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WHENUA KI TE WHENUA

Indigenous naming of the land and its people by reconnecting the past to the present and the future

Lesley Rameka[*]
Mere Berryman[†]
Diana Cruse[‡]

Abstract

This article reports on the second stage of the three-year Marsden-funded research project "Languaculture within Te Ao Māori: Learning from Infants, Whānau and Communities", undertaken with Māori hapū in Aotearoa New Zealand. It presents the voices of kaumātua and whānau from the hapū speaking on their worldviews, values, experiences and practices related to naming tamariki. Their narratives of experiences provide insights into motivations, influences and understandings concerned with naming practices from traditional pre-European to contemporary times.

Keywords

hononga, naming, revitalising traditional practices, whakapapa

Kupu arataki | Introduction

This article reports the findings of the second stage of a three-year Marsden-funded research project entitled "Languaculture within Te Ao Māori: Learning from Infants, Whānau and Communities" and undertaken with Māori hapū in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the title of this article, we have used the phrase "whenua ki te whenua", which refers to a Māori precolonial practice following childbirth of returning the whenua (here meaning "placenta") to the whenua (here meaning "land") through burial (Berryman et al., 2022). In this research project, we have found that the resurgence of this tikanga—making direct connections, whenua ki te whenua—is becoming increasingly common with the new generation of Māori babies. Both metaphorically and in practical terms, the whakapapa of the child to the land is also being honoured and maintained through the process of naming.

The article begins with a brief overview of the first arrivals in Aotearoa and how settlement in these new lands established a process of reclaiming or developing new localised narratives and namings. We then explain our methodology and research procedure before presenting a

* Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tukorehe. Marsden Research Associate Investigator, The University of Waikato, Tauranga, New Zealand. Email: lesley.rameka@waikato.ac.nz

† Ngāti Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Whare. Professor, Te Kura Toi Tangata School of Education; Director, Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre; and Marsden Research Principal Investigator, The University of Waikato, Tauranga, New Zealand.

‡ Ngāti Kahungunu. Marsden Research Assistant Investigator, The University of Waikato, Tauranga, New Zealand.

collaborative story using the voices of kaumātua and whānau from the hapū. These kaikōrero are research participants who shared their cultural experiences and practices related to naming their tamariki. We conclude by sharing insights into their motivations, influences and understandings concerning traditional and contemporary naming practices.

Early arrival and settlement

When the earliest Polynesian explorers first arrived in Aotearoa around 1300 AD, they would have found a land that was vastly different to the islands they had come from. The climate would have been much colder, with a more pronounced seasonal climatic change and vastly different fauna and flora (King, 2003). From their homelands they brought with them their own beliefs and social structures, which were maintained through this time of innovation and adaptation from hunter, fisherman and gatherer to horticulturist and settler (King, 1997; Orbell, 1985).

Whakaingoa | The act of naming the land and tribal groupings

The links to the newly discovered land began from the specific waka on which key ancestors first travelled to Aotearoa from the Pacific. From their arrival, settlements emerged around whānau and hapū groupings, with iwi or larger tribal groups emerging later (Berryman, 2008). Often these groups became known by the name of the leader with whom whakapapa were shared; their descendants would take this bloodline and tribal name into the future (Mahuika, 2019). Entirely dependent upon each other and their immediate environment for their survival, they soon developed new skills, knowledge and abilities with which to harness resources from the land upon which they had settled. An enduring body of knowledge emerged with the arrival and settlement of these tangata whenua, including how they named their new social structures and homeland (Berryman, 2008; Steed, 1999).

Today, several different tribes are known to have descended from separate important ancestors said to have travelled on the same waka. This common ancestry linking people from different whānau or hapū then began to connect them to specific areas of land and landscape features where their waka landed and/or their iwi originally settled (Graham, 2009; Mead, 2003). Therefore, waka and tribal groupings, together with explicit links to the land and waterways, to tūrangawaewae and marae, provided and continue to provide the very foundations of a person's cultural and social identity (Mead, 2003; Walker, 1996). And, as understood from a Māori worldview, the whakataukī "E kore koe e ngaro, he kakano I ruia mai Rangiātea (Do not forget, you are a seed descended from Rangiātea)" enables those with Māori blood to trace their whakapapa back to the beginning of time and to the creation of the universe (Mead, 2003).

These linkages are still maintained by many today in the saying of pepeha, or tribal sayings that make geographical connections to the names of the lands of one's tribe and thus to who one is. These names or oral mappings ensured that each hapū knew their lands and their connections to their history, relationships and identity (Healy, 2019). Collectively, Polynesians settled in this new land and learned new skills which enabled them to adapt to the very different demands of the new environment, soon developing highly specialised knowledge of this new land and its resources (King, 2003; Lewis, 1980; Orbell, 1985), including developing names for these new places, events, resources and technologies. At the same time, many of the narratives and names that they had known in their previous lives were transplanted and localised.

