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Tāra Kōrero Toi

Articulating a Māori Design Language



Te Hononga Toi Māori

Part 3

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Te Hononga Toi Māori (Part 3) was developed by the author as a reference for Māori terms, the Māori design elements and principles, and customary Māori surface pattern. When used in tandem with *Toi Runga* (Part 1) and *Toi Raro* (Part 2), *Te Hononga Toi Māori* (Part 3) acts as quick reference to understanding Māori terms and relevant design terminology. Māori terms are introduced using a convention of Māori term followed by the English translation in brackets and thereafter only the Māori term is used.

The Elements and Principles of Māori design

In the previous chapters this research sought to explicate the visual language of Māori design through an examination of eighteenth and nineteenth century Māori carved *pare* (door lintels). Articulating this Māori design language was critical to answering the research question; how can the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice? The aim of this thesis is to develop *tikanga*, or practicing guidelines for contemporary Māori designers. The *whakatauki* (proverb) *kia whakatōmuri te haere ki mua*, which can be translated as *to walk into the future, our eyes must be fixed on the past* underlines the importance of looking at the customary arts, and particular, *whakairo*, as an exemplar or model for the development of contemporary Māori design. Māori designers play an important role, in that they are charged with bringing Māori visual culture from the *marae* (the cultural heart of *Māoritanga*), into the lives and homes of Māori today. Considering this, it is imperative that Māori designers consider how their work reflects Māori notions about the world and how these ideas resonate with Māori. There will be instances where *tikanga* and ideas from the *marae* clash with the reality of urban Māori living. While this offers exciting opportunities to reinterpret Māori visual culture, Māori designers must ensure that their work is grounded in *tikanga* Māori.

Within this section, the Māori design conventions that appeared consistently throughout the *pare* analyses have been organised into the elements and principles of Māori design. While Western design terminology has relevance in helping to articulate the aesthetics within carving, the linear *pare* analysis reveals the need to reconceptualise Māori design in a different way. It shows that the description of Māori art and design through Euro-centric terms undermines the significance of historical Māori visual culture. Secondly, it explains how the processes inherent within customary Māori arts are uniquely Māori. In Māori objects that feature design, there is an inexorable relationship between utilitarian and mediatory function (Jahnke, 2010). For Māori the concept of art was not as explicit as in the Western world because almost every *functional* object had designs applied to it. Adding this, Jahnke states:

The point is that Māori carvers, weavers and painters invested their design process with mediatory functionality through the visual enhancement of objects with figurative form and pattern, and ritualised intercession with deity through all the stages; from conception, to material collection to fabrication and public presentation (Jahnke, 2010, p.6).

While Māori design is concerned with aesthetics and visual perception, ‘ritualised intercession with deity’ inherent to Māori design practices needs to be considered critically. An important question for Māori design today is: does this ritualised intercession with deity have relevance within the realities of contemporary design, and if so, how might Māori designers incorporate cultural ideas into their work? In order for Māori design practices to have relevance within Māori-dom, Māori designers must have an understanding of *mātauranga Māori*, and an awareness of how their works will reflect and transmit Māori ideas. As Paama-Pengelly points out, “Art was the way that Māori communicated knowledge, ideas and values, rather than by written language, and together the arts constituted a vital communication system” (Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p.9). Like customary Māori carving, contemporary design expresses Māori ideas about the world. Therefore, it must be informed by *mātauranga Māori*.

This section builds on the research of numerous authors including Archey (1936, p.p.49-62; 1960), Barrows (1956, p.305-331, 1969), Mead (1986), McEwen (1966), Simmons (1985) and Paama-Pengelly (2010). All of these authors made significant attempts to outline the elements and principles of Māori design. Archey’s *Māori Carving Patterns* (1936, p.49-62) is one of the better early attempts to provide a concise and cohesive account of the fundamentals of Māori carving. In his study, Archey proposed that the *manaia*, *marakihau* and *pekapeka* are based on the human forms, and that the *manaia* face is a stylised version of the human face in profile. In terms of the goals of this thesis, Archey’s work is also significant because he often used graphic examples to supplement his propositions about design. McEwen’s (1966) seminal *Māori Art*, is also commendable in that it provides a general and easily accessible description of the design elements and of some carving patterns. Barrows (1956) importantly pointed out that different *iwi* have differing accounts for the origin of carving, while Mead (1986) helped create a finer distinction for stylistic attribution by examining carving within the cultural dynamics of *iwi* relationships.

The Elements of Māori design

The elements of Māori design are the tools used to create visual information. While Western design elements, such as line, plane, shape, and texture, can be found in Māori carving, they are not really the building blocks for Māori carving compositions. A consistent number of design conventions appear in

Māori carving which provide a blueprint for creating Māori design. In customary carving, fundamental elements for creating visual information were the *tiki*, *manaia*, *tauira* (pattern), *ata* (light) and *atakau* (shadow), the human and non-human spiritual form, and pattern (a spiral is a pattern first and foremost but can exist as a form in *tauihu*, *taurapa* and *pare* and *paepae pātaka*).

The Elements of Māori design: *Te Tinana* (the human body)

The human body, more than anything else, constitutes the critical element for Māori carving practice. Until European contact, the figurative vocabulary within pre-contact Māori carving remained limited to the *tiki*, *manaia*, *mokomoko* or *ngārara* (lizard) and *pakake* (whale). While instances of *manu* (bird), *ika* (fish), *marakihau*, and *kuri* (dog) can also be found, these are much rarer. The key design element within Māori design is the human body, and its constituent parts. As Archey (1960, p.17) has written, “The human figure is never absent, except that a very rare reptile may stand alone, not as part of a design or composition”. Additionally, some parts of the human anatomy were clearly given more prominence than others. The most significant areas in carving were the head, genitalia, and hands. The mouth, eyes and tongue were also seen as important elements. These parts of the human body are the building blocks of all customary carving compositions. Changes to customary modes of carving practice – which were due to the introduction of European ideas about representation and European objects – have seen the visual vocabulary within the *whare whakairo* extended. This includes the more wide spread use of naturalism, introduced animals and objects, and text in both painting and carving. Te mana-o-Tūranga, a late nineteenth century *whare whakairo* carved by Rongowhakaata carvers including Raharuhi Rukupo, features a number of these carving innovations. Despite these changes, though, the *tiki* and *manaia* remained central to carving practice after European contact.

