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Ko wai tō ingoa?

THE TRANSFORMATIVE POTENTIAL OF MĀORI NAMES

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
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By

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WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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Kei runga rawa taku oranga,

kei raro hoki taku mutunga.

Kei mua taku ara whānui,

kei muri ōku poutuarā.

Kei roto i tōku whare e iri ana i ngā pakitara,

ko ngā tekoteko whakairo o ngā tūpuna nunui,

e pūkanakana me te whētero mai ana.

Kei waho, kei waenganui te katoa,

ko te ao mārama, ko te māramatanga.

Whakapiripiri mai, whakahonohono kia ū,

kia kotahi i roto i te pono.

Kia mataara! Kaua e huri kē.¹

¹ A karakia (incantation) given to me by Kui Whero o te Rangi Bailey.

This thesis is dedicated to

Whero o te Rangi Bailey

1936-2016

Abstract

Ingoa tangata (personal names) are an expression of te reo Māori, Māori identity, and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). Nevertheless, our names are still mispronounced, marginalised and demeaned by individuals and institutions, such as schools, the health system, politics and media. This thesis argues that the gift of a Māori name and the assertion of that name over one's lifetime is simultaneously a political act of resistance and an act of normalisation – an act of just being Māori. In particular, the thesis reveals how whānau naming practices endure and are important for whānau identity and belonging.

A Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach is used to highlight the mana of our ingoa tangata within te ao Māori (the Māori world). I analyse the experiences of six generations of one whānau and the ways in which they have resisted, reclaimed and regenerated our ingoa tangata and associated practices. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a much-needed theoretical framework that privileges te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori throughout this research. This theory also supports Māori researchers to critique and disrupt Western power dynamics within research as well as maintaining the political imperative of decolonisation and resurgence agendas within the research of Indigenous communities.

This thesis foregrounds Pūrākau as a research method to tell the kōrero ingoa (naming stories) of six generations of one whānau, totalling twenty-six different stories. I explore the possibilities of pūrākau as a method and ako (to teach/ learn) as a powerful component in the building and sharing of stories, as writing tools for the (re)presentation of that material and in expressing the researcher's positionality. Pūrākau as method also enables the utilisation of our cosmogonies as important sources of mātauranga Māori and therefore as crucial to an analysis of our naming motivations and notions of belonging. Furthermore, I critically analyze the disruptions and interruptions to ingoa tangata caused by institutions of colonialism such as religion, law and education. This research argues for the transformative potential of our ingoa tangata and their associated kōrero ingoa in terms of enhancing identity, embedding whakapapa kōrero and keeping Māori values alive within whānau, and beyond.

Nō hea au, ko wai au

Whakawaiwai ana te tū a te mounga titohea, ā, ko Taranaki tēnā e tū whakahirahira mai rā hei whakamarumarū i taku Parihakatanga. Ko te awa e rere mai ana i a ia kia ngoto iho angeau, ko Waitotoa. Ko Paraahuka te marae i tū wanawana ai ōku mātua tūpuna i tō rātou wā, ā, ko te wharenuī e tū tonu ana i reira hei āhuru mōwai, hei whare ako mō te iwi, ko Te Niho o te Atiawa. Nā reira, e Te Niho o Ngā Waka e Toru, poia, poia, poia mai rā te poi manu o ō tātou tūpuna kia kitea e te ao!

Tae rā anō ki te whare o taku tauheke a Te Rangipokia rāua ko taku kuia a Te Whiri o te Koka, ko Te Rongo o Raukawa tōna ingoa, ā, ko Te Maara tōna marae - e te tupuna whare, tū tonu, tū tonu, tū tonu rā. Tēnei angeau he uri nō rātou mā i kaha tautoko i te kaupapa o te raukura, me kī, kia patua te hē ki te rangimārie. Nā, ahakoa ko Taranaki mounga i muruhia, ko Taranaki whenua i muruhia, ko Taranaki moana i muruhia, ko Taranaki tangata e tū tonu ana. Tihe mouri ora!

I te taha o tōku tupuna a Kui Kataraina Pikikore Te Auripo Jenkins, nō Te Atiawa ki te Tauihu, nō Te Atiawa nui tonu hoki. Nā, ko tōna hoa rangatira, ko tōku tupuna a Koro Tuteuruoho Te Raana, nō Taranaki tūturu, nō Te Upokomutu. Ka puta ko tā rāua mātamua a Kakori Pikikore Te Whiri o te Koka Wharehoka (Ko Jenkins tōna ingoa whānau o mua). Ka moe ia ki a Rongomaiira Wharehoka ka puta ko taku koro a Whatarau Ariki Wharehoka. Ka moe ia ki a Neta Alice Wharehoka (Ko Waru tōna ingoa whānau o mua), nō Te Atiawa, nō Ngāruahine, nō Waikato hoki. Ka puta mai ko tōku Nanny, a Miriama Wharehoka, arā ko taku poutuarā i a au e tupu ake ana. Ka puta i a ia ko tōku whaene a Angela Seed-Pihama, ā, ka mārena ia ki a Brian James Pihama, nāna angeau i taurima, kātahi ka puta ki te whai ao ki te ao mārama, ko Joeliee Seed-Pihama e mihi ake nei - Tii!

*He puawai au nō runga i te tikanga,
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In conclusion, I leave you all with an inscription written by Kui Marjorie Rau-Kupa on the front page of a book she gifted my mother:

*‘For your aroha nui, may I give you my aroha nui expressed on
the pages of this book.’*

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Chapter One

Uiuia ngā pou pou o tō whare

ASK THE POSTS OF YOUR HOUSE

The title of this chapter ‘Uiuia ngā pou pou o tō whare’² refers to the cosmogony that recounts the creation of humankind. It speaks to the importance of whakapapa and of knowing who you are and where you come from. Asking the posts of your own house is about knowing your histories, which for us, may be carved into the posts of our meeting houses. If you are interested in learning more about your origins, those pou (posts) hold the knowledge. Pou are our genealogy books. These same pou pou are found in living people, in our own whānau. I was fortunate to have pou in my life who taught me enough of who I am to set me on a pathway of further discovery, as an adult second language learner of te reo Māori. A pathway that has led me to this research. It is here, in this section, that I wish to share some kōrero (story) on the pou pou of my life, the person I am, and the person they continue to influence me to be - from beyond the veil. In doing so, I seek to provide my positionality as the researcher in this work.

For me, this story begins in our wharenuī (meeting-house), Te Niho o te Atiawa, a house that shelters, protects and binds me to my Nanny and Koro (Grandfather) as well as my Taranaki³ roots. When I was born, Māori were entering into an era of renaissance, reclamation and in my particular story, of rebuilding. Every Friday, my Nanny and Koro would pick me up, and they would not return me home until late Sunday night. As a result, I spent much of my childhood at Parihaka⁴ and at various hui (meetings) throughout the rohe (district). My grandparents worked hard, alongside others, to rebuild Te Niho o te Atiawa and to demand the return of our whenua (land). And, while they did that, I busied myself with climbing the toka

² The significance of this ancestral saying is explained and discussed later in the chapter.

³ Taranaki is a coastal and mountainous region on the western side of Te Ika a Māui (the North Island) of Aotearoa (New Zealand). Taranaki is also the name of one of my tribes who also come from and belong to Taranaki land.

⁴ Parihaka is a Māori settlement located halfway between the base of Taranaki mouna and the west coast of Te Ika a Māui, the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

(boulder) outside Te Paepae, playing on the old concrete foundations of Te Raukura, climbing the hills and wandering in the gorse. However, I was forced to sit still sometimes, and it was during those times that I heard our stories, observed our protocols and watched my elders perform their respective roles. It is to the sound of many waiata (songs) that I fell asleep, clumsily flailed my poi⁵ to and sung along with. The sound of those poi beating is just as etched in, and on, my body as the beating of my own heart.

My pou

I was born into a whānau. A beautiful, big, extended Māori family, consisting of great-grandparents, great-aunties and uncles, grandparents, aunties, cousins, sisters and more. I was cherished which is something I know with all of my being - as only a mokopuna (grandchild) can. There is something different found in those touched by the old ones; a depth of love and care unseen elsewhere. Our whānau gatherings were never quiet affairs, without drama, or the odd touch of the 'Wharehoka' temper, however, they were always warm and felt so safe and secure - like a big itchy wool blanket.

When I was just a toddler (and right up until I became a teenager), I liked to sleep in my Nanny's bed with her. In the mornings, I would wake her up with a slap to the face. Consequently, I became lovingly known as 'Joeliee Bitch' and she became 'Nanny Bitch'. This might seem vulgar and bizarre, but if you spent just a moment with us, you would understand. When I look back on my life, if one woman defined and established my grounding in my identity and in the values I continue to uphold, it was my 'Nanny Bitch'. I knew her to be pedantic, cheeky, a penny-pincher, hardworking, a lover of Papatūānuku (Earth), a naturally gifted musician and a voracious genealogist. Miriama Wharehoka also loved to challenge the norm, and she was famous for it. No matter who I brought home with me or talked about, she could tell me how we were related to one another, to the exact degree.

⁵ "a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment. Traditionally the ball was made of raupō leaves" (Moorfield, 2003-2017).

My sisters and I were lucky enough to have unrestricted access to our Nanny, and this made the world of difference to who we have become. I have vivid memories of being stripped down to my underwear on many a summer's day as we worked her plot of land. There was always something to do, such as clean the chook house, chop firewood, collect lemons; peaches, gooseberries, feijoas, melons, tamarillos, and the list goes on. Some days we dug up dahlia bulbs or cleaned underneath the house in our overalls. We seemed to haul slabs of concrete from one place to the other for no other reason than to work for the sake of it.

We would, however, sit down to kōrero in the late afternoon when we had finally finished our mahi for the day and she would ready our fire for the evening. That fireplace seemed, to me, to take hours to fill with kindling and twisted pieces of newspaper and while she filled it, she would counsel me through my latest argument with my mother or suggest different things for me to do with my life. It was in front of that fireplace that I learnt of her expectations, respect and love for me.

My koro, Te Ru Koriri Wharehoka, was another pou for me. In him, I found the unspoken and strong love of a man who raised and loved many children and grandchildren. A fierce protector, a lover of his people and his culture; utterly committed to his whānau, hapū (subtribe) and iwi (tribe). He believed so fiercely in the mana (power) of our tūpuna (ancestors) that he spent his days learning and teaching their beliefs and practices. I have striking memories of watching my koro crush the hands of other men in every handshake and of him climbing into holes in the early hours of the morning to instil the mauri (life essence) of a new building into its foundation. I also watched Koro challenge the norm, our colonisers and even our own - very publically. He reclaimed and resurrected many aspects of our culture and knowledge for the well-being of our whānau and people.

He was a man who just did the right thing by the old people in the only way he knew how - without compromise. He was what I would term 'home-grown'. Despite not having much reo (language) as a young man, when he was commandeered by the kuia (elderly women) to be their spokesman, he stood and repeated what the kuia told him to say with humility and the wisdom to know he was learning from the best. A man who taught me not to be afraid of reclaiming and

adapting the old ways, so they work for us - *now*. He is also the man I named my first-born son after.

Kui Marjorie Rau-Kupa was another strong woman in my life, and she has given me many gifts, both tangible and intangible. Kui Marj exemplified for us the true meaning of taurima (adoption) and the power of its aroha (love). She was a strong-backed woman who was never afraid to correct wrongs or to speak her mind, no matter the context or ramifications. It was also through the many hīkoi (trips) I went on with her and because of her love and the love of her two husbands, Koro Pepe and Koro Stan, that I am who I am and that my mother came to be who she is. Strong women raise strong women.

I went to the first Kōhanga Reo (Language Nest) in New Plymouth. When it opened, in 1983, I was three years old. My Nanny made sure that I went despite Mum's unhappiness about it at the time. It was there that Whaene Emma Mana instilled in me the importance of aroha and te reo Māori in education; something I ensure my own tamariki experience. However, when I turned five, I went on to a Catholic private school and then on to public schools until I turned sixteen and left. School was not for me. In fact, mainstream schooling failed most of my friends and whānau then too. Over the years, I continued to enjoy a close relationship with my Nanny and Koro, and although they parted ways I still spent time with each of them and then with Koro's wife and children too.

My parents taught me that no matter what your circumstances, you could change your life and the lives of others through hard work, commitment, tenacity and aroha. In their colonised reality they could not teach me a lot about our culture, nor have they always been able to understand my journey toward decolonisation and resurgence, and yet, their support has been unwavering. They have taught me of parental sacrifice and that it is possible to disrupt intergenerational trauma for the betterment of your children and mokopuna. Whakapapa is the river of life, but love is the current without which our rivers would never lead to the ocean. Luckily, my parents have made sure my sisters, and I have a steady flow of aroha in our lives, at all times.

Right up until I became a young taiohi (youth), I do not think I had ever considered the colour of my skin. My identity was not something I pondered much, most people around me were brown, but I do not think I understood that the world saw their colour as a signifier of race until I came to university. Do not get me wrong; I was the 'white girl' on some levels. However, everyone also knew my parents, my sisters, my cousins, my kuia and koro, who were all Māori, and so the colour of my skin was just that - a colour.

Being a successful student was not something I saw happen a lot in my group of friends at school. However, we loved te reo Māori class, and it was probably the only class we did not bunk. We were lucky enough to have Kui Whero o te Rangi Bailey, my Nanny's aunty, as our te reo teacher. I still know off by heart the many waiata, karakia (incantation), and kōwhaiwhai (painted traditional design) patterns she taught us. However, we certainly were not dumb and planned elaborate escapes to the beach or to town to play spacies when we could. In mainstream education, we did not see ourselves in the teacher, and they did not try to understand us for the most part. I still remember the satisfaction we got out of frustrating the teacher, pretending to be dumb or deliberately acting defiant and disobedient. It felt good to take back some of the power they held over us and to get back at them for the assumptions they made about our abilities as young Māori.

I do not really know why I enrolled in a total immersion te reo Māori course at eighteen years old. To stay close to my friends who were doing a chef course in the same building I suspect. I thought I would get living costs⁶ for a year and keep having fun with my friends, who were another type of whānau for me as a young urban residing Māori. Looking back on it now, I was always going to (re)claim and (re)learn te reo Māori. My early years at a Kōhanga Reo had pre-determined that. I did end up having fun with my friends, but everything else about my life changed.

I found myself. My purpose. Me.

⁶ A form of student loan to cover your living expenses while studying.

I left my whānau and friends behind to continue to stoke the fire that Te Tohu Paetahi⁷ (TTP) had ignited in me. In the Waikato,⁸ I reclaimed my reo. In coming back to this place of my great-grandmother's people I was able to be nourished by so many amazing teachers. Many of whom supported me in my journey to grow and improve not only my reo but to also deepen and complement my understandings of tikanga with those of other iwi and hapū. It was through Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies) that I was able to repair and reweave the whenu (strands) of my grandmother's whāriki (mat) and see the pride on her face because I had. Although I never heard my Nanny speak te reo Māori, I did receive letters in Māori from her in the last two years of her life, and I still cherish those letters to this day.

When Nanny passed away, with her went the matriarch of our whole world. However, I was very fortunate to have my relationship with Koro's wife, Aunty Carol, grow from strength to strength, until one day I came to call her my kui. I am privileged to say that I have another great matriarch in my life now. It was she who taught me to weave, a skill both Taranaki and Waikato tribes have long been known for, although I am not of their calibre yet. Kui Maata has also taught me what it takes to live our tikanga on a daily basis, to always seek to understand the 'why' behind what we do and to be prepared to debate and discuss my thinking from a tikanga standpoint.

After an extended period of sickness, we watched my koro die in 2007, and I attribute him with gifting me my first child at twenty-seven years old. A child I then named after him in the hopes that he would grow to be something like him. For me, the impetus for this research truly begins at this point. It was as a Māmā (mother), wishing to instil all that these wonderful people taught me into our tamariki (children), that my partner and I started to think about the importance of Māori names for our tamariki.

⁷ A total immersion te reo Māori diploma offered here at The University of Waikato, within Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao: Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies.

⁸ The Waikato region lies in the upper part of Te Ika a Māui in Aotearoa. It is also the name of a confederation of tribes, I connect to, who also come from and belong to the area of Waikato and its river of the same name.

I have always wondered what it must be like to have a Māori name; if I might have been different somehow. Neither my partner nor I know what it is like to carry a Māori first name and we knew it had to be different for our tamariki. No matter what, we wanted our tamariki to know who they are. For us, giving them a Māori name was integral to the life we wanted for them as a symbol of their whakapapa, and of our aroha and pride in being Māori. We were under no pretences, however, about the difficulty of carrying a Māori name in our colonial reality. We knew it would be a struggle and challenging at times for our tamariki and our whānau, but our uncompromising belief in their birthright to live as Māori and therefore to enjoy the fruits of carrying a Māori name has kept us determined.

My eldest child was born in the same year that Koro died. I asked Kui Maata and his children if I could have Koro's name for my son. From that point onward, my kui and her children automatically became a part of my story as a mother. Kui Maata guided me through the birthing and parenting of my children, especially my first-born, and it is she who guides me still as my kui and as the 'Kuini' (Queen) of my boys' lives. For me, my son's name played a large role in bringing her to me at that time.

My interest in names only grew stronger with time as the significance of our ingoa was revealed to me through the legacy of my koro and kui, who resurrected traditional naming ceremonies within our whānau. My partner and I were honoured to experience the iritanga (naming ceremony) of our first-born and witness its power. We saw our son 'become' his name and at one with his lands, waters, and whakapapa in the presence of the wairua (spirits) of his tūpuna. The power and importance of our ingoa Māori was deeply solidified in both of us at this point.

I was later asked to be a part of a research project looking at the traditional classification systems of naming flora and fauna within Tainui waka.⁹ I was pregnant with my third child, and it was an excellent opportunity to be able to work from home and be a mother in ways that were important to our family. In my view, it is no coincidence that as we were deliberating a name for our third son, I entered

⁹ Tainui waka covers the territories of four principal tribes: Ngāti Raukawa, Waikato, Hauraki, and Ngāti Maniapoto.

into this research project. As a result, our son ended up with a name that symbolises the strong connection between Taranaki and Waikato and of both mine and my partner's whakapapa to those lands and people

After two years with the project, I was struck by the paucity of knowledge in the research literature around the importance of our ingoa and traditional naming protocols and practices for Māori and Indigenous peoples. Māori know how to name, we have been doing it since time immemorial, therefore, why is it so difficult to find kōrero on our names? Māori have been largely denied the agency needed to name flora and fauna, and therefore, the naming of flora and fauna is a task still primarily carried out by non-Māori taxonomists, in alignment with the Linnaeus system of classification. As a result, I decided to move the focus of my research away from the naming of flora and fauna and into the field of personal names. I needed to explore a site, which had retained the agency to give names and my own whānau seemed the best place to start.

I grew up hearing the beautiful Māori names of my grandparents and our ancestors. Our whānau also has many stories of resistance and reclamation through the taking up of Māori names later in life. However, I also grew up with the contradiction that very few of the younger generations in my whānau or friends have or use Māori names. A contradiction that seemed a normal part of being Māori - until now. It is in this contradiction, that as a mother, mokopuna, whanaunga (relative), friend and researcher that I began to question and explore the colonisation of our ingoa. I wanted to provide our people with an understanding of how this contradiction has come to be the norm in our communities. I also knew the mana of our ingoa and the wonder of our pūrākau and wanted to use my PhD research to share that knowledge with others who might be encouraged to take up Māori names or be enabled and inspired to bestow Māori names upon their children. In doing so, we take a step toward the reclamation of our traditional naming practices and knowledges, and subsequently, toward reclaiming *ourselves*. This story, my story, is the genesis of this research.

Introduction - to the thesis

This thesis is a study of Māori personal naming practices examined through the stories of a Taranaki whānau. It aims to provide a research story which asserts te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori and consequently the stories, practices and knowledges associated with ingoa tangata. The thesis centralises the whānau as a bastion of resistance against colonialism and in the regeneration of our ingoa tangata into the future.

An important goal of Kaupapa Māori and of decolonising research is to seek social justice for Indigenous peoples. This thesis seeks to contribute to that important goal through an analysis of ingoa tangata that is grounded in Māori, iwi and whānau experiences. Subsequently, the research uses the aforementioned frameworks to argue that the maintenance, (re)clamation and (re)assertion of our knowledges, our languages, and our ways of being is integral to Māori well-being (Penehira, 2011; Tucker, 2006).

Although ingoa tangata are the central focus of the thesis, it is through the hearing and sharing of kōrero ingoa with one whānau, my own whānau, that ingoa tangata truly find meaning in this research. Conducting research amongst your own whānau and/ or other kin groupings is one of the mainstays of Kaupapa Māori theory, which is integral to the validity of this research. A Māori narrative method called Pūrākau enables the use of Māori cosmogonies as an important cultural source of concepts and practices pertaining to ingoa tangata. This method also facilitates the sharing of kōrero ingoa across six generations of my whānau, totalling twenty-six different stories. Importantly, this work aligns with other research involving similar methods, methodologies and theory (Archibald, 1997; Simpson, 2011).

This thesis demonstrates that it is in the telling and sharing of kōrero ingoa across one whānau that examples of our endurance, resistance, reclamation and resurgence are revealed. By ‘celebrating survival’ in this way, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) terms it, we highlight our love for our ingoa tangata and the success and well-being that has been achieved despite our colonial realities. Therefore, the thesis does not

claim to tell an all-encompassing, homogenising ‘Māori’ story, rather, it tells the stories of one whānau, which form the core of the thesis. Furthermore, I argue that the regeneration of ingoa tangata has the potential to conscientise whānau and individuals to the importance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, not just to the importance of our names.

This thesis stresses the need to intervene in the continued denial and denigration of our names. Subsequently, the institutions of law, education and religion are examined to uncover some of the colonial ideologies and tools, which deny our ingoa and have renamed our people in their pursuit of our erasure. The potential for healing is highlighted in the uncovering of these colonial impositions and in the naming of some of the ideas and actions that have led to our current context. In emphasising the ongoing impact of colonisation on our ingoa the research ‘talks back’ to the coloniser and disrupts hegemonic discourses that claim our names and/or their stories as unimportant.

I posit that Māori narratives, in particular, kōrero ingoa have the potential to transform current attitudes and understandings of Māori personal names. These stories represent the enormous amount of resistance and commitment exhibited by whānau to maintain and assert Māori personal names in the colonised reality of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Importantly, the mana of ingoa Māori has been maintained in some whānau, and this research speaks to the importance of kōrero ingoa for the agenda of decolonisation.

The pedagogical potency of the Pūrākau method, of telling our stories and hearing our voices, made it possible for me to contribute my voice as a member of the whānau involved in this research. Therefore, I have strategically positioned throughout the thesis my own narratives, which cover a range of types including creative writing, poetry and reflections.

The paucity of research and of literature on Māori personal names has demanded an extensive and broad review of mātauranga Māori sources such as archives, published work on biographies and experiences of being Māori, and specifically of Taranaki scholars and their works. Much of the existing literature is largely written

from an ‘outsider’ perspective and argues a deficit perspective of our culture or has a preoccupation with the etymology or science of names (Best, 1902; Steeds, 1999; Williams, 1929). With a paucity of work written about Māori personal names and practices by Māori (Selby & Milisa, 2007; Walker, 1969), the breadth of this critical review is thus quite large and profiled throughout the thesis in order to offer a pool of resources for future Kaupapa Māori work on Māori personal names.

Asserting te reo Māori

As a thesis located within the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies and as a study specifically concerned with Māori personal names, it is important to position this thesis as devoted to the revitalisation and regeneration of te reo Māori. The flourishing of Māori personal names as a branch of te reo Māori is therefore directly linked to the prospering of te reo Māori itself. As an official language of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and as the language of our ancestors who are tāngata whenua (Indigenous people) on this land, te reo Māori is purposefully asserted and privileged throughout this thesis.

As a fluent speaker te reo Māori is normalised, spoken and heard every day of my life. However, writing a thesis in te reo Māori proved a challenge for me at this stage in my life. I have mourned this fact, explored my grief over it and realised that this is yet another form of colonialism; as I fight for our reo to be heard, read, written and spoken in all spaces, on a daily basis. Whilst I have chosen to write in English, I acknowledge that having that ‘choice’ is a relatively new component of a much longer struggle that has been fought for our language to be allowed in the academy.

However, I also acknowledge the lack of choice I truly have as a second language learner, tribal member, mother, employee and student. To write this thesis in te reo Māori, right now, was to accept a much longer and difficult journey. Such a commitment was unacceptable to my whānau who need me *home*; contributing to our journey as a reo Māori speaking whānau. However, as a language, English does not accommodate Māori concepts very well, and this has been a source of colonial

pain and struggle for me (Espinosa-Dulanpo, 2006). However, I have sought to ease that pain with the regular assertion of te reo throughout this work.

I acknowledge the amazing contributions of other Māori academics who have written their theses in te reo Māori and shown us what is possible. In widening the space for te reo and mātauranga Māori in the academy, a whole range of other spaces, disciplines, and projects are also cracked open. Te reo and mātauranga become normalised within the academy when we use it, and whilst I have not written entirely in te reo, I have used it regularly and purposefully.

In alignment with the aforementioned aim, when and where possible and pertinent, the first time I use a Māori word in the thesis a thumbnail translation in English will be provided in brackets next to it. The more complex terms that do not have an adequate English equivalent will be defined and explained further in a glossary, which is listed as an appendix to this work. Where whole texts are presented in te reo Māori, a translation will be taken from the source text and provided in the footnotes. Relevant information to the analysis or discussion will be given in English, and where necessary, I will provide English language translations in the footnotes.

Thoughts on reading the thesis

The author recognises that some or several people does not qualify a whānau in the truest sense of the word. However, as all of the participants in this research are members of the same whānau, I have chosen to refer to them as a whānau unit for the purposes of the research. The intentional coverage, however, of six generations does seek to represent the breadth of whānau, as too does the volume of kōrero ingoa gathered; with twenty-six naming stories from within our whānau being shared and examined in Chapter Six. I have also used terms such as Kui, Koro and Whaene throughout the research as a sign of a whakapapa relationship with the author of this research in line with the various meanings of those words.

Taku poi: A storytelling mechanism



Figure 1: Rere atu taku poi

I have purposefully used a narrative style of writing at certain points throughout this thesis, in alignment with pūrākau as method. At times, this means that I have deliberately used a ‘speaking voice’. I have also used italics to emphasise specific messages or words. Also, I have employed an ancient mechanism of storytelling for my people – the poi.

The poi has long held a prominent place amongst Taranaki iwi, hapū, and

whānau; having been used for many generations to record and pass on important kōrero from generation to generation. Likewise, the poi was used to share messages and kōrero with other tribes particularly, those of a political and/or spiritual significance. Ngahina Hohaia (2006), an artist and whanaunga from Parihaka also uses poi in her artistic works. She describes poi, particularly our Taranaki tradition of poi manu as follows:

Poi manu describes the ceremonial use of poi to maintain the rhythmic timing of complex recitations of whakapapa (genealogy) and karakia (ritual incantation). In this context, manu translates as ‘messenger’ or ‘story teller’. In the poi manu tradition, the movement and rhythm of the poi reflects the development of a storyline. (para. 1)

As such, our poi are deeply sacred, and the invoking of poi as a storyteller is not taken lightly. Invoking its proven success as a tool in resisting our colonisers, I purposefully take up the poi as an ancient tool of my ancestors. In doing so, I emphasise its contemporary relevance and pay tribute to its role in maintaining the legacy of Parihaka across generations. The poi provides the rhythm throughout this thesis and demands a resistant agenda against colonialism at all times. Finally, the poi keeps the thesis on track for its goals of contributing to the regeneration and resurgence of ingoa tangata for our people, assisting me to tell a story of names and therefore of whakapapa.

Chapter Outlines

CHAPTER ONE: UIUIA NGĀ POUPOU O TŌ WHARE: ASK THE POSTS OF YOUR HOUSE

In this chapter, the positionality and journey of the researcher toward this PhD research is provided. The importance of putting a thesis into context by proffering myself as my own case study is highlighted. This chapter argues that as a Kaupapa Māori researcher I am never divorced from Māori issues or subject and that all I do must contribute to the political and very human goal, of liberty from oppression. Details on the structure and specificities of the thesis are also outlined for the reader.

CHAPTER TWO: NŌ TE HAU E PŪ MAI NEI KI TŌKU KIRI? ARE YOU FROM THE WIND THAT BLOWS UPON MY SKIN?

The second chapter moves on to outline the position of mana (power and status) held by ingoa tangata in our society. Te whare tangata (house of humanity) is used as a framework to conceptualise ingoa tangata and thus, concepts of belonging related to land, water and whakapapa are examined. ‘Nō hea koe?’ (Where are you from?) and ‘ko wai tō ingoa?’ (who is your name?) are important cultural questions of belonging that are raised and explored in this chapter in terms of ingoa tangata. I also critically analyse three-selected pūrākau in this chapter for examples of Māori naming practices, experiences and knowledge. Sources of mātauranga Māori written in te reo Māori are foregrounded in this chapter and utilised in alignment with Kaupapa Māori theory and Pūrākau method.

CHAPTER THREE: KO TARANAKI TE MOUNGA: THEORISING HOME

The use of Kaupapa Māori theory is outlined in this chapter in the form of a critical review of the literature relevant to this approach. Its importance in disrupting the naturalisation of colonial theories and methods and in enabling the normalisation of Māori theories and methods is laid out. I argue that Kaupapa Māori theory makes explicit the need for researchers to be politicised and critical of our colonial realities and to seek liberation, resurgence and social justice for our people. The ways in which Kaupapa Māori theory enables researchers to critique and interrupt positions and structures of power related to Māori research are also discussed. Lastly, Kaupapa Māori theory is argued as being integral to the ongoing struggle that is

decolonisation and to the struggle for us to name and claim our world. This means participating in agendas of (re)clamation, resistance and (re)surgence as Kaupapa Māori theory demands.

CHAPTER FOUR: HE INGOA HE KŌRERO: PŪRĀKAU AS METHOD

This chapter asserts Pūrākau as a vital method for whānau research. It outlines ‘pūrākau’ method as a decolonising tool that provides space for Māori stories to be told as an act of resistance and for the sharing of those stories as acts of resurgence. Pūrākau method enables the utilisation of our cosmogonies and cosmologies as important sources of mātauranga Māori and therefore crucial to an analysis of our naming motivations and ideas of belonging. In this chapter I outline the ways in which pūrākau is utilised as a method to build and share kōrero ingoa with whānau participants and in this thesis. The importance of this for the research, the researcher and for the whānau involved is discussed. Importantly, I argue that the component of ako (to learn/teach) contained within a Pūrākau method reveals the power of kōrero ingoa to be transformational. The benefit of utilising takoha mai, takoha atu (gifting back and forth) as the impetus for seeing and treating research as a reciprocal process between researcher and researched is also examined. Furthermore, the ethical approach of the research is outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: TE KAHU O TE KUINI: MUM, WHY DIDN'T YOU GIVE ME A MĀORI NAME?

This chapter considers the impact of colonisation on Māori personal names. It explores the colonial institutions of education, law and of the church in order to highlight their role in the interruption of Māori personal naming practices. Colonial ideologies of race and gender and the colonial project of ‘renaming us to remake us’ in their image is also critically examined across those three institutions. Specifically, I outline the impact of colonialism on our agency to gift and carry Māori names. In doing so the colonial assault on our ingoa, including the agendas of erasure of our naming practices and belief associated with belonging, are revealed.

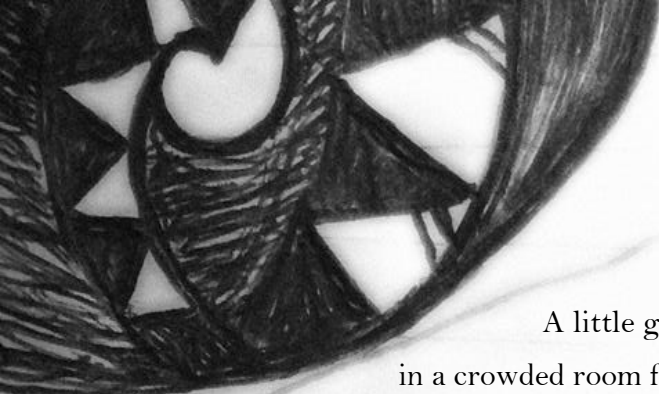
CHAPTER SIX: WHAKAWAIWAI AI TE TŪ A TARANAKI: HEARING OUR STORIES, NAMING OUR NAMES

This chapter examines the mana and tapu (sanctity) of ingoa tangata through the kōrero ingoa of six generations of one whānau who provide the kōrero ingoa for this research. This chapter also explores the transformative potential of their kōrero to reveal the importance of ingoa tangata for Māori society and more specifically to highlight some of the beliefs and practices being maintained, reclaimed and regenerated within whānau. Through the critical analysis of their kōrero ingoa, the themes of endurance, resistance and resurgence also arise. Celebrating these small anti-colonial acts acknowledges the tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) embodied and enacted by whānau Māori in order to maintain our ingoa tangata for future generations.

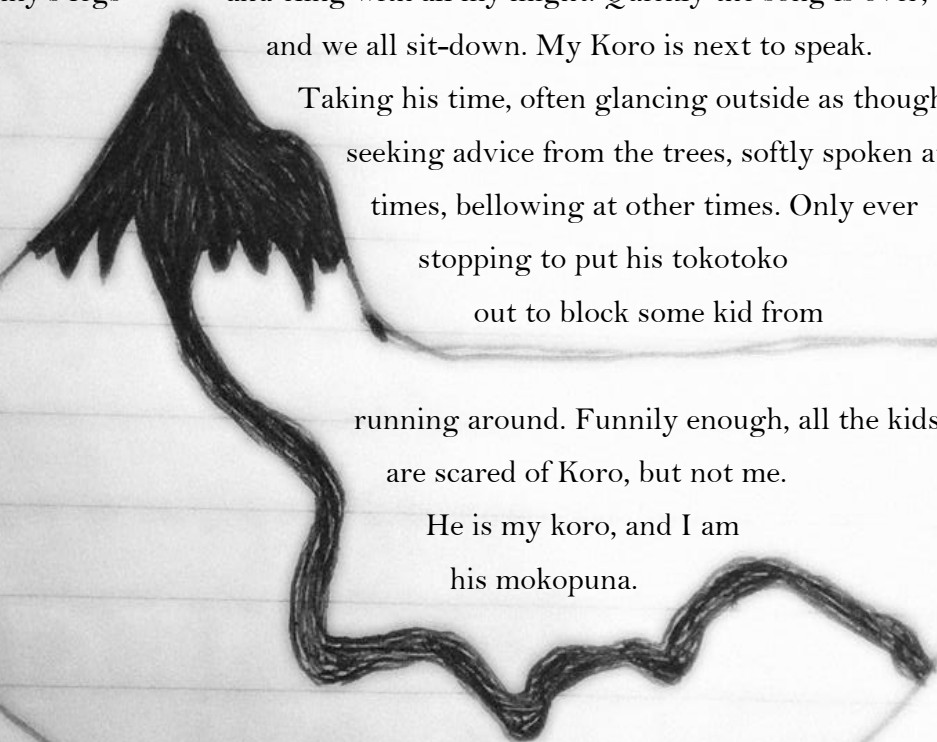
CHAPTER SEVEN: KO WAI TŌKU INGOA: MY NAME IS WATER

In concluding the thesis, this chapter outlines what the research has achieved and reflects on the journey. I look back at and discuss some new challenges for the discipline in which this research is grounded. I then lay out the limitations of this research, proffering further research areas and questions in the process. In reflecting on the PhD journey, some projects are outlined as work needing to be done to regenerate and reclaim our ingoa back from the silence. I also provide special reflections on time spent with each whānau participant to return to the core of this work, the kōrero ingoa of my whānau. In conclusion, I myself become part of the transformative potential of the research by outlining the plans my whānau have to give me a Māori name.

Before moving on to Chapter Two, I now offer a creative piece of writing, which introduces the poi into the thesis as a story telling mechanism.



A little girl sits beside her Nanny
in a crowded room filled to the brim with her whanaunga.
I look over at the glass case by the toilet door and wonder who
built the ship inside of it? I wonder if I could reach inside and touch it
without Nanny catching me? Suddenly, I'm pulled to my feet and a
pair of poi are pushed into my hands. Hip! Hei!
Then the drum begins to pound. Another waiata, another story.
Poi flailing this way and that. "I've got to remember to hit my head", I think, in a
panic to keep with the rhythm. Nanny looks over and tells me to turn around
and face the people, but I'm way too shy. I just want to crawl between my
Nanny's legs and cling with all my might. Quickly the song is over,
and we all sit-down. My Koro is next to speak.

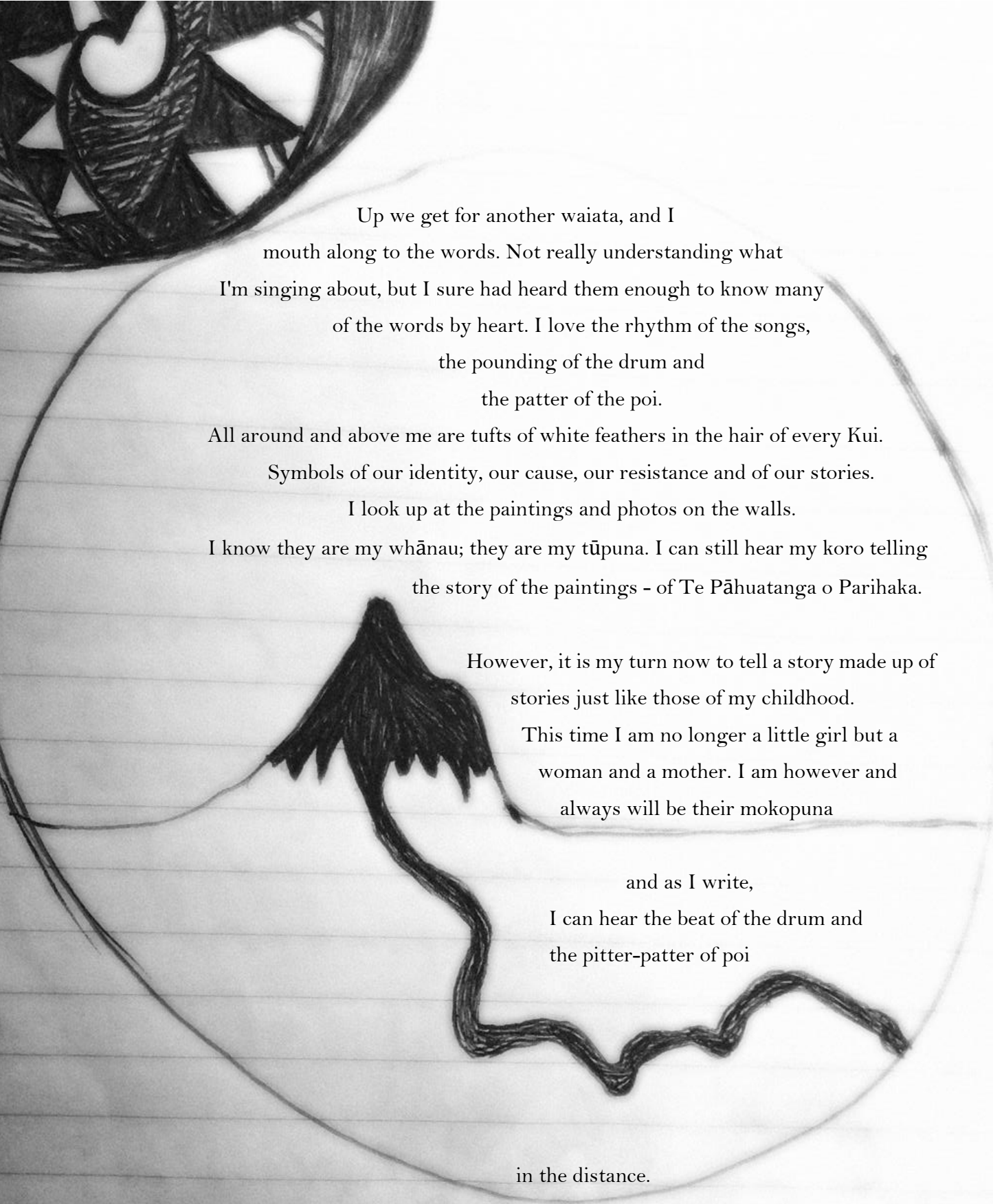


Taking his time, often glancing outside as though
seeking advice from the trees, softly spoken at
times, bellowing at other times. Only ever
stopping to put his tokotoko
out to block some kid from

running around. Funnily enough, all the kids
are scared of Koro, but not me.

He is my koro, and I am
his mokopuna.

I can do no wrong.



Up we get for another waiata, and I
mouth along to the words. Not really understanding what
I'm singing about, but I sure had heard them enough to know many
of the words by heart. I love the rhythm of the songs,
the pounding of the drum and
the patter of the poi.

All around and above me are tufts of white feathers in the hair of every Kui.
Symbols of our identity, our cause, our resistance and of our stories.

I look up at the paintings and photos on the walls.

I know they are my whānau; they are my tūpuna. I can still hear my koro telling
the story of the paintings - of Te Pāhuatanga o Parihaka.

However, it is my turn now to tell a story made up of
stories just like those of my childhood.

This time I am no longer a little girl but a
woman and a mother. I am however and
always will be their mokopuna

and as I write,
I can hear the beat of the drum and
the pitter-patter of poi

in the distance.

Chapter Two:

Nō te hau e pū mai nei ki tōku kiri?

ARE YOU FROM THE WIND THAT BLOWS UPON MY SKIN?¹⁰

Introduction

As I wrote, edited and rewrote this chapter I was in the midst of helping my three young boys to compose, memorise and deliver their very own *whaikōrero* (formal speech). In this particular case, due to their young ages, they merely have to provide a short *tauparapara* (incantation), *mihimihi* (greeting) and then *pepeha* (tribal motto). This still requires an exorbitant amount of work for us as parents, especially as second language adult learners of our language, both of whom went through mainstream schooling. We felt, therefore, ill equipped to assist our *tamariki* to compile such a speech, as we never had to do one at their age. For their *whaikōrero* to meet the cultural and spiritual requirements, we had to really break it down for our *tamariki* to understand the significance of why certain aspects of the *whaikōrero* are mentioned in a certain order or said in a certain way. This required me to explain to my eight-year-old son why my tribe is referred to as being like a large scaled fish and why we call our mountain, our grandfather. We have taught them of the rivers that flow behind our ancestral homes, of our *waka* and of our people and places. This is our traditional curriculum.

Knowing your *whakapapa*, and sharing that with others in the appropriate manner, and in the right place, is an important part of how Māori form and keep relationships with others (Mikaere, 2011b). As we teach and support our *tamariki* through this journey of learning, I am yet again struck by the power of our names. In our expressions of identity, particularly in our *pepeha*, we name and we claim. We name and claim our *awa* (river), our *waka* (canoe), our *mounga* (mountain), our people, and our *whānau* (H. O'Regan, 2001; Phillis, 2012). Not to claim in the Western sense of 'keep', or 'possess' but to illustrate our belonging and connection, as well as our responsibility and obligation, to turn strangers into relatives.

¹⁰ The meaning of this well-known saying is revealed and its relevance to this chapter discussed on p. 33.

This chapter is concerned with te mana o te ingoa tangata, the power of our personal names. As a foundational chapter for this thesis, I am laying down the whāriki (mat) upon which the rest of this thesis will stand. In this chapter, I delve into two of the main research questions of this thesis. The first is, what are the main concepts related to the gifting and receiving of ingoa tangata? The second, what can we learn from pūrākau about when, why and how we gifted and received names?

I am primarily concerned with examining the concepts that lie beneath and give meaning to our ingoa tangata in this chapter. The concepts that make up the Māori worldview are intricately linked to our language and our tikanga, and to the many concepts that inform the Māori mind and keep our wairua strong. I argue that the words we use, how we use them and the ways in which we view our bodies and connect ourselves to our environment, for example, all have a relevancy and an impact on the philosophy behind our naming practices. Māori personal naming has the specific function of connecting and therefore of creating a sense of belonging for every individual. Therefore, an exploration of our notions of belonging and of connecting as they pertain to names is shared in this chapter. Te whare tangata (the womb) is of great significance to this section as a framework used to reveal the concepts of importance to naming. This chapter seeks to know our ingoa from within our own knowledge and worldview. In short, I will also contribute a critical analysis of three selected cosmogonies, specifically perusing what influences the choice of a name for our atua (deities) and ancestors. In this chapter, I utilise three particular narratives and highlight the mātauranga handed down to us in these pūrākau by our tūpuna, and in particular, what they teach us about who, when, how and why we name people.

In this chapter, it is argued that pūrākau are an essential place to start this research in terms of delving into and connecting our current practice(s) associated with Māori personal names to our own beginnings as a people. Highlighting, as previously stated, the successful transmission of our mātauranga through the generations. This chapter also reveals and discusses those protocols and practices that are not as prevalent in the current day due to colonisation and its associated effects. Moreover, as stated, this chapter clearly indicates that although colonialism

has changed the namespace of our world for perpetuity, we have successfully maintained and transmitted knowledge from generation to generation using several different methods and expressions of our culture. These have actively assisted us to not only keep our traditions but to also repatriate and regenerate them where needed. Our pūrākau have a substantial role in this process.

This chapter, therefore, explores what selected pūrākau teach us about Māori personal names and about our naming practices. I use ako as both a concept and as part of my analysis to unveil the dynamic of what is both taught and learnt between the teacher and student, and indeed, between the student and teacher. Ako as an example of Māori thought asserts that both the student and the teacher have the potential to teach and to learn, and therefore, ako is about experiencing education in a Māori way, as Māori (Lee, 2008; Pere, 1994). The very purpose of our pūrākau is to facilitate the process of ako. By using pūrākau in this thesis, I am simultaneously learning from them whilst passing on my analysis to the reader. What the reader then learns from me as the kaituhi (writer) and then teaches others, as a result, demonstrates the reciprocal nature of ako held within our creation stories.

As with many other forms of kōrero tuku iho (traditions), pūrākau often have themes, which involve the exploration of belonging and of figuring out one's place in your community. By weaving together Māori concepts and notions of naming within pūrākau, this chapter provides an empowering kete of knowledge which reaffirms the mana of our names from within our cosmogonies and our cultural norms. Reclaiming and regenerating these notions and pūrākau amongst our whānau has transformative potential for our well-being and sense of self (Tawhai, 2006).

Conceptualising our ingoa

Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be: of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the 'world view' of a culture. (Marsden, 1992, p. 2)

As Maori Marsden points out, our worldview is made up of conceptualisations, and this is also supported by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2005) who contends that every language carries memories generated through human interaction and that language also organises and conceptualises our reality. Thus, it is those very concepts or 'perceptions of reality' that I seek to examine here in order to better understand the intellect and mana behind the wonder of our Māori personal names and naming practices.

In te ao Māori, we have certain words and ways of talking about birth and parenting which highlight the role of our bodies, of our traditions in reinforcing our worldview and, how intricately linked the ability to embody and practice those concepts is to our well-being (Simmonds, 2014). Quite often, our kōrero is simultaneously symbolic and referential. Our reo is quite literally a key to unlocking our worldview and is integral in our ability to embody and to put our worldview into practice in contemporary times. An understanding of the etymology of our words is one level; the understanding of our ancestral sayings and prophecies is another. However, to move from understanding to knowing our reo provides a much richer understanding of the intellect of our ancestors, in all its forms, such as that provided in our pūrākau. This is true too of our tikanga. Whilst speaking about birth can offer understanding, it is only through the experience of birth itself that one can come to know. To combine both te reo and tikanga in a fully embodied experience of our ancestors helps us to better understand the expression 'te ihi, te wehi, te wana, te mana' of who we are.¹¹

Through the knowing and understanding of our reo, our pūrākau, our tikanga, our whakapapa, our waiata, and our ingoa and therefore of the breadth and depth of our mātauranga, we get to see the world through the eyes of our tūpuna. We may not all see the same thing or even be successful in "knowing" any or all of those aspects

¹¹ *Mana* loosely translates to 'power' or 'authority'. For an explanation of the other three concepts mentioned please see the following kōrero:

The portrayal and attainment of ihi is considered to be the achievement of excellence in performance. Ihi is a psychic power that elicits a positive psychic and emotional response from the audience. The response is referred to as wehi; a reaction to the power of the performance. Wana is the condition created by the combination of the elicitation of ihi and the reaction of wehi during performance; it is the aura that occurs during the performance and which encompasses both the performers and the audience. (Matthews, 2004, p. 9)

of our knowledge, however, Nepe (1991) reminded us that it is through a holistic understanding of ancestral knowledges a new and yet ancient perspective comes.

Conceptualisation of Māori knowledge that has been developed through oral tradition. It is the process by which the Māori mind receives, internalizes, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori. (p. 15)

Nō hea koe?

As Māori, when we meet someone for the first time, where you come from will likely be of more importance initially than what your name is. The importance that our collectives and places have for us is exemplified and expressed in a multitude of practices. Your connection to place, to whenua (land/placenta), hau (wind, vital essence), wai (water), waka, and tangata (people) all come before you as an individual and therefore before your name. Evidence of this is found in pepeha, mihimihi and whaikōrero, for example, where all of these things are explored and woven together before the speaker even mentions themselves or their name. However, this does not mean that our names do not matter. Our names often refer to particular ancestors, events, and actions and in that sense usually provide a collective narrative as well as our individual stories (H. O'Regan, 2001). Our roots with all the phenomena of the universe intricately interlink us, and therefore, we are never just mere individuals. A notion of whakapapa that Māori understand and embody simultaneously. We are never alone nor disconnected; we belong, and our names inscribe this upon us.

'Nō hea koe?' is a question usually asked as part of the whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships) process which is used by our people to "get to know" others, and as previously mentioned; pepeha, karanga (ceremonial call), mihimihi, and whaikōrero are some of our practices which reflect and put this concept into action. Whakawhanaungatanga, therefore, is to create a relationship with others, founded in kinship, which identifies and expresses your connectedness and consequently, your commitment, engagement and responsibility to others. Whakawhanaungatanga is a process described by (Bishop, 1995), a professor of Māori education from Tainui and Ngāti Awa, as follows:

Whakawhanaungatanga identifies how our identity comes from our whakapapa and how our whakapapa and its associated raranga korero (stories) link us to all other living and inanimate creatures and to the very earth we inhabit. Our mountain, our river, our island are us. We are part of them and they are part of us. We know this in a bodily way, more than in a recitation of names. More than in the actual linking of names, we know it because we are blood and bodily related. We are of the same bones (iwi), of the same people (iwi). We are from the same pregnancies (hapu), and are of the same sub-tribe (hapu). We are of the same family (whānau), the family into which we were born (whānau). We are nurtured by the same land (whenua), by the same placenta (whenua). In this way the language reminds us that we are part of each other. (p. 229)

Consequently, ‘nō hea koe?’ asks ‘from whose land do you belong?’ From within our worldview, as informed by our reo, this then not only refers to whenua (land) to which our people belong, whakapapa to and are buried in (Royal, 2004), but it also refers to the whenua (placenta) which sustained us in our mother’s whare tangata. Katrina-Ann Kapā’anaokalāokeola Oliveira (2014), a Hawaiian geographer and language expert, discusses this concept from the viewpoint of our tuakana (elder siblings) in Hawaii, as follows:

One of the first things you learn in Hawaiian language is the question ‘Nō hea mai ‘oe? Where are you from? Not always do you learn ‘O wai kou inoa? Sometimes, but it depends on your kumu because a lot of times people feel that it’s more important to know where you come from than who you are. So they’ll ask you, nō hea mai ‘oe? And then after that then they’ll say “oh, you’re from such and such place? Ok, do you know so and so? Oh, you’re family with so and so?” Ok? And you know the last question is what’s your name, right? We wanna know about your place, we wanna know about your kupuna and then maybe after all of that, maybe we wanna know more about you. (08:26)

This form of whakawhanaungatanga is exemplified throughout our pūrākau and other narratives, signifying its importance within us, our culture, and our identities. The many and varied pūrākau of Māui for example consistently reference aspects of this place and collectives based maxim of asking where someone is from (nō hea koe). Māui is both atua and tangata, a demi-god in English terms, renowned throughout Polynesia as an eponymous ancestor, a common tūpuna, who achieved marvellous and miraculous things and made significant discoveries on our behalf.

Furthermore, Māui tikitiki a Taranga is often depicted as both a mokopuna and tamatāne (son/boy), and therefore, as someone still exploring his place in the world. Many of the kōrero about Māui have themes that explore and challenge societal norms and the roles we tend to occupy within our own whānau. Moreover, it is also in our pūrākau about the journey Māui took to find his parents that we encounter this question ‘nō hea koe?’ being utilised to ascertain who Māui is and where he belongs.

The role of mokopuna and kuia, in particular, is explored in many pūrākau for example, with Māui testing and being tested by his kuia to ascertain his readiness and suitability to receive certain knowledges from them (Mikaere, 2011a). These pūrākau position women as repositories of knowledge and often explore the importance of whakapapa relationships. Who am I? Who are you? What does that mean for you and me?

The following excerpt from one of the many pūrākau about Māui is sourced from the writings of a Te Arawa scholar, Te Rangikaheke, also known as Wiremu Maihi or William Marsh. In 1849, he wrote prolifically about our ancestors and their stories for Governor George Grey, a Colonial Governor and Ethnographer, who later published those same narratives in his own books (Te Rangikāheke & Thornton, 1992). In such instances, I have chosen to use texts written in the hand of the Māori author, or writings, which have been faithfully and accurately transcribed.

Part of what follows is an exchange between Māui and his mother. Māui, curious to know where his mother disappears to every day, follows her and finds that she goes to see his father every day. To follow her, he turns himself into a kererū (wood pigeon), flies down the hole his mother disappears into, and therein finds a tree to sit in and watch his parents interact. When the kererū is discovered in the tree, it is pelted with stones until he falls to the ground. As Māui lies on the ground transitioning between his bird form and full human form, his mother Taranga asks him a series of questions to ascertain his identity, as follows:¹²

¹² English translation as given within the source text. (pp. 63-64)

Kātahi ka mea atu ki a Māui e noho rā, 'Nōhea koia koe, no te uru, no te raki?'
'Kao.'
'No te marangai?'
'Kao.'
'Ati no te hau tonga?'
'Kao.'
'Ati no te hau koe e pū mai nei ki taku kiri?'
Kātahi ka hamumu tu te waha, 'Āe!'
'Ē! Ko tāku pōtiki te tangata nei.'
Ka mea mai anō te kuia rā, 'Ko Māui-taha koe?'
'Kao.'
'Ko Māui-roto koe?'
'Kao.'
'Ko Māui-pae koe?'
'Kao.'
'Ko Māui-waho koe?'
'Kao.'
'Ati ko Māui-tikitiki koe o Taranga?'
'Āe.'
'Ē! Ko tāku pōtiki tēnei tangata. Na te Apū-hau, na te Apū-matangi, na Tūparimāewaewa nāna i ahu mai, ka kīa "he tangata!" Haere mai e tama e, kakea ake te tāhuhu o te whare o tō tupuna, o Hine-nui-te-pō.'
Kātahi te tangata rā ka kawea ki te wai e tōna pāpā, ka tohīa, ka mutu.
(Te Rangikāheke & Thornton, 1992, pp. 37-38)

Then she said to Māui who was sitting there, 'Where do you come from? From the west, from the north?'

'No.'

'From the east?'

'No.'

'Then from the south wind?'

'No.'

'Then you come from the wind which blows onto my body.'

Then his mouth uttered, 'Yes.'

'Eh! This man is my last-born child!'

Again the women said, 'Are you Māui-taha?'

'No.'

'Are you Māui-pae?'

'No.'

'Are you Māui-waho?'

'No.'

'Then, are you Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga?'

'Yes.'

'Eh! This person is my last-born child. It was Apū-hau and Apū-matangi and Tūparimaewaewa who fashioned him, and the word spoken was "a human being"! Welcome, Son! Climb onto the ridgepole of the house of your ancestress Hine-nui-te-pō.'

Then he was taken by his father to the stream, and was cleansed, and that was finished.

The wind or direction that Māui came from was of utmost importance to clarify his place of origin, and therefore who he was, as the above exchange between mother and son clearly outlines. It is only when it is determined that he belongs to the same wind that blows on her very own skin (*nō te hau koe e pū mai nei ki tōku kiri*) does she ask him about his name. His importance as an individual is not the priority. It is about the ancestors who came before him and those yet to come, who will belong to the same place and feel the same wind blow upon their skin.

It is customary for Māori to ask strangers where they are from before asking their name as has been already discussed. The place you indicate often identifies an area attributed to a particular iwi, usually associated with a certain waka. This tells us a lot about you, about the whenua you grew from, with and on, the waters you were immersed in and the people and environment that influence you. Questions about your iwi or hapū can follow with someone finally asking, “ko wai tō ingoa whānau?” (what is your last name?), because in contemporary times a surname often indicates a whānau connection. The point being is that an individual person’s name and particularly their first name is usually last. This signifies that as human beings, from a Māori worldview, as informed by our cosmogonies, we are the pōtiki (last born). Consequently, as the youngest sibling of all others in the universe, we are the least significant.

