TE HAU KĀINGA – THE BREEZE OF HOME: EMOBODYING IHI WITHIN CONTEMPORARY DANCE PRACTICES

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Ko Tarawera me Hikurangi ngā maunga
Ko Puarenga me Te Raparapa ngā awa
Ko Te Arawa me Ngatokimatawhaorua ngā waka
Ko Te Pakira me Matawaia ngā marae
Ko Te Arawa me Ngā Puhi ngā iwi
Ko Tūhourangi Ngāti Wāhiao me Ngāti Hine ngā hapu.

Introduction
In 2012, I attended the World Dance Alliance Global Summit in Taiwan at the Taipei National University of the Arts, along with my peers from The University of Auckland. At the Summit we performed two dance works, one of which was the work, Maps of Memories, choreographed in collaboration with my fellow dance peers, and our lecturer from The University of Auckland. This particular piece was inspired and influenced by Māori, Samoan, and Western cultural ideas and movement vocabulary, while also drawing on our own understandings and the importance of place and environment. I remember very clearly after we had finished performing this particular piece, the standing ovation we received from the audience, an encouraging, humbling experience. I remember a particular teacher from the summit, who came up to us after the show, he made a comment, “you have this thing about your performance, you know that all Polynesian people have. That thing?” I was really interested in what exactly he meant by this ‘thing’ and further questioned him, hoping he would give more of an explanation or insight to what he meant. Everyone around me, even the person making that comment, found it difficult to find words to elaborate on what this term ‘thing’ was. My dance peers and I glanced at each other, smiling and nodding as if we knew what he was talking about.
These conversations made me question the comments that come from compliments bestowed upon Polynesian performers, how we all supposedly have this ‘thing’ within our performance. Yes, the movement vocabulary and ideas were drawing on many Polynesian and Western ideas and forms, however, what I found interesting is that not all of the performers in this piece were of Polynesian decent. This particular comment or assumption led me to question and explore the ideas of performance qualities and aesthetics drawn from Polynesian cultures.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is to explore how we might sustain and understand performative knowledge that draws from indigenous cultural values, specifically focusing on the dancer’s experience and relationship with place and environment. This specific performance and feedback experience in Taiwan, has resonated with me in my own dance practice and research; I developed an interest in how I could better understand my own Māori cultural heritage, and further explore how I consider and transfer Māori performative knowledge and values into my own choreographic process, practice, and performance within a contemporary dance setting.

I completed this research journey through my 2013 honours dissertation study, exploring the choreographic process of a duet work, ‘Ngā Whaiaipo o te roto – lovers of the lake’, performed for the 2013 Auckland Tempo Dance Festival. This duet was performed and choreographed by Matt Hamuera and I, inspired by an ancestral love story from our home in Rotorua, between well-known ancestors Hinemoa and Tutanekai. This study explored through a choreographic process the following question: How might I, as the performer and choreographer, engage with activities and tasks that foster ihi (to be described in the next section). The research culminated into a dissertation study, which explored three areas within the findings: Te Hau Kāinga – The breeze of home, He mahi uruparae – Feedback process, and the reflections of the two performance nights of Ngā whaiaipo o te roto. All three areas were valuable and with shared influences; however, for the purposes of this article, I will only explore and discuss the findings of Te Hau Kāinga.
What is ihi?

Through deliberation and discussion with whānau about the comment made in Taiwan regarding this ‘thing’ Polynesian performer's have within their performance, instantly I referred to ihi. This particular Māori term has proven difficult to define and comprehend through writing. The concept of ihi is defined in Te Aka Maori Dictionary (2013) as a “ray of sun, essential force, excitement, power, charm, personal magnetism - psychic force as opposed to spiritual power” (para.1). Scholars such as Rua McCullum have added to the body of literature that explore the many understandings of ihi. Rua McCullum (2011) explains ihi “as a discernible cold chill spreading through your upper spine, raising the hairs on the back of your neck, whilst watching a performance” (p.96). Ihi can also be understood, then, as being drawn to something or someone, through a spiritual or phenomenological experience (Barbour, 2005). These ideas resonate with Nathan Matthews’s (2011) notion that, “ihi is a psychic power that elicits a positive psychic and emotional response from the audience” (p.10). It has been noted that many individuals perceive ihi as something that cannot be physically held or seen, but rather is an experience that you witness most commonly in performance (Brown, 2008; Matthews, 2011).

