Chapter 3

Waiata 'Song'

Musical Home

> Māori music is whatever music Māori people perform: operatic performances of Dame Kīri Te Kanawa, entertainments of the late Billy T. James, choral singing, band music, traditional recreations, and brave innovations. What links these expressions comes from Māori identity. Listeners know these performers' families and tribes. Their music comes together in shared values and histories. (Katene 1998:933)

Aotearoa lies at the southwest boundary of Polynesia but, although there are linguistic and historical links between the Māori of New Zealand and the other islands and people of Polynesia, the music and culture of the Māori is quite distinct from their Polynesian neighbours and many of the associations with Māori dance (such as *piupiu* 'flax kilts') have been dictated by the landscape of Aotearoa which is very different from the smaller islands of Polynesia proper. In common with the rest of Polynesia, Māori music is vocal, accompanied by hand gestures, which may or may not be illustrative of the text, and body percussion such as thigh, arm and chest slapping. In addition the melodies are chanted or recited and frequently have ceremonial associations, such as weddings, funerals and meetings. Non-ceremonial music includes songs to accompany work or play, love songs, songs of praise and insult songs (Kaeppler 1998:769). Unlike other Polynesian music and dance the Māori do not usually swing their hips although this is considered acceptable practice among the *Ngāti Kahungungu* (Roa. L. Pers. comm. 5 January 2000), who do sway their hips in performance. Neither does Māori music dance does not feature instrumental accompaniment common to the dance of other Polynesian islands.

Māori identity and are uusic inextricably linked and, for many Māori, music is a potent symbol of their identity, encapsulating memories and ideals of identity – pride, dignity, family and history. But there are many types of music performed by Māori today, and while much of it may be an expression of identity, much of it has only recently become part of their musical identity, and the idea of "shared values and histories" is only recent. Māori still identify with their tribal ancestry and value the knowledge of the name of their tribal *waka*, the canoe in which their ancestors arrived in New Zealand[12]. Much of their music in the past belonged exclusively to the tribe and was passed on as part of an oral tradition. The lyrics described events and issues relevant to each tribe and its lands. In addition, western musical forms introduced since the 1840s, many of which are described in the introductory quotation, have influenced a great deal of contemporary Māori music. For many urban Māori, removed from their tribal roots and past by migration, either to cities in New Zealand or abroad, the urge to become

involved in performing traditional dance is met by culture clubs. These culture clubs, discussed in Chapter Two, provide Māori with opportunities to learn about their culture through language classes and performance of *kapa haka* and, in many ways, have superseded tribes and tribal affiliations, but are essential in the promotion and perpetuation of Māori song and dance. These clubs also provide a venue for the performance of Māori song and dance by providing opportunities for performers to participate in paid gigs or in competitions against other culture clubs. This chapter will examine Māori music and dance in its many forms, whether surviving from pre-European times or of more recent origins, and will explore the importance of this music as an identity marker for the Māori, both in New Zealand and here in Melbourne.

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[12] One of the pieces of homework set in 1996 by Karlene Pouwhare, the tutor of the *Ngā*

Pre-Contact Music

Prior to the arrival of British missionaries and settlers in the early nineteenth century, music and dance, like all other aspects of Māori life, was centred on the *marae*. It was used "to welcome visitors, as a preparation for war, and for amusement" (Kaeppler 1977:80). Māori music was an oral tradition and consisted of unaccompanied chants of several genres and a number of musical instruments.

VOCAL MUSIC

According to McLean Māori vocal music can be divided into two broad categories – sung song and dance styles, and recited song and dance styles. A third category covers game songs, used, naturally, to accompany games. Sung song and dance includes laments and love songs, *poi* songs and *oriori*, and recited song and dance styles include the various forms of *haka* (McLean 1996). More recent musical developments, such as *waiata-a-ringa*, will be discussed in a later section.

Traditionally all Māori song was 'chanted', performed in a strongly rhythmic style with almost no melody in the western sense. Māori chant was almost continuous, with little room for catching breath. In order to achieve the impression of an uninterrupted performance, the performers staggered their breathing throughout the chant. Māori chants were monophonic, with a limited tonal range of no more than four pitches, were strongly rhythmic in two-four or four-four time and can be divided into two main categories – sung style and recited style. Sung styles tended to use small melodic intervals with movement between tones generally stepwise, with occasional leaps of a third or a perfect fourth. Such chants were generally organised into strophes with a descending glide at the end of the song.

Hapu Katoa kōhanga reo group, was to find out the name of their *waka* for class.

Recited styles lacked a stable pitch pattern, the syllables in the text determined the rhythm, and they tended to be through composed rather than strophic.

Recited Songs and Dance Styles

In modern practice, a *karakia* is a prayer, usually spoken to open and close a gathering. In pre-contact times a *karakia* was a spell or incantation and, as such, was considered a significant part of every activity. McLean (1996:35) notes that there are "... over 130 terms for karakia [*sic.*] and between 30 and 40 more for rites and ceremonies involving karakia". He lists a selection of 19, but notes that another 60 or so have also been documented, and that they are primarily used in rituals and are central to the concept of *mana*, personal power or authority, and *tapu*, the application of a supernatural power or taboo aspect. *Tapu* is glossed as 'sacred' in modern understanding and is the opposite of *noa*, meaning free from *tapu* or ordinary. The motives behind the performance of *karakia* are unclear. McLean documents several conflicting views concerning the nature of the chant and whether or not *karakia* were invocations to a spirit or deity, an *atua*, or merely incantations with no appeal to a higher power (1996:36). *Karakia* performance involves:

> ... a rapid monotone punctuated by sustained notes and descending glides at the end of phrases. A prominent feature is their extremely fast pace, exceeding at times, if the sustained notes are excluded, 300 syllables per minute. Another characteristic ... is that the flow of sound is meant to be unbroken. (McLean 1996:37)

Other recited songs included *whakārāra pā*, or watch songs, originally performed by sentries on duty at a *pā*, or before a speech as a 'call to arms', *pātere*, insult songs, generally performed by women in response to gossip or slander in

which the woman her detractors[13] and performed by a group of singers, and accompanied by facial grimaces and impromptu gestures, with many actions borrowed from the *haka* (McLean 1996:42), and *kaioraora*, a recrimination song identical in style to *pātere* but with a more virulent text (*kaioraora* can be glossed 'to eat alive' and cannibalism plays a part in many of the texts), and *haka*.

The *haka* is the most immediately recognisable artistic icon of Māori culture. With its sheer energy, the stunning visual image of Māori men and women decked out in elaborately patterned tapestry bodices, flax kilts and facial tattoos, accompanied by the ear numbing percussive rhythms, chants and cries, the *haka* "... fills one with awe so that the spine tingles, one's body hair may straighten up and the whole body trembles with excitement" (Mead 1993:203). Coupled with its history and tradition, *haka*, and those other aspects of culture that are intertwined with it such as language and protocol, becomes a central and integral part of Māori history, custom, tradition and identity. In short, the *haka* embodies the very spirit of all that is Māori.

> More than any other aspect of the Māori culture, this complex dance is an expression of the passion, vigour and identity of the race [sic]. It is at its best, truly, a message of the soul expressed in words and posture. (Armstrong 1964:2)

The word *haka* means a dance of any kind, and there are gender specific gestures. *Haka* is not exclusively a war dance and is performed by both men and women. *Haka* can be performed for any occasion, are accompanied by foot stamping and body percussion, and are frequently used to welcome visitors to the *marae* or to meetings. In addition, other features of *haka* include *pūkana*, grimacing, eye rolling and face pulling and *whētero*, an exaggerated protruding of the tongue.

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[13] *Pātere* are similar in nature and content to *t'ay*, an insult song from Yap and are a "culturally legitimate means of social retaliation" (Marshall 1994:47). The word *t'ay* can be glossed as filth, bilge, excrement or rust.

There are several types of *haka*, of which only two have been formally identified as 'war dances'. The first of these is the *peruperu*. It was performed before and during a battle, and immediately after if the battle was a success. *Peruperu* was used to express rage, defiance and the joy of victory (McLean 1996:47). *Peruperu* performers brandished weapons, such as *taiaha*, long, spear-shaped clubs, and *patu*, short rounded clubs. Performance features that are possibly exclusive to the war dance are the leap and male nudity. Mclean notes two types of leap, a vertical leap on the spot, and a "swinging leap from side to side" (McLean 1996:53). The feature of nudity may have been as a result of the tendency for men to fight naked. This permitted full view of body tattooing and war paint as well as the genitals, particularly of the erect penis, and allowed for displaying the buttocks as a gesture of defiance (McLean 1996:56). *Tūtūngārahu* was a divinatory dance performed to determine whether or not a war party was ready for battle. Old men would crouch low and watch the feet of the performers as they leapt in the air. If any feet were down, then it was taken as an ill omen and the group would not go to battle until they had perfected their leap.

Other *haka* include the *ngeri*, a short informal composition, occasionally used as an introduction to a longer *haka* (McLean 1996:48). *Ngeri* include *tūtara*, a dance that uses movements used "as a form of sexual imagery to express derision" (McLean 1996:66), *tumoto*, similar in nature to the *pātere*, and the *pirori*, an insulting dance, performed naked and designed to insult the observers.

McLean classifies other haka according to their dominant performance devices, by manner of performance and by the grouping of performers. *Haka* classified by this first device, are *haka horuhoru*, which describes the grunting sounds made by performers, who knelt to perform, *haka koiri* featured "twisting of the hands and feet" (McLean 1996:67), *matohi* was performed by men only, and

involved stooping, and *haka pikari* featured shuffling of the feet, a device not found in other *haka*. McLean's second group includes *haka aroākapa*, with two or more rows of performers facing the same way, and *haka porowhā*, where "the performers form a square facing four ways" (McLean 1996:67). McLean notes that *haka taparahi* and *haka tūtohu* fit into this classification. The *haka taparahi* is used to express many sentiments, both private and public, and features a chant accompanied by vigorous actions, such as thigh and chest slapping, shaking of fists and other arm movements, that are often improvised. *Ka Mate* (cf.. Chapter 6) is an example of *haka taparahi*, and was originally created by the Māori chief Te Rauparaha to express triumph at evading his enemies (cf. Chapter 7).

McLean also documents a number of funeral compositions that are performed in *haka* style. Each of these belongs to different tribes. The Ngāti Tūwharetoa performed the *maemae* at ceremonies for mourning the dead. Women sway and wave green leaves while performing the song. Men brandish spears and jump from side to side. The dead may be addressed directly through the words of the song. The *manawawera* is used by the Tūhoe to "upbraid members of the defeated was party, by relatives of the slain" (McLean 1996:69). The actions are not uniform but are performed spontaneously. The lyrics were originally used to abuse the enemy responsible for the death. The *pihe* is glossed "*Dirge* accompanied with waving of the arms in token of grief" (Williams 1971:280), and McLean notes that is is "the northern tribes [*Ngā Puhi*] equivalent to the maemae [sic] and the manawawera [sic]" (McLean 1996:71) (McLean does not italicise words in *te reo Māori*) and that it appears to have been of great interest to visiting Europeans including Dumont d'Urville, who considered it to be a 'national song'. The *pihe* appears to have been a song of mourning performed in *haka* style, although it has in more recent times lost its association with dance (McLean 1996:73). The *pōkeka*

appears to be a lament performed on the night of the funeral, and may be more for the contemplation of death rather than for mourning for the dead themselves (McLean 1996:75).

Women's dances described by McLean include the *kopikopi*, a dance featuring sexually explicit gyrations of the hips, reminiscent of the Yapese women's *churuq*, the *kuziol*, which features movements suggestive of coitus (Marshall 1994:55-56), *rurirurí*, a "*song, ditty*, generally of an amorous nature, accompanied by gestures" (Williams 1971:352) and *kanikani*, which appears to have been a ceremonial dance. McLean suggests that *rurirurí* may have been misclassified as a *haka*, though it possesses certain common features, such as body percussion (McLean 1996:78), and that gesture and movement are not a significant part of the performance today.

Songs that fulfill ceremonial functions include the *karanga*, the call to the *marae*, and the *haka pōwhiri*. This is a call of welcome, performed by older women, experienced in the *karanga*, who invite the visitors onto the *marae*. The call is answered by women among the visitors, and the *karanga* relies on certain repeated stock phrases such as '*haere mai, haere mai, haere mai ra*", the final syllable generally falling away in a descending glissando. *Haka pōwhiri* refers to the dances performed during the *marae* welcome ceremony.

Unaccompanied songs in recited style were used for numerous daily events. These included *hari kai*, food-bearing songs which, in some places had ritual associations. These songs are no longer performed and have rarely been recorded (McLean 1996:94). Work songs fall into three categories: gardening songs, canoe-hauling songs and canoe-paddling songs. McLean (1996:96) refers to a fourth category as *tewha*, but notes that this is glossed in Williams as an incantation (*karakia*) performed during the cultivation of *kūmara* and, as such, may actually fit

into the first category. Gardening songs, or *kō kūmara*, were chanted by workers when preparing the soil for the planting of *kūmara*, and important staple in the Māori diet, and McLean suggests that these songs may have had more in common with *karakia*, and were intended to prevent disaster befalling the crop. However, the rhythmic nature of the chant appears to be consistent with *haka ngeri* (McLean 1996:98).

> *Rangi waka* (canoe-hauling songs) are obsolete, but:
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> ... took the form of phrases performed alternately by a leader (kaea) [*sic*], while the pullers took breath, and a choral response during which the haul took place. (McLean 1996:99)

Tuki waka (canoe-paddling songs) were similar to the *ngeri* or *peruperu*. McLean (1996:103) suggests that this may have been because performances took place in canoes by warriors ready for battle. The chant appears to have been strongly rhythmic, and the *kaea* ('leaders') were armed with weapons such as *patu*, *mere* or *taiaha*. As with the *rangi waka*, *tuki waka* used a call-and-response form, with the *kaea* performing the call and the paddlers the response. As with *rangi waka*, *tuki waka* are now obsolete.