McEwen’s (1966) categorisation of the human forms in carving centred on the head forms, which he described as naturalistic and grotesque. Where McEwen used the term grotesque, he was referring to the figuratively carved *wheku* and *kōruru* head forms. *Tiki* with naturalistic heads, such as *poutokomanawa* figures, usually featured intricately carved *tā moko* (on the face and buttocks) and were often carved in three-dimensions (though there are examples also found in relief carving). Figures with figuratively carved head forms were also carved in the round and in relief carving, and appeared in a number of distinct regional and tribal styles (McEwen, 1966). The bodies of carved *tiki* were often squat and shortened, and featured exaggerated use of scale on elements of significance such as the head, hands, and genitalia. Commenting on the poses of figuratively carved *tiki*, McEwen added, “It is usual, but not invariable, for grotesque figures to be carved in the posture of the *haka*, with the knees bent, the body crouched, and the tongue protruding” (1966). In contrast to this, *tiki* with naturalistically

carved faces are often in less dynamic poses and usually do not feature the *whātero* (protruding tongue element) associated with *haka*. Discussing the much-debated use of the three-fingered hand convention in Māori carving, McEwen (1966) pointed out, “It should be remembered that the Maori was not so obsessed with the three-fingered hand as the European student has been”. In addition to this, he noted that the five fingered hand convention appears in some carving traditions, while the four fingered convention (three fingers and a thumb) appears to be the most common design convention for rendering the hands (McEwen, 1966).

The Elements of Māori design: *Te Manaia* (the profile figure)

Manaia feature prominently throughout Māori carving, often as subsidiary figures supporting the *tiki*. A notable exception to this rule, however, is the Rongowhakaata method for carving and painting *maihi*. In these instances, the *manaia* (*Te Pitau-a-manaia*) may feature as the main motif. *Manaia* have been interpreted as the profile of a human form, a reptile, bird and spiritual or psychic entity (Jahnke, 2010). Hiroa (1949) and McEwen (1966) support Archey’s (1933) contention that the *manaia* is probably based on the human form. Like the human figure, *manaia* are one of the most malleable design elements within Māori design. Commenting on the many ways in which *manaia* are used within carving McEwen (1966) has written:

...it can be distorted or mutilated, almost at will, to fit any space which needs to be filled. It may simply be any eye and a mouth, with or without a nose, tongue, or teeth; it may be a head and one arm, with or without hand; it may have two arms and no body, one arm, one leg, and a body, or the full complement of body and extremities. *Manaia* may be used to form the hands or fingers of large figures, or sometimes even the arms or feet. In most carving compositions the background between the high-relief figures is filled in with *manaia* engaged in the most amazing contortions. It is common for a part of one *manaia* to form part of another one; for instance, the curved arm of one may also be the mouth of an adjacent *manaia* (McEwen, 1966).

McEwen’s description demonstrates the varied ways in which *manaia* are used within Māori carving. While there has been much debate about the significance of *manaia*, the proximal relationship this figure has to *tiki* on *pare* and *paepae pātaka* denotes a guardianship-like role. The consistent convention of *manaia* biting at the head of *tiki* figures also denotes a spiritual significance as the head was seen as the gateway between *tangata* and *atua*.

The Elements of Māori design: *Te Takarangi* (the spiral)

The spiral is a pattern (and a form) that was used extensively in Māori carving. It appears as a perforated form carved in three dimensions known as *takarangi*. *Takarangi* spirals are commonly found on *waka* (*tauibu*, *taurapa*), *paepae pātaka*, and on parts of the *whare whakairo* such as the *pare* and *raparapa*. Spirals also feature prominently as carved patterns. Some examples of these include the *rauru*, *Māui* and *ponahi* spirals. The significance of these patterns is highlighted by their use across the bodies of carved figurative imagery. Large spirals are often applied to the shoulders and knees of *tiki*, while smaller spirals can be seen across the hands, and upon the cheek of *tiki*. Within these contexts spirals are located at the points of potential movement including the joints of limbs, the facial areas of mobility (cheeks and brow) and often on the crown element that characterizes Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui facial forms as well the ears. In the latter tribal areas an especially important motif can be discovered as an indicator of the ear. Jahnke (2006) named this detail *taringa aute*, as opposed to the alternative ear forms, which may be carved with a spiral pattern (*taringa rauru*) or left plain (*taringa Māori*). Jahnke (2012, pers comm) says this ‘ear lug’ motif represents the rolled beaten bark of the *aute* (paper mulberry tree) first sighted by Cook in the ears of some of the people at *Uawa* (Tolaga Bay) on the East Coast of the North Island. The spiral form is a prominent pattern in *tā moko* (tattooing), on both the face and buttocks. While numerous variations of the spiral have been created, importantly, the structure remains the same.

The Elements of Māori design: *Te Tauira* (pattern)

Tauira (pattern) is another critical element in Māori carving practice. While there are tribal variations in the way pattern was applied to carvings, pattern appears consistently in all traditions on the limbs of carved ancestors, on *manaia*, and on the interconnecting elements and planes. Patterning might be applied all over as in the *Iwirākau* tradition, or used only to delineate significant areas of the body or areas of potential movement, such as on the head, hands, shoulders and genitals. It is important to note that the majority of spiral forms such as *piko-o-rauru*, *raperape*, *Māui* and *ponahi* are patterns rendered in relief. An exemption to this rule is the *takarangi* (*pitau*) spiral, which may be rendered in both relief (relief is three-dimensional) and in mass and void.

The Elements of Māori design: *Te Ata* (light) and *Te Atakau* (shadow)

Ata (light) and *atakau* (shadow) are natural consequences of working in three dimensions. Unlike two-dimensional images, the appearance of carvings is affected by the changing light of day. *Ata* and *atakau* bring forms to life, and give movement to lines. Two sides of a carving will never appear the same

unless under direct light because the shadows of carved form are not reflected. Coincidentally, this might be viewed as another way of breaking the symmetry of the form. The Māori carver capitalised on light and shadow by varying the depth of relief and by undercutting a form. This latter technique is evident in Te Hau-ki-Tūranga, where some of the weapons held by *tīpuna* are undercut - creating a heightened sense of three-dimensionality. The use of mass and void was the most dramatic technique for capitalizing on the effect of light and shadow, particularly within the context of *waka tauihu*, *taurapa*, *paepae pātaka*, *pare*, *raparapa* and *waka kōiwi*. It is also evident that a number of the early *poupou* forms utilized this technique, especially those from Te Tairāwhiti and the Bay of Plenty region.

The Principles of Māori design

The review of literature, and linear diagrammatical analysis of *pare* demonstrated that there were a number of consistent design principles within Māori carving between the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth century. These design principles have been organised here into the Māori principles of design. Like their Western counterparts, the Māori principles of design are concepts used to help organise visual information. However, the linear aesthetic analysis revealed that the Māori principles of design differ, in that they are also concerned with expressing important cultural values such as *kotahitanga* (unity), *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whanaungatanga* (family interconnectedness). The articulation of these Māori principles of design is critical to answering the research question; how can the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice? The newly-articulated principles are trialled through the practical component of this research.

The principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by scale).

The principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by scale), is one of the most prominent design principles in Māori carving. With this design convention carvers used scale to express hierarchy between the important figures and to highlight the significant parts of the body. In terms of design, the deliberate use of scale contrasts, or exaggerated scale, facilitated a quicker reading of content within *pare* by making the important elements more explicit. In single-figure *pare* this principle was used to demonstrate the importance of the central *tiki* and terminal *manaia*. On the *pātaka*, the scale of the central *tiki* above the *kūwaha* signified the importance of this element and the entrance to the *pātaka*. Meanwhile, the exaggerated *manaia* heads at the terminal point of the maihi *pātaka* highlight the importance of *pakake* (whales). In terms of the human body, exaggerated scale was used to quickly establish the significant parts of the human body - the head, the hands, the genitals. On carved *poupou*

figures within the *whare whakairo*, the importance of the head is seen in its scale to body ratio. The head generally constitutes between a third and a half of the total height of a figure. Commenting on the exaggerated scale of the head in customary Māori Jahnke has written, "...the head to body ratio connotes the sacrosanct nature of the head and its conceptualisation with tribal culture as a vehicle for communication with deity and its efficacy (*mana atua*) as a pathway for inter-dimensional communication" (2006, p.100).

The principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness)

The principle of *tātai mokowā* is the design convention whereby carvers used overlapping to express unity between the different design elements and levels of relief. In *pare*, this can be seen in many examples where the hands, feet and heads of *tiki* and *manaia* overlap with other design elements. This principle is seen within the *whare whakairo*, especially in those from Tairāwhiti carving region, whereby subsidiary *tiki* often overlap with larger *poupou* figures (Te Hau-ki-Tūranga *poupou* are exemplars of this convention). The principle of *tātai mokowā* is also seen in a number of *maihi pātaka*, including the Te Tairuku Pōtaka (1770-80), the Te Oha (1825), and Puawai o te Arawa *pātaka* (1868), where *tiki* and *manaia* figures overlap with the *pakake* and other background levels of relief. By connecting apparently discreet layers, the principle of *tātai mokowā* alludes to the inseparability of the material and spiritual realms. In terms of visual perception, the overlapping of design elements also creates figure-ground relationships. These figure-ground relationships demonstrate the Māori carver's sophisticated understanding of spatial depth and pictorial illusion.

The principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry)

Another key Māori design principle revealed in the review of literature and linear *pare* analysis was that of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry). A key characteristic of Māori carving was the use of design elements which break or disrupt apparent symmetrical forms. Hanson (1983) was one of the first to articulate this feature of Māori carving, which he referred to as ambivalent tension. Importantly, he pointed out that broken symmetry appears not only in carving, but also consistently in *kōwhaiwhai* and *tā moko*. Here, *te kakano*, or a seed, is seen as a metaphor for this 'disruptive' element within the larger symmetrical structure of Māori art because it is associated with ideas about disruption and growth. While it is not known exactly why Māori carvers used design elements to disrupt the symmetry of bi-lateral structures, the consistent use of this design principle demonstrates that it was significant. While Hanson (1983) believed disrupted symmetry in Māori art reflected tension from the

real world, Jackson (1972) proposed that symmetry more importantly was used to express resolution and unity.

The principle of *tātai hangarite* (arrange symmetrically)

Prior to European contact the application of carving to structures or objects such as *waka*, *pātaka*, *whare puni* and *whare whakairo*, centred on bi-lateral reflection. For example, when looking at the *pātaka* or *whare whakairo* from the front, the figures and designs tend to be reflected either side of the structure. Hanson referred to this type of symmetry as *correspondence symmetry*. Here, the term *tātai hangarite* is used to denote this symmetrical arrangement of design elements. As was shown through the *pare* analysis the principle of *tātai hangarite* (arrange symmetrically) informs the larger structure of all *pare*. Other exceptional examples of *correspondence symmetry* can be seen in Māori weapons (*wahaika* and *tewhatewha*) and instruments (*kōauau*, *nguru*). In contrast to this, the actual carvings tended to be asymmetrical. While the consistent use of the human body in frontal perspective imposed a symmetrical base in compositions, dynamic gestural poses - many of which echo those seen in *haka* - break this symmetry. For example, the tongue extended to the side of the mouth, the placement of a weapon in one hand, or the shifting of hands are all design conventions common in carved *tiki* forms.

The principle of *tātai whakapapa* (proximal *tiki* arrangement)

The consistent use of subsidiary *tiki* between the legs of large central *tiki* on *pare*, *poupou* and *kūwaha pātaka* (particularly in the Tairāwhiti carving region) highlights another important design principle, the principle of *tātai whakapapa*. Using this principle, carvers demonstrated the significance of *whakapapa*, or genealogical connections, through the proximal placement of *tiki* forms with one another. Often the exaggerated scale, such as the use of smaller *tiki* between the legs of larger *tiki*, was used to demonstrate direct lineage from parent to child. However, the principle of *tātai whakapapa* was also expressed in some cases by the union between husband and wife (in instances where the smaller *tiki* is shown in the position of coition). This latter design convention is found in *pātaka* and *waharoa* in particular. The arrangement of figures one above the other was another way of denoting *whakapapa* relationships. Jahnke (2006), saw the notion of *whakapapa* as an inherent part of nineteenth century Māori carving, pointing out that a critical aspect of carving was the grounding of works in *whakapapa* and narrative. Within Jahnke's (2006) research, this idea was supported by the words of master carver John Taiapa, who stated, "Before you carve a house the tribe usually come together. You have to know the genealogy of the ancestors so that you can depict them as pillars of the

meeting-house. You have to know the history of the people” (Hakiwai, 2003). Thus, *whakapapa* as a design principle not only expresses genealogical connections but also relates the story of that tribe.

Where contemporary Māori design is concerned, the principle of *tātai whakapapa* asserts that Māori design must have *whakapapa*, and be grounded in *Te Ao Māori* to resonate with and to be relevant for Māori. In Māori carving, *whakapapa* is denoted literally through the representation of ancestors. However, the principle of *whakapapa* may be interpreted in a number of ways. For example, the naming of *whare* after a revered ancestor is a metaphorical way of connecting a place and structure to individuals. For Māori design the expression of *whakapapa* may be achieved in a number of ways. For example, materials such as paper and wood can be connected to both Tāne (deity of the forests and life within it) and Papatūānuku (deity associated with the earth). Sustainable design practices can also reflect Māori ideologies of *kaitiakitanga*, or environmental stewardship.