Accordingly, traditional naming beliefs and practices employed by tangata whenua have their foundations in pūrākau and the storying of ancestral knowledge (Steed, 1999). In fact, there did not appear to be any distinction between pūrākau and historical stories. Steed (1999) states, "Springing as they do from an oral tradition, these stories have been tenaciously retained by the people who own them, regarded by them as the earliest records of their ancestors" (p. 12). A strong oral heritage and the practice of keeping history and genealogy alive through stories, songs, static images and other art and craft forms has helped to ensure that, in spite of colonisation, many of these traditional practices and understandings continue, to varying degrees, to this day (Dewes, 1977; Kāretu, 1977).

The relationships of tangata whenua with their environment on a physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual level shaped both the very form and the processes of their ways of being. Thus, the origin and nature of the universe and all who lived therein were named, explained and understood through their relationships with their environment and to the land (Marsden, 2003; Orbell, 1985).

First contact with colonisation

Naming of the land by tangata whenua was severely undermined with the determined claiming and renaming of the land by early European explorers (Healy, 2019). These European names have continued into the present day, "New Zealand" being one of the most notable. This name began as "Nova Zeelandia", the Latin equivalent of the Dutch "Nieuw Zeeland", which originated with the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1642. Captain James Cook later introduced numerous place names in the 18th century. With Cook not knowing the land nor the people well, many of these were based on mistaken assumptions. Poverty Bay, for example, was named by Cook with the belief that there was no food there. However, to this day it is known to be an important and rich producer of food because of its temperate climate.

Other important landmarks were renamed to enhance the power of the coloniser. As an example, for the southern tribe of Ngāi Tahu, Aoraki represents a most sacred ancestor from whom this tribe descends, and, as the highest mountain in Aotearoa, it represents the link between the supernatural and natural worlds. After the arrival of the British, Aoraki became Mount Cook. Some places retained their Māori names but because of incorrect pronunciation were misspelt and have continued to be wrongly pronounced. Fortunately, today many tribes and communities are fighting to have the authentic names corrected and reclaimed, with some success (Severinsen et al., 2020).

From tangata whenua to Māori

Drawing on 18th-century records from Cook, Joseph Banks (Cook's botanist) and Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne (leader of a French expedition in 1772), Hemara (2000) contends that initial contacts between tangata whenua and European explorers were by and large driven by curiosity and trade. He and others (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; King, 2003), however, suggest that records from 1820 onwards show that the European explorers' attitude towards the people had begun to change as European numbers grew and the powers began to vie for the establishment of colonies by acquiring land and resources. Hemara (2000) writes that these records "appear to be driven by colonial enterprise, Darwinian theories and theological dogma" (p. 7).

In these early colonial times, Cunningham (1998) contends, the term "Maori" was introduced as a settler-devised construct designed to collectivise and amalgamate the different Indigenous populations and distinguish them from the colonial population. This process was supported by the pervasive belief of early European colonists that, based on the so-called Doctrine of Discovery, the races of the world ranged from savage to civilised, from inferior to superior, with the British in particular associating being civilised with being Christian (Jackson, 2021; Ngata, 2019; Simon, 1998). These beliefs underpinned not only the amalgamation and renaming of tribal peoples into one homogeneous group for the convenience of the coloniser but also a determined effort to redefine tribal peoples in other ways through the colonial education system. Undoubtedly, schooling provided by the coloniser played a major role in continuing to damage Māori identity by renaming and redefining what it meant to be Māori via education, at the same time supporting settlers to remain blind and silent about the lands that they were claiming and people they were systematically subordinating.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa for Māori continues to be a fundamental form of knowing and being in the world. Whakapapa identifies the genealogical descent of Māori from the celestial conception of the universe to the existing world (Berryman, 2008). As earlier stated by Barlow (1991), "Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things" (p. 173). Therefore, whakapapa outlines the creation process from the beginning of time to the primal parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and their offspring, including Tāne, from whom Māori descend. This whakapapa connects Māori from the spiritual realm to the natural world and to the land, to life and to humanity:

I te tīmatanga, ko te kore	*In the beginning there was a void.*
Ko te pō	*Within the void was the night.*
Nā te pō	*From within the night, seeds were cultivated.*
Ka puta ko te Kukune	*It was here that movement began—the stretching.*
Ko te Pupuke	*There the shoots enlarged and swelled.*
Ko te Hihiri	*Then there was pure energy.*
Ko te Mahara	*Then there was the subconsciousness.*
Ko te Manako	*Then the desire to know.*

Ka puta i te whei ao	*Movement from darkness to light, from conception to birth.*
Ki te ao mārama e	*From learning to knowing.*
Tihēi Mauri ora	*I sneeze and there is life.*

(Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 48)

Whakapapa, as an articulation of relationships, provides the foundation for inherent connectedness and interdependence to all things (Cheung, 2008). It entails a placing in layers, with multiple layers and interpretations that provide the heart of Māori values and beliefs (Cheung, 2008; Te Rito, 2007; Walker, 1993). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2000) makes the point that "whakapapa is a way of thinking. A way of learning, a way of storing knowledge, and a way of debating knowledge. It is inscribed in virtually every aspect of our worldview" (p. 234), which lays out the importance of whakapapa acts as an epistemological prototype. For Māori the significance of whakapapa cannot be overestimated (Whitt et al., 2003). It is central to Māori worldviews and is at the very heart of what it means to be Māori (Barlow, 1991; Berryman, 2008).