One way in which we present this information in settings that are more formal is through the delivery of our karanga and whaikōrero. More contemporarily, and in semi-formal to casual settings, a pepeha will provide this information. Pepeha delineate the mountains, canoes, tribes, subtribes, families and ancestors we come from as a way of introducing ourselves. The function of the pepeha is to connect (Penetito, 2008). Several members of an audience may not have met you before, and yet, through the pepeha you find commonalities. These connections may even seem quite insignificant, such as, “Hey, I used to live in Manawatu, didn’t you say you are from there?” On the other hand, you may connect in more substantial ways, such as realising someone is actually a cousin, an uncle or a friend of a friend. Connectedness or whanaungatanga is one of the central concepts of our culture, and so we go out of our way to find connections. Without whanaungatanga, there is no personal responsibility, no obligation to act honourably.

Ko wai tō ingoa? From whose waters do you descend?

When we get to the point when we do ask someone's name, how we ask is significant. The Māori word for 'who' is 'wai', which is also our word for water, and so, when we ask, "ko wai tō ingoa?" (who is your name?) we are really asking - "from whose water do you come from?". Huirangi Waikerepuru (2014), a revered Taranaki elder and scholar, explains further in the following excerpt from an oral presentation:

Haere mai e te ua, heke iho rā i āteanui ko te waiora, ko te hunga ora i puta ai ki tēnei ao. Welcome rain, descending from space, water of life, to all of life on this earth. Topic under discussion is wai or water, and for Māori it's fundamental. For instance, who's your name? whose water do you come from? Not, what's your name! So, everything to do with all of life is around water, no water - no life. No wai, no tangata, no people. And so, for Māori, is to ask the question - ko wai tōu ingoa? who's your name? who do you come from? who's your ancestor? ko wai tō tupuna, your ancestor? ko wai tō matua? who's your father? ko wai tō whaene? who's your mother? It's all about water and the connection to every member of the family. So, that's how Māori seek information from other people in terms of genealogy, and so for us, for Māori, it is fundamental to thinking and to relationships that are built in communities. And so, it's fundamental for us to be able to do that and for other people to understand that's where we are coming from. (00:01:45)

The importance of our language in showcasing our conceptualisations of ingoa and the significance of water to our names and to our belonging are further highlighted by Rangi Mataamua (2013). He reveals that when you take the question mark away from 'ko wai koe?' (who are you?), it becomes 'ko wai koe' (you *are* water). Furthermore, Koro Huirangi began the above kōrero by referencing the rain and its life giving properties. Takirirangi Smith (2012) also discusses 'wai' and its potentiality to give life. He asserts the importance of 'wai' lies in the joining of male and female waters to create new life within conception. He claims the origin of 'wai' as being the tears of grief shed by Ranginui and Papatūānuku when Tāne separated them. The very separation that gave us the world of light we stand in today. 'Wai' is consequently one of the ways in which we stay connected to te pō (the world beyond) - where all things come from. This explains the significance of 'wai' to not only Māori society but to our ingoa tangata and helps to explain the purposeful connection between water with our identity as Māori.

According to Pania Papa (2016), a te reo Māori exponent, the word ‘wairua’ has important meaning tied up in its two-word parts of ‘wai’ and ‘rua’. When the wai of the tāne unites with the wai of the wahine, they produce wai-rua (two-waters). Wairua is, therefore, a term, which refers not only to two-waters but is also the Māori word for our spirit (wairua). Moreover, in one version of our pūrākau about the first human, Hineahuone or Hinehauone, who later gives birth to humankind, we find an original example of the wairua being created through ‘wai’. In order to create Hineahuone, the life giving waters of Tāne, who is an atua, were mixed with the ‘wai’ of the earth located at Kurawaka; to create the wairua of Hineahuone (T. Smith, 2012).

Te whare tangata

The kōrero we have about te whare tangata speaks about the kahu (caul) in which a pēpē is nurtured inside its mother’s womb. As pēpē, life begins surrounded by wai, embraced by the kahu created just for us by our mothers. The feeling you get when you return home to your marae and sleep in your wharenuī, that sense of safety and warmth, replicates the security of te whare tangata. When we are ready to be born, our kahu can burst, and our waters then pour forth announcing our impending arrival. We descend from these waters.

The ancestral house and the descendants of that ancestor are indivisible. These houses, often named after an ancestor, also provide evidence of land occupation over many years. In addition, a grid of place names is placed over the landscape and these names also link to particular ancestors and so reinforce the emotional connection to the land. The marae on which the ancestral house stands also has a name which might be an ancestral name or some other name of great significance to the people of the marae. (Mead, 2003, p. 271)

Our wharenuī are often symbolic of te whare tangata as well. Wharenuī may represent the female body and its power to give and receive life. Our wharenuī represent te mana o te wahine and remind wahine of our role as whare tangata, but also of our responsibilities as descendents of our tūpuna, Hinenuitepō. For example, the doorway of our wharenuī can be symbolic of the vagina of Hinenuitepō or

another relevant tupuna wahine. My great grand uncle, Koro Taniwharau (Sonny) Waru, links the power of Hinenuitepō to part of the reason our whareniui, Te Ika Roa a Māui located at Owae Marae in Whaitara, was carved to symbolically represent our female ancestor, Ruaputahanga¹³ (Waru, n.d.). Thus, the power of women as the bearers of future generations is clear (Mikaere, 2003a).

In her role as a guardian of the afterlife in our pūrākau, the role of women in mourning and in the farewelling of our dead is made clear and is intimately connected to our role as te whare tangata, which holds both the potential for life and for death. Papatūānuku represents this role and its connection to te whare tangata in her capacity as the keeper of our bodies within her own whare tangata after death (Yates-Smith, 1992).

As pēpē, we also slumbered and stretched our limbs in the safety of our wai, our kahu and our whare tangata. And yet upon birth, we do not leave the buoyancy of that water as we are born into the world yet again surrounded by bodies of water, our atua and our people. In and of ourselves we are water, we create water, we consume water, and we cleanse with water. We descend from these waters.

Te hono tāngaengae: Wai and whenua

The umbilical cord is made up of three parts; the pito is a word for ‘tummy button’ and for the section of the cord, which connects to your puku (belly). Takirirangi Smith (2008) describes it as:

He taura tangata, he taura whenua’ (a person’s lineage is a lineage to land) is also a metaphor for the umbilical cord that connects a baby to the whenua (afterbirth), which was customarily buried in the whenua (land). (p. 8)

The iho or tāngaengae is the middle section of the cord, and the rauru is the part that connects you to your whenua¹⁴. When the pito falls off after birth, it indicates our babies and their whānau to move into a new stage of the process of post-birth practices and ceremonies and have their child become tangata whenua (person of

13 A written account of the carvings, which adorn our ancestral house, Te Ika Roa a Māui at Manukorihi as given by Koro Taniwharau (Sonny) Waru in his lectures on the subject.

14 I acknowledge that there are in fact dialectical differences in these terms and to which part of the cord they are associated with

the land). The burial of the placenta and/or umbilical cord in the land or in other parts of nature binds us to those places and is part of why our whenua is so highly valued. It is through these practices associated with naming and with ‘becoming’ that, we learn to embody what it truly means to be tāngata whenua (Indigenous people) of this whenua (H. M. Mead, 2003). The iho or tāngaengae physically represent your connection to your mother, and that link can be replicated or referred to in the naming of your child. A name can act as a type of connection much like that of ‘te hono tāngaengae’ or ‘the umbilical link’. Agnes McFarland (2012), a Tūhoe researcher, explains this concept further and describes Maungapōhatu and Hinepūkohurangi¹⁵ as being representative of the hono tāngaengae of the people to their environment and to the life principle of their atua in Tūhoe territory.

Hawaiki is for many of our iwi considered the first ūkaipō of our people - our original homeland (Henare, 2001). Koro Te Ru Koriri Wharehoka (2005) in his thesis on karakia explains:

...ka tae piri atu ki a Hawaikii pāmamo. Ko tēnei te pōhewa o te hinengaro. Ki ngā tūpuna, ko te Hawaikii nui, kei te kōpū a te wāhine tēnā, kei reira te mokopuna e korikori ana i roto i te kōpu o tōna whaene. Kāhore e taea te awatea, he pō kē. Ko te Hawaikii roa, ka mate te tangata, ka whakahokia ki a Papatūānuku, he pango katoa. Ko te Hawaikii roa nei, ko tēnā ka heke ki te rerenga wairua. (p. 41)

Koro Te Ru Koriri, therefore, testifies that there are three Hawaiki: Hawaiki pāmamao, Hawaiki nui and Hawaiki roa. All of these Hawaiki together delineate the cycle of life, from before conception through to death and back again. Te whare tangata is clearly quite significant as a term that is also used to refer to some of these same spaces and concepts. Hare Hongi corroborates this explanation of Hawaiki and its different referents in his funeral speech to Percy Smith (Hongi, 1922), highlighting that these places and spaces all hold a role in the nourishment of our growth and development as humans.

In te whare tangata, we are cocooned in our kahu, immersed in her wai, and nestled inside our mother's bodies. Here, we are nourished by our whenua (placenta),

15 Maungapōhatu is a significant mountain and Hinepūkohurangi ia a goddess within the author's tribal area.

created by our ūkaipō for the specific purpose of nourishment. The same purpose that whenua (land) has in the world of light. This same whenua, according to our cosmogonies, is an atua called Papatūānuku. She grows what we need to feed and shelter us in the land of the living and then provides our final resting place when we die, within her whare tangata. We then become one with the whenua (land) to produce even more life and to continue our role as kaitiaki (guardians), as mothers and kuia and as fathers and tauheke (male elders). In this way, our tūpuna never die, and we are never alone.

In te whare tangata, our kahu (caul) form a barrier against the outside world with all its possible influences and flesh-ridden problems. Upon birth, we may be greeted with a new kahu (cloak), woven for us by our whānau. This garment has been made with the same function in mind, which is to keep us warm and safe from the external elements. A kahu we may well be buried with. Our kahu are worn with pride as a symbol of the love our people have for us in the here and in the after. A symbol that you have been born into the world of light and you are somebody's baby, a descendent of the atua, and that you descend from your people's waters.

Our ingoa are embedded in the previously discussed concepts and notions. When we are born, we become residents of another whare, another world, te ao tūroa (enduring world), or te ao mārama (the world of life and light). This very whare has been sung about by Hirini Melbourne, a celebrated composer of waiata Māori and a cherished teacher of many, as follows:

Ko Ranginui e tū ake nei hei tuanui. Ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei hei whāriki. Ko te reo me ngā tikanga hei tāhūhū. Ko te iwi hei poutokomanawa. Ko te whare whakahirahira o te iwi e. Hei whakairinga i ngā tūmanako i ngā wawata i ngā moemoeā. Tērā te wao ko te wao nui tū takitahi. Tēnā ko koe ko Tāne whakapiripiri.¹⁶

In his waiata, he sings of Ranginui as the roof and Papatūānuku as the floor mat. Our language and custom are the ridgepole and our people its central pillar. The

¹⁶ I learnt this waiata as part of my journey to becoming a second language speaker of te reo. As with many waiata, it has been orally transmitted to me by several te reo Māori teachers over the years.

world we are born into therefore feels similar, where we are again sustained by whenua, surrounded and nurtured by wai, and clothed in kahu to protect and shelter us. Te whare tangata, therefore, is both in the womb of our mothers and mirrored in another house of humankind - the new world of light into which we are born.

It is to both of these whare tangata that our names link us. Whether we are named in order to connect us to a waterway we belong to, a piece of whenua we belong to, an ancestor we belong to, or whether it memorialises and teaches us of certain events and contexts which have occurred, our ingoa are a continuation, a symbolical representation of our umbilical link to the world. Hence the name, 'te hono tāngaengae'.

As we grow, our role within the world, our place and therefore our responsibilities can change, and so too can our ingoa in order to better reflect our development. Our ingoa are thus fluid, adapting to our own development, growth, the ever-changing world we live in and the collectives that we are responsible to. Our contexts and realities change and so too can, and do, our ingoa, just as water can move between being a spring, a stream, a river, an estuary or to being part of the sea. Ko wai tō ingoa? Who is your name? Ko Wai tōku ingoa. My name is Water.

The importance of cosmogonies

In pre-colonial times pūrākau were significant in the transference and therefore in the maintenance of mātauranga Māori from generation to generation. Simpson and Manitowabi (2013) have argued the importance of cosmogonies and cosmologies for Indigenous peoples as follows:

For me, this discussion begins with our creation stories, because these stories set the "theoretical framework," or give us the ontological context from within which we can interpret other stories, teachings, and experiences. These stories and their Nishnaabeg context are extremely important to our way of being, and they are told and retold in our communities throughout one's life. (p. 280)

Māori society has always told and valued our own histories, and pūrākau are one of the ways we remember and pass on this information to the next generation, keeping our history alive. Particularly, our cosmological or early histories are imbued with

examples for us to follow in contemporary times. These stories are a reflection of our practices and how we deal with particular events, whilst also being a guideline for future actions (Kuni Jenkins, 2011). Haami Bradford (2004) also further elucidates the significance of Māori narratives and their role in passing on observations and in teaching us certain messages and understandings of the natural world.

Our pūrākau, therefore, are one of the many vessels used by our tūpuna to ensure the continued dissemination of those messages, observations, models and frameworks to their descendants, particularly in terms of our names (Oliveira, 2014a). The characters in our pūrākau act similarly to what we do, but on a grander scale. They guide us toward philosophy, correct behaviour and toward living our values well (Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000). Pūrākau were also used to hone our memory retention skills. Wiremu Tāwhai (2013), an elder from Te Whānau a Apanui, writes:

He tohunga ō mātou tīpuna mātua ki te hiki i tēnei mea i te maumahara ki ōna taumata. Ka whakaurua mai e rātau te pūrākau, te pakiwaitara, te whakatangata; he waiata, he whakatauākī, he mahi ā ringa hai whakapūmau i te maumahara. (p. xii)

As Kaupapa Māori research evolves and develops, more and more research is privileging, and being grounded in, our own ancestral voices and sites of knowledge. Pūrākau are one such site of mātauranga Māori that are progressively being utilised as the resurgence of Māori identity and te reo Māori advances. Not only this, but we also see the increased use of pūrākau in the education of our tamariki, particularly in our total immersion schools (Cherrington, 2002).

Some pūrākau, such as those about Māui, were used by our elders to identify tamariki who were interested in kōrero and demonstrated an aptitude for memory retention. These tamariki would then be selected for more formal education in our whare wānanga where more philosophical and detailed accounts of our cosmologies were taught (Haami, 2004). This is part of the rationale for choosing particular pūrākau to explore in terms of ingoa because the very function of pūrākau is to teach and explain our world to our tamariki and now our pāhake (seniors) too.

Thereby, the importance of names and their interconnectedness with many other concepts and tikanga within our culture can be taught. In this (re)search it was still however quite difficult to find accounts which specifically spoke about ingoa, the influences and rationales for a name choice or for performing a certain ceremony.

This is not to say that pūrākau only relate to tamariki. In fact, pūrākau are noted as a type of narrative that allows the listener or reader of the kōrero to learn new things through different eyes as they progress through the many stages and ages of life and take up new roles and functions in our communities. What one learns as a child is different to what a mother, pubescent teenager or ruahine might, and therefore, pūrākau are for all ages and stages. In our current reality and for the foreseeable future, pūrākau have an integral role to play in the maintenance and reclamation of our knowledges, values and beliefs. Everyone must use them, across all ages. As we have a limited amount of te reo Māori speakers, all must be encouraged to resurrect and learn from our atua and tūpuna. For too long our pūrākau have been relegated to mere myth and reserved as being only for children (Archibald, 1997; Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000; Lee, 2008).

The research that I undertook to unearth pūrākau which were written by reputable Māori authors, in te reo Māori, and which had not been tampered with by the ‘pale, stale and male’ (Somerville, 2007) was quite challenging. I had initially hoped to focus on Taranaki authors and tohunga. However, this proved difficult in the timeframe of the thesis, especially since there is a dearth of published material available I would have had to peruse the archives to unearth any pūrākau, if there were any, written by Taranaki elders and this was outside the scope of this research as I was seeking lived stories from my own whānau.

I have not done this to assert a ‘traditional’ position; rather, I problematise the notion of traditional and pre-colonial whilst also needing to engage with those terms for various reasons throughout this thesis and indeed this chapter. One of the inherent issues with writing about Māori practices and concepts in English is that the English language comes with its own etymology and connotations from its own history. The word ‘traditional’ for example has been forever smeared by the work of early ethnographers and anthropologists, who successfully constructed the notion

of the ‘traditional’ through their work *on* Indigenous peoples. This consequently alienated and disqualified us from identifying ourselves or our ways of being as ‘traditional’ because we do not measure up to how we are defined or described by others (Watson, 2002).

Particularly where we have adapted our tikanga to meet the challenge of colonisation, rather than being labelled as innovative or successful we are told by our colonisers that our tikanga is non-traditional. That, if we change and evolve, we are too assimilated and inauthentic. The implication of such claims is that we are ‘renamed’ as no longer being Indigenous or distinctive from them. Consequently, Indigenous people have been countering this hegemonic discourse for many years as Linda Smith (2005) explains:

The desires for “pure,” uncontaminated, and simple definitions of the native by the settler is often a desire to continue to know and define the Other, whereas the desires by the native to be self-defining and self-naming can be read as a desire to be free, to escape definition, to be complicated, to develop and change, and to be regarded as fully human. (p. 86)

Te iho atua: A taxonomy of the universe

In our cosmological beginnings, we find many answers to the questions of life. They provide us with our first examples of protocols and customs. These pūrākau are as Sophie Nock (2012) asserts “*koinei te tīmatanga o ngā tikanga Māori, ka mutu, nā te ira atua i whakatauirā mai ngā tikanga*” (p. 58). This is further corroborated by Jenkins and Mountain Harte (2011) who state that in pre-colonial times whānau believed in atua and that tūpuna stories provided directions for their behaviour. I argue in this chapter that some Māori whānau still believe in our atua and look to them and their examples as evidenced by such things as our pūrākau, whakataukī (ancestral sayings), and other tūpuna kōrero, to guide us in our present context and into the future. I am arguing that our pūrākau are there to teach us and guide us to view our values and beliefs as blueprints to build our cultural houses with. It is up to us as their descendants to figure out how they can become enacted and embodied in our daily lives and varied realities as evidence of our living culture. Our pūrākau must *live* in us.

Of particular importance to this chapter, and to our mātauranga in general, is the denial of our women and their mana by predominately white, male ethnographers in early colonial recordings. Most of the early colonial ethnographers were male and enforced their patriarchy in their research and writing. Therefore, as they did not see women as valid knowledge holders, they did not speak to them. Their assumption was that all knowledge belonged to and was controlled by men (Irwin, 1992; Mikaere, 2003a; Smith, 2000). For this chapter, I have therefore engaged with a Mana Wahine analysis of the texts,¹⁷ seeking to reveal the importance of women in the pūrākau despite the difficulty of not being able to obtain primary sources of pūrākau written by Māori women. However, early written recordings of our pūrākau are not, in my view, the only or most authoritative source. Our mothers and grandmothers, who have maintained these pūrākau in their whānau since time immemorial, are the true keepers of this knowledge.¹⁸

Important notions both within pūrākau and for this chapter are that of analysis and of perspective. The critical analysis I provide of these pūrākau is not by any means the only perspective possible. Rather, what is provided here portrays not only my own positionality but also the specific intentions of this chapter and, therefore, of the kaupapa at hand. As a mother, as a second language learner, as a second language learner who is raising first language speakers, as a Taranaki woman, and as many other things, too many to name here, what I ‘see’ in these pūrākau is not what another might. Similarly, what I see may help another to ‘see’ more or differently than before.

Hinenuitepō

We have a pūrākau about the first human daughter who was named Hinetitama and was so beautiful she brought about the commonly cited proverbial saying: “*ko Hine titama koe, matawai ana ngā karu i te tirohanga atu*”.¹⁹ As the pūrākau goes, later on in life she finds out that her husband is also her father and she makes a choice to leave him and go back to Papatūānuku, back to her ūkaipō, to assume a new role in

¹⁷ Mana Wahine is discussed at length in Chapter Four.

¹⁸ Further research entailing an exploration of oral sources of pūrākau is important to reveal the strength of women’s knowledge in this area. However, this is outside the scope of the current research.

¹⁹ “*You are (just like) Hine titama, eyes water at the sight of you*”.

hers and her childrens' lives (Gabel, 2013). Many versions of this pūrākau are heard right across Aotearoa, and in some versions, Hinetitama is the daughter who 'marries' Tāne. However, Tainui have their own version that is unique to them, as is often the case throughout Māoridom. In the following excerpt, taken from the work of Pei Te Hurinui Jones (2013), there are several aspects peculiar to this version including the fact that Hinearī is the first human daughter's name, not Hinetitama. This pūrākau provides us with a powerful example of an atua changing her name in accordance with a significant event, which resulted in a new role for her.²⁰

Te Ahu Rewa: Kātahi ka tīkina, ka moea e Tāne-māhuta a Hine-hau-one, arā koinei te ingoa o te wahine i hangaia rā e Tāne mā ki te pokapokai otaota me te oneone i runga o Kurawaka. Ka riri i konei a Tanga-roa. I a ia kē hoki e noho ana a Rimu-rehia te pokapokai otaota i hangaia ai a Hine-hau-one. Ka riri hoki a Kahukura, mō te whakarerenga a Tāne i a ia. Ko te rerenga o Kahukura hei uenuku ki te rangi. Koirā i takea ai tērā ingoa ōna a Kahukura-Uenuku...

Te Ranga-Taua: Ka puta ngā uri o Tāne-māhuta rāua ko Hine-hau-one; ko Tongameha, ko Rī. Ka tupu ēnei tamariki, ā, nō te pakeketanga o Hine-ari, ka moea anō hoki e Tāne-māhuta tana tamāhine. Ko te riringa tēnei o Hine-hau-one. Ka wehe rāua ko Tāne, ka moea a Tū-mata-uenga a Hine-hau-one. I te whānautanga o tā rāua tamaiti, kāore rāua i noho pai, ā, ka mahue hoki a Tū-mata-uenga rāua ko Hine-hau-one. I taua wā hoki, ka tupu te riri i a Tongameha rāua ko Rīmō te moenga o tō rāua tuahine, o Hine-ari e tō rātou matua, e Tāne-māhuta. Ka mea atu a Tāne-māhuta mā tana tuakana, mā Rongo, e whakamārie te riri o āna tamariki. Nō taua wā anō hoki ka ui atu a Hine-ari ki a Tāne, mehemea ko wai tōna matua. Ka utua e Tāne; "Me ui e koe ki ngā poupou o te whare!" Ko te pōuritanga tēnei o Hine-ari, kua mōhio hoki a ia ko Tāne tonu tana matua. Ko te hekenga tēnei o Hine-ari

²⁰ English translation as given within the source text (pp. 80-81):

AHU REWA: Tāne-mahuta now went forth and possessed Hine-ahu-one, (The Earth-formed Maid). This was the name of the woman which the children of Rangi and Papa fashioned from the enchanted bundle of shrub and earth at the place called Kura-waka. Tanga-roa, thereupon, became very angry with Tāne-mahuta. This was because Rimu-rehia was living with him when she was taken away and used in forming the woman at Kura-waka. Kahukura also became angry with Tāne-mahuta because he had taken Hine-ahu-one to wife. Kahukura went away and became a rainbow in the sky, and thereby got the name Kahukura-Uenuku.

RANGA-TAUA: Tāne-mahuta and Hine-ahu-one begat two children who were named, Tonga-meha, (The Secretive Abashed One), and Rī (The Screening One). Some time later, when his own daughter Hine-ari had grown up, Tāne-mahuta took her to wife. Hine-ahu-one was so upset about this that she left him and went to live with Tū-mata-uenga, and became his wife. A child was born to Tū-mata-uenga and Hine-ahu-one which was named Aitu-ā (The Unfortunate One). But Tū-mata-uenga and Hine-ahu-one did not live happily together, and they were soon parted. Hine-ahu-one was also called Hine-hau-one (The Earth Maiden who was given the Breath of Life).

rāua ko Hine-hau-one ki Te Rēinga, e huaina nei tētehi o ngā ingoa, ko Raro-henga. Ko te poroporoakī a Hine-hau-one tēnei ki a Tū-mata-uenga, “Kāti, ko te aho o te ao ki a koe, ko te aho o te pō ki au.” I te haerenga o Hine-hau-one ki Raro-henga, ka tapa tōna ingoa, ko Hine-nui-te-pō... (pp. 58-59)²¹

This pūrākau begins by introducing the name of the first woman, Hinehauone, who was created from earth and vegetation by Tāne who then breathed new life into her. The name Hinehauone gives evidence to the hau or breath aspect of this kōrero. Whereas, the other version of her name that is widely used, Hineahuone, speaks to the shaping of her body from the earth. This descriptive, event based naming is an important naming practice for Māori as is evidenced in this pūrākau. Her name signifies her ‘becoming’ the first of womankind.

Kahukura who was Tāne’s previous partner before he created Hinehauone, leaves and goes into the sky where Kahukura becomes a rainbow. Kahukura is renamed with Kahukura-Uenuku to mark this event and her new bodily form alongside what must have been an emotional and significant event. Clearly, life changing events of atua were worthy of recording and in this case marked a transformation for the named. Tāne-mahuta goes on to have a relationship with one of his daughters Hinearī (known in other pūrākau as Hinetitama) and Hinehauone leaves him as a result. When Hinearī asks Tāne who her father is, he responds with “*uia e koe ngā poupou o te whare*”.²² In doing so, he utilises an ancient Māori teaching pedagogy

²¹ Translation continued:

At that time there was trouble toward Tonga-meha and Rī against their father, Tāne-mahuta. This trouble was on account of their half-sister, Hine-ari, who had been taken to wife by their father. When Tāne-mahuta learnt of this he asked his elder brother, Rongo, to intercede on his behalf with his two sons. Hine-ari also became troubled in her mind at this time and she asked Tāne-mahuta who her father was, to which he made answer and said, “Ask that question of the wall-pillars of this house.” Hine-ari was very hurt over this reply, as she then realised that Tāne-mahuta himself was her father.

In her sorrow Hine-ari straight away departed for Te Rēinga, (The After-world), which is also called Raro-henga (The Under-world or the World Beneath). Hine-ari was accompanied by Hine-ahu-one on her departure for Raro-henga. The parting words of Hine-ahu-one to Tū-mata-uenga were “Let the essence of life in this world remain with you, for the essence of life in the hereafter will be with me.” Hine-ahu-one was henceforth called Hine-nui-te-pō (The Great Lady of the Night or the Goddess of Death). (Jones, 2013, pp. 80-81)

²² English translation as given in the English edition of this text: “*Ask that question of the wall-pillars of this house*”. (Jones, 2013, p. 81)

that involves using the marae, and in particular our wharenuī, as a learning and teaching tool (Adds, Hall, Higgins, & Higgins, 2011).

In our carved wharenuī, in particular, the rich history of our whakapapa and stories are told through the patterns carved onto our posts and pillars. The patterns of kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku (lattice-work) also tell stories. Even in uncarved wharenuī, the walls are often covered in taonga (treasures), which depict these patterns. As commonly seen in our wharenuī nowadays, the photos of our tūpuna also illicit storytelling as modern day versions of carving. To ‘ask the posts of your wharenuī’ is to talk to your own ancestors. This is why Hineari quickly realised Tāne was her father. In other commonly known pūrākau, it is stated that Tāne also built the house and so this too was a clue for Hineari as to the identity of her father. Adds et al. (2011) state that using marae (a complex of which wharenuī are included) to teach students about te reo Māori and Māori culture can inspire a personal and emotive learning experience that can also lead to further self-discovery. This is not unlike the journey, which Hineari undertook to learn of her own whakapapa.

When her father's identity is revealed, both she and her mother decide to go to Rarohenga. Hinehauone farewells Tūmatauenga with the words, “*kāti, ko te aho o te ao ki a koe, ko te aho o te pō ki au*”.²³ In doing so, Hinehauone claims the after world for herself and puts the responsibility of their children and their descendants, while they are in the world of the living, into the hands of Tūmatauenga. Consequently, when her children pass away, she will be waiting for them. In fact, as her descendents she waits for us all. Because of this change in the space in which she acts as a mother, Hinehauone’s name was changed, and she became *Hinenuitepō*.

There is a particular connection to space here - an extending of her motherly care to beyond the veil. It also seems that the name change in the pūrākau was led by Hinehauone herself and therefore was an important act of mana wahine. A powerful act centred in her own mana, from within her own agency, where she took control of a bad situation by going with her daughter to Rarohenga (the nether-world) and

²³ English translation as given in the English edition of this text: “*Let the essence of life in this world remain with you, for the essence of life in the hereafter will be with me*”. (Jones, 2013, p. 81)

thereby, completely removing herself and her daughter from Tāne’s space. Hinehauone then claimed a new role and space for herself whilst ensuring her mana, and role as a mother to all of her other children, in particular, was not weakened. Importantly, her name played a significant role in marking this shift in her identity. Furthermore, Hinenuitepō is also a name that we still see being gifted and carried by members of my own whānau and therefore has a particular significance not only for myself but also for many others of our whānau and wider collectives (Wano, 2008).

*Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga*²⁴

The pūrākau of Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga is another example of a child seeking out their whakapapa. In this case, it is a boy, presumed dead, who as an adult seeks out his parents, beginning with his mother, Taranga. Giving birth to him on the shore and thinking he had died, Taranga wraps Māui in her topknot and casts him out to sea; hence the name Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga (Māui of the topknot of Taranga). Te Rangikāheke, a Te Arawa scholar and elder, recounts the relevant section of the pūrākau as follows²⁵:

Ka mea atu a Māui-pōtiki, ‘Nāu anō ahau!’

Ka tatau anō te ruahine ra, ‘Anā, tokowhā anō koutou, kātahi hoki au ka kite i a koe.’

Heoi he roa ngā kupu totohe a rāua i roto i te kapa o tā rātou haka. Ka puta mai te kupu a taua ruahine, ‘Haere atu koe i roto i tēnei whare, ehara koe i te pōtiki nāku, na te tangata kē koe.’

Kātahi ka mea atu te māia ra, ‘Āe, me haere atu au, engari he tamaiti ahau na te tangata kē. Erangi e mōhio ana ahau ki a koe. Nāu anō ahau, ina hoki

²⁴ Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga is the version of Maui’s name used within the pūrākau under examination. However, Māui tikitiki a Taranga is the more widely used full name for Māui nowadays.

²⁵ Translation provided by co-author in the source text:

Māui-pōtiki said. ‘I am your child, too!’

The woman counted again. ‘Well there are certainly four of you, and this is the first time I have seen you!’

And so the dispute between the two of them went for a long time in the midst of the rows of their dancing. Then the word of the old lady came forth. ‘You go away out of this house, you are not my youngest child, you belong to someone else.’

Then the hero said. ‘Yes. I should go away. It would be better for me to be someone else’s child, but I know you. I am your child for I was born at the side of the shore, and you flung me into the foam of the sea. You wrapped me in the hair of your topknot. Yes, I was entangled in the seaweed which wrapped me up this way and that way. It was Apu-hau and Apu-matangi who drove me back to the shore.’

i whānau anō ahau i te taha o te ākau, ā, i whiua atu ahau e koe ki roto i tōu tikitiki, ā he mea apoapo ahau e te rima takai atu, takai mai. Ā na te Apū-hau, na te Apū-matangi ahau i whakahoki mai ki uta. Ā, takaia ana au e ngā tāwhaowhao o te ākau roa. Ā, tau mai ana te tini o ngā ngaro ki te karamuimui i ahau, me ngā manu hoki o te rangi. Ka puta mai tōku tupuna, a Atamumu-ki-te-rangi. Ka kitea ki te ngaro me ngā manu e karamui ana i runga i ngā tāwhaowhao. Ka rere mai taua tupua nei, ka heuea ake: “Ara, he tangata!”

‘Kātahi au ka tangohia ake. Ka kawea atu ahau e ia ki roto i te whare. He mea whakairi ki runga noi ai, kia ngaua ake e te auahi, e te mahana, ā, ora noa ake ahau i te mahi atawhai a taua tupua nei.

‘Ā, rongo ana ahau i te rongo haka o tēnei whare, haere mai nei. Otirā i roto anō au i tōu puku, ka rongo au i ngā ingoa o aua mātāmua e tauria ana e koe ki ō rātou ingoa, ā tae noa ki tēnei pō, ka rongo tonu nei au ki a koe e whakahua ana i ō rātou ingoa. Koia ahau ka mea atu nei ki ō koutou ingoa, ko Māui-taha, ko Māui-roto, ko Māui-pae, ko Māui-waho, anā, ko ahau, ko Māui-pōtiki ahau e noho atu nei.’

Kātahi tōna w[h]aea ka karanga atu ki a Māui-pōtiki. ‘Ko koe tāku whakamutunga, me te ruahinetanga o taku tinana. Ā, ka mea atu nei ahau ki a koe, ko Māui-tikitiki koe o Taranga.’

Ā, waiho tonu iho hei ingoa mōna, ā, ko Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga, ā, ko Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga taua māia²⁶. (Te Rangikāheke & Thornton, 1992, pp. 28-29)

This is one of our first examples of a child being named in alignment with his birthing story and of that story being used to later claim his identity and therefore, his whakapapa. Māui has been told the story of his birth and how he came to be found and rescued by his tupuna, Atamumu ki te rangi (in this particular account given by Te Rangikāheke). Māui’s kōrero ingoa was clearly an important kōrero to

²⁶ Translation continued:

There I was wrapped up by the driftwood of the long coastline. A host of flies came down and swarmed around me and also the birds of the sky. Up came my ancestor Atamumu-ki-te-rangi. He saw the flies and birds swarming on the driftwood. That wise man hurried up, he unwrapped [the bundle]: “Ah! A human!”

‘Then he picked me up, and carried me into his house. He placed me high up so that the smoke and heat would bite me, and I came back to life thanks to the kind action of that wise man.

‘Now. I was hearing the sounds of the dancing of this house, and I came here. But when I was in your belly. I heard the names of the older children when you were reciting their names, yes, down to this night I still heard you pronouncing their names. That is why I am going to pronounce your names; there is Māui-taha, Māui-roto, Māui-pae, Māui-waho, and here I am. Māui-pōtiki, sitting here.’

Then his mother called out to Māui-pōtiki. You are my last-born child from my old woman’s body, and I say to you, you are Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga.’

This became his name in the future: that young hero was Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga. (Te Rangikāheke & Thornton, 1992, pp. 53-55)

be handed down to him so that he could one day identify and reclaim his whakapapa if he so wished.

This pūrākau reminds us that the learning of whakapapa, the building of identity and thus, figuring out where we fit in the world, begins in utero. Māori firmly believe in the ability of babies to learn in utero. This is evidenced by the use of oriori (song) to teach tamariki of their histories, people, sites of significance and, of their names (Yates-Smith, 1992). Another example of learning in utero is further evidenced by the use of the pūmotomoto flute, which was played directly toward the kōpū (uterus) of the woman whilst pregnant to teach and implant waiata and kōrero into the baby's subconscious (Gabel, 2013; Pere, 1994). In the cited version of this pūrākau, Māui clearly remembers the sound of his mother's voice and the names of his tuakana. Consequently, despite never meeting his brothers, he was able to recognise them through their names.

Keelan (2009) proffers the reason Māui and his brothers have the same first half of their names is that they are all manifestations of Māui himself, illustrating his ability to transform. However, she also states that they might also have been given the same first half of their names to link them, similarly to the way in which surnames do now. Māui refers to himself as 'Māui pōtiki' in the above story, placing himself as the last named, as the last born of his siblings and thereby positioning himself within his whānau via this name. Whether he gave himself this name only to explain his relationship with them, or whether this was his name prior to their meeting is not clear in this version. However, as has already been acknowledged, a common Māori naming practice is to change our names when significant life changes occur, and for Māui, this was clearly one of those moments.

The pūrākau ends with his mother realising, through the story of his birth and his memories from in utero, that he is indeed her long lost son who she thought dead. She then proclaims him as Māui tikitiki o Taranga, Māui the Top Knot of Taranga in reference to what must have been a traumatic loss for her and who now has been returned to her. The significance of one's birthing story for the choice of a name is a protocol which has been handed down from generation to generation and is

therefore clearly evident in several of the kōrero ingoa given to me by members of my whānau (see Chapter Six).

The tikitiki (topknot) is the bun on the top of the head, mainly cut during rites of passage or for the acknowledgement of grief. The hair is very sacred, due in part to it growing on the most tapu part of your body, the head, and is pointed out by Ani Mikaere (2003a) that this is a significant rationale behind why Taranga used her hair to wrap Māui in, as a newborn, before casting him into the sea. Rangihurhia McDonald (2011) completed her thesis on this very subject and states that the cutting of hair was also used to assist in the grieving process, showing a way to give part of yourself to your loved one that can be buried with them as a takoha (*gift*) (McDonald, 2011).

Māori carry names, which openly acknowledge and further reinforce their connection to their mothers and to their mother's people. The story of Māui and how he came to be called Māui tikitiki o Taranga (*Māui of the topknot of Taranga*) is a classic example (Mahuika, 1973). In regards to this pūrākau, there is also some conflicting research as to whether Taranga was actually the father or the mother. Te Rangi Hiroa argues that, to his knowledge, in pre-colonial times, men had the longer hair and wore it in the tikitiki style, not women. He evidenced this by stating that in specific Polynesian pūrākau, Taranga was the name of the father. However, he does not reference that kōrero, so it is difficult to ascertain the validity of his assertion (Buck, 1945). Therefore, for this analysis and according to the selected pūrākau at hand, Taranga is noted as Māui's mother.

Openly acknowledging our connections with our mothers or even with our fathers as the context may dictate does not, however, mean that Māori names are gendered. In fact, the opposite is arguable with it being difficult, for example, to identify how many women signed the Treaty of Waitangi for this very reason (Mikaere, 1994). While we do have names, which indicate a particular gender, this does not necessarily identify the gender of the named. A compelling example of this is Tamatea Upoko a chieftainess of Ngāti Porou whose name has the word 'tama' (boy) in it, but she is, in fact, a woman (Mahuika, 1973). Tāneroroa, the daughter of Turi, the captain of the Aotea waka, is another such example. Her name has the

word 'tāne' (man/men) in it, and yet she is identified as female in some accounts. So the assumption that all names with 'tane' or 'tama' are male and all names with 'hine' are female then can be problematised.

The word 'tama' has become synonymous with 'boy' in English, but in te reo Māori, it is inherently more complex. 'Tama' as a word in and of itself is gender-neutral, with gendered words such as wahine and tāne being needed to provide the gender indicator where necessary. For example tamawahine (daughter/girl) and tamatāne (son/boy). This is evidence of our fluid understanding of gender and of the lack of relevance, the gender of the named has to any name choice.

Tāwhaki

The potency and significance of a birthing story can be reflected in the choice of a name given to a child. I have chosen the following excerpt from the birth of Tāwhaki, a renowned and loved tūpuna, to highlight this. The first line of this pūrākau excerpt states that when he was born lightning flashed, and this was a sign that an amazing child had been born. Signs from the atua, and from our whanaunga in the environment, have direct relevance to the mana and/or future of the child being born. In this case, Tāwhaki signalled that he would have a life of achieving great things for his people from the moment of birth. The atua recognised and acknowledged him as a significant tupuna, from his very beginning in te ao tūroa (the enduring world):

I te whānautanga mai o Tāwhaki, ka hikohiko te uira; he pānui tēnei ki te ao kua whānau mai tētahi tamaiti whakamīharo. Ka wehe mai te wai o te ora, ka wehe mai he tangata hou, ā ka wehe mai hoki te whenua. Ka mihi a Urutonga rāua ko Hema ki ta rāua mahi pai. Ka mutu pea te tamatāne ātaahua ko ta rāua tamaiti. Ko tōna tinana pai katoa, tae atu hoki ki tōna māhunga kapi katoa i te huruhuru i īnoitia ra e ngā mātua mōna. Kua roroa kē. No te tihetanga, tumeke ana ngā matua. No muri tonu mai, ka auē te waha, inā kē te tirituri. No reira, ka koa katoa ngā mātua mo tēnei āhuatanga, mo te tino pai o tōna tinana, tōna kanoahi, ōna karu papango, ā me te kaha hoki o te reo.

Na, ka mahia katoatia ngā tikanga mo te whakawhānau, arā te wehe i te pito, te here, te horoi i te tamaiti, me ērā atu mahi. Ka riro ma te matua ma Hema e kawe te whenua, e tanu ki te whenua, kia eke ai te kōrero ra: he whenua ki te whenua. I te maroketanga o te pito ka taka ā, ka heria e te matua ki tētahi rākau nui, ka hunia ki roto, ka waiho ki reira mo ake tonu atu.

Ka tipu haere te pēpē nei ā, ka hikitia e ōna mātua, ka waiatatia, ka mirimira, ka romiromia, ka poipoia, ka whangaia ki te waiū o ngā atua kia tipu ai hei tangata. Nawai i iti tangata kua rahi haere te tamaiti i kīa nei ko Tāwhaki.

I muri i a ia ka whānau ko Karihi, tōna taina ā, i muri i a rāua ko to rāua tuahine ko Pūpūmai. Ka tipu ake rātou hei whānau Kotahi; ngā mātua e rua, me ngā tamariki e toru. Kua wehe noa atu ngā tīpuna; kāore te whānau nei e mōhio ana i haere ki hea.

Na, he take nui ta ngā mātua i karakiatia ai ta rāua mātāmua, i tukua ai a rāua inoi ki a Rangī rāua ko Papa. Ko te take nei he ōhākī na ngā tīpuna. Na, he penei te āhua o te ōhākī:

Ka whanau tā kōrua mātāmua me tapa ko Tāwhaki. Kia pai te whakatipu i a ia, na te mea ka pakeke ia, he mahi nui tāna. Me piki a ia i ngā rangi tūhāhā, ki te toro i ōna tīpuna, ā ki te tiki i te mātauranga me ngā karakia mo te ira tangata hei whakamāmā i ngā taumahatanga kei runga i a rātou, ā hei whakawātea i ngā huarahi kei mua i a rātou mahi katoa.

No reira, ka mau tonu te kupu ōhākī i ngā mātua ā, ka kōrerotia ki ngā tamariki kia mōhio ai rātou ki ngā hiahia o ngā tīpuna. Ka whakaakona e ngā mātua ētahi o ngā karakia ki a Tāwhaki. Ko ngā karakia nei te koha tino nui rawa atu a ngā mātua ki ta rāua tama. Ma te karakia hoki ka taea ngā mahi nunui e wawatia ana e te tangata (Mead & Hetet, 1996, pp. 18-20)²⁷

²⁷ Translation provided by author in the English edition of the source text as follows:

At the precise moment that Tāwhaki was born lightning flashed. This was a signal that he had entered the world of light. The waters of life broke forth, a new being came out and the placenta followed. Urutonga and Hema were overjoyed at what they had accomplished. There was no baby more handsome than their child. All parts of his body were beautifully shaped, including his face. His head was full of hair, thus fulfilling the words of the prayer. His hair was already long. His first cry was strong and noisy. So his parents were very pleased with him because of his beautiful figure, his handsome face and his black eyes. They followed all the customs of childbirth, such as tying the umbilical chord, cutting it, washing the child and so on. It was the task of the father, Hema, to take the placenta and bury it in order to fulfill the requirements of returning the whenua (placenta) to the whenua (earth). When the umbilical chord (pito) dried and dropped off the father took it and hid it in a tree and left it there for all time. He chose a huge Rata, which is why that tree today remains a sacred tree.

The baby grew and grew and his parents cuddled him, sang to him, stroked him, massaged him and cradled him to and fro. He was fed with the milk of the gods so that he would grow up to be a fine man. Karihi was born after Tāwhaki and so he became the taina or younger brother, and after them their sister, Pūpūmai, was born. The grew up as a family consisting of two parents and three children. The grandparents had long since gone away and the whanau did not know where they were.

Now the parents had very good reasons for directing special prayers to Rangī the Sky Father and Papa the Earth Mother on behalf of their first-born son. The reason was because of an ohaki, a parting message of the ancestors before they passed on.

The message was like this: Your first born child is to be called Tāwhaki. Bring him up with great care because there are important tasks for him to do. He is to climb the lonely heavens to visit his ancestors and he must fetch for the benefit of humankind knowledge and the prayers and incantations which will make light the heavy burdens they suffer and to free the pathways before them in all of the work they do.

And the words of the parting message were remembered and told to the children so that they would know what the ancestors wanted. Some of the prayers were taught to Tāwhaki

After conducting the ceremonies associated with birth, and in regards to newborn babies, the pūrākau continues on to mention the birth of Tāwhaki's little brother and sister. The pūrākau explains that they grew up in a family of two parents and three children as the grandparents were not around and nobody knew where they went. This introduces the kōrero around why Tāwhaki was given his name. Before his grandparent's departure (it is unclear if they have died or merely left, however, ōhākī as a term typically denotes a parting wish or final instructions before death) his grandparents imparted some final instructions for the naming of their mokopuna.

This practice of grandparents naming their grandchildren is a common theme across our pūrākau, with a similar practice occurring in the naming story of Awanuiārangi, a revered ancestor of one of my tribes, Te Atiawa. In fact, in a pūrākau written by Mohi Ruatapu, of the Ngāti Porou tribe, in 1871, reference is also made to the naming of Tāwhaki. The parting instructions for the naming of her mokopuna are given by Tāwhaki's grandmother, Kaitangata, before she leaves to return to her home in the heavens, she states: “...*Ki te whānau he mokopuna māku i roto o tāku tamaiti nei, na, me tapa te ingoa ko Tāwhaki. Māna au e tiki ake, e whakahaere.*”²⁸ (as cited in Reedy, 1993, p. 28)

The role of our tūpuna or grandparents (this includes grand aunts, uncles, and other extended relatives of that generation) in the naming of our tamariki is essential. Our elders are our namers. Even in this particular account, where for various reasons, the tūpuna are not physically present to assist in the raising of the tamariki, there is an obligation to live by their words, requests and their wisdom. In this particular case, Tāwhaki's grandparents request for him to be named Tāwhaki and ask that he be raised properly because he has such an important role to take up later in life. Tāwhaki will have to ascend the heavens and seek out his grandparents to guide

by his parents. These prayers were an important gift of the parents to their son because by means of prayers all the big things people dream of are made possible. (Mead & Hetet, 1996, (English Edition), pp. 18-20)

²⁸ English translation from within the English edition of the source text:
“...*If a grandson of mine is born to my son here, you must call him Tāwhaki. He must come looking for me, and make his way up.*” (Reedy, 1993, p. 129)

him in the quest for knowledge and incantations, which will ease the burden of humankind and clear the pathways forward for us. The gifting of his name, therefore, is intricately entangled in the role he is to take up later in life, as the *mātāmua* (firstborn) who has been chosen by his grandparents.

The responsibility laid upon his parents and extended family was, presumably, to teach him the appropriate *karakia* in order to prepare him well for his future tasks and respective roles. The responsibility that *whānau* have in assisting *tamariki* to carry and live up to any and all responsibilities or obligations associated with certain names is significant here and is also significant in terms of needing to uphold the *mana* of the namer as well.

One of the skills *Tāwhaki* needed to learn and be taught in order to fulfil his role later in life, was to be able to conduct the necessary *karakia* to assist him in his journey through the heavens in pursuit of his grandparents. On one level, this is also symbolic for the pursuit of excellence in education, with our elders being seen to be the receptacles of the most important and sacred of knowledges. Therefore, he not only needed *karakia* to expedite his journey in a physical and spiritual sense but the *karakia* also assisted in training his mind to become adept in the necessary rhetoric and philosophies of our people in preparation to receive the knowledge he would seek. Having a clear and excellent memory, and therefore being able to retain knowledge orally, was a necessary skill in the pursuit of any knowledge. Such skills are still highly regarded by our people today (H. M. Mead, 2003). This is further supported by Haami Bradford (2004) who states:

Genealogies were examined and argued over by elders on the marae, sometimes even at the point of a weapon, and corrected amid much fury if a mistake was made, to forget a name or place an ancestor in the wrong order slighted the descendants and sometimes provoked retaliation. Great effort was taken to ensure that whakapapa were memorised correctly. (p. 16)

It is, in fact, this skill with *karakia* as taught to him by one of his ancestors, *Tamaiwaho*, that leads to one of *Tāwhaki*'s very first acts. After learning those specific *karakia*, he performs a *tohi* ceremony over his newborn daughter. It is through his *karakia* during the *tohi* that her name, *Arahuta*, is confirmed and

declared upon her and the whānau present. A tikanga described by Hirini Moko Mead (2003) as being the first example of a tohi as taught by Tamaiwaho. Furthermore, according to his people of Mataatua, this pūrākau depicts the origin of the tohi ceremony itself. Hirini Moko Mead further argues that it should stand as a great template to be utilised for all children of the world and he builds into his retelling of this particular pūrākau a message to that effect:²⁹ “*Māu e kī atu ki a rātou me tohi ngā tamariki katoa kia mau tonu ai ki runga ki a rātou taku aroha nui, ā, kia mau tonu ai ki runga ki a rātou te tapu o te ira atua.*” (Mead & Hetet, 1996, p. 78).

Conclusion

This chapter is an exposé of our stories, the meaning and value of these stories to our lived realities and to our ingoa for now and into the future. In the first part of this chapter, I examined the conceptualisations of ingoa tangata using a te whare tangata framework which enabled discussions of several important cultural notions of belonging. Following this, I revealed several examples of naming practices from within three specific accounts of pūrākau. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2014), a Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar proffers that the meaning of our stories transforms over time and space within the individual and collective consciousness, and therefore the kōrero provided here merely laid down some foundational ideas and analysis for others to build upon and develop in the future.

We have stood and bent with the wind of colonialism, only to stand again, albeit forever changed by the strength of the wind. We can, however, be proud and should celebrate our success in continuing to honour our ancestors whilst the wind of colonialism continues to howl and blow from new directions. For those whānau who have not been able to stand back up, who have been completely uprooted or blown over, displaced or alienated from what it is to be a tree, this thesis is for you. This chapter, in particular, is for you. Our tūpuna live on in you and in our knowledges. We are still able to learn and be guided by them, through our pūrākau.

²⁹ Translation provided from within the English version of the source text: “*You will tell them they must dedicate the children so that my love can be passed on to them and so the protection of the gods will always be upon them.*” (Mead & Hetet, 1996, [English version] p. 77).

Chapter Three

Ko Taranaki te mounga

THEORISING HOME

Nau mai rā e te uri ki tēnei anō tō kāinga, te māra kei waho, Te Hipi kei kō, ngā marae o tēnei wāhi o te kāinga, o Parihaka. Anā a Takitūtū kei runga, kei waho te raukura, anā Toroanui o Tohu Kākahi. Haere mai ki ngā pari tonu kei te tū ahakoa kua ngaro noa ngā tūpuna. Engari i roto i tērā i te tūnga o ngā whare me te horahia o ngā marae kei te ora tonu te kāinga. I kōnei au i te wā i tae mai ngā waka, te hekenui, tēnā a Mataatua, a Te Arawa, a Kurahaupō mā, Tokomaru, Aotea. I kōnei i roto i ngā Kāhui Tū, ngā Kāhui Maunga. I kōnei i te wā i tae mai a rātou mā. Penā i te wā i tae mai a Turi, i konā mātou i te taha o te moana, mahi ana te māra. (Ngata, 2013, 00:01:07)

My Koro, Te Ru Koriri Wharehoka³⁰ greets you with words of welcome to open this chapter. Although his words were originally intended for another audience, I use them here purposefully. In his mihimihi, he delineates the places of significance that surround his home on Parihaka Pā in Taranaki and in doing so he welcomes you to our territory, to our ancestors, into our world, our ways of seeing and being. His words also reveal the ancient whakapapa connection our people have with Taranaki whenua and Taranaki moana; an occupation he links with our Kāhui Tū and Kāhui Mounga people whom we know to have always belonged to this land (Ngāwhare-Pounamu, 2014; Riwaka, 2000).

Kaupapa Māori Theory is examined in this chapter and, its relevance for this specific research made clear. Politically and strategically my koro welcomes you whilst still ensuring the mana of the people and our places are acknowledged and that our knowledge is asserted as both powerful and intimately linked to our ability to flourish on this land since time immemorial. This chapter will, in line with the wisdom of my Koro's mihimihi, also reveal the ways in which Kaupapa Māori Theory demands that such acknowledgements, claims and assertions be made and

³⁰ Koro Te Rū Koriri Wharehoka made these remarks of welcome to his nephew Te Kauhoe Wano and his film crew who had arrived at his home in Parihaka to film a biography of Koro's life for the Waka Huia series on Māori Television. Both Koro and Te Kauhoe have passed on now and it is only right that I acknowledge these two amazing men in our whānau, moe mai rā e ngā tōtara haemata o Parihaka.

enacted in order for the research to be meaningful and transformational for our people.

The role of Kaupapa Māori theory in disrupting the naturalisation of colonial theories and methodologies in enabling the normalisation of Māori theories and methodologies is examined and embraced. I argue that Kaupapa Māori theory makes explicit the need for researchers to be political about and critical of our colonial realities in order to (re)claim tino rangatiratanga, resurgence and well-being for our people. This chapter also discusses how Kaupapa Māori theory enables researchers to critique and interrupt positions and structures of power as they relate to Māori research but more specifically, how they relate to Māori names and naming practices. Lastly, Kaupapa Māori theory is argued as being integral to the ongoing struggle that is decolonisation, and therefore, the need to always be fighting for our voices to be heard and for our knowledges, in particular, those related to naming, to be (re)claimed and (re)asserted into our daily lives.

Kaupapa Māori theory

This thesis is firmly rooted in the rich and fertile soil of Kaupapa Māori theory. The philosophies and frameworks of which have been sown and continue to grow upon our whenua and are nourished by our reo, tikanga and whakapapa. It is a theory that celebrates our culture, our ancestors, our knowledge, and furthermore, for those very reasons, it is a theory that is flourishing here in Aotearoa amongst Māori researchers.

The tradition of Māori research and the principles that Kaupapa Māori theory is built upon have been around since the very beginning of our people and has been used by our ancestors as the foundation for research since ancient times. Kaupapa Māori as Tuakana Nepe (1991, p. 4) posits, is a “*body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Māori people*”. This is also supported by Whaene Leonie (Pihama, 1993) who discusses the driving force behind Kaupapa Māori as a tool of resistance and emancipation, she states:

In the New Zealand context distinctive modes of theorising have emerged from Maori communities, which have as a common element the validation of Te Reo and Tikanga Maori. These movements have been framed under a

range of broad terms, 'Tino rangatiratanga', 'Maori Sovereignty', 'Maori perspectives', and 'Kaupapa Maori'. These modes of analysis and theory are by no means contemporary phenomena. Since colonization Māori have been actively asserting their positioning in this land as Tangata Whenua. Inherent in these struggles has been an ongoing demand for the recognition and legitimisation of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga. (p. 24)

This is vital to ensure research is controlled by Māori and has aspirations which have been determined by Māori and for Māori is therefore fundamental (Potiki, 1991). As such, the recognition, reclamation and legitimisation of ingoa tangata as a key goal of this research is deeply entrenched in our struggle for our tino rangatiratanga.

Upon this whenua in which Kaupapa Māori theory is rooted, grows many other species of tree, theory, vine and method which create a wonderfully rich ecosystem full of biodiversity. Kaupapa Māori Theory, however, is the most relevant to research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori, as it is grounded in our concepts, values and driven by our agendas as defined by us. Kaupapa Māori Theory has been developed, analysed and applied to research by many different researchers of varying backgrounds and affiliations. Many of these researchers describe Kaupapa Māori in similar ways and yet with different emphasis on what they see as being key principles (see Bishop, 1999; Pihama, 2001; Pohatu, 2004; Smith, 1999). This is largely to do with the breadth of the research being done but is also tied into the necessarily organic and diverse nature of Kaupapa Māori; as there is no one 'Māori' perspective, there is also no singular definition of Kaupapa Māori theory. We are an ever evolving; ever changing, ever-growing people and so too are our theories and knowledge.

