

NGĀ TOHU PŪMAHARA

THE SURVEY PEGS OF THE PAST

Understanding Māori Place Names

NEW ZEALAND GEOGRAPHIC BOARD



New Zealand
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OFFICIAL PROJECT

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O AOTEAROA

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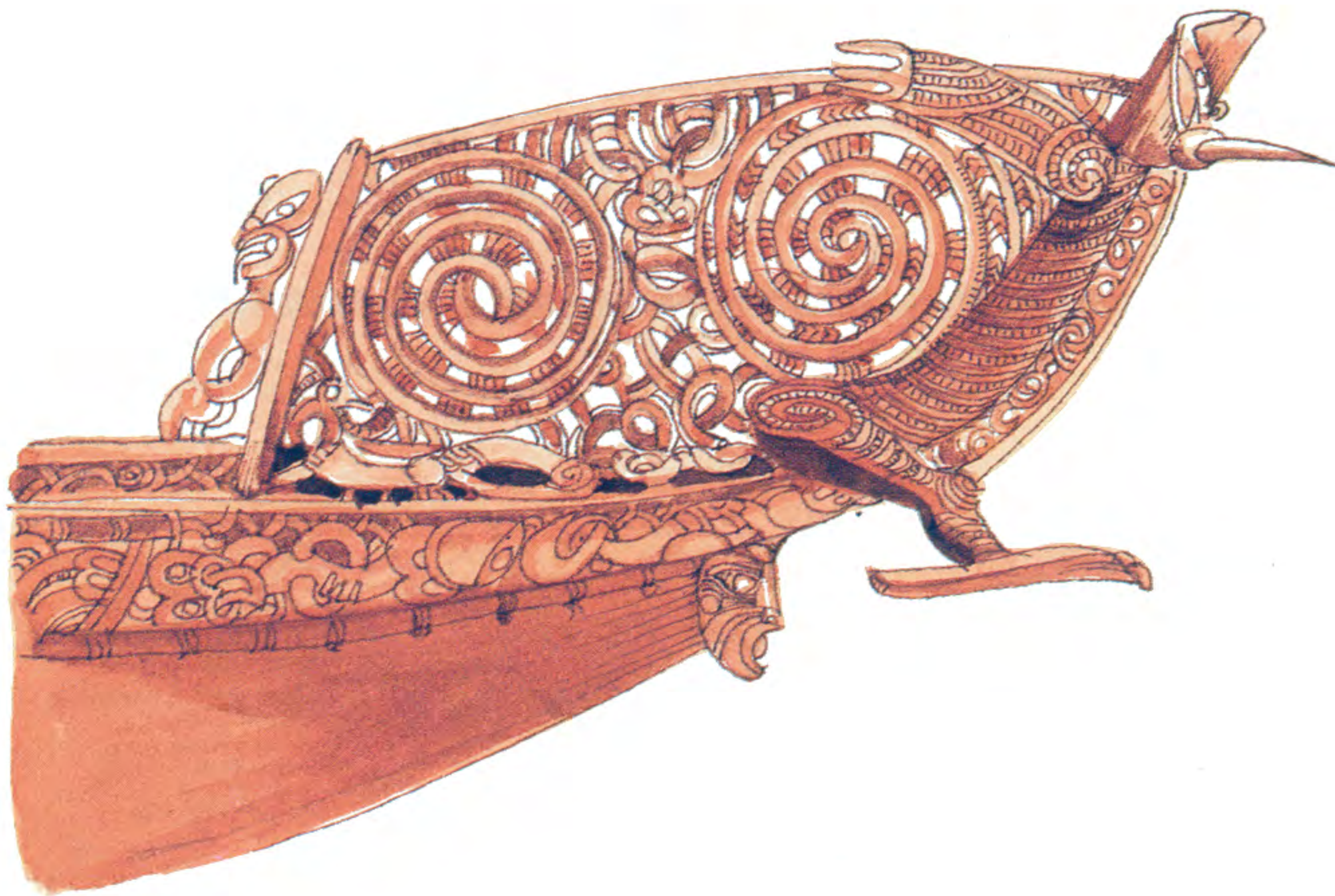
Compiled for the New Zealand Geographic Board
Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa
by Te Aue Davis, Tipene O'Regan and John Wilson



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O AOTEAROA

Ngā Tohu Pūmahara

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THE SURVEY PEGS OF THE PAST

The names of our landscape contain a huge amount of information about the land and the relationship of one place to another. We find our way around our maps by marking them with place names, but the map does not tell us anything about the names themselves, what they mean or why places were given the names they carry. Those names, though, carry a cargo of meaning and memory, they signpost the fact that place has a human dimension.

Most Pakeha names mark individual places and individual memories of parcels of history. They generally have no particular connection to each other, each standing in its own right. The meaning of many Māori names, though, can only be understood through their connection to other names and other places. Whole series of names belong together in groups, commemorating journeys of exploration by an ancestor, the myth memory of how the land was made or a series of traditional events and people relationships. They also describe the land physically and identify its resources.

In pre-literate Māori culture there was a huge dependence on memory and the careful transmission of history from generation to generation. 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.

Some of these groups of names, as well as individual names, were of such significance that when a tribe migrated elsewhere it “replanted” its history in its new home by naming its new landscape with the names of the place of origin. Because of the role of place names as a device for recording and remembering tribal history the historical events themselves sometimes became relocated in the new setting. This is one of the reasons why some Māori and Polynesian histories appear so similar and repetitious. They may be the same story being repeated in fresh settings. This does not make the traditions associated with a particular place name, or group of names, any less authentic. It is a perfectly valid process within an oral tradition. It derives from the character of oral tradition. It uses place names in different ways from the way literate societies use them.

This small handbook on understanding Māori place names has been published in association with a *Māori Oral History Atlas*. This *Atlas* deals with groups of place names which are linked together in traditional stories and can be recorded on an “oral map”. Supplementing the *Atlas*, this booklet suggests how you can set about understanding Māori place names in a systematic way. It builds on the pioneer work of one of New Zealand’s

greatest literary scholars, H. W. Williams, who as long ago as 1912 set out a framework for a culturally appropriate approach to Māori place names. Subsequently Johannes Andersen in his 1942 book *Māori Place-names* built on Williams' work. The compilers of this booklet acknowledge their huge debt to these two scholars, who laid the foundations on which the *Māori Oral History Atlas* and this handbook rest.

The people who have worked on and supported the project believe that to publish the *Atlas* and this handbook will help many New Zealanders, Māori and Pākehā, to understand more fully the magic web of memory that ties a great many Aotearoa place names together. More important, perhaps, is that the books might provide access to an aspect of cultural heritage that we drive past every day without knowing it.

YOU MAY NOT KNOW THE MEANINGS OF THESE MĀORI WORDS

Atua	gods
hapu	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kai moana	food from the sea
kaumātua	elder
taniwha	a monster of fables
tapu	sacred
tupuna	an ancestor
tūpuna	ancestors

WHY SHOULD WE BOTHER WITH MĀORI PLACE NAMES?

This small book will not provide you with instant answers to all your questions about Māori place names anywhere in New Zealand. Far too many Māori place names have survived from the past for a book even ten times the size of this one. The names you will find on even the most detailed present-day maps barely scratch the surface of Māori place naming.