Prior to colonisation, tangata whenua understood that the whakapapa of all living beings was connected and interwoven. Whakapapa illuminated the world and afforded a structure that provided understandings, stories and concepts pertinent to culture, religion, politics, identity and language. Furthermore, according to Mahuika (2019), whakapapa was a "lived experience taught orally" by experts who maintained prominent positions in their hapū and iwi (p. 4).

With the arrival of colonisation, traditional approaches to whakapapa changed, due to the colonisers' belief of "their own superiority, and desire to own indigenous culture" (Mahuika, 2019, p. 4). The transference of whakapapa to a print form, where it was subject to Pākehā inspection and interpretation, resulted in whakapapa being deemed to be untrustworthy superstitions and myth. The result of this undermining of whakapapa, which had always been perceived as sacred, something to be treasured, and specific to iwi and hapū, was a redefining of whakapapa by the coloniser as fables, legends, fairy tales or myths.

The late 20th century saw a strong desire by Māori to reclaim ownership of Māori knowledge and how it was defined, including whakapapa. Māori demonstrated ways that whakapapa could be utilised as a culturally entrenched approach to a variety of disciplines, highlighting its relevance to Māori epistemologies and Māori ways of understanding our world. As Mahuika (2019) contends:

> Whether referring to abstract concepts, deities, physical and material objects, practices, people, or places, Māori prior to and after the arrival of Europeans, maintained genealogies that traced all things to living beings in complex interwoven connections. Whakapapa first and foremost explained the world and served as a framework upon which Māori could hang all of the concepts and narratives pivotal to their identity, culture, politics, language and religions. (p. 4)

Whakaingoa | The act of naming people

From a Māori perspective, personal names and the naming of tamariki is another important factor in supporting pride, mana and one's sense of belonging. The naming process acknowledges past generations by connecting tamariki with tūpuna through whakapapa. Maintaining whakapapa links between and within generations was considered crucial to acknowledging those who had passed on (Cameron et al., 2013). Naming a tamaiti after tūpuna was a way of supporting the tamaiti to develop a deeper sense of their identity as Māori. Being associated with the tūpuna also provided spiritual strength and protection for the tamaiti (Cameron et al., 2013).

Stevens (2012) makes the point that Māori names were held in high esteem, with a great deal of thought and consideration put into the naming process. In fact, "ingoa", the Māori word for name, also has the meaning of "acquiring distinction". The importance of the name was therefore rooted in the cultural contexts of the language, and insults to a name were seen as insults to the owner of the name. Steed (1999) adds:

> At group and at personal level, Maori society named its members with a carefulness and thoroughness, never naming merely at whim or random, but always with the group in mind. Neither the meaning nor the origin of the names was obscured by time and language change, as in the case of tauiwi. Individuals were therefore more conscious of the latent power in the name, of the strength its bearer could summon from the pronouncement of it. (p. 144)

Māori naming traditions and practices were profoundly impacted in the 19th century by both "colonisation and missionisation" (Steed, 1999,

p. 2). Indeed, it was the activities of the Christian missionaries that had the most profound consequences on Māori naming practices from first contact. Steed (1999) explains that when one culture believes its own worldviews and religious beliefs are absolute, little value is given to other cultures' worldviews and religious beliefs. As a consequence of the imposition of colonial and missionary values and worldviews, traditional Māori naming practices were undermined, replaced by Christian names and patriarchal notions, such as requiring a surname. By the mid-1800s surnames and/or baptismal names were beginning to be inculcated into naming practices, and were later written into law through the requirement to register births (Steed, 1999).

As with the mispronunciation of place names, Māori naming practices have also been impacted negatively over many generations. Māori began to stop using Māori names, or started to accept the anglicisation of Māori names, as a response to mispronunciation and lack of respect accorded their traditional Māori names and therefore to important ancestors. Correct pronunciation of Māori names has always been viewed as critical to self-esteem and a sense of worth. Mispronunciation, changing names to English ones and the bastardisation of names resulted in whakapapa being continuously undermined by colonisation, with tamariki and whānau often suffering serious cultural, emotional, physical and spiritual harm as a result (Stevens, 2012).

Te mahi rangahau | The research

The overall aim of the three-year Marsden-funded research project entitled "Languaculture within Te Ao Māori: Learning from Infants, Whānau and Communities" is the reclamation and revitalisation of important understandings and practices from te ao Māori that relate to conception, birth and infancy. Understandings drawn from three marae communities were analysed to comprehend the inter-relationships between language and culture ("languaculture") for groups of infants and those who care for them. The research sought to better understand early languaculture experiences as foundational features for hauora and ongoing literacy learning. These understandings are generally held by a small pool of knowledge-holders, mainly kaumātua. However, there is, and has been for some time, much interest in the revitalisation of these practices.