The *mōteatea* is a musical form that has survived from the pre-contact era. While literally meaning 'lament', *mōteatea* is a form of musical poetry, and may express any emotion. A collection of *mōteatea* compiled by Sir Apirana Ngata, a key political and cultural leader from the mid twentieth century, contains 393 examples of *mōteatea*, covering thirty-seven different genres (Royal 1998:939-940). *Mōteatea* are recited rather than sung, and are strongly syllabic and through composed. Examples of *mōteatea* include *waiata tangi* ('laments for the dead'), *tau* ('recited incantations'), *waiata karakia* ('ritualistic songs') and *mata* ('prophetic songs').

In addition to its more formal use, song was also used to accompany games. *Tatau manawa* was a breath holding game in which a song had to be completed in one breath. Incantations were chanted during *teka* ('darts') to make one's dart travel furthest, and there were songs to accompany hand games such as *tī ringa*, for *kōruru*, a game similar to 'knucklebones', for *moari* ('giant stride'), a game in which the player swung out on a rope and jumped into deep water, for *karetao*, a comical puppet performance, for *pōtaka* ('spinning tops'), and for *tī rākau* ('stick games').

Sung Songs and Dances

In contrast with recited song and dance styles, which are syllabic in nature, sung song and dance are melodic and may be melismatic. Among these forms are *waiata* ('song'), *pao* (a two-line couplet), *poi* (a dance), *oriori* (a type of lullaby) and *apakura* (a lament or dirge).

Waiata ('song') is the best known of the sung styles. It is a strophic chant with a limited tonal range, stepwise melodic movement and intervals of no more than a third to a perfect fourth and are performed by an ensemble led either by a *kaea tane* ('male leader') or a *kaea wahine* ('female leader'). *Waiata* were used as a medium for the preservation of knowledge and were used extensively for the transmission of information. These songs conveyed many sentiments and covered a wide range of topics, but all represented a collective tribal identity. The most common *waiata* are *waiata tangi* ('laments'), and *waiata aroha* and *waiata whaiāipo* ('love songs'). McLean lists thirty-four examples of *waiata*, but writes: "... qualifying terms can be so specific that hundreds of songs can be recorded without finding another the same" (1996:100).

Pao are almost as widely performed as *waiata*, but are primarily used as entertainment or are composed for the express purpose of competition. *Pao* generally feature "melodic stereotyping" (McLean 1996:117), with all the *pao* in one particular region performed to the same melody. Common themes include social comments about sex, politics, love and topical issues. As a result existing *pao* tend to be recently composed.

Poi dances are performed by women, and involve the swinging of the *poi*, a cloth ball attached to a length of plaited flax or wool, and used singly or in pairs (a double *poi*). The *poi* balls are swung in different patterns around the upper body of the performer and are struck against the hands, forearms and shoulders of the performers. The rhythmic slapping created by the *poi* balls against the performers' bodies accompanies the song.

The term *oriori* is generally applied to songs dealing with children. They take the form of a lullaby, but serve to educate, not merely lull to sleep. They were composed at the birth of a child of achief or warrior and generally contained detailed descriptions of the lineage of the family. They are usually the longest of the Māori songs and feature simple melodies and are more flexible than *waiata* in form (McLean 199 6:145). *Apakura* are laments that directly address the dead. In this they are distinct from *waiata tangi*. The term comes is a reference to the sound of the ocean which "represents the endless weeping of a mythical ancestress Apakura for her son Tuuwhakararo" (McLean 1996:145). *Apakura* is a deeply emotional song in which the women beat their chests in grief. It may be in *waiata* or *oriori* style (McLean 1996:146).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Many early European visitors to New Zealand documented evidence of musical instruments with both written descriptions and illustrations. Almost exclusively these records describe aerophones and idiophones. Membranophones are not recorded, and there is one unconfirmed report of a chordophone from the South Island called a *kū*, which it may have been similar to the musical bows of Hawaii and the Marquesas (McLean 1996:166). Each instrument is described below using its most common name, and the names used by McLean (1996). Many of the instruments discussed below have multiple names, generally as a result of the different dialects spoken in each tribal region. These variants are not listed below, but can be found in McLean (1996).

Aerophones

Māori areophones fall into two main categories – flutes and trumpets, although the *pūtōrino* (see below) possibly belongs in both (McLean 1996:174).

Bullroarers and Whizzers

Two other aerophones that do not belong in either category are the *pūrorohū*, 'bullroarer' and the *kōrorohū*, 'whizzer'. The *pūrorohū* was ostensibly used as a children's toy, although in the Taranaki region they were used to dispel evil spirits and on the east coast they were used in ceremonies to accompany a *karakia*, 'prayer', to produce rain (Mclean 1996:175). The *pūrorohū*, which is known by other names by different tribes, was made from a thin flat strip of wood, pointed at both ends and attached to a cord about 120 centimetres in length. A handle of wood, approximately 90 centimetres long, was attached to the other end of the cord, and the *pūrorohū* was swung until it produced "a deep booming sound"

(Mclean 1996:174). The *kōrorohū* was similar in shape to the *pūrorohū*. Two holes were bored in the centre and the two ends of a length of flax were tied in a loop through them. The *kōrorohū* was swung to twist the string about the thumbs, winding up the flax. The flax then unwound as the *kōrorohū* spun in the opposite direction. This action of alternately winding and unwinding produced a whizzing noise that was used to accompany the *pao*, a song (McLean 1996:173).

Flutes

Traditional flutes such as the *kōauau*, the *nguru*, the *porutu, rehu, whio* and the *pūtōrino* were carved from wood or bone and even clay. In recent times, a revival of interest in the *kōauau* has seen artists making and playing the flute. The *kōauau* was an open tube with a 1 – 2 centimetre bore and a length of 12 – 15 centimetres. It had three fingerholes and often worn as an ornament about the neck (McLean 1996:184-5). In general the *kōauau* was played by holding the instrument pointed slightly down and to the right and blowing across the opening (McLean 1996:186). It is generally believed that *kōauau* accompanied *waiata*, and the simple fingering technique produced a limited range of four pitches, which was adequate for playing in unison with *waiata* singing (McLean 1996:188-9).

The *nguru* is shorter and flatter than the *kōauau*, being approximately 7 – 10 centimetres in length. They can be made from clay, stone, wood and occasionally whale's tooth. One end of the *nguru* is open and the other end finishes "with a small hole in the centre of an upturned snout" (McLean 1996:189). The *nguru* also has two fingerholes on top and one or two underneath. Early records document the appearance of the *nguru* but are unclear as to playing technique and the function of the instrument. The notes produced by the *nguru* are identical to the *kōauau*, but its

origins and functions are unclear; but it appears not to have been a nose flute (McLean 1996:190-4).

The *porutu* may have been "an extra long *kōauau*, made to resemble the European flute" (McLean 1996:198), and even the name may be a transliteration of the word 'flute' (McLean 1996:198). The *porutu* had between 3 and 6 fingerholes, was made from wood and between 30 - 60 centimetres in length. The diameter of the bore was about 2 centimetres and appears to have been played the same as the *kōauau*. The *rehu* "seems to have been a side-blown *porutu*" (McLean 1996:198), made from wood and featuring a plugged end, a mouthhole and three fingerholes in the side. The *whio* may have been a composite of the *kōauau* and the *pūtorino*, made from two pieces of wood lashed together, with 3 finger holes. These three flutes appear to be longer than the *kōauau*, the *nguru* and the *pūtorino*.

Trumpets

McLean documents four Māori instruments described as trumpets, all of which were assigned the generic name '*pū*' "undoubtedly an onomatopoeic representation of the sound" (McLean 1996:176). These were, respectively made from flax, shell and wood. The fourth is the *pūtorino*, which McLean describes as possibly belonging to both the flute and trumpet sub-families (McLean 1996:174). Early documentation refers to it respectively as a trumpet and a flute. It was described as a 'bugle-flute' and appears to have been "a compromise instrument, perhaps explaining its early obsolescence" (McLean 1996:184). The *pūtorino* was fashioned out of two pieces of split wood, carved and lashed together with vines. One end was almost closed and the other (open) end was used for blowing. The sound-hole was carved, often in the shape of figure 8, representing the open human mouth typical in Māori carving. McLean's own research suggests that smaller

pūtorino were best suited to playing as flutes and larger ones as trumpets (McLean 1996:183).

The *tētere* is technically a leaf-oboe, made from flax and measuring approximately 23 – 60 centimetres in length. Not dissimilar in design to the Yapese *uchif* (Marshall 1994:42-3), it is conical in shape, made by winding leaves of flax "in overlapping turns from a small mouth opening to a wider distal end" (McLean 1996:177). As with the *uchif*, the *tētere* was used by children as a toy (Müller 1917:203), although adults also used the *tētere* as a makeshift signalling device (McLean 1996:177). McLean also notes that the term *pū harakeke*, 'flax trumpet', was also used to descibe the *tētere*, and that the term *tētere* was also applied to the wooden trumpet.

The *pūtātara* or *pū moana*, 'sea trumpet', was made from a triton shell "with the end cut off and a carved wooden mouthpiece lashed on in its place" (McLean 1996:178). A dog-skin handle or string and tufts of hair or feathers may have been added for decoration. The *pūtātara* was used as a signalling device, has a limited range, a loud and clear fundamental note, and is not capable of overblowing like the bugle (McLean 1996:178). *Pūtātara* were generally associated with chiefs and were used to announce their approach, for rallying forces during a battle, announcing the arrival of visitors on the *marae* or, on occasion, to announce the birth of the first-born son (McLean 1996:178).

The *pūkāea* was made from wood and between 90 centimetres and 2.5 metres in length. They were constructed much like the *pūtorino*, out of split and hollowed wood, lashed together, with a carved mouthpiece and a flared bell. Early writers document that the *pūkāea* was a 'war trumpet', sounded by sentries to alert the *pā*, 'fortified village' of the approach of enemies. The *pūkāea* was also used as a megaphone to hurl insults at enemies, and vibrating wooden pegs were inserted in

the bell to represent the uvula in an effort to magically aid the voice of the instrument (McLean 1996:181).

Idiophones

Of all the idiophones the *pahū*, a gong made of stone or wood and used as a signalling device, appears to have been the most important. Like trumpets *pahū* were used for signalling. McLean writes that there were two tyles of *pahū*, one "hollowed out like the Polynesian slit-gong" (1996:166), although he believes that this type was "probably rare" (1996:166), and the other made from a flat slab of resonant wood, generally rectangular in shape but tapered towards the ends, ranging in size from 60-90 centimetres wide, 15 centimetres thick and up to 9 metres in length, with a range of 10-16 kilometres. Some had "a shallow depression in the centre" (1996:167). Records describing the playing technique offer differing views, but generally agree that the *pahū* was suspended by ropes, tied about the ends, from two trees or a cross piece supported by forked sticks in the watch tower, and beaten with wooden mallets (McLean 1996:1689).

> The pahuu was usually suspended above the platform of the watchtower of in fortified Maori villages, and it was the watchman's duty to strike the gong occoasionally to show that the people were on alert. It was also used in wartime as a signal of hostilities. (McLean 1996:166)

In addition to beating the *pahū* sentries blew upon the *pūkāea* and chanted 'watch songs'.

The *tōkere* apears to have been a pair of bone clappers, not unlike castanets, but was not extensively documented and there is little evidence of them being widely known or used by Māori (McLean 1996:171).

The *pakuru* was a thin strip of resonant wood approximately 30-45 centimetres in length, 2.5-7 centimetes wide and 1 centimetre thick. One side was

flat and the other convex and it was played by holding one end between the teeth and the other end with the left hand. It was tapped with a 15 centimetre wooden rod held in the right hand. *Pakuru* were played to accompany special songs called *rangi pakuru* and were often played in ensembles.

The *rōria* appears to have been similar in design and playing technique to the Jew's harp. It was made from an elastic piece of *kareao*, a climbing vine (Williams 1997:100), 7.5-10 centimetres in length. One end was held against the teeth while the other end was plucked with a finger. This instrument was very popular as it could be used to mimic words. It was replaced by the European Jew's harp and these, in turn, became known to Māori as *rōria* (1996:173).

Almost every aspect of pre-contact Māori music was altered by the introduction of European music to Aotearoa. Very few genres survived intact and many that did only exist in documentation or on early recordings. All idiophones disappeared, with the *rōria* replaced by the Jew's harp. Of the aerpohones, the *pūrorohū* ('bullroarer') and *kōrorohū* ('whizzer') have disappeared entirely, as have all trumpets, both wooden and shell, the *tētere* ('flax oboe'), and most of the flutes. The *kōauau* has seen a revival of interest, possibly because of the belief that words can be sounded into the instruments, rather like the *didjeridu* in Australia. Those instruments that have survived are part of significant collections of artefacts in museums.

Most songs, both sung and recited, did not survive the adoption of European scale systems and the move away from traditional lifestyles. Many canoe songs, such as *rangi waka* and *tuki waka*, *kō kūmara* ('gardening' songs) and *hari kai* ('food bearing' songs), children's game songs such as *tatau manawa* ('breath holding'), *teka* ('darts'), *tī ringa* ('hand games') and *tī rākau* ('stick games'), and many songs and chants associated with rituals such as *karakia* ('incantations') and

pōkeka, *maemae* and *pihe* ('mourning' songs). Sexually explicit songs and dances such as the *kopkopi* and the *rurirurí*, and the *kaioraora* (a virulent recrimination song) most likely offended European sensibilities and would have been discouraged.