In order to claim a Kaupapa Māori theoretical foundation, there are a few fundamental principles that the research must have. Graham Hingangaroa (1992) outlined six key principles, which have contributed to the success of Kura Kaupapa Māori in particular as follows:

1. *Tino Rangatiratanga: The relative autonomy principle*
2. *Taonga Tuku Iho: the cultural aspirations principle*
3. *Ako Māori: culturally preferred pedagogy*

4. *Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga: the mediation of socio-economic factors*
5. *Whānau the extended family management principle*
6. *Kaupapa the collective vision principle (pp. 13-14)*

These principles inform my research and resonate within the kōrero ingoa shared with me by whānau. The whānau stories will draw some of these principles out in Chapter Six. The use of Kaupapa Māori to (re)centralise, (re)claim and (re)vitalise our lives, our ways of knowing, and our ways of being is about as old as I am at this moment. I was one of the first graduates from the Kōhanga Reo movement. It was first set up in the tribal area of Te Atiawa, one of the iwi I affiliate to, back in 1983 in the Cricket Pavilion based at the bottom of St Joseph's Catholic School on Calvert Road in New Plymouth. As a pre-school education initiative based on Kaupapa Māori principles, Kōhanga Reo were set up all around Aotearoa to enable children to be completely immersed within our reo and tikanga and to be taught by our traditional teachers, kuia and tauheke. In my case, despite my subsequent education being located in Western mainstream institutions, the time I spent in Kōhanga Reo, coupled with the persistent and strong influence of my grandparents, lead me on a pathway back to (re)claiming and expanding my fluency in te reo as an 18-year-old woman at university.

The Kaupapa Māori revolution has taken many years, many hands, hearts and minds to come together and work for a future that includes our voices. It has taken all this time to bring about an awareness of the impact colonisation has had and continues to have on us. It has taken resilience and outright defiance to stand our ground and fight for our right to be Māori. A right taken so deliberately and forcefully from us that we are still reeling from the shock and recovering from the trauma some 175 odd years later (Waretini-Karena, 2013).

The time, effort and pain it has taken to (re)assert Kaupapa Māori has meant that now my tamariki have the option of attending a Kura Kaupapa Māori that has teachers who look like them and teach them using their native language. The normalisation of Māoritanga is what my children are saturated in, and yet my 5-year-old has very good English. A language his father and I have never taught him. A language his cousins, aunties, uncles, grandparents, in fact, most of his whānau

speak to him in, because although most of them are Māori, many of them do not speak their language fluently.

Researchers often discuss and define Kaupapa Māori Theory in terms of their academic discipline, the subject of the research, and/or the aim(s) of the research, among other things (see Smith 1992; Smith, 1997; Durie, 1998; Bishop & Glynn 1999). Kaupapa Māori Theory is intersectoral and therefore straddles many sectors such as law, health, justice, education, to name a few. The parameters of these sectors have been defined by Western philosophical frameworks and as such Kaupapa Māori cannot be divided by their fallacious and arbitrary boundaries. In this way, Kaupapa Māori enables interdisciplinary work and transdisciplinary approaches to research. It straddles many and yet no disciplines. Primarily, however, it is located within Māori studies and Indigenous studies but also straddles those of political onomastics, anthroponomastics, linguistics, social science research and story work. It must also be noted that these ‘disciplines’ or subject areas also carry with them a colonial and often oppressive history of engagement with Indigenous peoples. As Deloria (1988), a historian and activist from the Standing Rock, Sioux people has pointed out ‘Anthropologists and other friends’ have long been seeking to solve the ‘Indian problem’ to catastrophic effect, as he states:

Thus has it ever been with anthropologists. In believing they could find the key to man’s behaviour, they have, like the churches, become forerunners of destruction. Like the missionaries, anthropologists have become intolerably certain that they represent the ultimate truth. (p. 100)

In response to this, therefore, Kaupapa Māori is what we do or would do without colonisation and yet because of colonisation. In much Western theory, the onus is on researchers to be devolved and objective. Conversely, Kaupapa Māori theory is grounded in the critical and political assertion that all research is personal and inevitably influenced by the researcher. Linda Smith (1999, 2012) has written extensively on the dehumanising effects that seemingly unbiased and objective researchers have had on Indigenous peoples around the world. The experiences of many of the world’s Indigenous peoples can attest to the devastating and brutalising impact seemingly ‘objective’ researchers have had on their traditional cultures (Cram, 2001; Gibbs, 2001; Smith, 1998; Spoonley, 1999). It is also a theory used to challenge the dominant discourses.

The use of Kaupapa Māori Theory has been and will continue to be about the political conditions for Māori. Pihama (2010) discusses this thoroughly in her article on the development of Kaupapa Māori where she asserts that Kaupapa Māori as a theory and research framework has grown from and is embedded in a deeply political space. She argues that whether it be a theory, a theorist, researcher or research, none are ever apolitical or acultural. The political environment for Māori in Aotearoa has meant that Kaupapa Māori Theory is therefore about eradicating injustice, in all its forms. Cherryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith (2012) and Leonie Pihama (2001) stress that this means Kaupapa Māori research should critique and analyse structural power and consequently, those issues related to imperialism, the colonisation project and other forms of oppression related to class, gender, race, sexuality and others. The world that we as Māori live in is fraught with multiple tensions whether we acknowledge them or not and Kaupapa Māori theory provides us with a whāriki to stand on and challenge injustices, reveal the inequalities and to seek interventions and transformation that are culturally responsive and grounded (Pihama, 2001).

However, if we do what Kaupapa Māori theory demands and bring te reo, tikanga, Māoritanga (Māori way of life), and mātauranga Māori to the centre, are we not using what has also been tried and true for hundreds of years? By making ourselves the ‘norm’ we restructure the relations of power on our own land and therefore view others as our guests. When we centralise our worldview, we resist against the everyday tensions and colonialisms (Jackson, 2011) and assert our pride in being Māori; despite being prodded, punished, abused, renamed and recreated in the ‘white man’s’ image throughout the last 200 or so years of colonisation.

Kaupapa Māori theory is a philosophy and a framework. Sheila Walker (1996) asserts that it is not a theory in the traditional Western sense, as it does not claim to be superior, or more common sense than other theories. It does not buy into the Western ideology of knowledge supremacy. A Māori analysis is not superior to other theories; it is merely more appropriate in terms of producing research that Māori will have more confidence in and will hopefully lead to better outcomes for Māori (Cunningham, 2000).

I argue that what is unique and potent about Kaupapa Māori research is that it aims to put the power in Māori hands. For us to decide what, who, how, when, and why. Any research conducted should assert and honour our tūpuna, our tikanga, our reo. I take it one-step further. I argue that Kaupapa Māori research should actively (re)assert the teachings of our ancestors, recognising the immense mātauranga they had and, therefore, that we as a people have. This same mātauranga has much to contribute toward interventions that work to solve our current issues and many of the wider societal issues. We too, like many nations and cultures around the world, come from a long line of theologians, philosophers, theorists, and scientists. Moana Jackson calls this the ethic of prior thought and encourages Māori researchers to “*have the confidence to reach back to the prior thought of our old people*” (Jackson, 2013, p. 61).

The use of Māori naming in Aotearoa is a ‘site’ of struggle, transformation and reclamation and therefore Kaupapa Māori theory, as a tool to transform the status quo for Māori, is appropriate for the aims of this research. Royal (2006) asserts that Kaupapa Māori Theory aims to liberate Māori from colonial oppression in its many forms, particularly within the mainstream university setting where it can be used as a political tool to create space for Māori and to challenge the privileging of Western knowledge.

Māori is a useful construct to use. However, our identity goes beyond just being ‘Māori’. We are a diverse people with a deep sense of the collective, and this means that our lives mainly centre on whānau, hapū, iwi and community. Kaupapa Māori research must, therefore, be easily accessible to all Māori (Pihama, 2002). We too are citizens of the wider world (Smith, 1999) and as such have much to learn, share and in common with our Indigenous whanaunga. Some of the commonalities we can share are, an ancient and intimate relationship with the environment which is embedded in our culture, and an experience of colonisation, which for many of us, has seen our own reo and tikanga marginalised in the land they grew from. For Māori, our whakapapa and our relationships inform how we view the world and behave within it. Manulani Aluli Meyer (2009), a scholar of Hawaiian epistemology, identifies that when Indigenous people exchange knowledge, relationships matter. In particular, our relationship(s) with our environment as Indigenous peoples

informs our worldview, which she talks about from a Hawaiian viewpoint as follows:

One of the main concepts of a philosophy of knowledge is that we all see the same thing all right? We all see the same ocean, bringing up the idea that Hawaiians see a different ocean ticks Philosophers off, Let me tell you! Because they go, nah, you don't have a different empirical understanding of the world, we both see the same ocean. No, you don't bra, ok? I see the ocean. I'm from the ocean. Look! Look! The tide is coming up and look! Look! There's some limu coming up - I'm going out to surf. It's a good time, all right? Our senses are shaped by culture, all right? It's completely shaped by culture. If I went to Iowa and I looked a bunch of corn, I'd go oh that's nice, green grassy looking things! I don't know about corn. Uncle tells me, "Oh Manu, that needs water and some nutrients and it's coming in in two weeks". His seeing is shaped by culture. (00:24:45)

Ka noho au i te poho o Taranaki: Theorising home

Few Maori have been as inhumanely penalised for standing by their rights as the Taranaki hapu. Perhaps this was because the war was not only longer there but more intense and severe and because, despite the marshalling of several thousand Imperial troops, it was in Taranaki that a Maori ascendancy was most maintained. (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 5)

Kaupapa Māori has enabled me to theorise notions of *home*, theorising my own positionality and bringing forth a research question for naming practices that makes sense and is significant to our Taranaki context. My people have been rehomed, ripped from our lands and forced to make home outside of our tribal homes and without our usual occupants, our whānau. Home has been invaded and even occupied by imperial troops, rendering our homes ravaged and hazardous. Our ways of seeing and being, of expressing ourselves have also been rehomed, outside of our bodies and into the books of library shelves. These same libraries are haunted by people such as myself, desperately searching for home on the pages of Māori language and knowledge texts largely written by those who forced us from our homes or by their descendants.

I use the line from a waiata I grew up with, 'ka noho au i te poho o Taranaki' (I will sit on the chest of Taranaki mountain) purposefully. I use it to locate this research within a Taranaki framework and in agreeance with Leanne Simpson (2011) who states, "A theory in its most basic form is simply an exploration for why we do the things we do" (p. 39). It is our identity, our way of being on this earth that defines

who we are and it is this cultural heritage that has helped Taranaki people through the many injustices and oppressions we have had to face. Therefore, as a Taranaki descendent I have drawn upon this phrase to position the theoretical basis from the chest of mounga Taranaki, and in doing so, I *theorise home*.

For Whaene Leonie Pihama it is the phrase, ‘Ko Taranaki te mounga, Taranaki is my mountain’ which locates her as the author and grounds her identity to the land (Pihama, 1997). It is an expression of Taranaki identity that is unique to us and impacts upon our way of seeing and being in the world due to our unique tribal knowledges and languages as well as our specific experience(s) of colonisation. Although I do not currently reside at my mountain’s feet on a daily basis, my whakapapa connection and identity is so intimately entangled in my Taranakitanga (Taranaki way of being and seeing) that I often return to stoke the fires of occupation and to tend to my spiritual needs. Moving home is also a possibility and responsibility that Kaupapa Māori theory acknowledges, as Whaene Leonie Pihama has stated in her thesis:

There is something about being home. Home as in turangawaewae. Having a place to stand and to know that it is a place you belong and that the people there, irrespective of the differences, are a part of you and you are a part of them. That is how I feel in Taranaki. I know that I am of that whenua and that while I am away from it there is a detachment that is deep inside myself and my tamariki. (Pihama, 2001, p. 102)

I position myself as being firmly embedded in my tribal connections, in my Parihakatanga (Parihaka culture) and in my whakapapa to the land. In this way, whilst I acknowledge my own current place of residence in the territory of Tainui to which I also have whakapapa connections, I also argue a permanence of position amongst my people in Taranaki and at Parihaka. Our creation stories speak to a time when Taranaki mounga resided elsewhere, and so I call upon that example to claim an ability to carry my Parihakatanga and Taranakitanga wherever I go. Although this research seeks to make a contribution toward ‘home’, it cannot replace the work that is being done and must be done to maintain our ahi kā (home fires), our Taranakitanga, our people and our land. Therefore, it is important to state here that although I position myself and this work within a Taranaki framework and context,

I acknowledge those who feed and stoke our fires of occupation on a daily basis and thank you all from the bottom of my liver.³¹

It is also important to point out that the use of the name and word of Taranaki is not done to homogenise all Taranaki people or, reduce the many iwi and hapū of Taranaki down to one singular way of seeing and being. Rather it is to refine the theoretical approach that is Kaupapa Māori and assert Taranaki stories, concepts, tikanga and reo as being pivotal in informing the theoretical approach of this research. These ideas of the importance of ‘home’, the relevance of iwi based knowledges and experiences, of hapū based ways of seeing and being, and of contributing to home within research, have also been championed by other Māori and Indigenous researchers (see Cameron, Pihama, Leatherby, & Cameron, 2013; Mahuika, 2012; Pihama, 2001).

Eruera Te Whiti Nia (2010) draws on an experience he had in interviewing my great-aunt, Te Auripo Tamati (nee Wharehoka) in the 1980s in order to discuss Kaupapa Māori. Kui Te Auripo, the knowledge she held and the methods she used to express her knowledge and values such as through the use of pao (impromptu songs), are indicative of the goals of Kaupapa Māori. I argue further that what Te Auripo actually expressed was more than Kaupapa Māori but was Kaupapa Taranaki, in that she knew and used knowledge, values, expressions, reo and tikanga specific to us as Taranaki people. It is our mātauranga that, I argue, is integral to not only this research, but also to the future development of Kaupapa Māori research, or rather, as being Kaupapa-ā-iwi, ā-hapū, and as is the case here, as Kaupapa ā-whānau or whānau based research.

Consequently, this research is informed by both a Taranaki and a Parihaka way of looking at the world, as it is written by my hand, about Taranaki people, my whānau and their names. Part of what has ultimately shaped us has been our history as a people, not just the knowledge and relationships we have built since time immemorial on our lands, but also through our experience of colonialism. For this thesis, resistance is a key theme, and therefore I have written about some of our

³¹ A reference to the liver is a reference to the current work being done to decolonise our emotions. That in fact, we feel love within our puku.

forms of resistance against colonialism to provide further context to this term from a Taranaki standpoint.

Parau kau, Tū kau³²: Our Resistance

She watched the soldiers marching towards them, the early morning light glinting on their rifles. The soldiers passed the young girls skipping. They passed the young boys playing with their marbles and spinning tops. The people of Parihaka were greeting the soldiers with their most treasured possessions as a sign of peace. They were greeting the soldiers with their children. (Bailey, May 2016, p. 6)

Resistance has characterised the experience of many who affiliate to Parihaka and certainly the numerous iwi and hapū of the Taranaki area (Buchanan, 2009). Parau kau, Tū kau is a well-known saying amongst our people, which harks back to first colonial contact. Since Pākehā first arrived and settled in Taranaki, they have used the parau or the plough to prepare our land for their settlement. It consequently became a symbol of colonisation, of confiscation, of theft and of anger for our people who watched more and more of their land being stolen and then ploughed for occupation throughout the Taranaki region.

Under the direction of Tohu Kakahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai, Parihaka people took up the parau in resistance and used it to protest against the loss of their land by ploughing up land being surveyed by Pākehā for sale. Tohu and Te Whiti were also skilled theologians and used the symbolism of the plough and references made in the bible to use the parau and associated scriptures, which referred to turning swords into ploughshares in order to communicate and make a statement about their actions as strategic and as non-violent resistance. Thus, a symbol of oppression was turned into one of passive resistance for which our ancestors have become known throughout the world for. As The Waitangi Tribunal (1996) noted in their research:

Maori protested but, true to a new policy of peace, did not resort to arms. Despite every provocation and dire consequence, they maintained peaceful roles. Protest came after no less than 12 years, when, with the whole of their lands confiscated and their habitations given over to settlers, they were still waiting for promised reserves. The protest that then came took the form not of arms but of ploughing settler land. The weapon was the tool of peace - the ploughshare. Protest ploughing soon spread throughout Taranaki. They

³² Although this is a well-known saying amongst Taranaki people, it was one I was reminded of at a time when I really needed to hear it from the mouth of a renowned leader and tauheke of Taranaki, Huirangi Waikerepuru.

were no ordinary ploughmen who first took the field but the leading Taranaki chiefs, 'loyal' and 'rebel' alike. They disdained all threats that they and their horses would be shot, and they gave no resistance when surrounded. (p. 7)

This is but one example of many symbols and strategies taken up by leaders and followers of Parihaka alike. I merely use the parau to highlight that Taranaki resistance has long been present and that we continue to resist and use our parau to do so to this day. Whānau participants in this research took up metaphorical parau in their resistance against the colonisation of our ingoa. Some had their parau ripped from their hands and were powerless to resist and yet at the next opportunity they gripped its handle once more and continued. Resistance took many forms for these whānau participants, for some it involved using the law to empower their actions or needs, for others it involved just giving a Māori name to their child in the face of racist attitudes. With parau in hand, we resist.

Hond (2005) writes that our resistance has not always been nonviolent or passive and this is an important fact to note. Tohu and Te Whiti have long been associated with both Pai Mārire³³ movements and armed conflict. Our resistance has existed for centuries and therefore has taken many forms and continues to evolve and change with the needs of our times (Milbank, 2008).

An important example of our ascendancy into present times, which relates to reclaiming of our Taranaki names relates to the re-assertion of our ancestral name for our mountain. Many of our Taranaki people resisted and fought for the return of Taranaki to its rightful position as the official name of our mountain, casting aside the colonial name of Egmont. Although it was officially declared by Koro Wetere as the Minister of Lands in 1986 to have the dual names of Taranaki and Egmont, it is now widely recognised to be culturally insensitive to use Mt Egmont (Milbank, 2008). This is yet another example of the legacy of successful Taranaki resistance.

The philosophies and wisdom of Tohu Kakahi, Te Whiti o Rongomai and many other tūpuna have left footsteps in the sand, and we, as their descendents, need only

³³ A Christian and Māori faith developed by Te Ua Haumēne in Taranaki.

search and pursue them with courage. For this research, this thesis, in its entirety, is an act of resistance. I use words as my parau and a computer as my battleground. Centring our tribal knowledge is also about centring our tribal language as the following section details.

Tuku reo tuku mouri: Our reo encodes our theories

The part of home that lives on in you and your descendants, the part of home that goes everywhere with you, is your language. In giving breath to your language, you give life to home and it to you. The significance of te reo o Taranaki (Taranaki dialect) is therefore immeasurable. The language revitalisation vision for Taranaki over the past ten years was named, *Tuku Reo, Tuku Mouri: Language, Culture, Crossing Generations*. This name is quite significant for us as a people as it speaks to the ancestral knowledge contained within our language.

Mera Penehira (2011) argues the linguistic, cultural and intergenerational aspects that the concept, ‘Tuku Reo, Tuku Mouri’ refers to, as being integral to Māori well-being. The statement Tuku Reo, Tuku Mouri, therefore, speaks to a greater aim of not only generating more speakers of our local dialect but of speakers who know who they are as Taranaki descendants. If we can build our Taranaki identity to be strong and (re)surge forward, then our future is more certain as a people; with descendants willing and able to carry out all roles needed to keep our people well. Tuku Reo, Tuku Mouri asserts that our reo is integral to achieving that state of well-being. Cathy Dewes (2012) outlines the flow on effect of revitalising te reo by stating that it is through te reo Māori that our culture lives, and through our culture, our pride lives on. When our pride endures, our life essence recovers and when our life essence recovers, the spirit flourishes, and when the spirit flourishes, the whole world prospers, as she explains in our native tongue:

Mā te reo e ora ai ngā tikanga, mā ngā tikanga e ora ai te mana Māori, mā te mana Māori e ora ai te mauri Māori, mā te mauri e ora ai te wairua, mā te wairua ka ora te katoa o te ao. (00:01:44)

Kaupapa Māori theory enables the (re)claiming of space for te reo Māori and its many dialects in not only the academy but also within research and the world at large. The reclamation and regeneration of our reo both as a people and as distinct tribal people is key to understanding the depth and breadth of our knowledges, and

to the realisation of our dreams for our children (Nepe, 1991). Kaupapa Māori Theory is about carrying out research in a Māori way that is in accordance with tikanga and kawa, and with te reo Māori at the very centre (see Nepe, 1991; Smith 1997). Encapsulated in ‘Tuku Reo Tuku Mouri’ also lies the necessity to uncover what has led to the denigration of our language. Colonisation has destroyed languages and cultures all around the world, therefore, this has also become a global project of Indigenous peoples (see Alfred & Cornthassel, 2005; Anderson, 2000; Simpson, 2011). Lee Maracle (1996), a member of the Sto:Lo nation and critically acclaimed author, points out the importance of figuring out what happened to us:

To whine about the destruction of our language and customs, without trying to come to grips with the reasons for the destruction, is pure mental laziness. The appropriation of knowledge, its distortion and, in some cases, its destruction, were vital to the colonial process. (p. 89)

Te reo o Taranaki is therefore central to this thesis. The names analysed and shared within this thesis not only contribute to maintaining our identity across generations but the names, in and of themselves, are also claimed by the author as a subset of Taranaki reo. Several of the ingoa tangata are peculiar to Taranaki, and consequently this thesis aims to contribute to the agenda of ‘Tuku Reo Tuku Mouri’. Furthermore, as Koro Te Miringa Hohaia (2009) asserts, Taranaki reo has grown from the biodiversity and ecosystems of Taranaki whenua. Just as several of the ingoa tangata shared in this thesis have grown from within the Taranaki landscape and people. A renowned healer and kuia of Parihaka, Kui Mahinekura Reinfeld also makes the link between whenua, identity and wellness clear. She posits that the disconnection of Māori from the whenua and our identity is the reason for the prevalence of the issues and illness Māori face today (Reinfeld, 2008). The aspirations of revitalisation contained within the phrase ‘Tuku Reo, Tuku Mouri’ are reflected in this research, which aims to contribute to the wellness of Taranaki people through the regeneration of our reo through our names.

Using our voices

In conducting Kaupapa Māori research, a researcher such as myself follows in the footsteps of those ancestors before me who have sought knowledge. Not unlike the journeys of those brave ancestors, one must do things the right or ‘tika’ way. This entails overcoming various obstacles, lasting the distance and proving your

commitment, dedication and worthiness. It is here that I am reminded of the kōrero Te Miringa Hohaia shared with me about Te Moungaroa, a tupuna of Taranaki who brought our knowledge from Hawaiki to Aotearoa on the Kurahaupō waka (Seed-Pihama, 2004). He spoke about the naming of the Kurahaupō canoe and how Te Moungaroa used the light of the kurahaupō (lunar halo) to guide him in searching for the 'kura' in the darkness. A kura can be a treasured or precious item but is also often seen as knowledge in and of itself and/ or a knowledgeable person. Te Moungaroa's search for the kura in this kōrero tuku iho is not unlike the journey students make in the quest for knowledge. The ethic employed by Te Moungaroa in his quest is admirable and serves as a good example for us as descendants. Due to the triumphant actions of Te Moungaroa in obtaining the kura, Kurahaupō became the name of our waka.

As the kōrero goes, the nature of the kura that Te Moungaroa had obtained was coveted by other waka who became envious. Through the use of karakia and other spiritual means, caused the Kurahaupō to capsize. Te Moungaroa and several others survived and embarked on the Aotea waka for the rest of their journey to Aotearoa. As a result, the Kurahaupō waka came to be known as 'te waka pakaru ki te moana' (the canoe which capsized at sea). Upon his arrival in Aotearoa, Te Moungaroa was taunted with this new name, and several people attempted to whakaiti his mana and trample the mana of his people. Te Moungaroa declared that although we are people of a capsized canoe, we would always be afloat as he still held our precious cargo within him. At this point, it becomes clear that Te Moungaroa himself was a 'kura', as he held all the knowledge of our ancestors within him. As a result, although our canoe capsized, we will never be lost at sea if we have our knowledges.³⁴

This kōrero reminds us that people are repositories of knowledge; that our many forms of kōrero are our history and our truth as a people and, therefore, highlights the importance of intergenerational transmission. The kōrero ingoa provided within this thesis are gifted to the descendants of both the whānau participants in this research and of the author. Beyond that, they are held here in this thesis much like a waka huia holds precious heirlooms. This thesis is the receptacle for other Taranaki people to access the taonga held within one day. Although this thesis is a

³⁴ For a version of this story please see: <http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=176>

written receptacle and not a 'kura' in the way that Te Moungaroa was a source of oral knowledge, it is still written with the aim of contributing to the transmission of not only ingoa Māori but also the kōrero ingoa each name has associated with it. These stories have many references beyond that of naming and, particularly for our whānau and for our affiliated papakāinga and marae, it is hoped that these kōrero are viewed as 'kura' for years to come.

Another word synonymous with kura is taonga tuku iho (gifts handed down). Margaret Forster (2006) argues that the learning and telling of our narratives as taonga tuku iho is central to our well-being as Māori. This sentiment is reverberated by Dr Hēnare Tuwhangai (as cited in Davis, 1990): "*Bring to light the achievements of your ancestors, gifts handed down through the generations to be handed on to the descendants yet unborn.*" (p. vii). Moreover, I assert that Kaupapa Māori Theory has enabled the privileging of Taranaki voices, the telling of Taranaki narratives, and of kōrero ingoa as taonga tuku iho throughout this thesis for the benefit of future generations. Asserting the depth of knowledge held by our Taranaki kuia and tauheke and therefore the importance of recording our stories and disseminating that knowledge back to our people is also a main priority for this research (Reinfeld, Pihama, & Cameron, 2015). As Kui Maata Wharehoka has declared, "*We want to write our own story of Parihaka. We don't want to read the historians or people who have researched it from their point of view.*" (as cited in Batten, 2012, line. 37)

The expression of Taranaki positionality within Kaupapa Māori Theory has enabled this thesis to contribute to the continued expression and creation of our kura, which in turn, contributes to our continued well-being as a whānau unit and as Taranaki people. Māori scholars have long been forceful in making it known that it is Māori and not our colonisers who should be telling our history, as Tipene O'Regan (1987) reminds us:

Despite the greater hospitality to Pākehā perceptions of the Maori past... there are some areas into which outsiders, the tauiwī, step at their peril. Those things that are particularly Maori in a cultural sense – are essential ingredients of our view of the past and are particularly 'ours'. Most important of all, there is a whakapapa [genealogy] – the key to who we are... New Zealand's past belongs to all New Zealanders, but first it is ours! (p. 145)

There are Māori stories and in particular Parihaka stories and Taranaki stories that have yet to be told by our people. It is true that many a book has been written about Māori, but *we* have told very few of our stories. Furthermore, there is no ‘single story’ or singular perspective of Parihaka, its history, present, or future for that matter (Buchanan & Tumarkin, 2012). ‘Wānanga’ or ‘kura’ are a large part of our legacy at Parihaka, and as such, our stories are open to be debated and disputed as our tūpuna did and as we continue to do within Parihaka. Just as Māori identity and culture is fluid, so too is our Parihakatanga (Hond, 2005). This research therefore not only ‘talk backs’ against deficit based colonial discourse about Māori names, language, and knowledges but also makes a key contribution to the Indigenous project of storying as outlined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999). In this respect the work of this research is to talk to myself; it is about talking to ourselves as Taranaki people, as Māori, as hapū, as whānau and as Indigenous peoples. The importance of sharing of our kōrero is something my Koro reminded me of when he said: “*Kei raro i te whāriki whenua nei, te pakiwaitara, te kōrero o Parihaka e oreore tonu ana. - The story of Parihaka waits excitedly below this woven mat of land for its story to be told.*” (as cited in Seed-Pihama, 2004, p. 1).

The use of a whāriki in the above kōrero is deliberate in my view. It refers to the whāriki that has been laid over the top of the land by our colonisers who have suppressed our stories and histories. They have woven a new story and thereby changed the story-scape upon which we all walk and talk. Sometimes the stories invisibilise Māori, and sometimes they recreate us in their image. Our stories have also been retold to suit the coloniser’s religious beliefs and worldviews. Ani Mikaere (2005) points out that when our colonisers invaded our lands, they found a people who narrated stories, which told of the wonder of our women. Those early missionaries and ethnographers then set about whitewashing our stories in order to destroy our pagan ways. This directly resulted in the denigration of the mana of our women (Mikaere, 2005; Yates-Smith, 1992). The link between story and mana and between our stories as expressions of our cultural beliefs is undeniable and powerful. Reclaiming those stories is about reclaiming our reality and daring to dream a vision of hope for our mokopuna (Jackson, 1998).

The shift from being reactive to proactive, and from assimilation to revitalisation, has reawakened our power to imagine (Smith, 2003). Consequently, an avalanche of Māori texts has been produced which function to explain to ourselves, and for ourselves, exactly what has happened to us through the colonial process, and then to use that knowledge to demand and leverage political change (Somerville, 2007). Additionally, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) maintains that the aftermath of Western approaches to research is that they have become a part of our history as a people and therefore, partially inform the current climate in which anyone conducts research here in Aotearoa.

Māori have suffered immense disempowerment and misrepresentation in the name of research. Māori have been researched to the brink of extinction, and our supposed demise became the rationale used for the immense amount of research conducted by the well-intentioned “*pale, male and stale*”, as Somerville (2007, p. 90) puts it. Ethnographers and other early explorers and settlers who had, in some cases, an extensive knowledge of the incredibly potent impacts of colonisation, openly noted the haste needed in order to document and record Māori knowledge in all its forms. All so-called ‘inferior’ or ‘savage’ races would without a doubt, in their minds, be subsumed by their so-called ‘superior race’ as a matter of course.

Part of the Kaupapa Māori approach is to centralise and normalise what it is to be Māori. I agree with Ani Mikaere (2011) who encourages Māori researchers to stop privileging the body of work that early ethnographers compiled and asserted as a nonbiased and rational truth. As Mikaere (2011) highlights, notwithstanding their questionable methods and complete lack of interest in declaring their own cultural bias, they also had an obvious lack of regard and respect for our people and our culture. Their open contempt for the very people and knowledge they were supposedly ‘researching’ was palpable and rooted in white supremacist ideologies. Contemporarily, Moana Jackson (1998) comments that we are still struggling to get our stories told:

Today colonization is a process of image-making where we're bombarded by Hollywood about what should be good and what should be worthy in our lives, and today's scriptwriters, today's controllers of knowledge (and therefore research) are the descendants of the old scriptwriters of colonization. (p. 70)

Māori do not need any more research on us by ‘others’. Nor do we need ‘saving’ from extinction or from ourselves, as stereotypical discourses in this country might purport. We are quite capable of identifying and conducting any research that we recognise as being necessary. Elsdon Best (1902), an infamous collector of Māori knowledge, made the following assertion about names that serves to underline his ignorance and disdain for our knowledges: *“Names are derived from every object, act, expression or thought under the sun; at least it appears so.”* (p. 194)

Research is ultimately about power and control. S/he who controls what is researched, whom researches it, how it is researched, resource allocation, and how it is disseminated - shapes the knowledge created (Te Awekotuku, 1991). Māori and Indigenous peoples all around the world want to express and shape our own realities by telling our own stories. Indigenous scholar Lee Maracle (1996) also raises the necessity of Indigenous people finding space to talk to Indigenous people and of Indigenous voices being for Indigenous ears, as she says, she did not target European ears: *“If you do not find yourselves spoken to, it is not because I intend rudeness – you just don’t concern me now.”* (p. 10)

With this in mind, Kaupapa Māori theory countenances that Māori researchers must wrestle back our control over that which, in the past, has been largely under the auspices of our colonisers. Then, to finally realise the prophecy of our second Māori King, Tāwhiao, who, in asserting our ability to maintain control of our own affairs, proclaimed: *“Māku anō tōku whare e hanga: I will be the one to build my home.”*

Decolonisation and resurgence: Calling our names back

...traditional knowledge-keepers know that their own intimate interactions with the land, if adopted, can re-orientate the world, put people back in touch with nature and nourish cultural and artistic expression, in ways that support and affirm sustainable and equitable relations between all peoples and the environment. (Hohaia, 2009, p. 32)

Kaupapa Māori theory assumes and affirms mātauranga Māori as holding the keys to our own liberation. Our ways are tika (correct) and work for us because they are entrenched in who we are, how our ancestors saw the world and what they saw as being tika-nga (correct procedure) for us to live by. Kaupapa Māori theory asserts our mātauranga as being both relevant and adaptable to our contemporary issues

and realities. By choosing to practice and engage with the knowledge of our ancestors - we honour them. We know mātauranga Māori for what it is, a robust, ancient and scholarly knowledge that is neither historical nor traditional. Our mātauranga continues to grow with us because we are an ever-developing people and culture. Mātauranga Māori can and has been used as a politically correct add-on in some research rather than a legitimate underpinning factor.

Kaupapa Māori researchers are required to (re)claim space in the academy for our knowledges. This often means proclaiming our methods and ideas about research to deaf ears. It also means fighting for our ancient philosophies and values to be acknowledged as successful and important not only by our colonisers but also by ourselves in the quest for decolonisation and emancipation from cognitive imperialism (Battiste, 2000). The struggle for research that tends to our self-determined aspirations is not solely a Māori struggle but one, which is being fought all around the world by Indigenous peoples (Wilson, 2013). Additionally, a fundamental aspect of our aspirations is that they are based on our collective needs. Cheryl Crazy Bull, a Sicangu Lakota educator, stresses that what we as Indigenous people want is:

...research and scholarship that preserves, maintains, and restores our traditions and cultural practices. We want to restore our Native languages; preserve and develop our homelands; revitalize our traditional religious practices; regain our health; and cultivate our economic, social, and governing systems. Our research can help us maintain our sovereignty and preserve our nationhood. We are intensely interested in understanding our circumstances and how our families and communities came to be the way they are today. (Bull, 1997, p. 17)

Decolonisation has a tradition of political activism. It holds within it an understanding of colonialism and its power to claim and rename minds, relationships, bodies and spirituality. Understanding how we have come to be the way we are today has to involve decolonising efforts. In other words, it requires a calling back of our names from the margins. Decolonisation is the key to our liberty and to the resurgence of our names. When decolonisation is underway, we can begin to find out what happened to our names, who renamed us, how and why. In doing so, it becomes easy to see that our names were too powerful, too steeped in our history and identity and therefore they were intolerable to the white gaze of our colonisers.

Calling our names, back from the margins, from beneath the mat of new names that have been placed upon us, requires a lot of hard and critical work. We must relearn how to call, how to claim and name, and how to once again, speak our names with pride. Resurgence articulates the importance of our cultural reclamation to our well-being. Resurgence is about recognising that our ingoa still have relevance and a place in our contemporary lives and that along with our ingoa come many other knowledges and values that are important in regenerating and maintaining our ways of seeing and being.

In calling back our names, several other spaces and knowledges need reclaiming as well. Calling our names back requires us to reconnect with nature, with our atua, with our karakia, with our tikanga, with our places of importance. Reconnecting with the function of ingoa tangata reminds us of where we are from and to who we belong. Takawai Murphy (2016) proffers his own ‘calling back’ of his Māori name as an example of decolonisation, cultural reclamation and of healing. He says:

During the period of my own politicisation I had replaced Theo, the name I had grown up with, with Takawai, my middle name. At the time of my birth we had no doctors or nurses in Murupara, so Ngāti Manawa had its own wahine, Hine White, who birthed and sometimes named the tamariki – in my case Takawai, to commemorate the drowning of her own child. My father did the same to celebrate kōhanga reo, replacing ‘Percy’ with the name my mother had always called him, ‘Marunui’. (T. Murphy, 2016, p. 85)

Resurgence also asserts that our ancestral knowledge has relevance *now*. Our ingoa tangata, our knowledges hold the keys to many doors currently slammed in our faces. Our knowledges as Indigenous peoples have the power to heal us if we start calling them back - to call our names back into our everyday lives, one by one.

Naming the world for ourselves: Conclusion

In my view, Kaupapa Māori research must translate into ‘real life’, and Kaupapa Māori researchers must produce research in ways, which create or maintain pathways between the academy and our people. Academic thought cannot be transformative if it stays within the ivory tower of the Academy. Furthermore, Kaupapa Māori Theory is not merely, what we traditionally thought and did, but

also reflects our history, our current world and what we are doing and thinking into the future.

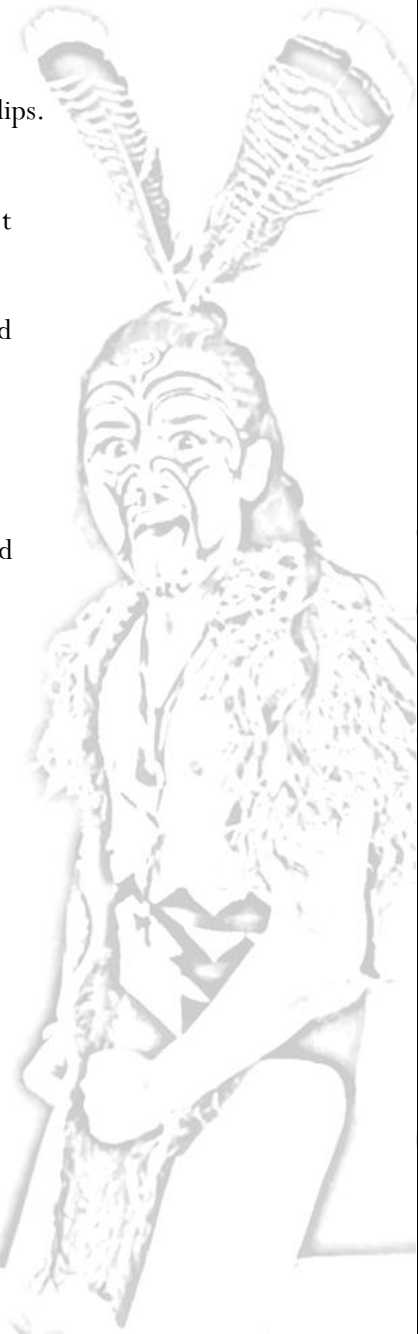
Theorising home is key to this research. In outlining the Taranaki context and discussing our ways of resisting and of knowing through plough and language, I have sought to enable this research to be a form of resistance in and of itself. I have argued the relevance of te reo Māori, in particular, of te reo o Taranaki to the thesis and to our well-being as a catalyst for reclamation and decolonisation. I have maintained that Kaupapa Māori theory enables Māori to critically engage with our colonised realities and then seek to transform them. Kaupapa Māori allows us, no, it requires us to (re)claim our mātauranga³⁵ and to call our names back into our lives. Taking a step toward resurgence by calling our names, back from the margins and from the annals of erasure is to go back to naming the world for ourselves. Living our tino rangatiratanga means wearing our names with pride.

³⁵ Mātauranga-ā-iwi, ā hapū, ā whānau is included within this term as I am intending within this context to refer to all our knowledges.

My Waha

ON BEING A SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKER

When I open my waha, it is not always natural to speak.
When I open my waha, it can be frustrating to use these lips.
When I open my waha, I am forced to shut it a lot.
When I open my waha, words like “I love you”, just don’t
taste the same with this tongue.
When I open my waha, I feel my ancestors being strapped
for opening theirs.
If I open my waha, I may be stared at, scolded, and
debated with by strangers.
If I open my waha whilst angry, I usually close it again and
open my mouth. My teeth just feel better that way.
If I open my waha, it's hard work to find other waha
to play with.
And yet,
when my children open their waha, it's magical
to hear their teeth fitting so snug.
When my children open their waha, it's magical
to see their lips moving so freely.
When my children open their waha, it's magical
to watch the ancestors dance on their tongues.
Actually, when I open my waha, it’s just downright
Magical.
Ok, I’ll shut my mouth now.



Chapter Four

He ingoa, he kōrero

PŪRĀKAU AS METHOD

*I sit and wait for it,
The silence that precedes
A hangman dangling in a crowded room
“Um, it starts with ‘M’, but I can’t really say it.”
That would be me, standing out as your awkward inconvenience
“Do you have a nickname? That’s too hard to say”
So, I gave you your get out of jail free card.
Now, I am no longer willing to sacrifice my identity for your comfort.
For two letters that come with it; connotations of how we label each other
through colour
“A Māori name? But you’re so WHITE.”
For two letters, we both lose out
As you will never know the story behind it, another facet to my beginning
And all I hear are these wise words,
“We called you that so you will never forget who you are.”
Here I am
Ko Mahuru tōku ingoa.
(Green, 2014)*

Introduction

The poem presented above was gifted to me for use within this thesis, and I use it intentionally to introduce this chapter on method. Pūrākau method supports the use of poems such as this one by enabling the multiplicity of voices and stories told in different ways. In doing so, Pūrākau as method becomes a decolonising tool that simultaneously creates and provides a space for Māori voices. It has supported whānau stories to be told and heard in ways that are meaningful to not only the research and the researcher but, more importantly, to the whānau itself. Consequently, this chapter asserts Pūrākau as an appropriate and necessary method for whānau research.

This chapter engages with ‘ako’ as both a concept and as part of my analysis approach in this thesis to unveil the dynamic of what is taught and learnt in the sharing of our stories with ourselves and others. Furthermore, I argue that Pūrākau

method enables the transformational potential of ‘kōrero ingoa’ as natural agents of ako or reciprocal learning and teaching to realise the emotional and spiritual reaction elicited through story telling that reaches beyond just the cerebral. Ako is an example of Māori thought, which asserts that both the student and the teacher have the potential to teach and to learn. Therefore, ako is about experiencing education and research in a Māori way, as Māori. Finally, the importance of a pūrākau method contributing to the wealth and health of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, in this case, whānau based knowledge is discussed.

Pūrākau: he aha tēnei?

Pūrākau range from stories about the creation of the world, people and the natural environment to historical events and particular incidents. Far from being considered as mere tales or ‘myths and legends’, pūrākau preserved ancestral knowledge, reflected our worldviews and portrayed the lives of our tupuna (ancestors) in creative, diverse and engaging ways. Telling pūrākau is not limited to traditional stories, but includes storying in our contemporary contexts. (Lee, Hoskins, & Doherty, 2005, p. 2)

Our pūrākau come from a wide and varied genre of literature; they are a form of aroha from ancestor to descendent. Knowledge and wisdom, values and principles are all caught up in our pūrākau, which have been created for the very purpose of teaching future generations about the ways of our people. Pūrākau are our histories, our creation stories as they retell the many deeds of our eponymous ancestors and of the atua as Lee et.al. (2005) explain above. Pūrākau are also carefully selected and retold to highlight certain messages to their audience and therefore are an important vehicle for ako. There are several other forms of literature that have a similar function to pūrākau in terms of ‘ako’ and the transmission of knowledge. Oriori is one form I initially considered. I thought I would compose my own oriori to conclude this thesis, due to its role as a tool to teach children of their whakapapa and responsibilities, as well as, the love and aspirations of their whānau (Royal, 2008)³⁶.

Pūrākau are like glasses through which we can view, learn and be taught by our ancestors who live on in every recitation. Pūrākau make the actions of our atua and

³⁶ Further research in to the range and depth of Māori literary methods would be useful, but is outside the scope of this study.

tūpuna into ‘teachable moments’ for our tamariki as they move through the many stages and ages of life. In order to do so, many versions of the one pūrākau exist as each storyteller adapts to a new audience or a different teaching or learning opportunity within the pūrākau. All research has its own storyteller, an intended audience and a moral or message it conveys. Whānau stories feed into hapū histories, which feed into iwi histories, which feed into Māori narratives. Consequently, stories can alter from audience to audience from storyteller to storyteller and this is perfectly acceptable from a Māori perspective.

Whilst my approach to the whole thesis is to create a larger narrative of research, there are many smaller stories, which make that narrative and the kōrero ingoa of my whānau are some of those stories. My own creative writing pieces also make up part of this narrative and serve to position me beside my whānau and throughout the research as a storyteller. Leanne Simpson, (2011) highlights the importance of creation stories for women in particular: “*You are the creator now, you will create life and renew it. This is why these teachings are so important to our young women – when we bring forth new life we are re-enacting this story*” (pp. 38-39).

Becoming a creator of life has certainly driven my passion for pūrākau as a method. Producing creative pieces of writing throughout my PhD journey assisted in my development as a ‘creator’ of research for several reasons. It enabled me to use the pūrākau method in a deeply personal way and to contribute my own stories alongside those of my whānau participants. The writing helped me to practice my writing style, enrich vocabulary, and enhance my ability to clarify my thoughts and arguments as well as to set the scene for this research in a way that is grounded in the reality of being embedded in this research. These creative pieces support the research to resonate and feel logical - not only on the page but with real life too.

The ethic of prior thought

Moana Jackson (2013) argues for ‘The Ethic of Prior Thought’ which entails the incorporation of the ‘deep and noble intellectual tradition’ of our tūpuna in any Kaupapa Māori research. Consequently, I have purposefully and carefully pondered whose reo (language and voice) should be profiled in this research. I have also considered how to honour our various forms of Māori literature within my review

of the relevant literature. From a Western academic standpoint, the ‘leading experts’ in your field are expected to be the sources you quote and let guide you. The expectation in many disciplines (Western) is that the only valid knowledge can come from white, male academics. This research and Kaupapa Māori theory argues otherwise. What is hidden in this expectation to learn from the ‘experts’ is an assumption around what qualifies them to be experts, who chooses them as experts, and how they become experts. For mainstream Aotearoa, the question of whose culture they belong to and whose knowledge they propagate is being invisibilised to a large extent.

Throughout this thesis, I have endeavoured to ask critical questions about voice and emphasise some of the issues Māori academics face and navigate in conducting research. One, in particular, is to do with literature. As per academic requirements, all quotes must be referenced to the source you took it from. The types of sources allowed are limited. Those seen as acceptable are those, which meet the requirement of what is factual and reliable, according to Western ideology for the most part.

For example, in a Western ideology, the written word is paramount. If it is written, then it must be true. *Written* ‘literature’ therefore is the fundamental source from which to base your research. If there is no ‘literature’, then it cannot be referenced and therefore does not exist until it is written about. Some Māori have actively resisted this and sought to become recognised experts in their fields by publishing and therefore building the ‘literature’. This has directly provided pathways for Māori academics, and students alike to validate their research through the aforementioned burgeoning source of literature. Others have resisted by using mātauranga Māori forms of literature in their academic work such as pūrākau, oriori, karakia, whakataukī, haka, mihimihi, poetry, and others. This is also something that is happening globally amongst Indigenous scholars who are resisting and exploring ways to honour and assert their ways, methods and knowledges in research (Oliveira, 2016). There is still more work to be done in this area and I fight alongside others to use the pen as a form of resistance as the following excerpt from a poem written by Te Kahu Rolleston (2016) illustrates:

*I hear “Māori love to fight.”
We fight for our mana,*

*Fight for our rangatiratanga.
We wield weaponized pens
Like our ancestors did taiaha,
Ready for war
And all aspects of pakanga.*

*Like our ancestors' blade edge would pierce
an enemy's skin,
So too is paper pierced by our pens.
As cannons would cast shells
At the drop of a pin,
So too do we cast words,
Fuelled by these flaming fires within.*

*We fight,
Fight for our rights.
No, we simply fight for what is right.
We fight
For what's left, right?
It's illegal to strike,
So all we have left is to write. (p. 465)*

Personal narrative

During a working bee at our Kōhanga Reo, I was sweeping the path after all the gardens had been weeded and I stopped to chat with one of the mums. As we were chatting, another mum came up to us holding a plant up and waving it excitedly at us. She seemed quite panicked, and I said to her "he aha kei tō ringa?" (What have ya got there?). She rushed up and exclaimed that she had found it growing under the steps to the whare pēpi or the babies' classroom, she said to us:

"The berries on this plant are poisonous, so we had better go around and look for them and make sure they are all pulled out, or our kids will get sick, it ain't called deadly nightshade for nothing!"

Quietly, I explained that I had grown up eating the berries. They were not poisonous, far from it, they were sweet and delicious when you waited for them to ripen and turn black. My nanny had taught me how to eat them, and in fact, my mother had grown up eating the young shoots in her boil up and loved it. I continued on to explain that my 4-year-old son had just had a meltdown a few days prior as our landlord had come around to spray the plants and so I had told him he couldn't eat them anymore while he played outside. Neither mother resisted what I was saying despite being completely taken by surprise at what was completely new information to them.

Writing back and forth

Kaupapa Māori writers contribute to the agenda of ‘writing back’, and we will always need to do that for as long as colonialism grips our throat. However, ‘writing forward’ is a new area that we must champion. We need to write about the experiences and strategies which have garnered success for us in our colonised reality. We must write and research in ways that inform our mokopuna of the way forward. In order to guide those whānau who have not the capacity or capability currently to regenerate our cultural practices, such as naming, within whānau, we need to be working alongside them so that one day they will. Our stories hold so much power and potency in this space to both conscientise and transform our whānau through the reclamation of our cultural wealth (Murphy, 2016).

Our whole lives are made up of stories. Some stories define us in ways we can never move on from. Of all the powers in the world, storytelling is one of the most powerful. Stories are highly political. Those with the power can control whose story is told and how it is told. Scholars discuss the ‘grand or master narrative’ as a form of story told by the colonial machine in service of the imperial project (Walker, 1999). Pūrākau method is used as a tool against the grand narrative and enables us to speak forward, to our mokopuna, fortifying them with the wonder of who they are (Mita, 2000).

Researchers as story tellers

As the primary storyteller of this research, emphasising the acts of resistance, reclamation, regeneration, resurgence and of endurance within the many stories has been a deliberate act. Rather than stressing the ‘fragmentation’ of our knowledges, or the disempowerment of our people, I have deliberately chosen to draw out the things whānau participants and others have done in the face of the previously mentioned adversity. In doing so, the depth of our ancestral wisdom, the power of the whānau unit, and the everyday acts of tino rangatiratanga that our people are asserting to ensure our (re)surgence forward are brought to the foreground of this research.

This thesis is simultaneously an individual and a collective experience of storytelling. I write as a researcher, but I also write as a mother, as a Taranaki

wahine, as a mokopuna, as a whaene, as an irāmutu, as many things. However, as a PhD student, no matter what method or theory we use, we ultimately always wear the ‘researcher’ hat, and in that respect, we must be cognisant of the power we hold. With this in mind, whose interests we serve is paramount as Fiona Cram (1993) argues:

For Maori the purpose of knowledge is to uphold the interests and the mana of the group; it serves the community. Researchers are not building up their own status; they are fighting for the betterment of their iwi and for Maori people in general. (p.1)

One of the key drivers for Māori to share their kōrero with researchers is the promise that it will be recorded for future generations. This is because we are suffering from the burden and trauma of colonialism, which continues to be a cataclysmic disruption to our ways of maintaining knowledge orally (Waretini-Karena, 2013). As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, Māori have been almost researched to death by our colonisers, and this has led to some trauma amongst our people concerning research (Smith, 1999). Part of that trauma was also revealed when early ethnographers first attempted to ‘mine’ our elders for information and elders were faced with the dilemma of being asked to remember things that our colonisers had spent so much time trying to make them forget (Tapeka, 1932). A Pākehā researcher also acknowledged this particular trauma, although in the subsequent generation, in her own field work some 60 years later: *“I was shaken by her distress at the raiding Pākehā, and I was sometimes aware, in households, that my peers resented their parents transmitting their knowledge to me.”* (Pond, 1991, p. 445)

This has driven Kaupapa Māori researchers, in particular, to tell a different story of research and ensure we act ethically and with the interests of our people at the forefront of our work. We must ‘research back’, to tell *our* story and correct the misinformation and inaccurate research done *on* us by our colonisers. Manulani Meyer (2009) advocates strongly for this and shares an example of a regular dialogue she engages in, as follows: *“Oh Manu you are such a revisionist historian! Oh, thank you! As a hermeneutics practitioner, I am a revisionist historian. Because it’s our job to tell a different story.”* (00:42:12). Of particular importance here, is the need to facilitate the sharing of kōrero that benefits our own and fulfils our self-

determined agendas as a people. This kind of sharing is never a collecting, storing and owning process.

However, in order for Kaupapa Māori researchers to contribute to this agenda, according to Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006), we must identify as Māori and have solid understandings of the Māori world, its values, tikanga and issues. To not only understand our traditional and contemporary contexts but also be able to incorporate this into our interpretation and analysis of data. Kaupapa Māori researchers with these skills are the most likely to engage successfully with Māori and to produce results that transform Māori lives. Smith, Hoskins and Jones (2012) assert that it is equally important for Kaupapa Māori researchers to be active at the flax roots and can show the blisters on their hands through their engagement with community.

All researchers, as storytellers, make decisions around arguments and critique. What is foregrounded and what is pushed into the background and invisibilised. Kirsten Aroha Gabel (2013) talks about “*walking the tightrope between the Western academic world and te ao Māori*” (p. 28) and reveals a tension experienced by researchers in terms of the place mātauranga Māori should or should not have in the academy. She argues for a ‘filtering’ of which kinds of knowledge are taken into the academy and which are best left within the safety of our people’s embrace; citing the bad track record of the academy in keeping our knowledge safe thus far. I too have walked this tightrope. For me, this was a balancing act of including knowledge that was already published or recorded in some manner, searching for Māori and Indigenous voices in published sources and including the voices of my tūpuna, other Taranaki elders and scholars. These were sourced from written archives, film and sound archives, poetry, short stories, biographies, documentaries, online media and in filmed presentations. Furthermore, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2011) points out the inappropriate and unsafe nature of reproducing creation stories (pūrākau) in our academic work that were traditionally told by elders during ceremony. I agree with Simpson (2011) and therefore have chosen to use kōrero ingoa and pūrākau that were already in the public or published domain.

Too often our research gets caught up in a 'Māori' story, these are important stories but so too are our whakapapa stories about our iwi, whānau, hapū, marae and

papakāinga. Aligning my role as Storyteller with my attempts to theorise home means that where possible I have endeavoured to provide Taranaki examples and privilege Taranaki voices. To pull their kōrero from the background, margins, and from the silence to purposefully place them as poutokomanawa (centre pole) within this whare called a 'thesis'. However, the main source of kōrero ingoa, and where the mana of this thesis lies is in the naming narratives of the whānau participants.

Mana whānau

Alongside other theoretical, methodological and political discourses such as mana wahine, mana tamariki and mana tāne also sits 'mana whānau'. Whānau is a Māori conceptualisation of extended family but as is usually the case; the English language fails to convey its true meaning. In a speech given by the Honourable Tariana Turia (2005), she discusses the importance of whānau:

It's all about whanau. Whanau is the key social unit to gain social, economic, and cultural advancement. It is within our whanau that we transmit and uphold the values of our tupuna that we can foster confidence and pride amongst individuals as well as the whanau; that we learn about who we are (line. 69).

In my view, it is about maintaining the long term vision of our struggle, in which whānau are central. Subsequently, I have stood on the tūrangawaewae (footstool) of one of the key principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis, and that is the extended family management principle. Many Māori will be familiar with the whakataukī 'e hoki koe ki tō mouna, kia purea e ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea'³⁷ and for me, mana whānau is grounded in this saying for many reasons. To go back to your mountains is to go *home*, and to be cleansed by the winds of your home, is to feel the breath of your whakapapa upon your face and be face-to-face with your people. It is only when you are able to witness and truly see the work that needs doing that you can contribute in a meaningful way. This does not necessarily require being home permanently, but it does require a commitment to return regularly. Returning home is also about maintaining relationships, with the land, water and with our whānau. The continued maintenance of our whanaungatanga is one of our greatest challenges and our greatest rewards. There is another level of knowledge and sharing that occurs amongst whānau, which is not achieved through any other

³⁷ "Return to your mountain to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea."

level of whanaungatanga. This whakapapa connection binds us in unbreakable ways as Māori Marsden (1992) reminds us: “*He kāpu puta tahi, he taura whiri tātou; whiringa a nuku, whiringa a rangi, tē whatia e.*”³⁸

Some of our cosmogonies talk of students being tested in the pursuit of knowledge. One such test was to dive deep down into a body of water and retrieve an object. For me, it is truly an honour to dive deep into the waters of my own ancestors and share in the stories of members of my own whānau. It is in these waters that I search for understanding and guidance. For me, as these are the waters from which I descend I could not have done this research with any other group of people. It was fundamental that I started with my own as Mahinekura Reinfeld (2008), a Taranaki rongoā (Māori medicine) practitioner and kuia explains in relation to healing: “*When I collect rongoā I only go to areas I know and I would never go to the areas of another iwi, you need to know that area’s history*” (p. 72).

The use of the whānau unit as a lens for this research is intentional and directly contributes to what Linda Mead (1996) called ‘The whānau project’. The (re)generation of whānau knowledges and the reinstatement of the mana of our wāhine within our whānau is highlighted by Mead as being the task of all members of the whānau, men and women, young and old. The whānau project is about looking to the past, to our ways of being and seeing and conscientising all of our whānau to that mātauranga. This is the power of the whānau unit, and that is the power felt here in this thesis. A power I have aimed to utilise for the regeneration of an old whānau-based knowledge, which is ‘te tapa tāngata’ or the naming of people.