The principle of *mana wahine* (the female element)

In eighteenth and nineteenth century Māori carving the significant spiritual role of women was expressed in carving through the consistent use of the female form. In *pare*, this notion is supported by Jahnke’s survey of over 200 *pare* where only one example of male *manaia* was discovered (2006, p.113). In contrast to Jackson (1972) and Simmons (1985, 2001), Jahnke contended that the female genitalia denotes ‘generative and degenerative power’ and is symbolically associated with Māori notions about the different states of human existence (2006, p.113). Additionally, he noted the significant role women also play on the marae as *kaikaranga*, the first voice which calls *manuhiri* (guests) onto the marae (2006). That the female form appears on the doorway to the structure in which *manuhiri* may stay resonates with this welcoming role of women. As was shown in the linear analysis of *pare*, the female element in *pare* is so strong that the vagina is used on what appears to be male *tiki*, who have their bodies and mouths in *haka* gestures. Jackson (1972), who wrote extensively on sexual symbolism in Māori carving, importantly pointed out that for eighteenth and early nineteenth century Māori the female form had dual connotations of both life and death; while life is associated with the process of birth, death was connected to the narrative of Māui and Hine-nui-te-Pō. The spiritual power of women was also emphasized on *pātaka* through the consistent use of the *taratara-a-kae* pattern. In the narrative associated with the *taratara-a-kae* pattern, it is women who do a provocative *haka* about their throbbing vaginas that finally reveals the protagonist Kae and his crooked teeth.

The principle of *tātai manawa* (heart pulse)



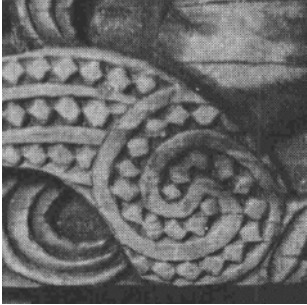

The principle of *tātai manawa* is the design convention where an implied pathway guides the viewer in a continuous movement through the entire structure of a carving. In single figure *pare*, the heart pulse generally flowed from the central *tiki* and out through the *pare* in a cyclical manner, to return to the centre. The principle of *tātai manawa* (heart pulse) is created through the extensive use of overlapping and joining of design elements.

Patterns and Spirals in Māori carving

This section introduces the types of pattern and spiral forms found in Māori carving. The terms presented here are important because they help articulate the design language of Māori carving. An understanding of the terms is also critical in the reading of this thesis, as they are used extensively throughout the analysis of *pare*. While pattern and spiral forms in Māori carving have been described by numerous authors (Archev, 1933, p.171-190; Barrow, 1956, p 305-331; McEwen, 1966, p.412-141; Mead, 1986; Paama-Pengelly, 2010, p.20-21), the ambiguous ascription of some terms makes clarification necessary. For example, Mead (1986, p.37) ascribed the term *pākura* to the Northern *kirikiore* pattern simply because he had not been aware of the existence of *kirikiore* as a Northern term for the pattern. His ascription of the term *matakupenga* to carvings from outside the Taranaki region is also problematic because the term is regionally specific to Taranaki and Whanganui (Mead, 1986, p.235). McEwen (1966) placed two similar, though different types of pattern, *unaunahi* (*pūwerewere*) and *ritorito*, under the term *unaunahi*. Clarification of patterns and spirals in Māori art is also necessary because of regionally specific naming conventions. For example *unaunahi* (Whanganui and Rongowhakaata) and *pūwerewere* (Taranaki) are terms for the same type of pattern. The *pare* analysis also revealed a need to extend the design vocabulary of Māori carving. This is because a number of patterns examined in the analysis do not fit with the commonly recorded nomenclature. For example, in the *pare* examples from Hauraki there is a unique *pākura* type pattern that combines elements of both *pākura* and *unaunahi*. Another example is the Tairāwhiti-centric pattern that combines *ponahi*, with free form spirals. Jahnke (2012) has suggested these types of pattern respectively be named *Ngā pākura-o-Hauraki* and *Ngā ponahi-o-Te Tairāwhiti*.

The section is arranged into three parts, notching and ridged lines in Māori carving, surface and perforated patterns, and spiral patterns. The spiral can be a pattern as in *piko-o-rauru*, *raperape*, *Māui*, *ponahi* but also a form exemplified in the *takarangi* in particular where mass and void are critical elements in the consideration of the overall design. Here, the names of each element are supplemented with a description and a visual example. In the descriptions of the elements, discussion is given as to the regional use and application of each element to different parts of carving. An important resource here was a paper by Phillipps called *Maori Spirals* (1941). Some of his spiral examples, carved by Kingi Paani Porete (Ngai Tahu) are used in the table below describing Māori spirals. Importantly, this section provides a short-hand description for examining pattern in the analysis of *pare*.

Table 11. Notching and ridged lines in Māori carving.

Name	Description	Visual example
<i>Haehae</i>	<i>Haehae</i> is the name used to describe the rows of carved ridges found in most carving traditions. The name <i>haehae</i> comes from the verb <i>hae</i> which has a number of meanings including; to scratch, draw, cut up, lacerate, tear, slit, slash, split (Te Aka Māori English dictionary, 2012). The ‘v’ channel section or valley of a <i>haehae</i> groove is known as <i>raumoa</i> (a type of flax), while the ridge section is called <i>patapata</i> (to drip, to drop).	
<i>Pākati (niho-taniwha)</i>	A type of notch that is triangular in form, and appears in rows as overlapping triangle between rows of <i>haehae</i> . Williams (1957) refers to <i>pākati</i> as fine dog's-tooth pattern in carving often running between parallel grooves. <i>Pākati</i> is also known as <i>niho taniwha</i> (<i>taniwha</i> teeth). As a verb, <i>pākati</i> (<i>tia</i>), also means to incise a pattern.	
<i>Tuarā-kuri</i>	A type of notch that appears as a diamond shape. Extensively used in Taranaki, particularly on <i>paepae pātaka</i> . The zig-zag effect created by the diamonds denotes coincidental relationship to the pattern <i>taratara-a-kae</i> . The term <i>tuarā-kuri</i> literally translates as dogs (<i>kuri</i>) backbone (<i>tuarā</i>).	
<i>Pūwerewere, Pūngāwerewere (Taranaki) Ritorito (Whanganui) and Rongowhakaata</i>	A group of curvilinear ridges that fan out from a single point of origin as in a fleur de lis. This pattern may traverse a single valley of <i>raumoa</i> , but in Te Tai Hauāuru region it can traverse two or more valleys of <i>raumoa</i> . It is used extensively in Taranaki carving on the hands, lips and eyebrows of <i>tiki</i> . The term <i>pūwerewere</i> , <i>pūngāwerewere</i> means spider, and its use refers to the semblance between the pattern and a spider web. <i>Ritorito</i> comes from <i>rito</i> , which means centre shoot, undeveloped leaves of the <i>harakeke</i> plant (JPS, 1990, p.55).	
<i>Waewae Pākura</i>	A ‘v’ shaped <i>pākura</i> pattern. Instead of crescent inflections of founded central spiral interlock, the interlock is angled and pointed generating foot like shapes.	







