waiū o Papatuanuku."[67] This could support the idea that they represent a thriving urban Māori community, strong in their tikanga despite the physical distance from their ancestors. Aroha Harris emphasises the unity of the new Māori urban communities that were formed by Māori who had moved

[64] Riini, p.27.
[65] In *Once Were Warriors*, Alan Duff also makes an association between pine trees and the city – his characters live in "Pine Block". See Alan Duff, *Once Were Warriors*, Auckland, Tandem Press, 1990, p.7.
[66] There are traditional kōrero about Tama nui te Rā (the tipuna of the kauri specifically mentioned in the text), which outline a conversation between Tama nui te Rā and Te Marama. In this kōrero, Tama nui te Rā encourages Te Marama to "Go to your own place, the place of our brothers the stars. Let us love always our brothers." See Reed, p.400.
[67] Riini, p.26. (Note that Riini does not use macrons for the word "Papatuanuku" in the text).

away from their own rohe in the 1950s–1960s.[68] The kahikatea group in 'He Raruraru' could represent such a community, functioning in harmony despite its pantribal (or pan-rākau) nature and despite its disconnection from its ancestral roots. But the kahikatea could also represent a long-established social group – their roots may not reach down far, but they are firmly bound to one another. Are they the tangata whenua of that region? If so, these kahikatea have found a way of following their own protocol on their own land, in spite of the influx of the colonial Paina. The story gives little detail about the kahikatea community, framing their presense almost as an aside, but they are a thought-provoking group of characters, both for the reader, who may see them as representing the local iwi, and also for the kauri; observing their behaviour is the catalyst that persuades the kauri to return to their own tūrangawaewae.

Riini provides an open-ended conclusion to her allegorical story of Māori interaction with Pākehā. The departure of the kauri could seem tragic: Māori, ultimately fatigued by the struggle for tino rangatiratanga, are forced to return to a more Māori-friendly environment. However, the last words in the story show that the kauri feel sorry for the pine trees. As they depart, the kauri hope that the pine trees will eventually want to learn about the ways of the indigenous trees, so that the two groups may be able to work together harmoniously. They say a sympathetic farewell to the coloniser trees: "Noho mai koutou i konā Paina, i roto i tō koutou rohe makariri, i tō tikanga takitahi. Tērā pea te wā ka tūtahi tāua ahakoa ka rerekē ō tāua āhua, ō tāua hanga."[69] These parting words make the reader aware that the relationship between the two rākau groups could develop further. There is also potential for further connection between the two indigenous rākau groups, kauri and kahikatea, because the two groups have *noticed* each other and the kauri have recognised that they share some key values and tikanga. 'He Raruraru' ends on a note of possibility.

The symbolism of rākau throughout 'He Raruraru' reinforces several of the story's themes and concepts. The text emphasises the whakapapa links between trees and people in Māori cosmogony. The kauri trees' feelings of sadness at being separated from their ancestor, Tama nui te Rā, clearly relate to feelings that many Māori may have at being separated from

[68] Harris, 'Concurrent Narratives', p.148. These communities are also discussed in Chapter One with reference to 'Kōtiro'.
[69] Riini, p.27.

their ancestors. The allegory is easy and unforced partly because the people and the rākau have (many of) the same ancestors.[70] Rangimarie Rose Pere draws on the symbolism of the parapara tree to describe herself and her Māoritanga. She uses the physical structure of the tree's leaves, which form in clusters of five, to explain the five parts of her self, and she extends the tree metaphor to include all people: "The five leaves lead into a stem, me. The stem is attached to a branch, which for me represents the Māori people. The whole tree, as I see it, is humanity itself."[71] For Pere, the first leaf represents her spirituality, the second, her "ancestral ties", the third, her "kinship ties", the fourth, humanity, and the fifth leaf is Papatūānuku. Riini too has used an indigenous tree to represent Māori people, and she has extended this line of logic by choosing a non-indigenous tree to represent the colonising Pākehā. The kauri in Riini's story represent the same facets of Māoritanga that Pere identified: spirituality (Tama nui te Rā), ancestral ties (to the other indigenous group in the story: the kahikatea), kinship ties (their relations up North), humanity (the kahikatea, other kauri, and Paina) and to Papatūānuku, the earth from which they came. In choosing the pine trees to portray Pākehā, Riini makes use of other features besides their non-indigenous ancestry. Their upright growth pattern reflects the "typically Pākehā" determination to stay on a straight, forward-looking life-path. The concept of whanaungatanga is culturally unfamiliar to these individualistic pine trees, and this is reflected in their physical nature as trees that stand apart from one another.

The use of personification in this story does more than assign voices to the allegorical characters. It enables the story to reveal a key difference between the "Māori" and the "Pākehā" characters. The pine trees seem almost uncomfortable about being personified, as if they do not wish to have a voice except to repeat the words of their "master". Even their collective name, Paina, is a transliteration rather than a traditional Māori word, and this foreign label gives a sense of "not belonging" to the pine trees . Earlier in this discussion of 'He Raruraru', I raised a question about personification as a culturally relative concept; could

[70]Maui Solomon describes it in this way: "Like most other indigenous traditional peoples, Maori have a unique relationship with their natural world. They view themselves as part of and not dominant over their natural flora and fauna. The people, the land, the sea, the forest and all living creatures, are all members of the same family." See Maui Solomon, 'Intellectual Property Rights and Indigenous Peoples Rights and Obligations', [Internet], in *In Motion Magazine* April 22, 2001, [accessed 20 December 2012], available from http://www.inmotionmagazine.com/ra01/ms2.html.

[71] Rangimarie Rose Pere, 'Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.275.

the pine trees have been "brought to life" by the author despite their own discomfort with the process? These "Pākehā" trees seem reluctant to be independent characters with their own feelings. The kauri, on the other hand, are very human. They feel intense emotion and are driven by a desire to communicate with one another, with their ancestors, and with their colonisers . In 'The Dream Sleepers', Patricia Grace offers a Māori perspective of Pākehā people that includes their inability to communicate with trees: "Funny people these pakehas, had to chop up everything. Couldn't talk to a hill or a tree these people, couldn't give the trees or the hills a name and make them special and leave them."[72] Perhaps the kauri are more comfortable with their own voices because, from a Māori world view, it is normal for rākau to have voices. To frame it in somewhat metatextual terms, the indigenous literary trees are "accustomed" to having human-like qualities because that is how they have been traditionally viewed by Māori people and in Māori literature. This reinforces the cultural interaction theme of the story, because it creates a textual interaction between traditional and contemporary Māori literatures as well as between Māori and Pākehā literatures.

When dealing with historically controversial stories, allegory can be helpful to an author because it gives them freedom to "tell it how they see it"[73] and to privilege the voices they choose to privilege. Of course, even history books privilege certain voices and "tell it how they see it", but often this is not clear, because these books generally claim, at least by implication, to be impartial and objective.[74] Because 'He Raruraru' openly uses fiction and allegory, it does not claim objectivity and is more upfront about the voices it privileges. This clear perspective relates to the author's choice to write this story in te reo Māori, a choice which enables the reader to predict *whose* voices will be privileged here. The story's allegorical nature enables it to explore unexpected narrative routes. The twist at the end of

[72] Patricia Grace, *The Dream Sleepers*, Auckland, Longman Paul, 1980, p.55.

[73] Postcolonial literary studies has seen some interesting debates about the value of allegory as a way of writing about oppressive situations. South African author Nadine Gordimer has been especially critical of her contemporary J.M. Coetzee's use of allegory, saying he wrote an allegory to avoid confronting his own "revulsion". See Nadine Gordimer, 'The Idea of Gardening', [Internet], 1984, [accessed 17 December 2012], available from http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1984/feb/02/the-idea-of-gardening/?pagination=false.

[74] Judith Binney points out that, "There have been two remembered histories of Aotearoa since 1840: that of the colonisers and that of the colonised. Their visions and goals were often quite different, creating memories which have been patterned by varying hopes and experiences" (quoted by Paul Reeves). See Paul Reeves, 'Te Mana Tiriti', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.86.

the story, when the kauri return up North, may go against the reader's intuitions about where the plot is heading, but perhaps Riini is able to pull off this abrupt twist because she identifies her characters as rākau rather than people. Using allegory also allows Riini to rewrite history when it suits her purposes. She can change the way time functions in her story, she can avoid violent confrontation between the two opposing groups, and most importantly, she can return a sense of indigenous power to the kauri and suggest that the establishment of a colonial society in this allegorical Aotearoa need not be overwhelming. When the kauri return home, will they find a purely indigenous environment, a place where their people still retain tino rangatiratanga? The text seems to suggest this. Even if we accept the reading that the pine/kauri forest setting is an urban environment where the non-indigenous are dominant, that colonial dominance does not necessarily extend to the rest of the country in the context of this story. The departing words of the kauri suggest the potential for a mutually beneficial relationship between the indigenous and the colonising groups of rākau, but the entire story emphasises the benefits of Māori nurturing relationships with other Māori. The kauri appear to be influenced more by the kahikatea than by anyone else in the story, and the reader, too, is compelled to pay attention to the kahikatea, quietly living in accordance with their own tikanga despite the presence of the pine trees. In this story, maybe the colonisation of Aotearoa was never completed. It is worth noting that all the rākau in this story, Paina included, are speaking in Māori.

Rukuhia te ruku o te kawau – The life beneath the surface

Traditionally, rākau had an important place in Te Ao Māori and played many roles, some spiritual or symbolic and others more practical. The forest provided essential resources; food came from its trees, plants, and animals, buildings and waka were built from the trees, and wood for the fire also came from the forest. Even the ink for traditional tā moko came from the kauri tree.[75] The Huia short stories include not only many featuring the tree or forest specifically, as a motif, but also some featuring items that relate closely to the tree motif because they have been made from wood. Megan Ellison's story, 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', expands on the concept of life within wood. This story describes an old man's relationship

[75] It was also sourced from other rākau, since the kauri was not available in all rohe.

with a wooden carving who is his closest friend: "tōna hoa."[76] It illustrates the wider significance of trees in Māori literature by making use of the rākau symbolism inherent in wooden artefacts. The whakairo in the story is a symbol of mātauranga Māori that supports the theme of intergenerational transmission of knowledge. The story draws on the metaphorical associations that wood and living rākau have with the concepts of life and death, and it expands on these ideas in a dream sequence. It shows the carving's value for the old man in a world dominated by Pākehā discourse and cultural values. The old man is forced to reassess his lack of belief in his own Māori family when he suffers greatly as a result of putting faith in the Pākehā system.

This story begins with wood, though not in the form of the whakairo that is the story's key symbol. An old man, alone in his house, stacks firewood and lights a fire to warm himself. In narrating this activity, Ellison presents a deliberate juxtaposition of life and death. In tikanga Māori, "Each living thing has a mauri, a life-force that relates to, and interacts with, the earth's forces."[77] The wood has come from living trees but is now being burnt on the fire; the man is alone but has a fire to warm himself with; he is old, and therefore close to death, but he is still going about the daily tasks that keep him active and alive. Fire symbolism invokes the concept of ahi kā[78] – the old man must keep his home fire burning not only to mantain his own vitality but also to retain the mātauranga of his ancestors. The act of starting a fire also has a metaphorical link in Te Ao Māori to the concept of intergenerational transmission of mātauranga. "Te Hika" was the term for the stick that traditional Māori used to start fires – interestingly, this term has a double-layered meaning in that "'Te Hika' also means 'generating stick', and a man and woman would both take part in generating fire, just as both took part in generating children."[79] The focus on the process of lighting a fire at the very beginning of the story "generates" an atmosphere for the story ahead and hints at the inner life of the whakairo, also made from wood. The whakairo is no longer a living rākau, but it has been carved *from* a rākau that was once alive, in the image *of* a person who was once alive, and its creation has culminated in a new kind of life for both rākau and person. Whakairo are commonly imbued with their own kind of life in both traditional and

[76] Ellison, p.95.
[77] Pere, p.277.
[78] Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Maori*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2003, p.41.
[79] Bushman's Friend Website (cited in Chapter One).

contemporary Māori literature, for example, in the pakiwaitara of Rua-te-Pukepuke and his struggle with Tangaroa, the whakairo could speak,[80] and in Patricia Grace's *Potiki*, a character becomes pregnant after communing with a whakairo.[81] This wood imagery draws the reader's attention to the finer details and nuances of the story, encouraging a close reading and a search for implied messages.

The "character" of the whakairo is introduced very soon, as we learn about this old man's inner life in which he is almost constantly in communion with "tōna hoa". This enables the reader to relate to the old man through his interactions (both physical and psychic) with the carving. The old man talks to his friend, who shares his memories of the war. He lovingly oils down the whakairo and caresses the whakapapa details that are etched onto his body. Like those Pākehā described in the Patricia Grace excerpt quoted earlier, the Pākehā character who appears later in this story will prove that he is unable to "talk to a tree", but the old man spends most of his time doing just that. Grace has also linked the process of writing fiction to the work of a carver: "A writer, like a carver, seeks to reveal what is within."[82] This is a connection that several Māori writers have made. Hirini Moko Mead describes how an "art object" such as a whakairo is transformed by "building words (kōrero) into it and by contact with people into a thing Māori class as a taonga … Implied is the notion of 'he kupu kei runga' (there are words attached to it)".[83] As a writer, then, Ellison has carved this whakairo in two ways: she has written it as an object in her story, and she has shaped it into more than an object – it becomes a character as the old man (also like a carver) reveals what is within when he communicates with it. The inner meaning of the carving reflects his own inner thought processes and shows the way he has been made (carved) by his environment and experiences. The many layers of carved intricacy on the whakairo also reflect deeper meanings, layered within the narrative, that relate to the sacredness of mātauranga Māori. In addition, the old man himself is a character etched out of physical rākau (in the form of the paper that the book is printed on) and metaphorical rākau (the rākau symbolism in the story).

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[80] Reed, pp.56-57.
[81] Grace, *Potiki*, p.22.
[82] Jane McRae, 'Patricia Grace/Interviewed by Jane McRae', in Elizabeth Alley and Mark Williams, eds, *In the Same Room*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1992, p.289.
[83] Hirini Moko Mead, '*From* Ngā Timunga me ngā Paringa, o te Mana Māori', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.200.

Both the old man and the carving possess valuable knowledge. The old man has knowledge of the iwi, the region, and their customs etched into his mind, just as his friend has them carved into his body and face: "ngā kōrero ā-whānau, ā-hapū, ā-iwi".[84] They are also alike in that they are both "heavy" with the burden and the privilege of possessing so much knowledge: "he mana, he ihi, ha mauri tō te tinana".[85] In addition, they both possess "heavy" knowledge and memories of a presumably traumatic wartime experience. The text does not describe the details of this experience, but this wartime connection recalls many other texts – both fiction and non-fiction – by Māori authors that recount the Māori experience of war, for example, *Tu,*[86] *Ngārimu: Te Tohu Toa,*[87] *Nga Tama Toa,*[88] and *Te Mura o te Ahi*.[89] In the story, there is one character who seems to be the obvious person to share the weight of knowledge with the old man: his granddaughter, who lovingly comes to his home to take care of him. However, he is unkind to her and keeps her at a distance. He ultimately decides that he will neither share his own mātaranga with her nor entrust "tōna hoa" to her guardianship. Instead of placing his faith in his Māori whānau, he chooses to send the whakairo to an unfamiliar Pākehā environment.

The old man farewells his friend and entrusts him to the care of the local museum: "nō te Pākehā kē te mōhiotanga me pēhea e tika ai te tiaki taonga."[90] The combination of the emotional weight of wartime memories and the spiritual weight of iwi knowledge seems to be weighing heavily on the old man, and his advanced age appears to be another factor that influences his decision to relinquish the whakairo. The reader wonders why the old man would trust the museum with his friend. Does the whakairo have a connection to Pākehā people because of a relationship with Pākehā formed in the war? The story provides no clear answer, but the mention of the war does tell the reader that the old man was not always as isolated as he now appears. At this point, the story has a clear focus on the interaction between Māori and Pākehā and how it manifests itself for an old man in the modern world.