Many pre-contact genres have survived but undergone changes associated with the introduction of European music and the decline in traditional lifestyles. Several genres of *haka* survived, including the *ngeri*, the *taparahi* and the *peruperu*, although these are no longer performed naked and are not associated with battle victories. The *haka poi* is still performed but the accompanying song generally uses a European-style melody, although some remnant *haka poi* use traditional chant. The *karakia* is no longer used as an incantation, becoming instead a spoken prayer. Ritual music associated with the *marae* has generally survived intact, including genres such as the *karanga* (the 'call' to the *marae*), and the *haka pōwhiri*, the dances performed to welcome the guests onto the *marae*. The *waiata* has survived virtually intact, but has only been revived since the 1970s.

Contemporary Māori Music Performance

Contemporary Māori music in New Zealand is diverse, and Māori participation in formal music institutions such as bands and choirs is not uncommon. In addition, the New Zealand rock industry is thriving, and many Māori musicians have the opportunity to record and perform original material (Mitchell 1994). The diversity of genres within the popular music industry has been well documented by writers such as Mitchell (1994), Shuker (1994) and Flint (1994). Even so, the most familiar genre of Māori music is the *waiata-a-ringa* or *waiata kori*, the action song accompanied by hand gestures and most frequently observed in performances of traditional Māori song and dance. In addition, Māori have become bi-musical, embracing both western and traditional musical forms (McLean 1996:275). This is

reflected by the number of Māori musicians and singers who have made successful careers as performers of western art or popular music, such as Kiri te Kanawa, in opera, Howard Morrison, as a popular artist, and rock bands such as Moana and the Moa Hunters and Upper Hutt Posse.

Whalers and sealers visited New Zealand from the 1790s, but though they caused social changes through the trade of weapons with the Māori there is no evidence to suggest musical influence of any kind (McLean 1996:269-70). The arrival of the missionaries had far more significant implications musically with the introduction of hymnody into the Māori musical repertoire. Combined with attempts to stamp out traditional practices such as cannibalism, *utu* ('payment' or revenge), slavery and warfare, and concepts such as *tapu*, this invariably led to a decline in the songs and traditions associated with these practices. Early missionaries noted with evident satisfaction in journal entries the adoption of hymn singing and the abandonment of traditional song practice. Of particular concern for missionaries was the performance of *haka*, and they seemed at great pains to eliminate this practice with its association with war and the propensity of the Māori to perform it naked (McLean 1996:270-272).

Widespread settlement from 1840 onwards saw the widespread introduction of European musical instruments and the formation of European-style ensembles such as military and brass bands. Literature from the early 1900s suggests that waltzes were very popular and a number of Māori tunes from this time are in waltz time. These influences have led to the adoption of western scales and metre and the creation of 'transitional songs' in which demonstrate European musical features such as a major tonality, chords and metre. These songs began to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the integration of European musical elements is frequently incomplete (McLean 1996:309-312). Māori songs with European

melodies were composed prior to the start of the twenetieth century. *Poi* songs were among the first to use European melodies. Other songs were composed using Māori words and European melodies and, alongside the *haka* which had survived all attempts by the missionaries to have it replaced and forgotten, and the *poi* dance, became the basis of the 'concert party', an entertainment group which would tour not only in New Zealand but overseas. These ensembles were documented in the press of the day and may well have been the predecessors, at least in spirit, of the professional groups and the culture clubs of today. The 'Māori Warrior Chiefs', whose visit to Melbourne is noted in Chapter 1 and who later travelled to London, is an example of one of the earliest concert parties to travel abroad, although their repertoire would not have contained the same musical styles as later groups. It was not until the 1930s that the first true action songs, or *waiata-a-ringa* were documented (McLean 1996:322-329).

Possibly the most notable feature of the *waiata-a-ringa* is the topicality of the texts. Themes range from love to farming and celebrating achievements. *Waiata-a-ringa* can be laments, songs of greeting or farewell, and they can be humorous or serious. The melodic style may be adaptations of existing popular tunes with original Māori words, or they may be original, created especially for the dance. The accompanying gestures may be illustrative of the text but this is not requisite. Some actions such as the *wiri* ('fluttering fingers') have been adopted from *haka* performance technique. Women's gestures are generally more graceful and flowing than the men's, which tend to be more forceful. Women stand in the front rows and men at the rear during performances of *waiata-a-ringa*. The development of uniformity in the actions appears to be recent as early documentation (McLean 1996:309-335) of action songs suggests that actions were informal and individual. The music of action songs is in the European idiom in its melodic and harmonic

structure, much in the same vein as early European-influenced Māori songs and hymnody, although the words and sentiments expressed in the *waiata-a-ringa* are distinctly Māori. The uniformity of movements and the regular metre appear to be modelled on the *haka* and the use of gestures comes from the *pātere*, women's recited insult songs (McLean 1996:345). With the development of the *rōpū*, the performing ensemble, based on the "concert party" of the late nineteenth century (McLean 1996:322-345), and the later development of the *waiata-a-ringa*, the origins of modern *kapa haka* performance practice can be observed. Acoustic guitars generally accompany *waiata-a-ringa*.

In addition, traditional *waiata* has undergone a revival under the auspices of the Māori performing arts festivals, checking its decline in favour of more melodic tunes influenced by western music. Accuracy in the reproduction of a performance was paramount, whether rhythmic or tonal, and it was widely believed that inaccuracy could bring about calamitous events (McLean 1977). Even today, the accurate performance of traditional chants is viewed as paramount, and meddling with the rhythm or content of the chant is regarded as an offence against Māori culture.

Since the 1960s the popular music industry in New Zealand has flourished. American and British musical influences were strong initially during this period (Flint 1994:1-2) and local artists produced cover versions of overseas rock 'n' roll hits. Radio broadcasting was governed by strict standards, and licences were restricted to a few broadcasters[14]. The availability of recordings from overseas was determined by success on overseas charts, and only major labels were available (Flint 1994:8). As a result the music available for New Zealand audiences in the

[14] This situation guaranteed the success of Radio Hauraki, literally a 'pirate' radio station, which broadcast without a licence from the boat *Tiri* moored in the Hauraki Gulf. Whenever

1960s was limited and many bands modelled themselves on the genres of those bands whose recordings were readily available (Flint 1994:10). By the late 1970s the situation had changed dramatically, and the establishment of the independent label *Flying Nun* in 1981 ensured that New Zealand acts had a local producer and distributor for their material (Mitchell 1994a:38). The establishment of *iwi* ('tribal') radio stations in regional areas also aided the promulgation of Māori music, language and culture.

Māori popular music covers a range of musical genres. The 1970s saw major rock acts perform in New Zealand and these in turn influenced popular musicians. Acid rock, soul and blues all took their place in the Māori repertoire. Reggae became very popular following a visit by Bob Marley in 1979, and Māori bands such as *Dread Beat* and *Sticks and Shanty* used their music to express a militant Māori attitude combining Jamaican rhythms and Māori vocal harmonies (Mitchell 1994:62-3). Bands such as Upper Hut Posse made its mark performing Māori rap, a genre with clear links to American hip-hop.

> The appropriation and pastiche of black American, Jamaican and British musical forms by Maori musicians in the past three decades represents a parallel musical culture to that of the Pakeha musicians, who have tended to build on white Anglo-American musical roots, and, unlike the Maori, lack an indigenous tradition to draw on and combine with imported idioms. (Mitchell 1994:69)

While Māori perform many different genres of music, and are involved in a range of bands, choirs and ensembles, many Māori participate in *kapa haka*, a performance genre that focuses on traditional song and dance styles such as *haka*, *poi* and *waiata*, and this is the style that is most commonly created and performed in Melbourne.

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authorities closed in on the boat, the *Tiri* (and the radio station) would sail into international waters.

Many Māori in Melbourne play the guitar, but most have not attended formal classes and do not read music. The chords they play are learnt by imitating others and by listening to live and pre-recorded music. Music, whether played on guitar or sung, is still very much grounded in an oral tradition. Typically, contemporary Māori songs are in 4/4 time and generally only feature tonic and dominant chords. Occasionally a song may include a subdominant chord. The key of the song is frequently flexible, with tutors experimenting with the key until they find a range that is within the tessitura (the natural range) of all the performers. Singing is generally done in the chest voice. Rarely do the performers, particularly the women, sing in head voice. The vocal quality of the *kaea wahine* in particular relies on the depth and power of the chest voice, a quality that is absent in the head voice. It is also important that the men are not forced into their upper registers or they lose the power and depth required in the bass part. This vocal style is also used in the performance of *kapa haka*.

Kapa Haka in New Zealand and Melbourne

Kapa haka is a complete performance involving song and movement, similar to the *churuq* ('dance-chants') of Yap in Micronesia. A full *kapa haka* performance can include traditional chant styles such as *haka* and *waiata*, as well as more recently developed genres such as *waiata-a-ringa* ('action songs'). The dance section of Māori song involves the whole body. The feet *takahia*, the hips (of the women) sway slightly, and the upper torso, including the head and face, complete the movements. As discussed previously, music is a key identity marker. A community, tribe or society will use music to express many sentiments, and *kapa haka* is no exception. Contemporary *kapa haka* are often used to raise issues of social or political importance to the Māori. In New Zealand, these themes may deal

with the *Treaty of Waitangi* and land rights, or social issues that need confronting. In Australia *kapa haka* may be created in honour of a member of the community or as a means of educating the performers in Māori traditions. The Māori in Australia have little need of political themes, as the issues facing the Māori in New Zealand are quite distinct from their relatives across the Tasman. For the Māori in Melbourne, finding the time to practise *kapa haka* is an achievement.

Kapa haka performance makes use of gesture, which may be interpretive. Many of the actions are exclusively male or female. Men may slap their chest and thighs, and both women and men *wiri* ('fluttering [of fingers]'). Arms may be held at right angles or parallel in a vertical or horizontal position with the body. Both men and women use facial expression such as *pūkana* and *whakapī* ('contorting of facial features'). *Kapa haka* is immediately recognisable. The songs and actions, the distinctively coloured and patterned uniforms, the dynamics of the performance – all are clear indicators of a people and a place. It is for this reason that, for many Māori who have arrived in Melbourne from New Zealand, participating in *kapa haka* performance becomes an important part of their identification with being Māori, as well as providing a direct link with the 'home' that they have left behind.

While much has changed in Māori society since the signing of the *Treaty of Waitangi* in 1840, the *haka*, and by extension, *kapa haka*, still fulfils many of the functions that it traditionally served in pre-European times. Now, as then, tribal reputations rely on the ability of the *haka* performers (Karetu 1993). For many of the Māori residing in Australia, and specifically in Melbourne, performing *haka* has become a way of preserving an ideal, a link not just with the past but also with an 'imagined' homeland, a place that exists in memory. Many of the Māori in Melbourne do not *korero Māori* and may never have participated in cultural activities prior to settling in Australia. Performing *haka* makes them 'feel' Māori.

Participating in cultural activities with friends and family completes the sense of 'being' Māori, and involvement with a cultural group that is specifically dedicated to Māori culture has become a mechanism for creating Māori identity in Australia. The key figure in establishing this link is the tutor.

Promoting Culture

Tutors not only invest vast amounts of time and energy in the club; they must also be flexible in their work as they are responsible for creating performances that can be used for both entertainment and competition. Clubs in Melbourne need to be able to bridge the gap as both semi-professional entertainers and competitive *rōpū*. The situation for *rōpū* in New Zealand is quite distinct from that of their Australian counterparts. According to Murray (1999) New Zealand *kapa haka* groups fall into either one of two categories, professional or competitive. Professional *rōpū* are found in the major tourist centres and in Rotorua. Rotorua is generally regarded as the centre of Māori arts in New Zealand. The Whakarewarewa Cultural Institute is located in Rotorua and showcases the talents of local artists with displays of their work. Whakarewarewa Cultural Institute also sells a range of Māori artifacts including wood and bone carvings, *pounamu*, 'green stone', jewellery and woven items. It also features a replica *marae* and *waka* 'canoe'. The Whakarewarewa *marae* is the focal point each evening for a concert of *kapa haka* and a *hangi*. Other hotels and venues around Rotorua provide nightly concerts for the many international tourists who flock to Rotorua to experience Māori culture. Many of the *rōpū* that perform are family groups and have been doing these gigs for many years. The members of the competitive *rōpū* often refer to these performers as 'plastic Māori', a reference to their use of (more durable) plastic *poi* and *piupiu* rather than the traditional flax (Murray 1999). In a more general context, the term

'plastic Māori' is used to describe any Māori not perceived as genuine, or one who tries to conceal their Māori origins by refusing to acknowledge their ancestry and/or culture.

> You'll see someone who looks Māori down the street and you'll greet them in (*te reo*) *Māori* but they'll ignore you. That's what we'll call a plastic Māori. (Graham, T. Pers. comm. 22 August 1999).

Closer to home the same charge has been leveled at culture clubs outside of New Zealand (such as those in Melbourne) by Māori who remain in New Zealand:

In contrast, competitive *rōpū* spend two years preparing a twenty-minute program for the Aotearoa Festival. Each *rōpū* employs a professional tutor and spends many hours each week rehearsing with the sole aim of competing in the Festival. The Aotearoa Festival has been running since 1972 and is hosted by a different city every second year. It is viewed as the most prestigious event on the *kapa haka* calendar. The competition runs over three days and is open to all the winners of the regional competitions. A panel of judges comprising the most respected tutors and authorities on *kapa haka* judge the *rōpū* on eleven sections. To qualify for entry, *rōpū* must compete in and win one of thirteen regional events. Additionally Australian *rōpū* can qualify by winning a regional festival (see Chapter Five). The Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society Inc., which is responsible for the Aotearoa Festival, generally views itself as the guardian of Māori performing arts. Strict rules are imposed on the creation and performance of *kapa haka* and on the composition of new material. The Society's mission is "to foster, promote and protect the traditional Māori performing arts in the pursuit of excellence", and this is posted on their website.