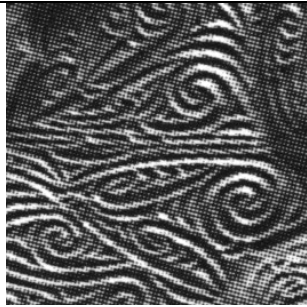
<i>Unaunahi (unahi)</i>	A group of curvilinear ridges or crescents, numbering anywhere from three to seven, stacked one above the other. This pattern, like the <i>ritorito/pūwerewere</i> traverses a valley of raumoa that links two ridges of a <i>haehae</i> . It was extensively used by Te Tai Tokerau carvers but is also found as a secondary pattern in other areas like the Bay of Plenty. The word ‘ <i>unaunahi</i> ’ literally translates as fish scale (Te Aka Māori English dictionary, 2012). The practice of using fish to describe Māori patterns relates to the story of Rua and the association of carving with the deity Tangaroa (Auckland University, 1988, p.20-21). However, it must be noted that the Rua-te-pupuke narrative is Ngāti Porou-centric.	
<i>Ngau pae</i>	Type of edge notching prominent in the earlier carving traditions and particularly evident in Hauraki <i>pare</i> and Taranaki <i>paepae pātaka</i> . The word <i>ngau</i> means to bite, gnaw, chew or hurt. (Te Aka Māori-English dictionary, 2012). The <i>ngau pae</i> notch is also prominent on carved spiral forms from the Te Tairāwhiti region (see Te Hau ki Tūranga for examples).	

Table 12. Surface and perforated patterns

Name	Description	Visual Example
<i>Rauponga</i>	A pattern consisting of straight (or curved) rows of <i>haehae</i> alternating with rows of <i>pākati</i> (usually <i>niho taniwha</i> , <i>tuarā kuri</i> or <i>hikuaua</i> or some other tribal name). While found in most carving regions, <i>rauponga</i> was used extensively by Ngāti Porou, particularly Waiapu, and Whanganui carvers as a pattern on the body of ancestors (see <i>whare whakairo</i> Ruatēpūpūke II, 1880; Te Poho-o-Hiraina, 1885; Porourangi 1888). <i>Rauponga</i> is also commonly used on <i>papahou</i> and <i>wakahuia</i> . The term <i>rauponga</i> refers to the pattern seen on the leaves of the <i>ponga</i> tree (<i>Cyathea dealbata</i>).	

<p><i>Rauponga whakarare</i></p>	<p>A pattern composed of rows of <i>haehae</i> and alternating rows of <i>pākati</i> (usually <i>niho taniwha</i>). The <i>haehae</i> traverse the <i>pākati</i> to form continuous hooks. Used extensively by Ngāti Porou carvers on body of ancestors. Also commonly used on <i>papahou</i> and <i>wakahuia</i>. The term <i>whakarare</i> means ‘to distort’, or confuse (Williams, 1957). <i>Whakarare</i> is also a term used in connection with the <i>tapu</i> name given to the child of a chief (The University of Auckland, 1988, p.20).</p>	
<p><i>Taratara-a-kae</i> (<i>Taowaru</i>)</p>	<p>A line pattern which appears as a zig-zag shape. The zig-zag form is created as a physical line in positive space, or as an empty line seen in the negative space. <i>Taowaru</i> is another name for this pattern (Mead, 1976, p.43; The University of Auckland 1988, p.21). The <i>taratara-a-kae</i> pattern was extensively used on the <i>pātaka</i> structure, and can be found in other carvings throughout the Tairāwhiti region. The name <i>taratara-a-kae</i> is associated with the narrative of Kae, Tinirau and the killing of Tinirau’s pet whale Tutunui by Kae. It is known as ‘Kopere Pātaka’ by some Waikato carvers (The University of Auckland, 1988, p.21).</p>	
<p><i>Pākura</i></p>	<p>A pattern composed of a spiral and a diminishing arc of crescents. It is usually organised into a continuous frieze. <i>Pākura</i> often appears as a secondary pattern and is particularly prominent on <i>waka taua</i>. <i>Pākura</i> is another term for the <i>pūkeko</i> (Porphyrio porphyria), the purple swamp hen indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. Some tribal groups use the term <i>pākura</i> to describe the <i>fleur de lis</i> pattern known as <i>unaunahi</i> or <i>pūwerewere</i>.</p>	
<p><i>Ngā Pākura-o-Hauraki</i></p>	<p><i>Ngā Pākura-o-Hauraki</i>, a type of <i>pākura</i> unique to the Hauraki carving region combines elements of both <i>pākura</i> and <i>unaunahi</i>. Similar to <i>kirikiore</i>; however in <i>ngā pākura-o-Hauraki</i> the <i>pākura</i> is interwoven sporadically.</p>	



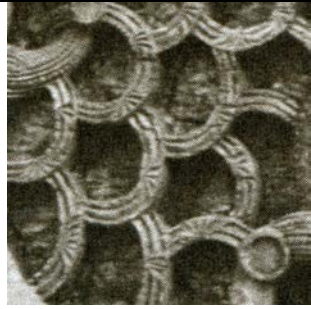
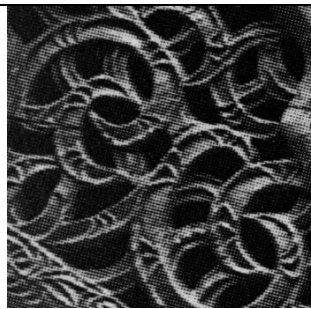
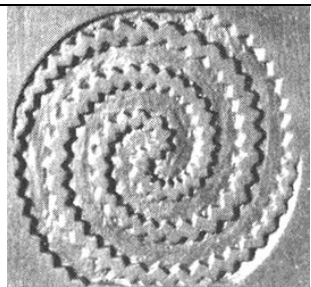
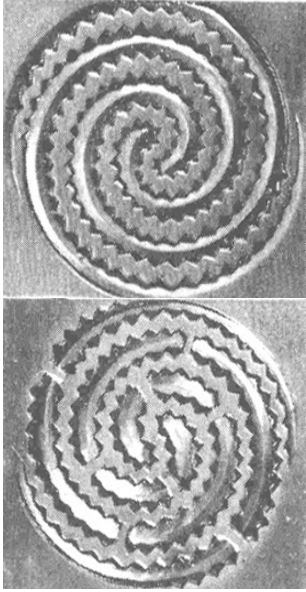
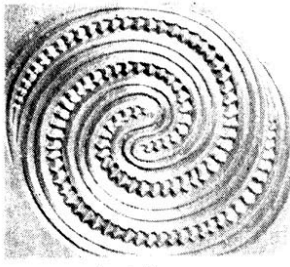

