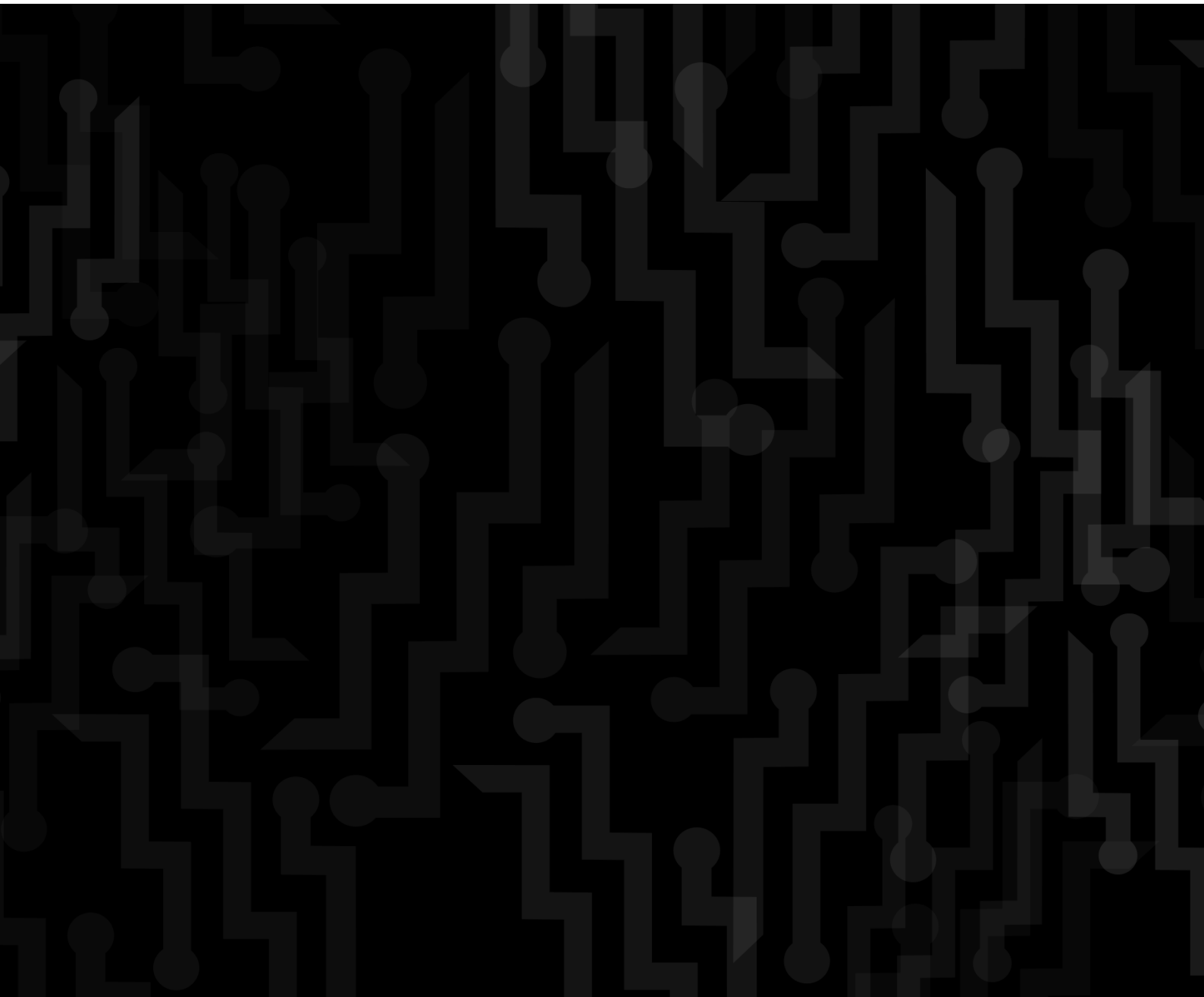


Kākāpō: Regenerating Knowledge of an Endangered Taonga Species

by

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Introduction

Ko wai au

He uri tēnei nō te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi. Ko Ngāti Kura rāo ko Ngāti Kauau ngā hapū. Ko Matauri te moana. Hēoi, i poipoia nei ahau i te taha o Te Moana Nui ā Kiwa ki te whenua o Tovangaar, arā, ko Los Angeles tērā. Ko Moana Murray ahau.