The tutors have become a direct link with the culture and the past for the Māori in Melbourne. The tutors teach the traditional chants, choreograph the action songs and compose new songs for the club. They teach the language and provide the

translations. Under their guidance the culture comes to life for the members of the *rōpū*. The tutors design the programs for the *rōpū* to perform at fundraising concerts, at festivals and at competitions. The tutors' choreography, their teaching ability and the respect and *aroha* felt by their *rōpū* can win competitions or divide clubs. Tutors are invariably perceived as the guardians of the culture, teaching the songs and dances that are a direct link to the past. But even the tutors must work within the limitations of their lifestyle and the demands of the club, and these limitations and demands, whether social, financial or political, help construct the reality that shapes the tutors' experiences. The context of the social world of the Māori in Melbourne is different from the social world of the Māori in New Zealand, and this determines the significant differences between the past in New Zealand and the present in Melbourne. The tutor, as Chapter Four will demonstrate, has the most significant role in the invention of new traditions, drawing from an entirely new social reality.

Chapter 4

Waiata-a-ringa 'Action song'

Teaching Home

Chapter Three introduced Māori song and dance and the changes that have occurred since the beginnings of European settlement in New Zealand. While tribal links to ancestral lands have been weakened by distance and cultural loss, an interest and a need to be involved in traditional performance is keenly felt by Māori migrants in Melbourne. As described in Chapter Two, the culture club fulfils a vital role in providing these opportunities and the role of the tutor, as an integral part of club identity, was briefly explored at the end of Chapter Three. This chapter will examine the role of the tutor in detail, focusing on the teaching methods of three of *Ngā Hapu Katoa*'s tutors, Karlene Pouwhare, and Gina and Cedric Mehana, and exploring the tutor's role as cultural inventor, composer and choreographer. The work of two other club tutors, Tangi Tuhi and Sonny Abraham, will also be discussed, albeit briefly. The Mehanas tutored the *tamariki*, the children's group, together, and Gina tutored the senior *rōpū*. Cedric played guitar for the seniors, and was *kaea tāne* for a number of years. Karlene tutored both the *tamariki* and the seniors intermittently since the 1980s. As this chapter will demonstrate, the tutor is not merely a teacher of *kapa haka*, keeping culture alive, but is essentially reinventing culture for a new generation of Australian Māori, acting as the

mediator/facilitator for the production of and engagement with culture in general, and with *kapa haka* in particular.

The tutor's role is even more important for the Māori in Melbourne than in New Zealand because many of the other institutional supports are missing: language instruction in schools, funding for Māori arts, formal *kapa haka* groups and opportunities for performances and competitions. For the clubs in Melbourne, the tutor is more than a teacher, and is often perceived by members of the club as embodying club identity. The centrality of the tutor to the club's sense of identity and order is illustrated by Kim Dunphy (1994) in her survey of members of *Te Ruawhenua*. Nana Rollo founded *Te Ruawhenua* in 1985 and was the club tutor at the time of Dunphy's research. Prior to the study's completion, Nana left *Te Ruawhenua* to take up employment in Echuca, a country town four hours from Melbourne on the New South Wales border. Interviews with members of *Te Ruawhenua* at this time indicate a decline in morale and commitment to performance created by the tutor's absence (Dunphy 1994:82-84). *Ngā Hapu Katoa* experienced a similar decline in early 1998 when then women's tutor, Karlene Pouwhare, tendered her resignation, and again at the end of 1999 when Karlene announced her plans to relocate to Sydney[15].

The Tutor

Although the older, more established culture clubs in Melbourne, such as *Te Ruawhenua* and *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, function primarily as umbrella social clubs, each has a performing *rōpū*, which has a primary role of presenting Māori *kapa haka* for

[15] *Ngā Hapu Katoa* still had not come together as a club by the middle of 2001. Moana Pirere had offered to stand in as tutor, but the general consensus among members was that Moana, who is in his early twenties, lacked the experience needed to teach the *rōpū* (Smith, B. Pers. comm. 29 December 2000). An attempt to revive the club under Tangi's tutelage

the wider public. As illustrated in Chapter Two, the *rōpū* is an important part of the club's standing within both the Māori community and in the wider mainstream community. Aside from performing at club social events or at any of the Māori festivals, the *rōpū* operates as a group of professional performers and, as such, it provides much-needed revenue for the club. The tutor plays a pivotal role in the operation of the culture club, both as teacher and creator, and as a focus for the members of the *rōpū*. The club's relationship with its tutor can affect the morale of the *rōpū*, as documented by Dunphy (Dunphy 1994) in her survey of members of *Te Ruawhenua* and discussed in Chapter Two. Tutors need to be skilled teachers and need to possess considerable knowledge of *kapa haka* before they can take on the position, but more importantly, they need to have the respect of all members of the *rōpū*. Many of the people who become tutors in Melbourne have considerable experience in *kapa haka* and are able to *kōrero* Māori. Some may have tutored 'back home'. Some may have had no prior experience at all. The responsibility placed on the tutor is immense. As outlined in the previous chapter, more than any other official in the culture club, the tutor is largely responsible for the interpretation of Māori culture. They are responsible for re-interpreting existing *haka*, creating new songs and dances, for developing choreography and providing the music. They are also responsible for teaching singing, the *poi*, steps and hand gestures and teaching *te reo Māori*.

Tutors and their Work

Many tutors who come to Australia have had prior experience with *kapa haka* groups in New Zealand, either as performers or as tutors. It must be noted, however, that most people who become tutors with culture clubs do not come to

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failed after he was cancelled three successive practices due to other commitments (Smith, B.

Australia to become tutors. They come seeking employment, and to provide their families with better opportunities for education and careers, as was the case for both Karlene Pouwhare and her family, and for Gina and Cedric Mehana. The Mehanas had both been involved in culture groups 'back home'. Gina and Cedric have known each other since they attended school together in Whangarei during the late 1970s. They have three sons, Stacey, Brett and Tyrone, and a young daughter, Aroha, born in 2000, after they had left *Ngā Hapu Katoa* and joined *Taku Mana*. Their primary motivation for involvement with *Ngā Hapu Katoa* was to give their sons the opportunity to experience Māori culture. Cedric first became involved with *Ngā Hapu Katoa* in 1990, soon after they arrived in Melbourne. Originally arriving in Sydney to seek work, Cedric and Gina relocated to Melbourne to be nearer to family members. Cedric's Uncle Bossy had bet him a carton of beer that he would not become involved in a culture group in Australia. But the temptation of winning the bet was too great for Cedric and he disappeared one Sunday with his brother. Returning home that evening he sheepishly announced to Gina that he had been to a *kapa haka* practice in Dandenong with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*. Cedric then confessed that he had joined the club only to win the bet. Soon after Cedric and Gina had joined the club, they approached the committee and asked to tutor the children.

Karlene Pouwhare had been a tutor intermittently with *Ngā Hapu Katoa* during the late 1980s. Originally she co-tutored the adults with Sonny Abraham but when Sonny resigned to go to Sydney[16] Karlene was approached to take over as tutor. Originally from near Turangi, Karlene belongs to the *Ngāti Tuwharetoa* tribe

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Pers comm. 22 October, 2001).

[16] Returning to Melbourne after several years in New Zealand, Sonny established and tutored *Ngā Taonga A Whitu*, 'The Seven Treasures', in 1996. *Ngā Taonga A Whitu* was a composite *rōpū* made up of members from many of the existing culture clubs in Melbourne. He established *Ngā Tāonga A Whitu* for the sole purpose of returning to New Zealand to compete at the Aotearoa Festival of Performing Arts, with the *rōpū* seeking sponsorship and

and is related to George Hallett. Karlene has always had a love of music and dance of all genres, not just Māori, and this is reflected in her teaching style. In 1996 and 1997, she was the tutor for the senior *rōpū* with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*. Her innovative and theatrical approach to visual presentation helped *Ngā Hapu Katoa* to victory at the 1997 Regional Festival, and has led to a number of successful fundraising concerts in non-Māori musical styles. Karlene's particular passion is music theatre, particularly Broadway musicals. In 1996 she created a full cabaret as a fundraiser for the club. Among the items she choreographed for the women was a hat-and-cane number inspired by Fred Astaire. Interestingly enough, it did not include tap-dancing, as this is not a dance style commonly studied by the Māori. Instead, Karlene used a soft-shoe shuffle approach to simulate the footwork usually associated with hat-and-cane choreography. Karlene led the club to a triumphant victory in the 1996 Regional competition, and to a respectable runner-up placing in the 1997 National Festival. The competition between clubs to take out the majority of sections is very strong, and the pressure on the tutor to create a winning performance is intense. When Karlene resigned as tutor in December 1997, citing ill health, it was because she believed that the expectations and workload were too great for one person and that, consequently, her family had suffered. Karlene was highly respected by club members. Her energy and enthusiasm was the driving force behind the *rōpū* and her decision came as a blow at the end of the summer break. The club lost considerable momentum. Membership dropped, and rehearsals didn't start back until June 1998 when Gina Mehana, already co-tutor with her husband Cedric for the *tamariki*, agreed to take on the role of women's tutor to help prepare the group for a series of performances leading up to the 1998 Bledisloe Cup, an annual rugby match between the Australia and New Zealand held each July. Karlene

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looking into fund-raising. The trip never eventuated and *Ngā Taonga A Whitu* folded. Soon

then spent 1998 with her family, although her daughter Constance continued to perform with the *tamariki*. During 1998 Karlene extended her family by adopting a baby boy. She returned briefly to practise for the 1998 Regional Festival but, again, ill health forced her out. Gina and Cedric stayed on as tutors for another twelve months.

Drawing on their repertoire of songs from back home, Gina and Cedric used song and gesture as the primary tool in teaching *te reo Māori*. Through song Gina taught children about pronunciation, gestures and the instructions used by the *kaea* to accompany the gestures, colours and counting. She also ensured that every child had the opportunity to be *kaea*. To this end Gina would teach the children simple *kōrero* Māori instructions, *whakarongo mai* ('listen to me'), *titiro mai* ('look at me') and *kōrero mai* ('speak to me'), with the appropriate gestures early in their classes. She also taught them the basic commands used by the *kaea* to begin the performance by the *rōpū*, "*hope*" ([hands on] 'waist') and "*takahia*" ('stamping' [the feet]). The children would then take it in turns to sing the instructions to the rest of the group and counting them in for the song, effectively becoming the *kaea* for that time. The *rōpū* would then join in with a song in Māori, such as the children's song *Oma Rapeti*, a Māori version of *Run Rabbit Run* (see Transcription 4.1 below and Track 1 on the accompanying audio cassette[17]). This song is a simple *waiata-a-ringa* for children. The gestures consist of a hopping action performed by the hands, held in front of the chest, on each "*oma*", followed by miming the rabbit's ears on "*rapeti*". The children mime a shotgun on each "bang", and shake their right forefinger on "*ki tapu o te pākehā*". The words of the final line use the same gestures as previously. Other songs taught included *A, E, I, O, U* (see Example 1 on

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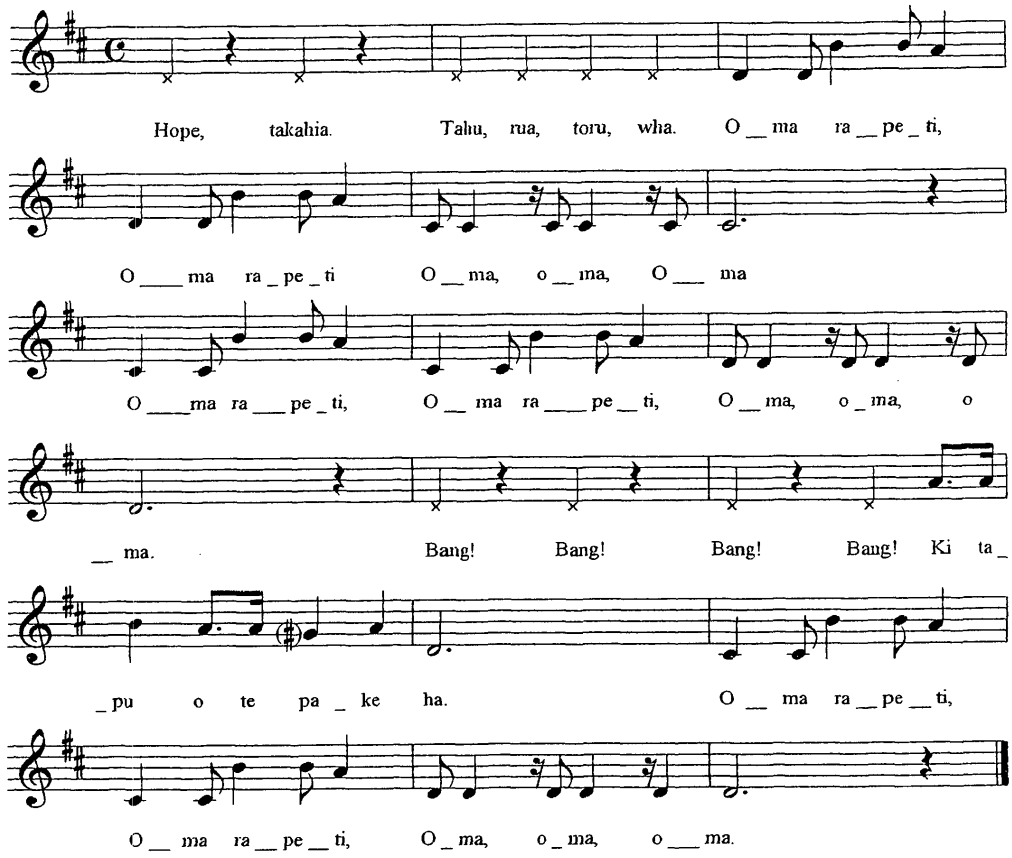
after Sonny moved to Sydney.

colours and pronunciation in *te reo Māori*, and *Taniwha* (see Example 2 on accompanying video), which tells of a sea monster swimming in the *moana* ('sea') and is reminiscent of the melody of *You Are My Sunshine*.