The Māori of the past lived in much closer association with the natural world, the land and its resources, than we do today. Almost every stretch of river or swamp that afforded some kinds of food or area of bush that afforded others, every hill or valley, headland or beach, where some event happened in the past, was named.

Place names had a very different role in traditional Māori society than they do today. Today we use them in every day life for little more than to know where we are. Although some Pākehā place names have deep emotional associations for some people, these tend to be associations important to an individual rather than associations shared with a wider group. In older times, Māori place names were important for the associations that were shared by groups of people, in the hapu or iwi.

The most important role of place names in a society in which traditions and history were transmitted orally was to serve as triggers for memory. They reminded those who spoke or heard them of events or episodes important in the history of the tribe. They were the means by which the tribe's traditions and knowledge of its tūpuna were handed on. To understand a great number of New Zealand's place names you need to know the tribal histories of the district in which the names occur.

The biggest single group of Māori place names are the names which were brought by New Zealand's first settlers from Hawaiki. These names were reminders to the Māori people of their origins in that homeland. You will probably be surprised to discover just how many of the names on our

landscape were brought from the Pacific Islands where the ancestors came from.

Many Māori place names, however, are descriptive, of the terrain, of the food resources available for harvesting at that spot, or of other resources important in Māori traditional society like timber, fibre plants or stone that could be found there. Some sequences of names linked in single stories or traditions are catalogues of where important resources are to be found throughout the country. The story of Poutini in the *Oral History Atlas* which is a companion to this booklet is an excellent example of this. These were days, of course, when people gained their food and raw materials to make all sorts of goods and products directly from the land, rather than from shops! Some of the names are simply descriptive of the terrain. Knowing what the terrain is like is important if you are travelling by foot and an accurate description of a landmark would have been important when there were no written road signs to follow!

For all these reasons, some very practical, others related to the transmission of tribal histories and maintenance of tribal identity, New Zealand's Māori place names generally have a greater significance and depth to their stories than the place names of the later European arrivals. This reflects the fact that in societies without a written language, place names play a very different role from the role they play in a society in which information and knowledge are passed on largely by the written word.

The significance of Māori place names is summed up in the proverb

It is my land. I know what it says.

Māori tradition and culture as expressed in place names emphasise the spiritual value of the land and provide the basis of tribal identity and sentiment. They reflect the physical features of the landscape; the gods of creation; the legendary explorers such as Kupe, Tamatea and others. Māori place names relate and reflect every aspect of the influences on and the activities of the early ancestors and the environment which governed their way of life.

IT WON'T ALWAYS BE EASY

In any district of New Zealand there are a huge number of Māori place names to be discovered; to understand the origins and meanings of these names requires a broad knowledge of traditional Māori society and of specific tribal histories and traditions. It might sometimes seem too difficult even to begin finding out what the names are, let alone discovering their origins and significance.

There is one further thing about the names that may make the task of finding out the meanings and origins of Māori place names seem difficult. Many of the names are to some extent tapu because of their association with

an important tupuna. Exploring the origins and meanings of many Māori place names has to be done with respect and understanding for the significance of the names. Knowledgable Māori people will be interested to know why you are making your enquiries and may want to be comfortable that you are respectful of the possible cultural significance of the place names they will be discussing with you.

But don't be deterred from attempting to gather Māori place names for your district and to gain an understanding of their origins and meanings. It will sometimes be difficult and frustrating. But it can also be great fun teasing the names apart, solving the many little and some major problems that the names pose today. And you will learn an enormous amount about New Zealand's past from a study of Māori place names — sometimes things you won't be able to find out from any other source. The names embody many stirring tales and many interesting details about our land and its history. So above all have fun solving the many puzzles that Māori place names pose. Be thankful that so many place names have survived, even after two hundred years of European names supplanting the original Māori names, otherwise we might have lost the large chunks of our history embodied in the names.

This book has been published in association with a larger *Māori Oral History Atlas*. This *Atlas* illustrates in detail many of the general points made in this smaller booklet:

- that many names have several meanings or possible origins;
- that you must know the traditional histories of specific districts to understand a great many of the names;
- that you must sometimes look beyond your own district or region to understand many of the names.

The *Māori Oral History Atlas* is probably the best place to go first if you want to take your study of Māori place names further than you can using just this booklet. But there are many other sources you can use to help you in your quest to understand Māori place names. Some of these are listed at the very end of this booklet.

THE NAMES REMIND US OF NEW ZEALAND'S OLDER PAST

If you know the place names of your district and their origins you will be able to avoid making statements about New Zealand's past which insult the country's first settlers or set aside centuries of our history.

In an article which appeared in a Wellington newspaper on the eve of 1990, the author opened an article about Doubtful Sound with these words:

"Captain Cook may have discovered New Zealand for the British. But

ironically it was the Spanish . . . who were the first to explore Doubtful Sound."

A Spanish expedition under the command of an Italian, Malaspina, did indeed explore Doubtful Sound in 1793 and Spanish place names survive there, serving as reminders of that otherwise almost forgotten visit. But the article completely ignored what a multitude of Māori place names in Doubtful Sound affirm — that long before any European explored the Sound, its intricate waterways and wooded shoreline were known intimately to generations of Māori.

The Māori name for Doubtful Sound is PĀTEA. Also occurring in the region are the names TARANAKI and HAWERA, a trio of names familiar to New Zealanders because they are also found together in the North Island province of Taranaki. The three names are also found as a group in Tahiti. It is interesting to recall the visit of the Spanish to Doubtful Sound in 1793. But to claim the Spanish were the first to explore the Sound demeans the Māori who actually were the first to explore it. There are even more interesting stories the author could have told if he had looked at the wealth of Māori names that are known.

Making an effort to discover and understand the Māori place names for any part of New Zealand will help you avoid insulting the Māori who first discovered and explored every part of the country and will reveal interesting aspects of our past you might otherwise not learn about.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

The first step of any investigation into Māori place names is to find out what the names are. There are several places you can go to for information about this. Probably where to start is with a large-scale map of the area you are interested in. The larger the scale of the map, the more place names will be recorded on it. The best thing to do first is obtain the Department of Survey and Land Information's 1:50,000 maps and copy from them all the Māori names. Then you will find that many local or regional histories list the Māori place names of various districts, both names which are still in use and names which have fallen out of common use but are still known.

In local libraries and museums you may find copies of older maps on which are recorded names which are no longer in use and which are not recorded in books about your district.

After you have compiled as full a list as you can from these various printed or manuscript sources, you should find out if there are local kaumātua or other knowledgeable Māori people who know of names which have not been recorded in any printed or written source. Many names still survive only in the continuing oral traditions of the local hapu or iwi. In addition, these kaumātua will often know what the correct form of a name is (see below) or

what precise point or feature of the landscape a name refers to. In many cases even where an old name has been recorded it is not clear from the books exactly what the name refers to. But you should not go to the kaumātua and expect them to spend time answering your enquiries until after you have made efforts to compile lists using other sources.

Making a full and accurate list of the authentic Māori place names for any district won't always be easy. There are some pitfalls you should know about before you begin.