The potency of mana whānau thus guided me toward an intergenerational whānau based approach to this research and toward ‘whakawhanaungatanga’ as a research process. Whanaungatanga is not exclusively about relationships or how we might ‘relate’ to one another. Whanaungatanga is genealogical at its core. The term whanaungatanga derives from its base word ‘whanaunga’, which in turn has the word ‘whānau’ as its base word. However, although our relationships are based on

³⁸ “*Issue of one womb, we are a rope woven of many strands; woven on earth, woven in heaven, it will not break.*”

our blood ties, they are further strengthened and become everyday life relationships through our actions and interactions with one another. Mana whānau is about the recognition and maintenance of our ways of living as whānau. Consequently, whakawhanaungatanga as a research process, which contributes to maintaining relationships, is highly relevant to this research. Russell Bishop argues that there are three interconnected parts of a whakawhanaungatanga research process. Firstly, he argues that the establishment and/ or maintenance of relationships amongst your research participants is not only necessary but is often intensive and ongoing. Subsequently, he contends that the researcher must be somatically involved in the research and lastly, he states, that the research approach must address power and control issues by using participatory research practices (Bishop, 1995).

Story building and kōrero ingoa

Pūrākau method acknowledges ‘kōrero ingoa’ as an important source of intergenerational knowledge and as an integral contribution to the ongoing maintenance work that is being done to hold on to our history, values and practices, particularly as they pertain to naming. Takirangi Smith (2012) uses kōrero whakapapa to indicate genealogical narratives, and it is from his use of that term that I came upon the term ‘kōrero ingoa’ as an appropriate terminology for the naming kōrero I was gifted by whānau participants in this research. Māori academics such as Jenny Lee (2015) provide inspiration and encouragement to look beyond Western research methods and academic styles of documentation. They encourage us to (re)turn to our own literature and disseminate our knowledge in ways that are culturally relevant and accessible to our people. I argue that ako is just as inherent and potent in kōrero ingoa as it is in pūrākau as a form of Māori literature (Lee, 2008). In our kōrero ingoa, for all who come across them, lies the pedagogical potential to teach, remind, inspire and to learn. This is the power of our naming stories, of our kōrero ingoa.

The strong relationship and trust already present between myself and whānau participants meant that along with a willingness to discuss our names openly and with an open heart and the honesty and aroha of their voices comes through clearly in Chapter Six. Alongside being a recipient of such trust and respect, came a massive amount of responsibility as a researcher. I struggled with this for the entire

journey. Ethically I made sure myself and my whānau members were well informed on a regular basis, that all versions were checked and rechecked with them and that even after the kōrero ingoa had been ‘built’ that they were informed of any presentations I did using their material, always asking their permission to use in new contexts.

As a whānau, we already had strong bonds amongst us, and so other ethical considerations were mainly in alignment with maintaining those relationships, my own personal well-being and that of my whānau – holistically. At times this required, driving participants to the hospital to visit loved ones, my whānau members feeding me, the exchange of koha, karanga, karakia, cleansing with water, writing at night, regular emails, phone calls, and messages. Ethically, I maintained the seven main Kaupapa Māori research practices outlined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 120) as being:

1. *Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)*
2. *Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)*
3. *Titiro, whakarongo... korero (look, listen... speak)*
4. *Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)*
5. *Kia tupato (be cautious)*
6. *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)*
7. *Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge).*

These practices were especially integral considering the collaborative aspect of this research. Research that seeks to regenerate and reclaim our knowledges often highlights the importance of mahi tahi (collaboration). Smith (2015) has made this particular point in a presentation on ‘Decolonising the Research Process’. By bringing together three specialists; a navigator, an astronomer and a weaver to help piece together how a rare sail once worked, our knowledge was able to be reclaimed. This was a reconstructing of our knowledge that would not have occurred if only one of those specialists had of looked at it alone. In the building of the kōrero ingoa amongst and with whānau participants, the importance of mahi tahi was further outlined.

As well as enabling a level of collaboration, a whānau approach provides the opportunity to engage with ingoa tangata on a smaller and, therefore, more personal and intimate level. As I am firmly embedded alongside each of the whānau members as their kin, the research is quite personal in nature. This is not only intimate for the reader, but also for both my whānau participants and I. For this reason, I assert, that every whānau participant is also a storyteller in this research. This level of ‘personal’ may seem overly subjective, however, for Indigenous research, it is, I argue, the norm. Patricia Monture-Angus (1998) argues the ‘personal’ as a “*double understanding*” (p. 10) – that we must both think and feel to truly gain knowledge. I have named the collaborative process I undertook with whānau participants as ‘story building’. In alignment with a participant driven approach, the research practices observed whilst building their stories are varied.

Initially, I sought to meet kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) with participants and kōrero about their naming stories. At this point, the only requests from me were that they tell me the story of how they were named or how they named their tamariki. For the wāhine who held kuia or pahake roles in our whānau, a kanohi ki te kanohi process was preferred as the starting point for the ‘story building’. Whakawhanaungatanga as an approach enabled me to be driven by the participants preferred process when possible. In the case of Kui Whero o te Rangi, Kui Maata and Whaene Mairi, this involved sitting down to talk and allowing the stories to flow. Kui Maata agreed to be recorded, Whaene Mairi preferred I take notes, and Kui Whero and I ended up having a wānanga between the two of us. Our kōrero was sometimes about this research, but most of the time was not and later led to her sending me a book full of kōrero ingoa written by her hand (see Chapter Six for reflections on my time spent with each participant).

For my cousins (some of whom are actually my aunties and uncles), after some discussions around phone calls and face to face kōrero, most of them opted to write their own kōrero ingoa for each of their tamariki. For one other whānau participant we spoke on the phone, I took notes, and then mailed them to her and her partner for review. I then phoned her again to check her revisions. Her and her partner then asked me to collaborate with them on the building of their stories in small ways such as with editing and grammar before signing off the final versions.

Enabling whānau participants to lead the way and just tell their story was integral to the process of story building. Only prompting them when more information was needed on why or how they did something, they talked about in their kōrero ingoa. I usually enjoyed previous knowledge, to a certain extent, of their names which I sometimes chose to use in order to engage further with them, and the ‘why’ behind their name selection. The ethic of time as relayed by Moana Jackson (2013) is of ethical consideration here too as with such an intensive, personal and participant driven approach came more time needed from me to contribute to both the research and to our relationships as whānau. The ethic of time demands that one goes by the timing of a busy 74-year-old kuia and not by your predetermined research timeline. The ethic of time demands just that - for you to take time. To get it right, to get informed consent, and to find and ask the right and moral questions for example.

I began the story building process with my Kui and by the end of it, my research plan had been rewritten. After our kanohi ki te kanohi sharing of stories about the names of her children, Kui requested that I go and speak to her children about how their children were named. Partly this was to make sure there was a whole family approach (her family) to the recording of this kaupapa, which my Kui was very interested in having happen. However, it was also about the fact that naming is not just the domain of parents; in fact, it is something that often the parents do not do in Māori society. Rather, it can be a grandmother, grandfather, whaene or cousin who ends up naming a baby. As a mokopuna engaging in research with my own whānau, it was important for me to be open to ‘tono’ or requests from elders such as this one; recognising their knowledge, wisdom, and that my project was not necessarily the collective priority. The research needed to both maintain our whanaungatanga and provide for my elder to exercise her right to hold a position of mana in our whānau. I needed to make space for her to embody her role as a kuia and, in doing so, I felt that she, in turn, took more of an active role in the wider research project and unofficially became the kuia of this study.

Mana wahine

It is at this point that I need to bring in the influential lens of mana wahine as another integral aspect of whānau research for this thesis. In her PhD thesis, Dr Leonie Pihama (2002) unfurls the power of mana wahine theory and asserts its importance

to Kaupapa Māori research by claiming Mana wahine as “*an assertion of our intrinsic mana as descendants of our tūpuna, as holders and maintainers of whakapapa*” (p. 237). The power of wahine as maintainers of whakapapa is undeniable in this research. Of all the whānau participants involved in this research, women were the key storytellers; despite several men being involved, they did not take the lead in the story telling even when an open opportunity was given. It is therefore important to note the role that women have played as the main voice in the kōrero ingoa shared in this thesis and to understand that this was not accidental.

Wāhine Māori have long held positions of mana as ‘repositories of knowledge’. Mikaere (2011a) also argues that our wahine are invaluable to the larger project of strengthening whānau, hapū and iwi identity but also, I argue, to the regeneration of Māori naming practices. The role of women as repositories and as key transmitters of knowledge to the next generation are further explained and asserted by a Taranaki elder, Huirangi Waikerepuru (as cited in Hond, 2008) in the following quote:

“Engari, ko te tangata, kāore i taea e ia te kōrero, nō te mea i tōna putanga mai i te whare tangata ki tēnei ao, he ngangā noa iho tāna mahi, koirā kua whāngai atu te komata ūkaipō, e ngata ai te hiahia o te tamaiti, e mutu ai hoki te ngangā mai o te waha, e timata ai te whaene ki te whakaako i te tamaiti, ki te kupu kōrero. Kā tika rā te whāngai kupu kōrero a te kaiwhāngai i te tamaiti, ka tika hoki te kōrero a te tamaiti a tōna rā. Kā [sic] riro anō mā te tangata e whakaako te kupu kōrero ki te tamaiti. Ko te whāene te kupu, mā te whāene te kupu.” (no page number)

Despite this knowledge, the denial of wāhine and of our mana has been a longstanding product of our assimilation. This research ‘talks back’ to male dominated research and to the notions of heteropatriarchy³⁹ and of hegemony⁴⁰ that have infiltrated our pūrākau, our practices and our worldview in contemporary times. Mātauranga wahine or Māori women’s knowledge has been crushed under the weight of misogynist, chauvinist and ego driven research (Irwin, 1992; L. T. Smith, 1992). Therefore engaging in a Mana Wahine analysis of the pūrākau texts

³⁹ Hetero-patriarchy is a term used to here to reflect the assumption that patriarchy and heterosexuality are the 'natural' or 'normal' state of being. It orders the world in ways that join heterosexuality, maleness and power and denies other ways of being in the world.

⁴⁰ Hegemony is used here to refer to one group or set of ideas having dominance and power over another by making their ideas and practices the norm to which all others become measured against. In this sense, hegemony is used to refer to the dominance of Western ideologies and practices that continue to marginalise and invisibilise mātauranga Maori.

sourced in Chapter One was particularly important as indeed it was throughout the research. The pure impossibility of obtaining primary records of our cosmogonies as written or told by women in the 1800s was a crucial indicator as to the denial of women by colonial ethnographers and other ‘collectors’.

Everything in the Māori worldview has both a female and a male element, from human, to plant, to soil, to sky. However, this philosophy and way of living must now be shifted back to its prior central position after being shunted to the margins of colonial research. Utilising mana wahine as part of my research approach demanded that diverse range of experiences shared by wahine who gifted their kōrero ingoa in this research must be validated and celebrated as Ani Mikaere (2003b) argues:

The life experiences of a woman who has grown up away from the marae, with neither language nor strong whānau connections are just as much a part of what it now means to be Māori as those of the woman who has grown up in a rural, marae-centred Māori community, is fluent in the language and secure in her iwi identity. All Māori women are involved in the struggle, some consciously, others without even realising it; whether rural or urban, whether fluent or not, whether they choose to bear children or not, whether lesbian or heterosexual, whether proud or ashamed of being Māori. Ultimately, we are all connected by whakapapa, to one another and to our Māoriness. To question the authenticity of one another’s Māori womanhood, as though there is a standard definition to which all “real Māori women” must conform, is to deny the complexities of colonization. (pp. 141-142)

Takoha mai, takoha atu. Research as reciprocity

Personal Narrative

Many Māori have grown up with tangi being the foremost catalyst for whānau gatherings. Our whānau was no different when I was a young child. Some of the many memories I have of being with my Nanny over the years are of us at tangihanga. At one, in particular, she decided to turn it into a learning moment for me, and after our kapu tī, while we were standing around outside catching up with cousins and aunties, my Nanny pushed some money into my hand and said “here, you go give this to that man, to uncle Milton”, pointing in his general direction. We were at the tangi of his father, and he had come outside for a quick smoke before the next ope were welcomed.

I immediately shrank back and tried to duck back behind my nanny. She caught me and said 'take that money to him, you just hide it in your hand like this, and you walk over there and tell him who you are. He will want to hongī, and while you do that, you slip it into his hand'. I knew better than to argue with my Nanny and so I did. I'll never forget the way his grip tightened, and his voice quivered as he greeted me after I clumsily told him who I was and slipped the money into his hand. That was the first time I ever gave koha on behalf of my whānau. I even remember later on catching him out the back talking with another uncle and writing down the names of those who gave koha.

After my Nanny passed away, koha was one of the things my mum maintained. She attended tangi all over the place to reciprocate the koha those whānau had given us when our Nanny died. She knew all the names, all the whānau and never forgot, even when she and Dad moved to Australia she would ask one of us girls to go for her, and she would deposit the koha into our accounts to make sure it was given. In addition, if we could not attend she would make sure to visit that whānau when she came home.

It was the aforementioned process of takoha (gift giving and receiving), of reciprocity and of balance that has influenced the approach I have taken to the whole of my thesis, particularly in the story building stage but it has fundamentally also influenced the dissemination of my research. I draw on the tikanga of 'takoha' to explore how we as researchers can both seek the gift of knowledge and give the gift of knowledge in the research process. In this study, it became important for me to conduct research with my whānau in a way that honoured their kōrero ingoa as takoha and therefore to also handle those gifts in an ethical manner. Practices that maintain and enhance whanaungatanga, such as koha, are not new to us as Māori. Nor is the act of giving takoha new to the research process here in Aotearoa (O'Carroll, 2013). Rather, I contend that affirming whakawhanaungatanga through the act of takoha challenges dominant hegemonic theories and methods and purposefully disrupts the ongoing project of colonisation.

As a researcher who chose to research the names within my own whānau, I purposefully chose a pathway that I hoped would contribute to the strengthening of our ties through further and sustained interactions. I also chose to carry a great responsibility to further entangle myself in those glorious webs of kinship. I knew and wanted the research to provide my whānau with the opportunity to share their stories and have them recorded. Not solely for the purpose of contributing to the

literature in the academy around this subject but also to expand our own understanding of each other as a whānau; to transform *ourselves*. Even if it was only to celebrate our passion for our names, or if it only served to remind us of the beauty of our names. As my great-grandmother has said, “*me utu te kino ki te pai, nā, [ko] te rangimārie te mea nui.*” (McDonald, 1985)

There are many tikanga and kawa that Māori may use in the pursuit of knowledge. However, takoha is an essential step in the pursuit of knowledge, for Māori, as reciprocity is the ever-flowing equilibrium in our lives. Our expression of reciprocity is often tribally and family oriented, with each community having their own unique way of doing it. Koha, in particular, varies from area to area and for us in Taranaki it is a furtive affair (Bishop, 1998).

One of the key aims of my research approach was to assist in the transmission of our kōrero ingoa from generation to generation. There are of course many ways in which this can occur. Ultimately, I decided to create a tangible record of the stories for whānau in the form of a book. Each whānau participant were gifted a copy as a form of takoha as a way of giving back. This was a personalised exchange based on our way of takoha, which was done privately. In some cases whānau participants personally checked their kōrero ingoa before the books were printed, others gave photos to be included, and for others who could not be as personally involved – the books were a surprise gift made by me.

One of the ways in which colonisation still flourishes amongst us and gently erodes away our knowledges is through the written language. Contrarily, however, it is also through the written language we might seek to heal and rebuild. Those stories which are no longer shared due to distance, disconnection, the prominence of keeping the home fires burning, the preoccupation with regaining our tikanga, our reo, our ihi, wehi, wana and our mana. The writing down and consequent sharing of the information among families can be a decolonial tool useful in a kaupapa Māori context.

Figure 2: Kōrero Ingoa books for whānau participants



In the end, whānau participants received a copy of the book their stories were held in, and the stories were given as whole pieces of text as much as was possible. Where the participants provided their own written stories, I kept as close as possible to the original when using those texts. Only inserting commas, apostrophes, full stops for ease of reading. I also removed most sounds such as mmm, ahhh, and ummm - where the conversation

was recorded. Although I wanted the kōrero ingoa to still sound as though the whānau participant was speaking from the page, I also needed it to be clear and easy to read for the examiners and my target readership.

For the kōrero ingoa given in te reo Māori by Kui Whero o te Rangi, I found it beyond my scope as a researcher and as a great-grand niece to make grammatical changes or to insert macrons for example into her texts. Kui Whero o te Rangi is a native speaker and as such her reo is mainly from how her ear has heard it and her tongue and teeth have said it. Therefore, macrons are not the main concern for this research and her reo is a stunning example of Taranaki dialect and, therefore, should stay as authentic to how she wrote it as possible.

Thematic analysis

The route to Maoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach...Maoritanga is a thing of the heart rather than the head...analysis is necessary only to make explicit what the Maori understands implicitly in his daily living, feeling, acting and deciding...from within the culture....For what is Maoritanga? Briefly, it is the...view that Maori hold about ultimate reality and meaning. (Marsden, 1992, p. 17)

It was with a passionate and subjective approach that I grouped the kōrero ingoa of whānau participants into themes. Originally, I had wished to represent each whānau participant as a storyteller in this research by producing each kōrero ingoa as a complete whole (Lee, 2008). This proved too difficult within the space of this thesis due to the amount of kōrero I was working with. Nevertheless, similarly to Naomi Simmonds (2014), a Ngāti Huri geographer and researcher who wrote her doctoral thesis on Māori birthing, I have sought to uphold the mana of the whānau participant, the kōrero ingoa, and whole whānau in my analysis and representation of their voices, experiences, knowledge and story.

The books ended up being an invaluable step in the research journey as several whānau participants edited parts of their kōrero ingoa upon seeing them in print. Consequently, I ended up making a second version of the books, which every whānau participant received a copy of, and which other whānau members not directly involved could purchase to keep. Feedback from whānau at this stage of the process was overwhelmingly positive with many sharing their books with whānau and friends alike and with others leaving them out in public areas of their homes for visitors to view and read as well. For the 6th generation of the research who was also the final participant, the dissemination of kōrero ingoa into these books directly led to the naming of her baby Te Raukaerea, and I leave her words to close this chapter as follows:

Well, me and Lenard didn't have a name for a long time, and everyone said it will come to us eventually. And one day, it was actually my due date for baby, and I found one of your books. I didn't realise that you had another book with the older generation in it. I always knew from the start of my pregnancy that his name was going to have something to do with Koro Te Ru and none of them felt like "the one". While I was reading through the book, I had a read, and right at the end, I seen the name Te Raukaerea (didn't realise that it was Koro's name) and that was it - it felt right. And so, I asked my whānau if it would be ok for him to hold that name and everyone was all-good with it. And when he was born he couldn't be more like my Koro, although not blood related, I know Koro is always with him - and that's pretty much how we got his name.

Whitirangihau

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the importance of Pūrākau method to the hearing, building, and sharing of whānau stories about their ingoa. In the creation of these kōrero ingoa, the concept of ako was enabled and enacted in both the process and in the final stories presented in this thesis. This exploration of pūrākau and therefore of ako has highlighted the pedagogical potency of kōrero ingoa for whānau and for the research. The transformational potential of 'kōrero ingoa' as natural agents of ako to reach the reader on an emotional and spiritual level has also been revealed through the work of this chapter. Finally, the importance of a pūrākau method in contributing to the wealth and health of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge; in this case, of whānau based knowledge has been explored.

Chapter Five

Te kahu o te Kuini

MUM, WHY DIDN'T YOU GIVE ME A MĀORI NAME?

Personal Narrative

Me: “Kia ora, my son has an appointment for 2:30 and I can't remember who it's with -
sorry!”

Medical Receptionist: “Let me just look it up. What's the last name?”

Me: “Wilson.”

Medical Receptionist: “Right, and first name?”

Me: “Te Kiwai o te Kete.”

Medical Receptionist: “Sorry... the first name?”

Me: “Yes. Te-Kiwai-o-te-Kete”

Medical Receptionist: “Can I have the date of birth please?”

Introduction: They came, they saw, they named, they claimed⁴¹

After hearing, reading and critically analysing the kōrero ingoa of whānau participants (see Chapter 6) it became apparent that the attempted erasure of our ingoa, as part of the colonial project, was a story that needed to be told to fill in some hidden or forgotten gaps in our knowledge. Importantly, in researching and telling this story the answer to this chapter's title ‘*Mum, why didn't you give me a Māori name?*’ becomes strikingly clear. In the kōrero ingoa (see Chapter 6), themes of resistance, reclamation and resurgence are revealed. However, there were also silences, things unsaid or unknown. These ‘forgotten’ stories of colonial oppression, violence and denial are integral to understanding the cultural hegemony that has become internalised amongst our people and manifested in the denial of ingoa tangata. The Māori title of this chapter ‘te kahu o te Kuini’ (the cloak of the Queen) is understood in my community to denote colonialism. I argue here that being able

⁴¹ This title is also a key title in Smith (1999).

to understand how the Queen's cloak was made is key to unpicking, unravelling its stitching, and creating our own decolonised pathway.

Many before have told a story of colonisation and done it well. Therefore, it is not my intention to rehash a generalised story of colonialism. Rather, I seek to tell the story of those impacts and therefore ensure that the attempted erasure of our *ingoa tangata* is intentionally (re)woven into the *kahu* of Aotearoa's history, never to be denied again. In this chapter, I seek to reveal and critique the power dynamics associated with our renaming and thereby discuss the politics of naming (Alia, 2007). Tymponomic colonialism, a term used when referring to the renaming of Indigenous *whenua* with colonial names, unveils a violent attempt to mark our physical spaces and bodies but also to erase our intellectual, emotional and spiritual bodies of knowledges (Helander, 2011). Thus, I argue that much more was stolen and erased in the renaming of our *whenua* and of our *whanaunga* than just our names.

These politics of naming are examined across three key spaces within the context of Aotearoa, namely, Education, Law and Religion. I specifically examine how each institution and its associated ideologies have sought to deny our rights and suppress our agency to gift and carry *ingoa tangata*. Several colonial mechanisms and ideologies, such as, baptism, schooling, and marriage will be critically analysed to highlight the context and history, a history that has led to the denial and denigration of our *ingoa tangata*. Unravelling ideologies of colonialism such as race and gender is pivotal in understanding how colonisation has 'marked' our bodies in foreign ways with new names, and remade our identities. The institution of religion introduced baptisms and christenings,⁴² which enforced a uniquely British and, therefore, patronymic nomenclature of surnames. A phenomenon foreign to our people in pre-colonial times.

Our colonisation is the product of a much larger goal of imperialism. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) defines imperialism as a form of economic expansion, the subjugation of others, as an idea or spirit with varied manifestations and a discursive field of knowledge. It is in the name of those four tenets of imperialism that colonisation

⁴² Contemporarily, baptism and christening are used interchangeably; however, the author acknowledges that there are differences of origin and of meaning historically.

has been so successful throughout the world. It is the aforementioned drive to dominate and conquer the world in the name of her majesty the Queen that sent James Cook, Abel Tasman and fellow explorers here to Aotearoa on a journey to discover, claim and possess that which had already been discovered, claimed and named by Māori (Moreton-Robinson, 2005).

These explorers used naming as a mechanism to claim our whenua and erase our position as tangata whenua. Therefore, an examination of the colonisation of our ingoa tangata cannot occur without also investigating the renaming of our whenua and of our whanaunga who dwell upon it.⁴³ The renaming of our whakapapa disrupted our whole system of classifying the world. Our ingoa for the land and for our whanaunga inscribed and prescribed our whakapapa relationships with them, and theirs with us. Our whakapapa as an epistemology illustrates a Māori way of seeing and being in the world. As Lyn Carter (2005) explains:

Whakapapa, in its most basic sense, refers to genealogies—lists of names that show an order of descent from an eponymous ancestor. Everything has a whakapapa: every person, tree, stone, mountain, fish, plant, the Earth and the stars—absolutely everything that makes up the human, spiritual and natural worlds. The whakapapa, or the lists of names that connect relationships, opens the way to understanding the Māori world view. (p. 8)

In this chapter, I claim as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has previously, that colonisation is and will always be ongoing and therefore decolonisation will always be a matter of consideration for Māori. Moana Jackson (1998) discusses colonisation as a suspension of disbelief where those from whom power is to be taken are forced to suspend their spirituality, knowledge and even self-belief. He asserts that contemporary colonisation is about representation, or where images from mass culture, informs us of what should be important in our lives. This can be argued as a form of symbolic violence. Pierre Bourdieu (1991) called official naming “*a symbolic act of imposition [that makes] the state the holder of the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence*” (p. 239).

The controllers of those images and therefore, of knowledge and research are the descendants of our first colonisers. This chapter illuminates these image controllers

⁴³ Here, I am referring to our genealogical relations who also live on the land – the flora and fauna of this country.

and some of their tools for image making. In traversing the colonisation of our ingoa, I join other Kaupapa Māori researchers such as Naomi Simmonds (2014), Kirsten Aroha Gabel (2013) and Ngāhuia Murphy (2013) in contributing to a growing body of work that looks at the internalisation of colonisation. For our ingoa, this involves a critical analysis of the colonisation of te tangata (the person), encompassing not only our bodies but our whakapapa, mana, tapu, and wairua. Our internal realities have been disordered, reconfigured and disrupted by the hegemony of the coloniser (Murphy, 2013). Our wairua ways of hearing and believing, our intellectual ways of feeling with the puku, of seeing the world from our unique position have become dismembered. Thus, the use of our ingoa to reconnect, anchor and mark our children with all the glory of our culture and of our tūpuna has been undeniably shifted by colonisation.

Interfering with our whakapapa

The names of people and place provide evidence of the deeply personal, whakapapa based, and lived relationship our people have with ngā atua, and with our whanaunga in te taiao and they with us (Oliveira, 2009). These names also serve as evidence when claiming interests in land. All features of our whenua were named and the ability to recite those names to outline boundaries, the location of food gathering sites, of great battles, of urupā (cemeteries), together with the ability to narrate the stories of those who fought, gathered, and cared for those spaces is a highly valued and sought after skill in our communities (Sinclair, 1977). This knowledge coupled with the whakapapa of founding tribal members to our ancestors in te taiao such as mouna and awa was passed from one generation to the next.

Ani Mikaere (2010), in particular, discusses the colonial construct of hierarchy, whereby human beings supposedly hold a superior status compared with the natural world, whilst Mereana Pitman (2012) reminds us that whakapapa is an integral part of Māori philosophy, providing for us, an explanation of our interdependence and role as one species amongst many in the natural world. Thereby, as she argues, the dualism of dominance and subservience is not one, which aligns with a Māori worldview (Mikaere, 2012). This same philosophy is readily and often reflected in our ingoa (Oliveira, 2009). The knowledge of whakapapa through place names and

people's names provides the necessary evidence to prove a right of occupation to land. Names are symbols of a deeply personal relationship with ngā atua, and with our taiao. We named all that we had a whakapapa to and a relationship with in the world. As Douglas (Sinclair, 1977) once noted: "*The great number of Māori place names that have survived commemorate a mass of long-remembered history, mythology and imagery that illustrates the close relationship maintained with the land*" (p. 87).

The great effort with which our colonisers recorded all matter of 'flora and fauna', as they termed it, is considerable. In the name of imperialism, they kept inventories of our whanaunga for commercialisation and trade. However, excluding the odd ethnographer, there was a considerable lack of interest in personal names as worthy of study. It is striking that despite the voracious appetite of our early ethnographers for our language, our law, and our customs, there is but a few (Tregear, 1904; Williams, 1929) who have studied or shown any interest in the study of Māori naming protocols and knowledges. The questions I have come to ask are: was there an assumption that we would eventually assimilate and thereby take up their names? Had they built a wealth of wisdom from previous experiences of colonisation that made them so very secure in their prediction that we would eventually die or assimilate and therefore no longer use our traditional names? And, did part of that wisdom come from observing the Churches, Courts and Classrooms successfully erase and replace Indigenous names in other colonised countries?

The following statement highlights the pernicious intent of the colonial project and the absolute faith that explorers, ethnologists, and colonists had in the power of colonisation and its subsidiary, assimilation - to erase us. Whilst the ship *Astrolabe* was docked in Whangārei in 1827, a waka taua (war canoe) approached them and a tupuna named Rangituke, the son of Te Koki, a rangatira of Paihia, boarded the ship. Whilst on board Captain Damon D'Urville (1909) asked him to provide the names of the places on the shore and the following excerpt is taken from his recordings of that exchange:⁴⁴

At my request he gave me, with intelligence and complaisance, the names, in the language of the country, of the adjacent lands and islands, which I

⁴⁴ His observations were translated from French into English by Percy Smith and then read in front of the Auckland Institute in 1909.

have, as usual, substituted for those of Cook. On these coasts, occupied by a people endowed with so much sagacity, and who have not left an islet, a rock, or a corner of the land without a name, it seems odd to a navigator to see none but English names, often applied without taste. It is much more interesting to use the Native names, which are certain to be understood by them, and to be able to indicate thereby the places to which he desires to direct his ship. Without doubt it is a sacred duty on the part of the navigator to respect the names given by the first discoverer of uninhabited places; but, everywhere else, I think that those of the indigenous people should prevail so soon as they are known. A time will come when these names will be the only vestiges of the language spoken by the primitive inhabitants. (p. 416)

Although D'Urville was French and ultimately not a citizen of the country to eventually colonise Aotearoa, his observations are indicative of the successful experiences both the French and the British have had with colonisation. D'Urville does refer to Cook and actually takes the names as given by Rangituke and replaces them with the names Captain James Cook had given during an earlier circumnavigation of Aotearoa. The project of colonisation had been well and truly declared a triumphant victory throughout the world by the time explorers finally sailed into our waters, and therefore, they were secure of their undoubted colonial success here too. Their tools of colonisation were well oiled and sharpened by the time they arrived here. Tools such as assimilation, enculturation, acculturation, oppression, military force, law, patriarchy, and of course, *renaming*. Therefore, Captain D'Urville knew with a degree of certainty that his prediction could come to fruition.

In 1770, Captain James Cook, another explorer of this time, renamed Taranaki mouna and proclaimed its name to be Mt Egmont. In one stroke of his colonial pen, he attempted to erase hundreds of years of our people's history permanently and, therefore, our distinct ways of locating and defining ourselves through whakapapa to our ancestral mountain. Since then, his successors, our colonisers, have continued his project of toponymic colonialism and perpetuated his claim to Taranaki with the use of the name Egmont. Ngūgī wa Thiong'o, a renowned novelist and theorist writes about this and claims that "*The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe*" (Ngūgī wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 4). In the renaming of Taranaki mouna and the persistence of our colonisers to privilege this name over ours, our identity

as Taranaki people was marginalised and erased from not only the landscape but from our own lips and identity.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1996) argues that the renaming of our world has never stopped, in fact, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, it just intensified. As more and more Pākehā settled here, and regions, towns and streets were developed, so too did their discourses of hegemony through the naming of places after parts of the British Empire. Places that we eventually came to occupy in the context of the assimilative policies of the Crown throughout the 1920s through to the 40s to drive us out of our traditional homes and into urban areas.

Linda Tuhiwai also points to Paulo Freire and claims that he likens naming the world with claiming the world and therefore to claiming what is the legitimate way of viewing the world, specifically, the colonial perspective. Dr Giselle Byrnes, a New Zealand historian, argues a similar perspective and discusses what she terms the cultural colonisation of Tauranga, a city on the east coast of Te Ika a Maui, Aotearoa. She indicates that in the naming of many of the street names of Tauranga there was an overt celebration and commemoration of colonisation and original settlers who established Tauranga's colonial settlement (Byrnes, 2002). This was an intentional invisibilisation and marginalisation of the Tauranga iwi and their whakapapa and relationship to the land. In an earlier publication, she states more broadly that, "...names inscribed on the land by the early surveyors were deliberate and provocative statements of power: they were assertions of presence and signifiers of occupation" (Byrnes, 2001, p. 80). This chapter argues this and asks the question - Can the same be said about the renaming of people?

The erasure of our ingoa from the whenua was and continues to be a direct attack on our ancestors, our stories and our rights to our land (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Kaisa Rautio Helander (2011) argues that the renaming of place names with colonial names is a deliberate act of colonial representation. She argues that representations reflect reality but also create 'reality' and thereby express and name the social and political aims of a particular culture for example. As she explains:

Historically, it is mostly western, eurocentric representations that have governed and influenced the perception of the world. The question is namely, on whose terms, from whose perspective and or whose benefit

representation is shaped and, furthermore, what kind of relationship is there between power structures and representations. (p. 328)

The renaming of our whenua is arguably one of the first acts of violence perpetrated against us, and, therefore, the oldest form of colonial violence and oppression still being experienced contemporarily. In 2016, the Otaraua hapū of Te Ātiawa iwi were being denied and invisibilised by local council throughout the resource consent process and its relevant meetings (Coster & Lee, 2016). In a context where Māori councillors and planners are sparse, it is relatively easy for hegemonic council members and road naming policies to deny or completely invisibilise the need for better representation of Taranaki iwi and hapū on street names. Several comments made indicated that councillors did not want to hear that better hapū, iwi, and whānau representation is needed, and this kind of willful ignorance is unwilling to be accepted by our people; in the current post-settlement climate where past colonial atrocities have been acknowledged and apologised for. We do not accept any form of colonial violence being perpetrated against us. Rawiri Doorbar explains in the following quote that this kind of symbolic violence has gone on too long and continues to affect our people, particularly the identity of our taiohi:

It's a lot bigger deal than just the names. We have really no cultural identity left on our streets, no cultural identity for our younger kids who are growing up and coming through to be able to look up to those streets and identify with them... We would like to see that somehow we mean something wider to the community. (as cited in Coster & Lee, 2016, p. line 87)

The violence of colonial over representation lies in its complete denial of our status as human beings who legally inhabited our land prior to the arrival of our colonisers who assumed the land to be theirs, even before they had disembarked from their ships.

The first ever renaming or erasure of Māori names with English names from a Māori perspective did not actually occur over just 'land'. Well, at least, its not that simple. Firstly the question must be posed, what is land? And the answer will differ from culture to culture, peoples to peoples and even across the same cultures and peoples. For Māori, and our diverse collective groupings, we can look at it in several different ways. If we look to our pūrākau or our ancestral teachings, we find that our ancestors were supernatural beings who accomplished amazing feats and taught

us the how's and why's of the universe as well as the origins of our world. These pūrākau are unique and specific to our hapū, iwi, and whānau and therefore, no two are completely the same; steeped with the richness of our diversity.

Our ancestors are made up of the world around us. They are the earth, the sky, the rocks, even the air we breathe. In a creation pūrākau that is told by many iwi, our ancient tūpuna, Rangī and Papa, are essential to our explanation of our cosmology, and their kōrero speaks to the relationship between our land, our sky and their tamariki, our atua. A celebrated Indigenous writer Thomas King has persistently written and spoken about the importance and power of Indigenous story. He highlights the particular importance of cosmological accounts as follows:

So you have to be careful with the stories you tell. And you have to watch out for the stories that you are told. But if I ever get to Pluto, that's how I would like to begin. With a story. Maybe I'd tell the inhabitants of Pluto one of the stories I know. Maybe they'd tell me one of theirs. It wouldn't matter who went first. But which story? That's the real question. Personally, I'd like to hear a creation story. A story that recounts how the world was formed, how things came to be. For contained within creation stories are the relationships which help to define the nature of the universe and how cultures understand the world in which they exist. (King, 2003, p. 10)

As has already been explained in Chapters 2 and 3, pūrākau, kōrero whakapapa, waiata, whakataukī and other texts have been privileged in this thesis which seeks to give voice to our epistemologies, our histories and our people in general, voices which generally have and continue to be marginalised.

First contact: Renaming our kuia

It is no coincidence that the word 'whenua' is both the word for land and for the placenta. Both provide the basis of all human existence, one in te whare tangata and the other in te aotūroa. As Rose Pere (1994) explains:

The "whenua" (placenta) is the lining of the womb during pregnancy, by which the foetus is nourished, and is expelled with the foetus and the umbilical cord following birth. Whenua is also the term used for land, the body of Papatūānuku, the provider of nourishment and sustenance to humanity. (p. 19)

Our whenua is Papatūānuku, and she is our kuia. According to our pāhake, she created the first whenua within her whare tangata to sustain her tamariki deep within

the earth. In her womb, she has, therefore, sustained many whenua to support her many babies. She and her partner Ranginui lie completely entangled in one another's love and bodies. As Ranginui and Papatūānuku begun to have babies, their tamariki were forced to live in the tiny spaces where their parent's bodies could not completely touch. The kōrero goes that in order for their tamariki to gain light and claim space to grow they decided to push their parents apart. This decision, although a collective one in its process, was not a unanimous one. One of the siblings, Tāwhirimātea became so angry with the other siblings that he went to live with his father in the sky. In doing so, Tāwhirimātea became our atua for the weather, and from the sky, he screams and howls his perpetual anguish at his siblings. It is he who whips and lashes at Hinemoana out at sea, and it is he who bowls over the children of Tāne within the forest and rips them from the warmth of their kuia, the earth.

Papatūānuku is also a part of another cosmological narrative that explains the origination of the human race according to our tūpuna. Kirsten Aroha Gabel (2013) provides us with an insightful summary of this story as follows:

Tane, one of Papa and Rangi's sons, embarked on a quest to create humankind. Within this he sought the advice of his father, who in turn advised him to return to his mother. Tane then sought advice from his mother, who sent him in various directions to seek the uha, the female element. As his journey progressed Tane created many other species in nature, but the human female element eluded him. Each time Tane would return to his mother who would send him to another part of her body to search for the uha. Finally, after Tane had created a number of species across the world, Papatūānuku sent him to Kurawaka, her genital area, with the advice to mould a human form from the red ochre earth that existed there. Upon Tane forming the female figure and breathing life into her, Hineahuone (Earth maiden) was born with the sneeze of life – Tihei mauriora! (p. 60)

From the first sexual encounter of Tāne with Hineahuone, which produced their daughter Hine titama (or Hineari in the Tainui version), who was born into the world as the first human being. Thus procured the very names that we use for man and woman in te reo Māori. Tāne being the plural of tane became the te reo Māori word for men and wāhine (derived from Hineahuone) became the word for women (Mikaere, 1995). The first human being to be born to this couple was named Hine titama, and she was a woman descended from both whenua and from atua. It is

from her that humankind originates, and it is with her that Māori women, in particular, find affinity with. It is in this pūrākau that we come to understand and are continually reminded through intergenerational pūrākau telling, of the genealogical and compelling bond we have with our whenua and our atua.

Several Māori academics such as Mikaere (2003), Simmonds (2014) and Gabel (2013) have contributed some rigorous and in-depth analysis of our pūrākau in terms of the influences of colonisation on their interpretations and translations into English by ethnographers who brought with them a set of certain ideologies and values around race, religion and gender in particular. Thus, our pūrākau were rewritten within a heteropatriarchal framework whereby only heterosexual relationships were privileged, our men positioned as superior and subsequently our women as inferior and in many cases, invisible. Their work to rename our ideologies and claim ownership of our philosophies through colonial literature is the very same work we are still unravelling and decolonising with the use of Mana Wahine theory for example.

In another of our commonly known and told pūrākau, the creation of our whenua, of Aotearoa, is recounted. In this kōrero, the land is not reduced to being acreage, neither is it described as being made up of the earth's surface or ground, or any of the other ways in which land is so often defined in hegemonic discourses. Rather, it is, according to our pūrākau; alive, writhing, gasping and fighting. It is... an *ika* (fish). It is within that framework and with that understanding about where our place is in nature that we operate. Our *ika* is perpetually fighting to live, even today when some shifting of the earth or seismic activity occurs, we are known to say, '*kei te oreore tonu te ika.*'⁴⁵

This *ika* was hauled up by one of our eponymous tupuna, Māui, whose stories teach of moral and immoral conduct, of values and of tikanga that Māori see as being integral to the well-being of our people (Pihama, 2012). In fact, in the pūrākau handed from generation to generation, it was Māui who knew he needed to conduct the correct karakia and ceremony over this amazing *ika* he had just caught and so

⁴⁵ "The fish is still quivering." Note: I have often heard this phrase used by Dr. Tom Roa over the many years I have spent as his student at Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, The University of Waikato.

he asked his brothers not to touch the fish until he returned with the appropriate tohunga (expert). While he was gone, his older brothers, having never listened to their younger brother before, as many older brothers do not, decided to cut up the fish and divide it amongst them. However, as they had not performed the appropriate ceremonies the fish was still alive when they began to chop and, as a result, it writhed in agony, causing mountains, hills and valleys to form. Our mounnga are integral to Māori models and understandings of identity and I tautoko (support) Sidney Moko Mead (1984) who asserts the importance of our mounnga and our ingoa whenua as anchors of belonging, he says:

A mountain is part of the landscape, it is a reference point. Thus, Hikurangi, Tongariro, Ruapehu, Taranaki, Ngongotaha, Putauaki, and Taupiri have special significance to the members of the tribes for whom these names are recognizable symbols of their people. Together with other named features of the land – rivers, lakes, blocks of land, promontories, holes in the ground, fishing grounds, trees, burial places, and islands – they form a cultural grid over the land which provides meaning, order, and stability to human existence. Without the fixed grid of named features we would be total strangers on the land – lost souls with nowhere to attach ourselves. (p. 20)

One of those mounnga is my tupuna, Taranaki. This mounnga has had many names, and many pūrākau told about him. Initially, he stood in the centre of Te Ika a Māui (The North Island) and wore the names Pukeonaki and Pukehaupapa. The pūrākau pertaining to this tūpuna are many, but the one I would like to highlight is that of him being given the name 'Taranaki.' Koro Te Miringa Hohaia describes the process undertaken to proclaim the name of Taranaki upon our mounnga as follows:

Rua Taranaki went up the Hangaataahua River and lived there in a cave he made. When Rua Taranaki was ready, Maruwhakaterere recited the ancient verse while Tahurangi listened. Tahurangi then climbed to the peak and lit a ceremonial fire to fix the name and authority of Rua Taranaki over the mountain, using smoke. Rua Taranaki came down from the cave, where he took the bones of honoured people for burial, naming the cave Te Aana [sic]a Tahatiti, after a former dynasty. (Hohaia, 2001, p. 9)

Ceremony and active possession played a large role in affixing the name of Taranaki on our mounnga. Even today, as I observed growing up, when a large or unusual cloud is seen our people make reference to the ceremony conducted by our ancestor Rua Taranaki and his father in law, Maruwhakaterere and say: “*ko te ahi a Tahurangi, nāku i tahu e! The fire of Tahurangi, which I myself lit!*” The name of Taranaki then became the name of our iwi and of our rohe. A named fixed

permanently by the actions of our ancestors. A name that asserts our mana whenua over the area.

Dennis Ngawhare-Pounamu (2014) argues the validity of a mātauranga Taranaki standpoint which positions our mouna as our ancestor. He clearly states that mountains can be ancestors and ancestors can be mountains. There is Taranaki kōrero, waiata, karakia and whakapapa, which a kuia of ours, Kui Te Auripo Wharehoka is recorded as sharing. In a documentary by Eruera Te Whiti Nia (2010), Kui Te Auripo clearly states that Taranaki mouna is her koro and that we are his mokopuna. Furthermore, as I am a mokopuna of hers, the pao⁴⁶ and waiata that she shared are important modes of expression and holders of story I will use to teach my tamariki about their relationship with their ancestor. Taranaki is our Koro, and we belong to him.

The colonial project: How to make a cultural bomb

*YOU WHITE [sic] people wouldn't like us to tell you about it
(Scott, 1954, p. 11)*

This was the response Dick Scott got from one of my whanaunga at Parihaka when he first visited there in the early 1950s, intent on learning more and of publishing what he coined, The Parihaka Story. My whanaunga was right; the story of colonisation can be one that is hard to digest, for Māori and Pākehā alike. However, a critical analysis of imported colonial ideologies brought here by our colonisers can provide meaningful insights into why we are still experiencing the subjugation of our ingoa.

In discussing what colonisation is, for example, Winona LaDuke, an Anishinaabekwe (Ojibwe) woman, activist and scholar describes it in terms of deconstructing the Empire and quotes her friend and Shawnee scholar Steven Newcomb who provides an interesting explanation of the etymology of the word colonisation, Winona LaDuke (as cited in Platt, 2013) says:

⁴⁶ I have intentionally left out examples of the pao Kui Te Auripo sung as they are not in wide circulation and are tapu to my people.

As Shawnee scholar Steven Newcomb once pointed out to me, the word colonialism has at its root the same word as 'colon.' In other words, it means to digest — colonialism is the digestion of one people by another — in military, social, political, economic and food system terms. (line 13)

The principle of humanity and its relationship to the project of colonisation is argued by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999). The dualism of being civilised or uncivilised is premised on the idea that certain ‘races’ such as Māori, are unable to use our intellects to create, imagine or develop. That we are not entirely, or even partially, human. Prior to the colonisation of Aotearoa, our British colonisers had already refined the tools and mechanisms of their colonial and oppressive project many times over through their invasion of several other Indigenous lands across the globe. Aotearoa was the last country to be colonised by the British and as such, they brought with them several violent ideologies and attitudes toward Indigenous people that they then imposed on us (Smith, 1999). Those profoundly violent ideologies and beliefs were firmly entrenched in our settlers even before they had laid eyes on us or our whenua; the trauma and abuse they then inflicted with those colonial weapons, still reverberates across our generations. As Rawiri Taonui, (2010) elucidates:

We rarely recognize that colonization and its concomitant intergenerational impacts constitute violence: colonization is the application of anger upon vulnerable peoples. This violence has a reciprocal reaction within the societies upon which it is inflicted: cultural alienation, forced assimilation, and cumulative marginalization create anger in indigenous societies. Where this anger is not understood, it becomes internalized within the colonized society and inverts upon itself. (p. 199)

One of the intergenerational impacts of colonisation which contributes to the anger Rawiri Taonui illuminates originates from being renamed. Whether this anger arises from being renamed via the renaming of our whenua, and other whanaunga of te taiao or by being renamed with a name other than the one gifted to us by our whānau, or perhaps by not being given a Māori name at all because of the fear our parents had of how a society might treat us. This is not anger that only Māori feel, it is a feeling known to Indigenous peoples throughout the world who have been alienated, forced to assimilate and marginalised on their own land. Ngūgĩ wa Thiong’o (1986) also argues that there is an anger created by colonisation and highlights our struggle and resistance against the anger from within and without:

The oppressed and the exploited of the earth maintain their defiance: liberty from theft. But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage to struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland, it makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples language decadent and reactionary, all those forces which would stop their own springs of life, it even plants serious doubts about the moral rightness of struggle (p. 3)

The annihilation of our belief in our names has occurred over time through the many and varied ingredients used by our colonisers to create the nuclear bomb as alluded to by Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o. However, there are several examples of whānau in particular who have continued and/ or regenerated ingoa Māori in their whānau as a kind of anti-hegemonic narrative. Some of these stories are featured in this thesis in Chapter Six. Despite the success of many whānau in maintaining and regenerating their ingoa and tapa ingoa (naming) practices, it is still important in this chapter that I outline some of the hegemonic and violent forces these whānau and possibly other whānau, and their ingoa had to confront because of colonisation. Whaene Leonie Pihama (1995) has written a poem to illustrate the pain and trauma she felt due to the over representation of our coloniser's names throughout her childhood and youth in Taranaki:

*I was born and raised in Taranaki.
I have lived under the korowai of the Maunga and have experienced the
awe of
seeing Taranaki stand firmly on the landscape, defining the geography in
a way that we
who live under his shadow may never achieve.
I have lived alongside the awa and the Moana. Known them in their
strength and
beauty. Known them in their provision of kai, before they were poisoned.
I have lived on land that was taken from my people and watched as my
parents struggled
to 'pay the rent' on land that was rightfully ours.
I was schooled alongside Owae Waitara, the marae that stands above the
township.
We walked through and around that space every day and were never
schooled within its
bounds. It was an 'out of bounds' area.*

I learnt of a history of this land that told us of Cook and Tasman and Browne. And I knew these names because they named the streets upon which I walked. They named my world.

Waitara.

I was told we were all the same. New Zealanders/National identity/Kiwi/Egalitarian/National identity/One New Zealand/One identity. But I knew that to be Maori wasn't the same. And I see now why we were never to know who we were. Identity had to be controlled. So the system could be maintained.

As without the system the "Nation" would be fragmented.

And we would be left with a Nervous System. (p. 22)

The poem is offered to highlight the trauma associated with colonial landscapes and their use as a tool for perpetrating symbolic violence on Māori. We are still being forced to take our kids for walks down roads named after men who forced them off their lands, imprisoned our tūpuna, and in many cases, killed us. Every day is a reenactment of this historical trauma, played out in the minds of Māori throughout the motu as they walk the streets. The colonial renaming of our world disrupts Māori history and obstructs others and our ability to believe in our validity as tāngata whenua.

Naming the streets, after those who colonised, subjugated and oppressed us is a form of ongoing trauma and is, therefore, a form of micro-aggression. Karina Walters (2006), from the Choctaw nation, discusses the impact that everyday insults, invalidations, and assaults have on Indigenous people, which she has termed as micro-aggressions in her research. She argues and I agree that there is an indivisible link between wairua and our well-being, she says:

For us, we've been talking about this as a soul wound. It is important to rename or reframe our experiences from traditional knowledges – it is a spiritual process and the re-naming is part of decolonising ourselves. Eduardo Duran notes that when you think about it, psychiatrists really have naming ceremonies with us. "PTSD", "anxiety", "depression": they are doing a naming ceremony with us. So part of our communities are saying, "Wait a minute, we need to have a different kind of way of naming ourselves and naming these experiences and understanding it from a spiritual perspective. (p. 40)

She highlights in the following kōrero how our interactions with wairua or spirit and our well-being are reflected, or not, as the case may be, in the names forced

upon us. Although Karina Walters was discussing the impact that names have within the context of a spiritual injury or mental illness, it is easy to see the correlation between the power of names, labels, branding, and even linguistic landscapes and the impact that the loss of power to name our world has on us today.

Despite the Māori language being an official language, Māori are still to be convinced that non-Māori New Zealanders respect us because change is slow or non-existent. For example, when the government is reticent to reinstate pre-colonial Māori place names or to consider bilingual signage due to 'funding' issues. There is a dominant discourse in Aotearoa that Māori names have disappeared due to their inferior status, their lack of importance to Māori, or that renaming is an appropriate bi-product of 'conquest'. I question, who is positioned to gain from such discourse, and argue that in order for our tamariki to have good experiences of carrying ingoa tangata, all residents of our whenua are responsible for the reinstatement of ingoa Māori.

The attempted dissolution of whānau

*As I glide my way into the past,
history...
names...
send me back to my great-grandmother.*

*She stands 'cross the abyss beckoning,
"I am here, great-grandaughter."
Mist floats across the gentle stream.
I see her fingertips reaching to mine.*

*Forever... it seems, to go on by centimeters of time.
Names so familiar... I've used them before.
Places... forgotten, resurrected on the distant shore.*

*"I am here great-grandmother,"
I call back through the misty veil.
Page by page... leaf by leaf, like rich compost heaped through the years,
ready to use, seeded, and fertile.*

*I search for clues...
a birth...
a death...
a will...
a grave marking what was,
yet is my Native heritage. (Poland, 2011-2015)*

For ingoa Māori, as with many facets of our knowledge, their gradual degradation has occurred on many fronts and across several spaces. This loss of knowledge has had a direct impact on Māori identity and understandings of belonging and connectedness. The poem used to open this section by Pat Poland speaks to this loss of whakapapa knowledge, referring to it as a misty veil, and obstructing her view of her ancestors. However, for her, names help to guide her back to her ancestry and lineage.

The impositions of colonialism must also be remembered as not just the oppression of our wāhine or our tāne, but as the oppression of our tamariki and therefore of our whānau. Our tamariki become invisibilised when we, as adults, only *see* other adults. This makes us implicit in our own colonisation by perpetuating colonial ideologies that would seek to silence our tamariki (in the truest sense of the word) and our deliberate and healthy choice to live as whānau.

I want to start with a discussion of institutions employed by the coloniser to dissolve our whānau way of living for several reasons. It is important in any discussion of the erasure of our ingoa to not fall into the trap of individualism and thereby focus merely on each name or person. We live as whānau, hapū and iwi and by living in such a way, we belong to many people not just our parents or to ourselves. Our ingoa are representations of our whakapapa and by their very function reinforce and illustrate our many and varied genealogical ties to all members of our whakapapa. Being raised by our whānau was also an integral part of the intergenerational transmission of knowledge as recounted by Rose Pere (1994) in the following kōrero:

I slept, ate, played, worked and learnt alongside four generations, and was never excluded from anything my grandparents were involved with, including attending celebrations, tangihanga (ceremonial mourning) and many other gatherings. I learnt through observation and participation. It was my grandparents' generation, and older, who influenced most of my learning in those formative years. (p. 55)

In attempting to displace and erase the whānau structure, the colonial project intends to dismantle a fruitful and healthy context for raising our children. The attempted dissolution of our whānau has led to a vast range of detrimental changes

for Māori (Gabel, 2013; Mikaere, 2010). These include the theft of matrilineal descent, the removal of tamariki from whānau, the obstruction of iwi and hapū based naming rights and practices, and the disruption of our ways of belonging. In their place, a patriarchal and Christian system of religion was inserted, enforcing a patriarchal system of classification and naming upon us.

Colonisation has erased many of our names, naming practices and knowledges, for example, surnames are not *ours*. We did not carry them in pre-colonial times or subscribe to the entrenched colonial ideologies bound in them. However, many of us now affiliate just as strongly with our surnames as we do our hapū and iwi names as indicators of belonging and place. The systematic attack of colonialism on the whānau has led to an interruption of our mātauranga, including that which pertains to our ingoa. Many Māori women academics have written about the impact of colonisation on the whānau

Communal living ensured children were raised by many and assimilation has actively sought to dissolve those communities. As a result, we have had to face many challenges associated with the impact this theft and dissolution of community has had not only on our parenting approaches but as a direct result of that, our naming practices as well. What was traditionally the role of pāhake or elders, has more commonly become seen as the role of parents. For our ingoa, this has meant a shift from whānau naming our tamariki to parents seeing naming as a strictly parental right (Gabel, 2013). Even amongst whānau who still live and act at a whānau level, it is not uncommon for parents to deny the rights of grandparents or other relatives to name a child whom they see as exclusively theirs.

As John Rangihau (1979) argues, the disorganisation and isolation of whānau members from one another has occurred because of forced urban transformation. Forcing us to take on understandings of child rearing that do not belong to us or work for us. The assimilation of our whānau into families is perhaps one of the greatest impacts of colonisation. The dislocation of our support networks has seen the interruption of knowledge transfer of all kinds, from breastfeeding knowledge to the maintenance of our reo through to our ways naming (Gabel, 2013; Irwin et al., 2011; Pihama et al., 2015; Simmonds, 2012).

Whilst, some whānau have resisted and persisted in asserting and upholding our own knowledges, tikanga, and reo and been very successful; many more could not in the face of assimilative policies such as corporal punishment for speaking te reo, school attendance being mandatory, theft of land, high mortality rate, urban migration and consequent dislocation to name but a few. Leanne Simpson (2008), has written extensively on Indigenous resurgence, and she identifies the problem in the following way:

The problem we have inherited in this generation is our disconnection from what it is to be Indigenous. This issue has been framed in many complicated ways, but really, what is colonization if not the severance of the bonds of trust and love that held our people together so tightly in the not-so-distant past, and the abandonment of our spiritual connection to the natural world? (pp. 9-10)

This severance from the bonds of trust and love from and within our whānau has led to a disruption of our own ideologies. Therefore, some of us now see our children as property, which must be reversed, or we may see further loss of relationships. Some of these relationships can also only be formalised and anchored through tapa ingoa practices and ceremony. Linda Tuhiwai Smith talks about the relationships forged between herself on behalf of her whānau and iwi with another whānau and consequently other iwi and hapū through the name she was gifted as an adult who had always wanted a Māori name.

The name Tuhiwai was given to me when I was an adult. It was a name exchange between my family and the Anderson whanau of Te Kuiti. My father is from Te Teko and is a cousin of Graham Anderson. After the death of my grandmother Paranihia Moko, Graham Anderson's whanau came and asked my father if they could name their new mokopuna after her. My father said: "See that young woman over there? She's always wanted a Maori name. You need to give her a name." So they gave me the name of their grandmother, Tuhiwai... Receiving the name Tuhiwai felt good because it wasn't just a random choice. There was a relationship, a connection. I had agreed to it. And it reconnects my ties to that side of our whakapapa. (as cited in Husband, 2015a, line 5)

Religion as an institution of colonialism

The attempted erasure of our ingoa actually begins much earlier than colonisation itself and finds its roots in the time of missionisation, of the 'great' civilising mission. The missionisation of Māori required missionaries to travel here as

representatives of their religions such as Anglican, Methodist and Wesleyan, just to name a few. Their mission was to proselytise, to save us from certain hell through the teaching of the Bible and subsequent conversion to Christianity (Steeds, 1999). To 'kill the savage and save the man', meant the imposition of colonial ideologies of race, gender, and religion. Their Christian ideologies of superiority based on a supposed 'relationship' with God and his son, Jesus Christ, deemed any other religion or spirituality inferior, wrong and, therefore, sinful (L. Smith 1992; Pihama, 1993). Whaene Leonie Pihama (2001) argues that these imported ideologies informed the coloniser's whole approach toward colonisation, and specific examples of those beliefs being imposed upon us are provided throughout this chapter. The assumed superiority of these ideologies was then legalised, proselytised and taught to our own tamariki through institutions such as schools, land court and the church. Those three institutions consequently, I argue, played and in some cases continue to play a significant role in the attempted erasure of pre-colonial Māori personal names, protocols, and practices.