It's important for me to position myself within this research work as both a Māori scholar and ringatoi. My upbringing was in the U.S. as a diasporic Māori with little connection to my Māoritanga. As such, I am pulled to reinvigorating my whānau access to mātauranga Māori through my research and creative practice--and this project has given me that opportunity.

This project is inspired by Kumi the kākāpō--one of the 248 kākāpō in the world and adopted by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) in 2021. This kaupapa Māori research seeks to expand our knowledge of how manu like Kumi were, and continue to be, important to Te Ao Māori. This will in turn contribute to a heightened public consciousness of this taonga species. Through searching Māori archives such as mōteatea, pūrākau, books, and whare taonga, references found to kākāpō provide a sense of a tikanga Māori understanding of this manu.

Providing historical mātauranga around kākāpō publicizes and prioritizes Māori approaches to reinvigorating this endangered manu. Māori epistemologies offer us a holistic approach to bird life conservation. When we consider how our tūpuna conceptualized and utilized the taiao (environment), we gain a deeper understanding of how we may draw on our hakaapa (genealogy) for a sustainable future. This is particularly important considering Aotearoa New Zealand has the world's largest proportion of species at risk (Joy and Mclean 2019).

As is the nature of much of our mātauranga hidden or misconstrued due to colonization, reaching into the mātauranga of the past proves difficult. As Jenny Lee-Morgan explains, "In Aotearoa, our pūrākau were among the first to be infiltrated, documented, and published, usually by male Eurocentric anthropologists and ethnographers who primarily targeted Māori men" (2019, p. 152). Much of the writings of these early colonists used in this project, like Elsdon Best

(1904) and George Grey (1853), have done just that: misappropriated, misrepresented, and misinterpreted pūrākau (Lee-Morgan, 2019, p. 152).

It is now our challenge to reinvigorate our narratives and ontologies, so that with them we are equipped to imagine an abundant kākāpō and a decolonized future. In employing decolonizing methodologies in this research, including pūrākau, Kaupapa Māori, and Te Hihiri, I am to centre Māori narratives. As a subjective wāhine Māori researcher, I am an active participant in the research itself. I read and interpret recorded mōteatea through Māori frameworks, and subsequently create my own mōteatea centring myself and my tūpuna as the creators and owners of our narratives.

Though the references to kākāpō found in the archives covered in this study were few, they show us how this bird was a treasured part of everyday Māori life. The bird was not only admired for its beauty, but also played a crucial role in pūrākau with atua (Māori gods). I utilize my mōteatea and a curated website to theorize how these narratives weave a Māori understanding of kākāpō. Secondly, I formulate possibilities as to why we did not often sing of this manu. In conclusion, I issue a call to action: we must do more to remember kākāpō in our daily lives today in order to enliven its presence in both our consciousness and te Ao Mārama (the physical world).

Te Hihiri: Oku wawata

Throughout this internship I ask: what kura huna (hidden meanings) lie amidst Māori archives? What kura huna are sewn into our reo, our waiata tawhito? Archives and pūrākau have always fascinated me. They are a route in which to hakamana ourselves as Māori; studying them is an explicit act of decolonization and of reclamation of our own narratives.

I've always been deeply motivated to find my tūpuna--within toi, books, ethnographic accounts--anywhere I could access from the other side of the Pacific. My passion for swimming through the diverse archival histories is rooted in a forging of *belonging*, of simultaneous *searching* yet already *knowing* what is there. Our whānau did not have much access to mātauranga Māori or knowledge of our hakaapa growing up. I turned to what I found in my University of California library, or the National Library of NZ online, or the Mana Wahine readers (Pihama et. al, 2022).

Unfortunately, the majority of what I found was missionary or ethnographic accounts of early colonial New Zealand. The writing was often in contempt of, or eroticizing, our people. It hurts to read these accounts. As Bishop (2011) explains, “Further, traditional research has misrepresented Māori understandings and ways of knowing by simplifying, conglomerating, and commodifying Māori knowledge for “consumption” by the colonisers.” (p. 1) As my ngākau was reaching for more ways to understand my Māoritanga, I instead found a plethora of this material.

In contrast, when I found writing by Māori scholars, I felt exhilarated. Diving through mōteatea and iwi histories, then, is incredibly meaningful to me. I strive to prioritize Māori scholarship, and, as Dr. Taiaraha Black directly states “mōteatea is scholarship” (as cited in SOUNZ Center for NZ Music, 2022). As I am searching for our knowledge of kākāpō, then, I want to search Māori scholarship first and foremost.