You must remember, first, that the names have been handed down until about 150 years ago, or even more recently, in oral traditions. You must not expect the same certainty and precision that comes with the 'permanent' recording of names and information in written records. In oral traditions, the most important thing is to have the 'core' information passed on. The story is the vehicle for this information. But through successive generations there will be many minor shifts and changes in the form of the name in these stories. This is evident in the list given, later in this booklet, of the Pacific Island equivalents of some Māori place names.

But probably more confusing to you as you start compiling the initial list of Māori place names for your district and region will be what has happened in the last 200 years. So before you begin to try to find out a name's origin or meaning, you must

MAKE SURE YOU HAVE A GENUINE NAME IN ITS FULL AND CORRECT FORM

In the South Island you will find the name AWA MOA. The literal translation of this is the river of the moa. Since moa have been extinct for several hundred years, you would expect this to be an ancient name, and possibly one that has a traditional story which would explain why that river or stream bears the name. In fact, the name was made up by an early European settler, W. B. D. Mantell. In South Canterbury, in the lower Waitaki Valley are three names WAI TUNA, water of the eel, IKA WAI, water of fish, and TAWAI, the beech tree, which appear to be old names identifying useful resources that were found at those places. But these names, too, were coined by European settlers. One writer on Māori place names has warned that "many later names are artificial, being created out of thin air in the period 1895 to 1914 for use with schools, railway sidings and post offices". You will need always to be on your guard for such "artificial" names.

A few 'Māori' place names which actually date from the period following European colonisation are transliterations of European originals. So you find in the Whanganui Valley, HIRUHARAMA, Jerusalem, ATENE, Athens, and RANANA, London. The name PETANE is the Māori version of Bethany. These names which are Māori versions of European originals are usually fairly easy to identify.

More confusing, however, is that quite a number of Māori place names have been contracted or corrupted through the years, as Europeans misheard the unfamiliar sounds of Māori or lazily did not use the full version of a name. The full name of the South Canterbury town of Temuka is TE UMU KAHA. No sense can be made of the word 'Temuka', but 'Te Umu Kaha' can be taken to mean 'the strong (strongly burning) earth oven'. South Canterbury is, significantly, an area where there are to this day the remains of large umu in which parts of the ti (cabbage tree) were processed for food.

Here is a list of some other corruptions of Māori place names, with the present day name given first and its probable proper form to the right:

TAIERI	TAIARI
ONAERO	ONAEROA
RETARUKE	RERE TARUKE
POHANGINA	POU HANGINA
WAIOTAHU	WAI O TAHE
PETONE	PITO ONE
PAREORA	PUREORA
OTAIO	OTAIA

Some of these names provide examples of the sorts of unnecessary difficulties you can get yourself into if you try to translate or discover the origins of a name which is used today in an incorrect form. In 1919, Elsdon Best pointed out that if Pareora is split into two parts, each part, 'pare' and 'ora' could have several meanings, giving rise to several quite fanciful translations of the name. The correct form of the name is almost certainly Pureora, which was a ritual performed by travellers, places with the name Pureora being places where early travellers, or one early traveller, performed that ceremony.

Sometimes you will find that the name in common use is only a small part of a longer name. Many places were named by the Māori as a result of certain events or episodes happening there. These names are often quite long, impractically so for modern use, so they have been abbreviated. To get to the meaning or origin of the name it is usually necessary to discover what the full name is. Examples of present day names which are in fact small parts only of a much longer original name are (with the full name given after the present name):

PŪTIKI	Te Pūtiki Wharanui a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (The topknot tied by Tamatea the Seeker of Lands using the variety of flax known as wharanui)
TAUPŌ	Taupō Nui a Tia (The large shoulder mat of Tia)
TAUMATA	Taumata Whakatangihanga Kōauau a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua Ki Tāna Tahu

(The summit where Tamatea the Seeker of Lands played his flute to his lover)

PIRONGIA Te Pirongia o Te Aroaro o Kahu (The scented pathway of Kahu)

WHANGARA Whangarā Mai Tawhiti (Whangara from afar)

RĀPAKI Te Rāpaki o Rakiwhakaputa (The waist mat of Rakiwhakaputa)

You need to remember, too, that when you start investigating Māori place names, you are dealing with about 1000 years of history, years which saw a constant ebb and flow of tribal conquest and settlement. So you may find that one place has more than one name. Just as English names supplanted older Māori names when the European settlers arrived in New Zealand, so older Māori names were often supplanted by later ones as new tribes conquered or occupied territory which had been held by other tribes. This was especially common because the tribes used names to assert their ownership of particular tracts of territory. The leaders of particular tribal groups would often name prominent peaks or ridges after parts of their own body to assert their tribe's ownership of the land. When later warriors conquered the same territory, they did away with the original names and named the same places after themselves. Finding two or more names for the same place may seem to make an investigation of Māori place names more complicated, but it will often open up for you important chapters of the Māori history of your district.

One example of the naming of a peak by an explorer to establish his claim to have discovered the land is a rocky peak above Lyttelton Harbour

TE POHO Ō TAMATEA Tamatea's breast

Much later the peak became known as

TE ŪPOKO Ō MAHURAKI Mahuraki's head

Mahuraki being a chief of the Ngāi Tahu tribe which was occupying the area at the time the Europeans arrived in Canterbury. Today, however, the older name is generally used.

ONE LAST THING BEFORE YOU START

There is still a lot of thought being given to the proper way in which Māori place names should be written. Often running a 'compound name' together makes it difficult for non-Māori speakers to pronounce the name correctly and can make the structure and meaning of the name obscure. In the next few years, clearer guidelines will probably be laid down about how to record Māori place names in the way that best brings out their meaning and origin and indicates the correct pronunciation.

As a start, you will probably want to start writing Māori place names out

as separate words, rather than to continue the practice of running them together. For example:

O HINEMUTU rather than OHINEMUTU

NGĀ KAWAU rather than NGAKAWAU.

Two names which people find difficult to pronounce, and therefore often pronounce incorrectly, are:

NGĀ RUAWAHIA and MOTUKĀRARA.

If these names are written as separate words, both their pronunciation and meaning are much more readily apparent:

NGĀ RUA WAHIA 'Let the food storage pits be opened' or The opened up or pillaged food storage pits

MOTU KĀRARA The island of lizards (kārara is the Southern dialect version of ngārara).

You should also get into the habit of using macrons to indicate long vowels. Whether the vowel is long or short affects both the pronunciation and meaning of words in Māori. Knowing whether the vowels in different words are long or short can be an important clue to the proper meaning of a place and will help you get the pronunciation of the names correct.

One other practice to start avoiding is to repeat in English what is already in the Māori name. For example:

MOUNT MAUNGANUI

MOTUTAPU ISLAND

both look ridiculous to Māori speakers because the names, as they are used today, end up as

Mount Big Mountain

Sacred Island Island.

Even though it may mean departing from the official place names as they stand at present, it makes sense to break the Māori place names up into their separate parts and to avoid repeating in English what the Māori name already says.