Working with kaumātua and whānau to revitalise important traditional cultural understandings and practices relating to conception, birth and infancy led to their identifying the importance of naming their tamariki as essential to this research.

Methodology | Tikanga

Kaupapa Māori theory provided the methodological framing for the research project. "Kaupapa" can be translated into English as "philosophy", "principle", "strategy" or "proceeding purposely and strategically" (L. T. Smith, 1999). As a theory for transformation, Kaupapa Māori critiques and contests existing structures as a means to centralise Māori cultural perspectives and progress Māori knowledge to a status equivalent to Western knowledge (G. H. Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Māori theory accepts Māori and Māori processes as reality and uses them within a Māori philosophical framework. Integral to the research was the acknowledgement of traditional Māori ways of knowing the world and the tamaiti/mokopuna. Key to the expression of Māori ways of knowing is the need to question and unlearn the pervasive societal constructs of colonisation. One of the first steps in this process of unlearning is the articulation of alternatives that challenge the current power of colonial norms and practices.

Kaupapa Māori rejects the notion of researchers imposing themselves on the lives and experiences of Māori; rather, researchers must appreciate Māori cultural knowledge and demonstrate deep respect, and act as equal partners with participants. Kaupapa Māori research reprioritises and renormalises the epistemologies, knowledge and ways of being of pre-colonial tangata whenua. It involves reclaiming and revitalising Māori research methodologies by decolonising research practices. For researchers, this requires not only the creation of contexts where participants are able to control their stories and the ways they are narrated, legitimated and authenticated, but also that whānau determine and shape the research.

Our research centred on "research as whānau" as well as "research by and with whānau" (Berryman, 2008). Four of the five researchers involved had whakapapa and/or whanaungatanga relationships with participants, developed over many years of living in and contributing to the marae communities. Identification of possible participants was a straightforward process, based on relationships and knowledge of who might be interested in participating in the research. It required understandings of "traditions of encounter" and the status of kaumātua in marae communities. Hui were set up with kaumātua from each of the three marae, where the research aims, objectives, methods and expectations were discussed. From this point on, it was the kaumātua who determined which whānau members might be interested in participating. They also took the lead in contacting whānau and arranging research hui. One of the benefits of this emphasis on whānau was the number of intergenerational members of the same whānau who participated in the research.

Research procedure | Tukanga rangahau

The initial community hui were held face to face on the marae, except for one, which was held on Zoom, due to COVID-19 restrictions. Subsequent hui were held wherever the whānau wished to meet, including homes, early childhood services, community hubs and marae health centres. Focus group interviews were held with groups such as whānau, fathers, kaiako and midwives. All of the hui discussions were audio recorded, transcribed, checked, annotated and agreed upon through a dialogic process involving kaikōrero and researchers as part of a collective, interdependent dialogic endeavour. This involved returning the transcripts to kaikōrero to ensure they were comfortable with them and any questions researchers or whānau had could be clarified.

All participants completed consent forms prior to participating in the research, including consent to use their names as opposed to pseudonyms. It has been the experience of the researchers that if there are strong, trusting relationships between participants and researchers that have been developed over time, the huge majority of Māori kaikōrero want their names and their hapū/iwi and marae identified. Many appreciate the opportunity to have their voices heard and valued, which had not been their experience in the past. Videos of mokopuna/tamariki interacting with whānau were also captured by whānau, and their consent was given to collectively analyse these videos as part of the research.

Data generation | Hanga raraunga

Data were generated from community wānanga and hui which involved pōwhiri/whakatau, whakawhanaungatanga, karakia and kai. Researchers provided an overview of the research rationale, goals, objectives and methods, and then the wānanga/hui was open for kaikōrero to contribute their experiences, knowledge, perspectives, voices. The wānanga were facilitated with and by kaumātua and whānau. These conversations were transcribed by the research team and later verified and annotated by the kaikōrero themselves.

As three of the researchers lived within the communities, checking transcriptions was not a major task—in fact, it was often completed during everyday activities, such as whānau dropping tamariki off at the early childhood education (ECE) centre or the kairangahau going to the office at the marae health centre. In the particular marae community that forms the basis of this article, five whānau groupings were involved, with a total of 15 kaikōrero.

Analysis | Tātari

Kaumātua and whānau identified or confirmed what they considered to be the main themes and findings from their shared conversations and discussed how these should be understood using Māori knowledge and metaphors. Their one-to-one and collaborative sensemaking at these community wānanga forms the basis of the collaborative story that follows. Due to the whakapapa and whanaungatanga connections researchers had with participants, accessing kaumātua and whānau perspectives often began with a phone call to meet. Sometimes it was no more than catching up for a "cup of tea" or when nanny comes to pick up her mokopuna from the ECE centre. These varied methods of accessing participant contributions allowed perspectives to be layered in and integrated over time. The actively co-constructed themes complemented the researchers' more traditional thematic analysis in interpreting the overall interviews.