Te Rapunga: Methodology

In a kaupapa Māori approach, this research sought to prioritize Māori archives as an intentional methodology to centre Māori as the creators and holders of our mātauranga. Furthermore, to avoid the harmful legacy of past imperialist research on Māori, this study sought to uphold tikanga where appropriate, as outlined by Te Awekōtuku (1991) and by Moana Jackson (2015). I affirm the validity of Māori knowledge in my pursuit of kākāpō, and in doing so, position my research in the struggle embedded in Kaupapa Māori methodology: the struggle for sovereignty and autonomy over Māori cultural wellbeing (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 187).

Likewise, I lean on the intellectual work of other Māori scholars in this pursuit: Jenny Lee-Morgan’s (2019) Pūrākau methodology and Amber Nicholson’s (2020) Te Hihiri methodology, in particular.

The structure of this report is aligned with the concurrent phases outlined in Nicholson (2020) in which, through wānanga, knowledge is moved between Te Korekore (the realm of potentiality) and Te Ao Mārama (the realm of enlightenment). The states this mātauranga moves through are Te Hiringa (the ignition), Te Rapunga (the search), Te Kitenga (the seeing), Te Whainga (the

pursuit), Te Whiwhinga (the acquisition) and Te Rawenga (the celebration) (Nicholson, 2020, p. 137).

In elevating the Māori approach to knowledge and research, this work utilizes the above framework to conceptualize the search for kākāpō. The phases outlined provide a structure to present both the process and findings in alignment with Māori epistemologies.

This internship was an opportunity for me to solidify the importance of these methodologies within my work. I found it difficult at first to separate myself from Western research paradigms that insist research is a linear and objective process. If I wasn't finding anything in my search, was I failing? Or was my searching instead building and contributing to the archive itself?

With the support of mentorship in this mahi, I grew to acknowledge the impact Te Rapunga has. I saw the importance of centring Māori epistemologies, and instead insisted upon a research paradigm that held Te Hihiri, Te Rapunga, Te Kitenga and Te Rawenga processes as ongoing and simultaneous. Furthermore, “the role of the researcher is to become aware and recognise the tohu that guide the journey” and to be so involved as to “bring your whole self along the journey” (Nicholson 2020, p. 139).

As I continued to find my tūpuna within these waiata, I became immersed in tohu and in hihiri. It was not possible to divorce myself from my tūpuna in the archives in order to fit into an ‘objective’ approach to Māori knowledge. As the Ngāpuhi tohunga Māori Marsden states, “the route to Maoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach” (as cited in Royal 2003, p. 2).

Research Methods

I began this study with hakawhanaungatanga: building relationships and increasing the amount of people searching for kākāpō in archives across all sectors. This will continue to prove fruitful. As we collectively search, so too may we collectively reinvigorate mātauranga Māori of our feathery friend.

Firstly, I visited both Te Whare Taonga o Waikato and Pei Te Hurinui Jones' Mahi Māreikura archives at University of Waikato. I met with archivists and librarians in these spaces who helped me navigate Te Hurinui Jones and Apirana Ngata *mōteatea* collections. Additionally, I had the opportunity to observe up close *kākāhu* woven in the mid 19 Century, as well as Pei Te Hurnui Jones' handwritten corrections of Apirana Ngata's recordings of *waiata*.

In addition to *kanohi ki te kanohi* interactions, I conducted an outreach campaign to archivists, *taonga puuoro* players, *tā moko* practitioners, weavers, and conservationists both within Aotearoa and abroad. Through email correspondence, phone calls, twitter mentions, and *wānanga*, my effort itself increased engagement and attention to *kākāpō*.

I then turned to observing *waiata* archives. I sought to understand the nature of *waiata*, and how they were recorded in the mid 19th to early 20th centuries. Important to note here is the difference between *mōteatea* and *waiata*. Today it is a common misnomer to use the word *mōteatea* to refer to all *waiata tawhito*. On the contrary, *waiata tawhito* refers to all the diverse *waiata* our *tūpuna* wrote and performed.

Mōteatea is but one type of that repository and is a chant or lament. There are also *waiata kaioraora* (a cursing song), *waiata pātere* (a response to slander), multiple types of *waiata aroha* (love song), *oriori* (child's lullaby including *haka papa*), and more (Ngata, 2005, xix). This shows the breadth of what our *tūpuna* wrote about, and the depth of which our oral histories maintained.