Nathan Matthews (2011) further explains how ihi is a concept that relates to Māori performance ideals and aesthetic judgement. The portrayal and attainment of ihi is considered to be the achievement of excellence in performance. The research supporting this paper acknowledges that the aesthetic judgement of ihi within performance is unquestionably subjective; this subjectivity could be likened to notions of embodiment and somatic practice in dance (Eddy, 2009; Rouhiainen, 2008).

The subjectivity of ihi, led me to create personal narratives as the focus for this study; in these narratives I explore and engage with my cultural identity. I am aware that the narratives reflect my own personal journey and are also entirely subjective. As a performer and choreographer, I aimed to be open within my choreographic process; thus, this study employed a phenomenological approach, which could be seen to accommodate the subjectivity (Fraleigh, 1991). Through this approach my experience of dance and performance may reveal acknowledging a phenomenal presence, and I,
as a Māori woman, researcher and dance practitioner, aimed to avoid presupposing anything in advance of my immediate or natural experience of dance (Fraleigh, 1991; Mane, 2009; Rothfeild, 2005).

Considering the existing literature explored by these scholars and the understandings drawn from whānau, some of whom are exponents of Māori Kapa Haka performance and composition, I still found ihi difficult to define. Through informal conversations with whānau, generational differences arose in terms of understanding who can possess ihi within performance, and where ihi is experienced. Many younger members of my whānau understood ihi to be specifically directed within Māori performers, more commonly seen in Kapa Haka; where as my grandmother understood ihi as a part of everyday life and open to all people from different cultures. I struggled to comfortably find and use appropriate English language to describe what exactly ihi entails. Perhaps Te reo Māori is far too complex to translate and fully attain the understanding of ihi? Is ihi a performance aesthetic, essence, or quality? Is ihi more than Māori performative knowledge? Is it instead only spiritually understood and experienced? Maybe in order to explore ihi one must consider wehi and wana, two elements that simultaneously work hand in hand with one another.

Through contemplation and consideration around these ideas and questions, I have now come to the understanding of ihi being all of the above and more. I can only write and explore what I do understand and have experienced in my own performance practice both in Kapa Haka and contemporary dance performance. For me, ihi lingers in the spiritual realm mostly commonly identified in my Māori performance; however, through my own practice and research journey, I have understood and experienced this ‘performance quality’ existing beyond the borders of Kapa Haka performance. Ihi draws on Māori language and understandings, explored and experienced through performance. Ihi is drawn on various Māori beliefs, influences, and ideas of how a performer channels this quality within their performance. For the purposes of this article, it is important to acknowledge and consider all existing understandings within literature, and the contributions from whānau whom are haka exponents of Kapa Haka performance, to then shape and explore my own understanding through my practice and experience.
Research Methodology

This research explores the creative potential of Māori performative knowledge such as ihi; thus, making meaning and connections to how Māori cultural concepts are transferred into a contemporary theatre or dance context. Using a practice led research method (Haseman, 2006), this study investigates my personal experiences during the choreographic process of the duet work, ‘Ngā Whaiaipo o te roto – lovers of the lake’. A Kaupapa Māori whakawhanaungatanga philosophy (Bishop, 1995; Mane, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) enables the research to work under culturally appropriate means, acknowledging the ethical considerations and implications of my Māori cultural heritage and knowledge.

Understanding ihi within a performance and wider context

Within my choreographic and performance process, questions had surfaced surrounding who might inherently possess ihi within performance. If identifying ihi within my performance is an aim of this research, what authority is needed to identify ihi? What attributes give someone this authority to ‘judge’ ihi? Ted Glynn and Angus Macfarlane (2003) explain how schools within New Zealand have incorporated a Whare Tapa-Wha model of holistic wellbeing. The Hikairo Rationale encompasses seven domains, within this model one of the domains consists of the rate of ihi a student has or is currently showing.
within their behaviour in the school environment. Glynn and Macfarlane (2003) state that ihi is “assertiveness […] setting clear boundaries that are fair and consistent, expressing respect for personal dignity, and making constructive use of learning opportunities, as they occur” (p.68). Though the classroom setting is a different context to contemporary performance, if teachers within this framework have the authority to mark a student’s rate of ihi, then who is the teacher within contemporary dance performance? If I am the choreographer and the performer, who is my teacher? Am I the teacher? Is the audience the teacher? Is the dance critic the teacher? Who evaluates whether or not I have ihi within my performance?