Ngā hua | The findings

Whakapapa connects the spiritual realm with the various deities beginning at the time of the primal parents, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, to their offspring, including Tāne, from whom Māori can claim descendancy to this day. The findings of this research are presented against this whakapapa pathway. They begin by making connections (hononga) to the spiritual realm (te ao wairua), to the land (te whenua), to the natural world (te taiao), and the life that is supported thereon (ngā tūpuna), and finally to humanity and the more contemporary world (te whānau).

Hononga ki te ao wairua | *Connecting to the spiritual realm*

A range of examples of spirituality and spiritual understandings such as tapu were highlighted by kaikōrero when considering the appropriateness of names for their pēpi. Spiritual connectedness and spirituality have always been inextricably coupled with whakapapa and being Māori (Ihimaera, 2004; Tse et al., 2005). Cody (2004) states that "Māori spirituality is that body of practice and belief that gives the spirit (wairua) to all things Māori. It includes prayer and spirit. It pervades all of Māori culture (tikanga) and ways of life" (p. 21).

One of our kaikōrero, a first-time mother, told us: "It was the knowing who pēpi was connected to and who had looked after him ā-wairua [in the spiritual realm] before he came to us." Her partner, the father of the pēpi, explained:

> I experienced some kind of dream or vision one night, which was an entirely new experience for me. I remember seeing a koroua and a pēpi. I didn't know who they were at the time. But I felt quite a strong connection to them.

This sense of whakapapa connectedness was further strengthened when the couple had a mirimiri session together: "We received mirimiri and spiritual healing from a tohunga. She actually explained to us that during the session, she could feel the presence of our great grandfather, Kapuaiwaho." They were told that their koro, whom they called Koro Kapua, had said: "I'm here, looking after your future son." This information confirmed the child's name even before he was born:

> When we knew it was Koro Kapua and our future son, the dream experienced earlier also made sense now, and the name "Te Hono ki Īhipa" was decided, meaning "The Connection to Egypt", because our Koro Kapua is buried there with the Māori Battalion.

The soon-to-be parents were, however, a little unsure about whether naming the pēpi before his birth was in accordance with tikanga Māori. As explained by the father, "Naming him then, I wasn't sure whether that was appropriate from a Māori perspective, naming the pēpi before they're born. I wasn't sure whether that was in line with tikanga, but the name felt right." He further clarified:

> You know, naming a baby is quite a tapu process. Because they grow up with that name as part of who they are. It's their identity and even after they die, you always remember that person by their name. And we wanted to be very careful about what and how we named him and what the name represented. We were quite conscious about not giving him a name that was not too heavy and wanted his name to align with his whakapapa, identity and personality.

Another kaikōrero described how his appreciation of the importance of names was heightened when listening to one of his nannies talking about her sister who was now a bishop:

> The one thing she said was her [sister's] full name. . . . Waitohiariki, and that's a beautiful name. It has really important significance to te ao Māori, in terms of birthing children and the role of a tohi. A tohi is—blessing children. So wai is the waters—the place where you would give the blessing—and the blessing would come from an ariki or a tohunga. And so I just think one, that's a beautiful name, and two, it's so right, she has that name.

The appropriateness of names was also highlighted by another kaikōrero, who stated: "A lot of the names of ancestors in my whakapapa represent their characteristics; Kahumatamomoe, for example, had a sleepy eye when he was born, and so they named him Kahumatamomoe, Kahu with the Sleepy Eye."

Other kaikōrero talked about taking the time to ensure you had the right name, and sometimes changing names if needed:

> We tried a couple [of names]. We really loved the name Raiātea as well, regarded by some as the Hawaiki for the Te Arawa people. We really liked that. And what was the other one? Tātaiwhenuakura, another place in Hawaiki. But neither of them were him.

Another kaikōrero explained that changing names due to events, fit and circumstances was common in their whānau: "They changed his name to Te Wera. Yeah, lots in our line have had their name changed based on circumstances and things that have happened in their lifetime."

Hononga ki te whenua | Connecting to the land

The importance of recognising and connecting with whakapapa and whenua was also an important feature of naming pēpi. According to Graham (2009), whakapapa identifies not only who one is, but where one is from, and the place one belongs (see also Ministry of Justice, 2001; Williams, 2004). Graham (2009) states:

> Whakapapa identifies who I am, where I am from and in doing so identifies a place that I can proudly call my tūrangawaewae. It is this whakapapa knowledge that gives an individual or collective a sense of purpose that . . . grounds us

> to Papatūānuku. . . . My whakapapa and iwi affiliations are my biological and kinship credentials that form my Māori identity and by alluding to my tūrangawaewae I have established a connection to my wāhi tapu. (pp. 1–2)

The importance of not losing these whakapapa and whenua connections was strongly emphasised by most kaikōrero. They acknowledged the critical importance of maintaining these relationships with the whenua, especially if they lived outside their tūrangawaewae. As one young mother explained, "I'm down here in Masterton, and all my whānau and whakapapa are in the Far North, so I'm quite far away from my kāinga." Her partner shared his thinking on the importance of his pēpi having connections both physical and spiritual to his tūrangawaewae:

> You know, we just need to find a place where he connects to. We had options, we had up North. We thought, because we're living down here, it might be nice for him to have a physical connection and a spiritual connection with the North, given that most of our life is likely to be spent down here.