Once I understood what I was looking at, I utilized Harlow and Thornton's book (1986) *a name and word index to Nga Moteatea* to search for those that contained relevant te reo Māori words. As opposed to reading every page of the first, second and third of Ngata's volumes, I read only *waiata tawhito* which contained words that could lead to *kākāpō*. However, this index did not include Ngata's volume four, nor the often-untranslated *waiata tawhito* recorded in Grey (1853), *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)* and others. I instead read and searched the latter in their entirety.

I read waiata tawhito broadly in hopes of capturing vague references to kākāpō. Were kākāpō referred to in songs that included weaving ('kākāhu', 'huru', 'whatu')? Were they sung about in relation to the trees they feed upon ('rimu', 'huarangi rimu')? Did our people speak of this manu amongst other nocturnal manu ('rūrū', 'kiwi')? Frustratingly, these questions led me back to a glaring Korekore: we did not mention kākāpō, nor their other names (tarepo, kakatarapo), in the collections of waiata I searched.

As 'Te Rapunga' continued without a multitude of successes, it became obvious that Te Ao Māori today must do more to bring this manu into our collective consciousness. Waiata are a powerful way of doing so. Furthermore, the deeper I was immersed in waiata tawhito, the more inspired and empowered I felt to write my own. I then set out to construct a waiata that would summarize this research and contribute to the kākāpō archive itself.

Te Kitenga: ahakoa he iti, nui te kōrero

HE MŌTEATEA MŌU E KĀKĀPO Composer Moana Murray 2023

Kei hea rā koe, e kakapo?
Te manu kura huna i te pō¹
Mai i a Tāne-tikitiki-o-Rangi
Mai i a Tū-mata-mata-ika²
Mai i a Tā-whiri-mātea e ī

He hoa i riro mai i te pakanga
o Te Rangi-kaupapa³, Ko Pekapeka,
Ko Popoia⁴ ngā haumi i Rarohenga, e!

Ka uhi te pōuri ki ō huruhuru⁵
He maro kakara mai i a Poutini⁶
Mauria e Papa mō ake tonu e ī!

Me te puawai huarangi rimu
whāioio anō hei orana
Mai rānō e tangi ana kakapo e!

Koukou te rūrū, ketekete kākā, hou hou te kākāpō!

¹ Melbourne, H. (2016). *Kakapo*. Hirini Melbourne Whanau Trust.

² Tūmataika referred to in Best, E. (1982). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2*. P.D. Hasselberg. <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bes02Reli-t1-body-d4-d3-d2.html> p.316

³ Best, E. (2005). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1*. Te Papa Press.

⁴ Tiwaiwaka, Popoia and Pekapeka were some of the manu that accompanied Mataora to Rarohenga. I theorize that Kākāpō was also with them, as his beak can be seen in the tā moko Mataora ihu. See Footnote 2, P 229.

⁵ This is a reference to the one waiata tawhito that mentions kākāpō overtly. See Grey, G. (1853). KO NGA MOTEATEA, ME NGA HAKIRARA O NGA MAORI. Robert Stokes. <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-GreKong.html>

⁶ Poutini has many meanings. See the waiata in Grey, G. (1853). Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakirara O Nga Maori. The Honorable Robert Stokes. P. 329.; Best, E. (1982). *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 2*. P.D. Hasselberg. P. 288; and Te Aka Māori Dictionary (2023)

<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=poutini>

In addition to this waiata, I created a website with a curated list of meaningful references found from this project in hopes that this website could be one day included on the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga website. This is a public dissemination output such that we can accessibly raise awareness of a tikanga Māori approach to this manu. Instead of listing all the references I found in my search in this report, I will allow the waiata and website to do so.

Te Rawenga

As exemplified on the website, not many references to kākāpō were found in waiata tawhito searched in this study. As I fluctuate amongst Te Rapunga, Te Kitenga and Te Rawenga, I am confronted: why are there not more kākāpō in the archives? I am moved to theorize about the search itself and the silence in between.

Certainly not all waiata tawhito in Te Ao Māori were recorded and written down. Some remain in oral histories, in iwi archives, or in collective memory, which are not accessible to this brief study. This report does not make the assumption that no references exist, but rather that references are scarce in the scope of songs and narratives that were covered.

