Titiro ki Muri: Surfacing Māori identity in Archival Collections

Ariana Tikao and Nicola Frean (Alexander Turnbull Library)

Abstract: The Alexander Turnbull Library is New Zealand’s pre-eminent research library, located within the National Library of New Zealand. Within its archival collections there are significant holdings of Māori language material and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). Facilitating access to Māori materials has long been a focus for the library. Recent organisational changes have provided the opportunity to take this a step further with an expanded number of specialist Māori roles embedded across the library.

In this presentation, Ariana Tikao, Research Librarian, Māori, and Nicola Frean, Arrangement & Description Leader, will talk about recent developments in the Alexander Turnbull Library, and describe how the library has developed and implemented tools to enhance archival descriptive practice relating to Māori materials. Well-known within New Zealand as a Māori musician, Ariana will also talk about how her library role connects with her musical life.

Summary

Manuscripts in the Māori language form arguably the largest volume of documents written in any indigenous language in the world. A significant amount of these documents are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand’s pre-eminent research library.

Some of these documents have come to the library as part of collections from Pākehā (non-Māori); others are from Māori themselves. The documents are a means of ‘surfacing’ Māori identity and/or iwi (tribal) identity.

Since the library’s creation, Māori material has been a focus for its collections. Attempts have also been made to facilitate access to Māori materials held in the Alexander Turnbull Library. In recent years, these initiatives have gathered pace with the creation of specialist Māori roles, and the implementation of tools to enhance archival descriptive practice relating to Māori materials.

Recent arrangement and description work relating to a collection of historic letters by Māori illustrates the new approach being taken by the library and how it is working with iwi to enhance its knowledge of Māori material in its collections.

Explanation of title

The title of this paper is Titiro ki muri: Surfacing Māori identity in archival collections. ‘Titiro ki muri’ literally translates as ‘look back’ or ‘look behind’ but within a Māori world view it can also mean to ‘look forward’, or to the future. This is because in the Māori world view it is as if you are walking backwards into the future. You can see your past in front of you. What is behind you, ie. the future, you cannot see.

In this paper, we will talk about the collections of the Turnbull Library and will give some context for work done in the past to help surface Māori identity from within our collections. The title of this paper also refers to the need to look to the future, or to keep future generations in mind in the work we do now. We will talk particularly about one current project involving a significant collection of Māori letters.

Māori identity

‘Māori identity’ means many different things to many people. As a living, breathing entity this will always be evolving. In a traditional sense though, Māori identity is very much centred around tribal – iwi or hapū – identity. This is based upon whakapapa or kin relationships. Whakapapa can be translated as genealogy, but it is more than that, in that it defines the connectedness of all things.
This can easily be seen in the context of the ‘indigenous world’, which Māori academic Roger Maaka described recently as ‘being centred on interconnectedness and interdependency of people to all living creatures and to the environments in which they live’ (Maaka, 2012).

Expressions of tribal identity are evident as ‘reo-ā-iwi’ (tribal dialects) or regional dialects, as cultural practices like food gathering (dependent on available natural resources and environment), and as variations on mythological stories or legends and styles in the arts (also influenced by environment).

Contemporary expressions of identity can still be oriented towards tribal identity, or, as ‘Māori’ (as the indigenous people of New Zealand) which broadens out to be Māori in a pan-tribal sense. But there has also been a refocusing towards tribal identity that is occurring in tandem with the settlement of historic Treaty claims.

This ‘iwi renaissance’ is having an impact on archival institutions who hold collections relating to Māori culture, or mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), on behalf of the public. The recently published WAI 262 report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity is also likely to inform the future direction of how archives make their Māori collections accessible to Māori2.

Tribal archives

One phenomenon we are seeing develop is a move towards tribal-based archives. Earlier this year, Tamati Kruger, Chief Negotiator for the Ngāi Tūhoe tribe’s historic Treaty claim, spoke at a New Zealand archives seminar about their plan to set up a tribal archive. Ngāi Tūhoe are close to settlement for this claim, and interestingly, their archive will sit in the ‘futures’ unit of their new organisation. Tamati explained the importance of archives being placed in (and therefore influencing) the future so they are not relegated to the past3.