These questions and theories around ihi are by no means solidified nor explored within wider scholarship. There are many comments made within and outside the New Zealand dance and Māori community, such as: ‘Māori are born with and can only possess ihi’, and, the most common comment, ‘ihi comes naturally to Māori’. These discourses surrounding ihi are very common and dominant within the Māori community, as Linda Waimarie Nikora (1995) states, “an individual may be born with one or two characteristics commonly found in a particular cultural group […] but these are not sufficient to guarantee the development of practices, beliefs and values of that cultural group” (p.4). Perhaps this is where I find it intriguing, yet challenging, to explore through my research process. This study may help further unpack and better understand these challenging questions surrounding ihi.

From surveying the literature it seems that ihi is not explicitly discussed in relation to artistic work, practice or contemporary performance. This limited documentation raises further questions around why this might be, especially considering the growing integration of Māori culture within contemporary dance practices (Lai, 2011), and the developing interest in indigenous knowledge, not only within the Aotearoa dance community but also internationally (Sharples, 1985). As a dance practitioner and researcher, I question whether my dance practice, experience, and research can guide other dance artists, performers, critics, and researchers to provide alternative ways of thinking about the cultural considerations and ethical implications when integrating Māori cultural concepts, or any indigenous cultural ideas, with contemporary dance. Discussion and consideration around cultural
performative concepts such as ihi, may in turn raise awareness of the protocols that need to be met when integrating Western ideas with Indigenous cultures. It can be noted that there is literature similar to that concerning the practice of Kapa Haka, Māori performing arts and dance, within other cultural contexts that discuss notions likened to ihi. As Theresa Jill Buckland (2001) states, “through regularly bodily practice, embodying the past in the present as a dance ritual is the continuity maintained for a present and potential audience” (p. 12). Buckland’s research may consider the aspects of past and present experience more generally, however, this research aimed to identify the specific practices that foster ihi both through my past and present experiences.

(Rotorua Ohinemutu footage part of Ngā Whaiaipo o te roto film projection, Rotorua, New Zealand. Photographed by Sophie Williams and Matt Hamuera)

**Narrative: White walls**

My dance partner and I spent the first days of rehearsal looking at our movements through the mirror. We tried choreographic tasks that would draw on the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. We tried to create combinations to Māori musician’s songs or inspired soundtracks. I sat down and looked at my dance partner and chuffed in a sigh of annoyance in his direction. I was frustrated with myself, and anything he would show me I would cut down. Where did our big ideas from the beginning vanish too?

I tired to make excuses for myself and told him, “all I’ve been doing lately is writing essays, I haven’t danced or choreographed for a while”. He rolled his eyes at me and said, “I’ve got nothing, what’s happening to us?”

For four days in a row nothing seemed to inspire us. I looked at the white walls around me, and became frustrated seeing my reflection sitting on
the ground wasting time we didn’t have. I stood up and turned the lights off, hoping some creativity would miraculously flow through my body, if I couldn’t see my reflection. I felt closed in space between myself and the walls, I started to frantically improvise, finally, a light bulb moment! I started to solidify these movements that felt natural to my body, ‘comfortable and organic’. I taught my dance partner the movements; but it didn’t take long to teach him because the vocabulary of movement came from either variations of movement I had subconsciously adapted from sequences that we had both learnt in technique class, or signature movements I always seem to slip into my choreography. I had mixed this ‘organic feeling’ with replicating technique class movements and regurgitated signature moves with the natural feeling in my body. This seemed more like habitual movements creeping their way into my choreography.

Here I was picking my dance partners movement ideas to pieces and I couldn’t even make something original? My body couldn’t even cypher between new and old movements or someone else’s from my own? I know everyone goes through struggle street with choreography, from time to time, but I felt out of touch with my body, who I was as a performer and what I actually was trying to say through my movement. Being stuck in four walls with mirrors has been an all too familiar process I have been through when creating choreography. I felt as though I was forcing the relationship between Māori culture, our ideas, contemporary dance and the story of Hine Hine and Tutanekai. It was like I was compelling something to magically bounce out of me. I found myself pretending, trying to connect every movement and aspect to the story, desperately seeking to find anything that looked aesthetically pleasing in the mirror.