Baptism: In the name of the father, the son, and the Holy Spirit

Baptisms and Christenings have impacted our ingoa in very specific ways. Although our Koro had limited knowledge of where the names on his birth certificate came from, the one Pākehā name on his baptism record is one easily linked to Christianity and to the bible, and that name is James. This is the same name my Dad gave as a middle name to our first-born son to honour the men in our immediate whānau who carry this name in its English form as a direct result of Christenings. This makes one of our eldest son's middle names, Hēmi. For us translating James to Hēmi met our goals of celebrating te reo and honouring our ancestors. However, it is still a problematic name for us. In some ways, we have perpetuated the use of a name imposed upon our tūpuna through baptism and christening practices that do not belong to or support our aim to decolonise and reinstate traditional naming beliefs and practices in our whānau. Translating the name back into te reo, however, in some way helped us to negotiate this colonial issue.

One of the major tenets of precolonial naming is the concept of our ingoa being transitory, as being able to be changed as we develop, grow as our circumstances

and context change and thereby inform and change our realities. For some, Baptism irrevocably erased this concept from our consciousness, and in its place, a new system of naming was established. A system of naming which introduced surnames and thereby permanently fixed what were often colonial names, to our descendants and to us for generations as Therese Ford (2013) elucidates:

My great, great, great grandfather was given the name Awarau by my ancestors. In English, this name means many rivers. After converting to the Anglican faith in the 1800s, Awarau was baptised Rawiri Awarau. He was later encouraged by English missionaries to change his name to David Rivers and as a consequence my grandmother's family claimed the surname Rivers rather than Awarau for over 100 years. The relationship that was established between Awarau and English missionaries over a century ago represents the beginning of a journey of loss for my whānau (extended family). We lost our ancestral name, the ability to speak our ancestral language and our right to bring our Maori cultural experiences and knowledge into our education. Many of us lost our Maori-selves. (p. 87)

Māori were systematically and intentionally renamed with English or transliterated names through colonial practices such as baptism. Being christened or baptised required the taking up of a biblical name and although there are stories of resistance (see Scott, 2008), many baptismal names persist to the present day across and in all three spaces of first, middle and last names. The first baptism occurred on September 14th, 1825 on a dying man named Rangi who was baptised *Christian Rangi* (Davis, 1907). A befitting name for the first recorded baptism. This baptism was to be the first of many as what soon followed was a rush of baptisms by missionaries who desperately wanted to save us from our unholy and savage religion and culture and thereby deliver us unto their god and into their assumed 'superior' belief system. In 1858, in Kirikiriroa, now more widely known as Hamilton, 20 adults and 27 children were baptised in just one day for example (Russel, 1858).

Māori chose or were given new baptismal names by the Missionary responsible for their baptism. However, even if proffered the right to choose, they were restricted to names deemed appropriate. Stuart Barton Babbage (1937), a clergyman, whilst discussing Te Ua Haumene and the Pai Mārire religion, notes:

Bishop Herbert Williams has further told me that the missionaries were averse to accepting Maori names at baptism, hence biblical names or names derived from the mission workers were generally adopted. (p. 22)

In Te Ua Haumene's case, it would seem that he chose his name, albeit within the constraints of missionary thought. His baptismal name was Horopapera meaning Zerubbabel, who was known for leading the Jews out of captivity. Another missionary, Henry Williams (1912) noted his opinion of our naming tikanga, remarking on their 'primitive' nature. This provides further evidence as to the unshakeable belief they held in the superiority of their race, culture, and names. He even goes so far as to criticise the Semitic people of his very own bible:

Any one acquainted with Bible history will be struck by the similarity of the Maori customs in respect of names to those recorded of the ancient Semitic race, the inference being not that the Maoris are Semitic by descent, but that such customs are appropriate to a primitive people at a certain stage of their development. (p. 358)

Edward Jerningham Wakefield, son of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a major driving force behind the colonisation of Aotearoa, claimed in his account of the beginnings of our colonisation, that the maintenance of the Māori language in Baptismal names through the use of 'transmogrified' names⁴⁷ was absurd. Moreover, he suggested that if they were not going to give Māori, English names for the purposes of teaching us to read and to write, then they should have just given us native names to use. He also goes on to describe te reo Māori as being a poor language, which possesses few words and expresses abstract ideas (Wakefield, 1845). This again exemplifies the attitude our colonisers had toward our reo and our ingoa tangata at that time.

Wakefield also spent time in the Taranaki area and whilst he was there he was recorded as explaining to our people that some of the missionaries, at that time, were no more than mere 'shoemakers or tailors', who were paid by England to preach the gospel. He claimed the real clergymen had yet to arrive and that *they* would not incite Māori against the white man and his development. Most missionaries integrated into Māori society, as we were the dominant culture. Some of the early missionaries necessarily formed very close relationships with our

⁴⁷ These are what is referred to elsewhere in this text as transliterations.

people and in some cases, forewarned us of the forthcoming mechanisms of colonisation such as roads to facilitate land grabs.

The names given or chosen after baptism were recorded by missionaries into baptismal or missionary registers. These registers varied from missionary to missionary and, therefore, some registers record our traditional names, and others do not. This has made it difficult for descendants to trace their pre-colonial ancestors in some cases. There is recorded suspicion amongst Taranaki people of the motives behind the recording of baptismal names into registers. A tupuna named Reweti has his words translated into English and recorded in the Taranaki Herald, a local newspaper, where he is quoted as saying:

Mr. Riemenschneider came and baptised their children, and administered the sacrament to their elders, and wrote all their names in a book; and for what? That their Governor might know how few they were, and make war upon them. His hair would not be grey before he saw us all swimming away in the sea, leaving the whole land to his King. ("Native Intelligence," 1862, line, 19)

Conversely, in Taranaki and Waikato there are many stories of resistance and reclamation, where our rangatira and others, in line with our traditional tikanga of tapa ingoa, threw off their baptismal names and reverted back to their traditional ones. As practised and understood in our Taranaki waiata this type of resistance has been referred to as ‘te tākiritanga i te kahu o te Kuini’ or ‘the casting off of the Queens cloak’. Dick Scott (2008) discusses the casting off of biblical names with particular reference to our Parihaka and Kingitanga leaders of the time:

That year as a token of their purpose all the leaders renounced their baptised names. Tawhiao dropped Matutaera (Methuselah), Titokowaru discarded Hohepa (Joseph) and Erueti (Edward) Te Whiti returned to his classic birth name Te Whiti-o-Rongomai....⁴⁸ (p. 31)

This political act by our rangatira signifies their disillusionment with the Crown, I think, and their absolute resolve to hold on to our whenua and our way of living. Again, highlighting our belief in names as symbols of identity and as sites of

⁴⁸This book was written with the help of my tupuna, Whatarau Ariki Wharehoka.

political importance. One of our Taranaki haka (a traditional chant and dance), composed by Tohu Kakahi encourages his people to hold on to who we are and reminds us of the futility of assimilation. One line chants: “*Whakarongo mai te iwi nei, whakarongo mai te motu nei Ahakoa i whakapiri koe ki a tauiwi! E kore e taka te ingoa Māori i runga i a koe. He mangumangu taipō nei hoki tātou. Pakia!*” Tohu Kakahi did not think his people needed to be anything other than who we are and even though the Pākehā might seem to have great things to give, in the end, their treachery would be revealed. Finally, he states that to Pākehā we are nothing more than unwanted supernatural beings (*he mangumangu taipō*) sent to haunt them.

Some of the assimilative and oppressive mechanisms that Tohu Kakahi and other leaders of their time saw happening and composed waiata and haka about were: Native Schools, Native Land Courts, and conversions to colonial religion. Not to mention, the surveying of Māori land for Pākehā settlement and the buying of land by Pākehā for sums of money he knew would not and did not equal appropriate restitution.

In particular, Missionaries favoured the system of patrilineal nomenclature from their homelands and imposed that system upon Māori, who traditionally had a fluid naming system name, with our names being changed and added to throughout our lives. Baptism was the colonial weapon of choice to implement their system. Missionaries are recorded as giving not only Māori biblical or missionary names, but of also taking our traditional names and/or the names of our husbands and fathers and registering those as our surnames. Furthermore, in some cases, a baptismal name consisted of Christian and Surnames in English, which were transliterated into Māori. These surnames are often still worn by descendants of this tūpuna and are in many cases considered to be Māori names, despite their English and religious originations, for example in The Taranaki Herald they discuss the tangihanga of Hone Pihama and in turn, examine the origins of his name as follows:

With regard to Honi Pihama's name, we understand he was christened by a missionary clergyman John Beecham," it being customary to give both a Christian and a surname to natives when they were baptised. Beecham in Maori became transmogrified into Pihama," the name the deceased chief was always known by till his death. ("Funeral Of Honi Pihama," 1890, p. 2)

Others have also written of Māori taking on transliterations of prominent English family surnames in their area as Baptismal names. Names such as Parana (Brummer), Retimana (Richmond), Tapata (Stafford), Tamihana (Thompson), and Tipene (Stevens) are all common examples which are still prevalent today. This naming practice, in particular, has affected Māori, who in endeavouring to track our whakapapa have been faced with a lack of recorded information of the Māori names of their tūpuna prior to baptism. This became a particular problem as ancestors were given Baptismal names using the surnames of families they did not share any whakapapa connection with (Mitchell & Maui John Mitchell, 2007).

Another phenomenon that has impacted some whānau is when siblings have taken different tūpuna names as their last names. This has meant that several branches of the same whānau have ended up have different surnames. In my own whānau, we have a similar scenario with Kupe, Wharehoka, and Okeroa being different surnames taken up by siblings.

There are other stories which specifically illustrate the detrimental effect that baptism has had on our ingoa. One example was recorded by the Reverend Charles Creed in 1848 who, after working in several other places, was appointed to be the second missionary to enter the South Island and be stationed at Waikouaiti. The Reverend James Watkin being the first and also the Missionary to build critical relationships with Māori in the area, particularly with a rangatira named Korako. The significance of this name and their relationship later became evident during Korako's baptism, by Reverend Charles Creed, when he named himself after Watkins:

“Te Wakena Korako, old man, and Mata Wakena Kupukupu, adult; New Zealander. Signed, Charles Creed.” The old man had chosen for his own name Te Wakena (Watkin) and his wife chose hers, Mata Wakina (Mother Watkin), and the same day they were married with the rites of the church, and the witnesses were Joseph Crocome, surgeon, and Pahepa.⁴⁹ (Pybus, 1954, p. 93)

⁴⁹ Despite the translation of Mata Watkin as Mother Watkin, it is interesting to note that Maata can also be a transliteration of Martha.

The superimposition of a heteropatriarchal onomastic system such as that of the British on Māori is made very clear in the previous example with ‘the wife’ being expected to take the chosen baptismal name of her husband as her surname. Neither taking up of a surname nor the taking on of a man’s name upon marriage were part of a precolonial understanding of *tapa ingoa*.

The claiming of our wahine as property

Marriage as an institution of religion is responsible for the perpetuation of colonial naming systems as begun by Baptism. Through marriage, our *wāhine* became subjected to the colonial ideologies of gender and of law; that women are the property of their husbands. This was clearly not the case in pre-colonial times (Mikaere, 1994). Rangimarie Rose Pere reminds us in her recollections of childhood, that her elders set the example of men and women respecting and supporting each other, and working alongside one another. She considers her Maori ancestresses, prior to the impact of Christianity, to have been extremely liberated in comparison to her English ancestresses. She also points out that Māori women were not regarded as chattels or possessions, that they retained their own names upon marriage, and that their children were free to identify with the kinship group of either or both parents. Additionally, she states, that they dressed in similar garments to the men, and that conception was not associated with sin or childbearing with punishment and suffering. Rather, those aspects were seen as uplifting and a regular part of life (Pere, 1987). Makereti Papakura (1938) supports Pere’s recollections in her own, where she states that upon marriage both men and women retained their original names and that each child had their own name as well - not taking on the name of either of their parents.

Hanara Arnold Reedy offered the following *kōrero* about Ngāti Porou, an *iwi* located on the east coast of Aotearoa, asserting that for them it was common for their children to be known by their mother's names as is evidenced by the name of one of our most illustrious *tupuna* named, Māui *tikitiki a Taranga* (Mahuika, 1973). Therefore, the introduction of marriage in the Pākehā sense and the motivations that were set in place to ensure Māori participated in this religious and legal custom were devastating not only for our names in terms of the importance of female names and names from our mother's *whakapapa* but for our whole *whānau*. Marriage was

the key to the creation of the nuclear family by denying whānau members their rights to not only their daughters but also our rights to tamariki in line with our tikanga of raising tamariki within the collective.

One of the integral ways in which we connected and were reconnected to our mothers was disordered and in some cases severed by the superimposition of colonial naming practices such as that of patrilineal surnames. This is argued as the theft of matrilineal descent by Haunani-Kay Trask, a Hawaiian activist and academic. She also highlights the commonality of this issue for other Indigenous peoples living in a colonial context as follows:

Naming has been, for many of us, a theft of matrilineal descent by Western patriarchal descent. In the case of Hawaiians, legal imposition of Christian, English, and patrilineal names meant the loss of our ancestral names. This imposed system greatly weakened and, in some areas, destroyed our indigenous practice of genealogical naming. (Haunani Kay Trask, 1999, p. 104)

Magda Wallscott tells her own whānau's story of how they got their last names to Dame Mira Szaszy in an interview on the 3rd of March 1990, in Dunedin, for a book about the Māori Women's Welfare League:

My mother's tribes were Kāti Māmoe, Kai Tahu and her name was Karetai. This, of course, was after Pākehā came and one was expected to have a surname as well as a Christian name. She was baptised Ema Karetai and her grandfather was who we used to call Chief Karetai, the one who signed the Treaty here. (Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p. 302)

In this case, the name of one of their male ancestors became the last name of her mother. However, under this colonial naming system, that name only stayed hers until she was married and took up her husband's name. Surnames, in particular, were originally part of a medieval property structure, which divulged all property to the husband upon marriage and thereby contributed to the widespread use of paternal surnames contemporarily (Ross, 2013). Being renamed in the colonial image has marked us as members of the Empire and therefore as contributors to its expansion and wealth. Renaming us collected a labour force for them and provided the capacity to expand their inventory of possessions and of power.

Surnames, in particular, originate from heteropatriarchy and represent its symbolic power over Indigenous peoples who have been subjugated by that system of ownership. Where women are the property of their husbands and thereby must take his identity as their own in the form of his surname. Our wāhine have been claimed as property, and our tāne have been claimed as possessors. Neither of which were concepts known to us in precolonial times, as they are not present in our pūrākau or any other modes of intergenerational transmission.

A legal document, which starkly highlights a clash of colonial ideologies with Māori ideologies, is Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In fact, an assumption previously made was that all Māori signatories of Te Tiriti were men. Rather, some thirteen women signed, that we know of (Mikaere, 1994). This is an area that necessitates much more research, as it is currently unknown if there were more female signatories. The patriarchal and sexist attitude of missionaries at the time, charged with the collection of signatories, seemingly influenced the number of women who were permitted to sign Te Tiriti. In fact, it could well be impossible to know how many women signed based on a purely onomastic study of the signatories based on the fact that Māori names are largely gender-neutral. However, regardless of the difficulty in identifying which names were female or male, it is unlikely that there were scores of women permitted to sign by the Missionaries, despite some male rangatira insisting that they should be (Mikaere, 1994).

The first law of Aotearoa was tikanga

Replacing our tikanga with colonial law continues to disrupt our tino rangatiratanga and mana. To force people to live by the values of another culture is a critical success factor of colonisation. It does not work for us and never will. For our ingoa, the colonial law has worked to police and punish our belief systems in overtly violent and covertly insidious ways. Colonial ideologies of gender and race are therefore enforced through colonial institutions of law. In continuing the discussion of Māori unions or as early literature terms them ‘Native marriages’, I would like to discuss the connection between marriage and the Native Land Court.

Māori tikanga such as taumau, pākuwhā, tomo, and whakamoe (see Moorfield, 2003-2017), which acknowledge and celebrate the union⁵⁰ of two people and often their whānau, hapū, and iwi, have been denied and villainised by law and society since the first contact. Assimilation as part of the colonial agenda sought to replace Māori tikanga with the law and thereby replace Māori philosophy, beliefs, and values with British colonial ones. This did not go unchecked by our tūpuna, who refused to have their tikanga rendered inferior or replaced, as the following observation from a Native District Officer exposes:

I have noticed that a strong desire has been growing up for some legislation for legalizing Native marriages. Many of the leading men say, "You Europeans have your law regarding your marriages and you consider it one of our most important ones: why should we not have our marriage laws placed on such a footing as it would enable courts of law to recognise them, and so as to make our marriage contracts legally binding?" (Ward, 1879, p. 12)

The denial of Māori tikanga and their role in recognising unions had a direct impact on Māori whānau and Māori land. The Supreme Court ruled Māori marriage illegal in 1888, and therefore subsequent children born of Māori unions were declared illegitimate and unable to inherit the land. In 1909, Māori marriage was re-allowed but only if performed by a recognised minister of religion, which disrupted and disordered our protocols and beliefs about unions. By 1951, it was again outlawed with many opting for a 'legal' colonial marriage to ensure their children were 'legitimate' and thereby enabled them to access the family benefit when needed. Along with colonial marriages came a heteropatriarchal system of naming that embodied an ideology of possession. A symbolic and violent representation of that ideology was the imposition of surnames as introduced through marriage. Both religion and law combined to form a unified colonial force that has seen Māori obliged to take on the colonial onomastic system of carrying three names, for example, a Christian name, a middle name and a surname.

⁵⁰ I use the word union over marriage, which is too closely affiliated with colonial religion to be an appropriate word in English to describe our tikanga. Union is used here to assert Māori relationships and to disrupt heteronormative and cisgender discourse.

He muru raupatu: Theft of land, erasure of ingoa

He taura tangata, he taura whenua' (a person's lineage is a lineage to land) is also a metaphor for the umbilical cord that connects a baby to the whenua (afterbirth), which was customarily buried in the whenua (land). (T. Smith, 2012, p. 8)

The naming of a child after a piece of whenua is a symbolic and often quite practical way of connecting a child to its homeland. Particularly in contemporary times when some whānau do not enjoy the same kinds of access to their whenua, marae, and papakāinga as they once did. Colonisation and the subsequent theft of our land has forced us to seek new ways of asserting our identity, and of maintaining the 'taura', Takirangi Smith mentions above. The cultural and spiritual well-being of our tamariki is inextricably linked to whenua. Naming our tamariki after our places and our whenua reminds us of our dependency on Papatūānuku, and of our respective roles. Our names provide the umbilical link between her as 'te taura whenua' and us as 'te taura tangata'.

The theft and confiscation of our land has disenfranchised us in a myriad of ways including in the blocking of our access to those places and spaces where we would traditionally practice our ceremonies, such as tohi. Tikanga such as tohi⁵¹, tūā⁵², and pure⁵³ (to name a few) are enormously important in terms of solidifying our children's connection to not only their whenua but to their waterways as vehicles of cleansing and as manifestations of our atua. We have in recent times seen a regeneration of traditional naming ceremonies. In my own whānau, we have several generations now, who have had their whenua buried after birth and their name affirmed through ceremony. In-depth research on tikanga such as these is however beyond the scope of this thesis, although I have provided some kōrero from whānau participants on this subject in chapter six. It is, however, an area of research that holds a lot of potential for regenerating ancestral knowledges and ways of

⁵¹ Tohi: *to perform a ritual ceremony over a child in flowing water while petitioning the atua to endow the child with the desired mental and physical qualities. The child was dedicated to the particular atua by immersion in the water or by sprinkling it with water from a branch dipped in the stream.* (Moorfield, 2003-2017)

⁵² Tūā: *ritual chants for protection including to facilitate childbirth, in the naming of infants, to ward off illness, catch birds and bring about fine weather.* (Moorfield, 2003-2017)

⁵³ Pure: *a ceremony to remove tapu.* (Moorfield, 2003-2017)

grounding tamariki in their identity and of sustaining a sense of well-being in the whānau.

*The education of our tamariki on what it is to be a child*⁵⁴

The institution of schooling and the colonial ideologies of education have had an undeniable and long-lasting impact on our ingoa. Arguably, the education system is an institution that continues to deny and marginalise our ingoa and, therefore, our people on a daily basis. Largely this is due to systemic racism and personalised racism on the part of teachers. However, in order to understand why and how this is still allowed to persist in our classrooms, let us look at the beginnings of colonial schooling in Aotearoa.

Since the first mission school was established in The Bay of Islands,⁵⁵ the civilising mission of the coloniser has been given space in our education system, even today, most of our tamariki Māori are in mainstream schools and are subject to the hangover, and renewed vigour of colonisation in its varied and contemporarily evolved forms. Their aim then and some might argue, even now, was/is to ‘civilise’ the native people of their newly discovered acquisition – ~~Aotearoa~~ New Zealand. Judith Simon & Linda Smith (2001) write that in order for New Zealand to become a British Colony the state needed to force Māori to abandon all that it is to be Māori and become European.

In the 1840s and 1850s, the forces of religion and education intertwined and worked collaboratively via schools run by missionaries and then later in the form of mission schools. Funded by the state, they worked well toward their assimilative goals until the 1860s. Then in 1867, the Native Schools Act was put in place as the new mechanism for assimilation. It was in these schools that we saw the devastating impact of policies to wipe out te reo Māori and of tamariki being renamed by their teachers with English names. Mead (1996) also makes the point that schools also became places where births and deaths could be registered when teachers were

⁵⁴ This is a play on the wording of Linda Smith’s (Mead) chapter entitled ‘The Colonization of Children’ (Mead, 1996).

⁵⁵ The Bay of Islands is an area on the east coast of the Far North District of the North Island of Aotearoa.

identified as registrars of birth when the Registration of Births Deaths and Marriages Act of 1913 came in.

The colonisation of our children is of particular interest to this kaupapa in that the renaming and remaking of our children unto the image of the white, holy and clean man has forever changed who we are as a people. From the time the Tiriti o Waitangi was signed through till the Hunn Report was released in 1961 (see Hunn, 1961), the governmental policies of assimilation were more and more focused on eradicating te reo Māori. The Education Ordinance Act (1847) is an example where it was declared that from that time on, all instruction within schools would be conducted in English (Irwin et al., 2011). Many of the aspects and livelihoods of our contemporary lives were originally introduced to facilitate our assimilation and transition into ‘becoming’ Pākehā. In particular, the speaking of English was seen as a key mechanism for the colonisation of our tamariki and in the following excerpt taken from The Annual Report of the Minister of Education, the best methods to make Māori children ‘*think in English*’ were discussed:

The playground, in addition to the schoolroom, should have its place in encouraging spoken English. There should be much more supervision of and participation in the games of the children. Teachers who succeed in making English the language of the playground are unanimous in the opinion that such success depends more upon the teacher’s habitual presence, supervision and participation in sport than upon anything else. They are also of one accord in greatly emphasising the importance of introducing English games. The students pick up English words in their games, because they frequently do not have words of their own that exactly correspond. When excited and interested they will exert every effort to express themselves, and the words acquired in this way are not readily forgotten. Discretion is necessary in the correction of errors made in the playground, but the teacher should have a watchful ear for them, and should later introduce exercises based thereon. (Porteous, 1916, p. 9)

This is but one example which highlights the policy and approach that was taken to successfully eradicate te reo and tikanga Māori not only from the classroom but in eradicating te reo from the playground; a new level of invasion was reached. Our colonisers sought to target our emotions and the ways in which we ‘had fun’ by disrupting the few opportunities tamariki had to speak te reo Māori, and to play in a Māori way at school. Contemporarily, many of these English sports and games continue to be popular, perpetuating the colonisation of our tamariki in a variety of

ways. Some communities have, however, successfully managed to regenerate Māori past-times or to claim popular mainstream sports as safe spaces for te reo Māori. One such example is the local Varsity Taiohi Rugby Club, at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato which was established by University of Waikato lecturer Te Taka Keegan (The University of Waikato, n.d.). This club openly and actively encourages all who participate in the club to speak Māori while they play, coach or even support from the sidelines.

Ingoa Māori did not escape these assimilative policies, as one student of Te Teko Native School in the 1930s, recounts in the following quote:

Even our surnames were changed. Many of the children ended up with their father's Christian name as their surname, including us, so Eruera, which was our father's Christian name, became our surname. Thus despite the fact that my name was recorded on my birth certificate as Te Onehau Manuera, I was registered at school as Eliza Eruera. Gradually I came to be called Eliza by my peers. It would be the name I used throughout my school days, teen years, working life and even into the early years of my marriage. (Phillis, 2012, p. 6)

As markers of identity, Māori names became something Māori people were forced to reconsider rather than assume. It quickly became unsafe for our tamariki and whānau to carry those names in the colonial world they had to engage with in order to provide an income for their whānau, to seek healthcare, or to get an education. These impacts of assimilation meant that the many whānau began to feel that Māori names were not beneficial to have within an imperialist society. This was termed by some as the education of Māori children out of their Māoritanga as the next quote highlights:

Policies aimed at redefining land ownership, converting a communal culture to an individualistic one, fostering new forms of leadership and educating Maori children out of their essential Maoriness were rooted in the concept of "assimilation." The underlying idea of assimilation was that Pakeha culture and ways were "modern" and "forward-looking" and, therefore, superior as compared with "traditional" Maori ways which were no longer "relevant". (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 57)

There became very few safe places left where our tamariki could even be Māori let alone carry a Māori name. Not only were we forced to send our tamariki to school,

but they had to go without their whānau, they had to perform duties toward the upkeep of the school, and in most cases, Māori had to gift the land the school was built on (Simon & Smith, 2001). In Taranaki, Government officials were quite irritated and perplexed by the lack of desire for schools in the area, and where there were schools, there was a lack of attendance noted. Taranaki Māori did not intend to give any more whenua to settlers, especially in the wake of the Taranaki Wars. Major Brown observes and writes about the ploughing of land in resistance being carried out by Taranaki tūpuna during this time period as well (Brown, 1879). We were completely consumed with the fight against colonisation and assimilation. Dick Scott in his first publication on Parihaka, writes from his perspective, of some of the impacts the wars had on how our people felt about entering the educational system:

I was told of old people who had lived on or in the settlement not touching pen or paper their whole lives because of the wrongs Pakeha had inflicted on their race by fraudulent title deeds and signatures gained by deception; there were some who had refused land rents and social security because they would be never beholden to the Government; I met a man in early middle age who drew his sleeve to show the letters tattooed on his arm when I asked how his name was spelt – his generation had been kept from the school of the white invaders and he could neither read nor write' (Scott, 1954, pp. 13-14)

Schooling, therefore, became a site of trauma, of assimilation and of oppression. Due to the Eurocentric and patriarchal attitudes of many teachers and indeed of the schooling system in general, it was quickly found to be one of the most compelling sites of colonisation for ingoa tangata. The renaming of children was a major focus for teachers as enforcers of assimilative policies and attitudes. Most Māori children were renamed with English names and nicknames in school, and their umbilical link to their heritage, erased. Koro Huirangi Waikerepuru, a Taranaki elder comments on how being renamed made him feel growing up. On his first day of school, without consultation, he was renamed Raymond by his teacher, as he explains: “*I was angry that they'd given me that name – I hated it all the time I carried that name, so later in life I demolished it*” (as cited in Penehira, 2011, p. 175).

My great-grand aunt, Te Auripo Wharehoka, in 1986 spoke of her own experiences at school, as a child who could not speak English. Kui Te Auripo explains how

angry the teachers got with them when they spoke Māori and that they were punished for speaking Māori by being made to sit in the corner. Even though they could not speak English and therefore *needed* to speak Māori, they were still punished. Kui Te Auripo goes on to explain what it was then like when her own children went to school. Her children also could not speak English when they first started. However, after her children were physically punished for speaking Māori, she decided that she would only speak English to her children from then on despite her limited fluency in English. She did this to keep them safe but ends up admitting that as a result none of her children know how to speak Māori now⁵⁶ (as cited in Nia, 1986).

This kōrero was compelling for me on a personal level in terms of coming to understand why my grandmother, a niece of Te Auripo, never spoke Māori to my mother even though I discovered in my late teens that she was, in fact, a native speaker. This story of our whānau is used here to highlight one thing intentionally, which is that the decision to stop speaking Māori was not really a choice. It was not what our tūpuna wanted. It was a necessity to keep us safe from harm. We must never forget that we did not lose our reo, it was quite literally, in my own whānau and in others, beaten out of us.

The world through my mother's eyes: Assimilation and race

In the early 1900s, there were only a couple of missionaries and ethnographers who called for the general study of Māori names to be taken seriously and more systematically (Williams, 1912). Although their interest in our names was arguably couched in the desire to record the last vestiges of a dying race, and to quench their passion for what they saw as exotic and mysterious; individual ethnographers believing Māori *unable* to provide our own explanations, as to our origins, turned to the vast amount of knowledge held within our place names. These pale, male and stale academics hypothesised they could use our names to pinpoint the origination of certain tribes by tracking names across the Pacific, with ‘science’ rather than with what they termed as ‘myth’ (Cowan, 1930).

⁵⁶ Eruera Te Whiti Nia requested that I did not directly quote from his documentary based on the express wishes that our Taranaki Kuia made clear to him at the time that our kōrero should stay with the people of Taranaki. Despite my own feelings about having a right to quote my own tūpuna and that their wishes would not have been directed at a mokopuna such as myself, I have honoured his request by writing about what she told him rather than quoting her verbatim.

Ethnographers and anthropologists were obsessed with “whence the Māori came” and consequently many theories abounded, with Māori explanations not being heeded as scientific enough. Their drive to scientifically measure and validate what many Māori had already informed them of in the previous years, through the works of men such as Sir George Grey and Elsdon Best, for example, was primarily driven by their implicit belief in our racial inferiority and, therefore, the inadequacy of our methods of knowledge transmission. Their complete disregard for our oral traditions was clearly driven by the desire to deny our place as tangata whenua. They were, in fact, so intent on their agenda that they used what they had collected about us to create stories which suited their colonial project. One such example I discovered whilst researching the pūrākau of Tainui’s arrival in Aotearoa. A renowned ethnographer, Sir George Grey, had taken parts of two distinct pūrākau given to him by two different informants and melded them together to form a whole ‘story’ which he termed ‘The voyage to New Zealand’ (Frame, 2006). Moana Jackson has commented on this kind of investigation into the work of early ‘ethnographic trappers’, highlighting the potential for decolonisation, he says:

We're all aware of what the missionaries, and Irihapeti Ramsden has called, the 'ethnographic trappers', did to our knowledge, of our way of seeing the world in the past. We know what they did to the beautiful poetic metaphors of our faith. We know how they marginalised women in our history and we know how they rewrote what happened. (Jackson, 1998, p. 70)

Encased in our ingoa are many references to our mātauranga in its many forms. The denial and mistreatment of our names is also a denial and an act of violence toward our knowledges, and this is clearly connected to ideologies of race. Whaene Leonie Pihama (2001) provides an extensive discussion of the importation of colonial ideologies. She asserts that Social Darwinism, for example, is a colonial theory, which has served to render our people as inferior humans to our white counterparts. This has directly led to the obsession of several ethnographers such as Elsdon Best with ‘sciences’ such as craniometry or the measuring of our skulls and thereby positing the size of our brains as a reflection of our intelligence (Mikaere, 2011). Charles Darwin’s ‘survival of the fittest’ theory also meant that Pākehā believed Māori would eventually die out and in the 1890s when there was a steep drop in our population, our colonisers believed their theory had been proved correct. In reality,

we were being decimated by imported diseases for which we had no immunity, brought into our communities by our colonisers (Te Puawai Tapu, 2006).

A quote from an interview with a Pākehā junior assistant, granddaughter of the head teacher at Omanaia Native School in 1936 further reiterates the influence of colonial ideologies of race in how teachers perceived and treated Māori, especially those of darker skin colour as evidenced in the following testimony:

There was evidence that some teachers had very negative attitudes towards te reo Māori and towards the Māori pupils themselves. Such negativity was reflected for instance in the contemptuous treatment of children's Māori names. 'Grandad had one boy with a long name and he said "From now on your name is Bucket and by the look of you I think Tar Bucket would be a good name...."' (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 48)

Again, Māori names as markers of 'race' were very difficult and traumatic for Māori tamariki to carry in a school environment. Riwia Brown relates the difficulties of carrying a Māori name whilst growing up in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) in the 1960s:

Over the years I have learnt to respect my name, but as a youngster growing up with it, it was hard! For a start, nobody could pronounce it. At primary school I was sometimes called 'Wee Wee' or worse, not only by my classmates but by those who were responsible for my education. So I learnt from a young age that my name, Riwia, somehow made me different. (as cited in Ihimaera, 1998, p. 247)

The power held by teachers and by the colonial schooling system which was then used to oppress and subjugate Māori has been critiqued by several prominent Māori scholars (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Mead, 1996; Ramsden, 1994). They all found that colonial attitudes and ideologies of teachers have had a terrible impact on the status of our reo, and therefore, I argue, on the status of our ingoa tangata as expressions of our reo. With the denigration of our names has come the high cost of having our knowledges associated with names and naming practices eroded. The following memory of a Māori student is indicative of this as Clothier (1993) recalls:

Accounting class. Class member asks me the meaning of Rangī Ruru (G.H.S). I replied, 'I think rangī is the sky, ruru is an owl but the school's name probably means something entirely different'. 'Oh and you call yourself a Maori – you should know that.' (p. 27)

A wonderful product of colonisation is the birth of children from inter-cultural relationships. The proliferation of English, Irish, French and Scottish surnames amongst Māori can be directly attributed to these relationships and the children of these unions. Over time, these names have become distinctly Māori and are known throughout the country to refer to certain whānau, hapū and iwi groupings. The whakapapa has continued through the Māori line and, therefore, has been claimed as a Māori name, and as identifying Māori people. Manuhua Bennett (1979) comments on this and claims that Māori names may not actually indicate Māori whakapapa in the future:

In New Zealand, names such as Reedy, Mead, Bennett, and so on can no longer be considered Pākehā names. They are now an intrinsic part of Māoridom. By the same token, when I look at the blue eyes and the fair skins of the descendants of people such as Puketapu and Parata, I am convinced that the day is not far off when those names will no longer be just Māori names. (p. 75)

This highlights several questions. If you are Māori, do you need a Māori name? I suspect many will say, no! And so I rephrase the question. What is the difference between being Māori and not having a Māori name and being Māori with a Māori name? This is an area that could benefit from further research, although Chapter Two attempts to begin answering that question.

An intended outcome of assimilation is the need to ‘fit in’ and be ‘normal’. and as a result, Māori have been made to feel ashamed of their Māori heritage and therefore of their ingoa Māori. Whilst first names could be erased, surnames proved to be more long lasting markers of race for some whānau due to the fixed and patriarchal nature of surnames as a system, as Clothier (1993) remarks “...it’s my last name most of the time unless they’re Maori themselves then they know straight away. But it’s my last name that gives me away so’s to speak, I went through a phase when all I wanted to do was change my name and disappear”. (p. 31)

John Rangihau (1977b) also experienced racism associated with his name and tells of his experience in the late 1950’s of not being able to get any accommodation in a number of towns while he was working because he was Māori but also because he had a Māori name as he retells us:

One of the funny things I remember was having been turned down by three different hotels. I went to the nearest telephone box and rang one up, saying that my name was Turner. I was immediately accepted for a room. When I went around I was told 'oh, Mr Turner, we're sorry. We didn't realise you were a Māori.' In other words Mr Turner appeared to be Pakeha and appeared to be acceptable. But as soon as Mr Turner turned up and was a Maori, the crunch came.' (p. 173)

Another way to hide our identity and those of our tamariki was not to give them Māori names at all. Not naming our children in te reo is a way of staying silent, of hiding and has allowed Māori to disavow their 'race' if the situation is unsafe or makes them feel ashamed. This rejection of our mother tongue is identified by Te Kapunga Dewes (1975) as a form of cultural violence inflicted upon us through the colonial process of assimilation.

The mutilation of our ingoa

When I was born my mother gave me three names:

*Christabelle, Yoshie, and Puanani.
"Christabelle" was my "English" name,
My social security card name,
My school name,
The name I gave when teachers asked me
for my "real" name; it was a safe name.*

*"Yoshie" was my home name,
My everyday name,
The name that reminded my father's family
that I was Japanese, even though
my nose, hips and feet were wide,
it was the name that made me acceptable to them
who called my Hawaiian mother kuroi;
it was a saving name.*

*Puanani is my chosen name,
My piko name connecting me to the 'Aina,
and the kai and the Po'e Kahiko;
it is my blessing and my burden,
my amulet, my spear.*

Composed by Puanani Burgess (2010)

Puanani Burgess also discusses the importance of poetry for poets in terms of *"dealing with painful issues in a way that doesn't destroy them"* (p. 185). Not only is her poem about names, identity and pain but it is also about the strength and

power that can be found in a name or names which grounds us in our identity. Our colonisers have long attacked this power and strength. Since the arrival of non-Māori upon our whenua, our names have been subjected to a slaughtering, and the weapon of choice has been - mispronunciation and misspelling (Mead, 1997). Some 64 years after Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed, the mispronunciation and misspelling of Māori names was well established and noted by Tregear (1904) in the following way:

...names are hideously travestied by the colonists in many cases, not only in speaking but in writing. Te Umuakaha became Temuka; Wairarapa, Wydrop, Ngaru-a-wahia, Naggery-Waggery; Eketahuna, Jacky-town; Te Urukapanā, The Woolly Carpenters. Even names of persons suffered terribly, the great chief Te Rauparaha being designated "The Robuller". (p. 161)

Tregear also specifically discusses the ‘problem’ that non-Māori had with understanding the unique characteristics of the Māori language and in being able to differentiate the name of a person from certain particles of our language. For example, ‘E’ is often used before which are used before people’s names to draw attention. The ‘E’ was often mistaken by Europeans as being part of someone’s name and was therefore spoken or written into our names, such as ‘Epuni’ rather than ‘Puni’ (Tregear, 1904).

The meaning of our names was also viewed by our colonisers as being quite elusive, particularly to ethnographers, who have used several different methods to illicit some kind of insight into our naming practices and influences. For example, Te Rangihiroa Peter Buck (1945) was particularly critical of John White’s work on names, stating that his technique of “*splitting proper names into various combinations of syllables with different meanings*” was “*irritating*” (p. 114). This particular method of devising meaning from Māori names became so laughable that Archdeacon Herbert Williams in a lecture to the Wellington Historical Society on “Names and Primitive History” rightly warned his audience against the “*absurd interpretations*” of John White. He then proceeded to tell a story about a Māori who got ‘one back’ on a similarly interpretive Pākehā who asserted, after a syllable-by-syllable breakdown of the name Waipukurau that he could ascertain its deeper meaning. A Māori person then asked the interpretive Pākehā if he was aware that the real meaning of the word ‘category’, as broken down in a similar fashion to

“cat-he-gory” revealed the deeper meaning of being “a sanguinary tomcat” (Williams, 1929).

Herbert Williams also made a plea for the scientific study of Māori names in this same lecture. Of course, it never occurred to these men that Māori already knew how to ‘find’ the ‘meaning’ of our own names. That we have been passing on the *kōrero ingoa*, the *whakapapa*, and the knowledges associated with our names and their significance to our *tamariki* and *mokopuna*, for many generations despite the significant odds against us. This is just one example of the denial of our intellectual capacity to understand the meaning of our own names by early settlers. The intellectual superiority of our coloniser was assumed, as too, was the death of our culture.

However, in recent times, the *iwi* of Whanganui has requested the official name of Wanganui revert back to its correct spelling (Kearns & Berg, 2002). The correct spelling of a name has a significant impact on its meaning as Andersen (1958) comments as follows:

The first name which took my fancy was one spelt Waiwakaheketupa-paku; and on my pestering a senior draughtsman who seemed to know a little Maori for the meaning of the name, he made a shot at it. “Wai”, said he, was water, and often a stream was called Wai-something; ‘waka’ is ‘a canoe’, ‘heke’ is ‘down’, and ‘papaku’ a corpse; so the meaning will be something like this: “The stream where a corpse was seen floating down. Which of course it was not. But I had to be content with that meaning for many years. I learned the correct form of the name when I learned the history of the place and of the Maoris living there... I found that one letter had been dropped from the name of the stream about which I am writing, the letter ‘h’: the correct spelling was Waiwhakaheketupapaku, and this letter made all the difference, but not till I learned its history.

*Waiwhakaheketupapaku was the name of one of these big springs, and the the stream flowing from it was given the same name... Now the Maori had a kind of waterburial, and this particular spring was used for water-burial. The corpse to be disposed of was weighted by a few heavy stones being tied to its feet, when the corpse was slipped feet-first into the spring and allowed to sink, which it did, disappeared and was never seen again. Now as we boys knew, these deep springs were often inhabited by big eels, and I reckoned the fate of the corpses was not very hard to conjecture. Of course the spring was *tapu*, so the eels, even if caught, were never eaten by the Maori. The discovery of the use made of this spring filled me with strange mixed feelings which I have never been able to get rid of. “What’s in a name?” A great deal sometimes. (p. 51)*

The name of this stream and its associated kōrero around water burial of this kind highlights the important role names and their stories have in expressing tikanga and as knowledge and story holders. Furthermore, often these names have been written down incorrectly by early ethnographers and cartographers due to their ignorance of te reo Māori and tribal dialects. However, there are Māori reintroducing long and often poetical, referentially layered names, back into our whakapapa through the naming of their children. These acts of reclamation and resistance serve as avenues to correct colonial impositions and (re)assert our knowledges (Smith, 1999).

In 1967, the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation decided to adopt common usage of place names rather than correct Māori pronunciation. Debased pronunciation directly leads to the incorrect spelling of our names and then to the loss of its true meaning. The subsequent loss of our stories, practices and knowledges associated with these names has very real consequences for our people and for our connection to the land in particular (Walker, 1969). Here in the Waikato, where I reside and have a whakapapa connection to, we still struggle to have the importance of correct pronunciation recognised and enacted. Waikato is often mispronounced as Wai-Cat-Oh which denigrates the mana and tapu of its intended meaning and of the tribes that belong to this place. The history of the name Waikato stems back to the arrival of the Tainui waka to these shores and, therefore, has a unique place in the history of Aotearoa/ New Zealand (Royal, 2010).

Renaming ourselves: A conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined how the practice of Baptism has changed the nature of the ingoa we give our tamariki. A whole range of names have been imported and inserted into our whakapapa. I have sought to highlight the oppression of our naming knowledges, and the subjugation of our power to keep gifting ingoa to our tamariki and to each other. This, in turn, has led to the denigration of our traditional naming practices and the fluidity of our identity.

Although I have examined the attempted and intended destruction of our ingoa I do not argue that our ingoa are any less than they were before. As R. Walker (2004) entitled his book, we will continue to fight – ‘ka whawhai tonu mātou’. Māori will continue to fight for our ingoa because our tūpuna never stopped. Our struggle to

have our knowledges and language reclaimed and regenerated continues throughout the motu. Every. Single. Day. Our names are a core part of that struggle as Chapter Six explores.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) asserts that Indigenous people must reclaim our history and tell our stories. To do so is an important part of our own decolonisation. The entire thesis, but in particular, this chapter is a contribution to that aim through the exploration of the ideologies and institutions used by the coloniser to erase us, through the renaming and claiming of our whakapapa. These colonial acts of violence have attempted to and in some cases have successfully interrupted our ways of naming our whakapapa; namely our whenua, and ourselves. Certainly, I have sought to provide evidence that our colonists understood the power and permanence of colonial renaming and thereby the remaking of Māori into the imperial image of whiteness. However, colonisation is a process of naming and for Māori reclaiming back our right to rename our own names is to define our truth once again and regain our tino rangatiratanga (Jackson, 1995).

Which leads me to my concluding remarks for this section. We did not 'lose' our reo; it was not misplaced like a set of keys or a wallet (Mikaere, 2011). Neither did we 'lose' our names; they have been systematically and intentionally erased from our lives ever since the first colonial explorer trespassed into our waters. Blaming each other and ourselves creates lateral and internalised hatred that perpetuates and maintains historical trauma. This chapter outlines the key instruments and institutions of colonialism that have attempted to erase our ingoa and tapa ingoa practices and protocols. It has argued that claiming our voices from the silence contributes to the necessary healing our people need. We need to understand the events and actions that have led to our current reality, not to blame the descendants of our colonisers, who I believe have a responsibility to be our allies on our journey to resurgence, but, for our tamariki to know the truth, and this chapter is my attempt at providing that.

Our struggles to endure, to resist, to maintain our mana and tino rangatiratanga are probably the most important stories we can tell. In fact, those pakanga (battles) are the very reason that we still *are*. This is not about us being a resilient people; we should not need to be resilient. This is about us reclaiming ourselves and therefore,

our belief and pride in our ingoa and ourselves as representations of who we are and as expressions of our reo and ways of seeing. These struggles to 'be Māori' are underway and have been underway throughout the impositions and trauma of colonialism I have spoken of, both because of colonialism and despite it. The next chapter celebrates those struggles and successes in enduring, reclaiming, regenerating and resurging forward. However, before that chapter, I share a creative piece of writing which speaks to my own experience of some of the issues raised in this chapter.

She pauses...

looks down

scans the room

No Māori in the room

Hmmm, can't see any little boys in the room either

Ummm

She looks down again, and in a harsh, bitter tasting voice, she says:

“Packy-ah-rarhi-rarhi?”

I've already guessed she means us.

Internally, I struggle with not wanting to make anyone feel uncomfortable.

My instinct is to smile and say, “yup that's us! Come on baby; the nurse is calling your name”. She then says, “Oh, sorry if I got that wrong. Such a long name. Bit too *hard* for me I'm afraid. Do you have anything shorter I can call him?”

My instinct is to make some kind of comment, to joke it off and say,

“yeah, it's a bit of a tongue twister, eh?”

She says something about how “he has such beautiful, long hair” and that he's

“much too pretty to be a boy”.

I look down at him. He is already fatigued, harassed, annoyed and sick to boot.

Vulnerable

She has just insulted him on several different levels in the first thirty seconds

I ask him: “e whakaae ana koe kia karanga ia i a koe ko Paki?

Kaua ko Pakiarohirohi?”

He says: “oh, āe Māmā! He hōhā a Pakiarohirohi,

ko Paki kē taku ingoa pai.”

My instinct is to tell her Paki is fine for short; to make the awkwardness go away
- for all our sakes.

My instincts pretty much suck.

My need to avoid awkwardness, my desire to avoid the uncomfortable
conversation that will follow about the difficulty she has with the pronunciation of
“te rayo” (te reo) and how her tongue “just won’t work that way.”

She’ll say, she doesn’t mean to offend anyone, and a hurt look will cross her face.
Her voice will then start to get an annoyed edge to it, or worse; we might get into
a conversation about culture - mine, not hers.

I will have to defend, explain...

tell her the whole story of his name, while she nods politely along,
and then we’ll spend the rest of the appointment watching her figure out ways
to avoid *saying* his name.

Maybe my instincts don’t suck

Then I remember the story of his name, the mana of my Koro, the aroha that still
stings my heart when I think of him, and the pride I feel when I look at my son
and see the embodiment of that name and of my Koro.

No!

Just - *no*

You cannot shorten it

but

I will help you to say it if you like?

Chapter Six

Whakawaiwai ai te tū a Taranaki

NAMING OUR NAMES AND TELLING OUR STORIES



Figure 3: Taranaki Mounga, by Jessica Matehuirua White

This is home. This is a photograph of Taranaki mounga, taken by one of the storytellers in this research, Jessica. It was taken from just outside our papakāinga, at Parihaka Pā, Taranaki, where two particular whare look out on to our tupuna mounga every day. One of those whare, Te Hapū o Rongo, is a home built by my grandfather and others to house and care for his family and future descendants. Right next door stands one of our ancestral homes, Te Rongo o Raukawa. That whare has sheltered and protected many generations of our whānau over the years. Whānau whom have consistently supported the kaupapa of Parihaka since its inception.

This chapter contains kōrero ingoa or naming stories from selected whānau members who affiliate to these two houses and to our papakāinga of Parihaka. All participants in this research are embedded in our whānau, our land, our people and, therefore, in our Taranakitanga. It is only correct then, for me to position their kōrero ingoa not only on the land they connect to but in our identity as Taranaki

people. The kōrero ingoa contained within this chapter therefore boldly speak from the viewpoint given in this photo, from where we gather and stand together as a whānau collective, from our *home*.

Introduction

This chapter explores the mana or significance of Māori personal names, protocols and practices for Māori. The kōrero ingoa or personal naming stories of six generations as told by eight whānau members, total twenty-six different kōrero ingoa, are provided in order to inform the key research questions. Additionally, the examination of these kōrero ingoa is considered sufficient to explore and gain the in depth understanding and knowledge intended in this thesis. Furthermore, I argue that the sharing of kōrero ingoa has the potential to transform Māori whānau by teaching and illustrating not only the mana and wealth of knowledge that is held in our names but also in our kōrero ingoa as well. Thus, the benefits for us all as an Indigenous people when we continue to gift our tamariki with our ingoa is revealed.

This chapter is also primarily concerned with exploring one overall research question, which is:

- What do the kōrero ingoa of whānau participants reveal about why Māori personal names are important to keep gifting?

Alongside this main question, there are other sub questions, which I explore in this chapter through the kōrero ingoa provided by whānau participants, such as:

- What influences the choice of a personal name?
- Who names people?
- How has personal naming been impacted by colonisation?
- What are some of the mechanisms we have employed to respond and counteract colonialism?

However, before I could engage with those questions, I needed to explore issues related to a broader understanding of what exactly a ‘Māori’ personal name is. More specifically, what we consider to be a Taranaki personal name. These issues are

explored in this chapter and some arguments proffered in response. What is clear is that there are layers and complexities in any exploration of the process and relationships that are a part of the gifting of Māori names.

Previous chapters have discussed and shared the conceptualisation of Māori names through selected pūrākau, which highlight traditional naming protocols and practices. I have also investigated the impact that colonial institutions of the Church, Education and Law, have had on our ability to continue to gift, receive and carry our ingoa tangata. This chapter moves forward into the present day, to our contemporary names and korero ingoa. In order to do this, I draw the stories and knowledge shared within the kōrero ingoa of whānau participants. The significance and power of those kōrero ingoa directly inform the subsequent themes of this chapter.

The kōrero ingoa provide a window into the names of several members of one whānau and shares their struggles and successes in the naming of their tamariki, in the gifting and receiving of new names as adults, and in their experiences of carrying their names. I argue that as whānau, our transformative potential lies within the personal spaces, within *us*. In providing a space where our whānau stories can be told, and our voices heard, it is contended that these kōrero ingoa will also resonate with other whānau on a journey to decolonise and reclaim ingoa Māori back into their whakapapa. To emphasise this, I have chosen to weave all the generations together rather than display them generation by generation. This was intentionally done to entangle and weave their kōrero together in order that they mirror the realities and web-like intricacies of living as a multi-generational Māori whānau. Consequently, the kōrero ingoa proffered refer to and represent several different periods of time and associated events or history.

It is not the focus of this study to explain the whakapapa connections of my whānau nor is it to provide life narratives or even a family history. However, it is important to note the significance of whānau for our people and therefore of my whānau to me. I would like to share the following analogy (also a philosophy and practice) to help explain the family grouping found in this chapter which help make up a wider whānau based study. The whole whānau can be likened to a pū harakeke (flax bush).

In one fan of leaves, there is a centrepiece which is the youngest generation, the baby of the family. On either side of the rito, are its parents who are the longest and strongest leaves in the fan. Alongside those are the grandparents, great grandparents and so on. All of these fans form a bush, not unlike a whānau unit, and that is how I see these stories, as several fans belonging to the same bush (Pihama et al., 2015). As Linda Mead (1996) also highlights, whakapapa relationships are rather entangled and complex:

A child is born into a set of complex relationships. They can be tuakana to others who are much older in age than the child. Similarly, a child on one whakapapa line can be a tuakana to someone, and through another whakapapa line, can be their teina. (p. 263)

Not unlike our whakapapa relationships, the concepts and practices depicted in this chapter also interact and are entangled in one another. Not only do our kōrero ingoa speak about our names, but the beauty of our kōrero ingoa is that they also speak of our whenua, our wairuatanga (spirituality), our mana, and ultimately of our whakapapa. Therefore, our kōrero ingoa must be understood in terms of their wholeness and their lived enactment within our lives (Pere, 1994). They are, therefore, not only whānau narratives but also encompass hapū and/or iwi based narratives sometimes as well.

Importantly, this chapter highlights the transformative potential of kōrero ingoa as a source of information that reveals the importance of Māori personal naming for Māori society. It explores the prevalence of naming protocols and practices still being maintained today and the colonial oppressions being imposed on whānau Māori seeking to continue naming our world. In order to meet the aforementioned aim, this chapter is made up of two sections. The first section presents the findings which best evidence the main themes of endurance and survival, resistance, and reclamation. Consequently, I position section one of this chapter alongside the arguments of Indigenous scholars such as Leanne Simpson (2011) who asserts that our resistance and the reclamation and resurgence of our culture(s) does not solely occur as part of large political movements, but also takes place within our families, and in living our daily realities.

Examples of our survival, resistance, reclamation and resurgence in the face of colonisation are unveiled in this chapter through the telling of these 'kōrero ingoa'. By 'celebrating survival', as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) terms it, we highlight the hard work we have employed while living colonialism alongside our love for our ingoa which we will never relinquish. The kōrero ingoa in this thesis provide and assume a Māori worldview which naturalises mātauranga Māori, tikanga and reo. I will discuss the contribution our ingoa make to Māori and Indigenous projects of decolonisation and resurgence respectively.

In section two, I specifically showcase some of the values, concepts, protocols and practices still being employed and maintained by whānau, some of which are relatively new or have been adapted to suit our current realities as Māori. Of particular importance is the significance of two practices, karanga and iritanga, which have been regenerated within one branch of the whānau and these are proffered as examples of cultural resurgence at a whānau level.

Taking up my poi, however clumsily, I use it to help me share the stories of several whānau members throughout this chapter. I do so to reveal the ways that our ingoa and their stories are embedded in our traditions, our memories and our histories. As individual stories, the kōrero ingoa are powerful in their right. Importantly though these individual stories combine to tell a collective story. The stories of all whānau members involved in this research tell of the complex and varied realities that is very much a part of a *whānau* way of living and being.

The multiple generations, their ages, circumstances, values, priorities and beliefs all intersect and interconnect to bring to life the very real experience of what it is to be and to live as a whānau member as well as a carrier of a Māori name. It is as a whanaunga, irāmutu, mokopuna and whāene to these whānau members, who have so generously gifted me their kōrero ingoa that I attempt to re-present their stories with the help of my poi.

Section One

E tū nei Ko Whakatohe

NAMING AS A SITE OF RESISTANCE

This heading is taken from a line in one of our poi manu called ‘I te Rā o Maehe’. Whakatohe in the context of that song is to stand resolute in the face of wrongdoing, such as land theft. Whakatohe is defined as being tenacious and determined. In this waiata, Whakatohe is personified so as to be an entity on its own. This is due to the importance of the characteristic of ‘whakatohe’ to the success of the kaupapa of Parihaka and our persistent and consistent active resistance against the colonial agenda. A Nishnaabeg scholar and poet describes our resistance as follows:

My ancestors resisted and survived what must have seemed like an apocalyptic reality of occupation and subjugation in a context where they had few choices. They resisted by simply surviving and being alive. They resisted by holding on to their stories. They resisted by taking away the seeds of our culture and political systems and packing them away, so that one day another generation of Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg might be able to plant them. I am sure of their resistance because I am here today, living as a contemporary Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg woman. I am the evidence. (Simpson, 2011, p.15)

Part of what Leanne Simpson (2011) also argues for is that we, as Indigenous people, need to be in control of how we define words, such as resistance, for ourselves and in our context and history as a people. She asserts that colonial frames of resistance deny us the right to recognise and acknowledge our own forms of resistance outside of large-scale political mobilisation for example. I too argue for the need to define resistance on our own terms as Māori and in this case as a whānau who whakapapa to the Taranaki people and area. All participants in this study clearly showed their resistance against colonialism in their kōrero ingoa with several overtly discussing the negative impacts of certain institutions and mechanisms on their ability to gift a Māori name or to carry one. For Māori, kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori are two flagship products of our resistance, and as educational facilities, they started in people’s homes and on the marae. Their resistance started within our whānau, with

our grandmothers and grandfathers remembering and speaking our language to their grandchildren. As a graduate of kōhanga reo, I am the evidence that resistance lies in not only the large political movements but also within our whānau. For us, it was my grandmother who demanded that my mother send me to the first local kōhanga reo set up in New Plymouth despite my mother's objections, it was this little act of resistance, I believe, that has led me to where I am today as a fluent speaker of te reo Māori.