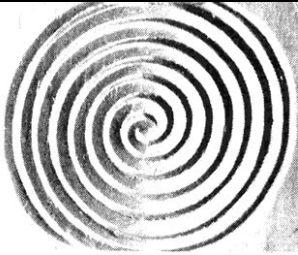


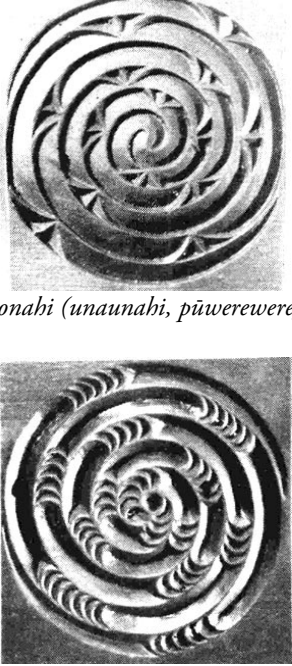


<p><i>Ngā ponahi-o-Te Tairāwhiti</i></p>	<p>A pattern, which follows the design principal of <i>pākura</i> but the crescent rhythms that normally echo the spiral are free-form. Another key difference between <i>Ngā ponahi-o-Te Tairāwhiti</i> and <i>pākura</i> is that <i>pākura</i> has plain <i>piko-o-rauru</i> spirals. <i>Ngā ponahi-o-te Tairāwhiti</i> has <i>ponahi</i> spirals.</p>	
<p><i>Kirikiore</i></p>	<p>An expansive pattern that interweaves in on itself to create a rolling configuration of spirals with enfolding crescents that echo the spiral rhythms. The term <i>kirikiore</i> combines two words, 'kiri' and 'kiore'. <i>Kiri</i> is a noun meaning skin, bark or rind (TWM 20/2/1868:5), while <i>kiore</i> refers to the rat (<i>Rattus exulans</i>). Thus, <i>kiri kiore</i> refers to the skin of the <i>kiore</i> rat (Haami, 2012).</p>	
<p><i>Matakupenga</i></p>	<p><i>Matakupenga</i> is a Taranaki type of perforated pattern which consists of curvilinear shapes consistently arranged to create a matrix. These shapes are enhanced with surface patterning comprised of <i>pūwerewere</i> which crosses over parallel lines of <i>haehae</i>. In general, <i>Matakupenga</i> appears on the lowest level of relief on <i>pare</i> and <i>paepae</i>. In Māori the term <i>matakupenga</i> refers to the mesh of a fish net (McEwen, 1966).</p>	
<p><i>Piko-o-Hauraki</i></p>	<p>A Hauraki type of perforated pattern consisting of interlocking crescent shapes arranged sporadically to create a matrix. It features surface pattern similar to that on <i>matakupenga</i>, however <i>unaunahi</i> is used rather than <i>pūwerewere</i>, and the <i>unaunahi</i> motif only crosses a single valley of <i>raumoa</i>. <i>Piko-o-Hauraki</i> appears as the lowest level of relief in <i>pare</i> and <i>paepae</i>.</p>	

Table 13. Common spiral forms in carving

Spiral name	Description	Visual Example
<p><i>Whakaironui Whare-pūngawerewere</i> (House of the spider).</p>	<p>As double spiral comprised of the <i>taratara-a-kae</i> line, <i>whakaironui</i> is associated with the narrative of Tinirau and Kae. The prominent use of this pattern on <i>pātaka</i>, which often feature <i>pakake</i> as a figurative form, further reinforces the connection to this important narrative. <i>Whakaironui</i> was used extensively by Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Te Arawa and Tuhoe carvers.</p>	

	<p>The name is comprised of two words, <i>whakairo</i> (a generic term meaning to carve) and <i>nui</i> (big, or large). However, the term <i>whakairo</i>, also literally means the moving maggot or <i>iro</i> (worm, maggot). Visually, the <i>whakaironui</i> spiral has coincidental relationship to the path of an <i>iro</i> through wood.</p>	
<p><i>Rauru</i></p>	<p>A double spiral composed of <i>rauponga</i> (parallel rows of <i>haehae</i> and <i>pākati</i>). At the centre the rows of <i>haehae</i> and <i>pākati</i> converge into an 'S' like form. According to Mead (1986, p.198) the name <i>rauru</i> is derived from the eponymous ancestor of Nga Rauru (the son of Toi) with the same name. Rauru was apparently a famous carver known throughout Te Tairāwhiti, from Tauranga to Wairoa.</p>	
<p><i>Rauru whakarare</i></p>	<p>A spiral composed of <i>haehae</i> which enclose <i>pākati</i> to form continuous hooks. <i>Whakarare</i> refers to the transition by <i>haehae</i> across the <i>pākati</i>.</p>	
<p><i>Piko-o-Rauru, Raperape</i></p>	<p><i>Piko-o-Rauru</i>, is a plain single or double spiral composed of <i>haehae</i> only. The name is associated with the carver Rauru from the Te Tairāwhiti region. It was used on the shoulders and cheeks of figures, and also appears as a motif on the forehead/head of figures such as those in Te Hau ki Tūranga. Where the plain spiral is used in patterns such as <i>pākura</i> or <i>kirikiore</i> the term <i>raperape</i> has also been used (The University of Auckland, 1988).</p>	

<p><i>Māui</i></p>	<p>A double spiral of the <i>piko-o-rauru</i> type where the centre of the spiral interlocks like two hooks interlocked. Where this type of pattern is expanded to form continuous interlocking hooks the term <i>Māui</i> is still used. The name refers to the great tupuna of Polynesia, Māui, while the hook is a symbol of a priest of the <i>wānanga</i> (The University of Auckland, 1988. p.20).</p>	
<p><i>Piko o Iwirākau</i></p>	<p>A single spiral composed of <i>pākati</i> and <i>haehae</i> which unique to Ngāti Porou. Part of the Tairāwhiti carving style. Examples of this can be found on <i>poupou</i> figures in Porourangi (1888).</p>	
<p><i>Ponahi</i> (East Coast) <i>Pūngāwerewere</i> (Taranaki)</p>	<p>A spiral composed of <i>haehae</i> and <i>unaunahi</i>, <i>pūwerewere</i> or <i>unaunahi</i>. The oldest versions of <i>ponahi</i> are those from the Te Tai Tokerau region in which the spiral form is often elliptical. Apparently, “The Tūranga carvers of the Rukupo school enclose the ritorito pattern with the rounded spirals calling this combination <i>ponahi</i> also” (The University of Auckland, 1988, p.20).</p>	 <p><i>Ponahi (unaunahi, pūwerewere)</i></p> <p><i>Ponahi (unaunahi)</i></p>
<p><i>Takarangi (pitau)</i></p>	<p>A spiral composed of row(s) of <i>haehae</i> and <i>pākati</i> (usually <i>nibo taniwha</i>). Normally the <i>haehae</i> spiral interlocks on itself at the centre. The rows of <i>pākati</i> are arranged into groups, ranging from 3-7 notches. The groups of <i>pākati</i> are evenly distributed and may be carved in either relief or with voids between the mass of <i>pākati</i>. <i>Pitau</i> is often used to describe the <i>takarangi</i> spiral, which appears on the <i>tauihu</i> or <i>taurapa</i> of <i>waka taua</i>.</p>	