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[84] Ellison, p.98. The whakapapa carved onto the body of the whakairo reflects the idea that humans have a whakapapa connection to rākau.
[85] Ellison, p.99.
[86] Patricia Grace, *Tu*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2004.
[87] Andrew Burdan, *Ngārimu: Te tohu toa*, Wellington, E Huia mō Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2010.
[88] Monty Soutar, *Nga Tama Toa: The price of citizenship: C Company 28 (Māori) Battalion 1939-1945*, Auckland, David Bateman, 2008.
[89] Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura o te Ahi: the story of the Maori Battalion*, Auckland, Reed, 1992.
[90] Ellison, p.99.

He clings to his Māori whakapapa[91] through "tōna hoa", but he also rejects it in its newer manifestation, his grandaughter. The consequences of passing a whakairo that contains such sacred knowledge into the hands of a Pākehā caretaker are symbolically suggested when the old man arrives home after delivering the carving to the museum. He sees that no fire is lit in his house – it seems that something in the life of the "wood symbol" has been extinguished already. This also relates to the demise of his relationship with his granddaughter (as explained above, there is a link between generating fires and generating offspring).

At this point, neither the reader nor the old man realise that the whakairo has, like the fire, already been "extinguished". Ellison includes a dream sequence in the text to foreshadow the destruction of the carving, which we ultimately learn has been treated carelessly by the Pākehā curator – he has piled boxes on top of it and it has broken into pieces: "Kua whati ngā rārangi i āta whakairohia, kua momotu ngā kāwai whakapapa i kaha whaoa ki te konohi, ki te tinana hoki, e kore ā muri e hokia."[92] The dream sequence that precedes news of this irreversible catastrophe contains rākau symbolism which can be linked to both the underlying themes and the tragic ending of the story. The old man dreams of approaching a single tree on a plain. The tree stands alone, reminding the old man of the connection between the land and sky. He then sees someone standing by the tree waving to him, and he returns the greeting. But as he draws closer, another man becomes visible, behind the first, holding a patu: "he aituā kei te haere ake."[93] The dreamer is rendered voiceless and impotent; he is unable to give any warning. When the dreamer finally reaches the man, "kua hemo te tangata. Kua momotu tōna mātenga."[94] The critique that is embedded in the dream, and in the story as a whole, amounts to a denunciation of the old man's secrecy (about his mātauranga and also about his intentions for the carving) and his misplaced trust in the museum curator. In a broader sense, there is also an implied denunciation of the separation of the younger generation of Māori from their elders. Very often, in Māori literature that examines this separation of the generations, the blame is placed on the shoulders of the young, who have rejected their traditions and their elders in favour of the Western world. In many of the Huia stories (for example, in 'Kōtiro'), the moral of the story

[91] We learn that his ancestor carved the whakairo, Ellison, p.98.
[92] Ellison, pp.102-103.
[93] Ellison, p.100.
[94] Ellison, p.100. For both the old man and the carving, the head is the repository of the most sacred and important knowledge – it is the most tapu part of the body.

is that the young must return to their marae and their kaumātua in order to truly find themselves. In Ellison's story, however, it is the old man who is unwilling to form a relationship with his own grandchild and who refuses to pass on any of his knowledge to her. Instead, he chooses to trust the Pākehā curator, who almost immediately lets him down.[95]

The old man's inability to speak in his dream relates to his personal isolation and also to the theme of colonisation. In the dream he is voiceless against his will, but in reality he has chosen to render himself voiceless by giving the whakairo to the museum where he will have no authority to decide how it will be treated.[96] When he is awake, he also chooses not to speak to anyone about his thoughts and feelings, confiding only in the whakairo (until he gives it away) and not in his granddaughter. Valle notes that in Alan Duff's novels, dreams are used "as an avenue to breaking indigenous silence"[97] and Keri Hulme writes that "Dreams are messengers, messages ... the Māori people set great store by our dreams."[98] In 'E Kore ā Muri', it seems that a message about colonisation is embedded below the surface. The voicelessness of the old man, both in his dreams and in his waking life, ties into these themes of indigenous silence and the need for communication amongst Māori.

Like the "Pākehā" characters in 'He Raruraru', those in 'E Kore ā Muri' fail to pay serious attention when confronted with something that is important to the Māori characters.[99] The title of this story (also the final line in the text), 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', reflects the realities of colonisation. Just as colonisation can't *unhappen* for Māori, the loss (death) of the whakairo, which results from an unsuccessful collaboration between the Māori old man and

[95] We may be able to use the characters of the old man's dream to examine these messages further. Does the man with the patu in the dream represent the curator whose negligence resulted in the destruction of the carving, or does the second man in the dream represent a part of the old man himself, the angry part who refuses to trust his own family and whose choices result in the carving going to the museum, where it "dies". The Gestalt psychologist, Fritz Perls, posits that because dreams come entirely from the dreamer's own subconscious, *all* the characters in a dream are manifestations of the dreamer's self. The dream-man with the patu could then represent the angry "self" of the old man as he aligns his own misjudgement with that of the negligent, and ultimately destructive, curator. Does the old man associate himself with the Pākehā curator and blame himself for his bad choice of a caretaker as much as he blames the curator himself? See Fritz Perls, *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim*, California, Real People Press, 1969, p.67.

[96] There is also room to consider whether the broad effects of colonisation have, in a way, left him choiceless in that he has been raised to believe that the Pākehā system is more trustworthy than his own whānau. Has the old man been indoctrinated by Pākehā society/values, or by his experience in the army? Ellison's story encourages the reader to speculate about the old man's background and about how he might have reached the situation where he decided to place his trust in the curator, who is essentially a stranger to him.

[97] Valle, p.96.

[98] Keri Hulme, 'Myth, Omen, Ghost and Dream', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.26.

[99] In 'He Raruraru' this is the issue of colonisation, in 'E Kore ā Muri' it is the care of the whakairo.

the Pākehā curator, is final. There is also an implication that the old man has suffered irremediable mental and emotional damage in the war. He refuses to connect with his granddaughter[100] and has no one else (except, at first, the whakairo) to talk to. He is unable to make the best decision for the ongoing guardianship of the whakairo, and he fails to pass on his own knowledge. Ultimately, this story conveys a message about the importance of communicative intergenerational relationships for Māori – about the urgent need to build and maintain trust within the family or iwi so that, together, the group can look after what it values. 'E Kore ā Muri' highlights the need for Māori people to communicate with other Māori and pass on their mātauranga. The message of this story is that such Māori-to-Māori communication should take precedence over communication with Pākehā. It is a tragic story about failed communication between Māori and about the ignorance and/or irresponsibility of many mainstream Pākehā institutions in terms of mātauranga Māori. However, the production of the story can in itself be seen as a counterpoint to the failures related in the narrative. Ellison is Māori, and by writing her story in te reo Māori she is reaching out to communicate with other Māori people. The existence of this story, along with other Māori language stories) proves that while we can't change the past (e kore ā muri e hokia), still Māori writers, writing in te reo, can have an impact on the future.

"E kore e piri te uku te rino"[101] *– Choosing mātauranga Māori*

In 1956, *Te Ao Hou* journal stated that "the truth about Maori life would be better understood, if more stories were published describing the life and efforts of the people from a Maori point of view. They would be useful to the pakeha, but that is not the main value of these stories."[102] Literature can provide a good forum for authors who want to voice their anger, worries, and bad experiences, and Mona Riini and Megan Ellison, the writers of the

[100] The story gives little detail about why the old man doesn't trust his granddaughter with "tōna hoa", but it does mention the old man's belief that she is not only too ignorant of tikanga but also the wrong gender for this type of knowledge. The brief mention of the old man's gender bias raises a whole other set of questions about the influence of colonisation on gender-based roles, stereotypes, and prejudices within Te Ao Māori. Modern Māori scholars such as Aroha Mead have questioned earlier assertions that traditional Māori culture was essentially sexist. Mead says: "[t]he sexism which has occurred in Maori society originates more from colonisation than heritage, and it is a problem as common in international indigenous societies as is alienation of lands and resources." See Mead, Aroha, 'Maori Leadership', address to the Hui Whakapumau: Maori Development Conference (1994) pp.3-4.

[101] Mead, *Ngā Pēpeha,* p.33.

[102] *Te Ao Hou*, 'The New World', in *Te Ao Hou*, 14, 4, 2, (1956), p.1, available from http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/index.html.

two short stories examined in this chapter, have explored some aspects of the often frustrating or damaging dynamics of interactions between Māori and Pākehā. None of the stories examined in this thesis focus specifically on positive or mutually beneficial interactions between Māori and Pākehā, although another of the Huia stories, 'Whakawhanaungatanga' by Beryl Heremia,[103] does focus on a positive interaction between the Māori tangata whenua and a knowledgable Pākehā speaker on a marae. Often, interactions between Māori and Pākehā have potential for positive as well as negative consequences, and some of the Huia authors have shown interest in exploring the grey areas in this relationship, the initiations and reactions from each side and the ways in which they are not necessarily "sides" at all. However, all of the Huia texts examined in this thesis (not just the two discussed in this chapter) reflect the belief that Māori need to actively choose mātauranga Māori, sometimes in preference to Pākehā knowledge systems (as in 'Kōtiro'), sometimes in combination with them (as in 'Pai Kare'), and sometimes without reference to Te Ao Pākehā (as in 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere', which is discussed in Chapter Three).

The symbolism of rākau that underlies 'He Rarurarau' and 'E Kore ā Muri' is used to represent Māori and Pākehā interactions. Mona Riini's story substitutes an indigenous tree for an indigenous person, a colonial tree for a colonial person. Riini's indigenous perspective of the colonised situation in Aotearoa encompasses Te Taiao and Te Ao Tangata, and her use of personification emphasises the ways in which these two "worlds" are intrinsically linked – both are parts of one world and both are affected by the colonisation process. 'E Kore ā Muri' also invokes a rākau as kind of character, but in this case the whakairo character is more a representation of the inner workings of the main character's mind than an individual in its own right. The imagery throughout the story, but particularly in the dream sequences, is laden with additional rākau symbolism. To convey the deeper meaning of her story, Ellison draws on a wide range of cultural associations with rākau. The carelessness with which the curator treats the whakairo in comparison with the respect it is given by the old man can even be seen to reflect the ways in which living rākau and ngahere have been treated by Māori and Pākehā. In Māori tradition, the ngahere has its own mauri which must be

[103] Beryl Heremia, 'Whakawhanaungatanga', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 3*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1999, pp.25-27. Note that this story has no rākau/ngahere symbolism and therefore is not examined in this thesis.

respected,[104] but since colonisation, many of the ngahere of Aotearoa have been destroyed or badly damaged, like the whakairo in Ellison's text.

The exploration of Māori and Pākehā interaction in the two stories discussed in this chapter could lead the reader to believe that all Māori and Pākehā interaction in Māori literature reflects a negative experience for Māori. (Indeed, on reading an early draft of this chapter, one of my supervisors suggested I retitle it 'Colonisation and Injustice'.[105]) Certainly, the two stories both portray Pākehā as disrespectful and destructive in their treatment of Māori, and also as privileged by society and yet unable to respond positively to mātauranga Māori. However, there is one place where Pākehā influence interacts with Māori influence in these texts in a positive way. The very bones of the Huia texts, their structures, genres, and language devices, draw on the Pākehā literary genre of the short story and show the influence of the English language. Perhaps the most important meeting place of all is in the printed text, because a story written in Māori necessarily draws on both cultures, regardless of its subject matter or themes. It is in te reo *Māori*, so we know it draws on Māori literature and it is *written*, so we know it draws on Western literature.[106] Patricia Grace said of her writing: "I am influenced by everything, including all forms of speech, whether it's conversation, stories, waiata, whaikorero, tauparapara, haka, chanting, Latin plainsong, radio and television commercials and programmes, news bulletins, talks, readings, lectures, sermons – it doesn't matter what. I'm used to listening, interested in the rhythms of speech and employ these rhythms in my work."[107] This will resonate with many Māori writers. However, in a country (and, increasingly, a world) where writing in English and drawing on Western literary influences are privileged by educators, publishers, the media, and often the general public, we can also identify a conscious choice by the Huia authors to privilege the Māori influence, the Māori voices. In addition to the language they are written in, these texts are united in their emphasis on the value of Māori solidarity and of mātauranga Māori. The texts themselves pass on a kind of mātauranga, and they undoubtedly privilege the Māori voice. They also privilege the Māori *reader*, the Māori audience – since (considering

[104] My introduction also discusses the whakapapa connection between rākau and humanity.
[105] Alice Te Punga Somerville, personal communication, 2012.
[106] Māori became a written language only after contact with Pākehā.
[107] McRae, p.292.

the small number of Pākehā with enough fluency to read in te reo) it is much more likely that a story written in Māori will be read by Māori than by Pākehā.

Both of the stories explored in this chapter push the reader to reassess not only their own experience of reading but also their experience in the world, particularly in the context of Māori and Pākehā interaction. The title of this chapter, "He Rākau Ora", reflects the growth of this thesis as a rākau kōrero, and this chapter is the halfway point in its growth. The discussions that have arisen so far are taking on a life (ora) of their own. As discussed earlier, Māori language literature itself can be seen as a living, growing entity – te ngahere kōrero, made up of many "rākau ora" – and the works of Māori literature examined in this thesis have now taken on new significance. Examining the depiction of Māori and Pākehā interaction in two of the Huia texts has revealed that even though these Māori authors have valid points to make about issues such as colonisation, societal oppression, and the ignorance of many Pākehā about Te Ao Māori, they are doing something very positive in bringing together Pākehā and Māori influences in the texts they create. These texts can be seen as mobilising Pākehā literary techniques, genres, and structures in order to create new ways of communicating with other Māori. Stories like 'He Raruraru' create space for potential positive growth in the relationship between Māori and Pākehā on a broad social level, but the key message of this text is the same as the message of 'E Kore ā Muri' and reflects what *Te Ao Hou* was alluding to back in 1956: Māori language literature is and should be privileging interactions between Māori people.

Chapter Three: He Pūāwaitanga

The theme of "different worlds"

"Ka whānau mai te whakaaro
Ka tipu
Ka pūāwai
Ka mau, kā pua i te moemoeā
Kai tōna āhua waiwaiā
Ko te kano o te ao hou ..."[1]

'Te Whakaaro' by Hana O'Regan

Many Māori writers have written about their feeling of inhabiting two worlds simultaneously. Hinemoana Baker describes herself as existing "in the space between worlds, trying to make a home in the border-town between vastly different cultures, at the same time spending most of every day in one or the other."[2] Patricia Grace has made explicit the way in which the urban and rural environments are often equated with Māori and Pākehā environments: "Two different, contrasting worlds – city and country, Maori and Pakeha – but I always knew which world I was in."[3] Māori writers using English face such cross-overs of worlds again and again when they write Māori stories in the language of their colonisers, and even in Māori language stories (as discussed in the previous chapter), interaction between Māori and Pākehā worlds is inherent to the very form and shape of the written text. Ihimaera points out that for Māori writers of fiction, another duality is also

[1]Note: this poem is written in Kāi Tahu dialect, so "kā" means "ngā". See Hana O'Regan, 'Te Whakaaro', in *Kupu: A collection of contemporary Māori poetry*, Christchurch, Ake Associates Limited, 2007, p.118.
[2] Hinemoana Baker, 'Author Note', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.242.
[3] Patricia Grace, 'Living in Language', in *Sunday Star Times*, Culture Section, September 30 2012, p.F23.

brought into play – the intersection of fact and fiction, reality and myth. He suggests that the convergence of these two "worlds" is a particular feature of the work of Māori authors and that Māori fiction, as well as Māori history, is "informed by the holistic frameworks of the unreal as well as the real".[4] In the 'Kaupapa' section of *Te Ao Mārama 3*, Ihimaera, Long, Ramsden, and Haare discuss the post-1980 generation of Māori writers and predict an era of pūāwaitanga for those writers.[5] They show that these writers cross the boundaries between many, many, different worlds, not just Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā, but they note that from their perspective, "Māori literature is the centre".[6] This chapter is the "pūāwaitanga" of my thesis/rākau kōrero, and it focuses on the theme of "different worlds". The many different worlds created in the Huia texts have also resulted from a kind of pūāwaitanga. Literature produces worlds within worlds and makes them available to the reader. These Māori language literary texts have produced uniquely Māori worlds and even revealed Māori worlds *within* Māori worlds.