The attempted eradication of te reo Māori is one such colonial agenda of the Crown that Māori, and indeed several whānau participants, have found many ways of resisting against. The mana and tapu of Māori names was mentioned by all the whānau participants. Several participants came up against colonial ideologies and institutions which impacted negatively on their experience of carrying and gifting Māori personal names. Educational policies involved in the facilitation of the aforementioned colonial agenda have been outlined previously in Chapter Five. However, Kui Maata, in particular, shared some painful experiences of carrying a Māori name as a young girl at school in the 1950s:

Maata: I think that you've also got to remember that way back when you had a Māori name at school you got teased. I was born Maata, and I started school at 4, so I was pretty young, now what four year old could handle being teased? I didn't like being called Tree Tomaata and Maata Hari.

Joelie: What is that?

Maata: A tree tomato.

Joelie: And what's a Maata Hari?

Maata: That was a monkey who was named Maata Hari. I was really only Maata to my big sister back then. Hence, the reason why I believe when you give a child a long name you call the child that name. You don't ever shorten it. When you shorten the name, you are reducing the child's values, its wairua and its meaning. At the end of the day, names are sacred, so it's essential that when you do name that you hold the name.

Joelie: And so as a result of that experience you went back to Carol?

Maata: I went back to Carol and Carol comes from Christmas Carol, because I was born on the 22nd of December, 1950. I'm an original! I must have come on a Friday or something she said, and it was sort of the eve of Christmas. My aunty gave me the name Caroline, but my mum didn't like it, and so she named me Carol.

Maata

Clearly, the mana of her Māori name was of utmost priority for Kui Maata and returning to Carol was a strategy to protect her Māori name from further attack. Carrying a Māori name in a colonised society was not, and in many cases is still not, easy as Maata has explained. Our beliefs about the sanctity of names and of the mana held in them means that for tamariki who were teased about their names, the insult and trauma was severe. The ‘hiding’ or ‘protecting’ of our names is all a part of the politics of naming in a colonised society. This was an essential strategy for those who carried Māori names and had to endure the consistent and blatant disrespect of their language and names, particularly in my grandparent's generation. For Kui Maata this was the 1950's, and like both Simmonds (2014) and Smith (1999) observe, our names were only used within safe cultural contexts during that time, or they were hidden from our colonisers and positioned as second names to keep them safe.

Another phenomenon we have seen rise amongst Māori as a direct result of colonisation, namely urbanisation and globalisation, is the move away from Māori names to more Americanised names such as Dakota, Boston, or Phoenix, for example. Penehira (2011) identifies this as a direct interruption to our concepts and values of whakapapa and of naming. She strongly argues that this kind of naming puts us at risk of our culture being reshaped by name.

Colonial politics of naming extended to the renaming of our whakapapa. The institutions charged with this were schools, and therefore, teachers became perpetrators of the erasure of ingoa Māori from countless whānau. Enforcement of English names and of the English language was also a violent one for some time, with corporal punishment often being the discipline of choice to modify behaviour. One interviewee, in the work of Rachael Selby (1999), remembers that she did not know her numbers in English and was physically punished for it by her teacher:

I remember it was three o'clock and I couldn't say 'three o'clock', so she'd smack me. I'd say something in Māori and she'd say 'No it's not! This is the time for English not Māori, you leave your Māori language at home (p. 43).

However, when it came to their ingoa Māori, they could not just leave those at home, and so many were renamed with English names. One of our tauheke from Parihaka

and the iwi of Ngāruahinerangi, Koro Tohepakanga Ngatai (2005), shared his story of what Parihaka means to him. His story is of a young boy, who could not speak English, having to go to school where he was surprised by the sudden change to his identity and the loss of power he experienced:

Things happened and I always asked Mum. I was hanging on to her skirts. When I was young, I didn't say anything. They thought I was dumb. I didn't know my name was going to be Tom when I got to school. My real name is Tohepakanga. It's the ancestor's name Tohepakanga and that's my grandfather's younger brother. (p. 66)

Not only was his identity altered by being renamed with an English name, but his fluency in te reo Māori and thereby his quietness in the face of so much English was assumed to be because he was dumb. The ignorance and euro-centric attitude alluded to here by Koro Tohepakanga highlights some of the products of colonial ideologies of race that our tamariki in his time were faced with.

Consequently, Kui Maata has become a staunch advocate for the tapu and mana of our names. As she states in her kōrero and based on the long history of our names being shortened, mispronounced and of our people being renamed in English, it has become imperative to my Kui Maata and others, both Māori and Indigenous, that our names, and that we as the carriers of those names, endure this treatment no longer. That we, as Gabel (2013) argues, assert the mana of our names as taonga, for the sake of our culture, and for our mokopuna to come. Similarly, Kathie Irwin (2011) sought to uphold the mana of her great grandmother's name by gifting the name to her daughter, and (re)asserting it back into their whakapapa as an ingoa tupuna. For her, the reclamation of the name 'Horiana' from its mistreatment and the racism endured as a result was integral to the future of our people. She explains:

I only ever wanted your name to be a joy and a taonga to you, as it is to me. A beautiful way of honouring your great grandmother who also bore that name and who lovingly allowed you, and only you, of all her direct descendants, to carry it on to the future... When she was a child her name was used to taunt her, as a form of derision. Horiana was shortened to "Hori", with the associated views about being dirty, second rate and second class. The creation of this vulnerability she felt was a direct result of the racism of the society in which she lived. She told me that she came to dislike her name because of this... We persuaded her that a time was coming when

being called Horiana would be a wonderful thing. When “Horiana” would be part of the valued expression of Māori language and culture that was common place in NZ society. The name would call forth a heritage at once uplifting and inspirational. She agreed and named you with her blessing. (pp. 21-22)

Mispronunciation amongst non-Māori, particularly Pākehā, many of whom have been here in Aotearoa for several generations, is still a major issue of epidemic proportions. The impact of mispronunciation continues to have very real negative consequences for those who carry ingoa Māori. Consequently, mispronunciation has been identified as a significant barrier to student teacher relationships, for example, and has had a negative impact on the way Māori students experience school (Russell Bishop & Mere Berryman 2006). Mispronunciation as an issue is explored further in Chapter Five as well. However, another whānau participant, Whaene Mairi, shared some of her own father's views around the mana and tapu of our names. His kōrero also reinforces the sentiments of Kui Maata as follows:

Koro Waru was a stickler for using proper names. He believed in acknowledging who you are through the correct use of your name. My sisters were often told off for shortening my name because of who I was named after. They often forgot when around Papa, and he would tell them off. They still do now out of habit even though he has passed away.

Mairi

Several whānau participants carry names that have been transliterated from English into Māori, largely due to baptism and colonial educational agendas. In the case of Kui Maata it was for the practical reason of differentiating herself from her mother, while still honouring and carrying her name:

Maata: My name is Maata Hurita Carol Moanaroa. Maata was from my mother whose name was Martha, and the Hurita comes from her other name that was Julia. Whenever the whanau wanted my immediate attention, they'd use Hurita.

Joeliee: Can you tell me why those names have been transliterated?

Maata: So that there was a difference between my mum and me. I was Maata, and she was Martha and of course, that comes from our French side.

Maata

Transliterations are also a way in which some whānau honour their whakapapa, culture and language. Our resistance against the encroachment of English on our lives is constantly being fuelled, and this is particularly evidenced in the naming of our tamariki. Since colonial contact, Māori people have been forced to try to straddle both the Māori and the Pākehā worlds. Where the two converge or intersect, we have used te reo Māori and the English language as tools to navigate our way. The use of transliterations is a smaller act of resistance against the encroachment of English and therefore of colonialism upon our lives.

A transliteration is a word that has “*been directly translated from English with Māori pronunciation*” (Tawhara 2015, p. 91), and in terms of naming, transliterations became prolific amongst Māori as a result of baptism (Steeds 1999).⁵⁷ Research carried out by Te Ao Mārama Tawhara (2015) which shows that transliterations are perceived by adult learners of te reo Māori to have an adverse impact on te reo Māori, especially when used too often and utilised in the place of more traditional words. However, there is evidence from naming stories in the literature, and within the kōrero ingoa of whānau participants, that transliterated personal names are perceived differently to transliterated words, by Māori and Pākehā alike. Several whānau participants have transliterated names and see these names as being Māori names. Not only that, but they are also seen as valuable, as a continuation of the practice of gifting ancestral names, whilst upholding the mana of te reo Māori.

Other stories told about Māori names also highlight this. For example, Kingi Taurua, whose first name is a transliteration of the English word ‘King’ explains in an interview with Dale Husband that when he first went to school, he was instructed by the headmaster, who said “*Now, you go home and you find a Pakeha name - and come back when you find one*” (as cited in Husband, 2015b, lines 6-7). Other smaller sites of resistance and reclamation that we need to honour are, the gifting of both Pākehā and Māori names to children, and double-barrelled names using both English and Māori names is another good example.

⁵⁷ Other terms used are borrowing or loan word. For further research and discussion of these terms (see Ka'ai, T. and J. C. Moorfield, 2009).

It is highlighted in the kōrero ingoa that in the meeting of two worlds, many a beautiful child is born and the names of these tamariki are often a product of considerable negotiation. For example, in the kōrero ingoa that follows my Whaene Mairi talks about one of the strategies she used to try and find a name for her daughter which honoured her Māori whakapapa and yet accommodated her Pākehā family too:

Mama always said the father must name the first child. Neta's father was Pakeha, so he named her Dearnna. I wrote to my grandmother, Nanny Neta and asked, "Can I please have a Māori name that is easy for Neta's father to get his tongue around?" She wrote back saying, "give her my name" and so she was named Dearnna Neta. Six months later Nanny Neta stayed at Mama and Papa's house to check out her name, to see if it fit her. It did, and so it stayed, however, Kui Neta hit the roof when she heard me calling her Dearnna, not Neta and said she would take the name away if I didn't use it. And so from then on, she was known as Neta. Nanny Neta told me her name was Māori and meant faithful.

Mairi

The intersectionality of the Māori and Pākehā worlds is illuminated in the previous kōrero with Whaene Mairi who actively navigated two families and two cultures. Whose language should be honoured? Who names the baby? These naming based questions, and many others have beset Māori within bi-cultural and indeed multicultural family and whānau contexts since first contact. One of the strategies Whaene Mairi employed to make sure her daughter carried a Māori name was to seek one which would be easier for her daughters Pākehā family to pronounce. She sought this name by asking permission from her grandmother, Kui Neta. The importance of grandparents and other whānau members in Māori naming cannot be overstated, and the dissolution of the whānau through assimilative policies is discussed in Chapter Five. Furthermore, it is clear, that more research on the direct impact of the dissolution of whānau, of urbanisation and other assimilative agendas on Māori naming knowledge and practices is an area which needs further mining. As Nepe (1991) explains in the following quote, the whānau is a stalwart of te ao Māori which protects our culture and ways of being:

The whanau in addition to being a reproductive unit is also a unit of resistance. It buffers and levers difficulties, traumatic experiences, and major threats to the preservation of tino rangatiratanga within the whanau,

within the hapu and within the iwi. In this role the whanau is the protective shield which provides strategies and defense mechanisms to counter problems, depression, negative consequences, repressive moves and sovereignty threats. (p. 79)

Of particular note is the unique nature of the relationship between a mokopuna and a kuia. For Whaene Mairi having her grandmother there to guide her made all the difference in her ability to resist and assert a Māori name for each of her children. A relationship which often commands a lot of aroha and respect as evidenced within the following kōrero from Rose Pere:

He taonga te mokopuna, ka noho mai hoki te mokopuna hei puna mo te tipuna ka whakaaro tatou tatou ka noho mai te mokopuna hei tā moko mo te tipuna anā he tino taonga rā tona. He mokopuna rā tātou, he mokopuna anā hoki nga tipuna⁵⁸. (as cited in Cameron, et al., p. 4)

Furthermore, our kuia are infamous for the particularly assertive and direct strategies they employ to ensure we follow tikanga correctly and for their all embracing love for their relatives. A poem has been written about our Taranaki kuia by Teremoana Pehimana, who fondly refers to them as her Taranaki aunties:

Taranaki Aunties

*too many to name
running Owae, Muru Raupatu
and Parihaka with the men
working too.
Cuddling babies and
leading by example to tamariki
and manuhiri.
Your karanga and
waiata ringing out on
marae, your jokes and
teasing helping ringa wera
work harder.
But your beauty
not bound by make-up or glaring
clothes. No, your
raukura and simple black
standing in dignity*

⁵⁸ Translation as provided in the source: “A grandchild is very precious, a fountain for ancestral knowledge and an everlasting reflection of those who have gone before. We are all grandchildren as are our ancestors.” (as cited in Cameron, et al., 2013, p. 4)

*and your aprons
showing you'd work
till the hui was over.
Visiting you at home, hearing
about weaving, land
struggles and people's news. Always
the teapot ready and kai ready...
Always encouraging.
You've awhied many of us.
We've come back to
the city healed and inspired
Taranaki Aunties, too many
to name...
(as cited in Irwin, 1995, p. 22)*

Our Kui Neta was one of those Taranaki aunties written about in the above poem. She was also our kuia. She was Whaene Mairi's grandmother, and she made certain to insert herself into Mairi's life at pivotal moments, to check on her mokopuna and make sure the family was upholding the mana of the names she had gifted. Whaene Mairi explains this further in her kōrero:

When I was hapu with Ariki, I wanted to give him a Māori name too. I thought, my children have to know where they come from. And so I wrote to my Nanny Neta again, asking, "Please may I have Koro Whatarau's second name Ariki for my son?" She wrote back saying, "yes". However, Mama said, the father must name the first son; his Dad called him Brendan. Of course, I was disappointed knowing that my two children's Māori names were relegated to second names...

By the time Ariki was 1 year old, Nanny Neta had come to check his name and said that he carried his name well. She again growled me for calling him Brendan instead of Ariki - hence, I only call him Ariki.

Mairi

In her intention to honour her kuia, her whakapapa and the names given to her children, Whaene Mairi has been able to appease both her partner and her whānau. She chose to record their English names as first names on their birth certificates while orally referring to them by their Māori names in their day-to-day lives. The opposite approach was taken by Koro Te Ru's parents who decided to give him and his sister Māori names on their birth certificates and yet, use English names for them in their daily lives.

One practice raised by whānau participants was the gifting of a name in English but with a Māori value or protocol behind the motivation for choosing that name. This is about our ability to adapt as a people to make Pākehā culture and forced assimilation work for us and within our cultural frameworks as much as possible. Acknowledging important relationships and people in our lives and history as a collective was and is an important aspect of Māori naming practices. In the following kōrero ingoa, Kui Maata retells part of our Koro's kōrero ingoa in which he was named after a farmer our whānau had a meaningful relationship with:

Joeliee: How did he become known as Richard?

Kui Maata: Interesting, Te Ru was born the day that Richard Flemming got married - that's when they called him Richard. A marker in time. He was a farmer in the area; he was the one that Te Ru's mother worked for as a housecleaner or something. I think he was named after him to honour their relationship with that family and the permanence of that connection. The Count died in his 90's, and Te Ru and I were at his tangi. I think it was very fitting that Te Ru attended as his namesake.

Maata

As this kōrero ingoa has depicted, the responsibilities of carrying a name with mana are upheld regardless of the language. As has already been discussed in this chapter, due to the different realities our whānau find themselves in contemporarily, we have adapted and created new ways of ensuring the survival of our naming practices. The fact that Koro Te Ru was named at birth and then named again shortly after was not an uncommon phenomenon for Māori. One of the key components of Māori naming is event based naming. Events make up our history and names are often used to mark such occasions. Names are used as signposts to mark out our history, present and even our future. Furthermore, the same applies to the names of our relatives of the natural world as Tipene O'Regan (1990) explains:

The names in the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place, recording some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe. If the name was remembered it could release whole parcels of history to a tribal narrator and those listening. The daily use of such place names meant that the history was always present, always available. In this sense living and travelling reinforced the histories of the people. (p. xiii)

The fact that Koro Te Ru was given certain names at birth but was known by another name for most of his early life is not uncommon amongst Māori. Compulsory registration of births and deaths was introduced in 1913. The hastening that compulsory registration caused in the natural process of naming a child in Māori terms meant that whānau gave their children names just to adhere to the law. As a result, some Māori spent a large part of their lives being known by a name or names that are largely different from those recorded on their birth certificates. Linda Mead (1996) comments in her thesis that this occurred amongst her father's generation, which would also be the same generation as Koro Te Ru.

Koro Te Ru became known as Richard because he was born around the time a close family friend and employer, Richard Flemming, was to be married. This was seen as important to be remembered, so he was given the name Richard to honour the occasion and the family by becoming his namesake. Kui Maata herself identifies that he became a living testament to the bond between our whānau and the Fleming family. Another point raised within the kōrero ingoa of Koro Te Ru was that their birth certificates had names on them that were never actually used in daily life. In fact, Koro Te Ru did not even realise he had other names recorded on his birth registration until he was a much older man. As Kui Maata explains:

Maata: His birth name was Te Raukaerea James Tunui Wharehoka. Those were his given names; the names that he wore were Richard and then Te Ru Koriri.

Joelie: Do you know where that comes from?

Maata: No, he didn't even know either. Even his sisters didn't know, they didn't even know he was Te Raukaerea. He was 60 when he found out that his name was Te Raukaerea James Tunui. His sister Makere found his church records, and he was registered at St Joseph's Church, Jerusalem, Whanganui under that name.

Maata

The rest of our Koro Te Ru's story is shared elsewhere in this chapter. However, it is worth noting that, despite his parents registering his names formally at a church neither he nor his sisters had ever heard of those names until they found his birth certificate. In fact, the name he carried into middle age was an English name,

Richard. Was this because of the racism prevalent at the time he was born (1930's) and the consequent intolerance for Māori names? Alternatively, did his parents give him an English name to 'hide' and therefore keep his Māori names safe from a colonial society? His sister Kui Makere had a similar experience and discussed it in a book published on Taranaki women as follows:

My name is Margaret Theresa on my birth certificate, but my Māori name is Hinenuitepō – that's also the name on my birth certificate. I didn't find that out until we went to Hawai'i in 1972 and I needed to get a passport. I got my name Makere from a koroua in Hāwera, it's a transliteration of Margaret and that's the name that stuck. (as cited in Johnston, 2008, p. 89)

Kia manawa piharau: We continue to fight

One of the instruments of colonisation that continues to subjugate our names contemporarily is the law and regulations associated with birth registration. It is striking that across all participants' kōrero ingoa that the birth certificate and related factors posed significant barriers to the naming of their children. One whānau participant noted that for her and her family time to 'wait and see' is crucial to the selection of an ingoa:

I think for me, for my family it's a wait and see process because I think the spirit of the child would be revealed at the time of the birth. I think that names have to be meaningful; they have to be part of a beginning for that soul, the wairua, for the tinana, for the hinengaro of that person. I think all of those have to be intune and I think that when you name a little person, they have a little person's life, I really do, and I think that as they get older they have a big person's life and they assume a different name because it becomes a part of a meaningful part of their life; a change in their life and often when there's a dramatic change in life there is often a name change. I think for Māori when babies are born the event of the time is recorded in that name.

Maata

Currently, according to the Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Relationships Registration Act 1995, parents must register births within two months of their child's birth. The right to change your baby's name, up until they turn two years old, comes with a fee and minimal paperwork (Department of Internal Affairs, 2017). For some of my whānau participants, this hasty time frame denied whānau

the time they needed to observe our naming practices and protocols and register their baby with the resulting name.⁵⁹ Certainly, when Kui Whero o te Rangi had her daughter Marama, her mother-in-law became very concerned at the ramifications from Social Welfare if she did not register Marama's birth quickly, as her baby was three months old and did not yet have a name, as Kui Te Whero o te Rangi explains:

Ka whaanau a Maarama, korerotahi maaua ko Mutu moo he ingoa, ka kii mai a ia, ko toona hiahia me tapangia te ingoa o toona whaene engari ko te ingoa Pakeha ko Louisa. Kua toru marama taku peepee, kaore ano kia whiwhi ingoa moo te ture pakeha. Ko au anake kei te karanga taku peepee, Maarama. Mai i teera ka whakaakiaki toku whaene pou pou me kakama angeau ki te rehita taku pepe, kei tae mai te ture ki te mau au ki te Social Welfare. Koirā ka haere au ki Parihaka ki te korero ki toku kuia a Rauwha Tamaiparea.

Whero o te Rangi

Another whānau participant also highlights this issue in discussing the naming of her son:

On Rongo's birth certificate, it has Tamatea Te Pokai Whenua, which we later found out is wrong. It's actually Tamatea Pokai Whenua. But, that's the thing with birth certificates; we had to fill in the registration form quickly. There's a time limit you have to get it in by.

Puna Te Aroha

As stipulated, for Puna Te Aroha and her whānau the speed with which they had to decide upon and register their child has meant an error in the official spelling of her child's name. Time also proved to be a factor for another whānau participant:

When putting his name together for his birth cert, we decided that we would just put Kingston Matatuu Awatea Lilo. I think at the time; this seemed enough, and we didn't want him having such a long name. Now, I guess this was 'Pākehā' thinking again (I shouldn't say Pākehā thinking

⁵⁹ Questions I believe should be raised and answered in future research are: 'In terms of Māori naming protocols and practices, how are whānau who are beneficiaries at the time of their child's birth impacted by the current regulations of government departments such as the Ministry of Social Development or Inland Revenue? Do whānau need to inform these departments of their children's names via birth certificates within a certain timeframe (different to that of the Births, Deaths, and Marriages Act), in order to receive additional income to cover the costs of the new child? If so, how does this impact upon their ability to take the time needed to consult whānau members, and return their child to their marae for naming ceremonies?'

because most of me is Pākehā - even though I don't feel it), but you know what I mean. In fact, there's probably an educated word for it.

Amanda

Once more, due to the short amount of time they had to register Kingston, they had to make, in terms of the Māori norm, a quick decision to drop part of his name and keep it to what they perceived to be an acceptable length at that time. However, with time came a new understanding for this whānau and a wish to include their child's full name as given to him by his grandmother. For them, their thinking around names had been largely affected by the hegemonic attitudes of colonial society. Over time, this began to change, and their desire to reclaim their son's full name became a priority:

Anyway, I still remember the day that Elias and I were in Queenstown, and we just had the urge to change his name, to what it should have been. We both just had a moment when we looked at each other and said that was one regret we had, and that was not naming him Maru Awatea. So, we did it. We changed his name on his birth cert to read - Kingston Matatuu Maru Awatea Lilo. Not much to some people, but it meant the world to us.

Amanda

In my experience, as a mother of three children with Māori names that might be deemed 'long' by colonial society, people have suggested that our name choices for our children might impair their learning and hinder their development as it would be 'hard for them to learn how to write it'. In mainstream discourse, writing your name is deemed to be a crucial milestone, and so I was deemed a negligent parent for giving my children names that were seen to be obstacles to their education.

When Amanda and Elias had their second child, they were determined to honour all of their child's names on her birth certificate. The resistance shown by this family, and wider whānau they belong to, reveals the power that lies in our ability to resist our colonised realities. Many whānau, just like this one, are working across many 'sites' of colonial difficulty to decolonise our realities to assert the validity of our practices and values:

Then Elias asked if he could also name her Olotomu (his Island Granny's name). Maata tells me that Elias was the apple of Olotomu's eye, and she was a special lady in their lives. At first, I thought, wow, she is going to have a long name. Then that thought blew out of my mind straight away, and I thought what a beautiful name she has been given.

Amanda

This kōrero ingoa further illustrates the mana our names have, particularly when they are ancestral. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) also argues that the return to ‘long’ ancestral names is a form of resistance and a reclamation of a traditional practice. The importance of our tūpuna names is a theme which is prevalent across several kōrero ingoa. In Taranaki, and indeed throughout te ao Māori, we have many examples of what might be termed ‘long’ personal names by non-Māori but which are a normal and important part of the namescape and are celebrated as such. For example ‘*Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi*’ (Tomlins-Jahnke and Mulholland, 2011) and more well-known examples of place names such as ‘*Te Whaitara nui aa Wharematangi i te kimi i tana matua i aa Ngarue.*’ (Waru n.d.)⁶⁰

He rau Rengarenga: Reclaiming ourselves, one name at a time

‘He rau Rengarenga’ is a term used in our old waiata and is a phrase used to refer to the health and strength that Parihaka people have found in the raukura (a feather plume) as a physical representation of our commitment to active resistance and therefore in the kaupapa of Parihaka. Our kaupapa for generations has been one of active resistance, self-sustainability, and self-governance, just to name a few. We have maintained these facets of our kaupapa in the face of colonial theft, violence and deception. Ruakere Hond (2015), a Taranaki language scholar, explains the significance of this colloquialism in the following quote from an interview with Māori television:

Ko te raurengarenga he momo rongoā, te mea whakamutunga pea o ngā rongoā. I te wā e taimaha ana a mate i runga i te tangata; ka mōhio tonu ko tērā rongoā te mea kaha. Ki te kore e ora i te rau rengarenga, e kore rā anō te tangata e ara atu anō i roto i a tātou te hunga ora. Nā reira ka kōrero, “he rau rengarenga i roto i te raukura” i runga anō i te whakaaro i whāia ngā huarahi katoa kia puta ai te iwi i roto i te ora, i roto i ēnei taimahatanga o te pakanga. I whāia tērā huarahi i te aro o te pakanga, i whāia tērā

⁶⁰ I have written these names as they are written in the original source.

huarahi o te mahi tahi me te Pākehā, kōrero tahi atu ki te hunga o te Paremata, inā katoa ērā huarahi i a rātou e whai ana i tētahi oranga i aua rā. (Hond, 3rd August 2015)

The reclamation of our names is fundamental in our struggle for resurgence as a people. Indigenous peoples around the world have been engaged in the struggle to reclaim Indigenous culture, ways of living, seeing and being since the inception of colonialism. Reclamation has become an essential part of our decolonisation and resistance. The reclamation of our names is an integral step on that journey. As Christi Belcourt, a Métis artist and scholar, states:

My own attempts at reclaiming are done one name and one word at a time. I always use Biidewe'anikwetok', the Anishinaabe name I was given in ceremony, to introduce myself, before English. My daughter was named Aazhaabiqwe by her auntie, and then she was given a second name, Shpegiizhigok, by the Shaking Tent. I'm trying as hard as I can to learn the language. One by one, I am trying to learn the original names of places around me and speak their names out into words. Awakening into sounds and songs my respect for the places of my ancestors and the sacred ground I walk on. (Belcourt, Dec 31, 2013)

Additionally, I argue that reclaiming our names has the potential to act similarly to the 'rau rengarenga' and play a role in our healing from colonisation. Our ingoa can also act as symbols, similar to the 'raukura', to proclaim - not only our resistance but also our pride in our culture and people.

Machaba (2004), an onomastics scholar, maintains that the reclamation of African names is a key tenet in the rebirth of African culture, particularly in South Africa. She argues that while Euro-western names were attractive to some African;⁶¹ to others, they were considered oppressive and therefore were abandoned in favour of African names and therefore of African heritage. Whaene Leonie Pihama (2001), in her PhD thesis, also remarks on the importance of names regarding Māori cultural reclamation and self-determination, stating that:

The loss of our tūpuna names in my generation was a part of the overall selection process that is a part of assimilation. The impact of that continues,

⁶¹ African is the term used by Mbali Aldromeda Machaba. I understand that there are many peoples associated with the African continent.

of all of my nieces and nephews only two carry Māori first names. It has been for me, a conscious decision choice that my two sons carry the names of their direct tūpuna, as reclaiming our names is a part of reclaiming control over our lives. (p. 7)

Reclaiming the names we use is significant to the agenda of decolonisation and self-determination for Indigenous peoples. Escalante (2014) provides an example of the role reclaiming Indigenous names can play in our decolonisation and self-determination. He explains that after being inspired by the Kuna people of Panama, Bolivian Aymara leader, Takir Mamani, and others called for the name, *Abya Yala*, from the language of the Kuna people, to be used instead of ‘America’. *Abya Yala* has been their name for the continent since precolonial times. Takir Mamani also asserts the importance of all peoples using the term in solidarity with Indigenous people because as he states, “*placing foreign names on our villages, our cities, and our continents is equivalent to subjecting our identity to the will of our invaders and their heirs.*” (p. 115)

A whānau participant shares this sentiment as well. Kui Maata has discussed elsewhere in this chapter parts of her journey of originally being known as Maata, then choosing to become known as Carol. However, in her later years, after meeting and marrying Koro Te Ru and returning to her grounding in Te Ao Māori, finally felt safe and secure enough to return to her Māori name becoming known once again as Maata:

Joeliee: For a long time in your life, you were known as Carol. Why did you take it back, cause it's a reclaiming isn't it, of that first name?

Maata: I took back the name Maata when I started practicing tikanga and became more astute in te reo Māori. Revitalising te reo with Te Ru really reinforced that for me.

Maata

Indigenous desire to reclaim and rename ourselves has also been noted by tikanga Māori scholar, Gabel (2013), who argues that the reclamation of our names brings with it the necessity to adequately care for our names as ‘taonga’. She further argues that the responsibility lies with us to teach our children to be assertive in maintaining the authority and prestige of their name(s). One whānau participant

found that her daughter exemplified this assertiveness and even went so far as to reclaim and reassert her Māori name to first name position after it had been relegated to the status of 'other'. At a young age, of around 6 or 7 years old, she exercised her mana tamariki and took a stand. Her family acknowledged her mana as a child and allowed Whitirangihau to assert her right to her Māori name. In doing so, she also embodied and upheld the mana and meaning of her ingoa Māori as well. Jean explains the details as follows:

Sandy is her Pākehā name. On her birth certificate, she is Sandy first. This name is the only name that Da and I could agree on. Sandy is my father's name and Da's uncle's name. Funny that the name should come from 2 men, not women. I chose a Pākehā name because I thought in a Pākehā world she needed a Pākehā name to use if she wanted to. Once again, that was my lack of wisdom. She got to about six or seven and told me she hated her Pākehā name and to call her Whiti, so Whiti she was.

Jean

Simpson (2011) argues that Indigenous children teach our theory from birth because they are new from the spiritual world and therefore have a purity of heart and mind that most adults do not have. With this same clarity, Whitirangihau claimed her identity and identified for herself what name she was capable of carrying and felt most fit her. She would, just as her Māori name denotes, use her fighting spirit to claim her place and preferred identity in this world and uphold her Māori name with pride. She continues to do this.

Another point I should make, as discussed by Simmonds (2014), is that just because some Māori whānau choose to gift their tamariki English names does not mean that they have been assimilated, are colonised or are any 'less' Māori than someone with a Māori name. This kind of discourse denies the insidious nature of colonisation and the very real struggle that our whānau have had to endure and continue to face. This can be seen in the rationale Jean gives for gifting 'Sandy' as the first name on her daughter's birth certificate. Her consideration at the time was that it would facilitate a pathway for her in a Pākehā world. This is not to say, however, that Jean did not recognise the importance of Māori names. Rather, as discussed above, she put her Māori name as a middle name and then supported her daughter in her decision on which name she would ultimately use.

Naming is one site of reclamation. To suggest that whānau who gift non-Māori names are any ‘less Māori’ than those who do also denies the many other spaces and places in which whānau have successfully maintained and nurtured other sites of mātauranga Māori. Sites such as tā moko, ō tātou marae, haka, te reo, ō tātou tikanga and pūrākau, to name a few.

The decolonisation agenda as associated with the reclamation project, must engage and deal with the many varied and complex issues of our continued colonial context. Whaene Leonie Pihama (2001) maintains that the processes of decolonisation need to differ for each iwi, hapū and whānau and other collectives because, quite simply, our experiences of colonisation have been different. She also argues that this, coupled with the denial intrinsic to colonisation, that is, the denial of our reo, tikanga, whenua, taonga, and whakapapa means decolonisation requires a ‘peeling’ back of multiple and often complex layers, one by one. Naming is one of those layers. This was not lost on whānau participants. One of my whānau, Amanda, noted in her kōrero ingoa:

Both of us were raised in a Pākehā society. My Mum never acknowledged her Māori side, as it was never embraced - what so ever. Both my parents can barely pronounce "kia ora" so there was that worry that they wouldn't be able to pronounce their name. Actually, a worry that society wouldn't, I guess. Elias didn't really care either way. If we found a Māori name we liked, we would use it. There was also a fear of us using a Māori name when we didn't speak te reo. Did we have the right? What would happen if someone starts speaking Māori to us because we have named a child using a meaningful, beautiful Māori name, and don't have the reo to back it up.

Amanda

Amanda raises some important issues connected to the positioning of te reo Māori within society and our whānau. She identifies a tension between being able to converse in te reo and carrying a Māori name. She questions if society would be accepting of a Māori name. Would mispronunciation be a persistent problem? Amanda also worries whether you need to speak te reo to carry the mana of a Māori name. I believe and argue further on in this chapter that Amanda's concerns about the safety of her children and of our reo and names is a very real and ongoing issue

that has been documented particularly well, in terms of our tamariki, in the education sector by Russell Bishop and Mere Berryman (2006).

Moana Jackson (2011) in discussing what he proclaims as the four components of bravery that underpin Kaupapa Māori, argues that we must be brave in asserting who we are, our definitions and completely deny and disregard other's definitions of us. Particularly, those claimed by our colonisers that adhere to the legitimacy of the pseudo-scientific doctrine developed in the United States, namely, 'blood quantum'. Moana Jackson asserts that this discourse was one of the most damaging for our people because it changed our definition of identity and self-worth. He uses his mokopuna, as an example, to elucidate his argument further, as follows:

When that baby girl was born, she was born of a whakapapa that is Tuhoe, Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki, and on her Mum's Dad's side, Yorkshire. In the Pākehā way of seeing, my mokopuna tuarua is only part Māori, is only part of a mokopuna, but when I held her in my arms, she was beautiful and complete and whole. She is made up of disparate, different parts, but is beautiful in her wholeness. How dare anyone tell us that our mokopuna are not whole, are not complete. (Jackson, 2011, p. 75)

Amanda and several other participants raise an important issue that has come to the fore regarding the importance of te reo Māori for our identity as Māori. Te reo is integral to who we are. However, there is a 'reo quantum' type discourse that I believe is gaining traction. What I mean by 'reo quantum' is the perception by some, especially among some younger generations who have been born into te reo and may therefore be removed from the struggle that other Māori experience to reclaim or live without their reo, that you must have a particular level of fluency in te reo Māori to be considered a 'real' or 'worthy' Māori. Our reo, or lack thereof, should never be used to measure each other or to make assertions about anybody's authenticity as Māori. Let us not ever forget the ongoing colonialisms that face our whānau. For example, the history of our language theft, as well as the new barriers and obstacles Māori whānau face due to the current neoliberal agenda. We must resist against hegemonic and polarising kōrero which aligns with authenticity-based discourses. We must resist projects which seek to set up binaries betwixt 'Māori'

(Meredith, n.d) such as discourses which pit ‘te reo speaking Māori’ against ‘non-speakers’ and/ or claim any status or authenticity over another.

In Amanda’s kōrero ingoa she asks “*do we have the right?*” Our reo was systematically and purposefully removed from us, and as a result, some of the issues related to the reclamation of our ingoa Māori inevitably stem back to this theft and subsequent denial. Therefore, in answer to the previous question, I would argue that yes, as Māori, we all have a right to our reo, in all its forms, including in our ingoa.

Another tension raised by several whānau participants was that of the perceived Māori world and the Pākehā world. One of the ways in which some whānau participants navigated the two worlds, was to give their children names from both the English and the Māori language. I am deliberately careful and intentional in not calling these English or Māori names. It is my assertion based on this research that it is not as straightforward as this. Names given in the English language can have a Māori meaning or can be given by Māori protocols and/or practices of naming. Kui Maata highlights practice in the kōrero she gives about the naming of her firstborn. Honouring the deeds of our loved ones and ancestors is of extreme importance to Māori, and this is prevalent in our names. What whānau kōrero demonstrate is that the choice of a name is often influenced by our circumstances and by those people, places and events of significance to us.

In the following kōrero ingoa about naming her mātāmua, my Kui Maata shares in what she thought may very well be her only opportunity to gift a child some names and therefore why she gave her four names which acknowledged and paid tribute to amazing wāhine:

The doctor said this is it, Carol. You won't be having any more children. So, I go, oh well, I shall give her four names; Miria after my older sister, because I love my older sister she was my mother really at so many levels. Aroha is from my great-great grandmother Roha Tangike; she was of Maniapoto, from Ngāti Apakura. Before Jean was born, my Dad gave me his name (Matekino) for Jean. Sadly, at that stage in my life, I was averse to naming my child a name like that, and so, I never gave her that name.

Maata

Kui Maata declares her regret at not having fulfilled her father's desire for her child to carry the name Matekino. Matekino is a name that quite certainly refers to a great calamity or a particularly painful death of a loved one. Often someone or several people who may have died young and/or in a horrible accident. A standard Māori naming protocol is to name a child or adult after a great event. This included great tragedies and important events for our people – happy or otherwise. Kui Amiria Matoe Rangi, nō Ngā Ruahine me Ngā Rauru, wrote in Hohaia (2005) that her grandfather was called Ake Ake Whenua which she explains as: "*Ake Ake means you stand tall, you stand up for your rights*" (p. 69). People ended up calling him Hakihaki because of the scabs he gained from being dragged around the field when he would not stop ploughing. Her grandfather, she says, was also taken to Ōtākou⁶² because of this kind of protest. This story exemplifies just one of many stories of names being gifted so that we never forget, and to acknowledge the deeds of our ancestors. Another more well-known kōrero ingoa tells of the hapū of Ngāti Horomoana (People of the Swallowing Sea), and Ngāti Paeākau (People of those Cast Ashore) being given their tribal names as a result of a mass drowning of school children (Anne Anituatua Delamare as cited in Rogers and Simpson, 1993). Many adults and children took up new names as a result, with many of the names from that time still being carried by the current generation in remembrance.

For Kui Maata, the theft of Māori naming knowledges and practices prior to her generation, the subjugation of Māori names through assimilative policies of schools, the church and the law (see Chapter Five) meant that she did not have an understanding of the significance of a name like 'Matekino' for her or her child. Inversely, she viewed it with the colonial eyes that had been enforced upon her. Hegemonic views of the colonial society continue to disrupt and interrupt our traditional naming protocols. Traditionally, such a name held a significant amount of mana, a living tribute to loved ones lost so tragically. Such a name brings an historical event into the present moment, a walking reminder to never let such a death occur again. To ensure the memory of those loved ones remains etched firmly in the consciousness of their iwi, hapū and whānau. These names are not to

⁶² The reference Kui Amiria makes to Ōtākou most probably refers to her grandfather being imprisoned with other Parihaka men who engaged in active resistance against the Crown, by ploughing their land whilst the Crown surveyed it for sale (see Hohaia, 2005, p. 28).

remember the pain but to mark the child in acknowledgement of the loved one or ones and the ordeal they went through. These names honour them into future generations.

Regardless of the language of a name, the most important aspect revealed by whānau participants was to acknowledge our whakapapa, those we love and who have loved us. Kui Maata highlights this in the kōrero she gives about the naming of her firstborn. She explains:

Joeliee: We have the Miria; we have the Jean, the Francis?

Maata: My aunty brought me up, and she'd become my mum you know? I went to live with her when I was twelve; she was my mum's sister. I didn't like her name, so I said to her, "I don't want Clara, I'll put Francis, and Francis is pretty". I named her so if she became any person in her life she could choose one of the names.

Maata

In naming her daughter with several different names, both in English and in te reo Māori, Kui Maata felt that she provided her daughter with options and different pathways to choose from and grow into throughout her life. The point should be raised here that for some whānau participants, names from the English language have become tūpuna names and therefore critical to those families, whānau and hapū to uphold and continue into the future. This point is also made by Hana O'Regan (2001) who maintains that the role of names as a marker of identity is not restricted to the Māori language. Rather, it lies in what we associate that name with. She also provides several examples of names from the English language that are readily associated with Māori places and collectives. Jean, who is Kui Maata's daughter wanted to continue the name Francis by naming her son François and laments not doing so as she explains:

I actually want to add François in too. I don't know why I haven't already. Francois comes from my Borrel side, and I tell him all the time he's a François. Plus Da and I both have Francess [sic] for a middle name, so he should have been Te Rangihuatau Deklan Francois or Francis Hikaka. Still might do it yet!

Jean

Jean herself identifies this name with her whakapapa to the Tauranga area, to the Borrell whānau. Further verifying my previous argument and demonstrating the position that whānau participants have made clear in their stories. ‘Māori’ names are not restricted to those in the Māori language. What is also unmistakable is that all the names given are considered to reflect ‘all’ of the child. To be specific, it is not only their first names, or first and last names that are believed to represent a person. All of their names have been indicated, by every whānau participant in this study, to be integral to the individual’s sense of self.

Whaene Mairi further supports this theme by explicitly stating that all of the names of a person are considered important. As she says:

Names have a vibration, an energetic vibration, a sound, a feeling, in every sense. It reflects totally who you are. That includes your first, middle and last names.

Mairi

Tino rangatiratanga: Regenerating and (re)surging forward

Naming our children in te reo and in line with our tikanga is an absolute assertion of rangatiratanga. Gabel (2013) discusses tino rangatiratanga in terms of its manifestation in our everyday actions, she states that:

Tino rangatiratanga for us as Māori mothers can simply involve our everyday actions as mothers; as the next part of this chapter will explore. Tino rangatiratanga is the language that we speak to our children, it is the names we bestow upon them, the songs we sing to them, the whānau and the individuals that we surround them with, the tikanga we immerse them in, the educational experiences we choose for them. Tino rangatiratanga involves the decisions we make around our birthing experiences, the tikanga we follow during our pregnancies and during our mate marama. It is the choices we make every day, whether consciously or subconsciously. We should not underestimate the impact of these everyday actions on our children and more importantly on our future generations. Our everyday survival, resilience and persistence as Māori mothers is in itself a marker of our resistance. (p. 161)

This section argues that regenerating and (re)surging ahead, in terms of ingoa Māori must come from our people living and enacting our tino rangatiratanga within our

daily lives as described by Gabel (2013). As she states, the names we bestow on our children not only resist against the colonial agenda but also impact upon future generations. Maata, alongside her husband, actively worked to not only reclaim traditional names for their children but to also regenerate traditional practices for gifting names. For them, this meant the resurrection of 'iritanga' or a form of naming ceremony within our family. Maata also asserted the power of karanga to claim a voice within the naming of her mokopuna by using karanga to name them at birth. She explains how this came to be:

Koro was working for Maori Affairs and whilst there he worked alongside Sonny Waru as a Cultural Officer. What this job provided was a gateway to research and Koro was into anything ancient that could be revitalised. His stance was to bring back as much as he could, and I still amplify that today. I too to some degree was in approval of the iritanga based on the fact that every child born to Maoridom should be given to the four winds.

How that looked I didnt know but indeed when Puna was born, we, Makere (his sister) and a few others, joined us at the Herekawe Stream to witness this momentous occasion where Puna went through the process. Whilst the stream was extremely shallow, she was covered and sprinkled with water. The iri was always completed within the first ten days of the baby's life, anything beyond was not seen as a correct procedure; today those are limitations for many. It was said that the spirit of the ancestors and the atua were at an optimum in the first ten days of a child's life.

The naming was generally done at this ceremony. What I have evolved is doing the karanga and putting the baby's name into place at birth, whether they take that name is neither here to there but it is always good for the mokopuna to say, "Oh, my kui/koro named me." What he said about the Iritanga was that it was a practice that was performed on children of note; it was not a common practice as such but a practice that was reserved for chiefly lines. In the absence of tikanga, to re-establish the tikanga, the tikanga must be a complete process. As the rituals that are set and secured in its re-establishment will become part of what that tikanga will be into the future.

Maata

The regeneration of traditional practices and adapting them to our contemporary lives is an integral part of keeping our culture alive and healthy. Indigenous scholar Leanne Betasamosake (Simpson, 2011) advocates for Indigenous resurgence and discusses a concept amongst her people of 'Biskaabiiyang' which she describes as

being a 'returning to ourselves'. However, she also explains that it is more than that. It is also about taking that past, reclaiming our ways of being and seeing, recreating them to work within our present. As Kui Maata has just explained, resurgence for her and koro was about bringing back our ways of doing things. What is significant is that she identifies not being completely aware of what it might take to resurrect or revitalise a certain tikanga or our language. However, she is clear that not 'knowing' completely did not hold them back. I think this is an important component to resurgence. In order to regenerate our ways of being and seeing we have to be prepared to be unprepared for how to do that and to be willing for the end product to look somewhat different if it is to work and be maintained by future generations who will have a very different context to our ancestors.

Iritanga is one of several practices that Kui Maata and Koro Te Ru have regenerated and which has (re)surged forward into the next generation of grandchildren extending into other families and whānau as a result. Iritanga in this context, for this family, is based around the traditional ceremony of tohi. (H. M. Mead, 2003) discusses the 'revival' of this practice amongst certain whānau and acknowledges the current practice is different to the traditional practice. However, he says that the thought and some of the karakia are the same. Jenkins and Harte (May, 2011) comment on the tohi rite and point out that there are conflicting arguments as to whether the naming of the child was a part of the tohi ceremony. This is an area that needs further research, however, for the purposes of this study it is important to note that the child's name is confirmed on the child as part of the ceremony my kui and koro have regenerated within our whānau.

All of their children mentioned the power and significance of iritanga for them or their children. Its relevance to the naming of the child was understood by all. However, only one participant directly outlined the impact and relevance of the iritanga for the naming of their child:

Everyone already knew Rongo's name before his Iritanga, but it was declared by Dyson during the Iritanga, which my brother Te Akau conducted. It's actually freaky because both mine and Dyson's Dads died in the same year, just months apart and at the Iritanga you could feel both of those Koros there. They were there in wairua and in his names.

During the Iritanga, my mother-in-law and sister-in-law were taking photos, and you could see the photos come up on the screen as you took them but later on when we looked back at them, they were black. I just said, "Must not have been allowed to take photos!" The whole thing was like that, though, a calm morning with a wairua feeling.

Puna Te Aroha

Another daughter to Maata and Te Ru also mentioned the significance of wairuatanga to the iritanga experience for her:

The process itself is very spiritual. I wasn't really prepared for that with Whiti. Pāpā did get it over and done with fairly swiftly, though. He was rather lovely. You could feel the wairua there. I don't remember all the different karanga as we do it now, I only remember one. I don't know it just seems a bit more flamboyant now. We didn't kōrero for very long in the Wharenui either. Pāpā was the one guiding and did most of the kōrero.

Jean

From Jean's perspective, the ceremony has evolved somewhat over the years. She also reflected on her own lack of knowledge around the importance of the ceremony when she first experienced it as a mother.

I was really naïve when it came to the Iritanga. I only really knew about that way to bless your children, and I didn't want them blessed in a church as I wasn't a church person, so, it was just always going to be Iritanga. I thought all Māori did it; I didn't realise not many did. Like I said, I was rather naïve. I didn't really see the big deal, so to speak. I didn't understand how lucky I was to have parents who practiced this procedure.

Jean

Another whānau participant experienced the feeling of venturing into new territory as well, as she explains:

I had never been part of a baby's Iritanga before, and the process was very new to me. I didn't want my child blessed in a church, as I wasn't a church person. Maata explained that Iritanga is an old practice in Māoridom and it blesses the baby in our culture through karakia, blessing, naming of the child, giving the child a place in our world. She said it is always done before first light in the morning, as we know that this is the most heightened spiritual time.

Amanda

However, for Jean, the significance and importance of the ceremony in not only gifting and confirming her childrens' names but also for their growth as people quickly became clear as she tells us:

Anywho, back to Whiti - She was really strong, and I think her tohu was a Tuna. Anewa's was a fresh water fish, and Son's was a Pungawerewere. Pāpā said they would be their kaitiaki. I really did take it for granted, didn't really listen properly and didn't have the maturity really but I'm glad Mum and Pāpā had the wisdom to protect their moko from their parent's naïvety. I remember thinking "Oh my lord he's gonna drop her". I was having wee panic attacks. She was good; she screamed a little, not too much. She looked more pissed off really; she's still the same. I asked about who he was giving her to; I believe he gave them to the elements, to the winds and to those that would manaaki and guide them. No wonder my kids are free spirited and if anything, give me guidance. I remember being starving. I didn't have any money then and even trying to find money for a kai to whakanoa was difficult, but between mum and I, we did it.

Jean

The coming together of whānau and establishing a place for the child within it is one of the benefits of regenerating a form of the 'tohi' ceremony amongst whānau (Mead, 2003). Jean, herself outlines the benefit of the Iritanga to whom her children have become. Another whānau participant, Jessica, who attended other ceremonies before becoming an active participant when her eldest was born, also witnessed the benefits. For Jessica, as a daughter-in-law to Maata and Te Ru it was also important for her whānau to be directly involved as she explains:

Our plan of Iritanga was that her Iritanga was to be done by her Great-grandfather in Parihaka in the stream below Te Rongo o Raukawa and baby's whenua was to be buried at Te Kawau by our whenua tree. I felt that was how it was meant to be because both Poutama and Parihaka were both strongly a part of Herengarangi.

Having been a part of Talei, Pakiarohirohi and Aaliyah's iritanga, and from what Maata had spoken of Te Ru introducing Iritanga to his children; I felt at ease knowing my koro was giving baby her iritanga. I was baptised as a Catholic when I was a baby, but that pathway was not installed in me. Coming from a whānau/hapū where we had only just recently introduced Iritanga practises. My Koro has now done his first great-grandchild at home, Te Kawau, and of course Herengarangi at Parihaka.

Jessica

The inclusion of other elders and tohunga in these ceremonies has directly led to the regeneration of this tikanga amongst other whānau and hapū within Taranaki lands. The kōrero ingoa provided here illustrates a great insight into the benefits of regenerating this tikanga, however, further research and analysis is essential. In particular, I believe, more research into the role of 'iritanga' or 'tohi' and other associated ceremonies in the gifting, proclaiming and/or confirming of our ingoa on to people would be invaluable to others wanting to know more about this tikanga and how, or if, it could be regenerated within their own whānau. Lastly, I end this section with reflections from Amanda on the Iritanga of her first born to highlight the significance of regenerating this taonga for her and her family:

A situation like this makes you truly feel the wairua - when Elias and I didn't fully understand all the reo that was spoken, but knew what was happening and could feel and sense what was happening. I remember crying when Te Akau offered him to the 4 winds, splashing the cold lake water on him. Te Akau was so gentle with him, and Elias was right by his side. Kingston cried at first but was then, so brave... silent, taking it all in. It felt right. This process was something we both wanted for our son, and it was beautiful.

Amanda

Karanga is our speech

Another important mechanism, (re)claimed by Maata as being integral to the gifting of ingoa Māori to her mokopuna, in particular, has been the use of karanga at their births. My taurima grandmother, Kui Marjorie Rau-Kupa asserts the power of karanga as follows:

When I karanga that is my welcome. I greet the dead and the living and then the pathways. It is the womens voice that is heard in front of the meeting house, to cover and fulfil what the men say in their speeches. The karanga is our speech. (as cited in Capper, Brown, & Ihimaera, 1994, p. 147)

The use of a karanga by Kui Maata to name her mokopuna was purposeful and intentional. Karanga is a powerful tool that has been used by Māori women since time immemorial to communicate with the spirit world, to vocalise our knowledge and to exercise and assert our mana. It is with the use of karanga that Maata claims

her place as one of the legitimate namers of her mokopuna. Whether the parents acknowledged the names given or not would be up to them, as no matter what, her karanga solidified that name for her mokopuna.

For many Māori parents, te reo Māori is not a part of their everyday lives. This is where the importance of whānau becomes paramount as we continue to reclaim and regenerate our culture. Therefore, we regenerate ourselves. Ani Mikaere (2003) argues that the usurpation of Māori birthing practices and the subsequent loss of traditional birthing knowledge has led to not only a loss of expertise but also to a disintegration of the whakawhanaungatanga that occurred among women in the whānau who, traditionally, would have been involved.

This extends to Māori naming practices where the opportunity for whānau members to be present at birth and use traditional forms of expression such as karanga to name our babies has been denied us. As Mikaere (2003) claims, the whānau experience of collectively bringing new life into this world and of being present and involved in the birth of the child, which could very well influence the kind of name the child is gifted has also been ripped from us. How many babies have missed out on a Māori name because their father, kuia, aunty or cousin was not permitted to be present to witness and participate in their birth and naming?

Through our whānau collectives, Māori may have more opportunity to access te reo Māori and associated knowledges through cousins, aunts, pāhake, for example. It is these people that we can turn to for guidance in our naming practices and protocols. For example, I have had the honour of helping several different whānau members and friends with selecting names for their children as a direct result of my own knowledge in this area and my capabilities in te reo Māori. The capabilities and knowledge associated with karanga and names is a particular speciality that several of Kui Maata's children benefitted from, as Amanda relays:

Maata did a karanga to name him Matatuu (meaning he was vigilant about what was going on, and that this was his time to be born with all the whānau here). And then followed Maru Awatea (from He maru ahiahi...). She wanted something to tie in Paki and Kingston and what a beautiful way to do it.

Amanda

This kōrero ingoa connects to me personally. Kui Maata named the baby in the kōrero above to purposefully connect him to our son who was also born that year. Our Koro had a whakatauākī that he loved to use which can also be found in a story about Takarangi and Raumahora, a Taranaki pakiwaitara. Because of Koro's affection for this whakatauākī, it became a much-loved source of inspiration for our family. In fact, our Kui put it to a tune and made it into a song to sing to her mokopuna and during gatherings. The words are: "*He maru ahiahi kei muri i te maru awatea, he paki arohirohi kei mua.*" (After the shades of evening comes the dusk of dawn, whilst before lies the shimmering glory of a fair day).

On a personal note, I began my journey as a Māmā the same year my Koro died, and the coincidence of that was not lost on me. So much so that I named all three of my tamariki, who were born in the following five years after his death, in some way in order to honour him. Within the above whakatauākī, you can see the aforementioned name of one of the mokopuna, Maru Awatea, as well as the name of our son, Pakiarohirohi. The power of karanga and of a grandmother being present at the birth of one, linked these two boys and whanaunga together forever in name. Together they acknowledge a Taranaki ancestral saying and a great man, loved by many, who lives on in them through his names.

For Maata's first born, the idea of her mother naming her child was not something she welcomed at first. The power of karanga at the birth, however, changed that as she explains:

At the birth, mum did a karanga as she was born and gave her name in the same breath. I was almost laughing when she did it because she had pipped me at the post. I am glad she did because she gave her moko a fighting spirit. Kei te whakapiri rāua i a rāua. She is probably more like Mum than any of us.

Jean

Jean clearly believes that her mother naming her daughter has directly led to a close relationship between the two of them. The name itself has given her child a strong name and nature as a result. This is a prime example of the power a name can have

in the hands of a kuia who uses traditional mechanisms to ensure the well-being of the next generation.

Lastly, Puna Te Aroha discusses the impact the choice of specific names can have upon the child itself and how the pressure of an upcoming Iritanga, which required them to decide on a name for their son, taught her and her partner some invaluable lessons:

We argued so much, and I threw a fit; because names are who they are, it's the history, by us giving names; it's who they are going to be in the future. The cool thing was that all the talking and arguing we did about names and the Iritanga really taught us how to communicate better.

Puna Te Aroha

Conclusion of section one

*Whakawaiwai ai
Te tū a Taranaki
Ō kahu hukarere
I huatau ai koe rā
Ūhia iho koe
Ki tō parawai mā
Ō kahu taniko
I tino pai ai koe*

*Me tipare koe
Ki te rau kawakawa
He tohu aroha nui
Ki te iwi e ngaro nei.*

*Waiho rā, e Rangi
Kia tāria ake
Ka tae mai he karere
E kore rā e hoki mai!*

The waiata that concludes this chapter ‘*Whakawaiwai ai*’ is provided as a reminder of the commitment we must continue to pursue. We must persist in the reclamation and maintenance of our knowledges and associated practices. My Koro Te Ru Wharehoka composed a tune to the waiata “*Whakawaiwai ai*” to ensure it would continue to be sung regardless if anyone at the time could remember its original tune. He knew the kupu and the mātauranga held within the waiata were too valuable to lose. As a result, we have to focus on what we do know and do what it

takes to ensure our culture lives on and is passed onto future generations. This chapter builds on the same whakaaro my Koro Te Ru had and proffers that the korero ingoa laid out in this chapter may assist other whānau in their journeys of endurance, resistance, reclamation and therefore, of transformation. It is hoped that this chapter will provide others with kōrero to inspire, evoke emotions, provoke ideas and above all assist our whānau in continuing to decolonise our lives, and, in particular, for this research to reclaim and assert our ingoa tangata.