The archives I did search are a reflection of who recorded them, who shared the kōrero, and their motivations in doing so. Scholars held different motivations as to how they contributed to this archive, which subsequently shaped the collections themselves. Understanding the context of the collections recorded in the 1850s-1950s may explain why certain waiata, like those pertaining to kākāpō, were missed or left out.

George Grey, for example, sought to construct a “monument” of “heathen prayers and incantations” that show, “what that country was before its natives were converted to the Christian faith” (1853, p. 7). Grey included only what he thought was important Māori history, and only for the explicit purpose of illustrating the successes of Christian colonization.

Apirana Ngata too included only what he thought was important. He rejected those songs which he believed “made no contribution to the history or culture of the Māori people” (Ngata, 1990,

vii). Did George Grey or Apirana Ngata believe songs with kākāpō were unimportant, and thus did not include them in the archive?

The songs that were recorded are also partial. Royal (as cited in SOUNZ Center for NZ Music, 2021) gives an example of how in the 1920s his Ngāti Raukawa ancestor deliberately gave Ngata a different explanation for one mōteatea to hide the identity of the enemy the song was really trying to reproach. He deliberately changed the mōteatea in order to avoid continuing conflict between families. As a result, the song Ngata recorded was a reflection of what this ancestor wanted recorded and does not provide a complete picture.

Some information given to Ngata was deliberately provocative and "...fabricated to provoke people to present the right information." (Royal as cited in SOUNZ Center for NZ Music, 2021). He wrote down what he could find, published it, and received corrections that would then be included in the next published volume. Pei te Hurinui Jones continued this work after Ngata had passed, and his handwritten corrections to Ngata's volumes exist today in the Mahi Māreikura archives.

This prompts us to critically reflect on these written resources: they are but one of many methods of storytelling and they reflect what was strategically revealed to the likes of Grey, Ngata, and others at the time. Māori were strategic with what kōrero tuku iho was given out, and which remains in the kura huna. Consequently, these records are discursive and contextual. It is possible, then, that waiata concerning kākāpō did not make the cut into those that were given to historians.

Was this manu consequently erased from our collective memory? By the time these waiata tawhito were recorded, kākāpō were already scarce. George Grey published *Ko Nga Moteatea, Me Nga Hakirara O Nga Maori* in 1853, with a smaller collection published in 1857; From 1924 to 1950, Apirana Ngata published songs and translations in *Te Toa Takitini, Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*, and his own volumes of *Ngā Mōteatea*. The span of this time period is when kākāpō became increasingly rare. Ethnographers recorded that the bird was hardly seen in areas of the North Island in as early as 1850 (Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909).

And yet, waiata with moa were recorded long after this bird was extinct. Just because certain birds were lost in te Ao Mārama did not mean that they were also lost in our memories. For example, in “*He Tangi Mo Te Momo*” (Ngata, 1959, p. 139), Te Momo of Tūwharetoa is mourned and an acknowledgement of the moa is used in imagery. At the summit of Te Momo’s maunga Titiraupenga is the hidden bird: “ko te huna i te moa; i makere iho ai te tara o te marama”. Other waiata in Ngata’s volumes also refers to the hidden moa (Ngata, 2004, p. 31).

A more likely theory is that kākāpō is referred to indirectly, or under a different name, in waiata tawhito. Kākāpō is sometimes referred to in English as the ‘owl-parrot’. It can also literally translate to the ‘kākā’ of the night. In Māori, the night bird has a few names: tarapō, tarepo, kākātarapō, and various tohutō depending on the text referenced.

Kākāpō may be classified generally in Māori pūrākau as a kākā. In fact, these two classes of manu are together in many pūrākau. For example, one in Te Ao Hou (Lansdown, 1955, p. 44) shows Kea debating Kākā about Kākāpō’s rightful home in the forest. Kea insists that Kākāpō is a rūrū, and in his frustration fly’s high to the mountains to remain separate.

Another instance of the two side by side is in the war Te Rangi-kaupapa against Whiro-te-tipua. They, alongside their manu and ngārara (insect) friends, are bound to Tāne and Papatūānuku in the aftermath of this war. If kākāpō was present during the atua feuding, then the bird must be assumed present in the Hinenuitepō/Māui narrative, and Mataora/Niwareka narrative in Rarohenga. It is possible that although kākāpō is not captured in recorded narratives as having a leading role, the bird was present alongside other manu, like kākā.