Several of the Huia authors have used the ngahere as a setting that contrasts with some other location in order to convey the idea of opposing worlds, and some have used wood or rākau as a symbol of connection to other worlds. This chapter will explore the "other worlds" (both literal and metaphorical) in three specific stories: 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai' by Hagen Tautari, 'Te Taiaha a Tama' by Basil Keane, and 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere' by Hurihia Tomo. Tautari's story shows how a hunting journey in a hilltop forest takes his two characters to a world far removed from their ordinary daily life – a forest world, where they are able to navigate by drawing on mātauranga Māori. This story highlights the concept of multi-literacies by having the characters "read" the forest world they have entered, and it also draws on mythical associations with the forest and the past. Both Keane's and Tomo's stories also link rākau with a mythical past. They each include the Tūrehu/Patupaiarehe characters from pūrākau/pakiwaitara as a means of illustrating both the alien nature and the inherent familiarity of these different worlds. For the most part, these three stories ignore Te Ao Pākehā, focusing rather on worlds that exist within Te Ao Māori. Each of the stories also has a mythic element that stems directly from the "other" world in the narrative. I will

[4] Witi Ihimaera, 'A Maori Perspective', in *Journal of New Zealand Literature: JNZL*, 9, (1991), p.54.
[5] Witi Ihimaera, D.S.Long, Irihapeti Ramsden, and Haare Williams, 'Kaupapa', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 3: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Pūāwaitanga o te Kōrero*, Auckland, Reed, 1993, pp.15-17.
[6] Ihimaera, Long, Ramsden, and Haare, 'Kaupapa', *Te Ao Mārama 3*, p.15.

explore how these intersecting worlds of myth and reality are connected to the rākau symbolism in the texts, focusing especially on how the tree motif functions as a conduit to those worlds. I will also discuss the forest not only as a world within itself but also as one that intersects with, and is a part of, our everyday world. Merata Mita has written that she felt most at home in the "very safe and secure Māori world that [she] lived in",[7] and while the characters in these three stories are not always safe from physical harm, there is a kind of safety in the cultural boundaries – the tikanga are clear and familiar to the characters and to the readers. Because of this, the "other" worlds are not really "othered", in the academic sense of the word (although Pākehā influences are sometimes interesting to note). They are Māori worlds within Māori worlds.

Reading the worlds in the woods in the words

In 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai', Hagen Tautari has his characters escape their daily life by traversing a forested hilltop "world" that is set apart, both physically and symbolically, from the farmland that it looks down onto. The tale recounts a kūkupa (kererū) hunting trip that a boy takes with his uncle, Kiwi. Early in the story, there is some emphasis on the separation of Māori and Pākehā worlds and on the overlapping worlds of past and present, but from the very beginning, the main thematic focus is on communication – how important it is to "speak" the right languages as you travel through a different world; in this case, the domain of Tāne: the ngahere. The two characters journey together through a forest environment (world) that is available to them because of their special knowledge – they are able to "read" the forest world and speak its language. The character of Kiwi conveys the message that mātauranga Māori is the obvious way of interpreting this world.

The story begins by exemplifying how the characters can communicate with the forest world. The boy, who is also the narrator, hears "te tangi o ngā tui, o ngā tirairaka me ngā tamariki katoa a Tāne"[8] and knows that it will be a good day for hunting birds. His uncle Kiwi knows that at this time of year, the kūkupa will be fat from eating miro and therefore both more delicious to eat and easier to catch. Both Kiwi and his nephew are constantly aware of the messages that the forest is giving them, although not in an overtly mystical way. They

[7] Merata Mita, '*From* Head and Shoulders', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.279.
[8] Tautari, p.184.

are simply reading the story of the forest around them by drawing on their mātauranga. The reader is also encouraged to draw on mātauranga Māori to interpret deeper symbolic meanings embedded in the text. The fact that the two characters are hunting kūkupa highlights traditional Māori literary connections with this bird. Māui Pōtiki famously transformed into a kūkupa in order to travel to another world in search of his parents.[9] Kiwi and his nephew are also travelling to another world and, like Māui, they are reconnecting with their origins on their journey. Kiwi applies, and passes on to his nephew, the knowledge of the ngahere that has been passed down to him by their ancestors.

Although Kiwi hunts kūkupa illegally, he is knowledgable about the traditions of the ngahere and the animals who inhabit it. He seems to feel more at ease in the forest world than in the world of his everyday life, where he is a gambling addict, and in this environment he is comfortable expressing his distrust of Te Ao Pākehā. The boy knows his uncle's opinion of the government ban on kūkupa hunting; he remembers that "Ki ōna whakaaro, nā te Kāwanatanga kē te hē … I whakangaromia e te Kāwanatanga te nohoanga o ngā kūkupa, arā ko ngā rākau Māori."[10] This statement highlights two issues that relate to the tree motif in this story. Firstly, it emphasises the issue of ecological impact; the trees have been cut down "hei hanga whare" and the ecosystem has been damaged, leaving the birds with fewer nesting places. Secondly, it points to the similarities between the indigenous trees and the indigenous people. They are intrinsically linked to one another by bonds of guardianship, "Ko mātou anō hoki ngā kaitiaki[11] tūturu o ngā manu katoa o te ngahere",[12] and both have been "cut down" by the government and by the impact of colonisation. Kiwi's comments raise questions about the power paradigms that come into play when society decides to privilege one knowledge system over another. In her essay, 'Superstition, spiritualism, religion,

[9] Reed, p.123.
[10] Tautari, p.185.
[11] Kaitiakitanga is an important concept within Te Ao Māori, and numerous scholars have written about it. In terms of the ngahere, I like Kim McBreen's summary of the term: "Observing and adapting these tikanga meant that tangata whenua eventually found a balance point, where the environment was providing all that was needed, without being degraded. The knowledge and responsibilities of this, which has come to be represented by the word kaitiakitanga, simply means maintaining our side of the relationship with the forests and Tāne." See Kim McBreen, 'Te Wao-nui-a-Tāne, Wai 262 and the Mataatua Declaration', [Internet], 2010, [accessed 5 August 2012], available from http://starspangledrodeo.blogspot.co.nz/2010/10/te-wao-nui-tane-wai-262-and-mataatua.html.
[12] Tautari, p.185.

philosophy', Kim McBreen discusses the difference between Pākehā and Māori knowledge systems in relation to the natural world. She writes:

> The sort of understanding that comes from a long association with a place is so often dismissed as spiritual, and therefore unreasonable. For example, understanding that a river [or forest] is a living entity, that it has a life-force that must be sustained, and that the wellbeing of my community is intertwined with the wellbeing of that life-force. This can be, and for a long time has been, written off as spiritual, animistic nonsense. But of course, it is true, and Western science (in this case ecology) has been playing catch-up for decades, when we could have just paid attention to tangata whenua ... The knowledge that comes from generations of interdependence with an environment is more legitimate than imported ideas about the way the world works.[13]

Kiwi regards Māori people as the legitimate kaitiaki of the forest, its inhabitants, and its mauri. He sees no problems in defying the Pākehā government by shooting kūkupa with his nephew and even goes against his own elders in this matter; the iwi has agreed to allow the birds to be killed as food for the elders only, but Kiwi intends to eat the birds himself.

Further aspects of Kiwi's personality emerge when we explore the meanings behind his name. In one way it seems natural that a "kiwi" should be at home in the forest environment, but in many other ways Kiwi seems an unsuitable name for this character. He comes across as rather like the legendary Māui in that he is rebellious and usually does what he likes, but has sound instincts about the forest world and possesses valuable knowledge passed on to him by his ancestors. Like Māui, too, Kiwi travels through different worlds. Given Kiwi's rebellious, Māui-like nature, his name seems an odd choice, because the kiwi is a timid, nocturnal creature, not usually associated with rebellion. The significance of the name, however, shifts when we take it out of the forest "world" and reassess it in the context of the mainstream Pākehā "world". Kiwi is a word that is used today as a synonym for New Zealander. The mainstream media (as well as many individual New Zealanders) use the term kiwi with a false sense of inclusiveness[14] – "kiwi" is meant to indicate *all* New Zealanders. But in reality, this term is used in a way that is almost entirely exclusive of

[13] Kim McBreen, 'Superstition, spiritualism, religion, philosophy', [Internet], 2012, [accessed October 16 2012], available from http://starspangledrodeo.blogspot.co.nz/2012/10/superstition-spiritualism-religion.html.
[14] This idea is also echoed in the widespread saying "We are all New Zealanders" that Ranginui Walker likens to a modern version of what William Hobson said after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed: "We are all one people." See Ranginui Walker, 'Being a Māori', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out – He Whakaatanga o te Ao,* Auckland, Reed Books, 1993, p.235.

Māori.[15] A clear illustration of this is the "Iwi versus Kiwi" billboards that were put up around the country by a right-wing Pākehā activist group, the Coastal Coalition, in 2010.[16] A term that was inclusive of Māori would have to be inclusive of "iwi", because iwitanga is an integral part of Māoritanga (in fact, many Māori scholars, such as John Rangihau,[17] have made the point that for them, there is no such thing as "Māoritanga", but rather they have Tūhoetanga, Kāi Tahutanga, etc.). These billboards indicated that in general New Zealand discourse, the term "kiwi" is not inclusive of Māori.

In Tautari's story, then, the name of the indigenous bird has been reclaimed as a name for an (individual) indigenous person. The character Kiwi, in the story, is far from being the "average kiwi" that politians and media personalities often refer to, and he is clearly *not* one of the dominant Pākehā group who usually claim this title, so his name challenges the mainstream use of the word. The name also links him to the forest world – and to the pre-European Māori world that he is in contact with as he travels through the forest. By choosing this name for his character, Tautari requires his readers to bring their familiarity with at least three separate cultures (different "worlds") that coexist in Aotearoa. There is the world of the ngahere, where a kiwi is a bird, the world that drives the Pākehā use of the word kiwi as a synonym for an "average New Zealander", and a modern Māori world with its own perspective on that appropriation – in the story, Kiwi is a Māori person who is highly critical of Pākehā action, specifically as it has affected the ngahere.

The trees in the text serve to block out, for the two characters, awareness of their day-to-day existence in an everyday world: "I te teitei o ngā mānuka me ngā tānekaha e kore e kitea ngā whare me ngā pāmu o tō mātou kāinga."[18] There is a sense of return to the past, an essentially Māori past, as the two walk the pathways of their ancestors. Kiwi feels lucky that his forest has not been overtaken by the modern, Pākehā-dominated world. He points out the kauri trees to his nephew, "Waimarie ana tātou e tū tonu ana ngā rākau nei."[19] The

[15] It is sometimes used about Māori New Zealanders in the media, especially when the presenter wants to downplay the fact that they are Māori. For example, Michael Campbell is usually a "kiwi" golfer, but Tame Iti is always a Māori activist.
[16] Images of this billboard can be found on the Coastal Coalition Website, [Internet], [accessed 10 December 2012], available from http://www.nzcpr.com/CoastalCoalition.htm.
[17] John Rangihau, 'Being Maori', in Michael King, ed., *Te Ao Hurihuri: The world moves on*, Wellington, Hicks Smith and Sons, 1975, pp.232-233.
[18] Tautari, p.186.
[19] Tautari, p.186.

features of the forest world seem to reflect Kiwi's inner self. Just as he has come into his own on the hunting trip and escaped the "fog" of his everyday life, so the literal fog has lifted for their day of hunting: "kua hikina te kōhu."[20] Kiwi knows that the forest is the place for him to be: "Me haere tāua ki ngā uru rākau e tū ana i te waokū",[21] and both he and his nephew seem to get pleasure even from the physical challenge of the uphill trek.[22] A link to the past is made through the tree symbolism in the text when the ponga are likened to windows,[23] as if they were windows to a Māori past. The reader discovers that, in the old days, there was a pā on this hill. However, the pā site has now been covered so thickly by trees that no one without prior knowledge of its existence would be able to spot it. Both physically and symbolically, the rākau protect the secret "world" of the pā. Those who know about it, like Kiwi and his nephew, can maintain their awareness of that link to their ancestors as they move through the forest, even seeing the pathways left there by the inhabitants of the pā, "anō he tangata kei te pā tonu e noho ana."[24] Mention of the pā is framed almost as an "aside" within the text, but in fact the information is very significant. It reminds the reader that this land was and still effectively *is* Māori land. Kiwi knows the secrets of the forest because it is the forest of his ancestors and indeed, the forest itself is an ancestor, with a whakapapa that ties into his (as discussed in the introduction). The distinction between human being and rākau begins to blur when we think about the man-made pathways to the pā and the rākau that obscure and protect them. When Kiwi and his nephew reach the forest, they become a part of it.

There is yet another "world" that is implicit in this story: the reader's world. The reader of 'He Tino Kino' can be seen to occupy the same worlds as the characters within it. The story appears to be set in modern-day Aotearoa, which is also a likely setting for its reader, and the reader has been given access to the hidden world of the forest and the old pā because the author has taken them "along for the ride". Reading is an act that is often likened to visiting other worlds, and Tautari draws attention to this concept of reading when he has his

[20] Tautari, p.186.
[21] Tautari, p.186.
[22] Even the horse in the story has an ongoing relationship with the forest. Tautari notes that the horse is half Clydesdale and is therefore used to dragging logs. See Tautari, p.186.
[23] Tautari, p.186.
[24] Tautari, p.186.

characters "reading" the trees of the forest, in particular a pūriri tree,[25] "He tohu whenua te rākau nei",[26] which tells them that they are not far away from the miro trees where the kukupa will be. The mention of this "tohu" encourages us as readers to reflect on our own action of reading – we are positioned in a literary space, a literary world, and we need to know the language of this world. We need to understand both te reo Māori and the language of metaphor, symbolism, and allusion that are used in the text.

Apirana Ngata once pointed out that some of the first books written in Māori were inextricable from rākau in a fundamental way: they were written on actual tree-leaves: "Ka hoki tena iwi ki tona whenua me tana kakati rau rakau, ko nga pukapuka tuatahi era o tera rohe."[27] The contemporary Tūhoe poet, Kane Pōtiki Te Manukura, has drawn attention to the fact that rākau *still* provide the raw material on which most books are printed: paper. He also emphasises the relationship between paper and the colonisation process in his poem 'Casting Votes, Casting Spells':

> paper that once stood in Te Wao-nui-a-Tane capable of transubstantiating
> sunshine carbon various other elements into fresh air water shade soil fertility
> animal-food shelter and the pure joy of photosynthesis inspiration for poets but
> now a monstrous hybrid of wood pulp toxic dyes chlorine and the tattered
> shattered promises of Western Liberal Democracy are the worst of them all[28]

Here, the poet has made explicit the link between rākau and writing, likening the "toxic" treatment of wood in order to create paper to the "toxic" treatment of indigenous people in order to create a "colony". This poem also surfaces the fact that treaties with indigenous people were written on paper ("the tattered shattered promises of Western Liberal Democracy"). For most indigenous people, and certainly for most Māori, what was important in the process of treaty-signing was the words that were uttered,[29] but what they

[25] Another Huia story, 'Te Mātauranga a te Pakeke' by Tangihoro Fitzgerald, associates the pūriri tree with communication. A child whose house is threatened by a flood is told by his parents to leave a message on the pūriri tree in front of the house. In addition, the saying: "Ka kata ngā pūriri o Taiamai" describes pūriri as laughing. See Tangihoro Fitzgerald, 'Te Mātauranga a te Pakeke', in *Ngā Pakiwaiatara a Huia 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995, pp.15-17.
[26] Tautari, p.186.
[27] Apirana Ngata, 'The Maori and Printed Matter', in R.A. McKay, ed., *A History of Printing in New Zealand*, Wellington, R.A. McKay for the Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940, p.49.
[28] Kane Pōtiki Te Manukura, 'Casting Votes, Casting Spells', personal communication, 2012.
[29] Donald Francis McKenzie, *Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand: The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1985, p.9.

were held to by colonising forces was the words that were written on paper. Historically, this has had tragic consequences for indigenous communities. Knudsen points out that colonialism itself was a kind of "textual experience" for Māori.[30] Written words were used to control and marginalise Māori (as well as many other indigenous peoples). Their image was written into history through a process of text-based categorisation that included treaties, laws, and even fiction.