For some Māori, there is no choice other than an English name. For some, our colonial context is too unsafe for our children to carry their whakapapa around with them for the world to trample. Hand in hand with colonisation comes the oppression of culture, tradition, language and people. Consequently, we now live in a world where some Māori dwell in a state of disconnect for the foreseeable future. They do not have access to the resources or capacity located within our culture, through no fault of their own, in order to give their children Māori names. We must beware the little everyday colonialisms but just as importantly, if not more significantly, we must celebrate our everyday acts of resistance. Therefore, our daily experiences of tino rangatiratanga are to be found in the smaller political statements we make, such as the names we choose for our tamariki.

For Taranaki, where we have been subjected to the longest period of war, and colonial oppression in Aotearoa, the celebration and acknowledgement of our resistance, reclamation, regeneration and resurgence forward is of powerful importance. My whanaunga, Ailsa Smith, reminds us that our ūkaipō continues to nurture us and reinvigorate us as Taranaki descendants:

In Taranaki, the people have suffered much through the process of colonization, but their patience is not yet exhausted, and their determination is fed by ever-present reminders of their past. Grounded in a western-facing mountain-dominated circle of land surrounded by sea, they face the world of the ancestors - Hawaiki in the west - with its sombre, intimations of mortality. At the same time they are invigorated by the stars and the seasons, the winds and the rivers and, above all, by the moods of the sea and tides. (2001, p. 242)

Section Two

Ko tō ingoa hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga

IF EVER YOU LOSE YOUR WAY, JUST WHISPER YOUR NAME⁶³

I begin this section by using the poi to once again assist me in telling the story of this research. It pitter-patters across my wrists and flits from my head to my hand. Their movements lead us to the next section, which presents the second half of the analysis and findings of kōrero ingoa from whānau participants involved in this research. Their kōrero ingoa highlight the name selection process and the practices associated with the gifting of ingoa tangata. The voices of the whānau participants ring clear to inform this chapter as they speak to the immense aroha they have for their tamariki and each other as whanaunga. Their aroha is expressed in this chapter through the diligence and passion they have all expended in deliberating, arguing, requesting and letting just the ‘right’ name come to them. The name that was ‘right’ for each whānau, couple, grandparent, aunty, within their particular context and time in their lives. For most of the participants, it is a story of naming children, however, the importance of maintaining and reclaiming the traditional practice of taking up a new name when appropriate is also signalled by some participants.

Additionally, the kōrero ingoa here are not only a tribute to our voice and power as women and as whānau, but also to ourselves as stories, and celebrates our stories as being meaningful and powerful. The themes of whenua, whānau, wairua and mana were prevalent throughout all kōrero ingoa gifted to me. That kōrero is showcased here. The practices and protocols used to gift a name and the concepts underlying the choices made are brought to the foreground in this chapter. These kōrero ingoa share and illustrate those principles and values which have been used by our whānau to continue and maintain ingoa Māori. Ancestral ways of living and knowing in accordance with Māori and tribal knowledge, as handed down from generation to generation, are discussed and shared by all involved. Accordingly, this chapter is

⁶³ A line from a waiata composed by Maisey Rika called ‘Name’.

an honouring of our ingoa Māori, our whānau, our knowledges and practices and our stories. However, above all, this chapter honours the aroha, courage and tenacity it has taken for us to hold on to our ingoa. This chapter speaks to a key research question for this thesis: Why is it *still* important to give and carry ingoa tangata?

Whakapapa: The interconnected web of life

Similarly, to the pūrākau engaged with in Chapter Two, the kōrero ingoa in this chapter highlight the importance of whakapapa relationships. Therefore, it is important, as a first discussion, to further explore the role of ingoa Māori in binding and connecting us to our whakapapa.

Whakapapa was the overarching and connecting facet to all of the kōrero ingoa given as part of this research. All whānau participants spoke of whakapapa in varying ways, and therefore it is provided in this section as a rhythm for the waiata that this section sings and that our poi beat in time with. The rhythm helps to bring all the themes such as wairua, whenua and whānau together to play their different parts to the song. I have purposefully used the title of this section in line with the thoughts of Mikaere (2012) who discusses whakapapa in terms of tikanga, the first law of Aotearoa, and describes it as an interconnected web of life. As she argues, whakapapa is often translated as meaning genealogy, but it is, in fact, more than that.

Names label our whakapapa; they give another more palpable and obvious connection between the named and their whakapapa. Providing a bond, therefore, with our whakapapa in all its wondrous forms: from the stars, to whānau, to inanimate objects, to events, right through to our non-Māori relatives and friends. Mikaere (2012) locates whakapapa within the philosophical traditions of our tupuna and explains that it was used by them to rationalise our existence. Whakapapa, she argues in the following statement, is also an organising concept for our people:

The primacy of whakapapa as an organising concept tells us that relationships are of paramount significance, whether between people or between people and the natural world. It reminds us that our long-term

future is reliant upon the maintenance of reciprocal responsibilities and obligations between ourselves and all other facets of creation. (p. 10)

These relationships are made particularly clear through our names which seek to bind the named into particular relationships with various phenomena. As Takirangi Smith (2000) states: “*One of the key points of whakapapa as used by speakers of different groups, is the importance of establishing relationships by whakapapa between groups at the same time recognising the differences*” (p. 59). I argue, in line with Mikaere (2012) and T. Smith (2000), that ingoa Māori are integral to the maintenance of our whakapapa relationships by providing a perpetual anchor between the named and the relationships indicated and proclaimed within their name and associated kōrero ingoa.

He one ki te oneone: Whakapapa and whenua

The importance of whenua for Māori has long been argued and fought for by our people (Harris, 2004; Walker, 2004) since colonial contact. Those strong emotions and actions taken have been grounded in cultural notions of being bonded and of belonging to our whenua and our whakapapa relationship with it. Therefore, the land is for many Māori an important foundation of identity (H. M. Mead, 2003). Our whenua is Papatūānuku or the earth, and whenua is also the Māori word for the placenta. The first human being in our pūrākau, which explains our origins, was created from the soil of Papatūānuku, from the whenua, and was therefore named Hineahuone or Hine, who was formed from the earth. Our burial practices also dictate that because we originate from and are nourished by our whenua, we must also return to the whenua, to Papatūānuku, when we die and once again become part of the circle of life. The saying ‘*he one ki te oneone*’ is highlighted by Broughton (1993) as being integral to our understanding of the importance of whenua for our people, in the following quote discussing the etymology of the word whenua:

Ko te rite o ngaa koorero nei, anoo nei ko te ewe tonu teeraa, ko te whenua, ko te whare raanei i maru ai te whenua. Heoi anoo, ko te tikanga o eenei koorero, he titiro, he whakaaro hoki ki taua kupu raa, ki te ‘whenua’. Ahakoa ko teetehi whakahua e paa ana ki te oneone repo nei, ko teetehi e aro atu ana ki te ewe tangata teeraa eetehi tikanga e kotahi ai raaua. Ko te tuatahi noo te tangata aua whenua e rua raa; he oranga tonu noo te tangata.

Ka whaanau mai te tangata, kua tanumia te ewe, kua hoki anoo ki teeraa whenua. Ka mate te tangata, ko ngaa kupu 'he one ki te oneone' e whakahuatia ana noo te mea, kei te hoki atu te tangata ka hono atu anoo ai ki te whenua. (p. 63)

This deeply rooted understanding of belonging to the land, of being buried, rooted and embedded within the whenua, is also directly linked to the significant role whenua plays in name selection for whānau. Whenua was highlighted by several whānau participants in their kōrero ingoa as being pivotal in their choice of a name as Whaene Mairi shares:

I always wanted my children to have a Māori name to connect them with their whakapapa as they grow into adults and travelled. I remember the many marae where I spent a lot of my childhood. Oeo, Tawhitinui, Ouri, Parihaka, Manuariki and the thoughts and experiences I had at that time and wanted my children to have a connection with those places too.

Mairi

For this whānau participant not only is the importance of whakapapa specifically mentioned, but also her desire to ensure their names connect them to it and to the land their whakapapa binds them to. Whaene Mairi identifies marae as being integral to her feeling of connection to the whenua as well. Mead (2003) aligns the feeling of home with the concept of tūrangawaewae, a place to stand, to call home. It is also, where your rights go unchallenged. This feeling of home and of connection to whenua is also shared by another Taranaki woman, Whaene Leonie Pihama (2001) who states:

There is something about being home. Home as in turangawaewae. Having a place to stand and to know that it is a place you belong and that the people there, irrespective of the differences, are a part of you and you are a part of them. That is how I feel in Taranaki. I know that I am of that whenua and that while I am away from it there is a detachment that is deep inside myself and my tamariki. (p. 102)

The names that Whaene Mairi then chose were names or people who are easily identifiable with those marae. Our marae are our gathering places, our ancestral and forever homes, truly, they are our tūrangawaewae (place to stand). Our people are all responsible for, and connected to, our marae due to the intimate nature of our

engagement with those areas over many generations. As Hana O'Regan (2001) argues:

There is a belief that whakapapa links a person inextricably to the area where his or her tūpuna dwelled. It is not necessary to trace descent right back thorough the tribal histories and stories to Papatūānuku in order to establish a direct link with the land. That link has already been established by a person's whakapapa to the tūpuna who named and shaped the land, who bestowed upon the place its stories and histories. (p. 51)

Caught up in our belonging and connectedness to our marae, are our relationships with people, with ancestors and descendants alike which bind us to the land in a relationship of reciprocity, responsibility and love. Whaene Mairi again talks about the importance of home and whenua for her regarding the whānau homestead in Rahotu and how, for her, 'moving home' helped to influence the naming of her tamariki:

I moved home to the homestead in Rahotu and lived with Māmā and Pāpā for a few months until I found my place. One night I was sitting in the purple bath at the homestead, and I could see out a hole in the wall. I could hear mum and dad talking, being cheeky, laughing and giggling. Rubbing my belly, I thought I want to call you after my mum and dad. I already have Nanny and Koro (Neta and Ariki), and so I went out and said, "Can I name baby after you? If it's a boy, can he be named Waru and if it's a girl, can she be named Maraea?"

Mairi

During pregnancy, a time of being tapu, where we are located and who surrounds us can play a role in the name that is gifted. Whenua as placenta, whenua as Papatūānuku and whenua as land means that 'whenua' is often a source of sustenance for us in a very holistic way. Our whenua or land can often be where our whānau, both living and departed, are located. Although this is not always the case, it is part of why we are drawn home. In my view, Whaene Mairi's kōrero ingoa relates to being on her whenua with her parents, sustaining her child through her whenua or placenta, and being surrounded by the wairua of her tūpuna who are embedded in that place, which guided her towards the name she gifted her child.

Takirangi Smith (2000) asserts that our whakapapa system of knowledge codifies the natural world. Indeed, the importance of whakapapa in how we relate to te taiao and te taiao to us is never more clear than in our cosmologies. They teach us that we, all species, human or otherwise, are descendents of our primordial parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Therefore, we do not view our relatives in the environment as resources or as being divorced from us. Rather, they are members of our whānau. Māori speak to our whanaunga in the environment as part of our daily lives, through karakia and karanga for example. I feel the aroha of Tāwhiri-mātea when the wind blows, when I lie in the sun I feel the caress of Tamanuiterā, and when I dip my feet in the stream, Parawhenuamea cools and soothes me. My karanga reaches out to the aroha of my ancestors, long departed, and they return because I have asked them to. Our whakapapa relationships allow us to continue to speak to our whānau, dead, alive or shaped like a tree.

Another kōrero ingoa deeply connected to whenua, and therefore to places or sites of significance, is the kōrero given by Kui Te Whero o te Rangi about how she came to be gifted her name, as she explains:

E mahi ana a ia i roto i te maara riwai, e hauaki taewa ana, ka timata i reira te mamae o toona tuara. Moohio tonu e ia kua tata te whanau mai o tona peepee. Tere tonu tana hikoi kia tae ki roto te whare kei taka mai te peepee i a ia i waenga ngaa taewa. I tona taenga ki roto, kaore i roa, ka rongo ngaa taangata kei waho i te kaainga te tangi o te peepee.

Kua timata te raa ki te ngaro haere i te pae o te moana. Tokonui ngaa taangata kei waho e mahi ana kia tere te oti o ngaa mahi whakakii i nga kete nui i ngaa kai kumara, me ngaa taewa kua hauaki i mua o te toonga o Tamanui te ra.

Ka kitea e raatou i te ataahuatanga o Maunga Taranaki me te miharo hoki raatou i ngaa tae rerekee, ngaa kapua, kua tino whero, maa-whero, kowhai hoki me te ahua waiporoporo ngaa tae. E kaha ana te tangi o te peepee, ka puta te whakahua o tetahi tangata paakeke, "Ah! Te Whero o te Rangi".

Piataata, whakatete mai ana te tu o Taranaki maunga. I te ngaro haere o te raa ka maahaki haere te tangi o te peepee. Koira te putake o toku tapangia, e hine. Ahakoa, koira te ingoa o toku kuia, te whaene o tooku Maama, ko Whero Tamihana Tekaru, kahore au i te mohio he aha ngaa koorero e paa ana moo toku kuia.

Whero o te Rangi

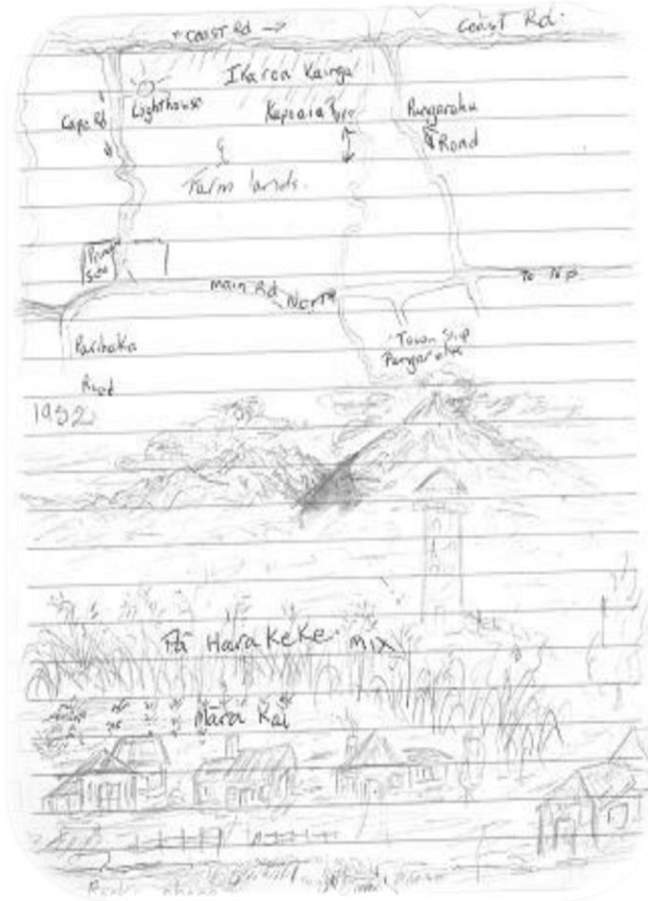


Figure 4: A sketch taken from the book gifted me by Kui Whero o te Rangi as part of our kōrero for this research

In the above kōrero, it was the weather, the symbolism of the sunset, which contributed to the declaration of Kui Whero's name by an adult member of the whānau. We have an open dialogue with the environmental elements, as we believe they are children of the atua, just like us. The children of our atua are direct messengers from te ao wairua, and that is another reason why we are so vigilant in our observations. In particular, the weather is known to be symbolic of our ancestors and our atua illustrating how they are feeling about any given situation. For example, if it rains during a tangihanga it is often interpreted to be an acknowledgement of the mana of that person whom even Ranginui cries for. Koro Taniwharau Te Hoemanuka Waru (Sonny) Waru, in an interview for Radio New Zealand in 1981, details the great mana our mounga has and its role in providing us with indications on not only the weather but also on when to conduct our activities for best results:

Taniwharau Te Hoemanuka Waru: He's our tīpuna, he's our father, and it is him who tells us when to plant, it is him who tells us when to go fishing, it is him too who tells us, you know, when the birds are fat and so on.

Hare Williams: And the mountain also tells you who you are, where you are going and just what this land means to you?

Taniwharau Te Hoemanuka Waru: Yes, koia tēnā. You know, ah, this morning my nephew and I did a pātere all about him, about the old fulla, because we hold him in awesome grace, he is the... what? Autonomy? What? Epitome of everything Māori, from Parininihi ki Waitotara, and all the descendants from this Parininihi ki Waitotara that live elsewhere. Ko maunga Taranaki ko tō mātou tīpuna; te maunga kōrero. (as cited in Williams, 1981)

As Koro Sonny reveals, Māori believe we whakapapa to all living things, from the clouds to stone, to the octopus. Wally Penetito (2011) argues this viewpoint as being integral to our identity and asserts that speaking *to* our mountains and rivers and not *about* them is part of what makes us Māori. We have always known that whakapapa is the very fabric of the universe; it is the one factor that connects and yet differentiates us all. As another kōrero ingoa about Koro Te Ru Koriri illuminates, Māori may choose a name based on the characteristics of our relatives in the environment and our desire to conduct ourselves similarly to them:

Joeliee: Wow, and the name there - that actually symbolises the changing of the seasons?

Maata: Te Ru Koriri marks the change. He used to say it heralds the change of seasons. So, with any of the winds that are strong, they would say, "oh, ko Te Ru Koriri tēnā" (oh, that's Te Ru Koriri). It's lovely, eh? Te Ru is te haruru o te hau (the roaring of the wind), koriri, (the angry wind) and he was 50 when that was given to him.

Maata

His new name not only reflected a change in the role he came to hold as a tohunga but also reflects the way in which he was perceived and treated as a result. Consequently, the name he needed had to provide him with the required resilience and determination to carry the role well. The name, Te Ru Koriri, encapsulates the power of the wind and thereby provides him with that same power. In a Taranaki context, our wind is dissimilar to many other winds. It is a sea gust which blows off the west coast and causes our trees to grow sideways, perpetually seeking shelter from its wrath. It is this blustery, whip lashing kind of wind from Tāwhirimātea that

cuts into our cheeks and reminds us of his need to seek utu (retribution) from his siblings who separated his parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, against his wishes.

It was that kind of strength that he required and was so aptly given in that name. A name which conjures the kind of wind that teaches all uri of Taranaki what it is to be blown over and have to get back up again. Traits that are repeated across our waiata, with whakatohe, manawanui and te tū anō being characteristics and words which we believe necessary to overcoming great subjugation and strife. Koro Te Ru explained the following ancestral saying in a personal communication to me for my Master's research (Seed-Pihama, 2004):

“Ki te riri mai koe e te hau ka tuohu ahau. Ina mutu i a koe te riri ka tu ano au i te turanga o ōku tūpuna.”

(If you become angry with me oh wind, I shall bend to you, but when you cease your anger, I shall once again stand on the threshold of my ancestors.)

He was making reference to a kōrero known to have come from one of our great leaders, Te Whiti o Rongomai, who once said: *“Those who are bent by the wind shall rise again when the wind softens”*. I believe he was referring to our people's capacity for resilience and resistance. No matter what the Crown brought down upon us, we would never willingly give up our land or the teachings of our ancestors. There are also many other whakataukī or ancestral sayings that allude to the wind and how Māori see its place in the world. As an ancestor, Tāwhirimātea, the wind is not our enemy, but rather, it is our elder, one who strengthens us by billowing around us. Therefore, teaching us to stand firm. Our atua can even cleanse us as the following whakataukī exemplifies:

“E hoki koe ki ō maunga kia purea e ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea.”

“Return to your mountains to be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.”

This saying reminds us of the power of mana whenua and ūkaipō. Our connection to the land goes beyond the physical realm to the spiritual. It is only by returning to the land and mountains to which you belong can you be truly nourished and healed by the afflictions and pressures of today's world. This whakataukī also speaks to the need to maintain ahi kā, not just through the occupation of the land but through engagement with and contributing to your people. Another example of a whānau

member being named by the weather on the day of her birth was Whitirangihau. As her kōrero ingoa explains, sometimes the weather can be an indicator of the kind of characteristic or trait a child needs or a whānau wants them to have to help them live a successful life.

On the day she was born, the day was beautiful but really windy. Mum told me she was going to name my child, and I said, "no, you're not". Obviously, in my youth thinking, I thought I would get away with not having to be Māori. I thought that next, she would want to keep my baby too. I wasn't willing to give her up, however, mum in her wisdom has done both really. She is my mum's baby; she has been almost raised like the youngest child in mums' children.

Jean

In the kōrero ingoa of Kui Te Whero o te Rangi and Jean, not only do our whanaunga in te taiao play a significant role in our naming but so too do their whānau members of the human kind. In Kui Te Whero o te Rangi's kōrero it is an elder who first proclaims her name and, in Whitirangihau's case, it is her grandmother who names her at her birth. Both kōrero provide important examples of the role that whānau members, both human and non-human, can have in the naming of our tamariki. However, it is important to point out that many women and whānau have been disconnected from our ancestral knowledge and spiritual understandings which has had devastating effect. As Reedy (1979) shares:

I also believe that my ancestors are always there as part of the environment of this spiritual force, yet quite separate and identifiable. This enables me to be protected by them. However, I realise that in today's society there are many who cannot draw on these strengths. Many women have had to bring up their children in a setting where their links with the past were no longer available. (p. 43)

During a presentation for Kingitanga Day 2013 at The University of Waikato, Ruakere Hond (2013) spoke of the relationship between the health of the environment and our health as a people. As he argues, for our whānau at Parihaka, and perhaps for other Māori communities, our well-being is intricately entangled in the well-being of our relatives in the environment. If we as a people are not well,

we do not have the capacity required to better care for our whakapapa relationships with te taiao.

This returns us to a discussion of what it is to live as whānau and the importance of maintaining this kind of familial living for the well-being of our people and of the environment at large. An aspect of naming that was raised by some whānau participants was the importance of using ingoa Māori to maintain those whakapapa and aroha based relationships which keep us so well. For some whānau members, certain names held power to further bind their children to their loved ones. I think this is when naming best contributes to our well-being when it is contributing to improving our whakapapa relationships.

It was identified by several whānau members that it was important for them to provide their children with names from different lines of their whakapapa as well. This was so that the child's name could be used to identify a connection with others and allow the child to be claimed by their relatives, particularly, if the child was not necessarily going to be raised by or with that part of the whānau. Puna Te Aroha tells us about her experience of navigating how to link their child to all his 'sides' and the gamut of emotions that can be experienced when trying to navigate the importance of the names and whakapapa that need to be acknowledged in the following kōrero:

We ended up deciding on Rameka Te Amai and because Dyson still wanted a name from his side we gave him Te Ahu as well. But that was as far as we got. I had also wanted something from my Mum's side but time was running out, and we were tired of the arguing by then. Te Ahu is Dyson's middle name, and it means new beginning.

Puna Te Aroha

Honouring all of our whakapapa was also important to whānau participants. For those with whakapapa and whānau ties to other cultures and people, names were seen as being integral in the sense of belonging they wanted for their children. Our names can now be found side by side with those of other languages and cultures. Moreover, ingoa Māori clearly have the capacity to pay tribute and acknowledge all our whakapapa and our realities as Amanda shows us:

We had no idea what to call her if she was a boy, we just thought it would come at birth. But if she was a girl, we liked Talei. We wanted to use a Fijian/Tongan name for her since that's half of Elias' blood. So, Talei is a Fijian name meaning precious. Jean (Elias' sister) first suggested this name. And I wanted Jean to be her first middle name because my Nana's middle name is Jean, my Mum's middle name is Jean and Elias' sister's first name is Jean. Three strong wahine all with 'Jean'. We never intended to have a hyphen in her name, until she was born and it seemed right that this belonged with Talei, so Talei-Jean it was.

Amanda

Another example of naming to acknowledge several lines of whakapapa can also be found in the kōrero ingoa of Talei-Jean's father, Elias, which his mother, Kui Maata narrates for us:

Maata: The name Elias is from his grandfather, that's his father's father. Elias comes from a Peruvian family who originated from Indonesia. The Lilo name itself came from Indonesia to Peru. That's what his grandmother told me.

Joeliee: What about the Rapana name?

Maata: Rapana's my dad's name. He was Rapana Matekino. Rapana is one of the family names that we have.

Joeliee: So you have the Moanaroa line and the Rapana line, and in giving him that name, it connects him back to that. Because he already had the Lilo and then the Elias and that was your part, the Rapana. What about the James?

Maata: This guy gave his father twenty bucks to name him; he was a seaman.

Joeliee: He named him James?

Maata: He named him James and I thought that was quite cute, and James was such a fun loving name.

Joeliee: Elias itself though is not Fijian is it?

Maata: Elias is a biblical name; in Fijian, they call him Eliesa. We actually went back to Fiji when he was 1 for his naming ceremony, and after that, I left him there for six months with his grandmother.

Maata

Not only do our names acknowledge and connect our whakapapa but also other people in our lives at the time of the child's birth as Kui Maata has explained. Sometimes names come about out of some friendly fun, with that same fun being passed on to the child every time they hear their naming story. Although not all

namers of Elias were whakapapa connected to him, the sense of whānau and of collectivity is just as present in his kōrero ingoa. In the next kōrero ingoa, it was the union of several iwi, hapū and whānau at the birth of a first born child that required a marking of that occasion in her name:

Joeliee: Puna Te Aroha, and the rest of her name?

Maata: The Whare is from Te Ru's last name, Wharehoka and the Moana is from my last name, Moanaroo. But that comes I think; historically that comes from the way we lived anyway.

Joeliee: Because she was the first, was it straight away a thing that Koro was going to be naming her?

Maata: It was interesting because he never ever forced the names that really should have been on his children; he didn't have a set way that you do it.

Maata

Interestingly, a good example of a name being used to maintain whakapapa connections which ended up providing Moana Jackson (2007) with a good way of engaging with his mother's people later in his life, by using her name and the connection held therein. As he narrates:

We drove from Hastings to Hamilton and on the way I was trying to get some comfort from him because I was nervous about coming to Tainui. So I was dropping hints about how nervous I was and he was ignoring me. In the end I said, Koro I'm really nervous'. He said 'Whats your mother's name?' Thats a strange response to my nervousness. I said 'Hinerakau' he knew that, I mean he was her father. Then he said, 'What's her second name?' I said 'Mahinaarangi' He said 'It's quite simple really, why are you so nervous?' When we came to Tūrangawaewae⁶⁴ I of course realised what he meant. (p. 33)

Traditionally, it was also not uncommon for our elders to name tamariki as part of their larger role in actively helping to raise their mokopuna. Parents are expected to be working to provide for the larger collective, and therefore parenting becomes partly the responsibility of others in the wider collective, such as elders who are physically less able to do the work required to carry out other activities important

⁶⁴ Tūrangawaewae marae has a well-known whareniui there, which is named after the ancestor Mahinaarangi who Moana Jackson's mother was also named after as outlined in his abovementioned kōrero.

to the survival and flourishing of the collective. This next section examines the role of grandparents in the whānau and in our naming protocols and practices.

Matua rautia: Raising our tamariki within whānau

Ko te 'matua' e kōrerohia ake nei e mārama ana. Ko te 'rau', he rau tāngata. Ahakoa he iti ēnei kupu e rua, he nui te kōrero kai roto. Ko te tamaiti e 'mātua rautia' ana, kāore i whāiti ki te tangata kotahi anake māna e poipoi, engari mā tēnā, mā tēnā ia e awahi, e manaaki... Mōku tonu nei, nā taku pakeketanga mai i te taha o taku koroua, o taku whaea, me aku pāpā, me aku whaea, o roto i tōku iwi, o tōku hapū anō, i riro ai au mā te tokomaha e poipoi, e ārahi, e whakakōrero i roto i te ahurea a te Māori ka kīia ai i matua rautia taku noho. (Milroy, 2014, p. 197)

As Matua Te Wharehuia outlines in this kōrero, the concept of 'matua rautia', or being raised by many, is an important parenting philosophy of our people. Traditionally, this was not only for practical reasons but also to facilitate the oral transmission of our mātauranga to the next generation. As the repositories of such knowledge, our kuia and koroheke are integral to the continuance of our culture. Many pūrākau illustrate this with many of them involving women who pass on, gift or even have mātauranga stolen from them by their mokopuna. The Māui pūrākau are identified by Ani Mikaere as a prime example of this. She outlines the role of kuia as repositories of knowledge and more than that; they also defined the conditions under which they would share that mātauranga and to whom they would share it with. Furthermore, in doing so, they also defined the limits of what could be done with such mātauranga (Mikaere, 2005). As Turoa (2000) states in regards to his own education, "*I noho ahau i te paeahu a wahine ki te mātāwai o te puna kōrero. I sat at the footstool of women, the fount of instruction*" (p. 19). In fact, many of the whānau participants elucidate the role of not only whānau but of women in their stories and therefore in their education. This is all part of what it is to live as whānau, to live as mokopuna and tupuna, child and cousin, parent and whaene and so on. However, in unravelling our colonisation, a closer inspection of our wahine and their role in knowledge transmission, particularly as it relates to naming protocols and practices, is extremely important to ensure we do not hegemonically take on a genderised understanding of 'who' legitimately holds and keeps our knowledge.

Koro Te Rangihiroa, a renowned Taranaki scholar and doctor, has also made lengthy comment on the relationship between mokopuna and their grandparents within the whānau unit. He highlights the importance of this relationship well, and although his comments were made in 1949, much of what he observes is still present in some whānau, others have experienced the complete dissolution of the whānau structure. A ‘classical education’ as Koro Te Rangihiroa calls it, is part of what has been stolen from many in the systemic and colonial attack on whānau:

Much, if not most, of the personal instruction in early years, was received from grandparents as a convenient result of three generations of the family living together in a common household. The able-bodied parents were freed to devote full time and attention to the work which needed physical energy. The grandparents, who were too old for hard work, attended to the lighter tasks and the care of the grandchildren. Many children were adopted by grand-uncles or collaterals on the tipuna stratum and brought up by them in their own homes. They told them stories and simple versions of various myths and legends. I believe that some of the local interpolations in old traditions were introduced by grandparents to make the stories more easily understood by their young charges. The elements of a classical education in family and tribal history, mythology, and folklore were thus imparted by male and female tipuna at an early age and continued on through adolescence”. (Hiroa, 1949, p 358)

Where whānau have been able to maintain a whānau based existence, this has further benefitted Māori naming for the better. In turn, I argue, that ingoa Māori can then have a positive impact on the child and their whānau. An observation also made by Selby and Milisa (2007) is as follows:

Māori also regard the naming of children as an important task and one which should not necessarily be left to the parents of the newborn; more often naming has been the responsibility of the grandparents. This reflects the important role of grandparents, the belief that a child’s name is significant, that the child belongs to a wider circle than the parents, that a name can be a gift to a child, that there may be expectations of the child in the future as a result of the gift of the name. (p. 23)

Although several whānau participants had stories of grandparents and elders being involved in the naming of their children, one example, provided by Amanda, clearly

outlines how not only having the whānau together for the birth of their son but also how having the grandmother present in particular was pivotal in his naming:

Anyway, on our drive to Invercargill, you follow lake Wakatipu and at the very end of the lake is a beautiful spot/small town named Kingston. As we saw the sign for 'Kingston', UB40 Kingston Town started playing on the radio and Elias and I just looked at each other. Boom, there was our sign. If this baby was a boy, he was to be named Kingston after this journey. And what do you know, at 38 weeks, with Puna in a coma in ICU, all the whānau down from Taranaki, Kingston knew it was time to make his entry into this world. Maata did a karanga to name him Matatuu (meaning he was vigilant about what was going on and that this was his time to be born with all the whānau here). And then followed Maru Awatea (from "He maru ahiahi..."). She wanted something to tie in Paki and Kingston and what a beautiful way to do it.

Amanda

The symbolic, and yet quite concrete, connection Kui Maata made between the two mokopuna born in the same year is yet another example of the naming knowledge retained by our women. The permanence of that bond is certain as a result of that name. Something I am certain she knew and is why she chose it. The above kōrero ingoa is also quite clearly a beautiful story of the birth of a child during a difficult time for our whānau. A time when one of our whānau was very sick in the hospital and we thought we might lose her. The unification of the whānau at that time in our lives directly impacted upon the name given to Amanda and Elias's first born, which also leads us into the next discussion on the significance a child's birth can have for the name s/he ends up receiving.

Tō whānautanga mai: Your birth in your name

One of the key practices mentioned by whānau was the importance of the circumstances around the birth of a child regarding their name. How, where and when the birth occurred, who attended and what was happening at the time all influenced the name that was subsequently given to the child.

Maata: Now she interestingly enough was the child that we had a name for, Te Reihana was to be her name.

Joelie: Where does Te Reihana come from?

Maata: Te Reihana is called the treasured one, and we had it, boy or girl, it didn't matter. So, what was to happen at her birth was to be compelling. I think I should mention Puna's birthing as well here because she was face presentation. My understanding from the koroua from home was that it was about Rūaumoko trying to get out of his mother's puku and couldn't. So, the face presentation was her doing that. Ngahina was born in the same manner - which is very rare. They were the only successive face presentations that my gynaecologist had ever delivered, more than that, though; Ngahina was also born with the cord around her neck. She just about died, and they had to defibrillate her.

Listen to this, though; we had given her the name Te Reihana before she was born. You know? Did it have an impact because we had pre-named her? And it was a name that was chosen a long time before because we just loved the name Te Reihana.

Maata

Kui Maata discusses her belief that predetermining the name of the tamaiti before its birth had an impact on what then happened during her birth regarding their baby “becoming” her name. This is an old story, found in many of our whakapapa kōrero or ancestral accounts of history. However, for our Taranaki ancestor, Rauru, he was named as a direct result of his birth, not prior to it. When he came to be born, the umbilical cord became twisted, and he, therefore, had a difficult entrance into this world. As a consequence of his ability to overcome this difficulty and flourish into a healthy baby, he was named Rauru (Broughton, 1979). Rauru is a Taranaki word for the umbilical cord. Some sources define it as the end of the cord attached to the mother (Moorfield, 2017). In fact, a southern iwi of Taranaki still carry his name today, Ngā Rauru Kītahi. Event based naming and names associated with the birth of the child are clearly Māori naming protocols, and this is evidenced further in Amanda’s kōrero ingoa on the birth of another tamaiti in our whānau:

Then Maata gave her Manurere ki Tahuna as her first 'set' of middle names. This is the story of her birth. How both Nana's had to 'fly' to Queenstown to make it for her arrival. Maata had originally booked her flight to Queenstown on the 18th April but had to change her flight to the 17th when I went into labour. And my Mum had to get in the car and 'fly' (by fast car) on a 7hr car ride from Christchurch to Queenstown. And Talei-Jean held on until both Nana's arrived, and then labour was all go!

Amanda

The fact that Talei Jean had waited for both of her Nanas to arrive and be present for her birth was seen as no coincidence by Kui Maata. Even in the womb babies are seen to have a personality and an understanding of what is going on in the external world. This is part of why we traditionally sang oriori to them throughout the pregnancy. Our ancestors believed the child could learn and know love and knowledge even in utero.

This is discussed at length by Kirsten Aroha Gabel in her thesis on traditional philosophies of Māori motherhood. She describes a pūmotomoto which is a type of flute and explains that it is also a word used to depict the fontanel of a baby. It is this flute that was used to sing to the baby in utero by placing the end of the flute on the mother's puku. Just one of many examples of the breadth of Māori parenting. Māori clearly believed that learning and influence began before birth, but the birth itself plays a major role in the naming of the baby (Gabel, 2013).

The power of being present at the birth of a child is undeniable. For whānau, the ability to be present and to participate in the birth of our mokopuna is critical. In terms of naming, being present at the birth and witnessing and contributing to the child's entrance into te ao mārama is crucial. It is in those first moments that whānau members often take the opportunity to name a child according to its entrance into the world or, their uncanny likeness to a whānau member.

Taurima is a practice that has endured despite the odds and in the face of many colonial impositions such as forced closed adoptions. In English, it can be loosely translated to adoption or foster care, but in Māori, it also makes reference to hospitality and care. Another word used by other tribes outside of Taranaki is whāngai, which also means adoption and to feed or nourish. The maintenance of this tikanga has directly contributed to the well-being of our whānau. Taurima as a practice allowed children and mokopuna to be raised by other whānau members and therefore kept the transmission of knowledge in safe hands, amongst other things. Whaene Mairi tells us the story of the events that unfolded on the day her son was born and how those events ultimately led to the name he was given:

I watched this beautiful baby being born. It was a surreal experience filled with joy & sadness for us all. We wrapped him up, and Jo held him. We all gathered at Aunty Avis and Uncle Richard Nikorima's house in Waverley. Koro Dick held him and said karakia; then Jo handed him over to me. I said to everyone; I wanted to name him, Kimiora Nikorima Wharehoka so that he would always look toward good health and carry both whānau names to remember this day.

Mairi

In the case of another of her sons, the name had already been chosen prior to his birth, and yet, his birth seemed to solidify its appropriateness as Mairi explains:

As I was diabetic, Waru arrived three weeks early. Uncle Te Ru drove mum to the hospital, and she got there just in time. She lay Waru on my belly, touched him and said, "ah, little Waru". We were transferred to Opunake Maternity home when Waru was 24 hours old. Pāpā came to visit, held him and with a smile said "little Waru, eh?"

Mairi

Not all naming stories are only about the living, however, and in the kōrero ingoa given by Kui Maata, the naming of her daughter was both a celebration of birth and a time to farewell a beloved whānau member. Our Kui Ngahina Okeroa or Kui Ina as she was otherwise known, was a particularly significant kuia for Parihaka and for our whānau as both a relative and revered elder. The timing of a death is integral to our naming protocols, and this is clearly illustrated by the way my Koro immediately decided to ask her family for permission to name this newborn born baby after her:

Joeliee: So that event actually made her Te Reihana! And that's why you changed your mind to Ngahina?

Maata: Aunty Ina Okeroa died the day after she was born and so Te Ru went and put forward a tono for her name, out Whaitara, at Owae marae. Then on her burial day, I left the hospital and took her out to see her Kui.

Joeliee: Who did he ask?

Maata: The whānau, Mahara (her son) - he got up and did it publicly.

Maata

The importance of where you are born, how you are born, and what is happening at the time of your birth is further highlighted by Kui Maata as she talks about the birth of her daughter:

Maata: Puna Te Aroha was Te Ru's first child, and she was to be a home birth, in fact, she was to be birthed here in Te Niho [o Te Atiawa], we had the birthing pack and everything here. We also had the family reunion at the same time, and at the reunion, Te Ru was given a taonga that was carved by Hayden Wano. When it was given to Te Ru, it carried the name Puna Te Aroha, so when Puna was born it only seemed fitting that there was a continuation of naming.

Joeliee: For the records sake, where does [the name] Puna Te Aroha come from?

Maata: Puna Te Aroha is Te Ru's mother.

Maata

One of the ways in which our values are embodied and performed is in the use of personal names as markers of history. Names given for this purpose always have stories attached which whānau, hapū or iwi have identified as needing to be remembered. The naming of Puna Te Aroha is an example of this. Koro Te Ru made sure the whānau reunion, as well as the taonga given to him by his nephew Hayden, were remembered and acknowledged in the naming of his daughter by choosing to give her the name of both the taonga and his mother, Puna Te Aroha.

This next kōrero ingoa is a reminder that, from a Māori perspective, te ao wairua surrounds us. Mikaere (2003b) points out the tapu state our wāhine are in when hapū and discusses some of the necessary precautions taken by mothers. Pregnancy is a time in which the wairua of the new life growing inside of us is particularly vulnerable and we as te whare tangata, therefore, embody and protect the joining of the spiritual with the flesh in the creation of te ira tangata (the human). As such, we are often hypersensitive to te ao wairua and need to be cared for by the whānau in a way which acknowledges the complexities of the space we occupy during pregnancy. Jessica talks about her birthing experience, where her child was gifted a name by karanga as follows:

It was finally the due date, and baby was ready to come. 5 am in the morning I started having contractions. In the hospital, once baby was born, a feather appeared floating in the birthing pool. Nana Maata had given a karanga in which she gifted the name 'korowai', which represents the 'raukura' and a part of my grandmother who played a very strong role throughout my upbringing and who has passed on.

Both Maata and my grandmother had a very strong relationship. A few years before my Nan passed on; she had asked that Maata help her complete her korowai. Unfortunately, Nan passed away before they could finish it and the korowai was buried with her.

When baby was only 2 days old, we decided that the name ‘Herengarangi’ would best convey the love between Te Akau and I. The Pākehā translation of Herengarangi, “Here” to bind, “ngarangi” heavens, and so, “The binding of the heavens”. The last part of Herengarangi’s name is “Hei Korowai Rere o Hua” which means, “To Cloak your Flowing Essence”.

Jessica

Given the significance of tohu-ā-wairua (spiritual signs), of karanga and the grandmother to the mokopuna, the parents worked with the name gifted in karanga to link all their child’s names together and thereby produce a full name, complete with meaning that worked for them. Her full name thus tells a story that is unique to her, her birthing, her whakapapa and her mana. A name which acknowledges the presence of whānau, both living and dead during her entrance into te ao tūroa. He mokopuna he tupuna, he ingoa hōu.

He mokopuna, he tupuna: Children quite literally wear their history in their names.

All grandchildren in time become grandparents. Each generation links through whakapapa to each other and we are a reflection and continuance of our ancestral lines. Cameron et al. (2013, p. 4)

I have purposefully chosen the phrasing of ‘*He mokopuna, he tupuna*’ to align this section with some of the work that an organisation called Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki have done, and continue to do, to reclaim and revitalise our traditional knowledge around the position and status of our tamariki within our whānau in accordance with tikanga ā Taranaki. I argue consistently throughout this work for the mana of tamariki and the importance of regenerating that knowledge to the well-being of our whānau and of our ingoa Māori. Furthermore, Rose Pere (1994) asserts that there is a link between the two words of tipuna and mokopuna and says that “*The tipuna link up the mokopuna with the past, and the mokopuna link up the tipuna with the present and the future*” (p 49). Both insights speak to the mana of

our tamariki and our tupuna and therefore, logically, the mana of a name given from one to the other is significant from that standpoint.

It is common for Māori names to be ancestral in origin, spanning generations and referring to ancestors who lived an untold number of years ago. Every generation that carries the name adds to and upholds the mana of that name, including its responsibilities and obligations. Mead (1996) states that if children with ancestral names were mistreated by being hit, for example, this was seen to be damaging to the mana of the ancestor whose name that child carried. A prime example of contemporary mistreatment of ancestral names is the use of Parihaka ancestral names on permit blocks held by Todd Energy without the consent of our people and for a purpose, such as oil exploration and petroleum drilling, which is in direct conflict with our tikanga and values (The People Of Parihaka, 2013). Such is the connection between ancestor and namesake. All interactions and actions need to contribute to a mana enhancing relationship. In particular, the naming of the first born, regardless of their sex or gender, was seen as being of great significance in continuing those ancestral names through into the next generation of whakapapa. Kui Te Whero o te Rangi tells us about the naming of her first born and the importance of his role as mātāmua in his naming:

Ko toona ingoa, naa toona koroua a Rangikapuoho i tapangia. Tata ki te toru wiki te pakeke o taku tama. He aha i wheneki ai?

Ko te tikanga, ka moe tuuturu koe i too taane ka puta mai to tamaiti tuatahi he taane, maa too taane te ingoa hei tapangia. Mena he ingoa tupuna ki te taha o toona matua, kei a raatou te tikanga ki te whaangai i aia i ngaa mea katoa e paa ana ki te matauranga. Ko te mahi o te whaaene he whaangai i toona tama i te wai uu, i nga kai o aua wa; he ika taao, ka penupenu kumara, kamokamo, taaewa. Ae raa, ka whangai i ngaa kai e kai ana te rangatira kia kaha taua tama moo te waa kua timata ia ki te hikoi. Mai i reira, ka taea ngaa ako o oona paakeke maatua keke.

Whero o te Rangi

The involvement of elders in the naming of children is a significant aspect of Māori naming and is further highlighted in Kui Whero's kōrero. I have also discussed the important role that elders and whānau can have in the naming process in more detail in other parts of this chapter. Now, Kui Whero o Te Rangi tells us about the naming of her first born son and the importance names may have in dictating who will

educate the child when they come of age. She contends that an ancestral name given from the father's side to a male child would require him to be educated by that whānau. In addition, she was told the mother's role in that situation would be to raise the child until he could walk and then his father's whānau would be free to begin his education.

Kui Whero o te Rangi highlights the mana placed on ancestral names and the embedded responsibilities for the whānau to assist that child to carry their name with honour. For this whānau participant, making sure any tuakana and teina were also linked correctly by name was another important consideration as she goes on to explain:

Koia nei ngaa korero o ooku maatua me te whaene o taku hoa a Hoengarangi. Ka whanau mai ano he tama taane ano, ka hui ngaa whaanau me ngaa pakeke whakawhirinaki o raatou tipuranga. O raatou nei take, kei te toonoa e raatou kia kaua e whakawehewehe nga mokopuna taane e rua nei. Ma te tapangia taua peepe tuarua he ingoa tupuna i heke mai i te taha o toona whaene, ka tipu mokemoke te tuakana. Tera pea, ka ahua ngengehe toona wairua. Heoi ano, mena he kootiro te peepe, kei toona whaene te mana hei tapangia he ingoa.

He ingoa tupuna a Te Rangikapuoho. I heke mai i Ngati Maniapoto tetehi taha, ko tetehi hoki, kei te waka o Tokomaru, Ngati Mutunga, Te Atiawa.

Whero o Te Rangi

Kui Whero o te Rangi tells us that she was told by her parents and mother in law that, if a second son was born, the families and other adults involved in raising the child would gather to discuss his naming. They would usually want all male siblings be named after the father's side of the family. If a teina was named after an ancestor from the mother's side, Kui Whero o te Rangi explains that the older sibling may grow isolated and spiritually weary through the disconnection from their teina. Furthermore, she goes on to explain that when a female is born the naming power then lies with the mother and this becomes even more apparent when she outlines the naming of her youngest born child as follows:

Na taku whaene poupou i tapangia tona ingoa ki runga i taku peepe pootiki. He ingoa i heke mai i tona tipuna hoki e nui ngaa koorero mo taua ingoa a Hoengarangi, anei tetehi:

He wahine maaia, puku mahi, he koi o te hinengaro, he kakama me te tino mataara. Ka pakeke haere, tae ki toona waa, ko te kite koe toona puaawaitanga o ngaa mea hou o Te Ao Hurihuri engari e nui ngaa huarahi kei mua i aa ia hei hikoinga, hei tirohanga, e kore e mutu.

Whero o Te Rangi

Another ancestral name given, this time from grandmother to granddaughter is highlighted. Kui Whero o te Rangi makes some clear links between her daughter's name and some of the characteristics she has as a person. The female line of descent was also identified by other participants as being very significant, with many daughters being named after their kuia, whaene, whaea kēkē (aunty) and karangarua (someone related through two different lines of whakapapa).

The mother's line of descent was identified by several participants as being very significant. Kui Maata now discusses the significance of the same name being found in both the father and mother's whakapapa and how they decided to use that name to acknowledge both sides of her whakapapa to also further bind them together:

Joeliee: Why did you want her to have Roha's name?

Maata: I went to my mum, and I asked for that name because I thought it was beautiful. Jean's named after my older sister who had died. Jean's father's sister was also called Jean. It was meaningful that he had a sister called Jean and I had a sister called Jean. It was only right that we named our child Jean. I'm just so glad Jean loves her name. You know, we named her after beautiful people I'd say, even though I didn't know my older sister Jean because she died when she was about 2.

Joeliee: Why did you love the name Roha?

Maata: My mum told me of this thing that she did. She's described as this amazingly strong, powerful woman who was living in Tauranga at the time of the confiscation of lands by Pākehā. She stood up, claimed the land and had this altercation with them. Granny was born Aroha but known as Roha, and my mother also said to call Jean, Aroha not Roha.

Maata

Kōrero tuku iho are oral histories that are passed down from generation to generation about many things, including the deeds of our ancestors. It is part of our oral tradition to do so, and our ingoa tupuna are used like mnemonic devices to help us to remember those stories about our ancestors. Particularly as Roha Tangike is a significant ancestor for Kui Maata and her whānau. She is well known for her

resistance, strength and the mana she attained throughout her life. Her legacy is also now held by her namesake, Kui's daughter, through the gifting of her name and with it the stories of her deeds. It is also interesting to note that Kui Maata consulted her mother about gifting the name. They chose to give her her birth name of Aroha rather than the name she was well known by.

Part of what is so attractive about ingoa tupuna is that they are a way to ensure our ancestors live on in the next generation. Tūpuna who worked hard towards strengthening and uplifting our people were revered, and descendants who continued their legacy were given the same respect and status (Rose Pere, 1994). That same mana was further secured and reinforced if a descendent also bore the name of that particular ancestor. Tūpuna names are critical to ensuring not only the legacy of that tūpuna but the continued practice of traditions established by that tūpuna and to the continuation of their mana across generations.

Another kōrero ingoa from Kui Maata explains how one of our kuia decided it was appropriate for their child to carry her ingoa. Kui Kataraina Tuteuruoho just turned up one day and approached the family to request that their child become her namesake as Kui Maata tells us:

Maata: Then one day Kataraina came to visit, and Ngahina would've been 18months old. Kui Kataraina had heard that she only had the one name Ngahina Te Reihana and asked that we place her name on Ngahina.

Joeliee: Who is Kui Kataraina?

Maata: Kui Kataraina is Te Whiri o te Koka's brother's daughter. She loved Kata. She also asked that it be the last Kataraina of the line.

Maata

The age of the child was not seen as an issue, and this further illustrates the fluidity and transient nature of our names throughout life. Once again the importance of whānau in the naming of tamariki is highlighted by a whānau participant. Another mother, Jessica, also highlights the importance of honouring tupuna names, particularly in the mātāmua or first born child. Despite having initial intentions to uphold ancestral names for their child, this proved much more difficult than they initially envisaged, as she explains:

Te Akau and I began thinking about names towards the last few months of my pregnancy. Our first initial plan was if we had a boy he was to have Te Akau's tupuna name, and if it was a girl, she would have my tupuna name that we could agree on. Either way, baby's first name was to be Māori.

Finding a name became so difficult as I felt most names Te Akau suggested weren't suitable which we both clashed on and argued. We knew by resolving the issue the best solution was to create a new name in our whakapapa. From that, we felt it was a fair deal. A name that would be significant and had a concept of our coming together.

As I was getting closer to my due date Te Akau's ideas just kept flowing but all the names he suggested I felt were only suitable for a boy. So, we just dropped the topic knowing something will just come to us.

Jessica

The creation of a new name which could become a tupuna name for future generations provided both the tamaiti and the whānau with a new start. The creation of a new name in the whakapapa is a valid and important practice which not only provides a new kōrero ingoa but also creates a new set of responsibilities and obligations for future generations. This mother and father worked together to create a new name which would carry its own kōrero and mana. It was also a name which could successfully acknowledge all of the child's whakapapa in a mana enhancing way.

Mātāmua were the tamariki who ended up with the most attention and knowledge from their ancestors imparted to them. On a practical level, this was because that child had the longest time to access and be taught by the elders. This, in turn, created a responsibility in that child to pass on the knowledge to her/his teina (Mead, 2003; Pere, 1994). Several whānau participants have already spoken on the relevance of mātāmua to their naming process. However, Puna specifically discusses the birth of her son and shares with us how they named him to honour his father's whakapapa because he was their mātāmua:

We first started talking about names when I was pregnant. Firstly, we talked about who would name pepi, and we decided that Dyson would name him. I had originally wanted to, but after we had a kōrero, I changed my mind. He talked about keeping the male line going, keeping the mana of the name going in the male line and so I agreed. We knew we wanted Rongowhakaata no matter what because when Dyson's Dad gave him his whakapapa from Te Aitanga a Mahaki, it actually started with

Rongowhakaata (the ancestor). The reason we gave Tamatea Pokai Whenua as a second name was because that name then connected him to another part of our whakapapa. We wanted to imprint those names on him, as he's the eldest and could then provide the knowledge of our whakapapa from his names to his younger siblings.

The name Tamatea Pokai Whenua is also Dyson's dad's name and grandfather's name too. It was an acknowledgement of Dyson's dad, his whakapapa, and his bloodline. He mihi ki a ia. In the end, we decided to group the names together. Rongowhakaata Tamatea Pokai Whenua is Dyson's side and based on the same kōrero around whakapapa, passing those names down the male line and, therefore, keeping them within the whānau; his names went first. Then came Te Raukaerea which was from my side and then both of our last names together at the end.

Puna Te Aroha

It is interesting to note the negotiation that took place between the two whānau, their respective lines of whakapapa and the use of several different names to ensure the appropriate whakapapa was acknowledged. Next, Kui Maata talks about her pōtiki, who was actually the first son born to her husband, Te Ru Koriri. Due to this unique set of circumstances, his names reflect a need to give him ancestral names which acknowledged both lines of his whakapapa. One of his names also finally fulfilled Kui Maata's father's request for her to name one of her children 'Matekino':

Joelie: Where does Atahere come from?

Maata: We've tried to locate that name.

Joelie: It's a tupuna name, Atahere Te Akau?

Maata: Yes.

Joelie: Ote Rangiteihinga, where does that come from?

Maata: That's Te Ru's grandfather, he was a Pratt.

Joelie: Why do you think he wanted to have that name continued?

Joelie: And Matekino is from your father?

Maata: It comes from Matekino Wharehoka and my father. I was quite happy because dual relationships were honoured. I gave Te Akau this name in tribute to my father and because I failed to name Jean, Matekino as per his initial wishes.

Maata

When her first born arrived, and her father asked that the name Matekino be given to her, Kui Maata admits thinking that the name 'great tragedy' was not appropriate. Only in her later years did she come to respect and understand the honour and mana

of such a name which was meant to remember those who had been lost, and memorialise them forever.

Certain ancestral names can also be an added responsibility for the whānau to uphold and, therefore, some whānau require in-depth knowledge of the ancestor, their role in the community, their pūmanawa (natural talents) and, the deeds they carried out during their lifetime, if it is not already known to them, before making a decision. What follows is an example of this playing out just before an Iritanga was to be performed:

The day before the Iritanga, I had a big fit because I wanted to have an Iritanga, but we couldn't have one if we didn't have any names or if (as my Mum put it) there was tension. So, we ended up having this 3-hour long kōrero in the car. Dyson said that for me to name him Rameka Te Amai I had to know the meaning of that name and where it comes from. And so the night before the Iritanga we had a whānau wānanga to learn more. I always knew that if he was a boy that would be his name.

Puna Te Aroha

Despite Puna having a clear understanding of the ancestor as given to her by her father, it was still determined that a whole whānau approach be taken. Making sure, they all had the correct information for him as a person before making a final decision.

Several other Māori researchers, elders and cultural experts have also argued the sanctity and power of tamariki within our world (see Gabel, (2013); Jenkins & Harte (2011); Pihama, et al. (2015); Simmonds, (2014); Smith, (1999)). I argue that this is further evidenced by the ingoa we choose to give them. In fact, ancestral names given to tamariki and adults alike signify not only the cherished nature of our whakapapa but the mana that our ancestors and their knowledges and practices continue to hold in our communities.

It is clear that ingoa tūpuna were extremely important to all of the participants involved in this research and it has certainly presented as the largest theme. It is clear that the resistance, endurance, reclamation, and regeneration fought for and

presented in these kōrero ingoa has directly contributed to a resurgence in our use of ancestral names. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) has already stated:

A more recent assertion in Māori naming practices has been to name children again with long ancestral names and to take on new names through life, both of which were once traditional practices. Children quite literally wear their history in their names. (p. 157)

The kōrero ingoa further reinforce Linda's work and are, I argue, a clear example of resurgence within naming that can clearly be linked back to our collective efforts to contribute to the projects of decolonisation and tino rangatiratanga for our people.

Kapohia ngā taonga a kui mā a koro mā: Spirituality and our names⁶⁵

Pere (1994) describes wairua as a word that, when literally translated, denotes two waters, wai (water) and rua (two). More recently, Māori scholars have been critical of breaking our words down into parts to explore their etymologies. This is largely due to some words being taken right out of context and extrapolated to mean things they clearly do not. The same mistake has also been made in regards to Māori place names as argued in this thesis.

The role of wairua in our naming cannot be overstated. It is prevalent in many of my whānau's kōrero, and although in some cases not openly labelled as such, it is evident in their descriptions of how they felt, their physical and emotional responses to the timing of particular events. In the following example it was an experience that one mother carried with her from her childhood that informed the choice of a name for her son many years later:

The story of Rameka Te Amai goes way back! Well, when I was a little girl, and we lived in Te Rongo o Raukawa, Rameka Te Amai was on the wall [in a photograph], and one day I asked Dad who he was. He said that he was Kui Puna Te Aroha's (my namesake) grandfather, and he was a great Māori weaponry user. When Dad told me his name, I admired the name, and I admired who he was. When I looked at him, I could feel his presence; I felt

⁶⁵ Taken from a waiata I grew up with about the importance of te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori, this phrase instructs my generation to snatch up the treasures of our ancestors before it's too late.

connected. His āhua gave me a warm feeling and when Dad told me his name, I got goose bumps.