Some of the more recent Treaty settlements have included ‘letters of commitment’ as a part of the Crown’s redress package. Generally, they involve greater access to archives and taonga that relate to their iwi. The National Library (including Turnbull), is included in the three institutions responsible for delivering on these letters of commitment (along with Te Papa Tongarewa and Archives New Zealand). We are in the beginning stages of implementing letters of commitment with a number of iwi. All iwi projects are different though, and it is important to know there is no one-size-fits-all answer.

History of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL)

The origin of the ATL was the collection of Alexander Horsburgh Turnbull which he formed as ‘the nucleus of a New Zealand national collection.’ The New Zealand section of his library incorporated ‘anything whatever relating to this Colony, on its history, flora, fauna, geology and inhabitants’ which he declared were ‘fish for his net’ (Traue, 1990)4. The library was established in 1920 after Alexander Turnbull gifted his collection to the nation in 1918; its collections and services are now housed within

---

1 Maaka, Roger (2012). Indigeneity and locating indigenous peoples: To all our relations: Ki ō tātou karangataha maha in 18th Sydney Biennale catalogue.


the National Library. The National Library and Archives New Zealand both function as separate institutions, but both became a part of the Department of Internal Affairs in 2010.

The purposes of Alexander Turnbull Library (under the National Library Act 2003) are –

- (a) to preserve, protect, develop, and make accessible for all the people of New Zealand the collections of that library in perpetuity and in a manner consistent with their status as documentary heritage and taonga; and
- (b) to develop the research collections and the services of the Alexander Turnbull Library, particularly in the fields of New Zealand and Pacific studies and rare books; and
- (c) to develop and maintain a comprehensive collection of documents relating to New Zealand and the people of New Zealand.

Māori collections in ATL

The Turnbull has a mix of published and unpublished collections. In the unpublished arena Māori material is found in all our varying formats including manuscripts; drawings, paintings and prints; ephemera; cartography; oral history; and photography.

It is important to understand how the library came to possess these collections (either by donation or purchase). There are many thousands of pages of Māori manuscripts that came via missionaries, Pākehā officials and scholars from the 19th century and early 20th centuries. A highlight is the collection of Sir Donald McLean which comprises nearly 3000 letters in Māori. This collection (and others) is a rich resource for researchers, and particularly for descendants of the ancestors who wrote them.

We also have manuscripts that came to the library via Māori themselves. In most cases the library retains ownership of collections donated to us. However in some cases, such as the A T Ngata papers, the library has developed a deed of deposit which acknowledges the whānau as retaining the mauri (life principle) of the material and that the ownership, intellectual and cultural property of the collection is retained by the whānau.

Māori Specialist Roles

The Turnbull has had a long history of Māori specialist roles starting with a Māori manuscripts librarian in 1979. Since then a succession of Māori specialists have worked in different ways, to help the ancestral voices speak. These have included researching our collections, creating or improving (paper and electronic) records about collection items, and translating material from te reo Māori (Māori language). In the late 1990s, Tipene Chrip created an extensive database of material at the Alexander Turnbull Library relating to iwi in the Wairarapa region.

---

5 Taonga = treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value. [http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz](http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz) (July 30, 2012)

6 s.12, National Library of New Zealand (Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa) Act 2003

7 Diamond, P. Personal communication, July 30, 2012

We currently have seven Māori specialist roles in the Alexander Turnbull Library (as well as a Chief Librarian of the Turnbull who is Māori and has played a significant role within Māori librarianship). In terms of commitment to kaupapa Māori, we have perhaps never been so strong. The National Library also has other specialist Māori roles, but the focus here is on the Turnbull. These positions are placed across the library structure. Some are in outreach, working with and empowering iwi to collect and manage their own collections, as well as helping iwi to access our collections. We also have a specialist role in research services. For the first time we have a Curator, Māori, who reports directly to the Chief Librarian, and whose role is to: ‘Provide advice and support to the Chief Librarian, regarding mātauranga Māori, and the preservation, protection, development and accessibility of taonga in ATL’s care’. My role is as Research Librarian, Māori in the Arrangement and Description team, and I report to Nicola Frean who will speak about the context for my role, the tools we use, and future work to improve our abilities to create finding aids relating to Māori materials.

Nicola Frean:

Arrangement and description team

Like most collecting archival institutions, the background to A&D at ATL includes a transition – in our case, over 90 plus years – from paper to computer, to internet-based finding aids. The establishment of a new A&D team in the re-structure of 2011 recognised A&D’s critical role as the engine that drives the accessibility and discoverability of collections for our clients. It set our team the goal of aligning A&D policies practices and resources equitably across all formats. I was appointed in August, and Ariana came on board in December last year.