Transcription 4.1: *Kaea* instructions and *Oma Rapeti* (Trad.)

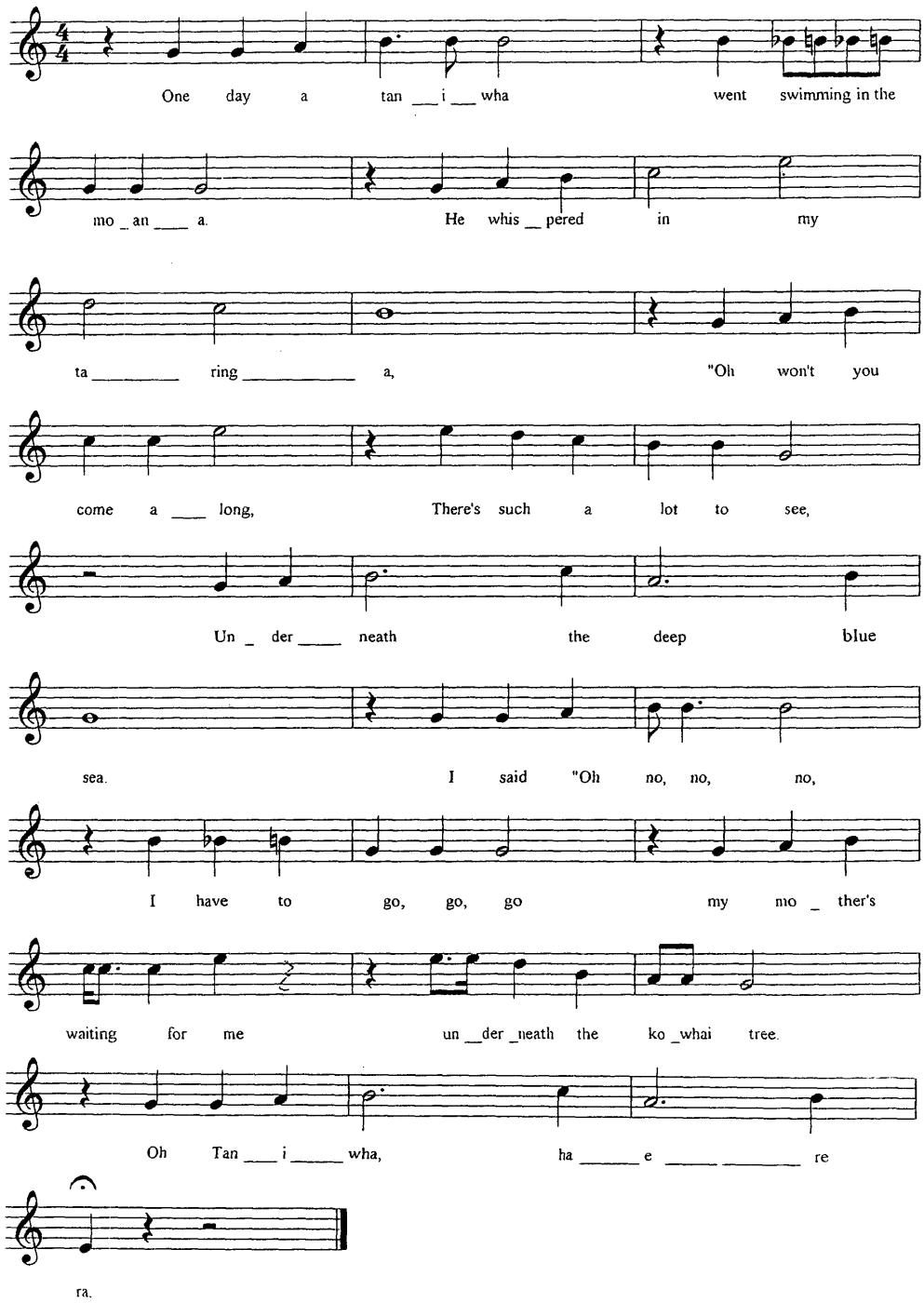
Transcribed: D. Marshall 1998



Taniwha is also a children's *waiata-a-ringa*. Aside from the foot stamping, the children undulate their right arms on "*taniwha*" and perform an overarm swimming stroke on "swimming in the *moana*". They hold their hand to an ear on "he whispered in my *taringa* ('ear')", beckon on "oh, won't you come along", shade their eyes with their hand on "there's such a lot to see" and repeat the undulating action on "underneath the deep blue sea". The children shake their right forefingers and their heads on "no, no, no", gesture with their right thumbs over their shoulders on "go, go, go", make a hugging action on "my mother's waiting for me", draw the shape of a tree canopy on "*kowhai* tree" and wave on the last line "oh *taniwha haere ra* ('farewell')". All of the songs learned by the *tamariki* served the dual role of exposing them to the culture and teaching them *te reo* Māori. The actions make the words easy to remember, much as they do in western pre-school songs, but the *tamariki* stand in a line to perform, and add the signature movements associated with adult Māori dance, such as the foot stamping and the hands on hips posture adopted prior to starting the performance. So these songs are also used to socialise the children in performance protocols to prepare them as performers of *kapa haka* from a young age.[18]

Transcription 4.2: *Taniwha.*

Transcribed: D. Marshall, 1998



Gina and Cedric separated in November following personal problems, and Cedric moved to Sydney. Gina resigned as tutor in December 1998. Gina informed club president, Maadi Te Kahu, of her intentions, and suggested that he should approach Karlene and offer her the position. By the middle of 1999, Gina and Cedric had reconciled and soon after joined the newly resurrected *Tāku Mana* under the tutorship of Sonny Abraham. Sonny had worked as a professional tutor in New Zealand, teaching in high schools. He had taught at Queen Victoria High school for ten years when *Tāku Mana* approached him in 1987 to be its tutor. Sonny tutored the *rōpū* for two years, then he tutored *Ngā Hapu Katoa* and *Te Ruawhenua* respectively before moving to seek other work in Sydney.

Following the resignation of Gina as women's tutor for both the *tamariki* and the seniors in January 1999, Maadi approached Karlene Pouwhare to offer her both tutoring positions. While she became sole tutor for the *tamariki*, she co-tutored the seniors with Tangi, who stayed on as the men's tutor after the Mehanas resigned. Acutely aware of the expectations of the club where the tutor is concerned, she scheduled rehearsals for Sunday afternoons in an attempt to maximise *rōpū* numbers.

In late January 1999, the senior *rōpū* returned to practise for the 'Polynesian Night', the first fundraising concert for the year. Held on March 13, the 'Polynesian Night" was to be a celebration of Polynesian culture. The club's catering group had organised a buffet meal, a full bar, and kitchen and bar staff. A pan-Polynesian culture group was booked to perform. This group performed dances from Tonga,

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Zealand, teaching the song *Taniwha* to four-year old students at her son's pre-school.

Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii and the Cook Islands. The seniors also performed its own program, put together by Tangi and Karlene. Following the controversy of the men's *haka* medley at the Polynesian night, Tangi resigned and, from June 1999, Karlene found herself sole tutor for the senior *rōpū*. Karlene stayed on as tutor for the 'babies', and her husband, Tamai, helped the boys with the *haka*. Moana Pirere, a younger member of the senior *rōpū* took over from Karlene as tutor of the *tamariki*, and was later assisted by Leeanne 'Langers' Roa. Tamai assisted the men of the senior *rōpū* with their *haka*. As women do not perform the *haka* it is essential that a woman tutor have a male to teach the men their part. While Tamai helped with the 'babies' and the seniors he was not a designated tutor and was not recognised officially.

Rehearsals

Gina and Cedric employed team-teaching strategies when tutoring the *tamariki*. Gina would act as the main teacher while Cedric provided the guitar accompaniment, then they would split the group into boys and girls and Gina instructed the girls in their specific movements and gestures while Cedric instructed the boys. In this way the role of the male and female tutor was clearly delineated. In general it is the women who teach women's dances and gestures and men teach men's gestures and dances, although there are exceptions to this. Sonny Abraham is generally regarded as one of the best tutors of the women's dance, the *haka poi* in the world. Likewise, women do not perform the men's *haka* and vice versa. Instead, they provide vocal support for each other throughout a performance, and each group has gender-specific gestures. This distinction between women's and men's dance moves is not exclusive to Māori dance and parallels can be found in many Pacific cultures including the Cook Islands and Yap (Marshall 1994), as well as further

afield, most notably in Balinese and Javanese dance styles. Both men and women can *pūkana*, roll their eyes and pull faces, but only men *whētero*, poke out their tongues[19].

While each tutor teaches in his or her own unique way, each practice follows a similar format from week to week and from club to club. A typical practice at *Ngā Hapu Katoa* opens with a *karakia*, either spoken by the *kaumātua* or the tutor. These prayers are not formal, but improvised to suit the occasion. They generally have a Christian theme, and may start with 'Dear Lord' or a similar opening, and generally give thanks for the presence of the participants and their health. Those not present due to illness are remembered and blessings for the club and its members may be requested. The *karakia* is generally in English, although it may be spoken in *te reo Māori* if the person leading the prayer can *kōrero* Māori. Occasionally the tutor may invite another member of the *rōpū* to say the *karakia*. The members of the *rōpū* then take their places in line and begin practice. Rehearsals for the *tamariki* involve all parents joining in with the singing and dancing, and Karlene would seek input from both adults and older children for ideas for movements to accompany the songs. Karlene followed a strict routine with her rehearsals, ensuring that the group had rest breaks and that all practices were finished by lunch or dinner. Frequently performers and their families shared a meal following the rehearsal. The order of songs practised depends on the material being taught and whether the tutor is preparing a program for a concert or competition. The *rōpū* generally stand in three or four lines, depending on the number of members at any given time, facing the tutor. The lyrics of each item are written out

[19] One explanation for this taboo is that the tongue is a symbolic representation of the penis. According to one popular belief the further a man can poke out his tongue, the longer his penis (Smith, F. Pers. comm., 31 December 1998). This notion is not carried through into Māori visual arts, as both male and female figures can be seen to *whētero* in Māori art, including the lintel carving that was above the door of *Te Amorangi*.

in advance on large sheets of paper and hung on the wall behind the tutor. The tutor or an assistant then strums guitar chords and sings the melody several times and, as the melody becomes more familiar, the *rōpū* joins in. The guitar accompanies all songs. Only the traditional chants, such as *waiata*, *haka*, and occasionally the *haka poi*, are unaccompanied.

The tutor must teach the *rōpū* the lyrics and the melody, and harmony if required, and teach appropriate rhythm and stress in the *waiata*. Additionally, the tutor must provide translations from the Māori into English so that the *rōpū* can attach meaning to the lyrics. This is vital, as many members of the *rōpū* have never learnt to speak Māori and, consequently, do not understand the meaning of the lyrics. In addition, the tutor also creates and teaches accompanying choreography including *poi* technique. Teaching and learning *kapa haka* requires considerable commitment from both the tutor and *rōpū*. Most *rōpū* meet weekly for between three to six hours. The amount of time spent at practice generally increases as *rōpū* prepare for upcoming competitions, with many *rōpū* spending all weekend at practice in the final month prior to the Regional Festival. Some clubs would even organise weekend retreats or *wānanga* (lit. 'lore of the wise') at this time, hiring a hall and arriving on the Friday night, returning home on the Sunday night after two full days of intensive rehearsals, during which they stopped only for meals and sleep.

Tutors need to ensure that all material they teach is appropriate and sensitive to the tribal makeup of their *rōpū*. One consideration is the stylistic and language differences between tribes. While *iwi* have much in common, there can be subtle differences between tribes from different areas, and tutors will draw on their own tribal knowledge and experience when teaching. This means that what is a correct gesture or pronunciation for one tribe will be incorrect for another. For example, the

Ngāti Kahungungu tribe on the east coast does not use the standard marching foot movement *takahia*. Instead, *Ngāti Kahungungu* performers use a shuffle step and the women sway their hips in a manner more reminiscent of Cook Islands dance.