I asked my Dad, "when I grow up and have kids can I have that name?" and he said "yes". I said, "even if it's a girl or a boy?" and he said "yes". I actually had that name for Rongowhakaata, but then I changed my mind after Dyson and I talked about it. I knew that Rameka Te Amai had to be a first name; it couldn't just be a second name.

Puna Te Aroha

As is emphasised in the above kōrero ingoa, the mana of an ancestor can demand a certain status be upheld. In that particular example, it was clear to the family that this tupuna name could not and should not be relegated to being a second or third name. For this mother, wairua is an instinctive and concrete part of her reality. Her holistic response to her experience, as she relays in the kōrero, was a ‘knowing’ over and above the intellectual kind. In the following extract from a research report conducted by the Families Commission or Kōmihana ā Whānau into stories of Māori whānau success, Dame Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira, a renowned te reo exponent and an esteemed elder, who contributed extensively to the regeneration of our culture discusses ‘wairua’ and further illustrates its ability to learn and therefore for it to contribute to our knowing:

Wairua is the learning part of a human being – the brain is just the tool. Spiritual values need to be an intrinsic part of education (as opposed to religious values) in recognition of the fact that human beings are essentially divine spirits. (as cited in Irwin et al., 2011, p. 106)

Our spirituality or taha wairua manifests itself into our lived realities in distinct ways and in accordance with our cosmologies and worldview. In our day to day lives, we are consistently surrounded by messages and signs from our ancestors. Traditionally, we had tohunga and others who were adept at interpreting these signs and at understanding the messages being delivered through our manu (birds), mokomoko (reptiles), kapua (clouds), uira (lightning), and others (Nock, 2012). We all inherit certain pūmanawa from our ancestors and from birth our ancestors watched us to pinpoint our inherent abilities. This, in turn, allowed them to train and guide their mokopuna in alignment with their pūamanwa. However, in contemporary times due to the sometimes fragmentary nature of our mātauranga

and our sources of knowledge since colonial contact, ‘becoming’ and transitioning into traditional roles within the community is much more difficult. In the next kōrero ingoa about Koro Te Ru Koriri, his wife tells us how he was gifted a new name upon taking up the role of tohunga:

Joeliee: How does the name Te Ru Koriri come around?

Maata: Now, I'm not absolutely sure about that, but Auntie Marj said it was a tupuna name and that it was only right that Te Ru accept that name as she regarded him as a man of spiritual power. The 'Te Ru Koriri' is in the Waiwiri family. Auntie Marj just started calling him Te Ru Koriri. She was very much aware of his role changing; by then he had a child, he was the chair of the Parihaka Papakāinga Trust and was working with the spiritual realm. He was reciting karakia, opening buildings, dealing with patu wairua and other spiritual phenomena. I think the name also reflects that adversity he would encounter, whether it's with the universe, environment, or community. He was renamed to better reflect that shift in his role and in his life.

Maata

Our names were not traditionally permanent in any way. As we grew and changed, and reached new benchmarks or milestones, we were given new names to carry which signified and acknowledged our new ‘becoming’. For Koro Te Ru, when he became established as a tohunga he was given a new name by a renowned kuia of Taranaki, Kui Marjorie Rau Kupa, who was a well-respected and loved leader of the Taranaki people. For her to decide that Koro Te Ru needed a new name was more than enough for it to be true. She knew and lived her role as a key knowledge holder and therefore as a revered kuia within Parihaka, her iwi and indeed throughout Taranaki. When she saw that Koro Te Ru had returned to the pā, was stepping into tohunga based work, and that not only had he sought out and learnt the appropriate specialist knowledge to become a tohunga, but he was also applying that mātauranga for the benefit of our people, she placed an appropriate and relevant name on him to mark his ‘becoming’.

The name that she chose was one that reflected a shift in his life, a changing of roles. A name that also resonated with the spiritual aspects of the duties he was carrying out for, and amongst, the people. As Kui Maata alludes to in his kōrero ingoa, there are aspects of being a tohunga which can make it a challenging, albeit rewarding,

role to take up. Therefore, there was an understanding that he would have to face adversity from both the worlds of the spirit as well as of the flesh which his name would need to counteract.

Several whānau participants acknowledged their tamariki as the culmination of their ancestors or, as Rokx, Woodham and Joe have termed it, they are “*the physical embodiment of their tipuna, bringing together their mana, wairua, ihi, wehi, tapu of generations long-gone, and linking with generations to come*” (as cited in Pihama et al., 2015, p. 2). Ancestral names take this even further by creating a direct spiritual link between the ancestor and its namesake.

Therefore, the importance of knowing the tupuna you want to name your child after is clear and further illustrated by Kui Whero o Te Rangi in her discussions on the naming of one of her sons. She knew that the physical characteristics and personality traits of the tupuna he is named after would be passed on to her son when she gave him the name. She also breaks up his name into its word parts and interprets what they mean, from her perspective, as follows:

You know, ko Te Hara e kii ana, ehara i te hara e peenei ana, ne ra? Ko Te Hara e paa ana ki aia ko tona toa i tona waa. E kii ana, no te ao kohatu tena momo, tera ahuatanga tu teitei. Pera i a Mahara Okeroa? Tera kaha ne? Penei i te giant!

Koinaa ka tapangia ko Te Hara. Ko te Wira, he aha te Wira? Ko te Wira ka haere tonu. Ahakoa ki whea, kaaore e noho noa iho. Kaore e noho roa ki konei, ki kona, me haere tonu! Ana, koina te Wira.

Whero o Te Rangi

Some whānau participants identified that along with a name, came certain traits or characteristics of both a physical and spiritual nature. The connection made between the namesake and a tupuna, for example, was particularly seen to connect their wairua and give them a unique and meaningful spiritual connection. This manifested in many ways ranging from personality traits, mannerisms, physical characteristics and spiritual gifts. H. M. Mead (2003) discusses this in terms of the concept of te pā harakeke as follows:

“What endures after death is the flax bush, te pā harakeke, a metaphor for the children who inherit parts of the gene pools of the two parents. A mother lives on in her children who may exhibit some of her characteristics and may even look like her. Similarly, the father is reflected in the children. Where there is no pā harakeke the family is referred to as a whare ngaro, a lost house, in which the genes are lost and come to the end of a line that may have had great potential...” (p. 149)

Specific pūmanawa or inherited traits can, of course, be passed down without a name being given to the individual. However, a name can further consolidate those traits upon the child. Matakite is a unique example of this in many whānau, with members inheriting this gift (wanted or otherwise) from generation to generation (Yates-Smith, 1992). In the next kōrero ingoa, Kui Te Whero o Te Rangī describes the bond she shared with her kuia, an ūkaipō to her in every way, who was also a matakite (a seer):

I te waa e hapu angeau e nui ngaa waa ka puta oku korero ki tooku whaene a Te Amo Mere (Sissy) Te Awhitu Te Ihitua Patara. Mena he kootiro taku peepe ko te tapangia te ingoa o to maatou kuia a Te Ao Marama. Tino hiahia au kia utaina teenei ingoa, na te mea, ko teenei momo kuia, i te waa he turoro angeau i Otaki Convalescence Sanitorium, 1950, ka mate a ia.

Tata ki te rua marama kore ooku maatua i tae mai ki te toro i a au. Etehi waa ka tangi au i tooku moenga. A te rooanga, ka tae mai he reta me ngaa whakamarama te take kore raaua i tae mai. I mate taku kuia a Te Ao Marama. Tangi hotuhotu toonu au ka paa mai te mauui ano ki a au. Mai i teera ka uu au ki taku moenga, kore roa kua uenuku te takuta i a'au ki te waahi hohipera o te Sanitorium. Kua timata te paatukituki o te rua itiiti o taku pukapuka maau. Tata ki te rua marama, ma te tino awhi o oku hoa turoro i reira, ka hoki mai te oranga ki a au.

He tohunga whakapiki ora teenei kuia a Te Ao Marama Te Ihitua Patara Te Whare Okare. Koia te potiki o te whanau o taku koro a Te Awhitu. E wheneki ana Ko Tutonu Pirika, Rauwha Tamaiparea, Te Awhitu, me Te Aomarama.

I tipu au i te taha o aua kuia e rua. Tino tata taku piri kia raaua tahi. Mai i taku hokingaa mai ki ooku maatua, kore rawa ooku maatua i tohu mai ki a au kei whea too maatou kuia e takoto ana. Engari kore rawa au e pau kaha ana ki toona wairua tae atu ki te waa e piri au ki taku hoa rangatira a Mutu.

Me hoki mai au ki te waa e hapu ana. Tino taumaha ngaa maarama toenga e ono i a au e hiki ana teenei momo peepe. Ahakoa taaua ahuatanga i kii au ki tooku whaene, kei te tino hiahia au kia tapangia te ingoa o Kui ki toku

peepe, mena he kootiro. Ko te whakautu o ia, "pai kee, me haere koe ki tee kuia a Rauwha, kei aia te tikanga, ae ranei, kahore ranei. No te mea, tera pea kua tukuna taua ingoa ki runga tetehi o ona mokopuna, na toona tamahine a Mere Pokaiwhenua".

Whero o Te Rangi

In the last paragraph, after narrating the specialness of her relationship with Kui Te Ao Marama, Kui Te Whero o Te Rangi starts to talk about her desire to name her daughter after her kui. She initially seeks advice from her mother who directs her to the most senior kuia in their whānau. Her concerns being that the name had already been given to another member of the whānau through another whakapapa line.

Kui Te Whero o te Rangi appears to have understood the responsibilities and obligations that may be involved if her child also became a matakite as a result of her name. Next, Kui Whero continues her kōrero ingoa about her daughter and shares with us the strategies she used to navigate not only her own wishes and the possible gift of matakite, but also the cautionary advice of her kuia as well:

Ko toona whakautu mai, kahore! Kua tapangia te ingoa o Kui Te Ao Marama ki oona mokopuna e rua. Ka tohe au ki a ia, he aha ona whakaaro mena ka tapa ko Maarama waihotia "Te Ao"? Kite au toona poouri i taku patai. Engari, i te roanga e whakaaro ana e ia ka kii mai ki a au "me aata whakaaro koe, e moko, kei te moohio koe ki te aahua o Te Ao Marama i toona waa, ki ona momo mahi. He matakite, he kaitohunga whakapiki ora". I te wa, i timata ngaa mahi o Wiremu Potiki Ratana ko maua tahi ngaa tino kaiawhina ki toona taha.

Tino roa angeau e whakaaro ana ki ngaa koorero o tooku nei kuia. Aamuri o toku hokinga ki ooku maatua kua uu au ki toku i hiahia ai. Ka reehitatia ko Maarama Louisa. Mai i taua waa, ka pakeke haere ia ka tipu toa a ia. Koia toona aahua inaianei, he toa, he wahine wairua i etehi waa.

Whero o Te Rangi

Matakite is a pūmanawa that has always been passed down through our whakapapa from generation to generation. It is greatly valued in terms of the matakite's ability to contribute to the spiritual well-being of the whānau. Kui Te Whero o Te Rangi goes on to explain that her daughter did inherit some of the same gifts that her kuia had and she attributes this to the mana and tapu of her kuia's name:

Etehi waa, e kore he tangata e moohio e kuia matakite aia. He tino momo tohunga e ia. Na reira ka huri tona ingoa i toona huringa ki te Ao Marama me te whakaora i ngaa taangata nui i tae atu ki a kui moo te kiimi he oranga mo 'te mate maaori'.

Kua maarama hoki au inaianei, he ingoa tino hoohonu i tapangia ki runga i a kui e ngaa tohunga matatau ki ngaa momo karakia, koorero, waiata, koorero paki, mahi rongoa, araa nui atu i mua i tona aroaro. Kei te ora taku tamahine a Maarama. I tipu he tino toa a ia hoki. Etehi wa he matakite, ka rangirua toona wairua engari kei te kaha a ia ki te inoi whakapono ki te atua i aua waa.

Whero o Te Rangi

This kōrero, in particular, speaks of how matakite and tohunga were revered and cared for in their old life by the whole community. She also points out that her kuia had another name originally but was renamed after an incident which led to a change in her role within the iwi. It was through her work helping her people to maintain their spiritual well-being that she became known as Te Ao Mārama. In fact, Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu (2014) and Reinfeld & Pihama (2007) write about this same kuia in their respective work. Both acknowledge the infamy of her gift and of her status as a tohunga amongst our people from a young age. My whanaunga from Puniho pā, Dennis Ngāwhare-Pounamu (2014) explains that:

Both she and her sister Rauha were steeped in the old ways of healing using wairakau rongoā. When Te Ao Marama was a child, she would often be seen playing around Te Toka a Rauhoto. The old people identified her gift, and as a grown woman, she was recognised as a woman of power, as matakite. (p. 178)

Another whānau participant, Whaene Mairi continues the discussion of matakite and tells us how as the namesake of her kuia, her whānau changed the name somewhat to ensure she did not inherit some of the more difficult aspects of matakite that our kuia had dealt with in life:

Māmā told me that Kui Mere was an immaculate dresser and a hard worker. No one liked playing cards with her because she always won. She was a matakite and could read everyone else's cards. As time went by Kui Mere slept very little and constantly talked to the wairua that visited her.

Kui Mere died 9 days before I was born and Koro Charlie visited 3 days after I was born (28th April 1960) and said: "she's got my Mary's eyes, my Mary's come back to me." And because he was Scottish, he named me Mairi which is Gaelic for Mary. He didn't want to give me Mere or Mary in case I became like Kui Mere. The name gave me some protection. When I was little, I was often told, "don't do that, you're different to your sisters, you were named after the old lady" (Kui Mere). As I grew to be an adult, I felt that I knew Kui Mere on a personal level and that she had watched over and guided me for most of my young adult life. Now, in my fifties, I don't see her at all, yet know that she is in my heart.

Mairi

As Whaene Mairi has told us, we can have a particular relationship with a tupuna, despite having never having met them, at least not in the world of the living. This is part of the beauty of having kōrero ingoa, which are passed on from generation to generation about our ancestors. Such names memorialised their pūmanawa and their deeds. Telling these stories is part of how we honour our ancestors and make sure that our tamariki learn their history and figure out who they are or will be, either in contrast to or akin to those very tupuna. Whaene Mairi asserts our wairua as being present and of guiding us in our daily lives and assumes the normality of this level of spirituality in our everyday realities. Another Taranaki kuia, Kui Ngaropi Cameron also comments on this in relation to her own calling in life:

Years and years ago I remember Aunty Marj said to me: 'Oh your tūpuna are pulling you along by your little nose!' And realising at one stage later, 'Oh, so this is my calling. (as cited in Irwin et al., 2011, p. 103)

For Whaene Mairi, being a matakite was also to be part of her calling, and she acknowledges naming as a tool that was used to navigate how she received her gift. The name chosen in the end provided her with a veil of protection that she may not have had if she had been given our kuia's full and original name. Whaene Mairi alluded to the fact that as matakite, her namesake and then she herself, consistently engaged with te ao wairua and, for this reason, it is important to note that she plays an important role in maintaining the well-being of our whānau to this day.

The whānau member in the next kōrero ingoa was supported by her mother who already knew and understood the value of matakite as a gift and of her daughter's ability in that regard. Traditionally the whole whānau would often operate in a way

that supported matakite to carry this highly prized pūmanawa and in doing so messages from te ao wairua were a regular part of life. This normalcy continues for some whānau as Jean explains:

Miss Rangianewanewa was named of my tipuna. I'll have to ask mum again how it fits, but it's from my Kui. How she got that name was that I was driving into New Plymouth, and this name popped into my head, it really bugged me cause I hadn't heard it before. When I got home, I said to mum "what does the word Rangianewa mean? She said "Ohhhhh, you're having a girl", I said "HUH???" She went on to tell me the connection, and so the name stuck.

Jean

Whaene Mairi provides us with the last example for this chapter and reinforces the connection that exists between tupuna and mokopuna who share the same name. What makes the relationship between her father and her son as ancestor and namesake is that they were able to enjoy it in the land of the living as grandfather and grandson on a daily basis:

Waru was diagnosed with Autism and often repeated what Pāpā said. In fact, they were very similar in the way they walked, personality, character, they even had the same favourite foods; shortbread biscuits, chocolate, shoes, and TV programmes. They are also both quiet and unspoken. Pāpā would say to Waru, "How are you Waru?" and Waru would say to Pāpā, "I'm good. How are you Waru?" They were known as Big Waru and Little Waru by the whānau.

Mairi

Conclusion of section two

Berg & Kearns (1996, p. 19) argue that naming is in fact norming, and having the power to name is the symbolic kind of power to define what is normal and legitimate. For the whānau participants in this research the power to gift personal names, along with the agency to carry those names, is intimately entangled in the politics of identity and representation in Aotearoa. By maintaining and asserting our ingoa Māori in their everyday lives they have contributed to an agenda of making 'being Māori' both normal and legitimate. Beyond this, they have claimed and worn their names as symbols of our culture, knowledge, language, and customs.

Carrying our ingoa as symbols of our aroha for our tūpuna, displays an important act of self-love.

Our identity as Māori is undeniably bound to our whakapapa and to our view of the world from a whānau-based perspective. Furthermore, ingoa tangata are purposefully used to connect our people to their whakapapa, to where they belong and from whom they descend. Our names enable our people to answer the two pivotal questions for Māori identity, ‘nō hea koe?’ and ‘ko wai tō ingoa?’

Additionally, this chapter has illustrated the tino rangatiratanga that these whānau participants exercise and enact in their everyday lives by continuing to uphold Māori naming practices and protocols. They also illustrate the enormous amount of aroha and commitment whānau Māori have embodied and employed, in order to maintain and assert Māori personal names in the colonised reality of Aotearoa/ New Zealand for the benefit of future generations. An important display of symbolic power by all whānau participants was in their efforts to ensure their children and other family members stay connected to who they are and where they are from through the names they gifted them.

Research very rarely engages with aroha, and yet it is so integral to our experience as human beings. Aroha is larger than the nuclear or immediate whānau; it is carried by and given across many generations. Consequently, the whole whānau upholds aroha for all tamariki and mokopuna and relatives. Our *aroha* also stretches beyond the human race, to our whenua, to our awa, to our atua and other ancestors in the environment as is evidenced by the naming stories that directly reference those relationships and connections.

Therefore this chapter, although it discusses the practices or tikanga associated with naming and some of the key concepts behind the selection of names, is a discussion of *aroha*. The aroha of a kuia for her mokopuna, a tauheke for his great-moko, an aunty for a nephew and a mother for a mother and, the aroha we have for our ingoa.

It has also been a celebration of *us*; as stories, as storytellers, as namers and as the named. This chapter celebrated the function and intent behind our ingoa tangata

through the sharing of kōrero ingoa. The importance of our names and therefore, of who we are, where we come from and of our connections to others has been highlighted and promoted throughout.

Chapter Seven

Ko Wai tōku ingoa: My name is Water

CONCLUDING AND REFLECTING IN THE WATER

Our names are extremely important to us because they embody our histories, our loved ones, our values and connections to people and place. Ingoa tangata, in particular, are culturally bound and celebrated markers of our identity and holders of our stories. Names can obligate us to carry out a certain task, remind us of our responsibilities and connections and most importantly of the love our ancestors and whānau have for us. Names are hardly ever about individuals; rather, they are products of our collectives, of our whānau, hapū and iwi and of their hopes and desires for us. We have had our names and the knowledges associated with naming systematically removed from us. We have generations of Māori now, who have been renamed by people in positions of power in our lives; in the name of assimilation. Just as we did not lose our reo, we also did not misplace our names. We have been renamed, had our names shortened, mispronounced, invisibilised and ultimately denied. This must be brought to an end, and this thesis has sought to contribute to that very important agenda.

Within this thesis, I have argued that the whānau unit is a bastion of resistance, reclamation and resurgence for our ingoa tangata as expressions of our reo and of our identity. I normalise te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori as a political act of resistance and resurgence, an act of just *being* Māori. Reclaiming ingoa tangata is significant to the agenda of decolonisation and tino rangatiratanga for Indigenous peoples globally. This research contributes to the decolonisation of literature, research and knowledge pertaining to ingoa tangata.

A mana whānau framework that is grounded in Taranaki ingoa, voices, people and place positioned home in the foreground throughout this research. Kaupapa Māori theory and a decolonising approach to the kōrero, practices and knowledges of ingoa tangata in order to seek social justice for Māori who experience the denigration of their names facilitated the use of a Kaupapa Māori analysis that is

contextualised by our triumphs, our resistances, our reo and our ways of being and seeing. I have affirmed mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori as holding the keys to our well-being and liberation as Māori, as iwi, as hapū, as whānau, as name holders contemporarily and into the future. Acts of resistance, reclamation, regeneration and resurgence were also revealed and profiled throughout this research using a Kaupapa Māori theoretical stance, which has served to demonstrate the enduring wisdom within our ingoa tangata, their stories and our naming practices.

Grounded in the discipline of Māori and Indigenous Studies, I have conducted an extensive critical review of the literature associated with ingoa tangata; this has included sources of mātauranga Māori, archives, academic work in the field of onomastics and from published historical sources. My review has demonstrated that names and naming practices are a significant part of Māori literary traditions that have been marginalised through colonial research. My use of a pūrākau method also enabled the exploration of Māori cosmogonies as an important cultural source of concepts and practices pertaining to names.

The power of pūrākau as method facilitated story building using a diverse range of narrative and literature, including kōrero ingoa, poetry and creative writing. As the primary storyteller of this research, I deliberately sought to emphasise the mana and tapu of names as shared by whānau participants. Takoha mai, takoha atu was pivotal in the methodological approach of this research and required reciprocity be built into researcher/researched relationships. Naming books were created as a way to honour the kōrero ingoa as takoha, in and of themselves, and were central to the collaborative story building that was fundamental for this research. Whakawhanaungatanga further confirmed the importance of research relationships beyond the ‘research project’ itself affirming the importance of mana whānau.

Within chapter two of the research two pivotal questions that speak to our notions of belonging and connection, ‘nō hea koe?’ and ‘ko wai to ingoa?’ were explored as pivotal elements within our whakawhanaungatanga processes to form and maintain relationships with others. The discussion provided here was primarily concerned with the examination of the underlying concepts which give meaning to our ingoa tangata. These concepts are intimately linked to our reo and our tikanga.

This chapter makes a significant contribution toward revealing the link between our *ingoa tangata* and our notions of belonging and connectedness. Further asserting the importance of our *ingoa tangata* as expressions of identity and of *reo Māori*.

Furthermore, I have applied *te whare tangata* as a conceptual framework to explore the conceptual link between *ingoa tangata* and the components of *te whare tangata*. The *whare*, the *whenua*, the *wai*, the *kahu* and the *tāngaengae* are all explored as integral to Māori naming practices and to the grounding of our *tamariki* in their identity. The three selected cosmologies were utilised to contribute new understandings and analysis to the field of *mātauranga Māori* and to the work of *Pūrākau* as method. This chapter also demonstrated how our *pūrākau* have transformed and continue to transform over time and space within both the individual and collective consciousness.

Drawing from the wealth of *kōrero ingoa* and the critical literature review, this research has argued the maintenance, (re)clamation and (re)assertion of *ingoa tangata* as being integral to Māori well-being. This research has intervened in the continued denial of our *ingoa tangata*. In Chapter Five, the colonial impositions on our names across the institutions of law, education and religion are highlighted. The politics of naming, claiming and renaming has been part of the colonial agenda and makes visible the argument that we did not ‘lose’ our names. They have systematically and intentionally been erased from our lives. Rather than focus on the problem that is colonialism, this research has sought to disrupt the hegemonic discourses that Māori names are not important by celebrating our success in ensuring the resurgence of our names.

Giving voice to the *kōrero ingoa* of *whānau* is at the heart of this research. By weaving together six generations of one *whānau*, I provide a window into the names, naming stories and practices. These *kōrero ingoa* include naming their *tamariki*, gifting and receiving new names as adults and their experiences, struggles and successes in carrying *ingoa tangata*. Based on this *kōrero* it is my argument that the transformative potential of *ingoa* lies within personal spaces, specifically the *whānau* unit. Giving voice to *kōrero ingoa* within *whānau* may also resonate with other *whānau* on a journey to decolonise and reclaim *ingoa Māori*. This research

argues that the reclamation of our names is the reclamation of our pride in our reo, our whakapapa and ourselves.

Reflecting back on my discipline

In concluding this work, I have reflected upon my journey as both a student and staff member, at various times, within a Māori Studies department for the past eighteen years. Although most of my experience has been firmly within the ‘Māori’ space of our name, I have, throughout my PhD journey, been inspired and guided by our Indigenous whanaunga around the world. I am, therefore, excited that our department has not only just become a Faculty but we have also received a new part to our English name and thus become the Faculty of Māori *and Indigenous* Studies. I have provided my arguments and reflections here, in the conclusion of this thesis, in the hopes of contributing new analysis, support and acknowledgement to those who have grown, nurtured and challenged me on this journey but also to those who are still finding their way or have yet to begin their journey.

Some have argued that Māori Studies is a hangover from Anthropology, History and Linguistics and while this may be historically true it must be stated that Māori have in fact not always and still do not in many ways have control over what Māori Studies has been able to be (Smith, 1994). Systemic racism and institutional white superiority complex have not allowed Māori Studies to determine its own pathway. The disciplines historically associated with Māori Studies have been explicit in the testing of their ideas in Māori communities and in largely deriving their theories and methods from the colonised world as part of the colonial race to ‘know’ the so called ‘unknown savages’ that they had apparently ‘discovered’ in the new world of Aotearoa (L. T. Smith, 2012). Therefore, I argue that part of the important work of Māori Studies is to stop perpetuating the legacy of these disciplines and to instead take the opportunity now that some of our revitalisation strategies have found fruit, to re-determine what Māori Studies is without the shackles of colonially defined disciplines. This may mean a continuation of some aspects and a discontinuation of others. The main point being for us to be critical and political in where we head next and I argue that a decolonising agenda is pivotal in that movement.

As Māori scholars, our ways of looking at language, of researching the past and of observing our people has to be at the forefront of what we are teaching and publishing to better lead our people and the country in things Māori. This involves research and teaching about our successes in the revitalisation and regeneration of our culture, of being political and strategic in whose voices we privilege and whose stories we tell and how we tell them. To be critical of what is posed as a problem and to both talk and write back against those who problematise Māori unfairly. Highlighting the ongoing impacts of colonisation and assimilation, for example, is important in not allowing our people to be blamed for their own dispossession and disempowerment. Also using our collective skills to teach and research and publish about our values and concepts and promoting them as interventions as we have seen done with great success within the education sector and Kaupapa Māori.

There are many more spaces and places to (re)claim and infiltrate if we are to (re)surge forward as a people. Hirini Moko Mead asked the questions of ‘what we should include in Māori Studies courses, who should teach it and why’ back in 1983 and he clearly states that Māori Studies has had to grapple with what the institution perceived as its inevitable death and its struggle to be recognised as a legitimate discipline and body of knowledge. He also highlights the un-comfortability for ourselves as Māori in those early years that Māori Studies was established; as such, he referred to Māori Studies as “*The Uncomfortable Science*” (p. 346).⁶⁶

As Linda Smith (2015) has pointed out, the work that many have done, including in Māori Studies has been to recover our culture, to recover ourselves. Māori and Indigenous Studies have been extremely instrumental in our regeneration as a people. Its work has transformed homes from monolingual towers to villages of bilingualism. Māori Studies has returned people home, guided them toward their ancestors, gifted children with traditional music and medicine to heal and cleanse themselves, turned assimilated minds to marvel at the science of navigation by stars, and the wonder of being genealogically related to the stones beneath our feet and the air we breathe. The work of Māori and Indigenous Studies here in Aotearoa has

⁶⁶ Hirini Moko Mead outlines several ‘tasks’ for Māori Studies for the future which are still being worked toward today. For anyone interested in the trajectory of Māori Studies his work is still extremely relevant. Please read his article for further information.

been about hope and courage to a certain extent as we do not really know where we might end up, we don't necessarily know what benefits will occur when we revitalise and regenerate our reo, our tikanga, our ingoa, *ourselves*. Yet it is clear that a whole range of mātauranga has already been reclaimed or reasserted back into our lives with what we have already achieved (Smith, 2015).

Māori Studies, despite its colonial shackles and perhaps beginnings, has been immensely transformational. Although, there is still more work to be done, both at an institutional and societal level to garner better support for Māori Studies and its graduates and also at a discipline and departmental level to create a trajectory that truly leads our people where they want to go. Reilly (2008) in a lecture presented as part of the appointment process for Chair in Māori Studies at the University of Otago points out the vital role that Māori studies holds, he says:

The ethos of Māori Studies supports the use of Māori as a day to day medium of communication, and for the practice of important forms of cultural life, without hindrance from others. Māori scholars in other departments can in fact participate in this domain, thereby receiving support for the teaching of specific forms of Māori knowledge within their own disciplines. Māori Studies in an institutional sense serves as the mauri Māori within the academy, protecting and supporting the work of Māori scholars wherever they might be located. (p. 10)

Simmonds (2012) poses the question in her work, 'where does the responsibility for reclaiming tikanga or being liberated by tikanga lie?' In my view, Māori Studies has some responsibility in the reclamation of our tikanga, our reo and our knowledges and to lead our people toward the power that our tikanga, reo and knowledge have to liberate us from our colonial burden. To borrow from Naomi Simmond's analogy, Māori Studies has an obligation to be the garden in which many seeds of liberty, reclamation, regeneration, resistance and transformation can flourish and take hold for future generations.

Māori Studies caters to many types of students and scholars alike because it is a department of 'Māori' Studies. My question is, 'why is there a whole university designated to the learning of white knowledge and one faculty or department dedicated to the depth and breadth of *all* mātauranga Māori? How does this impact on its staff? As an example, mātauranga Māori scholars, Smith, Maxwell, Puke, and

Temara (2016) also raise the tension that exists for Māori and Indigenous scholars working within our own paradigms. They ask, ‘how is our knowledge valued and counted in Western institutions such as Universities and in systems of measurement such as Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) in Aotearoa /New Zealand?’ Such systems tend to recognise and reward those who write about mātauranga Māori rather than those who practice it and dedicate their lives to retaining and transmitting those practices across generations

The status of our knowledge or rather the mana of mātauranga Māori is another crucial issue for Māori Studies. Koro Huirangi Waikerepuru (2012) asserts, although the function of academic institutions is to grow and share knowledge, mana must be the ultimate guiding principle in all decision making regarding the education of our people. Kaupapa Māori Theory recognises the validity of cultural concepts such as mana and its pivotal role in the future pathway of Māori Studies. Māori Studies, in turn, has potential to contribute to Kaupapa Māori theories through the contribution of research completely written in the medium of te reo Māori for example. Just like our naming practices, Māori Studies is a space that must continue to be claimed and asserted as a safe place for our students and staff alike to *be* Māori and Kaupapa Māori is integral to that.

The limitations of this research and future research

The focus of this research was to delve deep in to the kōrero ingoa of six generations in one whānau. In honouring that whānau, I have purposefully avoided comparisons with other Taranaki or Māori whānau. This research was carried out with the mana of my whānau at the forefront of my mind and therefore demanded my focus and attention on them alone. The absence of other whānau kōrero offers a suggestion for future research. This thesis has not sought to tell THE Māori story of names and naming practices. Many more layers could be uncovered in studies across a range of different disciplines and kaupapa. For example, future research could involve a critical analysis of official statistics on how many Māori give their tamariki Māori names. This thesis offers a framework to understand naming classification from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, and this could be extended to consider official classifications and definitions of Māori naming.

I remind the reader of the issue raised in chapter six regarding the current birth registration law in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Several whānau participants raised the birth registration process as a barrier for them. Further research on the disruption caused by the current legislation conducted with a view to advocate for law changes is important work yet to be completed. Currently, this thesis highlights certain issues such as; the enforced length of names allowed, the cost to change a name after the age of two years old, and the imposition that registering a birth quickly, in order to be eligible for benefits and tax credits, for example, can have on whānau. Some whānau may wish to delay the legal process of registering the birth until a Māori ceremony of naming has been conducted or until a name has been chosen which is correct for them and that includes other whānau members in the process.

Another area of further work that this research has exposed relates to ‘measures’ of well-being that are founded and grounded in te ao Māori. Although some observations and experiences are offered in this thesis, in terms of the relationship between regenerating ingoa tangata and well-being, further work is need to further understand how reclamation, regeneration and resurgence of ingoa tangata leads to well-being.

The genderising of ingoa tangata has been raised in several places throughout this thesis, and I raise it again here as an area that needs further research. I have provided evidence that gender is a non-issue in relation to name choice for Māori, although further research and evidence is, I think, critical to subvert prevalent colonial attitudes in this regard which has implications for the project of decolonisation in relation to Māori understandings of gender, sexual orientation and sexuality.

The cultural appropriation of our ingoa is also an area of need. Whilst the popularity of Māori names and or te reo Māori is argued as being integral to the regeneration of our language; I am concerned with the apparent disconnection that exists between our language and our ways of being and seeing. I have found in this research that a Māori name is one that comes with a story and is chosen in collaboration with whakapapa stakeholders. It has a function as a memory or message holder. The use of Māori names on streets and buildings for example that

do not have any story attached or are not used in consultation with the local iwi and hapū, I argue, are not *Māori* names. These names are tokenistic gestures at best and cater to the European tongue or pop culture. They do not contribute to our resurgence, only *theirs*.

Reflections on the journey to resurgence

Throughout this research, I have had many people share their kōrero ingoa with me. This occurs directly after presenting the research or as a matter of course whenever I am asked about my PhD topic. I have in some ways become the ‘ingoa’ expert amongst my friends and family and have been asked on several occasions to assist in the selection of a name or to gift a name. As I have observed and witnessed through these interactions and within the formal research of this thesis, there are several ‘road blocks’ to the use of ingoa Māori by whānau Māori that, I think, should be raised here as important work in our reclamation and ultimate resurgence in regards to our ingoa tangata.

The jawbreaker and the tongue twister

I have observed that there is a reticence to give a name that is ‘too long’. The difficulty that non-Māori whānau and friends can have in pronouncing a ‘long’ Māori name is commonly cited as a key reason for choosing something ‘easier’ or in English. Research is needed to intervene in the insidious racism and or prejudice underlying these kinds of attitudes towards Māori names. Māori names are never the problem.

The Dark Cloud

An aversion to names that are deemed ‘heavy’ or ‘negative’ is a phenomenon raised within this research. Perceptions of names such as Materoa, and Tangihaere have become tainted with colonialist ideology; that names which refer to death or sickness are ‘too hard’ for children to carry. Work is already underway that seeks to regenerate Māori understandings of death and practices of burial (Maata Kahu Whakatere, n.d.; Nīkora et al., 2010) I argue that this work needs to extend to other spaces such as the study of ingoa tangata. The reclamation of our names as holders of story and history is integral to this effort.

School Bird

Commonly I have witnessed that names such as Rangi, Aroha, and Manu have become synonymous with overly simplified English translations that do not speak to the true beauty of these names. My nephew was once told his name, Manukura means School Bird and his mother became quite upset over this. His name is ancestral in origin and refers to a person held in high esteem or a leader in council. These names are the collateral damage of over two hundred years of mispronunciation and of our names being manipulated to suit our colonisers. The reclamation of these names back to their longer versions and from the margins of 'unpopular' names is important in reclaiming the mana of those ancestors back into our everyday realities.

Even she says it like that

The perpetuation of mispronunciation is a problem. Names such as Miriama and Ngaire have been intentionally anglicised as part of our assimilation. Hegemonic discourses regarding mispronunciation which state that "we've always said it like that" or "even he says it like that" when referring to the named must be disrupted and the repatriation of our names back into our reo, prioritised. This work is critical to the mana and tapu of future generations who may carry these names.

I knew him when he was still called Darryl

The project of reclamation has been successful in giving those who choose to an impetus for (re)claiming a Māori name or (re)asserting 'hidden' Māori names later in life. I have observed in my own community and in wider society, however, that these political and emotive decisions are not always easily respected or upheld. Validating te reo Māori and supporting the resurgence of our ingoa involves mandatory respect for the political decision to have one. Ingoa that are taken up later in life are particularly important, as they contribute to the (re)generation of an ancient naming practice, to receive and gift new names at significant stages of our lives.

Reflecting on kōrero with whānau participants

In continuing to reflect on this journey, I now take the reader back to the start in some ways and provide my reflections on time spent with each whānau participant in this research. In doing so, I further outline my experience of working with and in my own whānau. It is hoped that these reflections will be useful for future Kaupapa Māori researchers wanting to work within their own whakapapa or who are interested in aspects of my method as it pertains to pūrākau.

Maata

It was the Māori New Year, a time to mihi those we had lost in seasons passed and to remember and celebrate them. A time our tūpuna used well whilst the whenua rested; as a time to hui and kōrero, reflect and laugh. A time we use nowadays to gather together from near and far to reconnect with one another and with our ūkaipō.

In 2012 the constellation, Puanga (Rigel) rose, and we all came together at Parihaka Pā for the annual Puanga Kai Rau festival. This was also to be the official launch of a new feature film ‘*Tātarakihi: The Children of Parihaka*’ which Kui had been heavily involved with (Tihi Events & Productions, 2012). Kui had told me what was happening and I decided to make a trip of it with my eldest boy. I knew that going home to Parihaka at the start of the Māori New Year was going to be a great opportunity to begin my research journey.

Since Koro passed away, my Kui has become the poukōrero for him, and I was eager to learn the story of my koro’s names. I also knew that she had some wonderful stories of her own children. Kui was a nurse for many years and with that brought a whole range of skills and knowledge that she shared with us and used for our benefit. She supported many women in our whānau to whakawhānau (give birth) and poipoi (nurture) tamariki successfully. She has taught us how to incorporate and navigate our ancestral tikanga throughout. Therefore, when we set out on the journey to Parihaka from Kirikiriroa, I knew that she would sit down with me and share what she could about our names.

Once we got there, my son and I joined in on the celebrations; we listened to kōrero, we helped in the kitchen, and we attended the film launch. That night we slept in my Koro's old room with other whānau members and in the morning, we spent some quality time with them. I knew that Kui was busy and I would have to wait. It was not until late afternoon that Kui was finally free of all her duties and we found time and space to talk.

We went and sat in the meeting house of my ancestors, in Te Niho o Te Atiawa to share our naming stories. A whare nui that has its own naming stories as Kui Whero o Te Rangi explains:

E toru ngā ingoa e whakahuangia nei e mātou. Ko te ingoa e mōhio ana e koutou ko Te Niho o Te Atiawa, ā, he kōrero nui anō mō tēnā. Ko te ingoa e mōhio ange au me mātou i a mātou e tupu ana ko Te Niho Kai Paraoa. He kōrero nui hoki mō tēnā. Ana ko tētehi ingoa anō he ingoa pea mātou he hōhonu tēnā whakamārama. Ko Te Niho o ngā waka e toru. Ko Tokomaru kei tēnei taha, kei konei ko Kurahaupō, ana kei tērā taha ko Aotea. Koinā ngā waka e toru o Taranaki iwi nui tonu. Whero o te Rangi Bailey (Douglas, 2013)⁶⁷

It felt right to hold our kōrero in a whare nui, which my tūpuna have been involved with since its inception. This was also the first kōrero I had with any of the whānau I had asked or been requested to kōrero with around my PhD research, and so it was especially fitting for that kōrero to begin in there, on our whenua, and at Parihaka. By doing so, I felt that my tūpuna were able to be present and be involved in the kōrero in some way. With memories of drums pounding and poi dancing before my eyes and with my tūpuna watching from the walls, I proceeded to start the story sharing. Firstly, we discussed her name, then her children's and finally my Koro's names. Throughout the kōrero, Kui commented voluntarily about the significance of names and of naming. Instinctively highlighting the main concepts from her

67 Subtitles as given within the source:

We have three names, which we use. The name you know is Te Niho o Te Atiawa, and there is a significant story about that. The name which I know and that we knew growing up was Te Niho Kai Paraoa. There is a significant story about that too. And another name, is perhaps a name for us that has a profound explanation. That is Te Niho o Nga Waka e Toru. Tokomaru is on this side, Kurahaupō is here, and on that side is Aotea. Those are the three waka of our ever-properous Taranaki people.

perspective. I asked Kui if she would like the kōrero recorded, to which she agreed with the proviso of being able to read over and modify the transcript.

Kui indicated during the kōrero that she would like this research to be extended and requested that I go to her children and include their kōrero ingoa in my research. This was my cue to accept her request immediately and in doing so to acknowledge the importance of 'tono' and of being participant driven in research of this nature. The job of a mokopuna is to respect, listen and learn from their elders and importantly, I realised that this tono would be for the betterment of the whole whānau and not just for the PhD or me.

My long-haired son climbed up on his kui as she spoke and fell asleep; curled up like a ball. Story after story was shared with much laughter and reminiscing. We only stopped once for a short time so that I could help my cousin count up the day's takings from a food stall we held. Thus, the life of the pā goes on and blends in with this research. Once our kōrero had round down to its completion, we headed toward the dining room. As with all things of this nature, the tapu of our kōrero now needed to be brought back within the realm of noa and food was necessary to this process. We ended our exchange with a kai in the kitchen, only to share stories of a different nature in the language of laughter.

Whero o te Rangi

I met Kui Whero at the bus stop in New Plymouth; she had just come back from visiting a friend. In our emails over the months prior, we had finally managed to arrange a time where we were both free to sit down. In those emails, she had requested that I sleep at her house for the night so that we would have ample time to talk and I suspect – so that our kōrero could occur during the night as per our traditional custom. I took her to see her husband who was unwell in the hospital and while she was there, I went and got some kai to take back to the whānau. We ended up staying at her son's house, as he was away at the time, along with a couple of her mokopuna. We talked with the mokopuna, ate, and then cleared everything away to sit down and talk. We spoke mainly in Māori but broke into English easily; enjoying each other's company.

Although Kui Whero was my grandmother's aunty and she was my te reo Māori teacher at high school, we had never had the opportunity to sit down - just her and I. We talked until around three or four in the morning before we finally went to bed. Based on the nature of the kōrero we had, I decided not to ask if I could record the kōrero, even though we spoke a lot about names. Our story sharing was too interwoven with personal, family and tribal stories. We were experiencing the reconnection of kuia with mokopuna, and the research was not the true focus at that time – our relationship was. Kui Whero may very well have agreed for me to record but I did not ask, allowing my puku to guide me that it was not appropriate at that time. I took down minimal notes, which she agreed to, and she asked to sign a research consent form, with us both indicating that this was just the beginning of our sharing for this research.

The next morning we woke early. One of her sons and a mokopuna visited, and then we sat down again. This time we discussed our whakapapa links, and she sent me home late that afternoon with a new line of whakapapa I had not yet learnt. It was a wonderful couple of days. Over several months, we maintained communication, and I decided to ask Kui Whero if she would prefer to write her kōrero ingoa down. I knew she had several personal manuscripts and that she loved to write in them and so this seemed to be a method that suited her.

I sent an empty writing book to her and was thoroughly overwhelmed with aroha to have her send back the book overflowing with kōrero ingoa, thirty-two pages worth; complete with sketches! I quickly sent her a message to thank her and to triple check that she wanted me to use the kōrero ingoa she had written in my research. She quickly responded with “koinā te take i tukuna e au aua kōrero hei āwhina i a koe i roto i tou mahi!”⁶⁸ Sufficiently told off, I proceeded to type up the kōrero ingoa for safe keeping and scanned the book for digital records. From that book, I have included the kōrero ingoa she wrote about her and her own children, namely, Rangikapuoho, Marama, Te Harawira, and Hoengarangi. All other kōrero in the book I left out for our own personal whānau records. Kui Whero o te Rangi

⁶⁸ “that's the reason I sent those stories to you, to help you with your work!”

passed way in the last few months of writing this thesis, however, I can still hear her encouraging me to finish and have often read over our written communication in times of low motivation to finish. This thesis is dedicated to her.

Mairi

As many PhD students do these days, I asked my friends and whānau to tell me how they got their name, for curiosity and inspirations sake. Whaene Mairi was one of several who responded, and in her explanation of her own name, I was struck by the amount of family history in her name that our side of the whānau did not know. She is my great uncle's daughter and therefore my mother's first cousin. In her explanation, she offered to give me a more formal and in depth kōrero privately which I quickly accepted. We sent each other messages and tried to set up a phone call between us but with both our busy lives, this proved difficult. I then approached her about a 'kanohi ki te kanohi' meeting and decided that I would make the 3.5-hour drive to see her in Taranaki.

I turned up at her beautiful home with a cake and a pot plant for her. She quickly admonished me for taking anything and ushered me inside. We had a quick drink and then headed down to her office. This was my first time in this particular house, and immediately I felt warm and welcome. We sat down and talked about my PhD subject and the goals of my research. From the start, she requested that only notes be taken and said she would read and correct them at a later stage. As part of my ethical commitment to 'takoha mai, takoha atu', I took along a couple of whakapapa charts to share with her. We got them out and started our kōrero that way. She started by talking about names in general, and then moved on to talk about her parents, in particular, her father who was a stickler for the usage of people's proper names and had just passed away.

Our kōrero ingoa often veered into stories about family members, memories and events. The incredible part of our discussions for me was the persistent presence of wairua. I also felt our time together, of sharing stories and whakapapa was healing in many ways. Particularly, when she spoke of her father's ingoa and of her own and discussed the difficulties of carrying the gift of matakite because of the name

she was given. Matakite is a gift that is prevalent in our whakapapa, and much of this kōrero is private to our whānau, therefore, I did not reveal all of that kōrero in this research.

Hers is a story of hard work both on our marae and as a mother and professional. It is also a story of birthing and raising children and of our deep spirituality and connectedness as Māori and Taranaki women. I was humbled by how easily she honoured her grandparents and parents throughout her life and in her choice of names, in a time that would have been quite difficult to do so. I did not leave her home until it was quite dark out and the bond we cemented that day as whaene and niece was long lasting and for me was an immediate benefit of this research for our whānau.

Jean, Amanda, Jessica and Puna Te Aroha

In the first story of this journey, Kui Maata asked me to also kōrero with her children about the naming of her mokopuna. My last task in this journey was to do just that, to ask each of her children (and their partners) to share their kōrero ingoa with me and thereby track their family stories across three living generations. As these whānau members and I are quite close and regularly keep in touch, I decided to contact them to ask them to be involved in this research. Despite contacting all relevant whānau members, only women (daughters and daughter in laws) responded in depth. Several males responded but only to support and agree to the research, leaving the main line of communication and the core storytelling to the wāhine.

Several of the wāhine indicated that a phone call to share their kōrero was preferable, and others said they wanted to write their own kōrero ingoa. However, after some time went by and phone calls were difficult to arrange, three whānau participants chose to write and share their own kōrero ingoa with me and with each other. In doing so, whānau members were able to share in each other's kōrero ingoa, and for many, this was the first time they had heard each other's stories. Everyone became excited to be involved and especially supportive of the research topic after that.

One whānau participant who lived rurally found it hard to communicate via any internet based technologies and so I spoke on the phone with her on two separate occasions. The first time was to talk and take notes as directed by her and the second time to go over the notes with her and her partner to check the content and that they were both happy with how the story was told. Importantly, although I mainly spoke to her, I also spoke to her partner regarding their children's names, as he wanted to check the content of the kōrero ingoa too. They both asked me to assist them with the wording of the text in places, although this was minimal. For me, these stories, although not in my original research plan, have made this journey all the more meaningful and the research all the more scholarly.

Whitirangihau

The final participant in this research comes from the fourth generation within Kui Maata's family and is the fifth generation to speak within this whānau research. Her son's kōrero ingoa, therefore, represents the sixth generation associated within this research story. Whitirangihau came into this research after I thought I had completed the story building and sharing section of my research and therefore I had already (co-)created and disseminated the naming books as takoha back to my whānau participants.

In 2015, Whitirangihau gave birth to a boy and straight away, the whānau kumara vine was humming "Hey! Did you hear what bubba's name is?" I was immediately hit with a wave of love when I found out, knowing that particular name would intimately connect her and her baby with our koro. Several months later, Whitirangihau, her partner and Te Raukaerea came to stay with us, and my boys all clamoured over each other to help take care of this placid, happy baby we love so much. During our time together, Whitirangihau told me how she came to give Te Raukaerea his name after reading one of the naming books I had made. It was not until several months later, however, as Te Raukaerea and I lay on the floor in Te Hapū o Rongo that I decided to ask her to be part of this research. As we lay in the moonlight with whispered voices of sleepless tamariki vibrating like cicadas around us, I felt my koro's wairua with Te Raukaerea. The power of his name was undeniable to me in that moment, and I decided to ask Whitirangihau to share her

story in this research. Similarly, to her aunties, Whitirangihau ended up writing her own kōrero ingoa. There is no greater love than that of a koro for his mokopuna, and Whitirangihau and I were lucky enough to share the same one.

I am Water: Personal transformation as whānau transformation

This research marks a personal transformation and a new beginning for me. My whānau have decided that I am to receive a Māori name, which will be decided by my Kui Maata and the whānau. It will be gifted to me during a Māori naming ceremony at Parihaka in the near future. Therefore, I conclude this thesis with the main question of this research and turn it back around to ask myself:

Ko wai tōku ingoa?

WHO IS MY NAME?

Ko Wai tōku ingoa

MY NAME IS WATER

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Legislation

Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Relationships Registration Act 1995

Registration of Births Deaths and Marriages Act of 1913

The Native Schools Act 1867

The Ordinance Act of 1847

Appendix One

Glossary

The translations used in this glossary were sourced from a combination of *The Dictionary of the Māori Language* (Williams, 1971), *Te Aka: Māori Dictionary Online* (Moorfield, 2003-2017) and the author herself.

Ahi kā - Burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation
Ako – Learn, teach, instruct, advise
Aroha – Love, compassion
Atua – Deity, gods/goddesses
Awa – River, stream
Haka - A traditional chant and dance with vigorous actions
Hapū – Kinship group, subtribe, be pregnant.
Hau – Wind, breeze, breath, vital essence
Hīkoi – Trip, journey, walk, march.
Hui – To gather, meet, gathering, meeting
Iho – Umbilical cord (middle section)
Ingoa tangata – Personal names
Ira Tangata – Human element, life principle of humans
Irāmutu- Niece/nephew
Iritanga – Naming ceremony
Iwi – Extended kinship group, tribe, bone
Kahu – Cloak, caul, garment
Kaitiaki – Guardian, caregiver
Kanohi ki te kanohi - Face to face
Karakia – Ritual chant, incantation
Kete – Basket, kit
Koha – Gift, present, offering, donation
Kōhanga reo – Language nest, Māori language pre-school
Kōrero – Speech, narrative, story, discourse, to tell, say, speak, address.
Kōrero ingoa – Naming stories
Kōrero tuku iho – Histories, stories of the past, stories handed down
Koro – Elderly man, grandfather
Kōwhaiwhai- Painted traditional design- commonly used on meeting house rafters.
Kuia – Elderly woman, grandmother
Kuini - Queen
Kura – School, red, chief, container
Mahi - Work
Mahi tahi – Work as one, collaboratively
Māmā - Mother
Mana – Prestige, authority, control, power, influence.
Mana wahine – Authority/power of women.
Mana whenua - Territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory
Māoritanga – Māori culture, identity
Mātāmua – Eldest child
Matakite – Prophetic, visionary, predictive
Mātauranga – Knowledge, wisdom, understanding
Mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge – in all its many forms
Mauri – Life force, life essence, vital essence, special nature
Mihimihi - Greeting
Mokopuna – Grandchild/grandchildren

Motu - Island
 Mouna - Mountain
 Oriori – Song composed for a child in-utero
 Pā harakeke - Flax bush, generations - sometimes used as a metaphor to represent the whānau
 Pāhake/Pahake – Senior, Elder(s)
 Pao – Short impromptu song
 Papakāinga – Home base, communal housing, communal land
 Parau- Plough
 Pepeha – Tribal saying, tribal motto
 Pito - Naval, tummy button, section of umbilical cord nearest the baby's body
 Poi - A light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment.
 Poipoi: Nurture
 Pōtiki – Youngest child
 Pou - Post, pillar. Also used metaphorically to refer to people.
 Poupou - wall-pillars, posts, pole, upright slabs forming the framework of the walls of a house. Also used metaphorically to refer to people.
 Pū harakeke – Flax bush
 Puku - Stomach, abdomen, centre, belly, tummy
 Pūmanawa – Talented, natural talent
 Pūmotomoto - A long flute with a notched open top which is the blowing edge and a single finger hole near the end - the instrument was chanted through and was traditionally played over the fontanelle of an infant to implant songs and tribal information into the child's subconscious.
 Pūrākau – Cosmogenies
 Rangatira- Chief, chieftaness
 Raukura – Feather plume, treasure
 Rau Rengarenga – Leaf of the Rengarenga, used for medicinal purposes
 Rauru – Umbilical cord attached to the mother
 Rohe – District, region
 Ruahine –Grow old (of a woman); elderly woman.
 Tā Moko – Traditional tattooing
 Taiohi – Youth, young
 Tākoha – Gift, donate, pledge
 Tamariki - Children
 Tamatāne – Boy/son
 Tāne – male, man
 Tāngaengae - Umbilical cord
 Tangata - Human, person, individual
 Tangata whenua - Local people, hosts, Indigenous people - people born of the whenua
 Taonga - treasure, anything prized
 Taonga tuku iho - Gifts handed down, cultural property, heritage
 Tapa ingoa – Naming, to name
 Tapu - Sacred, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection
 Taranakitanga – Taranaki identity
 Tātarakihi – Child/children (Taranaki dialect), Cicada
 Tauheke – Old man, elder
 Tauparapara - Incantation to begin a speech - the actual tauparapara used are a way that tangata whenua are able to identify a visiting group, as each tribe has tauparapara peculiar to them
 Taurima – Adopted, fostered
 Tautoko – Support, prop up
 Te ao mārama – The world of light
 Te ao tūroa – The enduring world

Te ao wairua – The spiritual world
 Te reo Māori – The Māori language
 Te reo me ōna tikanga – The Māori language and its traditions and customs
 Te whare tangata – House of humanity, womb
 Tikanga - Correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol
 Tikitiki – Topknot, to dress the hair in a topknot.
 Tino rangatiratanga - Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power
 Tohi - To perform a ritual ceremony over a child in flowing water
 Tohu-ā-wairua – Spiritual sign
 Tohunga - Skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer - a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation
 Toka – Rock, boulder
 Tuakana - Elder brothers (of a male), elder sisters (of a female), cousins (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the family)
 Tukutuku – lattice work – seen on walls of whare nui
 Tupuna/Tūpuna – ancestor(s), grandparent(s)
 Tūrangawaewae – Place to stand, footstool place, place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
 Ūkaipō – Home, night feeding breast, mother, place where one belongs
 Wahine/wāhine – Woman/women
 Wai – Water, who
 Waiata - Song
 Wairua – Spirit, soul
 Waka – Canoe, vessel
 Wānanga - To meet and discuss, deliberate, consider, tribal knowledge
 Whaene – Mother, aunt
 Whaikōrero – Formal speech, oratory.
 Whakapapa – Lineage, descent, genealogy
 Whakataukī – Ancestral saying, proverb
 Whakawhānau – To give birth
 Whanaunga – Relative, relation
 Whakawhanaungatanga – Process of establishing relationships, relating well to others
 Whānau – Extended family
 Whare – House, building, residence
 Whare Wānanga - University, place of higher learning
 Wharenuī – Meeting house
 Whāriki - Mat
 Whenu – Strand (in weaving)
 Whenua – Land, placenta

Appendix Two

Ethical Approval

Te Manu Taiko
Human Research Ethics Committee
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand



Te Kotahi
Research Institute
THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO



Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee
School of Maori & Pacific Development
& Te Kotahi Research Institute

26/05/11

Re: Joeliee Seed-Pihama

This is to confirm that Joeliee Seed-Pihama received ethical approval for the study **Exploring a Māori classificatory system of naming and its interface between Mātauranga Māori and Science.**

The ethics application was reviewed by members of Te Manu Taiko and signed off by the Chair of the committee on 26/05/11.

The reviewer was Professor Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, previous convener of Te Manu Taiko.

Please add the following statement to the bottom of your consent form.

This study gained ethical approval from Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, on 26/05/11.

Kia ora

Maui Hudson
Chair

For you my aroha is many

Māku koe te arōha

As you seek to define the many links

Tirohia ngā here ē

Should the spiritual wairua for some reason

Ki te huri i ngā pōpoke

Become obscured

Awhinatia mai – mātou

Always return to (us) to reconfirm.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ A waiata written by Kui Whero o te Rangi Bailey to conclude her kōrero ingoa which I have used to also conclude this thesis.