To ensure the connections to the North were cemented for their pēpi, the couple decided to give their pēpi the mother's surname. The mother explained:

> With my whānau, when my poppa died, the reo died with him so my whānau lost a lot of our knowledge and reo. But one thing that we've retained is the name Hauraki which comes from one of our rangatira, Te Wera Hauraki. When you are up North with the name Hauraki, everyone knows that's where you're from. So, because he's growing up down here, we gave him my last name, and my dad's last name, so he would always have his own hononga to the Far North. And that's what we landed on with his last name, so his full name is Te Hono ki Īhipa Hauraki.

This desire to connect to whenua was not just confined to Aotearoa, but also included whenua outside of Aotearoa, where tūpuna were buried. A number of kaikōrero expressed the desire to connect to whenua tāwāhi, where tūpuna who died during World War II were buried. In this way, remembrance was given to those tūpuna who never had the opportunity to return home, but who were united with whānau and whenua through the names of their mokopuna.

One kaikōrero shared his desire to connect to his grandfather's resting place:

> He is buried . . . in El Alamein in Egypt, and . . . we thought that we'd name our boy after our grandfathers, but not literally, more in relation to where our grandfathers are buried, which connects us to that land. . . . So, my grandfather is Aperahama, his father is Te Kapuaiwaho, who was in B Company of the Māori Battalion, and died during World War II and is buried in El Alamein in Egypt. And also, that's where her great-grand uncle is buried too [indicating his partner]. He was in A Company and died alongside Koro Kapua.

He also highlighted the whakapapa connection to Rarotonga:

> Te Hono ki Īhipa is partly named after one of his tūpuna whare in Tokomaru [Bay], called Te Hono ki Rarotonga, which commemorates the connection that whare has to Rarotonga, and so [we] just took the structure of that name, Te Hono ki Rarotonga, and switched out Rarotonga for Īhipa [Egypt], because of our tūpuna koroua being buried there.

Remembrance of tragedies faced by the hapū and iwi of kaikōrero, such as the Mount Tarawera eruption, were also commemorated in the naming of pēpi for one whānau, who explained:

> Following the Tarawera eruption in 1886, one of our ancestors was named that because of his birth. . . . So, he was born during the eruption. And apparently in the kōrero he was wrapped in a whatu pōkeka and put up into a tree for safety as everyone was kind of running out of space. And when they came back, almost everything was covered in soot, our maunga, parts of our roto and of course, our Pink and White Terraces, and most of the pā, but according to the story, there was this patch of grass with the tree in full bloom and baby safely wrapped up there.
>
> So, they call them Te Hurihanganui, as a way of thinking about hope, looking forward. And then of course, it was fitting because the movement of our hapū from that area into Ōhinemutu, near the city of Rotorua, was a massive change, you know, having to rebuild their lives and restart.
>
> Another name we were considering was Otukapuaarangi, which was one of the Pink and White Terraces that erupted in the Tarawera eruption. And we thought, oh well, that's kind of associated with lots of the tragedy of it. . . . So

> you've still got all that hononga, and that whakapapa, but without it being that direct.

Hononga ki te taiao | Connecting to the natural world

A number of whānau accounts also made connections to te taiao. Māori worldviews are modelled on associations between humans with and within the natural world (Marsden, 2003). Concepts of identity and connectivity to nature are essential to Māori ways of knowing and being, as are epistemologies of caring for and interacting with the natural world. Caring for the world strengthens a sense of place and connectivity with ancestors and histories. Connectivity is the foundation of the ordering of the world, the organising tenet of knowledge, the foundations of whakapapa, and the source of rights and obligations (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

Kaikōrero shared their reasoning for tamariki names that would hononga ki te taiao:

> Named after the weather or like if there was a big storm or the moon phase when babies [are] born, like stuff like that. But yeah, that was something we thought about too. Ngatuere—he is called Ngatuere because the *ere*, or the tuna, came to his birth in that pool and celebrated this chief who lived to be like 100 and something years old, and was asked actually to be the king for the Kingitanga movement. They came to Ngatuere, who was well into his old age at that point, and he said, "No, that's a young man's game, go ask somebody else."

Another mother, whose baby has an Italian father, shared a multilingual connection that comes from the family also having connections to Spain:

> My most recent baby was Amowai. We had our wānanga—it was Ahuru Mowai [the name of the local Kaupapa Māori parenting rōpū; it means "sheltered haven"]—those are the waters that surround pēpi in the womb, so that's where I got Amowai from. And "amo" is also Spanish for love. And "wai" is waters, so the waters of love, so Amowai was my first water birth.