> The *Ngāti Kāhungungu* don't footstamp, they shuffle. They like it but it's not the right way to dance and the rest of us Māori think it looks ugly. (Roa. L. Pers. comm. 5 January 2000)

A Balancing Act

While some of the issues facing the tutors are similar to those faced by other members of the culture club, others are unique to the position. One of the more general issues that affects everyone relates to the amount of time spent each weekend on club-related activities. For many members with families and jobs, giving up weekends and evenings for rehearsals is not an easy decision to make, particularly if there is travel involved. In addition, the amount of work required from tutors in the preparation of material for performance alongside a perceived lack of support from club members who don't always attend rehearsals can take its toll on their willingness and enthusiasm. Involvement in a culture club is generally voluntary, and all culture clubs rely on the goodwill and enthusiasm of their supporters to keep them viable. Many club members generally contribute significantly more than their annual membership fees in terms of financial support through participation in fundraising activities, and time, as observed in the people who are involved year after year in the running of the clubs as office bearers on the committees and as club officials. But, for most members of the culture club, their commitment to the club is of secondary importance. Their first priorities are work and family, and involvement in 'culture' is seen as being of secondary importance. The demands of the club and the *rōpū* can take many hours each week out of the tutor's life and can seriously disrupt people's personal lives, causing health

problems, and disrupting relationships. At the height of their involvement with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, Gina and Cedric Mehana were at *Te Amorangi* for between twelve and fifteen hours teaching and rehearsing each week. Furthermore they spent their evenings planning new material for both *rōpū*. At the time both were employed in full time shift work and bringing up three teenage sons. When Gina resigned in December, it was to spend more time with her boys following her separation from Cedric. At the time, she blamed the pressures of tutoring on the marriage breakdown, and she vowed that she would no longer be involved in Māori culture. Soon after this, Gina resigned from her job and devoted herself to her children. By October 1999, she and Cedric had reconciled, were expecting a daughter and had returned to *kapa haka*, albeit with another club[20].

Gina and Cedric were not the only tutors to find that tutoring and involvement in *kapa haka* was, in itself, a full time commitment that created problems with respect to family and work commitments. Tangi Tuhi, who tutored *Ngā Hapu Katoa* with Gina and later Karlene, experienced difficulties balancing his work and family commitments with his commitment to the club. As Tangi explained to the members of *Ngā Hapu Katoa* on his resignation as men's tutor, he had to work in order to make the money he needed to support his family, pay off his mortgage and put his children through school. As a builder Tangi often sub-contracts to building companies. Consequently he had to work when the companies required him to. This often meant six out of seven days were spent on building sites. He even worked seven days when required. As a consequence, Tangi was frequently criticised for not putting the club's needs first, and for being late to or absent from rehearsals and performances. While Karlene did not engage in paid work, she spent

[20] It is possible that their reason for joining *Tāku Mana* was the return of Sonny Abraham as tutor of *Tāku Mana* from Sydney. Gina and Cedric had worked with Sonny in both *Ngā Hapu Katoa* and *Ngā Taonga E Whitu* and regarded him as a close personal friend.

much of her day caring for her two children and occasionally the children of other club members. She also acted as a foster mother, and even adopted a son. Her husband, Tamai, worked full time. Other culture clubs have experienced similar problems over the years. Nana Rollo, the tutor for *Te Ruawhenua* until 1994, found it difficult to keep tutoring the club when her job took her to regional Victoria. Some weekends it was too difficult to get back to Melbourne to tutor. This led to concern and even resentment among members of the *rōpū* who felt that Nana was neglecting them and that she should put the club first and not seek *mahi* outside of Melbourne. Later, when her *mahi* took her to Sydney, the club came close to folding without her guidance, despite her best efforts to train club members to take over from her (Dunphy 1994). Nana has since returned to New Zealand and the club continued without her until 2000. They have since become inactive.

The role that the tutor fulfils within the culture club and the expectations of the club are important issues with respect to the development of a strong *kapa haka* tradition in Melbourne. It is almost impossible for a club to employ a paid tutor. All positions in a culture club are voluntary. Elections are held for office bearers, and the positions of club captain and tutor are offered to people with the ability to lead and teach, and who have the respect of the rest of the club. As such, most people fulfill their obligations to the club during their spare time. They do not spend their waking hours devoted solely to the running of the club. Instead, they fit their time with the club around their work and family commitments. Members of the *rōpū* rehearse at a time that suits most people, and the tutor plans the program, creates new material and designs the choreography whenever he or she has the time. Culture clubs rely on goodwill and loyalty from their tutors as when *Tāku Mana* approached Sonny Abraham, a professional tutor in New Zealand, in 1987. Sonny gave up his

paid job teaching *kapa haka* in New Zealand high schools to work with clubs in Melbourne, and later Sydney.

As well as commitment, respect is another important issue in the success of a tutor. A tutor must have the respect of the *rōpū* for the relationship to be successful, and for them to perform at their best. The members of *Ngā Hapu Katoa* respected Karlene Pouwhare for her commitment, enthusiasm and her innovation. Sonny Abraham had the respect of all his *rōpū*, including *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, for his knowledge and skills in *kapa haka*. Nana had the respect of *Te Ruawhenua*, partly because she established the club, but also because of her skill in all aspects of *kapa haka*. It is significant that respect is earned irrespective of gender and sexual orientation, although people from outside of the club may be disparaging about the tutor or the club in general. Nana was a transsexual, and several core members of *Te Ruawhenua* are also transsexuals. Sonny, a homosexual, is regarded by many Māori in Melbourne as the greatest *poi* tutor in the world. However, there are tutors who do not command the full respect of their clubs. This lack of respect may be caused by habitual lateness, missing rehearsals, arriving for rehearsals or performances while drunk, or putting their own children forward for important positions such as *kaea* in the line-up, charges that had been leveled at Tangi on occasion. In addition to the popularity of her compositions, Karlene's choreography was enjoyed by the *rōpū* as it was both creative and dramatic.

The tutor is influenced not only by traditions from New Zealand, but also by mainstream Australian society and its associated paraphernalia including the media, as documented in the next section, and cultural festivals, cited previously. In effect the tutor is developing syncretic styles using mainstream influences occurring around them, and it is this that makes Australian *kapa haka* unique and quite distinct from *kapa haka* created in New Zealand. This puts pressure on them to work within

the accepted protocols of composition and performance of 'traditional' genres such as *haka* and *waiata*, while balancing the need to make material appropriate for the needs of the performers and the audience by drawing on ideas and musical styles from outside Māori tradition. Musical syncretism and the issues and forms of cultural interface and change have been the subject of debate by eminent scholars and will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Seven. Apart from musical influences, the tutor and his or her work is also influenced by the demands both of their *rōpū* and of the wider Māori community. Murray (1999) states that Māori *rōpū* in New Zealand fall into two groups: professional, groups that are paid entertainers employed exclusively in the tourism industry, and competitive, *rōpū* that only perform in the regional festivals, adhering to strict guidelines concerning performance protocols. In contrast, *rōpū* in Melbourne fall into both, but on a part-time basis. The *rōpū* from the major clubs all compete in the various dance competitions, and they all work as paid performers at festivals and at both public and private events such as weddings, the Bledisloe Cup and corporate events, etc. Tutors are under enormous pressure not only to maintain the tradition of *kapa haka* for the competitions, but also to create *kapa haka* performances that are commercially successful and acceptable to the wider, non-Māori community. Cultural purity and commercial success are not always the same and tutors need to take both into consideration when creating new material for performance. Not all innovations in the performance tradition are greeted with enthusiasm here or in New Zealand. Murray (1999) observed that the use of plastic *piupiu* and *poi* by the professional *rōpū* working in the tourist industry was greeted with derision by the competitive *rōpū*. The term 'plastic Māori' was used to describe those professionals who made use of such non-traditional materials as acrylic and plastic. Māori in Australia make use of synthetic materials in the construction of their *poi*,

particularly plastic supermarket bags, because the materials are readily available and easy to use. This is widely accepted and plastic *poi* are always used in Australian competitions, although most clubs purchase and wear flax *piupiu* for performing. Children in Australian clubs generally wear *piupiu* made from plastic tubing, as these are easy and cheap to make, and very durable. The cost of providing the children with flax *piupiu* would be prohibitive.

Overwhelmingly the tutor's is a voluntary position, undertaken by committed individuals who have a desire to see the *kapa haka* tradition retained as an integral part of the Māori community outside of New Zealand. As illustrated previously they do not have the luxury of unlimited time to commit to the creation of new material, nor do they have access to unlimited rehearsal time with their *rōpū*. The same applies to the members of the *rōpū*, many of whom work during the day and at weekends. The *rōpū* and the tutors in Melbourne, and throughout Australia, operate as part-time, semi-professional performers. When the *rōpū* commits to a paid performance, the payment rarely goes to the performers. Generally all funds go to the club to cover costs such as the purchase of uniforms, bus hire and rehearsal space hire. *Ngā Hapu Katoa* rented and maintained its own clubrooms over many years. Only very rarely do the performers receive payment for their performance. This is in direct contrast to the situation in New Zealand, where *rōpū* have direct links to their tribal heritage, and their existence can be funded either by government subsidy or through regional programs.

The Tutor as Cultural Inventor

Of necessity, many tutors in Melbourne compose new material for their *rōpū* to perform. This may stem from a desire to create something unique for their *rōpū* or for the audience. There may be a need for a new song in memory of

someone who has passed away, as with the death of Carol Pirihi (cf. p. 60). Or it may be that the tutor has had little or no experience as a tutor, has a limited knowledge of the culture and so resorts to other musical sources and experiences to create original, non-traditional songs. This latter reason was the case with Karlene Pouwhare. Karlene does not *kōrero* Māori, aside from a few stock standard phrases and words, but she has been responsible for tutoring both the adults and children over many years. Karlene is an energetic and enthusiastic supporter of *kapa haka*, although her own experience is limited. Her strength lies in her enthusiasm and love of music. Karlene has been responsible for creating several new action songs for performance[21].

Karlene's choreography was both creative and dramatic. Her unconventional style of choreography and flair for the visually dramatic meant that she often used diagonal lines of movement, as opposed to the more traditional parallel horizontal line-up, with the performers passing each other at right angles. Her *whakaeke* choreography for the 1996 Regional Festival featured the *rōpū* starting in an L-shape, then moving across the stage, crossing over and fanning out to form four parallel lines for the next item (see Example 3 on accompanying video).

One of Karlene's most popular creations is a *waiata-a-ringa*, based on the theme to the popular Australian television program *Burke's Backyard*, itself an arrangement by the bush band Bullamakanka of the popular Australian tune *Home Among the Gum Trees*. Karlene's version uses the lyrics of the original chorus, and finishes with the final lyrics from the Bullamakanka arrangement for *Burke's Backyard*. The accompanying actions illustrate the lyrics on "home" (making the shape of a roof with fingertips together), "gumtrees" (drawing a circle in the air

[21] At a celebration by *Ngā Hapu Katoa* in honour of Karlene's fortieth birthday, club *kaumātua* Boydy Smith described Karlene as a *taonga* 'treasure' and members of the *rōpū* performed for her.

middle fingers on the side of the head), "kangaroo" (using the hands to suggest the front paws of a hopping kangaroo), "clothesline out the back" (arms held out straight in front of the body and two thumbs over the head pointing to the back), "verandah out the front" (arms in the shape of a roof then pointing to the front) and on "rocking chair" (arms folded and making a rocking movement). In the repeat the performers mime a digging action on the lyrics "... in Burke's back yard". The theme from *Burke's Backyard* uses the original lyrics for verse one, but the lyrics of the chorus are slightly different from the original. Karlene has not altered the lyrics, other than to combine the two different choruses for her version.

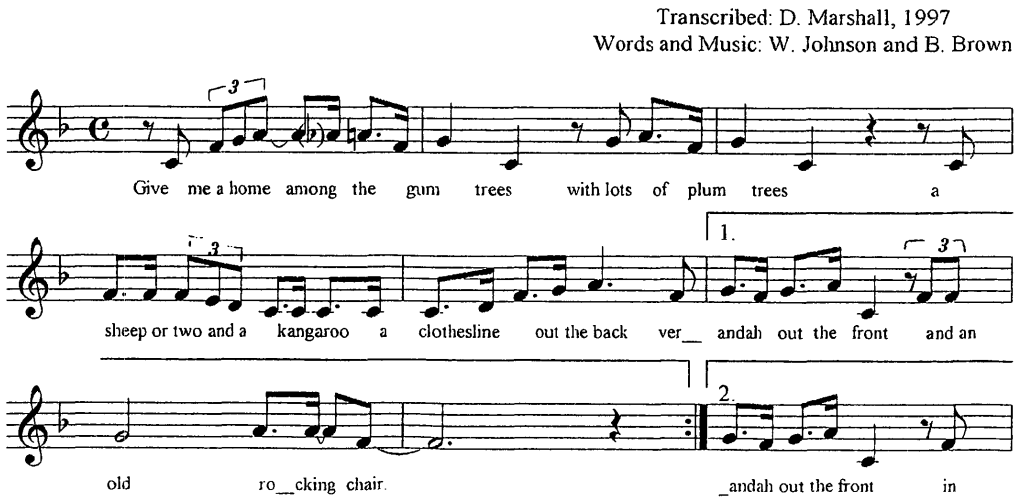
Chorus: *Home Among the Gum Trees* (Words and music: W. Johnson and B. Brown)

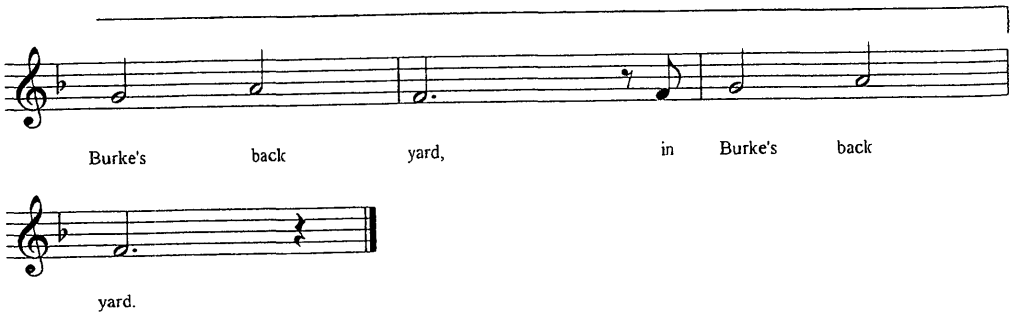
Give me a home among the gum trees, with lots of plum trees
A sheep or two and a kangaroo, a clothesline out the back,
Verandah out the front, and an old rocking chair.