Ariana’s role is one of ten staff who spend 80% of their time on arranging and describing the unpublished collections, in a new Arrangement & Description group which was established last July. Previously, the four major divisions – Manuscripts, Photographic Archive, ‘Drawings, Paintings and Prints’, and Oral History – each had their own Curator and reading room. The division’s staff members were all involved to some extent with acquisitions, conservation and research enquiries as well, and inevitably A&D as the backroom activity took a lower priority. Nevertheless of course there were many paper-based inventories and indexes produced, and documentation of what the collections were and how they came to be in the Library.

Then from 1991 a computer system was introduced, called ‘Tapuhi’, which has the meaning ‘to nurture’ in Māori, but as an acronym stands for Turnbull Automated Project for Unpublished Heritage Items. This system was introduced first in Manuscripts, then in Photographic Archive and later in Drawings, Paintings and Prints, and finally in Oral History. While each account had the same basic architecture and allowed hierarchical description to two or three levels, and while they shared lists of standardised terms for Names, Places and Subjects, the computer system reflected the physical and intellectual imperatives of format divisions in having separate ‘accounts’. In practice people spent a lot of time in describing items and in documenting transfers from one format account to another.

My vision is to move to an Encoded Archival Description and Encoded Archival Context-based system, which will enable us to deliver coherent finding aids to the open linked data environment. I hope that achieving this first stage will then allow us to move on to other goals such as geotagging, integrating social media into our descriptive practices, and so on.

This may seem a divergence from talking about Ariana’s role, but it really isn’t, because improving the overall standard of A&D will also improve our ability to connect Māori resources with researchers. Many of the challenges which are presented by trying to surface Māori identity are also applicable to the challenges of surfacing other memory information about people from the past. For example,

---

insisting that any upgrade of our software has unicode as a mandatory requirement will enable the correct use of the Māori macron, which will improve our ability to reflect usage and deliver Māori language or dialects correctly. Geotagging placenames would enhance the value that A&D already adds by linking placenames to records. This could then support the development of place-centred search tools based on our consistent and structured data.

Arrangement & Description tools

No one staff member can do it all, no matter how talented and hardworking, and the spread of support across the Library is very important. My role is to support Ariana in exploring, analysing and working with the collections from the A&D perspective. I try to ensure she doesn’t burn out, or over-commit, but is supported to advise the rest of the A&D group on using Māori-specific A & D tools so that our collective skills keep improving.

Much of our day to day work in A&D has to do with describing the content and context of collections, and much of it is analytical and interpretive, using free text fields within a hierarchical structure.

However in addition, one of our strengths is that the Alexander Turnbull Library has long been generating standardised Name and Place terms based on evidence in the unpublished collections, and for the past 20 years these have appeared immediately on our online finding aids.

Historic collections contain many versions of Māori names which the ōpuna adopted at different times, eg. tribal names, Christian names (once baptised), whaling names, abbreviated names, names of prominent Pākehā of the time, and sometimes transliterations of these names.10 The Names list therefore includes names of many Māori people, along with information about other names they were known by, and short biographical notes. These are regarded as authoritative and may be cited by other repositories and by researchers. A huge piece of work for the future is to enhance and disambiguate these name records.

Similarly, our Places list includes contextual information about broader or narrower geographic areas, based on boundaries defined for Local Government. Further work here is of course that current iwi boundaries and names may not reflect how they were when our documents were written.

Iwi/hapū list and Māori Subject Headings

In addition there are two specific tools for Māori terms, both developed as part of the Māori Subject Headings Project which has been jointly sponsored by LIANZA11, Te Rōpū Whakahau12, and the National Library of New Zealand. Both lists were “developed for the wider library and archives communities and will be used by the National Library of New Zealand to enhance its service to Māori library users13.”

The first tool is the Iwi Hapū Names List. This was established in 2001 by Robert Sullivan, and built on the waka, iwi and hapū names in He Puna Kupu Māori (the predecessor of the current Māori subject headings list) and in Tapuhi, which were then reviewed by Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori

---

11 Library and Information Association of New Zealand Aotearoa Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa
12 Māori in Libraries and Information Management
The Iwi Hapū Names List is intended to be a dynamic list with an ongoing process to enable further iwi and hapū names to be added as required. Iwi and hapū names in this list are used as the basis for the creation of Library of Congress subject headings with the addition of the qualifier (New Zealand people), when the NLNZ has bibliographic items attached to them.