This is supported by records of Tūmataika. In Best (1977, p. 316), Tūmataika is cited as one atua of "the kaka parrot". Other atua are listed as the progenitor for other genuses of birds: the kiwi (Haere-awaawa) or the duck (Moe-Tahuna), for example. Tūmataika is "the original parent of the kākā or parrot" (Brougham et al, 1963, p. 15). Seeing as there are many different species of birds, Tūmataika can be assumed to be the atua for different species of kākā, which may include kākāpō.

Throughout te Rapunga, the kākā appeared in many waiata. Future research should intentionally look through all kākā references in waiata tawhito and pūrākau to see if a correlation can be made between kākā and kākāpō.

What do the references tell us of kākāpō?

Kākāpō was an important physical resource to Māori: as food and as treasured feathers for taonga and clothing. Multiple pūrākau found in this study illustrate how this bird was prized for its beauty and utility: fragrant pelts were used to weave wahine maro (Stack, 1877), the feathers were a special koha by themselves (Best, 1927), and they were woven into cherished kākāhū which continue to be studied today (Tamarapa et. al, 2022).

Not only was this manu useful in its utility, but kākāpō was also an important ally to atua Māori within pūrākau, and thus an important ally to humankind. In the war of Te Rangi Kaupapa, kākāpō is listed alongside other birds and insects which fought alongside Tāne in his pursuit of knowledge (kete mātauranga) (Best, 1982, p. 398). Thus, kākāpō assists Tāne in defeating evil and in obtaining knowledge for the sake of all humanity.

The importance of this pūrākau cannot be understated. In line with Māori ontologies such as hakaapa, kākāpō is our tuakana (elder sibling). Because all manu descend from gods like Tāne and Tūmataika, and humankind descends after that through Tāne and Hineahuone, manu are our elders. Furthermore, at the union of Tāne and Hineahuone the spirit of the many atua are bound indefinitely to humankind: “I konei ka hono te wairua o nga tamariki atua ki nga tamariki tangata, tae noa mai ki tenei ra i a tatau nei.” (Best, 1924, addenda V).

This hakaapa is the paradigm of which Māori relate to the world. Tuakana are of great value and have much to teach us. For example, just as kākāpō lives in good relation with his ngārara cousins, we must take heed and live in good relation with the taiao. These pūrākau of kākāpō, whether amongst hakataukī, waiata tawhito, or woven, remind us of our relationship amidst and not separate from the taiao. They point to a relationship of care and reciprocity: if kākāpō assisted Tāwhirimātea and Tāne, shouldn't we also sacrifice to care for kākāpō? It is now our

time to be good teina (younger siblings), to be good relations, to remember kākāpō and all it did for us and continues to do for our taiao.

References to kākāpō appear in narratives of both te Ao Mārama (the world of light) and Te Pō (the night). Hirini Melbourne's (2016) modern waiata "kākāpō" uses the huepuruahau: a large gourd instrument which mimics the sound of the male kākāpō mating call. This hue continues to be used in birthing ceremonies today (Jerome Kavanagh in SOUNZ Center for NZ Music 2020). Not only does using huepuruahau in this way revitalize the healing practice of traditional instruments, but it also revives our narratives of kākāpō.

Importantly, the call of the kākāpō is the soundtrack heard in birth, accompanying our people through Te Pō to our coming into Te Ao Mārama. Thus, not only is the bird an important ally and tuakana in the war against evil (Whiro te tipua), but also assists humankind in navigating the portals to life. In playing the huepuruahau and in adorning pūtōrino and other taonga with its feathers, the manu continues to be revered and remembered in everyday Māori life, even after it became endangered.

Kākāpō is present in atua Māori creation narratives (Tāne-te-wānanga), in birth and ceremony (huepuruahau), and in narratives of te pō (amongst other manu in Rarohenga). Though a cute flightless ground parrot, this manu is incredibly important to Māori. If our trusted advisor and ally is no longer with us--how will we navigate this cycle of life? **If we lose this bird of the night, who will guide us when we do eventually return to te pō?**

Te Mutunga

I found it difficult to finish Te Rapunga. However, the search for kākāpō does not end with this internship. Further research should examine Māori Land Court proceedings for more mōteatea, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision archives, and iwi archives. Also, valuable would be searching museum archives in person, such as Te Papa Tongarewa and the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Building relationships with kaupapa Māori researchers within these spaces is important for maintaining a robust search.