THE FIRST THING TO DO

The first thing to do after you have compiled as full a list as you can of the authentic Māori place names in your district, before you attempt to understand the original significance or meaning of the names, is to find out all you can about the traditional and tribal history of the district:

- what are the myths or legends which have particular reference to the district;
- who were the famous explorers and early tupuna who visited or lived in the district;
- what was the succession of different tribes who occupied the district.

You will not be able to make sense of many, perhaps most, of the Māori

place names of any district without this knowledge of local tribal history and of myths and legends which were shared by several tribes. In turn, as you find out more about each place name, you will be acquiring a broader and deeper understanding of the traditions and history of your district which will help you to understand the origin or meaning of further names.

Unravelling the meaning or establishing the origin of Māori place names must always go hand-in-hand with acquiring knowledge about Māori myths, legends, history, knowledge of the landscape and use of natural resources in traditional times.

All serious students of Māori place names have come to this same conclusion. Herries Beattie's books are an important source of information about the place names of many South Island districts. In one of his books, *Māori Place-names of Canterbury*, he writes:

"The general Pākehā idea is that most Māori place-names describe the country to which they are applied, but this is very far from being the case. The majority of place-names perpetuate the names of people who once lived and moved among these scenes, but who mouldered to dust, some 1000 years since, and some only three or four generations ago, and who are all now classed under the comprehensive term of ancestors. . . . Some of these ancestors performed deeds worthy of commemoration; others would probably be forgotten if their names did not cling to hills, streams and natural features. To a people who had no written script it was certainly an aid to memory to have the names of ancestors preserved in the geography of 'their own, their native land'."

Another Pākehā who investigated Māori place names wrote of

"the impossibility of dealing exhaustively or certainly with any place-name until its history is known".

He gave as an example the wrong interpretation that was given for many years to the Māori name for Wellington Harbour. A desire to translate the name led to the name being written as

TE WHANGANUI O TERA The great harbour of the sun.

The correct name for the harbour is

TE WHANGANUI A TARA The great harbour of Tara, after Tara Ika, the founding ancestor of Ngāi Tara.

Generations of New Zealanders have been brought up to understand that the Māori name for the country's highest mountain

AORANGI or AORAKI

can be translated in various ways to mean 'cloud in the sky', or, more fancifully, 'the cloud piercer'. But this last translation was coined by the Tourism Department and the name, as it belongs to the mountain, has nothing to do with clouds or the sky. It is the proper name of a central figure in one of Te Waipounamu's (the South Island's) most important creation

stories. Aoraki was an atua ancestor, a demi-god, who appears in similar stories from throughout Polynesia. So you will find a large number of places in the North Island called Aorangi, places in Tahiti called Aora'i and in Samoa called Aolagi. To try to translate the name Aoraki/Aorangi, as the Tourism Department did years ago, is quite the wrong thing to do.

These two names, Te Whanganui a Tara and Aorangi/Aoraki, are good examples of what another scholar meant when he wrote that

"to guess the meanings of . . . names is a hazardous and unwise procedure". This same scholar also wrote that

"The principal lesson learned in a study of Māori topographical nomenclature is the high value of caution, and the futility of attempting to give the meaning of Māori place-names without precise information." and that

"a knowledge of how and under what circumstances a place was named is necessary in all cases".

As you get deeper into your own study of Māori place names you will find that many names, when broken down into their separate parts, can be 'translated' in several, sometimes many, different ways. Often it will be only with a knowledge of legends and historical traditions that you will be able to decide what the correct translation of the name is and establish why that particular place bears that name. You will often find yourself down the wrong track if you make a guess, even a sensible guess, as to which of several possible meanings the name could have is the right one.

"When one has ten or twenty meanings to choose from, the wise man is he who remains silent" wrote Elsdon Best in 1919. Along the same lines, Herries Beattie noted that

"It was once the fashion in recording or listing Māori place-names to supply the meaning, or what the writer considered to be the meaning, but so many 'queer translations' were receiving publicity that this habit largely fell into disuse among those best versed in the subject. One of the greatest authorities wrote 'Only the unwise attempt to translate a name lacking the evidence of tradition'."

This repeated caution not to attempt to give the 'meaning' of a name without knowing the circumstances in which the name was given does not mean you can't often say quite confidently "This is what the name means". It does mean you won't be able to say that with any confidence at all until you have become as fully informed as you can about the traditions and tribal histories of the district in which the name is found.

Elsdon Best gives as an example the place name
WAI KAKA

There is no problem with the 'wai', but the 'kaka' has four different forms (depending on the length of the two vowels) and, Best claims, fourteen

recorded meanings.

“To ascertain which of the fourteen meanings is the correct one in such a case as this is hopeless; a knowledge of how and why the place was so named alone can enlighten us, and that calls for inquiry from local Natives.”

Another example of where knowledge of the traditions and history of the place is necessary to understand its name is

KOHUKOHU

This is the name of a common tree, *Pittosporum tenuifolium*, but in this case the place name has nothing to do with a plant. ‘Kohukohu’ can also mean a curse, and the origin of the name goes right back to Kupe’s discovery of Aotearoa when, at that place, he pronounced a curse against members of his party because an umu was opened before the food was properly cooked.

Often knowledge of history and traditions is necessary to uncover different ‘layers’ of meaning in a place name. The old name for Great Mercury Island is

AHUAHU

This word can mean to heap up and it was thought its origin was that when he reached the island, the early ancestor Paikea heaped up sand around him to keep himself warm. But recently it has been learned that Ahuahu is also an old name for the island of Mauke, in the Cook Islands, from which Paikea departed for his voyage to New Zealand. Furthermore, the same name occurs in Tahiti and on Rapanui (Easter Island) as Akuaku. In both these places, as on Great Mercury Island, there are ancient kumara growing plots where the soil is warmed by the proximity of white cliffs and was ideal for kūmara nurseries. The name was repeated in these widely separated places because of the common physical characteristics of the places. So you would not be wrong to say that the original name for Great Mercury Island derived from the effort Paikea made to keep warm when he arrived there. But you would not have fully understood the significance of the name without discovering that it is also a name that came with the tūpuna from the Pacific.

WHAT DOES THE NAME MEAN?

The question most people ask about a Māori place name they are interested in is, what does it mean? But you must always remember that Māori place names are not always simply descriptive. If you try to break some names down into their parts and then translate those separate parts, you will often end up on a wild goose chase, of trying to make a name mean something when it is actually a proper name, a name ‘imported’ from Hawaiki or for some other reason a name that shouldn’t be ‘translated’.

You tend to know, instinctively, which place names in your own language shouldn’t be ‘translated’. In North Otago and Wellington Province there are townships called Livingstone. If you try to apply the ‘what does it mean’

approach which many people apply to Māori place names to Livingstone, you end up with the strange combination 'living' and 'stone' and you might then conjure up all sorts of fanciful explanations as to what the name really means and how it came about, when the simple truth is that it was a person's name. Yet this has often been the absurd approach people have taken to Māori place names, breaking them down into their parts and then 'translating' those parts willy nilly.

So the first thing you should do is decide which names can be broken down into their parts and translated, and which shouldn't be treated in this way. You should be wary about attempting to give the meanings of two groups of names in particular. These are names which have been 'imported' into New Zealand from Hawaiki, the Pacific Island homeland, or have to do with the canoes or navigation paths by which the early navigators reached New Zealand, and names which have a person's name as part of them.