The different worlds that we can access through the act of reading become even more numerous when we expand our definition of literature. Teresia Teaiwa has posited that modern Pacific literature draws on a literary history that includes non-alphabetic modes and mediums of communication such as tapa cloth, whakairo, lapita pottery, and tā moko.[31] Teaiwa theorises that we have simply become illiterate (or less literate) in reading these symbols today. Hirini Melbourne claims that writers who write in Māori *need* a conduit to link them to their literary past, and he discusses how they can use the symbol of the whare whakairo[32] (which, of course, is carved from rākau) as a link between their modern writing and their literary roots: "The whare whakairo is a complex image of the essential continuity between the past and the present that indicates how contemporary writing in the Māori language might express the world of the Māori people."[33] Hirini Moko Mead (as mentioned in Chapter Two) also discusses the importance of being able to read the kōrero in "the literature of art history". He states: "The iconography is nothing more or less than kōrero (talk), and iconology is kupu (words); that is, kōrero that are reduced to a few fundamental words such as are remembered in proverbs",[34] or indeed, in poetry. It is possible to take these theories a step further and suggest that signposts such as tohu whenua, and the ways that the signs of nature can be read, are also literary sources for modern Māori and Pacifika authors. From this perspective, Tautari's inclusion of these "readings" in his narrative carry

[30] Knudsen, p.37.
[31] She theorises that Pacific literature comes from a tradition of "poly-genesis" (her reclamation of this usually ethnographic term), as opposed to the "mono-genesis" that is often assumed, in her seminar 'Roots of Pacific Literature'. See Teresia Teaiwa, 'Roots of Pacific Literature (seminar)', SEFTMS Department, Victoria University of Wellington, September 2009.
[32] Roger Neitch also discusses this concept in a specifically Māori context. He describes the changing "*langue*" of whakairo, and defines it as a type of inscribed language. See Roger Neitch, *Carved Histories*. Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2001, p.274.
[33] Melbourne, 'Whare Whakairo', p.133.
[34] Mead, 'Ngā Timunga', p.205.

connotations of his own role as a writer and the act of reading that he requires of his audience.

Tautari, then, requires his readers not only to become immersed in the different worlds within his story but also to speak the languages of those worlds. He takes them into a literary world where they encounter a forest world. Within that forest world are links to the world of the past, a specifically Māori past. In that forest space, Tautari draws on the symbolism of rākau to highlight to his readers that the literary space they inhabit is itself another world. They must read the textual environment that Tautari has created, just as Kiwi reads the forest environment that he is traversing. But more than that, Tautari has crafted his story to enable his reader to read the same worlds that Kiwi reads – Kiwi guides us through the worlds within the woods within the words on the page.

Crossing over and growing up

In 'Te Taiaha a Tama', by Basil Keane, the main character crosses from his everyday world to a completely different kind of world, a world where myth meets reality. Where 'He Tino Kino' showed how the world of the past overlapped, in a forest environment, with today's world, 'Te Taiaha a Tama' presents a link to the past in the form of a parallel universe. A tōtara looms tall in this story, and the tree motif is used in two key ways. Firstly, the tōtara is a gateway between two worlds – the place where Tama "crosses over" from the safety of his own back yard to the dangerous and exciting world of the Tūrehu and the taniwha. Secondly, the tree becomes a force of magical power that can be wielded against the oppressive taniwha when one of its branches is made into the eponymous "taiaha a Tama". In both ways, the tree is a symbol of power and transformation. Tama is able to escape from his daily life through the tōtara tree behind his house, and he is able to move on from the world of his youth and vulnerability when possession of the taiaha transforms him into a powerful warrior.

'Te Taiaha' begins in the modern world. Tama is facing the trials of teenage life, which in his case specifically involve Te Ao Māori; for example, Tama wants to learn "mau rākau",[35] but

[35] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.

his mother thinks that he is still too young: "Kia 16 ōu tau ka taea."[36] This story gives a picture of a typical everyday life for a teenage boy in New Zealand, and the language used is almost utilitarian in style: "Ka tīni ia i ōna kākahu, ā, ka kai."[37] However, the start of the story includes a glimpse of the magical journey to come. Tama's mother warns him of the power of the tōtara, and Tama knows that this is because the tree is tapu: "E ai ki ngā kōrero, koina te tōtara nō ngā Tūrehu o mua."[38] Both Tama and the reader are made aware of the tōtara's importance and encouraged to wonder about the Tūrehu "o mua" and whether they may still have a role to play.

The physical situation of the tōtara suggests its deeper metaphorical significance in the text. The tree is isolated, a lone tōtara in an apple orchard. It is worth drawing on the explorations of the previous chapter, specifically in regard to 'He Raruraru', when we think about the location of this tree. Keane has positioned the tapu tōtara in the midst of an apple orchard and so, like Riini's kauri who are surrounded by the European pine trees, the tōtara in this story is surrounded by non-native trees.[39] Keane uses a convincing plot device to circumvent Tama's original intention to heed the warning of his mother and avoid the totara. When Tama goes out to climb the apple trees that surround the tōtara, his dog runs up the tapu tōtara and then whines to Tama to come and rescue him. Tama is initially reluctant, "He tapu tēnā rākau",[40] but he ultimately succumbs to the "karu nui"[41] of his pitiful, stranded dog and climbs up after him. In the narrative, this is presented as an unavoidable occurence, one among many twists of fate that send Tama on his extraterrestrial quest. It is as if the power of the Tūrehu world, or even the rākau itself, has drawn Tama into physical contact with the tōtara.

The language spoken by the characters is laden with meaning, despite Keane's choice to use mostly basic sentence structures and words.[42] When Tama climbs the rākau, he seems to be

[36] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.
[37] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.
[38] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.
[39] Furthermore, apple trees are food-producing trees and therefore could possibly be seen to represent the concept of noa, unlike the tōtara, which is highly tapu. However, tapu and noa are complicated concepts, so making this claim definitively would be unwise. Are apples noa if they are uncooked, and still attached to a growing tree? Perhaps not, but in any case, the tōtara is unique in the apple orchard.
[40] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.
[41] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.
[42] Like 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', this text reads as if it could have been written for a younger audience, or possibly a dual audience of both adults and children.

conscious that the journey he is about to undertake may be longer and more life-changing than simply climbing a few branches. He looks back toward his house and simply says, "Kei te haere mai ahau, auē."[43] While apparently Tama is addressing his dog here, still the reader wonders who or what else he could be coming towards. Although Tama himself is not yet aware of it, his words could also be appropriately addressed to the Tūrehu, and perhaps the taniwha, in the world that he is about to enter. Or possibly the words could be addressed to the world of the Tūrehu itself. Tama's words could also be addressed to his future self, to inform the transformed, mature Tama he will become that he is on his way.

The tōtara performs its role as a conduit between two worlds when its intrinsic power is ignited by a powerful bolt of lightning. Tama shows unconscious foresight (and perhaps a deep connection with the power of the tree) when, while closing his eyes in fear, he holds onto a tōtara branch: "e mau tonu ana ki taua peka."[44] It is here that we first become aware of the two transformative aspects of the tōtara. Firstly, we learn that the tree has joined forces with the lightning strike to transport Tama to another world.[45] Tama soon meets a Tūrehu girl, Kira, in this new land, and he realises that the old stories of the tōtara and the Tūrehu are more than mythical tales. They are the actual history of that tree. The second transformative aspect is in the branch, which Tama retains as he and Kira escape the ngārara henchmen who work for the evil taniwha. This tōtara branch facilitates Tama's transformation into an independent and powerful adult. He uses it almost immediately to defend himself from the taiaha of the ngārara.[46] All the inhabitants of the Tūrehu world are aware of the power of the tōtara and of the power of Tama, the "manene"[47] who travels through the rākau from another world.

The way in which Tama is presented as a manene after he has crossed over to the Tūrehu world gives a positive twist and a Māori perspective to some of the broader social sterotypes that pervade New Zealand literature. Historically, many stories present Pākehā as strangers (manene) in Aotearoa; this is seen in early Pākehā literary texts such as those

[43] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.7.
[44] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.8.
[45] The idea of trees delineating the boundaries of separate worlds is something that can be traced back to traditional Māori literature. For example, stories about Taranga, the mother of Māui, often refer to her as coming from "the land of the mānāpau trees." See Patricia Grace, 'Wāhine Toa: Women of Māori myth', in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Mārama 5: Contemporary Māori writing – Te Tōrino*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1996, p.280.
[46] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.8.
[47] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.9.

referred to in Jane Stafford and Mark Williams' book, *Maoriland*.[48] But more relevant to 'Te Taiaha' are the numerous modern stories by Māori authors that show Māori people feeling out of place, or like manene, in (certain parts of) their own land. Books like Grace's *Baby no-eyes*[49] highlight the disconnection between Pākehā hospitals and tikanga Māori. Taylor's 'Sad Joke on a Marae'[50] shows how some Māori feel out of place even in the Māori context of a marae, due to the history of cultural oppression that has left them distanced from their own land and their own language. 'Te Taiaha' has Tama, a modern Māori boy, reconnecting with his Māori heritage[51] when he visits the parallel world of the Tūrehu. Here he is a manene, but he is never made to feel "out of place". In fact, because of his familiarity with tikanga Māori, he is able to fit in with the Tūrehu, whose own customs reflect those of Tama's ancestors.

The tōtara provides a link between the two worlds of humankind and the Tūrehu, and it is also a link between the present and the past. At the start of the story, the narrator lets the reader know that the tōtara was tapu to the Tūrehu "*o mua*",[52] and later, when Tama crosses over to the Tūrehu world, we see that the inhabitants of this world still follow traditions that we associate today with a traditional Māori world. The weapons in the Tūrehu world are not guns or nuclear bombs, they are taiaha. The taniwha is depicted not as a symbolic idea or mythical creature but as a real and present threat. Kira tells Tama about an old link between the two worlds: "I ngā wā o mua i haere mai tētahi tohunga nō tōu ao ki konei. Ka haramai mā te tōtara. He matakite ia."[53] This reminds the reader of how Tama's own world functioned, before colonisation, as a Māori world, where matakite were an accepted part of society. The matakite from Tama's own world also knew of the power of the tōtara. His prophecy was as follows:

[48] Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand literature 1872-1914*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2006.
[49] Patricia Grace, *Baby no-eyes*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1998.
[50] Cited above.
[51] While many Māori describe Tūrehu as a distinct iwi, separate from Māori, some Māori claim to share whakapapa with Tūrehu, as noted by Hapakuku Ruia of Te Rarawa. In any case, the Tūrehu in Keane's story certainly provide a way for Tama to connect with his Māoritanga. See Hapakuku Ruia of Te Rarawa, in 'History And Traditions of the Taranaki Coast', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 16, 3, 63, (September, 1907), p.134.
[52] [emphasis mine]
[53] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.9.

Tērā te taniwha te haere mai nei,

Mā te tōtara, mā te manene, ka mate rā[54]

The story again draws from Māori traditions in depicting Patu, who is a kaiwhakairo.[55] The Tūrehu are deeply connected to the traditions of rākau[56] and whakairo, and Patu assures Tama that he will be able to carve a taiaha from the tōtara branch in just one night: "te Tūrehu, he iwi mōhio ki te whakairo rākau."[57] The Tūrehu world seems to have once been linked to a pre-colonial Māori world, but at the start of this story the links have been severed, and the two worlds have lost contact until Tama crosses over via the tōtara tree.[58] This connection to a Māori past is made quite clear when Kira tells Tama the name of her world: "Te ao o Nehe."[59] The world is initially presented as a kind of parallel universe, but its name literally means 'the world of ancient times'. This raises the question: Is Tama's journey to the Tūrehu world actually a journey back in time? if so, the analogy could be that modern Māori youth have, like Tama, lost their connection to their ancestors and need to rediscover it, but the text makes it clear that this is not the case. In his own world, Tama is interested in learning mau rākau. In the Tūrehu world, he is confident about how to correctly follow tikanga, knowing, for example, the appropriate times to hongi with Kahu and Kira. In fact, Tama's connection with his Māoritanga is like the key that enables him to cross over to the Tūrehu world and successfully fulfil his destiny there. Alhough the two worlds that Tama moves between represent a Māori past and a Māori present, this story (like 'He Tino Kino') shows how the worlds of past and present can overlap and combine. In 'Te Taiaha', the two worlds are reconnected by Tama. The story affirms the value of both personal transformation and the use of tikanga in modern contexts. Both Tama and the tōtara are

[54] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.9.
[55] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.9.
[56] There are parallels between this story and the pakiwaitara about Mataora and Niwareka. Mataora falls in love with a Tūrehu girl, Niwareka, and travels to the underworld to find her. While there, he is taught the process of tā moko by a Tūrehu expert, and he returns to Te Ao Tūroa with this knowledge. See Reed, pp.97-101.
[57] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.10.
[58] There is a natural connection between Tūrehu and the ngahere. Hoani Nahe describes Ngāti-Tūrehu as a hapū belonging to the iwi Patupaiarehe. He describes how the Patupaiarehe lived in the ngahere, a distinct though elusive group and different from Māori: "No reira mai rano ka takoto wehe mai enei ingoa iwi e rua, &c., me tangata Maori. E tutaki ana ano te iwi nei kit e tangata Maori i roto i te ngaherehere. E rangona atu ana, e korero haere ana, e whakaō haere ana, e kore ia e tino tutaki kia tu atu kia tu mai, kia tititro atu kia titiro mai, heoti anake ano ko te rangona atu anake e kororerero haere ana, e whakao haere ana, te kitea atu, te aha!" See Hoani Nahe, 'Maori, Tangata Maori. / Maori, And Tangata Maori', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 3, 1, (March, 1894), p.29.
[59] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.9.

"fashioned" into something new in this Tūrehu world. The taiaha that Patu carves is perfect in Tama's eyes, "He māmā, he kaha",[60] and through receiving this taiaha, Tama begins to see himself in a new light. Like the taiaha, Tama is adaptable and strong; he accepts his role as the saviour of the Tūrehu and prepares to confront the taniwha.