One particular avenue I wish I had time and ethics clearance for was to interview *toi* practitioners and *kaumatua*. Māori oral histories continue to thrive today in our *kaumatua*, in *wānanga*, and in *kapa haka*. My search in this internship is just one collection of Māori scholarship; *hakawhiti kōrero* and interviews with our knowledge holders are essential to providing a bigger picture of *kākāpō* in the archives. Indeed, our archives are living, breathing, and evolving. They are not restricted to songs written down.

More *kōrero* is necessary, especially in investigating the connection between *kākāpō*, *Rarohenga*, and *te pō*. One educational poster created by Community Waitakere (2019) explains that the *rūrū*, *pekapeka* and *kākāpō* accompanied *Mataora* to *Rarohenga*. They are explained as sections of the *Mataora tā moko* today. It is necessary to *kōrero* with *tā moko* practitioners to have a better understanding of what role *kākāpō* played in this narrative.

Mōteatea and *waiata* are not archives of a static past. As seen in *Te Matatini* festival, they are evolving, emerging, and present in our daily lives. *Kākāpō* also fit this description: as the revitalization effort of this *manu* contributes to their population growth, so must Māori continue to sing and speak of the importance of this *manu*.

Writing a *mōteatea* of my own was empowering. After spending so much time surrounded by the genius of our *tūpuna*, I felt inspired to write in *te reo Māori*. As a *kairaranga*, I suddenly found myself weaving words! I have since written poems and *waiata aroha* inspired by the beautiful metaphors and illustrations my *tūpuna* created.

For “*Kei Hea Rā Koe e Kākāpō*”, I based the tune on the only *mōteatea* I knew: Ngāpuhi’s “*Te Pou*”. In doing so, I center my own *tūpuna* and *haka* in this creation. I then sung the *mōteatea* at *wānanga* with my *whānaunga* and other trusted mentors and received their support.

Once I began to speak, to sing, and to chant the words aloud, the *mōteatea* took a form of its own. I was able to weave with intonations the many emotions that came with this research: the sorrow that *kākāpō* are endangered (of being extinct and of being forgotten), the reverence we must maintain for our ally, and the hope for the species’ future.

This mōteatea is meant to move listeners. Not only is it a summary of the references found in this search, but more importantly it is a call to action. I hope the wide audience of this website, this report, and this mōteatea can feel moved to remembering kākāpō in their lives today. So long as we continue to sing, to play huepuruhaui, and to weave with kākāpō in mind, e kore e ngaro.

Future Aspirations

As a wāhine Māori who grew up feeling very far from my tūpuna, interacting with them every day in these volumes of waiata is affirming and refreshing. Although the mōteatea recorded in Ngata, Best, and Grey's volumes were filtered through their respective paradigms, they leave Māori with much to interpret.

I want to know what waiata still remain in the kura huna. What did our people think of gender, of sexuality, of politics that defy Christian heteronormativity and restriction? How may these narratives renew possibilities for growing our Māoritanga, our takatāpuitanga, our wāhinetanga?

To this point, Charles Royal explains, "...mōteatea changed through the impact of Christianity...Also in the waiata that did continue to be composed, some of the lyrics were changed to hide certain meanings, sexually explicit lyrics were changed." (As cited in SOUNZ Center for NZ Music, 2021) Where are the waiata tawhito which avoided this infiltration?

My future research and creative praxis will interrogate this. As a takatāpui wahine, I look to pūrākau to support me in the present and assist me in shaping a liberated future. Waiata tawhito are puna mātauranga in which our tūpuna communicated their lives and futures. We must continue singing them--and indeed writing new ones--for our mokopuna.

He mihi hakakapi

E rere ana ngā mihi ki a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga me ngā kaihakahaere, ko Kiri Edge rāo ko Linda Waimarie Nikora. Nāku te whiwhi i mahi i ō koutou taha hei poipoi i āku whāinga. Otirā, ko āku hoa mahi, ngā *kaiwhai-i-te-ao-mārama*, tēnā koutou. E maioha ana te ngākau ki te

hakawhanaunga tātou i a tātou. He āwhina mō tāku umanga ngaio e heke mai ana. Nāianeī,
tokomaha āku hoamahi me ngā kaitautoko e honohono nei.
Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

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