The second tool is Ngā Ūpoko Tukutuku, or Māori Subject Headings, a list of over 1,000 headings and their associated references, with more being added as they are developed. The purpose is to provide a structured path to subjects that Māori customers can relate to and use to find material in libraries. It is not intended to be used as a dictionary. It has been developed so that cataloguers and descriptive archivists have pathways to use when describing material either in or about Māori. Ngā Ūpoko Tukutuku incorporates a Māori worldview in its construction, in that terms are woven into a wharenui (meeting house) structure. The thesaurus recognises the relationships between te taha tinana (the people), te taha wairua (the spiritual) and te taha hinengaro (the mind). It incorporates Māori ways of thinking and te reo Māori into an information retrieval model.

So Māori search terms are beginning to have routine use as part of global authority tools, at least in the library domain. Since 2006 the New Zealand Geographic Placenames Database on the Land Information New Zealand website has been accepted by the US Library of Congress as the authority for New Zealand placenames. Since 2008, New Zealand dual language place names have been accepted for inclusion in Library of Congress Subject Headings. As we use these terms in archival finding aids, they make their way onto search engine results and desktops around the world.

Currently, for the Arrangement and Description team, surfacing Māori material is constrained by the tools we are using. Tapuhi is restricted to its historic computer settings, so it can’t integrate with external systems, even those like the Iwi/Hapū list with which it had a founding role. For example, the Iwi/Hapū Names and Māori Subject Headings maintained by the National Library use macrons, but these cannot be used in Tapuhi. We are currently investigating a succession plan for Tapuhi.

In addition to these tools and general improvements to A&D practice, there have been clear drivers for A&D in recent work on prioritising the digitisation of Māori material. A report last year identified ten priority areas across multiple formats for digitisation.

How will we measure success?

The success of specific Māori tools will be determined by the ongoing use and input made to them by Māori archivists and librarians in other institutions as well. Similarly, A&D’s success in re-surfacing Māori identity from the collections will be demonstrated by the level of discovery, engagement, and communication which the Library is able to have with iwi researchers, and by the new knowledge and conversations which are started based on resources which Māori discover in the collections, however that may be expressed. For these vibrant links between collections and researchers to happen, A&D must remain grounded in the practical concerns of donors and researchers. The best finding aids reflect this empathy with the context, as well as its objective description. We must have people like Ariana who can help make and communicate these links for us.

Ariana Tikao:

Relationship building

It is easy to make assumptions about our collections and our communities from within the walls of the institution. At times these assumptions may be correct, but at other times the opposite may be true. There is a well-known Māori phrase that says “Whatungerorangaro te tangata, toitū te whenua”, which says that although people perish, the land remains. We could as well apply this to our collections, people come and go, and many staff work with our collections over years, decades, centuries even,
but the collections, or taonga (treasures) that we hold remain constant or permanent. So the phrase might then stand as “whatungarongaro te tangata, toitū te taonga.”

I know that I have been guilty of making assumptions about our collections myself, in the short time I have been here at the Turnbull. Let’s just say that lessons have been learned. In April 2012, the Chief Librarian of the ATL, Chris Szekely and some of the ATL Māori specialists spoke at an ARANZ seminar about Māori archives: Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho: Treasures Passed Down. We highlighted some of the work we are doing that relates to Māori collections. Paul Diamond, our Curator, Māori, spoke about his research into depictions of Māori in our cartoon collections (and work of Māori cartoonists) and some work he is doing researching some early watercolour portraits of Māori ancestors. Trish Beamsley, Research Librarian, Māori (Research Services Access Team) talked about how she works with researchers who visit the library’s reading room wanting to access Māori materials. I spoke about some description enhancement work I had started doing, on a collection of 252 letters written in Māori.

Generally speaking, most of our historic letters in the Māori language were written to or from Pākehā, eg. agents of the Crown, scholars or missionaries (corresponding with Māori). This particular collection, known as the Atkinson Collection of Māori Letters from Taranaki, is different, in that they were written between Māori ancestors. Most of the letters were written in the context of the Taranaki wars in the 1860s. These were part of a series of battles between government forces and some Māori tribes in the 1840s and 1860s sparked by conflicts over sovereignty and land.