THE 'HAWAIKI' NAMES

New Zealanders are familiar with the very large number of New Zealand place names that were brought to this country by the European settlers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In exactly the same way, and probably for much the same reasons, hundreds of years ago the first Māori settlers of Aotearoa brought many place names with them and applied them to features of their new land.

In some cases, names which were brought from Hawaiki can still be 'translated' into English. These are the cases in which a traditional name was used because it was an appropriate description of the new place. Waimakariri, for example, is a name that occurs in the Islands and was an appropriate name, because of its meaning, to apply to the North Canterbury river whose waters drain from the cold (makariri) Southern Alps. Hikurangi is another very old traditional name which occurs throughout the Islands. Its separate parts hiku and rangi mean a point or summit and the heavens, so it is perfectly understandable why it was applied to a mountain in the new land.

But other old, 'imported' names should, by and large, not be translated. At a pinch you can make MOERAKI mean 'sleepy heaven', 'sleeping by day' or 'slumbering in the sun'. The name occurs at least twice on the South Island, for a peninsula in North Otago and a lake in South Westland, and also several times on the North Island, in the slightly different forms of Moerangi and Moera. It is also a name which occurs in several places in the Pacific, almost all of which are places where the late afternoon sun affords warmth. So there is some sense of the name to be made from its probable literal meaning (the Moeraki Peninsula in North Otago, for example, faces north, into the sun). But the name was also almost certainly used in New Zealand primarily

because the first settlers wanted some reminder of the land they had come from.

(There are many English parallels for this. At Oxford in North Canterbury, for example, you will look in vain for an Ox river or for any conspicuous river crossing; the name was used as a reminder, pure and simple, of the racial origins of the new settlers and not because it was appropriate to the landscape. Cambridge in the Waikato at least stands on a river, though it is not the Cam and the name was in use before there was a bridge there.)

MOTUEKA is another imported name which cannot be given any sensible literal meaning, though one authority suggested it should have been MOTU WEKA. But this is an example of the distortion that can creep into your enquiries into Māori place names if you try to find a meaning for every name that is relevant to the landscape or resources of the place named.

Motueka also, as it happens, provides one of the best examples you will find in New Zealand of the migration of not just a place name but also the tradition to which the name belongs. In times past, Motueka was noted because it was subject to the 'horrid ravages' of a taniwha, Te Kaiwhakaruaki, who lived in the Parapara Stream in Aorere, Golden Bay. The taniwha used to devour people travelling to both Tākaka and Motueka. In the tradition (which is recorded in full in Johannes Andersen's *Māori Place-names*) one of the people who played a leading role in slaying the taniwha came from Arahura. All these place names were carried from Tahiti, along with the story, and 'localised and acclimatised' in the Nelson district. In Tahiti the names occur in the forms Motue'a, Ta'a'a, Parapara and Ara'ura and the monster is a white shark called Aifa'arua'i. The story has migrated down to the detail of the jaw movement of the taniwha in New Zealand being similar to the distinctive jaw movement of the shark.

The 'eka' of the name Motueka may have some connection with the common Polynesian word for a smallish ground bird similar to the New Zealand weka. But to 'translate' the name Motueka as 'Island of the weka' is to miss the real significance of the name entirely.

The name AOTEA (the name for Great Barrier Island and the harbour on the west coast of the North Island) can be broken down into separate parts, ao and tea, and made to mean white cloud. But the 'meaning' of the name is in this case probably quite irrelevant, because *Aotea* was the name of one of the canoes in which the Māori came to New Zealand and those places where were the canoe touched land and found its final resting place. Aotea is also a name used in Māori oratory as a general term for the North Island.

Here is a list of New Zealand place names which also occur, in slightly different form, in the Islands. When you encounter these place names in your enquiries into the place names of your own district you should be wary of trying to translate them into English or of believing that all you need to is

give the meaning of the name to establish its full significance:

The Pacific Roots of Māori Place Names

<i>Aotearoa</i>	<i>The Pacific Islands</i>	Motutapu	Motutapu (Raro)
Aoraki	Aora'i (Tah)		Motutapu (To)
Aparima	Apolima (Sam)		Motutapu (Tah)
Arorangi	Arorangi (Raro)	Muriwhenua	Mulibenua (Gil)
	Aorae (Gil)		Mulifonua (To)
Awaiti	Avaiti (Tah)		Mulifanua (Sam)
Awanui	Avanui (Tah)	Nukutere	Nu'utere (Tah)
Awaroa	Avaloa (Sam)	Oneroa	Oneroa (Raro)
Awarua	Awarua (Tah)		Oneroa (Tah)
	Avalua (Raro)	Pahia	Pahia (Tah)
Awatere	Avatele (Sam)	Pāpara	Papara (Tah)
	Avatele (Niu)	Paparoa	Paparoa (Tah)
Hawera	Awera (Tah)		Te Papaloa (Toke)
Heahea	Ea'ea (Tah)		Papaloa (Sam)
Hikurangi	'Ikurangi (Raro)	Papatowai	Papatoai (Tah)
Karaka	Karaka (Sol)	Pātea	Patea (Tah)
	Te Karaka (Gil)	Piha	Piha (Tah)
Kawakawa	Te Kawakawa (Tah)		Piha (To)
	Te Kawakawa (Tok)	Pukapuka	Pu'a Pu'a (Sam)
Kawhia	Puna Avia (Tah)		Pukapuka (Raro)
Maeroa	Maeroa (Tah)		Pu'apu'a (Tua)
	Maeroa (Tah)	Pounawea (possibly Punawea)	
Makarā	Ma'ara (Tah)		Punauia (Tah)
Mana	Mana (Tah)	Rangiatea	Rai'atea (Tah)
Mangarongo	Mangalongo (Sol)	Rangitoto	Rai'toto (Tah)
Māngere	Maere (Tah)		Rangitoto (Raro)
	Mangere(Raro)		Rangito'o (To)
Mānuka	Manuka (To)	Rarotonga	Rarotonga (Raro)
Manurewa	Manurewa (Tah)	Reinga	Rei'a (Tah)
Maraeroa	Malaeloa (Sam)	Rere a Manu	Te Rere a Manu (Tua)
	Maraeroa (Tah)		Te Rere a Manu (Tah)
Matangi	Matagi (Fiji)		Te Roto Te Roto (Tok)
	Mata'i (Tah)	Rotonui	Te Rotonui (Rap)
Mataura	Mataura (Tah)	Taharoa	Taharoa (Tah)
Matiu	Matiu (Sol)	Tākaka	Taha'a (Tah)
Maungaroa	Maungaroa (Raro)	Takapuna	Ta'apuna (Tah)
Moeraki	Moera'i (Tah)	Tāpapa	Tapapa (Tah)
Motuiti	Motuiti (Tah)	Taranaki	Tarana'i (Tah)
Motunui	Motunui (Rap)	Tauranga	Tauaga (Sam)