I remember, I thought my dance partner was trying to undermine me throughout the whole day when he kept asking me “why?”

“Why were the movements like that? What did they mean? Why did you do that?”

I closed my eyes and sprawled out on the ground, staring at the white roof I blurted out, “let’s just do a haka at the end!” He replied, “why?” Out of frustration I told him, “because we’re Māori!”

It didn’t make sense putting a haka in the piece, and he had every right to question me throughout the process, but I couldn’t remove the frustration. We needed to return to the place where we both had these big ideas.

My dance partner and I have experience site-specific work. These experiences have been based within Auckland, either for University assignments or projects for other choreographers. As undergraduate students learning choreography, we were given readings to understand and inform us of what sites-specific dance entailed. I reflect back to Victoria Hunter’s (2005) definition; “[t]he term site-specific performance is defined as dance performance created in response to and performed within a specific site or location where dance and movement are dominant” (p.367). Though this explanation does help understand the discipline of site-specific, I found that
re-reading the scholarly definitions, or the history of a site or environment did not resonate with me when trying to connect it to the exploration undertaken in this research.

One of the obstacles that I felt I faced, is that although body memories may allow me to connect and reflect on my diverse cultural and dance experience, I still resorted to my habitual way of moving and thinking about movement, plastering these movements into my choreography and onto the site. This experience may reveal the challenge which we continually confronted: We are not discovering or exploring new movements, new settings or a state of relationship with each other, but returning and recycling movements that feel natural and comfortable because of our habitual state of mind. Dance scholar Sherry Shapiro’s (1998) theory around body memories holding life experiences or habitual movement is also acknowledged within this study. However, this research focuses on how to explore movements, choreography and performance practices, that are influenced more from my own phenomenological experience, rather than from my body memories or technique I have learnt through past works, experiences or dance studio environments. Throughout this choreographic process my own ‘lived experience’ had been the source of creativity when developing my own dance vocabulary. Anna Pakes (2006) analyses how, “[t]he improvising dancer relies on technique and familiarity with particular ways of moving born of extensive training” (p.91).

The experience noted by Anna Pakes, may suggest that the environment and mind set in which we have been conditioned to dancing and stimulating choreography, could in turn influence our decision making when creating movement. In relation to this choreographic investigation, Rotorua is our home, a place that is culturally sensitive and special to my dance partner and I. This particular place and the connection to the land, gave me a sense of belonging and understanding of the setting I was in. My dance partner and I have sung about this story in Kapa Haka concerts back home for years; however, we had never physically experienced the place and environment where the story occurred. Returning to certain locations became a practice we continued throughout the choreographic journey. Nigel Stewart (2010) states “environmental dance can disclose values of nature within nature itself by
exploring human kinaesthetic consciousness of non-human nature” (p.33). If animals were not passing by, or water and steam moving, something else would catch our attention. This became clear motivation and a resource for our choreographic practices.

This choreographic practice led my creativity as a choreographer and performer somewhere that was not necessarily comfortable or natural for me. I had to change the way I naturally thought and responded to stimulating movement. Edmund Husserl (1981) believes that “this meant the act of ‘abstracting from the natural attitude’ in the sense of discounting the actual existence of the world or the habitual “being-accepted-beforehand of ‘this world’” (p.61, quoted in Stewart, 2010, p.33). Practicing these methods may seem simple to embody in a performance, studio setting or stage. However, experiencing this first hand I am able to grasp a tangible experience of what Hinemoa, my character, may have endured. This is where I felt authenticity within my performance. I believe that these moments enabled and fostered the beginnings of ihi within my performance.

(Sophie Williams, footage part of Ngā Whaiaipo o te roto film projection, Rotorua, New Zealand. Photographed by Sophie Williams and Matt Hamuera)

**Narrative: Retracing Home, Rotorua**

*Every summer I perform with my whānau Kapa Haka group, Tūhourangi Ngāti Wāhiao. I remember an afternoon, we were learning the words and actions to our whakawātea of our bracket. Our tutors seemed on edge the entire day,*

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annoyed with the execution of the whakawātea. I remember, repeating one section of the whakawātea eighteen times in a row, our tutors changing their minds every time, “start again, no change that action, boys to the front, no go back to the back”.