As the historian Danny Keenan has written, many Taranaki Māori opposed land sales, and in 1860 there was conflict over a land purchase at Waitara. The British army invaded, and there was fighting until March 1861. In 1865 there were battles in South Taranaki, and Major General Trevor Chute led troops around Mount Taranaki, destroying Māori villages.14

The Atkinson Collection of Māori Letters from Taranaki were retrieved from two of these villages: Paiakamahoe and Mataitawa.

We have held this collection of letters for more than 50 years. I suppose the assumption was that because the collection had been with us for so long, and was of such significance, the iwi would have known about it. The collection initially came to us as part of the papers of the Polynesian Society in 1961. In 1983 the letters were separated out, and became a collection group. They were arranged into date order and put into 18 folders, and an inventory was made.

The inventory was created by the first Māori Manuscripts Librarian, Sharon Dell and a colleague, Bruce Ralston. This finding aid had the letters arranged by date, named the names of the ancestors who wrote the letter and who they wrote it to, and listed places where known. It also contains an index of names of the people who wrote the letters and a list of to whom they were written. For over 20 years the inventory has sat in our reading room. Basically, it was limited to researchers who came to the reading room to look at the inventory. When our online database Tapuhi was created, a collection level description was added, which then went down to the folder level. There was not much content in the folder level descriptions other than a title which said “correspondence” and the date range. It showed on the group record some contextual information and under finding aid indicated “inventory available”.

Fast forward to 2011, and the collection was on a long list of items due to be digitised by the time I started at the Turnbull at the end of last year. Because the collection had this paper inventory, various colleagues, including the manuscripts curator, suggested that it would be worthwhile to input the information from the finding aid into our database, Tapuhi. We weighed up whether to just digitise the

finding aid and attach it to the group record, or whether to take more time to create a piece record for each letter. We decided on the latter, so that the digitised items could be attached to their individual records, and hopefully make the collection more findable.

Back to the ARANZ seminar and my lesson learnt. I spoke about the work that I had begun to make the collection more accessible. I demonstrated what was available previously. There was quite a lot of interest in the collection and the work we were doing. A few weeks later we were approached by Honiana Love, a trained archivist, who works for Te Reo o Taranaki, a community based organisation that aims to revitalise the regional language of Taranaki. Honiana had concerns about our speaking about the Taranaki letters project (and also another project that featured her ancestor and namesake) in a public forum, without considering speaking to her or the wider iwi first. She had spoken to some of her advisors in her community and they had suggested a way forward. At first, after she had expressed her concerns, it was an uncomfortable space to be in, for all of us. But we worked through it, and agreed it would be beneficial to work on a more collaborative approach.

That day Honiana said something that was a timely reminder of the importance of these collections to iwi. She said that to the whānau of Taranaki, the history associated with the Taranaki wars was not something in the distant past. It was as if it happened yesterday. This in essence, is what we need to keep in mind when we are looking after indigenous collections which carry a painful history such as this one.

In Māori society, there is an onus on the descendants of the ancestors to protect their taonga in a spiritual sense, and also to do whatever they can to enhance the mana of their iwi. It can enhance the mana of your whānau, hapū or iwi to demonstrate knowledge of your history and tikanga (cultural ways). It is also a duty to prevent harm or diminishment of the mana of your iwi, hapū or whānau. By approaching us, and offering to introduce us to the iwi representatives, Honiana was offering us a gift – a chance to rebalance the mana in the relationship. She was also laying down a challenge. Like the warrior who is sent in first during the ritual of encounter, laying down the manuka branch as a symbol of challenge. We were able to pick up the manuka, and accept whatever might come from the possibility of engagement.

Since then we have been in the process of developing a relationship with Taranaki Iwi and have made contact with Te Āti Awa. These are the two principal iwi relating to the letters, however there are other iwi who in time we would like to also develop a relationship with.

Alongside the work I have been doing on creating and enhancing the records, Paul Diamond and I have been keeping iwi informed of progress and have begun involving them in decision-making surrounding the collection. This has involved the selection of a letter for the opening exhibition in the Alexander Turnbull Gallery in the newly refurbished building of the National Library of New Zealand; the sharing of the writing of a label and interpretation of this letter for the exhibition; and issues surrounding digitisation of the collection. We are also seeking guidance regarding any sensitive material in the letters. This content may include karakia from the Pai Mārire movement, a religious movement that developed during the New Zealand wars.