Te Kao	Te Kao (To)	Waipouri	Vaipouli (Sam)
Te Pahu	Te Pahu (Tah)	Wairere	Vailele (Sam)
Tokomaru	To'omaru (Tah)	Wairoa	Vailoa (Sam)
Tokoroa	Te To'oroa (Tah)	Waitapu	Vaitapu (Tu)
Tōrea	Torea (Tah)	Waitere	Vaitele (Sam)
Titirangi	Titira'i (Tah)	Whanganui	Fa'anui (Tah)
Tūrangi	Tura'i (Tah)	Whangarā	Fa'ara (Tah)
Waiatarua	Vaiatarua (Tah)	Whangarei	Fagalei (Tu)
Waiau	Vaiau (Tah)	Whangaroa	Fagaloa (Sam)
Waiharakeke	Waiharakeke (Tah)		Hangaroa (Rap)
Waihi	Vaihi (Tah)	Whenuakura	Fenua Ura (Tah)
Waikato	Vaikato (Tah)		Fonua'ula (Niu)
Waimakariri	Vaima'ariri (Tah)		Fa'aula (Sam)
Waimarama	Vaimarama (Tah)	Whitianga	Hiti'a (Tah)

(This list was compiled by Te Aue Davis after personal communications with Tua and Norman Maeva of Tahitian, Mauke and Rarotongan descent and with Tipene O'Regan and using a South Pacific Atlas and maps of the Pacific Islands supplied by Tipene O'Regan.)

Tah = Tahiti; Sam = Samoa; Raro = Rarotonga; Sol = Solomon Islands; Gil = Gilbert Islands; Fiji = Fiji Islands; Tua = Tuamotu; Toke = Tokelau; Rap = Rapanui (Easter Island); Tu = Tuvalu; Niu = Niue; To = Tonga

You will often find the 'imported' names occurring in clusters or groups. The example of Motueka, Tākaka and Parapara has already been mentioned. In the list above, the names Papatowai and Pounawea belong to a group of names occurring in the Catlins region of South Otago which can be traced back to Tahiti, where they also occur as a group.

Many of the 'imported' or Hawaiki names will not, as a general rule, submit to being broken up into their separate parts and translated: Some more of these names are:

AROWHENUA, TUHUA, WHANGAPE, ARA I TE URU

You will find that there are many, many other names like these ones which have their roots in the Pacific which you should be wary of attempting to translate.

But remember: identifying a place name as probably one which has an equivalent in the Pacific Islands and was probably 'imported' from Hawaiki does not mean that your investigations of that name should end there. You will often be able to establish why that name was placed at the particular point or to discover who brought the name and the circumstances in which it was applied in the new land.

There is a good example of this in the *Māori Oral History Atlas*, where the names around Whangarā are all identified in a traditional story as having been bestowed by Paikea because the place resembled a Whangarā of his

island homeland. The full name of Whangarā is Whangarā Mai Tawhiti. Mai Tawhiti means 'from afar' and if you encounter a name which has, in its full form, 'Mai Tawhiti' tacked on the end it is most probably an imported name.

One of the leading authorities on Māori place names, H. W. Williams, provided these guidelines to help identify names which were originally imported into New Zealand from the Pacific. Such names, he suggested, fall into five classes:

1. Names which are reported by the Māori themselves to have been brought by their tūpuna;
2. Names which occur in stories of events prior to the arrival of the early Māori settlers in New Zealand;
3. Names which can be found on other Pacific Islands (see the list above);
4. Names which are found in many different localities and are not always appropriate to the place;
5. Names with a 'foreign ring' to them, which do not lend themselves to interpretation or translation.

PEOPLE'S NAMES AS PARTS OF PLACE NAMES

The other large group of names which you will find yourself in a muddle if you try to translate them are the names in which a person's name is part of the place name. (An example was given at the beginning of this section of the sort of muddle that could arise if someone who knew only a little about the English language tried to give the meaning of the place name Livingstone.)

Many Māori place names begin with the letter O and you will find that often the second part of these names is the name of an individual. The Māori had a liking for naming places after an event that had occurred to a person there, from falling over a stone or into a creek, to being suddenly startled or even killed. O means, generally 'the place of . . .' or 'the place where . . .' and the second part of the name can be either the name of the person or what he or she did or befell them there. Sometimes it won't be immediately clear which and you have to decide whether you should try to give the meaning of the rest of the place name or just leave it, untranslated, as a personal name. This is where a sound knowledge of the local tribal histories will guide you into making the right choice about how to handle the name.

Here is a list of place names compiled by Elsdon Best in 1919 which begin with O the second part of which can possibly be given a sensible meaning but is probably, Best decided, a personal name:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Ō HAKUNE | (hakune means careful) |
| Ō KATO | (kato means flowing) |
| Ō PUNAKE | (punake is the fore end of a canoe hull) |
| Ō TAHUHU | (tahuhu is the ridge pole of a house or a direct line of ancestry) |

- Ō TANE (tane means man)
- Ō TAUA (a taua is a war party)
- Ō TAUTAU (a tautau is a type of pendant)
- Ō TIRA (tira means a company of travellers)
- Ō TOROHANGA (toro means to explore, discover or visit)

Although the second parts of many, even most, of the place names which begin with Ō can be given meanings, you must always keep in mind that you could be dealing with a proper name which it is meaningless to translate. For example:

- Ō TAMATEA means simply 'the place of Tamatea'
- Ō POHO means 'the place of Poho'.

Sometimes the versions of Ō place names in current use will be abbreviated and you will find that the full name means not 'the place of so-and-so' but 'the place where so-and-so did such-and-such'. (There is often an earthy humour in Māori place names which is especially evident in place names which recall an episode or event in this way.)

YOU MUST ASK MORE THAN JUST 'WHAT DOES IT MEAN'

'What does the name mean' is often not so much the wrong question as only one of the questions you should ask about a Māori place name. Literal translations of the name, even if they are correct, often don't give the whole story. Even with those place names which you can sensibly break down and translate, you will often not get a correct or complete understanding of the name if you are satisfied to stop there, with just a translation. It is quite the wrong idea to think that once you have broken a name down into its parts and translated them, you have done everything that is necessary. Here are some examples:

WAI WHATAWHATA

The meaning of this name, of a stream in Northland, is 'water (a stream) with a crossing suspended above it'. But the real significance of the name is that it was given when a well-known tupuna, Tōhē, who was journeying through the district in his old age, had difficulty crossing the stream when it was in flood.

WAI MAKARIRI

Almost every Christchurch schoolchild knows that this name means simply 'cold water'. It is an appropriate name for a snow-fed river, but many of Canterbury's rivers rise in the mountains and the interesting question to ask is why this river and not one of the others bears this name. In fact the name is one which was brought to New Zealand from the Islands, where it occurs at least in Tahiti, and there was no doubt some reason which this particular river was given an 'imported' name, although the circumstances in which the

Wai Makariri was named do not seem to be known today.

WAI HAO

The word hao refers to a species of eel, so this is simply water in which the hao eel is found. But in this case it is important to discover that the name of this South Canterbury river is a very old one. It was given to the river by Rākaihautū and his son Rokohouia. Rākaihautū was the commander of the *Uruao* canoe and this name is one of New Zealand's oldest surviving place names.