Chorus: *Burke's Backyard* (Arr. Bullamakanka) (repeat only)

Give me a home among the gum trees, with lots of plum trees
A dog or two and a barbecue, a clothesline out the back,
Verandah out the front, in Burke's Backyard.

Transcription 4.3: *Home Among the Gum Trees* (Arr. Karlene Pouwhare)





Karlene's creation of a *waiata-a-ringa* to the chorus of *Home Among The Gum Trees* with elements from the *Burke's Backyard* arrangement creates a curious pastiche that is a prime example of musical and cultural recontextualisation, with composers drawing on influences from outside of the traditional sphere of tribal and historical material and utilising their own personal experiences of the world around them. In its original incarnation, *Home Among The Gum Trees*, composed by W. Johnson and B. Brown, is a contemporary song extolling the virtues of 'home' in Australia, in a similar, albeit simpler and more up beat vein to Peter Allen's popular song *I Still Call Australia Home* (performed most recently by members of the Australian children's choir in a television advertisement for Qantas, Asutrlia's national airline). For the Māori, this identification with a 'home among the gum trees' and the creation and performance of this song could be indicative of a perception and creation of a new 'home' here in Australia. This example highlights how contemporary media can influence the creation and performance of traditional dance forms, but also shape perceptions of Australia and the concept of 'home'.

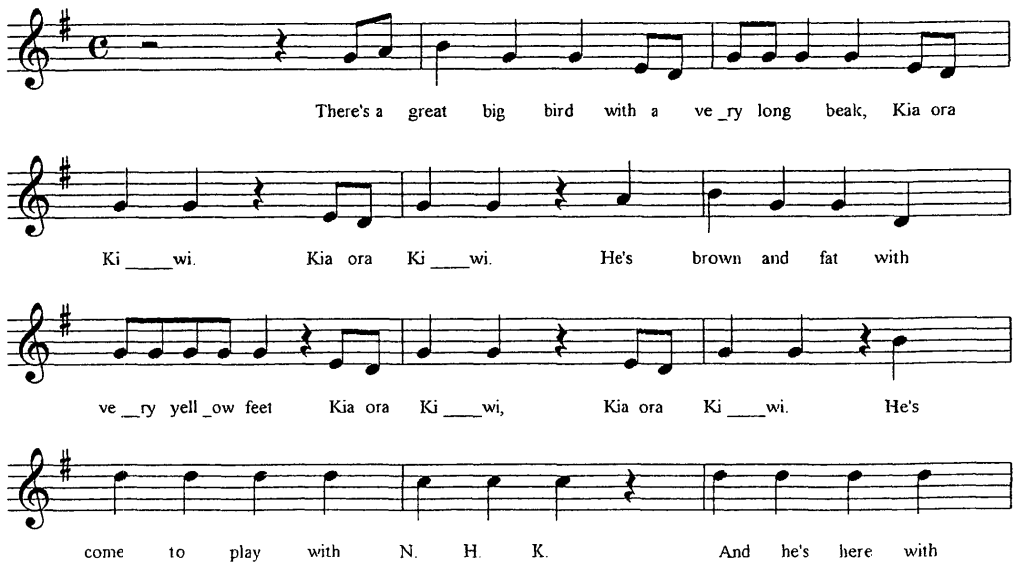
More recently, Karlene composed a *waiata-a-ringa* in October 1999 for the pre-school *rōpū* to perform at the Regional Festival. Titled *Kia Ora Kiwi*, Karlene envisaged a giant kiwi dancing on stage with the 'babies'. She commissioned a kiwi costume and arranged for one of the fathers to wear it at the Festival. The composition of some of the lyrics for the song and the creation of the actions was,

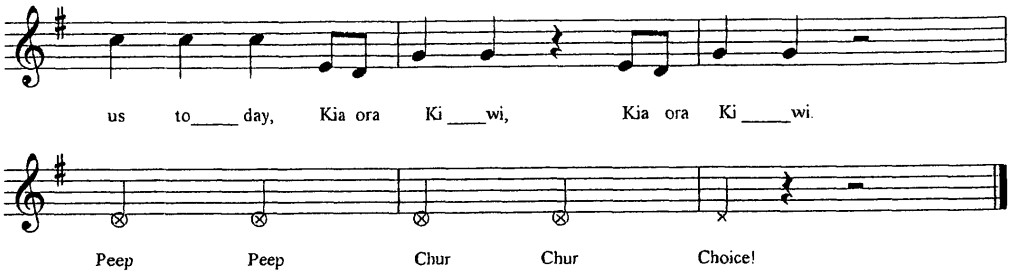
however, a joint effort. Working with an original tune, in contemporary western melodic style, Karlene sang the first verse, but requested help with the next verse. Input from the mothers and some of the *tamariki* who were assisting resulted in an additional two verses (with rhymes) and a full-set of actions to illustrate the lyrics. The melody is simple, with a range of an octave and the intervalic leaps are larger than traditional songs. This is typical of many western-style melodies. The rhythm creates a rocking feel, which allows the children to maintain their *takahia* action throughout the song.

Karlene created *Kia Ora Kiwi* as a children's *waiata-a-ringa*, to be performed by the children on stage with a giant kiwi. As well as the inclusion of the standard Māori greeting "*kia ora*", the kiwi is the symbol of a larger New Zealand context, both as the national emblem of the country and as the nickname for anyone from New Zealand. Thus "Kia ora Kiwi" is a greeting to the audience of predominantly expatriate New Zealanders. As an educational device, its primary purpose was to socialise the children in public performance in a way that was fun and non-threatening.

Transcription 4.4: *Kia Ora Kiwi* (Composed by Karlene Pouwhare)

Transcribed: D. Marshall 1999
Composed: K. Pouwhare, D. Marshall, A. Pirere.





As with the *waiata-a-ringa Home Among The Gum Trees*, the performances use English lyrics instead of Māori and are meant to be both fun and easy to perform. There is no pretence that these are traditional Māori songs, and there is nothing – melodically, rhythmically or thematically – that even suggests that they are exclusively Māori. In fact the concept of the 'action song' can be found throughout the Pacific region, combining movements or gestures with song. The movements or gestures may or may not illustrate the lyrics. On Yap, this genre of dance is called *churuq*, 'dance-chants', and combines gesture and movement with chant (Marshall 1994). On Hawaii, *hula* also combines song with movement and gesture (Kaeppler 1998:925-928). The gestures for both of Karlene's *waiata-a-ringa* illustrate certain words. In *Kia Ora Kiwi*, the children make a circle with their arms for "great big bird", on "very long beak" they hold their arms out in front and snap them together. On the words "brown and fat" the children mime a fat tummy, and on "very yellow feet" the children lean forward and make walking gestures with their arms. For the final line the children gesture broadly at the kiwi and at themselves to indicate that they are 'N.H.K.' (*Ngā Hapu Katoa*). At each repeat of the line "Kia ora Kiwi" they wave to the kiwi and he waves back. These two examples illustrate that music is being used to recontextualise performance protocols, by appealing to an audience with performances that are purely for entertainment as well as in their

language, and in providing children with a medium of dance that they will enjoy performing.

Karlene was not the only tutor to have created new material for *Ngā Hapu Katoa*. Sonny Abraham, Tangi Tuhi and the Mehanas have all created material for the club over the years, although the material rarely gets performed once the tutor leaves. In early 1998, the Mehanas were prompted to create a song when a teenage girl committed suicide, the fourth such death in two years. For Gina and Cedric, the issue was one of confronting parents with the problem, of stopping them and saying, "Hey, these are our kids. What are we going to do about it?" (Mehana. G. Pers. comm. 31 January 1998). The creative process, however, was not as simple, and involved the two trying out melodies and chords, with Cedric playing the guitar and Gina humming and singing tunes. Cedric occasionally experimented with a vocal harmony with Gina's melody and they would play with the tune until they were happy with it. This song was not composed as a *waiata-a-ringa*, and so actions were never created to go with it. Instead it was a song, dealing with Māori issues, but not necessarily exclusively in Māori style. It did, however, conform to the musical conventions observed in Māori popular song. It was in simple quadruple time and featured a I, IV, V chord progression and the melodic structure was simple. The song was never committed to paper, and the *rōpū* never learnt the song. Gina was also the women's tutor for the senior *rōpū*, and the pair consulted with the men's tutor, Tangi Tuhi, as both tutors must agree on any material presented to the club for rehearsal and performance.

Tangi Tuhi has been the men's tutor for *Ngā Hapu Katoa* from time to time during the past eight years. Tangi tutored the men most recently from 1996 until April 1999. As with Karlene Pouwhare and Gina and Cedric Mehana, Tangi created original material for the *rōpū*. In September 1998 Tangi composed the song *Moe*

Mai Ra Kara Pirihi ('Everlasting Sleep Carol Pirihi', see Example 1 on accompanying video), dedicated to founding member Carol Pirihi who died on August 30 1998. The song was composed for the *whakaeke* of the *rōpū* onto stage at the 1998 Regional Festival. Unlike Karlene, Tangi was immersed in Māori language and culture throughout his childhood and is a fluent speaker. In New Zealand he was involved in *kapa haka*, an involvement he has maintained with his wife and children since coming to Australia. Although Tangi mostly taught material he had learnt in New Zealand, he did occasionally create original pieces. Tangi's compositions work around traditional musical forms such as *haka* and *waiata-a-ringa* and are always in *te reo Māori*. Tangi also prefers to use Māori symbols in his compositions, hence his reference to the *amokura* bird and its feathers in *Moe Mai Ra Kara Pirihi*. Tutors from other clubs around Melbourne have also created material for their respective groups. Nana Rollo, a former tutor with *Te Ruawhenua* has also created original songs and dances for that club. Sonny Abraham, another former tutor with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, regularly created material while he was working in Melbourne. Sonny specialised in creating actions and lyrics for the *haka poi*. As mentioned previously, he is regarded as a particularly gifted tutor and is greatly respected by the Māori in Melbourne (Mehana, G. Pers. comm. 29 October 1998), and his *haka poi* are highly regarded.

The importance of the tutor, as a teacher and composer of *kapa haka* cannot be overstated. The tutor is not only responsible for maintaining the tradition and the links with the past, but is also the creative force behind cultural change. By adapting traditional forms for entertainment she or he is creating a new genre of *kapa haka* as entertainment. Tutors do not, however, change or invent existing genres. The value of the existing repertoire is too great to be meddled with, and the tradition of *kapa haka* too highly respected for idle tinkering. It is the job of the tutor to be aware of

the issues at play with traditional chants and to treat them with respect. If a tutor is unaware of the existing conventions associated with the performance of a particular *haka* or *waiata* it is his or her responsibility to find out. Karlene Pouwhare regularly consulted with her *Ngāti Tuwharetoa kaumātua* in New Zealand on issues associated with *kapa haka*. Not adhering to convention can cost a tutor his or her position, as Tangi Tuhi found when he taught the men of *Ngā Hapu Katoa* a *haka* medley in early 1999.

The flexibility to create new material for performance only extends to non-traditional, i.e. post-British, musical forms such as *waiata-a-ringa*. Clearly the taboos that McLean (1977) documents still exist although when it comes to traditional chants. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) suggest, though, that traditions based on pragmatic reasons are conventions, and these conventions acquire symbolic meanings that link them with the past. In the case of Māori chant, misfortune may have befallen those who varied the text or melody of a *waiata* or a *haka*, and over time they have become inviolate. But tampering with existing *haka* and *waiata*, though generally deplored, does occasionally occur. In March 1999 Tangi and the men from *Ngā Hapu Katoa* performed a *haka* medley as part of a *kapa haka* set for the club's 'Polynesian Night'. This night was a major fundraiser and the hall was filled with over two hundred guests, many from other clubs. Mid way through the second *haka* of the medley, Hiki Te Kani, a visiting *kaumātua*, and a relative of Tangi's stopped the performance. Hiki had taken offence at the incomplete performance and at the mix of *haka* from different tribes and he denounced Tangi in *te reo Māori* in front of the audience. In the ensuing debate blame was apportioned to Tangi, for teaching the medley, to Karlene for not telling Tangi that creating a *haka* medley was not an acceptable practice, and to the *kaumātua* for not waiting for a more appropriate forum in which to confront Tangi.

Tangi's protests that he had intended no disrespect in creating and teaching the *haka* medley went unheeded and the club did not defend him against his critics and he subsequently resigned. He has not taught *kapa haka* since, although he has expressed interest in returning to the club and taking up a tutoring position (Smith B. Pers. comm. 12 November 2000). An issue of greater import than blame, but not debated at the time, was the fact that *haka* medleys have been performed previously in Melbourne, but that the tutors and *kaumātua* have not stood up to denounce the practice. In effect, tacit approval has been given to a practice that clearly breaches Māori traditions. Tangi was never actually asked why he had chosen to do this, even when he was aware that it was not an acceptable practice. Tangi originally created the medley for performance at his son Jason's 21st birthday.

> Tangi created the *haka* medley for Jason's twenty-first birthday. It was all the haka that Jason had learnt in the club. It was meant to be a tribute to Jason, and Tangi didn't do anything wrong [in creating the medley]. (Tuhi, S. Pers. comm. 6 November 1999).