Hononga ki ngā tūpuna | Connecting to ancestors

For many kaikōrero, a strong desire to uphold whakapapa connections to their tūpuna was the motivation for choosing the names of their pēpi. The whakaingoa process allowed kaikōrero to uphold and validate whakapapa links through past generations to tūpuna, the present through whānau and the future through their pēpi. Whānau felt confident that unifying through whakapapa to tūpuna, whānau and future generations would enhance the personal and collective identities and connections of their pēpi (Berryman, 2008).

Whānau provided two examples of names that connected to their whakapapa. One father explained that, because of its importance, the naming of his son was handled by the grandparents:

> I think kind of early on even when he was still in the kōpū, we were calling him Īhipa for short. It was always his name, even though we were tossing up some others. There was no doubt that his name was going to be Māori, and we also wanted for it to be in some way connected to his whakapapa. One thing I've seen and heard and learnt is about when names are given for a child, it's an important part of the process [of having children]. Our old people were very careful, how the mokopuna is named. . . . My son, he's the first mokopuna. My father said to my mother, "You name him. You name our first mokopuna." My mother rings my grandmother . . . [and] the name our grandmother gave was Rangihouhiri. . . . My grandmother gave that name because it's back through the Ngāti Tapu side to Rangihouhiri, to the mokopuna who comes off [descends from] Tamapahore. Sometimes names are for a purpose. I learnt a good reason as to how you get a name. So now I understand how my son got his name, because [Rangihouhiri III] is the mokopuna of Tamapahore.

Talking to elders often revealed important historical narratives about their own names:

> Talking to our Uncle Kara, he gave us a cultural lesson. It was awesome. So he's asking each of us our Māori names. I gave him my name, Matakōkiri ["meteor" or "shooting star"]. He said, "Oh yeah boy, your name came from the Battle of Te Ranga." "How did it happen?" I said. "Our Taranaki whanaunga came up to help. During the battle, during the murder, they [the British] were firing on our people, as they [our people] were walking out and being killed. That Taranaki warrior threw his taiaha. And that's one thing you don't do is throw your taiaha. That's why you're called that today, Matakōkiri." And that's how I got my name.

An associated aspect of whakapapa connections to tūpuna was the significance of both maternal and paternal whakapapa being recognised in the naming of pēpi. Kaikōrero emphasised the importance of bringing both whakapapa together so that the pēpi could connect with their tūpuna no matter where they happened to live. Kaikōrero explained how critical these connections were:

> The joining of our whakapapa, there's quite a history between Ngā Puhi and Te Arawa . . . particularly with my tūpuna who went down to Te Arawa. So, it was important to whakahono anō.
>
> I know this is through my whakapapa, that a lot of it was the maternal whakapapa, and it's just carrying that on, and we know that there's been a big influence of colonisation, particularly on gender roles and how that looks in naming, and so that was important for us.
>
> Māhina, she for us was like a light in those trying times, and that's where part of the name came from. We also thought about the tipuna Mahinarangi, and Mahinarangi is a descendant of Kahungunu, but she married Tūrongo of Tainui, and the Waikato area. And my wife is actually from Waikato. And so there's that hononga, and it's a remembrance of that connection, to our connection. And so she gets her name from that as well.

Hononga ki te whānau | Connecting to humanity

Ensuring the maintenance of kinship ties to whānau was also a powerful theme that ran through many of these conversations. Walker (1996) makes the point that, for Māori, social kin-based connections and belonging to the social unit are central to one's sense of wellbeing. Māori society was traditionally organised around kin-based descent groupings. Identity formation and maintenance within these contexts was a fairly straightforward practice, founded on kinship and living in a community.

Whanaungatanga entails the development and maintenance of close relationships between members of the whānau (Berryman, 2008; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1984). Whanaungatanga relates to establishing whānau connections and reinforcing the commitment, responsibilities and obligations that whānau members have to each other in a "unified network of relationships" (Berryman, 2008, p. 223). Whakaingoa can be viewed as one of the philosophies and practices that strengthen the physical and spiritual harmony and wellbeing of the group by connecting the past with the present and taking it into the future.

One kaikōrero shared the following:

> In our whānau, my husband is Davide, which is where the Italian comes in. They have the tradition of naming the first-born boy after Nono [*Nonno* is Italian for granddad], after the granddad in that line, and so Mario was always going to be Mario for us. Like you, I was really considered and purposeful in his naming; that he would somehow tie back into our whakapapa, whakapapa that was Māori. And so, his middle name is Kapua for that reason. So, we kept with the sky names, but also, he hononga tona ki ona Matua, ki ona Matua kēkē; so while he stands really proud in his Mario Italian heritage, he's also got that hononga ki te Kapuaiwaho, and all the other Kapua.