You will find many other examples up and down the country where establishing what the name means is only a first step to uncovering the true significance of the name.

One other caution is that what seems to be the same place name occurring in different parts of the country can have a quite different meaning or origin from one place to the other. Thus the name

KAIKAI

occurs both in Northland and Otago. The meaning of kai (food) is generally known in New Zealand and your initial guess might be that the name has something to do with food being available there, or someone having a feast there. In the case of Northland, this is correct, for the name belongs to a rock renowned for its mussels. But even in this case, to understand the full significance of the name, you need to know that the rock gained this name when the tupuna Tōhē (mentioned just above) had a meal of mussels there. In Otago, the name Kaikai belongs to a beach, and it would be easy to assume that here too the name stemmed from someone discovering or using a source of kai moana there. But in fact the beach was named after a chief called Kaikai.

As a general rule you should always be alert for fish-hooks like this. Never assume that the immediate or obvious meaning is the correct one, and never think you have uncovered the whole story about a place name when all you have established is what it means.





THE



NAMES

THE DESCRIPTIVE NAMES

We've been warning that some Māori place names can't be 'translated' and that establishing what the names mean is often only part of the task of establishing the origin and significance of many names. But 'what does it mean' is often the right question to ask of a Māori place name, particularly those names (and there are hundreds of them) which are primarily descriptive. By 'descriptive' we mean that the name was given so that people would know what the terrain was like, what plants grew there and what animals or birds could be found there.

But you should always remember that even when a name is descriptive and can be broken down into parts, to establish what it means is often only part of the task. There will be often be a story behind the name as well, which will tell you why that, often common, descriptive place name was given to that particular spot.

Most of the descriptive names occur in the form of a noun plus an adjective or another noun. The names in the lists which follow in this section are names like that. Some common names occur over and over again, up and down the country. Two of these are

WAI ROA the long river WAI NUI the big river.

Anyone familiar with New Zealand knows that the country has plenty of rivers which answer to this description, so it is not surprising that names were used frequently. Remember, too, that all parts of New Zealand were at least explored if not permanently inhabited by the Māori, and that the practice of the tūpuna was generally to give every distinct place a separate, individual name. Even for an imaginative and poetic people, some repetition was inevitable!

The lists which follow will give you plenty of leads about how to get at the meaning of the Māori place names of your own district which are descriptive of the terrain or the resources. We have also included in some of the lists place names whose second part is either a proper name or refers to some human activity at or association with the place. These names are not purely descriptive, but including them in the lists should help you to decide what the meanings are of names which begin with the common geographical terms.

In your own district you may not find many, or even any, of the actual names which are on our lists, although some do occur in several places. But you will be more than likely to find names which have either the first or the second part of names in these lists. You will then be able to build up lists of names in your own district divided up into similar categories, for example, all the names which begin with papa or all the names the second parts of which refer to the vegetation found at that place.

MAUNGA

The word maunga means mountain.

The types of vegetation found on the mountain:

MAUNGA KARAMEA	Mountain of wild spaniard
MAUNGA KARETŪ	Mountain of a sweet grass
MAUNGA KIEKIE	Mountain of kiekie (used for fibre and food)
MAUNGA KŌTUKUTUKU	Mountain of fuschia
MAUNGA ONGAONGA	Mountain of bush nettle
MAUNGA RĀTĀ	Mountain of rātā
MAUNGA TARAIRE	Mountain of taraire
MAUNGA TAWA	Mountain of tawa
MAUNGA TAWHIRI	Mountain of tawhiri (a type of pittosporum)

MAUNGA TI	Mountain of cabbage tree
MAUNGA TUTU	Mountain of tutu

Animal life on the mountain

MAUNGA HUIA	Mountain of the huia
MAUNGA KĀKĀ	Mountain of the kākā
MAUNGA MAUNU	Mountain of the grey duck
MAUNGA WHIO	Mountain of the blue duck
MAUNGA WHIORANGI	Mountain of the whitehead

Descriptions of the mountain itself

MAUNGA HUKA	Snowy mountain
MAUNGA ITI	Small mountain
MAUNGA KIRIKIRI	Stony mountain
MAUNGA NUI	Large mountain
MAUNGA PŌHATU	Rocky mountain
MAUNGA RAKI	Dry mountain
MAUNGA ROA	Long mountain
MAUNGA RŪ	Windy mountain (rū is a term used for strong summer winds)
MAUNGA TAHI	One mountain
MAUNGA TĀPERE	Mountain of red volcanic earth
MAUNGA TIRO	Mountain from which a great distance can be seen
MAUNGA TŪROTO	Mountain standing inland or at the source of a river
MAUNGA WAI	Mountain with water
MAUNGA WARU	Eighth mountain
MAUNGA WERA	Burnt mountain
MAUNGA WHERO	Red mountain

The association of people with the mountain

MAUNGA TANIWHA	Mountain with a guardian taniwha
MAUNGA TAPU	Sacred mountain
MAUNGA TIKETIKE	Lofty or exalted mountain
MAUNGA WHAKAMANA	Mountain given its own psychic force

MANGA

The word manga means a river, stream, stretch of water or watercourse. In these lists it has been generally translated as stream, but it can equally well mean a larger river or a smaller watercourse. It is abbreviated in some place names to simply ma and also occurs in the South Island in the form maka.

The types of vegetation near the river or through which it flows

MANGA AKA AKA	Stream of a type of vine
MANGA ARUHE	Stream of bracken fern
MANGA HARAKEKE	Stream of flax
MANGA HŌHERE	Stream of lacebark
MANGA HOUHOUTI	Stream with banks overgrown with five finger
MANGA HUTIWAI	Stream with bidibidi near it
MANGA KAHAKAHA	Stream of kahakaha (bush flax, used for making snow sandals)
MANGA KĀHIKA	Stream of the white pine
MANGA KĀKAHO	Stream of the toetoe read (which grows well near water)