This story, like 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', is a kind of *bildungsroman*, and the passage into adulthood is itself a kind of passage from one world to another. At the beginning of the story, Tama is clearly defined by his youth. His mother won't let him do mau rākau, and even his name, Tama, means 'boy'. Tama still feels like a boy when he crosses over into the Tūrehu world and when he tells Kira that he is not the right person to fight the taniwha, "He wairangi koe. He tama ahau."[61] However, when Tama receives his taiaha, he immediately becomes more adult. He is captured by the ngārara and taken to the cave of the taniwha Kaitangata as a prisoner, but even under these frightening circumstances, Tama is protective of Kira, telling her,"e oma."[62] He is unsure of himself when he meets Kahu, Kira's father and the ariki of the Tūrehu, in the taniwha's dungeon. He tells Kahu what he had already told Kira: "he tama noa iho ahau."[63] But Kahu treats Tama with the respect he would give a fellow warrior, telling him the truth about his own fate at the hands of Kaitangata, "ka kainga koe."[64] Tama is still in the no-man's-land between boyhood and maturity when he faces Kaitangata, but at the last minute, he is empowered by a reconnection with the tōtara. Kira appears and throws Tama his taiaha. For a second time, the tōtara transforms Tama, and he leaps into action, defeating the taniwha and the ngārara, liberating the Tūrehu, and saving their land, which has been damaged by Kaitangata's mine.[65] The taiaha is also a physical manifestation of the powerful changes that are happening within Tama. It burns with a fire that is a physical manifestation of Tama's own ihi: "kātahi ka puta mai te ahi kahurangi i te taiaha."[66] When Kahu is set free, he expresses the significance of Tama's

[60] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.10.
[61] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.9.
[62] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.11.
[63] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.11.
[64] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.11.
[65] There is an implicit reference here to the links between tree symbolism and environmentalism. Kaitangata is exploiting the land for material gains, and his capitalist aspirations have led him to become a dictator and to enslave a whole race of people. But Kaitangata fears the power of Tama's taiaha. The symbolic power of trees, as representative of environmental activism (and the uprising of the oppressed), is made actual in 'Te Taiaha', where the tree, in taiaha form, is a real physical threat to Kaitangata. It represents the salvation of the environment and of the people.
[66] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.12.

actions in an accolade that also emphasises the ongoing relationship between past, present, and future, "Ka maumaharatia koe i ngā waiata, me ngā kōrero mō ake tonu atu."[67] Tama has been transformed, and he has transformed the Tūrehu world. He has left his childhood behind, and now he must leave this world behind too: "Kia tō anō te rā, e kore e taea te hoki atu."[68] "Tama" has become a "tāne".

Keane named all his characters carefully. "Tama" and "Kaitangata" have very obvious connotations, and the names of the other characters, Tūrehu people, all relate to Tama's destiny with the taiaha. "Kira" means 'prickly' or 'sharp' – her name seems to link her to the taiaha itself – and "Patu" is another traditional weapon. These two characters quite literally arm Tama with his taiaha – Patu when he carves the weapon from the tōtara branch and Kira when she throws the taiaha to Tama at the crucial moment. Kahu means 'cloak' or 'to put on clothes', and there is a connection here with Kahu's position as a rangatira, who would often wear ornate cloaks. Furthermore, it is he who prepares Tama mentally and emotionally for his great task. Kahu "cloaks" Tama in the confidence he needs to complete his quest by slaying Kaitangata, telling him "He ngākau toa nōu."[69] Mead points out that Māori people have traditionally given names to landmarks within the natural world, trees included. He describes these named landmarks as a "cultural grid over the land which provides meaning, order and stability to human existence. Without the fixed grid of name features we would be total strangers on the land – lost souls with nowhere to attach ourselves."[70] Tama "attaches" himself to the world of the Tūrehu when he finds his place in their world as the mānene warrior. The destiny he needs to fulfil is signalled to him (and to the reader) by the names of the characters he meets.

The story ends after Tama has been led by Kira back to the tōtara, when she tells him how to return to his own land: "me piki koe i te tōtara. Kāti ōu karu, ā kātahi ka hoki koe ki tōu whenua."[71] Tama will not ever be able to return to the Tūrehu world,[72] just as he will not be able to return to his former, more immature self after what he has achieved. Back in his

[67] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.12.
[68] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.12.
[69] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.11.
[70] Mead, 'Ngā Timunga', p.200.
[71] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.13.
[72] Most Māori stories that transition between Te Ao Tūroa and Rarohenga include a point in the narrative where the underworld is closed off forever. The narrative of Mataora and Niwareka is one example of this. See Reed, pp.97-101.

mother's house, in his own world, at first all seems to be as it was. However, Tama's new maturity is still represented by the rākau he holds in his hand, the manifestation of the powerful new self he has discovered.[73] His mother asks, "E Tama, nō hea taua taiaha rā?",[74] and he replies, "Auē. E kore koe e whakapono whaea."[75] There is a double meaning in this answer. Not only would Tama's mother find it hard to believe that he has crossed over to another world, she might also find it hard to accept that her child has left behind his boyhood and become a young man.

'Te Taiaha' presents rākau as both transformative and rooted in tradition. The main character is bonded to the rākau through fate and physical connection with the taiaha, and a connection is also made through literary device – his name, Tama, is alliterative with the taiaha, the tōtara tapu and the Tūrehu (and even with the word "taniwha"). In presenting this parallel world that initially appears fantastical and yet is steeped in genuine Māori tradition, Keane creates for his reader an environment that is familiar and yet also strange and exciting. 'Te Taiaha' is a return to Te Ao o Nehe (quite literally), but the message of the text is that the past is completely relevant to the present and shapes our future development. For Tama, being comfortable with tikanga Māori allows him to succeed in meeting the challenges of a new world, and his connection with the past is what leads him to discover a new, more mature, sense of self.

He tangata rerekē

In 'Te Taiaha', we saw a journey to a different world that initially appeared to be in a different "universe" or dimension from our own. However, the text also raised the possibility that Tama's journey was a journey through time rather than space. In fact, both the stories discussed so far in this chapter have involved a sense of overlapping worlds rather than a direct journey from one world to another. As Ihimaera has pointed out, the texts of Māori authors often present, not two separate worlds (where one is "self" and one is "other"), but rather two intersecting worlds, which are both known and which revolve around and

[73] This transportation has its roots in tikanga Māori. In Māori tradition, a person's wairua can leave their body during sleep and float around independently. Keri Hulme's *The bone people* describes it like this: "It was that hour before dawn when souls are least attached to bodies ... [t]he eery hour when dreams are real." See Keri Hulme, *The bone people,* London, Pan, 1986, p.428.
[74] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.13.
[75] Keane, 'Te Taiaha', p.13.

through one another.[76] 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere' is a story that initially presents the human world as separated from the forest world, making the forest world a kind of "other" (rerekē), but as the narrative progresses, Hurihia Tomo takes the reader and her characters on a learning journey where, ultimately, they are brought to see and appreciate the intersection of these worlds. This intersection is reflected in the style of storytelling, which weaves together the worlds of physical reality and spirituality in a narrative space where both are legitimate and the two are compatible. Like the two stories discussed above, this one draws attention to the concept of the past and the present. In this text, the passing of time provides an opportunity for healing and reconnection – it allows the balance to be restored between the human characters and the iwi of the ngahere, who appear to be Tūrehu or Patupaiarehe. This story also draws attention to the connection between past and present because it is set in the past. As with 'Te Taiaha', the past that is shown in this story is a Māori past, a past where colonisation has not occurred and Tūrehu/Patupaiarehe are the kaitiaki of the ngahere.

The forest in 'He Taonga' is initially presented as a quite alien, "other" world. Hineata, the main character, sees a fire burning in the forest and is overwhelmed with a desire to go to it: "ka tupu ake i a ia te hiahia ki te whai atu i te mea rā."[77] But wherever she goes in the forest, the fire eludes her. It transpires that the fire is a tohu, intended to lure Hineata, created by the people who live in the forest world. These people are like a kind of Tūrehu or Patupaiarehe, though these words are never actually used to describe them – they are simply referred to as "tāngata tino rerekē"[78] or even as "te ngahere",[79] as if they and the forest were one holistic organism. They are unfamiliar to Hineata, and they look different from her own people: "Ka tū ohorere a ia i te putanga mai o ētahi tāngata tino rerekē."[80] The description in the text of Hineata's urgent desire to reach the mysterious fire is reminiscent of the the Will o' the Wisp image found throughout English literary history and of the Greek siren's song used to lure sailors to their doom. In Māori tradition, Tūrehu/Patupaiarehe are said to have a similar effect. They are always described as being very different physically

[76] Ihimaera, 'Maori Perspective', p.54.
[77] Tomo, p.29.
[78] Tomo, p.30.
[79] Tomo, p.30.
[80] Tomo, p.29.

from tangata Māori and as being simultaneously evasive and magnetic.[81] The word "Tūrehu" implies elusiveness. These people "tū" in the "rehu" – they abide in the mist. But the meaning of "rehu" extends to more than simply 'mist', it can also mean 'to disappear', or it can denote a sense of foreboding. Hineata is lured into the realm of the forest, which is a kind of other world on the fringes of the world that she knows. The reader shares a sense of foreboding with Hineata as she comes into contact with these forest-folk – something irreversible is going to happen.

Hineata is taken by the forest folk against her will, "hei mōkai",[82] to the great distress of her family: "Ka pōuri hoki tōna iwi."[83] At this point in the story, the interior of the forest appears unfamiliar and dangerous – Hineata and her people do not feel that they belong there. However, Hineata's people, as an iwi who live on the edge of the ngahere, do possess some knowledge of the forest dwellers. As discussed throughout this thesis, the ngahere traditionally provided food, rongoā, wood for buildings, tools, weapons, and warmth, and much more for those iwi who lived in and around it. In this text, the access that Hineata's people have to the forest is not made explicit, but the reader can draw conclusions from clues within the text about their relationship with the forest and the mysterious people who live there. When Hineata's brother, Tūmāia, returns from the forest after a fruitless search for his sister, their father sees a bird's feather resting upon his shoulder. He accepts this symbol as the final word of the forest people: "kua riro tana tamāhine i te ngahere."[84] This implies that the two peoples have some kind of understanding that enables them to coexist alongside one another, and it proves that they understand the same symbolic language. The finality of this message also implies that the forest people hold the power in this particular situation. Hineata is ultimately allowed to return to her whānau, but she must leave behind the twin daughters she has borne to the rangatira of the forest. Her brother decides to send a war party into the forest to retrieve the mokopuna, but once there, the warriors quickly lose heart: "ka tae rātou ki te ngahere tūturu, arā, te ngahere hōhonu, ka haere mai te āwangawanga."[85] The warriors do spot the twins, away up high in the trees, but the two

[81] Reed, p.192.
[82] Tomo, p.29.
[83] Tomo, p.30.
[84] Tomo, p.30. Hineata's father is "reading" the signs of the forest here, just as Kiwi does in 'He Tino Kino Tona Pai'.
[85] Tomo, p.30.

quickly jump away and evade capture. The forest is a confusing place for Tūmāia and Hineata's people – it is dark and mysterious, a "wāhi kino",[86] and it becomes increasingly clear that the twins have become people of the forest. Tūmāia orders the return of his group. We are not told why the relationship between Hineata's people and the forest folk is in a state of unbalance, but it is clear that this is the case, and it is for this reason that Hineata was taken.[87] Her twin daughters will be the means of restoring balance. They have whakapapa to both iwi and will provide a much needed link between the two "worlds".

This story has clear associations with traditional stories about Tūrehu and Patupaiarehe (and other peoples) who Māori literature describes as living alongside ordinary Māori people in the old days and who often had supernatural powers. Such peoples were frequently associated with certain areas and landmarks, particularly forests, rivers, lakes, oceans, and mountains. In the Ngāpuhi waiata, 'He Waiata nā Parearohi', the Tūrehu woman, Parearohi, describes the meeting place of her people as a "puia manuka".[88] The worlds of Patupaiarehe are often dangerous places to venture into, although perhaps no more so than the rohe of another iwi[89] might have been. Best describes Tūrehu as "a very tapu people, and it is a bad form to interfere with them in any way."[90] However, stories such as 'He Taonga' (and the pūrākau/pakiwaitara that they draw on) often show that while attacking Tūrehu/Patupaiarehe will generally have terrible consequences, there are many benefits to having some respectful contact with them.[91] Many of these stories emphasise that if tikanga are followed and people treat each other with respect, then the intersecting worlds of different peoples can maintain a state of balance that benefits everyone.

The story ends with a reconnection between mother and daughters and also between the "worlds" of Hineata's iwi and the forest iwi. When Tūmāia returns from his quest to retrieve his iramutu, his father in his dying words tells him to stop trying to fight with the forest

[86] Tomo, p.30.
[87] This part of the story evokes the tikanga "tātau pounamu", in which a marriage is made between quarrelling iwi in order to establish peace and balance. Mead discusses this tikanga in *Tikanga Māori*, p.172.
[88] Apirana T. Ngata, 'Nga Moteatea. Part 1 (Continued)', in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 64, 4, (December, 1955), p.124.
[89] Nahe describes the Tūrehu as a hapū of the iwi Patupaiarehe. See Nahe, p.29.
[90] Elsdon Best, 'Omens and Superstitious Beliefs of the Maori. Part 1', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 7, 3, (September, 1898), pp.119-136.
[91] Despite the danger of antagonising spiritual beings, some narratives also show that particularly resourceful human beings could gain prestige, skills, and even material goods by successfully tricking the Tūrehu. The narrative about Kahukura and the net is an example of this. See Reed, pp.194-195.

people. They are "He kaitiaki pea nā Tāne"[92] and therefore deserve the respect of their human neighbours. This idea of kaitiakitanga is very important in Māori literary tradition. The forest people are not simply "the alien enemy"; they have a role to play, and they do what is necessary to maintain the natural balance of the forest.[93] The conclusion of this story emphasises how important it is to respect the tikanga of people from unfamiliar cultures, especially when you are on their "home turf" – when they are the tangata whenua. As mentioned in my introduction, when we visit someone else's marae, we must respect their tikanga.

The text is almost as mysterious as the forest people themselves in that it offers no clues about what the twins have done to restore balance or what caused the imbalance in the first place. The twins return to their human mother when she has grown into an old woman. Before they actually appear, the old Hineata senses that something is coming from the forest. The link between the human and the forest world is made when the forest is described as being so dark that it is "anō kī tonu i te ātārangi tāngata."[94] This line reflects the way the "tāngata rerekē" are presented throughout the entire story, in some ways similar to humans, but much more elusive and enigmatic – like shadows. The final lines of the story are: "I te mutunga katoa o ērā mahi ka riro katoa te pōuri o te ngahere ā, ka tau mai anō te māramatanga ki waenga i ngā rākau."[95] At the beginning, the forest appeared to be dangerous and alien, but now, at the end, it seems that light and understanding (both are conveyed by "māramatanga") are emerging from the forest. The whakataukī, "Te oranga o te tangata, he whenua / Te mārie o te tangata, he ngahere / Te kōpū o te tangata, he kai"[96] explicitly states that the forest is a source of peace for human beings. At the beginning of this story, the peace of the forest has been broken between Hineata's people and the Tūrehu/Patupaiarehe. However, the birth of the twin girls who have whakapapa connections with both groups creates a necessary link between the two overlapping worlds. The existence of these twins eventually restores the proper balance to the relationship between the forest and Hineata's iwi. After all, Tūrehu and Patupaiarehe are often described as

[92] Tomo, p.31.
[93] This links to Kiwi's discussion of kaitiakitanga in 'He Tino Kino' and highlights an implicit link between Māori people and Tūrehu.
[94] Tomo, p.31.
[95] Tomo, p.31.
[96] Jackson, p.70. (Whakataukī used by Moana Jackson)

"forest dwellers",[97] but Māori people also have a long history of living in and around the ngahere.

Balance between worlds

The three stories examined in this chapter share the theme of different or "other" worlds. However, what the discussion of each story has revealed is that those worlds are not really "othered" in these texts at all. Rather, they are presented as complementary worlds that intersect with and add richness to one another. The theme of the past intersecting with the present permeates these texts. Each of the three stories can also be seen to draw on influences from both Māori and Pākehā literature. However, while Pākehā literary connections can be identified, what is really distinctive about these stories is how they focus on Māori literary tradition and tikanga to describe very Māori worlds. All the characters in these stories are either Māori or are drawn from pre-colonial Māori tradition – "Te Ao o Nehe". What becomes apparent to the reader who engages with these three texts is the idea that in order for many different worlds to all coexist in intersecting spaces, there must be a focus on maintaining balance both within each individual world and across the boundaries that connect them. The exploration of this "different worlds" theme has also emphasised that the author of a text must find ways of connecting the worlds of their story with the world of their reader. The Huia stories allow their reader to access Māori worlds, and further Māori worlds within those Māori worlds, all coming into balance and connecting with one another in the broader world of the ngahere kōrero.