Another whaea highlighted the importance of her tamariki carrying the names of her grandparents, thereby enhancing their whakapapa connections:

> For me, it was important that I named my children after my nannies, my kuia, all my koro, just so they can carry that ingoa on, and whakapapa—strong connections to whakapapa. Her middle name is Te Atawhetu, so it was important that I had part of my mum, as well as my partner's mum in there. Her middle name is Te Ata. And my mother's middle name is Whetu, which is also "the morning star". Te Atawhetu. And then I've got my nanny's name, Tikirangi—so she would be great-great-grandmother to my pēpi, and she's 86 years old. She's still alive so she's met pēpi, but I wanted her name because it was significant to me that I came home and had baby.

One kaikōrero explained that the name of his pēpi was a way of remembering those who had passed, so that name could live on into the future:

> She's named after Marion's kuia, who unfortunately passed away in Australia, just after Te Waimarino was born. We couldn't get back to that [funeral], but her mum was here, and had to shoot back early. That was a hard time. Giving her that name is to help us remember those things as well. I think our tīpuna understood those kinds of things, how important it is to have names like that for us to remember them and for these ones to live that way.

Kupu whakamutunga | Conclusion

Pre-colonial Māori naming practices were markedly transformed by early missionary and colonial naming conventions. Often these practices invalidated not only the names that had been used but also how whakapapa and Māori knowledge were maintained and transmitted. Colonial renaming began with the "discovery" and claiming of the land, but soon included the names Māori were known by and what Māori were prepared to call their children.

However, despite these colonial naming constructs designed to discover, claim, assimilate and uphold white privilege, Māori are enduring. They are well aware of the importance of traditional names, practices, values and connections to the identity, belonging and wellbeing of their children and their whānau. Kaikōrero comments are clear about the critical importance of hononga or connecting through whakapapa to their beginnings, including their connections to the spiritual realm, to the natural world, to the land, to life and to humanity.

Today, many can still demonstrate descent from waka and key ancestors, enabling them to claim their iwi identity and their hapū standing back to the land. This allows Māori to establish functional whānau relationships and share a common heritage with a large number of people. Naming one's attachments to waka, iwi and hapū is deeply important to defining one's identity as Māori and subsequently to one's spiritual, intellectual, social and emotional wellbeing. In this quest, these whānau are resilient in reclaiming what is their children's birthright. Indeed, in terms of whenua ki te whenua, connecting through naming to whakapapa at birth ensures these babies will not lose who they are.

Kuputaka | Glossary

ariki	chief
hapū	subtribe
hauora	wellbeing
Hawaiki	ancient homeland—the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa
hononga	making connections
hononga tona ki ona Matua, ki ona Matua kēkē	connecting to his/her parents and uncles and aunties
hui	meetings that follow Māori cultural procedures
iwi	larger tribal groups
(Ngāti) Kahungunu	iwi associated with the eastern coast of the North Island of New Zealand
kai	food
kaiako	teachers
kaikōrero	participants, speakers
kāinga	home
kairangahau	researchers
karakia	prayers
kaumātua	elders both male and female
Kaupapa Māori	theoretical approach to doing research for Māori, by Māori
kōpū	womb
kōrero	story
koro/koroua	elderly man, grandfather
kuia	elderly woman, grandmother
mana	status and power
marae	cultural spaces
maunga	mountain
mirimiri	traditional Māori healing practice
mokopuna	grandchild
Ngā Puhi	iwi associated with the Northland regions of New Zealand
Ngāti Tapu	hapū of Ngāi Te Rangi, an iwi associated with the Tauranga region of New Zealand
pā	fortified village
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
pepeha	tribal saying
pēpi	baby, infant
pōwhiri	official welcome ceremonies
pūrākau	narratives
rangatira	chiefs
Rangiātea/Raiātea	ancient name strongly associated with Hawaiki; both a physical place and a spiritual realm
Ranginui	Sky Father
reo	(Māori) language
rōpū	group
roto	lake
taiaha	wooden fighting staff
Tainui	ancestral waka; tribal confederation associated with the central North Island of New Zealand
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
Tāne	god of the forests and birds
tangata whenua	people of the land
tapu	sacred

tauiwi	foreigner
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Arawa	ancestral waka; tribal confederation associated with Central Lakes region of North Island of New Zealand
tikanga	cultural practice
tipuna	ancestor
tohunga	specialist
Tokomaru (Bay)	a small community located on the East Coast of New Zealand
tūpuna/tīpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	birthplace/one's place to stand
wāhi tapu	sacred place
waka	canoe
wānanga	meetings that follow Māori cultural procedures
whaea	mother
whakahono anō	connect again
whakaingoa	naming
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatau	official welcome speeches
whakataukī	adage, wise saying
whakawhanaungatanga	process of establishing relationships
whānau	family and extended family
whanaunga	wider whānau
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection
whare	house
whatu pōkeka	woven baby blanket
whenua	land; placenta
whenua tāwāhi	land overseas

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