This example illustrates the fine line that tutors tread when working within the constraints of their tradition. Tutors can draw significantly on mainstream influences, particularly popular music, but these 'hybridised' or syncretic styles are not viewed as serious musical contributions. Older chants, the 'traditional' genres, such as the *haka*, *waiata*, and the old *haka poi* chants, cannot be altered, and misfortune does appear to befall those that meddle with them, as Tangi's experience clearly illustrates. And yet, had the Hiki Te Kani not been present, it is quite possible that there would not have been an issue. Even so, it is possible to view Tangi's reinterpretation of these particular *haka* as an example of the recontextualisation of Māori culture which had gone beyond acceptable bounds, acknowledging the many *haka* he has taught over the years, and creating a new medium of performance in the process. In spite of this, most tutors in Australia

adhere to the conventions for the performance of *haka*, *waiata* and *haka poi*, and performances of these genres follow the protocols traditionally applied to them. These genres are exempt from mainstream musical influences by their very nature. Only those genres perceived as 'non-traditional' or as syncretic forms can be altered.

Mainstream Influences

Mainstream musical influences have played an important part in the creation of new musical compositions and can be observed in many of the migrant cultures, both in Melbourne and elsewhere in Australia, including the Māori, and a number of scholars have documented these over the years. These musical influences may influence the performance style, the musical structure and the content of a composition, and the range of influences varies greatly too. This section will examine a number of compositions that have been influenced by mainstream musical and extra-musical events and situations. Parkhill (1983) documents two such examples, in which cross-cultural forces influence the content of traditional folk epic genres created by two migrant composers. Both examples display syncretic features, working within the musical traditions of each composer's culture, but the syncretic features displayed in these examples are extra-musical, involving the use of language and themes. These features include use of English language and references to non-musical events that occurred in mainstream society. Parkhill discusses a composition in *zejal* style, a form of sung, vernacular poetry from Lebanon. Conventional *zejal* are improvised in performance, using a composition formula that stretches back to the Middle Ages. Typical subject matter may include metaphysics, national pride, and the style makes use of stock phrases and epithets. Musically the *zejal* features improvisations based on the *maqamat*, Middle Eastern melodic modes. *Zejal* may be strongly rhythmic or performed rubato. Most

significant, though, is the subject matter of the example that Parkhill discusses. Using this traditional Middle Eastern genre the composer created *Poor Magpie*, a composition which describes the 1979 VFL Grand Final[22] play off between traditional rivals Carlton ('The Blues') and Collingwood ('The Magpies'). 'Footy fever' can affect the sanest person in Melbourne and is more akin to religion than sport in the lives of some supporters.

Poor Magpie is in modern *zejal* style. Modern *zejal* are frequently macaronic, using a mixture of Arabic and English language. Macaronic style is common is Australian compositions, with composers using vernacular sayings and phrases. The subject matter of locally composed *zejal* frequently deals with the experiences of the migrant community in dealing with the Australian way of life, with composers describing true experiences and events. Thus these Australian *zejal* can be viewed as a syncretic style, displaying influences from mainstream life on the musical genre, and distinct from Arabic *zejal*. Musical syncretism has been the catalyst for much discussion in ethnomusicology, and other examples of syncretic music can be found in Nettl (1978 and 1985) and Kartomi (1981), among others. The composition *Poor Magpie* uses epic style and imagery in describing the action and the players. The composer, John Harb, uses interjections from both sides of the crowd, much as a Middle Eastern audience would interject during a poetry performance describing the actions and conflicts of their heroes. The players are portrayed as giants contesting for a golden cup, and the magpie, a black and white native Australian bird, is eventually speared and devoured by its opponents.

Cretan composer George Tsourdalakis, who resides in Melbourne, composed Parkhill's second example, *Today Black is the Sky*. This piece is based on

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[22] The Victorian Football League, now the Australian Football League, is the governing body for Australian Rules football. Australian Rules was originally established in Melbourne's

the Cretan epic musical and poetic traditions and, as with *Poor Magpie*, employs mythological imagery as well as traditional poetic forms, in this case the *rizitika*. *Rizitika* are created to a set formula using repetition and symbolic and heroic language. *Today Black is the Sky* also demonstrates syncretic elements in its reference to place and contemporary political events. The lyrics have been set to an existing traditional melody, which uses rhyming couplets with fifteen syllables in each line. *Today Black is the Sky* recounts the 1975 sacking of then Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam and his Labor government, by the Governor General, the late Sir John Kerr. Kerr then installed Malcolm Fraser as caretaker Prime Minister until an election could be held. Kerr and Fraser are described as wolves that rage unchecked through the land, trampling the people, seizing democracy and justice, and destroying human rights. Whitlam is compared with John F. Kennedy, and the overall tone of the composition is of social outrage.

Although Māori composers in Melbourne have resisted mainstream political and sporting influences (rugby remains the sport of choice rather than Aussie Rules), many new *haka* compositions in New Zealand have become a vehicle for political expression (Shennan 1998), confronting opponents and challenging them to face their responsibilities. The responsibility for creating new compositions lies with the tutors, and many have absorbed extra-musical influences in their new songs in much the same way as composers have from other migrant communities, such as those described in Parkhill. The tutors have used external social and cultural influences in their song and dance. With the exception of the *waiata* and the *haka* and occasionally the *poi*, which all use a strongly rhythmic, monophonic strophic chant of limited range, even as performed in Australia, all other Māori song is syncretic, with European musical characteristics such as scale patterns and instrumentation.

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inner suburbs during the nineteenth century. The historic home of Australian Rules,

The guitar has readily been adopted as the chief instrument for accompaniment, possibly by virtue of its low cost, portability and the relative ease with which it can be mastered. Even so, most Māori song still lies within the realm of the oral tradition, with most Māori playing guitar by ear, and with accompaniment generally based on either a combination of I and V7 chords or I, IV and V7 chords. The guitar's status as official instrument for accompanying the performance of non-traditional Māori song has been recognised by the Aotearoa Festival Society[23]. Either one or two guitars may be used to accompany the non-chant sections of the Festival. All traditional chants, i.e. the *waiata* and the *haka* as well as any traditional *haka poi*, must be unaccompanied.

Although western musical influences, such as scale structure and harmony, are very evident in Māori song, the compositions of Melbourne-based tutors such as Karlene Pouwhare and the Mehanas display evidence of further acculturative influences, this time from the media and advertising. This can be observed in Karlene's use of a television theme song for a *waiata-a-ringa*, and in the use of non-traditional material for *haka* performances. It is important to note that performances of such material is intended only as entertainment and is not viewed as serious *kapa haka*. One *haka* that has been very popular both in New Zealand and Australia is *The Fly*, based on a television commercial for a brand of spray insecticide called *Pea Beau*. *The Fly* illustrates the link between popular culture, i.e. television media, and the creation of new compositions, a link previously illustrated with Karlene's composition based on the *Burke's Backyard* theme song. *The Fly* is generally performed as light entertainment to bring male members of the audience up on to the stage to perform with the 'warriors'. The women from the *rōpū* go out into the

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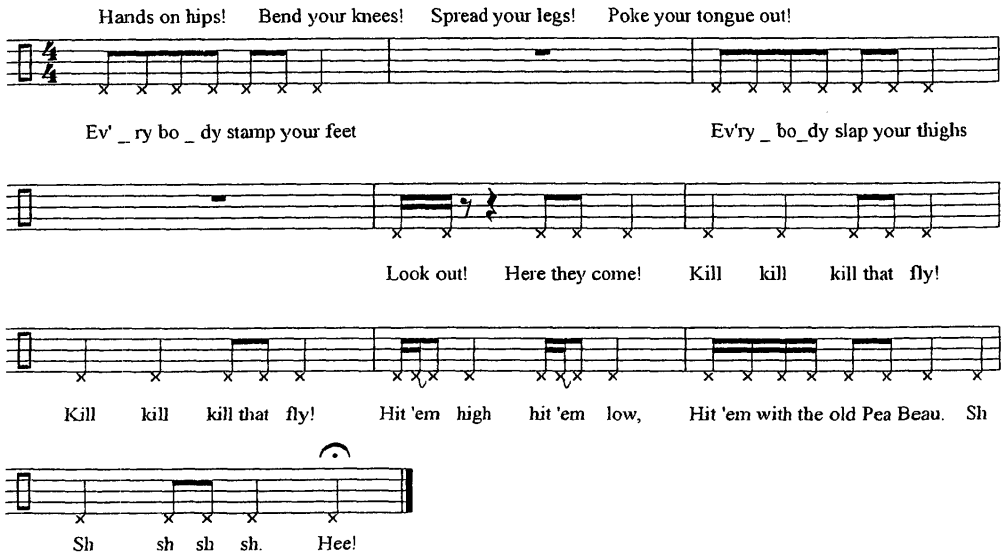
Melbourne succumbs to 'footy fever' every year from March until September.

audience and select unsuspecting males. These men are brought up onto the stage and stripped to the waist and positioned next to each of the male members of the *rōpū*. The *kaea tāne* calls out the moves, which the men in the *rōpū* demonstrate. The men from the audience are then encouraged to copy the moves and then the performance commences (Track 2, accompanying audio cassette). The lyrics, actions and the presence of the men from the audience are intentionally humorous, and part of the humor is in the embarrassment of the men brought up on stage and partially undressed by the women. The reactions of the men vary. Some take the opportunity to show off, but most are relieved to get off the stage at the end with their dignity intact. Performances such as this are used for fun and serve to get the audience involved and to break down the barriers between the performer and the audience and between the Māori and mainstream society.

Transcription 4.4: *The Fly* (Composer unknown)

Transcribed: D. Marshall 1996



[22] The guitar has been adopted into many Pacific musical traditions, most notably in Hawai'i. Its presence has been so pervasive and enduring that it may be considered a 'traditional' instrument.

The second *haka*, which was featured on a segment of an Australian variety show in 1996, is based on the children's song *Old MacDonald Had A Farm*. This *haka* combines actions with the words of the song chanted in *haka* style, with a strong emphasis on the syllable chanted at the same time as the thigh slap. The men take the *haka* stance -legs wide apart, bended knees, and slap their thighs in time to the chant on "Old MacDonald had a farm". As a variant of the bridge section "Ee ai ee ai o", the men chant in *haka* style "Ee, ee, ee i o", alternately raising their right and left fists (back of hand to the audience) while slapping the elbow with the palm of their other hand. These actions continue in the same order for "And on that farm he had a (type of animal), Ee, ee, ee i o", with new actions for each of the animals. For "cow" the men mime milking a cow, for "chicken" the men strut around and for "duck" they bob down. The performance generally concludes with a short rendition of *Ka Mate*. These two particular *haka*, *The Fly* and *Old MacDonald Had a Farm*, are not intended as serious performances, but are a humorous, light-hearted spin on a traditional genre. Both *haka* are not exclusively Australian, but are also performed in New Zealand and may well have been created in New Zealand, which suggests that the creation of such syncretic forms is not restricted to Māori composers in Australia.

There have been many documented cases of performance styles in other musical cultures being altered to make them more interesting or aesthetically pleasing to the audience. Coplan (1993:37) notes the development of new 'traditional' dances in Zaïre that are "more in line with the aesthetic standards of the Tourist Bureau and the Ministry of Culture". Moyle (1997) observed the creation of 'traditional' war dances in Fiji with the express purpose of being performed prior to

a rugby match against New Zealand, so that the team could respond in kind to the New Zealand team's traditional pre-match *haka*. This author has observed the creation of action songs in Melbourne for Māori children and the furore created in the Māori community by the public performance of Tangi's *haka* medley.

Whether or not *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, the wider Māori community or Hiki Te Kani agreed with Tangi, the creation of the *haka* medley was a significant event and could be viewed as a response by a composer to the new social context. As migrants removed from the constraints of tradition and convention back 'home', the Māori are attempting to create a new home with 'new traditions' that make sense of the new context in which they find their culture. Tangi chose to break with the past and invent a new tradition, by combining different *haka* in a medley, one that consciously went against the accepted practice. The fact that this was not the first time that this had happened in Australia is also significant, and illustrates the changes that are slowly happening as traditions are reinvented and the music is recontextualised. The continual creation of new material for the competitions is significant, as these have become the driving force behind much of the creative work done by the tutors in Melbourne and in Australia.

As a composer and a teacher of *kapa haka*, the tutor becomes the mediator/facilitator of culture for the performers in their clubs. They are single-handedly responsible for re-creating the culture and for recontextualising *kapa haka* in a way that makes it accessible for not only Māori, but also non-Māori performers and audience. The driving force for many of the expectations placed upon the tutor are competitions and festivals such as the Victorian Regional Festival. Competitions, in the shape of the annual Regional Festival and the biennial National Festival, have become the primary focus for many of the *rōpū*, who spend significant amounts of their practice time each year planning and rehearsing the

programs that their tutors have created for performance at the festivals. As an annual event, every club expects to field a *rōpū*, and every tutor knows that they will be expected to produce a program that will bring victory to their club in the competition.

The first of these competitions is the annual Regional competition, held by individual states every year. The second is the biennial National competition, and is held every other year at Easter. States alternate hosting the National competition. Canberra hosted it in 1995, Victoria in 1997, New South Wales in 1999 and Queensland in 2001. The competition between clubs to take out the majority of sections is very strong, and the pressure on the tutor to create a winning performance is intense. Chapter Five will examine the origins of the 'festival' as a phenomenon and describe the three main festivals including the bi-ennial Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival, with particular emphasis on the Victorian Regional Festival, and will document the preparations by the club *Ngā Hapu Katoa* for the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival, and the competition itself.

Plate 11

Tutors earn the respect of the club by their dedication to *kapa haka*, their skills as a teacher and personal qualities. A good tutor does more than teach the Māori words and the actions: they understand the needs of the *rōpū*, they provide English translations and they create new material for their club.

Children remain the focus for many families in their choice of a culture club. For the members of *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, the teaching of culture to the children was their primary reason for joining.

Plate 11: Karlene teachers the girls a song. Tamai teaching *Ka Mate* to the boys. *Kia Ora Kiwi* at the 1999 Regional Festival.