The whakawātea was about four ancestors that were being carved from wooden panels; after the panels were finished, they would be placed around the stage, for the 2013 Te Matatini National Kapa haka Festival in Rotorua. I remember a Kaumātua coming into practice telling us how important it was for our people to understand and acknowledge our ancestor’s, and that these wooden panels or carvings could show and share this with us. We had been given the meaning and translations about the whakawātea, however, throughout the day, I started to notice our tutor seemed disconnected with us as a group, and our performance? One particular tutor, told us to take a lunch break, to go down to Te Puia and watch the carvings being carved.

He told us to look at how the carvers move when they carve the wood, ask them to tell us why the being carved in that way, shapes, eyes, body, to focus on physical aspects of each carving.

So as we were told, when we arrived we asked about the stories, and why some were carved with bigger eyes, one with two heads, one with no body. The carvers stopped working and started to unravel different stories connected to each carving. I will be the first to admit, I initially thought going to Te Puia was unnecessary when we had already been given the whakamārama. It was not until I returned back to practice after lunch, that I better understood the whakamarama. I started to connect my own understanding to the movements that were choreographed to the words, actions and facial expression for each ancestor.

Standing in the studio, I thought of my experience of visiting Te Puia. I thought of the ideas and intention of our piece, Nga whaiaipo o te roto. We had all these big ideas, many of which came from filming scenes for our projection on the shores of Ohinemutu. I remember thinking maybe we should just go home, get out of the studio, and out of the city!

When my dance partner and I revisited locations in Rotorua, we became more familiar with how to enter the water, stay warm in the water whilst waiting for the perfect time to shoot the footage, how to fold and control our own korowai in the wind. The shiver that shot up my spine, when I walked into cold water still resonates in my body. I can still feel the gusts wind, tangling my hair, taking away my vision. The hot sand on the shores from the natural thermal heating, causing my body to flinch, my toes to curl up in a way that was not necessarily aesthetically pleasing, but something that felt natural, experiences that I can quickly re-enact through an embodied sensation.

The process of going down to Te Puia with our Kapa Haka group and witnessing the carving first hand was a practice that I found I was able to transfer into our choreographic process. Katerina Teawia (2011) explains how Pacific people often carry and pass indigenous cultural knowledge through oral, visual, and embodied traditions. Her ideas could be likened to the practices within Māori culture and of this experience; for example, the passing
of knowledge from carvers to us as Kapa Haka performers, and descendants from these ancestors. As carriers of particular ancestral knowledge, the carvers willingly shared the history and characteristics of each ancestor with us as a Kapa Haka group. The significance of this process meant that this indigenous ancestral knowledge was gathered in a way in which, we as performers and choreographers had to physically visit the place where the carvings were being carved at the time.

Visiting the environment where the ancestral story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai took place enabled me to connect to the physical feeling of my experience in this location. David Seamon (2000) mentions, “phenomenology may be one useful way for the environment-behaviour researcher to reconcile the difficult tensions between feeling and thinking and between firsthand lived experience and second hand conceptual accounts of that experience” (para.5). For example, the temperature, and texture of the sand underneath my feet, the freezing water against my body as I stood in lake Rotorua, and the gusty wind ripping the korowai off my body. These experiences have the ability to foster a deeper physical understanding of Hinemoa’s journey to cross the lake. Within this it can be understood that “co-phenomenology environmental dance has a unique ability for bringing to expression, the relation with nature and the experience of value rooted in this relation” (Brown & Toadvine, 2003, p.xii).

Experiencing these moments, I now understand without physically being in the environment where Hinemoa and Tutanekai’s story took place, remaining in the dance to studio to choreograph, I could have easily described and imagined what that environment felt, smelt, sounded or looked liked. However, I believe my own imagined description would have only explored a one uninformed and inexperienced understanding of their story. Through the actual experiencing of this environment first hand, I felt I was able to embody the story, understand my ancestor Hinemoa and her journey further, returning this embodied experience to the studio. Reflecting on the idea of experiencing place and environment, I found that I had to recollect feelings and emotions of a certain moment, how the environment affected my body kinaesthetically. For example, when I revisited to the dance studio, I had to recall the sensation of walking into the lake, and the shiver that grew from a minor chill to an
overwhelming adrenalin rush through my body. Mary-Lynn Smith (2002) mentions how “experiences become transformational because they are embodied moments that shift our day to day movement patterns into another, an-other way of moving” (p.137).