In each of the stories, the concept of balance is key and is illustrated by settings and imagery featuring rākau and ngahere. In 'He Tino Kino', this can be seen in Kiwi's condemnation of the government and their attitude towards the ngahere. Kiwi remarks on the unique untouched quality of the one small corner of the country that he and his nephew traverse:

[97] James Cowan, 'The Patu-Paiarehe. Notes on Maori Folk-Tales of the Fairy People. Part II', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 30, 3, (September, 1921), p.142.

"Waimārie ana tātou e tū tonu ana ngā rākau nei."[98] These rākau have survived the interference of the government and perhaps also that of corporations or businesses like those that have upset the balance within ngahere elsewhere in the country. In 'Te Taiaha', Tama enters a world of oppression where tyranny has replaced the natural balance, and his task is to use his taiaha, carved from a tapu tōtara, to restore that balance. In 'He Taonga', the people of the forest and the iwi who live on its fringes have lost the balance in their relationship before the story begins, and the story describes the sequence of events needed to restore that balance. The key event is the birth of twins who have whakapapa connections to both iwi, and it is they who are the "taonga nā te ngahere" of the story's title. All of these stories convey a message about the relationship between human beings and the forest, implying that humanity must take some responsibilty for maintaining the balance between the worlds of humanity and nature. They emphasise that these worlds are not and should not be separate; they should overlap and connect with one another in a balanced relationship that is mutually beneficial.

The world of the past is important in all three texts. The idea that the past is like another world is inherent in many Māori sayings. The past is often referred to as "Te Ao Kōhatu" or "Te Ao Tawhito", or, as in 'Te Taiaha a Tama', "Te Ao o Nehe". What is remarkable in these texts (and arguably in Māori world views more generally) is that while the past may be depicted as "another world", it is not "othered" in the academic sense of the word. Any scholar of indigenous studies will be accustomed to the use of the word "other" to refer to the legacy of colonial attitudes towards indigenous peoples. Feminist theorist Jane Caputi describes the "othering" process like this: "What is disowned, feared, and denied in the self is projected onto another being or group [...] The other is then stigmatized and warred against."[99] The Huia texts are aimed at an almost exclusively Māori audience, and perhaps this is why the stories about these various worlds ultimately bring them into balance with each other rather than dividing them or making one much more powerful than another. The message about the world of the past is that it is both separate from and interwoven with the world of the present. In their different ways, these stories all reflect the Māori perspective of the life journey, discussed throughout this thesis, where a person walks backwards through

[98] Tautari, p.186.
[99] Jane Caputi, *Goddesses and Monsters: women, myth, power, and popular culture*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press/Popular Press, 2003, p.14.

life, stepping into the future but looking back to the past. The stories themselves are stepping into the future, they provide contemporary Māori fiction for a new generation of Māori speakers, but their divergent narratives all present a version of the past that is valuable, necessary, and requiring respect. In 'He Tino Kino', this world of the past is seen both in the old pā site and in the mātauranga Māori that Kiwi and his nephew use to navigate their forest environment. In 'Te Taiaha a Tama', the worlds of the past and present combine to form the mature character of Tama, a modern adolescent. 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere' is set in a past world, but it is a contemporary text, and in taking its reader into this world of the past, it emphasises the compatibility of past and present worlds. The discussion of 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai' highlighted the idea that fiction is a conduit through which a reader can access the world of the past, and even potentially limitless different worlds, as they "traverse" the pages of a book.

Chapter Two looked at the theme of Māori and Pākehā interaction. Throughout this chapter (Chapter Three), there have been instances where some further exploration of that interaction has emerged during discussion of the "different worlds" theme. For example, I discussed some ways in which the stories could be seen as presenting the differences between Māori and Pākehā "worlds". The inclusion of Tūrehu in two of these three stories could be seen to reflect some of the divisions and the intersections of Māori and Pākehā worlds. In kōrero pūrākau, Patupaiarehe or Tūrehu were presented as a distinct iwi (not Māori), and although the kōrero predate European–Māori contact, they often describe a people who share physical characteristics with Pākehā, namely, fair skin and fair or reddish hair.[100] In the years following first contact, Pākehā were occasionally described by Māori as a kind of Tūrehu or "Pākehakeha".[101] 'He Tino Kino' does not include Tūrehu, but Kiwi does refer to the "Pākeha" government, and in discussing the significance of his name, "Kiwi", I looked at ways in which that Māori word has been co-opted by many Pākehā in mainstream New Zealand discourse. This chapter has also explored some places where a story can be

[100] Elsdon Best, 'Tuhoe: The children of the mist: III.—(Continued)', T*he Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 23, 2, (June, 1914), p. 98.
[101] It seems likely that the word, "Pākehā" is derived from "Pākehakeha" who were other beings, similar to Tūrehu or Patupaiarehe. See Te Ara Encyclopedia Website, 'The Word Pakeha', [Internet], [accessed 4 December 2012], available from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/maori-pakeha-pakeha-maori/2.

read as showing a Pākehā literary influence.[102] Keane's story could also be read as an allegory for colonisation. Are Kaitangata and his ngarara followers the colonisers of the Tūrehu people – a monarch and his army? Or does that question project familiar Pākehā literature and imagery onto this essentially Māori story? All three of these stories take us to *Māori* worlds. The people of the ngahere may have elements in common with the English Will o' the Wisp or the Greek siren, and Tūrehu may have been connected with Pākehā people in other texts by other authors, but all three of the stories discussed in this chapter draw from literary tradition and iwi history that goes back to well before Māori contact with Pākehā literature.

As the quotes from Grace and Baker at the beginning of this chapter show, Māori writers do often walk with one foot in a Pākehā world and one in a Māori world. However, rather than privileging Māori perspectives in *opposition* to Pākehā ones (as in 'He Rarurarau'), these three stories present a Māori perspective as the normal way of seeing the world(s). They show that respect for the "other" can offer a positive way forward. Te Punga Somerville has suggested the term: "Always Already Aotearoa"[103] to describe literature which recognises the undeniable impact of the English language and Western cultures on the tangata whenua and yet emphasises and "consciously orientates itself towards" the indigeneity of Aotearoa, leaving behind the compulsion to constantly engage in dialogue with the coloniser. The ways in which "otherness" (or more specifically, "other worlds") are presented in these stories highlights the Māori perspective of their writers. Although these "other worlds" are presented as parallel to the everyday world, the authors seem to be ultimately pointing out that they are not really *other* worlds, they simply expand the range of perspectives and experiences that are inherent to our own. They are Aotearoa too. All things are related, and the ngahere is a perfect image to convey this diversity of interconnected "others". Trees in the forest subsist and flourish both as individuals and as part of a larger unit. A forest is home to different layers of growth and different ecosystems, all existing alongside each other, often in symbiotic (mutually beneficial) relationships. According to tikanga Māori,

[102] The world-crossing tōtara tree in Keane's story is reminiscent of the wardrobe in C.S. Lewis's *Narnia* books, in which, like Tama, the children are "mānene" to the mythical inhabitants of Narnia. Furthermore, Tama's taiaha gives him power and helps him on his journey to adulthood just as Peter's sword does in the Narnia series. See C.S. Lewis, *The lion, the witch and the wardrobe*, London, Collins Children's Books, 1998.
[103] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.47.

human beings should also live in balance with the forest, which, at least from the human viewpoint, was always, already, here in Aotearoa.

Some Conclusions:

Kei te kāpunipuni e tiro iho nei

"There was in the meeting-house a wood quiet. It was the quiet of trees that have been brought in out of the wind, whose new-shown limbs reach out, not to the sky but to the people [...] It is a watching quiet because the new-limbed trees have been given eyes with which to see. It is a waiting quiet, the ever-patient waiting that wood has, a patience that has not changed since the other tree life. But this quiet is outward only, because within this otherness there is a sounding, a ringing, a beating, a flowing greater than the tree has ever known before"[1]

Potiki by Patricia Grace

Looking down on the rākau kōrero

It is easy to get lost in a forest of literature. When I began writing this thesis, and when you began reading it, we were standing on the forest floor surrounded by many rākau, many stories, and we left the introduction with a seed in hand – a seed that was yet to grow into its own rākau kōrero: this thesis. The kōrero that our seed would grow into would give us something to attach ourselves to, a focus within the broad forest of Māori literature to guide us and ground us. As the rākau kōrero developed, chapter by chapter, we saw it grow tall, reach out its branches to other rākau, and even produce its own blooms and fruit. Now we sit among the top branches of the rākau, "kei te kāpunipuni e tiro iho nei", and use this new vantage point to look down on the many branches that we climbed in order to reach this place. Each of the chapters has represented a stage in the growth of the rākau kōrero, and

[1] Grace, *Potiki,* p.87.

the chapter titles have reflected this. We introduced the kaupapa (the forest floor) in the introduction: 'He Ngahere Kōrero'; we moved forward with a seed to plant, and Chapter One was its germination: 'He Kākano'. In Chapter Two, we experienced the vitality of the tree: 'He Rākau Ora'; and Chapter Three added a completely new element to our kōrero as it bloomed: 'He Pūāwaitanga'. In these concluding pages, we position ourselves not as witnesses to the "end" of the kōrero (this rākau is still growing) but rather as viewers, looking down from the forest canopy and taking in all that we can see from this new perspective.

This final section of the thesis will reflect on how the process of the close reading has been used, consider what my methodological approach has contributed to the field of Māori language literary studies, and indicate areas that require further exploration. It will look at the significance of whakapapa as a broad concept that is essential to the Huia stories and their authors and consider the potential for literary critics to draw on this concept as the basis for a methodological framework. It will summarise the conversations in the body of the thesis about the potential audience of these texts. It will describe how this thesis has expolored rākau and ngahere symbolism by focusing on "what" and "how" – the content of the texts and the ways in which that content functions – rather than on "why" the rākau/ngahere motif appears so often. It will also revisit the three thematic chapters and consider what has been gained by grouping the stories in terms of these themes. This thesis has responded to a need for more critical work about Māori language literature and, ultimately, this concluding section will aim to identify the spaces where new critical conversations can begin. I, as the writer of this thesis, and you, as the readers, now have a view of the Huia stories that differs from the view we had when we started, and from our position in the canopy, we can also take in a new vista of the wider forest of Māori literature.

Close reading

In my introduction, I noted that one of the threads common to the disciplines of Māori Studies (particularly Te Reo Māori Studies) and English Literature was the focus on examining texts through the process of close reading. The methodology of this thesis was rooted in my close readings of the Huia texts. I engaged in these close readings both before

writing this thesis and as I wrote it. This involved reading individual words, sentences, and larger chunks of text for their surface meaning, and it also involved thinking about them in context – intratextually (how each part of a text relates to other parts of that same text), intertextually (how each text or part of a text relates to other texts that belong to the same group/s), and at times, metatextually (how a text can provide critical commentary on another text). A key benefit of this approach is that all my interpretations of the texts are grounded in and exemplified by those particular texts. Even though they are based on close readings, my interpretations are subjective and open to discussion. They are in no way intended as final conclusions. The possible interpretations I have explored leave the texts open to further exploration, further close readings, and further possible interpretations.

Te Punga Somerville emphasises the benefits of close reading, saying that

> reflecting for a while on one specific story, and in turn on the layers of stories surrounding the one story, provides an opportunity to explore and interrogate the strands of narrative around a specific articulation of – what I believe to be – a theory of history.[2]

This thesis has given considerable attention to "the layers of stories surrounding the one story" by looking at how other texts by Māori authors, in both English and Māori, influence and interact with the Huia short stories. Examples include the discussion of urbanisation as a theme within 'Kōtiro' (Chapter One), which led to a search for other Māori texts to illustrate the variations in Māori experiences of urban life, and the discussion of how Tūrehu are depicted in 'Te Taiaha a Tama' and 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere' (Chapter Three), both of which draw on kōrero pūrākau. My close reading process has also involved comparing some of the Huia texts with others. This was often facilitated by the thematic nature of the chapters (for example, the focus on Māori and Pākehā interaction in Chapter Two led to a comparison between the empowered kauri of 'He Raruraru' and the isolated old man of 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia'), but there were also comparisons that crossed the chapter divisions. The use of personified rākau in 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', 'Te Wehenga o ngā Rākau', and 'He Raruraru' led to a discussion of personification as a device linked to oral Māori tradition and

[2] Te Punga Somerville, ''The Historian who Lost his Memory': A story about stories'. *Te Pouhere Kōrero 3: Māori history, Māori people.* Wellington, Te Pouhere Kōrero, 2009, p.64.

to questions about whether the use of the term "personification" was appropriate for a Māori language text.

The focus on close reading has also led me to carry out some close readings of the thesis itself: of my own writing. In this final section, from my new perspective in the forest's canopy, I can look back on the preceding text and see how rākau and ngahere symbolism has functioned within it and how this symbolism has been influenced by the Huia stories. I can see that I have drawn on the symbolism of rākau both deliberately and accidentally, for example, in using words like "seed", "roots", and "planting" as repeated metaphors. In the first chapter especially, the idea of "roots" was central to the discussion of "points of origin". Chapter One also involved deconstructing the term "kōrero pūrākau" and conjectured about the deeper symbolism of those words. The bilingual approach of this thesis has also revealed some definitive points of difference between a Māori word and the accepted English equivalent, showing that often these words are not equivalents at all. A pertinent example is my use of the words "tree" and "rākau" – despite making no conscious decision to do so, I have used them in different ways. The word "rākau" encompasses much more than "tree". A "tree" in this thesis has always conveyed simply the tree itself, but the word "rākau" has alluded to the connotations of weapon, of tool, of walking stick, of atua, of penis, and more. This close reading of my own language use may well reveal my own perspective, prejudices, and polemic, but I do not claim to be objective, and the approach I have used develops an existing conversation about the way the word "rākau" functions in te reo Māori.

Te Punga Somerville unpacks the term "rākau" with her close reading of the whakataukī that is also the title of her thesis about Māori writing in English: "Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou ka ora ai te iwi. Nāu te rākau, nāku te rākau ka mate te hoariri".[3] This whakataukī is generally used to describe the benefits of working together: By your food basket and by mine, the iwi will flourish. By your weapon and by mine, the enemy will die. Te Punga Somerville extends this meaning to show how it can apply to the work of Māori writers. She links the woven rourou (the food basket) to the methodological process of academic research and, within the realms of her project, defines it as the "theoretical/critical offerings, orientations, and perspectives."[4] She then goes on to discuss the meaning of the rākau in the whakataukī. She

[3] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.i.
[4] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.25.

points out that this second part of the whakataukī is heard much less often than the widely quoted first section, perhaps because of the violent associations of the rākau as a "weapon": "We might imagine that if a rakau is a weapon, then it might mean limitations, inhibitions, barriers when it is counterpointed with rourou (possibilities)."[5] But Te Punga Somerville notes that rākau can signify a tool as well as a weapon, and that as a tool-weapon it "might not only be destructive but also generative and creative."[6] She uses the term in her study to denote the weapon that is used against the hoariri, or the "threats, limitations, and dangers that challenge certain modes of critical inquiry."[7] If we recontextualise Te Punga Somerville's interpretation of the whakataukī to refer to Māori writers writing in Māori, and specifically the Huia authors, how might these terms apply? I think of the rourou in these stories as being the foods as well as the baskets that hold them. The baskets, as Te Punga Somerville suggests, can be seen as the perspectives and possibilities that the authors present – the Māori world views that contain the narrative nourishment. The stories themselves are the food: "Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero."[8] The rākau in the whakataukī can represent, as they do in Te Punga Somerville's interpretation, the tools or weapons that are employed to combat the barriers to enquiry. In relation to the Huia stories, these barriers could include the challenges of writing in te reo Māori (for example, the audience is smaller and fewer models of writing exist than in English), or the mainstream New Zealand rhetoric that restricts Māori language or Māori creative endeavour (discussed in Chapter Two). In another sense, though, the rākau could be seen as the tools that are used to create the pieces of writing and to carve out the narrative content. They are the words, forms, and language devices that every writer has in their personal toolkit for expressing their ideas effectively. In the context of these Māori language texts, the rākau also include the authors' proficiency and confidence in te reo, which make them willing and able to create Māori language literature.