Honiana Love spoke at the ARANZ seminar about the work of Te Reo o Taranaki. She said that they are not necessarily seeking repatriation of physical taonga, but that there is potential for institutions to care for the physical aspect of collections, and that iwi can take care of the spiritual elements. She spoke of the potential for digital repatriation, which is something she reiterated in her paper in the recent issue of Archifacts.


Te Reo o Taranaki worked in partnership with Archives New Zealand to identify key documents in their care, which have been digitally repatriated, and described in terms relevant to the iwi. They can now be used as research tools for their language revitalisation programmes. “We were able to give historic documents new meaning, make them more findable and accessible to iwi and hapū, and therefore more relevant to those researching Taranaki Māori history (Hall & Love, 2012). This is one way of building up this kind of relationship to ensure that the identity and voices of the ancestors will resurface.

There is still further enhancement work to be done on the Taranaki letters collection. When I created the records I made notes for further research needed eg. when the identity of an ancestor was not obvious. Additional research will need to be undertaken, particularly in the area of name records (biographical research) and iwi affiliations. I added in some tribal affiliations using maps and online resources but advice from iwi historians will be beneficial to this. Due to the historic nature of many placenames in the collection, further research will need to be undertaken.

Archives informing new expressions of identity

Outside of my work at the Turnbull I also have a personal interest in archival collections, particularly relating to my own whānau and iwi. I utilise published and unpublished materials to write or revive waiata (songs) which I perform and record to express my identity as a Kāi Tahu woman from Te Wai Pounamu. Many of these waiata have been inspired by publications and archival collections which were contributed to and sometimes written by, my Great-grandfather, Teone Taare Tikao, a tribal leader, scholar and politician.

These waiata (and others being created by other Māori composers) are new expressions of tribal identity. By resurfacing our ancestors’ voices from archival collections, and gaining inspiration from them we are contributing to the survival of our culture and language.

Ko ā koutou tinana kua maroke ko ā koutou kupu ia ka mau tonu. Thus, although you, our elders, may pass into the night, your flesh to corrupt and fade, yet you speak still (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011)17

Conclusion

This paper is included in the 'Identity' strand of the ICA Congress 2012. We have shared aspects of past and current practices in the Alexander Turnbull Library, relating to selected Māori collections and communities. In doing this, we hope that other archival institutions will gain further understanding into the complexity of the processes involved in engaging with indigenous communities about collections of significance to them. Aspects of this paper could also apply to the ‘Trust’ strand. By continually improving our standards and practices and tools for arrangement and description, as well as developing clear protocols for engaging with Māori communities, the Alexander Turnbull Library is building the basis for a greater level of trust.

### Glossary of Māori terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hapū</td>
<td>sub-tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Punu Kupu</td>
<td>Former name of National Library of New Zealand’s Māori Subject headings list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāi Tahu</td>
<td>tribe from the South Island of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>topics, themes or agenda relating to Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>prestige, authority, control, power, influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>the indigenous people of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātauranga</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mauri</td>
<td>life principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngā taonga tuku iho</td>
<td>treasures passed down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Ūpok Tukutuku</td>
<td>Māori Subject headings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāi Tūhoe</td>
<td>Iwi of the Urewera region in east of the North Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pai Mārire</td>
<td>A 19th century religious faith founded by Te Ua Haumene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>New Zealander of European descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reo-ā-iwi</td>
<td>tribal dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapuhi</td>
<td>Database for unpublished collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>A region on the west coast of the North Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki Iwi</td>
<td>A tribe from the Taranaki area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Āti Awa</td>
<td>A tribe from the Taranaki area (which has links with Te Āti Awa in Wellington and other regions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Papa Tongarewa</td>
<td>The Museum of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo Māori</td>
<td>The Māori language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Reo o Taranaki</td>
<td>A community-based initiative aimed at revitalising the regional dialect of Taranaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Rōpū Whakahau</td>
<td>A formal network of Māori in Libraries and Information Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori</td>
<td>The Māori Language Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Wai Pounamu</td>
<td>The South Island of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikanga</td>
<td>correct procedure, custom, rule, practice, convention based on Māori values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna/tīpuna</td>
<td>ancestor/ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titiro ki muri</td>
<td>Look behind, look back (dual meaning = to look forward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty</td>
<td>Treaty of Waitangi, signed between 540 Māori chiefs and the Crown in 1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAI 262</td>
<td>Waitangi Tribunal claim concerning laws and policies affecting Māori culture and identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy, descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau</td>
<td>Extended family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>