These specific tangible experiences are what I drew from, there was no physical training or technical movement vocabulary I could resort too, which I believe contributed to the choreography and fostered ihi within my performance. The challenge was to then recreate these particular experiences and to negotiate a connection of ihi, without the direct environment influences. My dance partner and I had to transfer our experiences in Rotorua, back into a studio and choreographed movement; this became the challenge, a working process and negotiation that required a lot of patience from us both. By focusing and re-embodying how our bodies felt in the environment, my dance partner and I were able to explore how returning to a certain place may impact our choreographic practice. Through experiencing Hinemoa and Tutanekai’s environment, we had the intention of building a relationship in this location, one that could then be carried through to our performance.

Douglas Ted (1997) mentions how Māori development “is group-oriented and contains a very large measure of mana motuhake (autonomy and authority), together with whanaungatanga (kinship), manaakitanga (sharing and caring) and kotahitanga (unity)” (cited by Robinson & Williams, 2001, p.58). This concept could also be considered within our performance, which reflects and draws on Māori cultural concepts of whakawhanaungatanga, where relationships between myself, others, environment and cosmos are encouraged (Bishop, 1995; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). I felt that these ideas could be adopted within our choreographic process, to provide guidance when working with Māori indigenous performance concepts and stimulating a connection of ihi through the experience of place and environment (Bacon & Midgelow, 2011; Matthew, 2011; Sharples, 1985).
(Ngā Whaiaipo o te roto rehearsal Sophie Williams and Matt Hamuera, Suva, Fiji, Photographed by rehearsal footage Sophie Williams and Matt Hamuera)

**Conclusion**

The processes and practices explored within this article, Te Hau Kainga, are foundational ideas and experiences of how ihi can be stimulated and carried through to contemporary dance performance. Through exploring practices that foster ihi within my own performance and choreographic process, the ideas and comments made towards certain Polynesian performers or people possessing ihi, could suggest that it is not a question of who naturally inherits ihi; instead, perhaps the question should be who has access to the practices in which ihi can be understood, developed, and embodied? It could be implied that ihi is not a performance ‘aesthetic, essence or quality’ that is granted to somebody; rather, ihi is developed over time through stories, experiences, and practices. This rigorous experience over time then provides a place for ihi to become the performance of this knowledge.

The experiences and reflections explored throughout this study are associated with understanding and making connections to the creative
potential of Māori ideas and concepts that are transferred and negotiated within contemporary dance practice and performance. I now understand ihi as a shifting waka⁹, unable to bind or elaborate its existence by words and definitions. Ihi has many understandings similar to Māori mythical stories that often have slightly different versions dependant on iwi¹⁰, whānau or the person who is telling the story. Perhaps through more consideration of narratives and experiences within contemporary dance settings, we can then start to lay the foundation and better understand Maori Performative concepts such as ihi, continue to explore Māori ways of doing and knowing within contemporary dance performance and creative practice. This better preparing ourselves as non-indigenous or indigenous dance practitioners to consider the cultural implications when drawing on indigenous concepts, beliefs and values.

Endnotes

¹ Whānau – to be born, give birth, extended family, family group. This article refers to whānau whom are also extending family.
² Kapa Haka – concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.
³ Te reo Māori – Māori language.
⁴ Wehi – to be awesome, afraid, fear, in this article wehi refers to a response of awe in reaction to ihi.
⁵ Wana – be exciting, thrilling, inspiring awe.
⁶ Whakawātea – to clear, free, dislodge, purge, get rid of. This article refers to the exit item within a Kapa Haka bracket.
⁷ Kaumātua – to grow old, be elderly, old, aged, in this article kaumātua refers to a person of status within the whānau.
⁸ Te Puia – New Zealand Māori arts and crafts institute based in Rotorua, well known for its tourist attraction.
⁹ Waka – canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium.
¹⁰ Iwi – extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor.
References