[5] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.26.
[6] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.27.
[7] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.27.
[8] Māori.org Website, *Customs /Traditions - Korero - Spoken Word*, [Internet], [accessed 10 December 2012], available from http://www.maori.org.nz/tikanga/default.php?pid=sp100&parent=95.

The word "rākau" is used to signify 'tool' within the Huia collections, for example, in 'He Reta mā Taku Huia Kaimanawa' by Mōrehu Nikora.[9] The narrator says, "ko ngā rākau hou o te parawhakawai mā te kaihautū mō āpōpō"[10] and here, "rākau" can be translated as 'tools' or 'skills'.[11] Te Punga Somerville points out the famous use of the word "rākau" with this "tool" association in Tā Apirana Ngata's famed whakatauākī:

> E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tō ao
> Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau o te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana
> Ko te ngākau ki ngā taonga o ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō to mahunga[12]

The authors of the Huia stories, then, follow Ngata's advice as they draw from Pākehā "tools"[13] to tell stories that derive from their Māori world, are descended from their Māori ancestors, and use their Māori language – which is, of course, a precious "taonga o ngā tīpuna Māori."

The word "ngahere" gains a new meaning that is very relevant to literary studies when we break it down into its two root words, "ngā here" ("the connections"). Connection is what the forest of literature, as described by Sullivan and Whaitiri, is all about. This thesis has explored the connections or associations that rākau/ngahere imagery evokes for the reader, the ways in which this imagery connects with Māori and non-Māori literature, the connections that the Huia authors have to their ancestors and to their contemporaries, and the ways in which these rākau kōrero reach out to potential new Māori authors. Arguably, the central purpose of a published story is to connect – to connect with a reader and to convey meaning to them by drawing on the common associations (connections) shared by writer and reader. The close reading approach of this thesis has affirmed the presence of those connections in these stories and led me to explore several interpretations of them. This thesis has focused on the ngahere kōrero – the forest of Māori stories – as a dynamic organism, and it has also focused on *ngā here* kōrero – the many connections which sustain and extend the forest of literature, whether as roots, branches, vines, or explosions of seed.

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[9] Mōrehu Nikora, 'He Reta mā Taku Huia Kaimanawa', in *Huia Short Stories 8*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2009, pp.191-196.
[10] Nikora, 'He Reta', p.194.
[11] This 'tool' definition is also used in 'Te Rau Ōriwa' by Charles Shortland. See Charles Shortland, 'Te Rau Ōriwa', in *Huia Short Stories 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2001, pp.233-238.
[12] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.26.
[13] The Te Ataarangi Māori language classes use "rākau" (cuisenaire rods) as a tool to teach people to speak Māori.

Whakapapa

One "here" that the authors I have analysed all have in common is their Māori whakapapa. They each have different experiences and perspectives, but all of their rākau kōrero are situated in the forest of Māori literature and whakapapa to the work of other Māori authors. The whakapapa of fiction written in te reo is not the same as that of English language fiction, and my close reading has revealed many connections, associations, and perspectives that are unique to texts written in te reo Māori. As we have seen, kupu Māori can express things that are simply not part of the English language,[14] and so the reader is not encouraged to translate them by using an English word that only scrapes the surface of the meaning. Rather, they are encouraged to read beneath the surface, taking into account the broader meanings of each word in te reo Māori as well as their specific meaning in context. Students of Māori language are often encouraged to think about the whakapapa of the words they use in terms of the history of te reo Māori and in terms of the morphemes that a word may have been synthesised from. The Māori language literary critic also needs to consider the whakapapa of Māori language. This kind of criticism creates space to explore the different literary genres that are part of the whakapapa of Māori literature.

Some of the stories discussed in this thesis, such as 'He Raruraru', 'Te Wehenga o Ngā Rākau', 'He Taonga Nā te Ngahere', and 'Te Taiaha a Tama', have shown a tendency to draw on traditional Māori literary genres. The influence of these literary tīpuna, which include kōrero pūrākau, waiata, and whakataukī, connects these texts with very specific, Māori lines of descent. The discussions in Chapter Two about Māori and Pākehā interaction emphasised that these texts have origins in Pākehā literature too. An exploration of how the Huia collections themselves have been classified provides an example of the two overlapping cultural influences seen throughout the Huia collections. When the Pikihuia competition first began, the resulting texts were published in two separate books, one in Māori, *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia, 1995*,[15] and one in English, *Huia Short Stories, 1995*.[16] The stories were published in this manner until 2001, and since then nearly all the stories, in both English and

[14] For example, when an author uses words such as "mana" or "whakamā" (which have been adopted into the New Zealand English vocabulary) in a Māori language text, these words sit comfortably among other kupu Māori.
[15] Huia Publishers, *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia, 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995.
[16] Huia Publishers, *Huia Short Stories, 1995*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1995.

Māori, have been grouped together with an English language title: *Huia Short Stories*. In 2007, there was a return to the separate publication of a Māori language book: *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 4*,[17] but in the subsequent years, Huia have again published only a single book with an English language title. This labelling requires further discussion. What does it say to readers, authors, and critics when Huia decides to combine all these stories under an *English* language name? Are they privileging those Māori authors who write in English, or is it merely a marketing strategy, given that the English speaking audience is potentially larger than the Māori language audience? The choice to combine these English and Māori language texts could also represent a coming together of Māori authors who write in both languages; just as Māori written literature shows a combination of influences from te taha Māori and te taha Pākehā, so the Huia collections provide a meeting point for texts in the two languages. A further question: what do the collections' titles say about the genre of these stories? A pakiwaitara is not necessarily the same thing as a short story. Although the pakiwaitara genre could be a potential influence or even genre category for many of these stories, it does not fit all of them, and many don't fit neatly into the short story category either. One of the Māori language stories, 'Hārore Pārore: Tamaiti-Nanakia',[18] is written in rhyming stanzas, much like a poem or a modern waiata.[19] This text pushes the boundaries of both the short story and the pakiwaitara genre categories. Perhaps the difficulty of attempting to classify these texts within either a Māori or an English literary genre results from the intertwining influences of both cultures.[20] This thesis has explored the crossover of genres in some of the Huia texts and has created space for further discussion of these categories – the authors of the Huia texts are pushing the boundaries of literary genre categories and potentially even creating new genres of their own.

Chapter Three expanded on definitions of literature by drawing on Teaiwa's theory of the "poly-genesis"[21] of modern Pacific literature, which suggests including whakairo, tā moko,

[17] This book also contains some of the stories, published for a second time, that appeared in *Huia Short Stories 4, Huia Short Stories 5, and Huia Short Stories 6.* See Huia Publishers, *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2007.
[18] Charisma Rangipuna, 'Hārore Pārore: Tamaiti-Nanakia', in *Ngā Pakiwaitara a Huia 4*, Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2007, pp.45-48.
[19] This text is not discussed at length in this thesis because it does not contain rākau symbolism.
[20] Knudsen discusses how indigenous literature is often "both/and" rather than "either/or". These stories can be seen as both short stories and pakiwaitara. See Knudsen, p.322.
[21] Teresia Teaiwa, 'Roots of Pacific Literature (seminar)', SEFTMS Department, Victoria University of Wellington, September 2009.

and other visual art forms as types of texts, texts which are among the literary ancestors of modern Māori stories. This argument strengthens the claim made in my introduction that the term "literature" can be applied to a wide variety of texts, not just to written texts. It also raises questions about the apparent dearth of tertiary level classes that teach the critical study of modern Māori language literature. In the introduction, I listed several possible arenas where critics may be engaging in this study outside of academia, and I also noted the emphasis on close reading in tertiary level Māori language classes and the publication of books discussing karanga and whaikōrero. But when we begin to consider creative processes like tā moko and whakairo as ancestors of text-based literature, or even as texts in their own right, we realise that there is an existing area of scholarship that is highly relevant to the field of Māori language literature. There are already many academic studies of these textual tīpuna,[22] and my thesis has suggested the potential to incorporate mātauranga about visual Māori art forms into the study of written texts.

The concept of whakapapa also has potential as a framework for literary criticism. Western scholars such as Jung[23] and Barthes[24] have theorised about the ways in which cultural connections and relationships can affect social and literary studies. But what happens if we look to *Māori* critical frameworks to help us construct methodological approaches for researching and discussing Māori literature? Thinking critically about the impact of literary tīpuna on modern Māori literature can lead us to consider whakapapa as a potential framework for a Māori-centred methodological approach to literary criticism. Jon Lois Battista uses a whakapapa paradigm to examine English-language Māori literature in his thesis: 'Me He Korokoro Kōmako: With the throat of a bellbird: a Māori aesthetic in Māori writing in English'.[25] In my own Honours dissertation on *Te Ātea*, I drew from Charles Royal's paper on whakapapa as a methodological approach,[26] using the concept of whakapapa to

[22] For example: Rawinia Higgins, 'He Tānga Ngutu, He Tūhoetanga. Te mana motuhake o te tā moko wāhine: The identity politics of moko kauae', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2004; and A. T. Hakiwai, 'Te toi whakairo o Ngāti Kahungunu: The carving traditions of Ngāti Kahungunu', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2003.
[23] Carl Jung, 'Healing the Split', in *The Symbolic Life: The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989, p.253.
[24] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text,* New York, Hill and Wang, 1977, p.148.
[25] Jon Lois Battista, 'Me he korokoro kōmako: 'With the throat of a bellbird': a Māori aesthetic in Māori writing in English', PhD, University of Auckland, 2004.
[26] Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal, 'Te Ao Mārama – A Research Paradigm', in Te Pūmanawa Hauora, ed., *Te Oru Rangahau: Maori research and development conference*. Palmerston North, Massey University, 1998, pp.78-86.

help identify and position the connections and relationships that the reader of *Te Ātea* drew on as they deciphered the text's meaning. I also drew on Arini Loader's use of whakapapa (and her own references to Royal's paper) in her MA thesis on the writings of Te Rangikāheke.[27] I have not used my own interpretation of whakapapa-based methodology in this thesis, the rākau motif has itself provided the framework for my critical analysis, but the frequent interactions in the Huia stories with whakapapa as a concept, as well as my own tendency to draw on literary whakapapa throughout this thesis, has led me to conclude that this conversation needs to be extended. Critics of Māori literature are increasingly asking themselves how their perspective on that literature might change if they looked to Te Ao Māori to inform their critical approaches; adopting a whakapapa-based methodological framework could be one way for them to find out.

Audience

While whakapapa connections are often considered in terms of tīpuna and uri, whakapapa also connects people of the same generation. The authors of the Huia stories are all part of the Huia literary whānau and are reaching out to each other both as fellow authors and as an audience of Māori readers. Any discussion of Māori language literature promotes critical thought about the potential audience of the texts. As discussed in the introduction, the readership of any text written in te reo will be predominantly Māori, and this affects the stories that the authors tell and how they tell them. For Māori authors writing in English, like Patricia Grace, there may be many non-Māori readers; her books even sell well overseas.[28] The potential audience for Māori *language* literature is currently much smaller, but arguably these readers are culturally closer to the writer. What happens when Māori writers know that the great majority of their readers will be Māori people? Does this free them from the negative effects of the scenario discussed in Chapter Three, where indigenous writers may find themselves (in the words of Te Punga Somerville), "constantly repeating the moment of

[27] Arini Loader, 'Haere mai me tuhituhi he pukapuka, muri iho ka whawhai ai tātou: reading Te Rangikāheke', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2008.

[28] There is potential for further discussion of Grace's audience – could the unfamiliarity of her books' content perhaps be part of the reason she is so successful internationally? It may be that these readers feel they are getting an "authentic" view of Te Ao Māori: something completely exotic and foreign to them. Perhaps reading Grace's texts can be a genuine educational experience, exposing international readers to specific Māori realities. Or perhaps those readers appreciate her work on a different level, not needing the deeper understanding that may come with insider information.

first colonial encounter"?[29] If so, how does that freedom change their writing – what stories do they want to tell other Māori, and how do they want to tell them? This thesis has initiated some conversations that explore these questions. The discussion of 'He Raruraru' in Chapter Two, for example, not only shows how a Māori writer can tell the story of colonisation through Māori eyes but also opens up the possibility of imagining an alternative Aotearoa where colonisation by Pākehā had not been as overwhelming as it was in reality. In Chapter Three, we see how authors like Keane and Tomo can refer to Māori history and mythology to describe different worlds that overlap each other. In her book on Māori literature, Valle uses the Jungian term "numinosity", which describes an "emotional bridge or energy that can transform an archetype or symbol into more than just a name, a concept or a mere abstraction."[30] The "numinosity" that authors like Keane and Tomo draw from is founded almost exclusively on cultural connections that many Māori speakers, and Māori people in general, are aware of, but that are unfamiliar to most Pākehā. These stories are not writing back to the "Empire", they are branching out to each other.

When we consider that the audience of the Huia stories consists exclusively of people who can read te reo Māori, this thesis could be seen as important to the struggle for language revitalisation as well as to the scholarly study of Māori literature. But even if the Māori language was not currently under threat (if it was "out of the woods"), this critical work would still be valuable. Māori literature academics need not engage in what Kelly Lambert describes as a "flag-waving remarginalisation of the texts",[31] in which we spend all our time trying to defend the literature and our right to give it critical attention. What Māori writers are saying in Māori is just as valuable, just as deserving of critical attention, as what Māori writers are saying in English, or what Pākehā writers are saying in English, or indeed, what any groups of writers are saying in any language! If literature is important, then *Māori* literature is important. The Māori language functions differently from English, and some Māori language advocates have claimed that te reo Māori is the only way to truly explain or decipher Te Ao Māori. In *Te Ao Mārama 2*, Tīmoti Kāretu argues:

> Inevitably, there will be few readers able to understand what I have said, but that is a dilemma we, here in Aotearoa, have to face. The world of allusion,

[29] Te Punga Somerville, 'Nau te rourou', p.89.
[30] Valle, pp.227-228.
[31] Lambert, p.22.

> symbolism, metaphor, simile and rhetoric is available to only those few, the approximately 50 000 of a total Māori population of 400 000 who speak and understand Māori.[32]

He goes on to say that his language is "the key to the song, proverb, legend, philosophy and rhetoric of my Māori world."[33] This thesis has not focused on comparing Anglophone Māori literature to writing in te reo, but it has shown a need to unpack and assess claims like Kāretu's in terms of their relevance to the field of Māori literary studies. In the introduction, I stated my position: I believe that any Māori writer can potentially communicate an authentically Māori perspective in any language, but that doesn't cancel out the specific (and often untranslatable) elements within te reo that can describe certain facets of Māori experience in unique and valuable ways. When Kāretu says "*my* Māori world [emphasis mine]", does he mean the world as experienced by all Māori, the world as no one but he himself experiences it, or the world as it is experienced by Māori speakers? This thesis has shown that there is potential for further exploration of the ways that Māori speakers, as a group, describe "their Māori world". The fact that authors are creating literature for an audience of fluent Māori speakers affirms that those voices exist in the literary forest's "cathedral of song"[34] and are singing out to each other. The richness and diversity of content and form in the Huia stories that this thesis has explored affirms that those voices are worth listening to and worth engaging with on a critical level.