<i>Hikuaua</i>	<p>A spiral composed of <i>haehae</i>, which enclose <i>pākati</i> to form continuous hooks. Similar to <i>whakarare</i>, however in <i>hikuaua</i> the transition by <i>haehae</i> across the <i>pākati</i> is anti-cyclical and the hooks move outwards away from the centre. This example is from the <i>whare whakairo</i> Rangitihi carved around 1871.</p>	
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Paama-Pengelly's Māori Design Conventions

In *Māori Art and Design* (2010), Paama-Pengelly organised a number of design concepts into the following table. Concepts such as bilateral symmetry, aspective representation, and simultaneity are salient in the reading of Māori imagery. Like the element and principles of design, the key design conventions are referred to throughout the aesthetic analysis of *pare*.

Table 14. Key design conventions, Paama-Pengelly (2010).

	Definition	Application to Māori Art
Symmetry	Two halves as mirror images of each other.	Apparent symmetry in Māori art is broken by asymmetrical elements.
Bilateral Symmetry	Corresponding in size, form, and arrangement of parts on both sides of an axis of symmetry.	Common in <i>whakairo</i> , <i>tā moko</i> and <i>kōwhaiwhai</i> .
Translation Symmetry	An object that looks the same after a shift along a longitudinal or latitudinal axis.	Applied to the translation of <i>kōwhaiwhai</i> designs.
Slide reflection	A unit of design is reflected after a shift along a longitudinal or latitudinal axis.	Transformation of <i>kōwhaiwhai</i> units.
Slide rotation	A unit of design is rotated after a shift along a longitudinal or latitudinal axis.	A transformation process of <i>kōwhaiwhai</i> units.
Perspective	Appearance of objects allowing for the effect of distance from the observer.	Spatial device used in <i>whakairo</i> after European contact.
Aspective	Strict frontal or profile presentation or a combination of the two,	Convention used in <i>whakairo</i> to create a conceptual view of anatomy
Simultaneity	Where profile and frontal aspects feature together on the same figure, i.e. occurring simultaneously.	Device used in <i>whakairo</i> to show multiple viewpoints.
Cyclical patterns	All main structures of pattern are moving in a circular (clockwise) direction. ('Anti—cyclical' refers to the situation where substructure patterns oppose the cyclic rhythm of the main pattern structure).	Describes natural <i>kōwhaiwhai</i> and <i>tā moko</i> design units.
Curvilinear patterns	Curved or having curved parts as opposed to straight lines. (Rectilinear or 'geometric' shapes consist of or are bounded by straight lines).	Used to describe the dominant style of carving or composition in carving.
Figurative representational	Form that references the real or man-made world. Non-figurative is essentially the opposite of figurative. However non-figurative patterns in Māori art can reference	Figurative and non-figurative forms have their expression in the arts of the Māori.

	ideas or concepts that allude to form in the real world.	
Representation	Signs that are used as a substitute for something else. That is, the sign can resemble in a mimetic sense or allude to in the symbolic sense.	Māori art is representational both in the mimetic and symbolic sense.
Realistic, naturalistic	Lifelike representation of people and the World.	Rare in Māori art but part of figurative painting traditions.
Symbolism, iconography	To represent something abstract with something concrete.	Māori art uses predominantly symbolic language.
Mnemonic	A visual aid which allows the viewer to read the image.	Carving has a mnemonic function in recalling ancestral devices.
Perpendicular	Upright or at right angles.	Used in the geometric weaving and plaiting arts.
Split representation notional ambiguity	Split at the mid-line between two sides, or bilaterally Represented by overlapping parts.	Presentation of split views of two face halves.

Glossary

Māori terms in italics

<i>āhua</i>	form, appearance
<i>amo</i>	upright supports of lower ends of <i>maihi</i>
<i>ariki</i>	aristocrat, first-born in a high ranking family
<i>ata</i>	form, shape, semblance, reflected image
<i>ate</i>	liver, seat of emotions
<i>atua</i>	god, supernatural being, deity
<i>epa</i>	posts at interior ends of a <i>whare</i>
<i>hae</i>	lacerate, gleam, ideal colour combination
<i>haka</i>	customary performance,
<i>hanga</i>	make, build
<i>hapū</i>	pregnant, section of a large tribe
<i>hara</i>	violate <i>tapu</i> , an offence
<i>hau</i>	breath, wind, vital essence
<i>heke</i>	rafters in meeting house, descend
<i>heketipi</i>	rafter against front/ rear wall
<i>heru</i>	comb
<i>hoe</i>	paddle
<i>hongi</i>	press noses in meeting, greet physically
<i>hui</i>	gathering, meeting
<i>ihi</i>	split, power/authority, essential force
<i>ira atua</i>	essence of <i>atua</i>
<i>ira tangata</i>	essence of <i>tangata</i>
<i>ira</i>	essence
<i>iro</i>	maggot, thread worm
<i>iwi</i>	nation/people, tribe, bone
<i>kaho</i>	batten, vertical rod forming rear of <i>tukutuku</i> panel
<i>kaho paetara</i>	board crossing top of <i>tukutuku</i> panel between <i>poupou</i>
<i>kahu</i>	woven cloak
<i>kahu kuri</i>	dog skin cloak
<i>kākahu</i>	cloak, clothing
<i>kākahu huruhuru</i>	feathered cloak
<i>kanohi</i>	face
<i>kape</i>	eyebrow, rafter pattern, tattooing below the eyebrows
<i>karakia</i>	incantation
<i>karanga</i>	call, summon
<i>kauae raro</i>	lower jaw
<i>kauae runga</i>	upper jaw
<i>koha</i>	gift
<i>kōkōwai</i>	red ochre pigment
<i>kore</i>	without, potential
<i>kōrero</i>	talk, of all kinds
<i>koru</i>	bulbed motif in <i>kōwhaiwhai</i> , carving and tattoo
<i>kōruru</i>	carved head at apex of meeting house
<i>kōwhaiwhai</i>	painted scroll pattern
<i>kupenga</i>	fish net
<i>kura</i>	red ochre pigment
<i>kūwaha</i>	entrance / doorway of <i>pātaka</i>
<i>mabau</i>	porch, of a meeting house
<i>maihi</i>	facing boards on gable of <i>whare</i>
<i>maihi pātaka</i>	facing boards on gable of <i>pātaka</i>
<i>mana</i>	authority, control

<i>mana whenua</i>	under the authority of the land
<i>manaia</i>	beaked figure commonly used in carving
<i>mangōpare kōwhaiwhai</i>	pattern, hammerhead shark-based
<i>manuhiri</i>	visitor, guests
<i>marae</i>	enclosed space in front of a meeting-house, whole complex of courtyard
<i>marae ātea</i>	ritual space in front of meeting-house
<i>mārama</i>	light
<i>mataamua</i>	eldest child
<i>mātauranga</i>	knowledge
<i>mate</i>	death
<i>maunga</i>	mountain
<i>mauri</i>	life force
<i>moana</i>	sea, ocean
<i>moko</i>	facial and body tattoo
<i>mokomoko</i>	lizard
<i>mua</i>	in front
<i>muri</i>	behind, to the rear
<i>niho taniwha</i>	teeth of the <i>taniwha</i> , triangular motif in <i>tukutuku</i> , <i>tāniko</i>
<i>niho</i>	triangular design element in weaving practises
<i>noa</i>	denoting absence of limitations/conditions relating to <i>tapu</i>
<i>ora</i>	alive, well
<i>pā</i>	palisaded settlement
<i>pae</i>	horizon, transverse beam, transition point
<i>paekura</i>	liminal zone
<i>paepae</i>	lie across, threshold
<i>pākati</i>	fine, dogs tooth pattern in carving, incise a pattern
<i>Pākehā</i>	term for European migrants to Aotearoa
<i>pākura</i>	Taranaki name for carving motif otherwise known as <i>ritorito</i> ; purple swamp hen.
<i>papaka</i>	board across lower section of the <i>tukutuku</i> panel
<i>pare</i>	carved slab over door of a <i>whare</i>
<i>pātaka</i>	store house on raised posts
<i>pito</i>	umbilical cord, belly button
<i>pītau</i>	perforated spiral found on <i>waka</i>
<i>poi</i>	light ball on a string of which is swung rhythmically to sung accompaniment
<i>pōtiki</i>	youngest child
<i>pou</i>	post, pole, fix, teacher
<i>poutāhuhu</i>	post supporting <i>tāhuhu</i> , on front wall of meeting house
<i>poupou</i>	upright slabs forming the solid framework of the walls of a <i>whare</i>
<i>poutāhu</i>	post supporting front of <i>tāhuhu</i> inside a house
<i>poutama</i>	stepped pattern (in <i>tukutuku</i> .)
<i>poutokomanawa</i>	first freestanding post inside the meeting house, supporting the <i>tāhuhu</i> ridge pole
<i>poutūārongo</i>	post supporting <i>tāhuhu</i> , on back wall of meeting house
<i>pōwhiri</i>	call, summon
<i>puku</i>	stomach
<i>pūngawerewere</i>	spider's web
<i>rākau</i>	wood, branch
<i>rangatira</i>	chief
<i>rangatiratanga</i>	chieftainship
<i>raparapa</i>	the carved ends of the <i>maihi</i> of a meeting house
<i>raranga</i>	to weave, weaving
<i>rauru</i>	spiral pattern in carving
<i>ringa</i>	arm, hand
<i>rito</i>	central, new shoot of <i>harakeke</i> bush
<i>ritorito</i>	curvilinear ridges that fan out from a single point of origin as in a fleur de lis

<i>takarangi</i>	a spiral composed of row(s) of <i>haehae</i> and <i>pākati</i> (usually <i>niho taniwha</i>)
<i>tāhubu</i>	ridge pole of meeting house
<i>tāne</i>	male, man
<i>tangata whenua</i>	people of the land, local people
<i>tāngata</i>	people
<i>tangihanga</i>	mourning process
<i>taniwha</i>	water being
<i>taonga</i>	anything highly prized
<i>taonga tuku iho</i>	treasures handed down through generations
<i>tapu</i>	under religious or superstitious restriction
<i>tara</i>	vagina, genitalia, vulva
<i>tātai</i>	arrange, set in order
<i>tatau</i>	door
<i>tauibu</i>	nose of <i>waka</i>
<i>tauirā</i>	pattern, student
<i>tekoteko</i>	carved figure on gable of meeting-house
<i>Te Kore</i>	energy, potential, the void, nothingness
<i>Te Pō</i>	form, the dark, the night
<i>Te Ao Mārama</i>	emergence, light and reality, dwelling place of humans
<i>tikanga</i>	rule, plan, custom, customary understandings governing behaviour
<i>tiki</i>	carved figure, neck ornament usually made of greenstone and carved in an abstract form of a human.
<i>tikitiki</i>	top knot
<i>tipu</i>	grow
<i>tipuna</i>	ancestor
<i>toa</i>	warrior
<i>tohorā</i>	whale
<i>tohu</i>	sign, mark
<i>tohunga</i>	expert, in some discipline
<i>toi</i>	origin, art, knowledge, used for art in contemporary times
<i>tukutuku</i>	ornamental lattice-work between upright slabs of walls of a native house
<i>tūpāpaku</i>	corpse, dead body
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	place to stand
<i>unaunahi (unahi)</i>	fish scales
<i>upoko</i>	head
<i>ure</i>	penis
<i>waewae pākura</i>	footprints of the swamp hen, a pattern of <i>tukutuku</i> lattice work
<i>waenganui</i>	the middle, among, midst, amid, between, the intervening space
<i>waharua</i>	small (single stitch) diamond motifs
<i>waharua kopito</i>	small, repeating diamond motif in <i>tukutuku</i>
<i>waiata</i>	songs, of many sorts
<i>wairua</i>	spiritual essence
<i>waitara</i>	distract, abstraction
<i>wahine</i>	woman, female
<i>waka</i>	canoe
<i>waka kōiwi</i>	bone chest, vessel for holding bones
<i>waka taua</i>	war canoe
<i>wānanga</i>	learning purpose, lore of the <i>tohunga</i>
<i>wehi</i>	awe
<i>wero</i>	ritual challenge
<i>whaikōrero</i>	oratory, formal exchange of talk
<i>whakairo rākau</i>	carving, fashioning wood
<i>whakanoa</i>	to remove <i>tapu</i>
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy, to place in layers

<i>whakatauki</i>	customary saying, proverb
<i>whānau</i>	be born, family group
<i>whanaunga</i>	relations
<i>whare</i>	customary house
<i>whare kai</i>	dining room
<i>whare puni</i>	sleeping <i>whare</i>
<i>whare wānanga</i>	learning schools
<i>whare nui</i>	large <i>whare</i>
<i>whare whakairo</i>	carved meeting-house
<i>whare puni</i>	guest house
<i>whātero</i>	to protrude, poke out the tongue, shoot out
<i>whenua</i>	land, placenta

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