Finally, the fact that these stories were produced for an audience of adults is crucial. The Huia stories are distinctive within the forest of Māori literature because they are fiction that has been produced for an adult audience. Chapter One, the "kākano" chapter of this thesis, raised many questions about the production of Māori literature for adults. First, a discussion around the concept of "coming of age" led to new kōrero about the coming of age of Māori language literature, something that I also touched on in my introduction. Throughout this thesis there have been references to the diverse texts that form the whakapapa of Māori language literature, and we have seen that there is, and always has been, Māori language literature intended for an adult audience, such as waiata, poetry, and non-fiction texts. However, the exploration of the "coming of age" theme also emphasised the fact that today,

[32] Kāretu, p.223.
[33] Kāretu, p.226.
[34] Whaitiri and Sullivan, p.76.

children's fiction texts far outnumber adult fiction texts produced in te reo. Questions were raised about whether Māori language literature, or even Māori literature in more general terms (inclusive of English language texts) is undergoing its own coming of age. Does the production of adult fiction texts like those in the Huia collections represent a new age in the history of Māori language literature? Can we even use the term "coming of age" without belittling all the literary work that has come before these modern texts? Chapter One suggested a reframing of the term "coming of age", so that rather than signifying an adolescent peak, it could signify a shift from one era to another. This thesis cannot predict whether we will see a further increase in Māori language fiction texts for adults, but it does identify many texts produced in recent years that already fit this description. The stories at the core of this thesis are prime examples of adult fiction written in te reo Māori, and the critical attention that the thesis gives to those works affirms their relevance to a modern, adult, Māori-speaking readership.

The rākau/ngahere motif

When I was just beginning to write this thesis, I attended the celebratory book launch of the 50th year of *Te Wharekura*,[35] a Māori language school-journal-like series published by Te Pou Taki Kōrero. The pōhiri, kōrero, and kai put on by Te Pou Taki Kōrero provided an appropriate setting for me to do some preliminary thinking about Māori language literature. *Te Wharekura* and other similar government-funded publications have provided opportunities for emerging Māori writers to cut their teeth and for more experienced Māori writers to prove their worth. One of those writers, also there for the launch, was Dr Wayne Ngata from the Ministry of Education.[36] He took an interest in my topic, focusing on one question: Why is there so much rākau symbolism in Māori literature? At the time, I didn't have much to tell him; I explained that I had only just begun my research and hadn't yet reached any significant conclusions. However, we did have a very fruitful discussion – Ngata had some ideas about why rākau are so prevalent in Māori literature. The real benefit of this conversation for my work, however, was that it made me think about Ngata's question, and I later went on to ask myself whether my thesis would actually be about the "why".

[35] Migoto Eria, ed., *Te Wharekura: He Kōrero Whakamaumahara 1960-2010*, Wellington, Te Pou Taki Kōrero, 2010.

[36] Ngata is also the author of a Huia story, 'Takaroa, Takahē', which is not discussed at length in this thesis because it does not contain any specific rākau imagery. See Ngata, 'Takaroa, Takahē', pp.29-31.

Throughout the thesis, there has been some discussion that could be seen as answering that "why" question. One point Ngata emphasised in our conversation was how essential the forests were (alongside the land and the ocean) for the survival of Māori people before colonisation. This is something Moana Jackson has also written about: "The land, and the waters which gave life to it, gave life to the Māori."[37] David Eggleton points out that many early colonial Pākehā authors presented the forest, which they usually called "the bush", as a wild beast that needed to be tamed, "The forest was oppressive and land was something to be won from the enemy, nature",[38] whereas in Māori literary history, while it was sometimes a powerful and dangerous force, it was not seen as needing to be tamed but rather as deserving of respect.[39]

Some academics[40] have pointed to the effects that landscape has had on the formation of Māori social and family groupings – the divisions of iwitanga and hapūtanga within the greater grouping of Māoritanga in New Zealand. Historically, iwi and hapū were often physically separated by ngahere (as well as by mountains, rivers, lakes, oceans, valleys, and plains), and travel between these different tribal areas was often physically challenging. This contributed to the strong tribal affiliations that are so important to Māoritanga.[41] But, arguably, many Māori do feel a strong association to Māori from other iwi, even though they may prioritise their own iwi and hapū families. This provides another example of interconnecting and overlapping worlds. A Māori author is occupying several different worlds at once, and those worlds are not always separate – they overlap, they connect, they disconnect, they revolve and move and reach out to touch one another. Although a forest separating two iwi may prevent them from visiting each other often, it may also give them a similar experience of what it is like to dwell on its fringes. The forest is both an obstacle and a connection, it is both an "other" world and a part of the world that both iwi occupy. In 'He

[37] Jackson, p.71.
[38] David Eggleton and Craig Potton, *Here on Earth: The landscape in New Zealand literature*, Nelson, Craig Potton Publishing, 1999, p.11.
[39] The cultural relativity of the way we perceive physical spaces is clearly illustrated by the different ways in which Māori and Pākehā have verbally "mapped" the North Island of Aotearoa. In English we go "up" to Auckland; in Māori we go "up" to Te Upoko o te Ika, to Wellington. In this example, the same landscape is viewed as two different worlds – but these two worlds occupy the same physical space.
[40] For example, George Asher and David Naulls, *Maori Land,* Planning Paper No.29, March 1987, New Zealand Planning Council, p.4.
[41] Chapter Three noted John Rangihau's declaration that his Tūhoetanga takes precedence for him over the idea of Māoritanga.

Taonga nā te Ngahere", the forest plays this dual role, although the "other" iwi in this case is not another ordinary Māori iwi.

Building on the idea of how important the forest is to Māori (in our conversation at the *Te Wharekura* launch), Ngata pointed out to me the whakapapa connection between rākau and people: from a Māori worldview, human beings and rākau have a tuakana–teina relationship. Forests are also a kind of taonga and are specifically mentioned in the Treaty of Waitangi.[42] Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Ko te Tuarua, guaranteed "te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa".[43] The Wai 262 claim and the Mataatua declaration[44] can be seen as modern examples of the significance of ngahere to Māori. The Mataatua declaration explicitly links the exploitation of indigenous peoples to the exploitation of forests. Another aspect of the kaupapa that came up in our conversation was the ways that rākau have different significance for different iwi, for example, particular iwi often have specific metaphorical associations with particular rākau. These divergent iwi associations reflect the varying Māori perspectives in the texts themselves.

Considering all of the possible "whys" above, as well as many others that have emerged throughout this thesis, it may seem that my study has indeed provided some insight into "why" rākau symbolism is so prevalent in the Huia stories. However, from our new position – from the perspective of the kāpunipuni – we can see that none of the "reasons" identified above explain precisely *why* an author has chosen to tell a particular story or to use particular symbolism. As interesting as it may be to conjecture about the "why", it is not the task of the literary critic to read an author's mind and explain why they have written what they have written. Instead, I chose in this thesis to focus on the "what" and the "how" of rākau/ngahere symbolism in the Huia collections. By the "what", I mean precisely what is in the text in terms of content and form, and this includes all elements of the stories: the plot, the characters, recurring motifs, themes, the language used, and more. By the "how", I mean all the ways in which the selected content and form convey meaning to the reader.

[42] Article Two of the English-language Treaty guaranteed Māori "full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess." See William Hobson, James Busby, and James Stuart Freeman, 'The Treaty of Waitangi', Auckland, 1840.
[43] William Hobson, James Busby, and James Stuart Freeman, 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi', Auckland, 1840.
[44] Aroha Te Pareake Mead, 'Resisting the gene raiders: the genetic exploitation of indigenous peoples, and how they are fighting back [against bio-prospecting]', *New Internationalist*, 293, (1997), [accessed 10 December 2012], available from http://www.newint.org/issue293, p.293.

The possibilities this thesis has explored, then, are possibilities about the "how" and the "what", rather than about the "why". The fact that Aotearoa is covered with rākau, that the geographical impact of ngahere has contributed to Māori social structure, that ngahere are a taonga and are mentioned in the Treaty of Waitangi, and that Māori people have a whakapapa connection to rākau may or may not be reasons *why* these particular authors chose to include rākau imagery in their stories. However, these diverse associations with rākau have certainly affected *what* rākau-related content has been included in the text and *how* rākau imagery in the texts has conveyed meaning to the reader.

Themes

As discussed in the introduction, I based the structure of this thesis on the close reading process. This was how the focus on rākau/ngahere symbolism was established and why the three chapters were presented under thematic headings. We began with Chapter One: the theme of "points of origin". This chapter was the "kākano" of the thesis/rākau kōrero, and it explored the idea of growth alongside the points of origin in four of the Huia stories: 'Ko Kahikatea Ahau', 'Kōtiro', 'Pai Kare e Kui, Kino kē Koe!', and 'Te Wehenga o Ngā Rākau'. These varied narratives included a personified tree's search for his family origins and his consequent coming of age; the presentation of the city and the forest as opposing forces and the urbanisation process as it was experienced by Māori in the mid 20th Century; a confident return to a childhood home, where rākau were likened to people; and a modern take on the pūrākau/pakiwaitara genre that "explained" the origins of the forest. This chapter identified the "point of origin" theme in these stories and showed how an exploration of that theme within the narratives revealed some ways in which the authors are exploring their own "points of origin" as they write in the language of their tīpuna.

Chapter Two focused on the theme of 'Māori and Pākehā interaction'. This chapter discussed only two texts, 'He Rarurarau' and 'E Kore ā Muri e Hokia', but the content of these stories proved to be so rich and multilayered that they provided ample material for analysis. The chapter covered a theme that features in much modern Māori literature – colonisation – and showed how central that topic is to any discussion of Māori and Pākehā interaction. In one story, we again saw personified rākau, this time used as an allegory for Māori and Pākehā. In the other story, we looked at how wood and rākau imagery was used to explore

the concepts of life, death, and intergenerational transmission of knowledge. The interplay of Māori and Pākehā literary influences underpinned the discussion in this chapter, which provided a positive example of Māori and Pākehā interaction that affected the actual writing of the texts, in contrast to the range of negative interactions depicted within the two stories. This led to some conclusions about what it means for these authors to write for an almost exclusively Māori audience. Māori interaction with Pākehā was a major theme in both texts, and their overall message was similar – both emphasised the need for Māori to privilege interaction and communication with other Māori first and foremost. This chapter, the "rākau ora" stage of the thesis, explored Māori language literature as something alive and growing, with individual Māori authors and texts branching out to other authors and their texts within the Māori literary forest.

Chapter Three was a discussion under the thematic heading, "different worlds". This final chapter looked at three of the Huia stories: 'He Tino Kino Tōna Pai', 'Te Taiaha a Tama', and 'He Taonga nā te Ngahere'. It highlighted many of the different worlds that can be seen in Māori literature in general and focused on three stories that all portray the world of the past in some way. The "other" worlds in these stories, including the world of the past, were not "othered", but were all ultimately accepted and appreciated as Māori worlds within Māori worlds. The appearance of Tūrehu/Patupaiarehe in two out the three stories that were discussed raised questions about the symbolic significance of these characters and their relationship with the ngahere. An exploration of the "different worlds" theme also revealed how some of the texts function on a meta-textual level as they explore the very ideas of reading, writing, and language. This chapter, the "pūāwaitanga" of the thesis/rākau kōrero, showed how Māori language literature can give its readers access to new Māori worlds born from the older ones and offering limitless possibilities.

All the stories discussed in this thesis were placed in particular chapters because of their affinities with the corresponding themes, and a benefit of this approach is that it allowed me to focus on the detail within these texts and avoid generalisations. However, a key discovery I made in writing the thesis was that each of these themes also contains elements that are broadly applicable to Māori language literature. This does not mean that my explorations in this thesis have unlocked a kind of "special key" to interpreting Māori language literature but rather that, in the search for connections in the ngahere kōrero, I found both smaller

site-specific connections and larger common threads relating to these themes that are woven throughout most Māori language literary texts. The first theme was "points of origin": many of the Huia texts (and also many other Māori literary texts) include some kind of search for origin – often a search that involves reconnection with whānau, hapū, iwi, and tīpuna. But when these texts are written in Māori, there is an inherent connection with tīpuna Māori, regardless of narrative content. This is not to say that Māori language is archaic or irrelevant; in fact, these contemporary Huia stories are stepping forward into the future of Māori literature and the Māori language. They are the proof that te reo Māori is relevant to modern contexts and is capable of expressing the varied perspectives of modern Māori people. But even as these texts are stepping into the future, they are looking to the past. A text written in te reo Māori intrinsically connects that text with its literary Māori tīpuna.

Māori and Pākehā interaction has also been a common narrative thread throughout Māori literature generally and specifically in many of the Huia stories. However, as noted in Chapter Two, any text written in Māori using the Latin alphabet contains a kind of textual interaction between Māori and Pākeha in the words on the page. This interaction evokes the history of the printed word as it has affected Māori and other indigenous people. It calls up memories of the various treaties, the Bible, the laws and acts passed by colonial governments, deeds to land, and many other ways in which the process of colonisation was a textual experience for Māori. It also calls up memories of *Ngā Mōteatea*, the Māori language newspapers, earlier Māori language fiction like Mataira's *Te Ātea* and *Makorea*, the diaries that influential Māori people like Te Puea Hērangi[45]wrote, and the many letters written in Māori. A study of written Māori language literature, such as this thesis, can never encompass the enormous significance of the written word to the relationship between Māori and Pākehā, but it can examine this relationship within the confines of individual texts, and it can open up space for further discussion about the discernible undercurrent, in modern Māori language texts, that has its source in the history of literacy in Aotearoa.

Finally, the theme of "different worlds" can also be linked to the textual interaction between Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā. As discussed in the previous paragraph, any written Māori language text inherently contains some interaction between these two worlds. However,

[45] Michael King, *Te Puea*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977, p.14.

what the examination of the "different worlds" theme in this thesis has really highlighted is that Māori literature is not wholly defined by the cultural divides of Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā, because there are countless different worlds that come into play in Māori literary texts, many of which can be defined as essentially Māori worlds within Māori worlds. The discussion in Chapter Three also emphasised the function of literature as a conduit through which the reader can access different worlds. The beauty of literature is that it opens doors to new worlds, even for those of us without a tapu tōtara in our back yard.

Kua puareretia

This thesis has been about rākau symbolism, but it has been about so much more than that. The rākau focus has led to the exploration of several themes – big "whole-chapter" themes and numerous other themes that came under those broader headings. The thesis has been about process and the close reading methodology. It's been about form and about showing what techniques the authors use to present their various messages. It's been about genre – all these stories are short stories, but they draw on waiata, novels, pakiwaitara, poetry, karanga, whaikōrero, and more. It's been about audience – identifying the potential readers of these stories and considering what the rākau imagery will convey to them. It's been about whakapapa – the writers', the characters', and the stories' connections to tīpuna: literary tīpuna, human tīpuna, and even atua – and it's been about exploring how rākau have a whakapapa relationship with humanity. Rākau imagery has even provided the structural bones of this thesis – we began in a forest and we end up in one. We sit in the canopy above our own rākau kōrero. This rākau is grown and yet it still has the potential to keep growing. It remains to be seen whether this discussion will continue and if so, whether it will be continued by me, by other academics, or by others interested in Māori language literature. The conversations within this thesis can be described in the way we have described the field of Māori language literature in general – grown and yet still growing, established and yet emergent. We conclude this thesis looking out across the forest of Māori literature and letting go of the new seeds that an open-ended critical discussion of literature can produce. We began with one seed in our hand, and we finish with many seeds, some that will hopefully germinate into new discussions and some that may lie dormant on the forest floor. It is my hope that the community of people who read and write Māori language literature

will provide a hospitable and nourishing environment for those seeds. Such an environment would include an eager and growing audience engaging with these texts, dedicated writers and publishers producing new Māori language texts, and enthusiastic scholars and researchers giving their critical attention to this contemporary Māori language literature. There are new seeds; there is plenty of space to grow and nutrients from Te Ao Māori and also from other languages and cultures. What will break through the earthy floor of the ngahere kōrero?

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