MANGA KOROMIKO	Stream flowing near or through koromiko (hebe)
MANGA KŌTUKUTUKU	Stream flowing near or through fuschia groves
MANGA KŌWHAI	Stream flowing near or through kōwhai trees
MANGA MĀHOE	Stream flowing near or through māhoe trees
MANGA MAIRE	Stream flowing near or through a grove of maire
MANGA MAKO	Stream flowing near or through a grove of makomako (wineberry)
MANGA MAMAKU	Stream flowing through or near black tree fern
MANGA MARAHIA	Stream with the marahia shrub on its banks or nearby
MANGA MAUKU	Stream of the mauku (hen and chickens) fern (used as a food)
MANGA MINGI	Stream of mingimingi (various sorts of small-leaved shrubs)
MANGA MIRO	Stream flowing near or through a grove of miro
MANGA ONGAONGA	Stream with bush nettle on its banks or nearby
MANGA PIRITĀ	Stream with supplejack on its banks or nearby
MANGA PŌHUE	Stream flowing through or near pōhue (pōhue is the name of several climbing plants)
MANGA PUKATEA	Stream flowing near or through a grove of pukatea
MANGA RĀKAU	Stream flowing near or through a grove of trees
MANGA RANGIORA	Stream flowing near or through a grove of rangiora
MANGA RĀTĀ	Stream flowing near or through a grove of rātā trees
MANGA RAUTAWHIRI	Stream flowing near or through rautawhiri (a type of pittosporum)
MANGA REWAREWA	Stream flowing through or near rewarewa forest
MANGA TAINOKA	Stream with the native broom on its banks or nearby
MANGA TANGURU	Stream with a type of small tree daisy on its banks or nearby
MANGA TARAIRE	Stream flowing near or through taraire trees
MANGA TARAMEA	Stream flowing near or through speargrass
MANGA TARATA	Stream flowing near or through tarata (a type of pittosporum)
MANGA TAWA	Stream flowing near or through a grove of tawa trees
MANGA TĀWAI	Stream flowing near or through a grove of beech trees
MANGA TAWHERO	Stream flowing near or through a grove of tawhero
MANGA TAWHIRI	Stream flowing near or through a grove of tawhiri (a type of pittosporum)
MANGA TI	Stream flowing near to cabbage trees
MANGA TOATOA	Stream flowing near or through a grove of toatoa (celery pine and also a smaller plant with a similar leaf)
MANGA TOETOE	Stream with toetoe grass growing on its banks
MANGA TŌĪ	Stream of the mountain cabbage tree
MANGA TŌTARA	Stream flowing near or through a stand of tōtara
MANGA TUTU	Stream with tutu on its banks
MANGA WHARAWHARA	Stream with astelia on its banks or nearby
MANGA WHARANGI	Stream flowing near or through a grove of wharangi (another name for rangiora)
MANGA WHARARIKI	Stream with mountain flax on its banks or nearby
MANGA WHAU	Stream flowing near or through a grove of whau

Animal life in or on the river, or inhabiting its banks

MANGA HAO	Stream of the hao eel
MANGA HUIA	Stream visited by the huia
MANGA KAEŌ	Stream in which kaeo (an edible fresh-water mollusc) is found
MANGA KĀHŪ	Stream visited by hawks
MANGA KĀKĀ	Stream visited by the kākā parrot
MANGA KĀKAHI	Stream in which kākahi (an edible fresh-water shellfish) is found
MANGA KĀWHIA	Stream in which kāwhia (a fish) is found
MANGA KURI	Stream of the dogs
MANGA PIOPIO	Stream of the native thrush
MANGA TOKI	Stream of the brown duck
MANGA TUNA	Stream in which eel are found
MANGA URUROA	Waters in which shark are found
MANGA WEKA	Stream of the weka
MANGA WHAI	Waters in which the stingray is found
MANGA WHIO	Stream of the blue duck

Descriptions of the river or stream itself

MANGA EHU	Turbid watercourse
MANGA EMIEMI	Meeting of the waters
MANGA HĀNGA	Stream of indistinct murmuring (as the sea often sounds)
MANGA HAE	Stream of shining waters (this is only one of the meanings of hae)
MANGA HĀNENE	Stream with a breeze blowing gently over its waters
MANGA HAUTAU	Stream of smooth-running water
MANGA HĒ	Stream of troublesome waters
MANGA HEIA	Rushing stream
MANGA HERE RANGI	Stream which guides towards the heavens
MANGA HEWA	Stream of deceptively calm waters
MANGA HINA	Stream whose waters are a pale cloudy colour
MANGA HŌANGA	Stream of sandstone
MANGA HŌATA	Stream whose waters are pale or colourless
MANGA HOI	Noisy or boisterous stream
MANGA HOTU	Stream which heaves and swells (like the sea)
MANGA HUI	Coming together of the waters
MANGA HUKA	Stream of very cold and foaming waters
MANGA ITI	Small stream
MANGA KINO	Dangerous stream
MANGA KIRIKIRI	Stony stream
MANGA KŌPIKOPIKO	Stream which winds and twists
MANGA KŌWHIRIWHIRI	Stream of swirling waters
MANGA KŌWHITIWHITI	Stream of leaping and dancing waters
MANGA KURA	Precious stream, or stream which is reddish coloured (of its water or its bed)
MANGA MĀHAKI	Stream with calm, quiet waters
MANGA MAHŪ	Gentle running stream
MANGA MĀIO	Stream with calm waters
MANGA MĀNGARI	Stream of good fortune

MANGA MATE	Dead stream
MANGA MAUKA	Dry stream
MANGA	
MĀWHERAWHERA	Open or sprawling stream
MANGA MĀWHITIWHITI	Stream of leaping and sparkling waters
MANGA MOEHAU	Stream of gentle breezes
MANGA NUI	Large stream
MANGA NUI A TE AO	Superior stream belonging to the universe
MANGA NUKU	Stream of wide expanse
MANGA ONE	Sandy stream
MANGA ONI	Wriggling or moving stream
MANGA ORE	Stream of quivering waters
MANGA PARERUA	Stream with two courses
MANGA PARI	Stream which ebbs and flows (like the tide)
MANGA PARU	Dirty stream
MANGA PIKO	Curved stream
MANGA PORO	Stream which has been cut short
MANGA PŌURI	Dark stream
MANGA PŪ	Stream which is a source of (this name has probably been abbreviated)

The association of people with the stream

MANGA A NGĀ WĀHINE	Stream belonging to women
MANGA A TE MATAU	Stream belonging to Te Matau (a proper name)
MANGA ATUA	Stream of the gods
MANGA HAU	Stream which has its own vital essence or spirit
MANGA HAU EO	Stream deprived of its vital essence or spirit
MANGA HOE	Stream navigable by canoe
MANGA HOUANGA	Stream where initiation rites were performed
MANGA Ō KEWA	Kewa's stream
MANGA Ō KURA	Kura's stream
MANGA Ō RĀKEI	Rākei's stream
MANGA Ō RONGO	Rongo's stream
MANGA Ō TAKI	Taki's stream
MANGA Ō TAMA	Tama's stream
MANGA Ō TĀNE	Tāne's stream, or a man's stream
MANGA Ō TIHE	Tihe's stream
MANGA Ō TUKU	Tuku's stream
MANGA Ō WERA	Wera's stream
MANGA TANIWHA	Stream of the water dragon, a guardian of the people living by the river
MANGA TAPAIRU	Stream of the first-born daughter of a chief
MANGA TAPU	Sacred stream
MANGA TIPUA	Stream of a tohunga versed on the mystic arts of ancient times

PAPA

The word papa means flat ground or, in the context of place names, 'a place of' or 'a place where'.

The types of vegetation found at that place

PAPA HUTIWAI	Place of bidibidi
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PAPA KAIŌ (NGAIŌ)	Place of the kaiō (ngaiō) trees
PAPA KAURI	Place of kauri
PAPA KŌPURU	Place of fragrant moss (used as a scent)
PAPA KŌRITO	Place of liliaceous plants with young (heart) leaves
PAPA KŌWHAI	Place of kōwhai
PAPA MAIRE	Place of the maire
PAPA MĀNUKA	Place of manuka
PAPA RANGIORA	Place of Rangiora
PAPA RĀTĀ	Place of rātā
PAPA RAUPONGA	Place of the frond of the silver tree fern
PAPA RIMU	Place of rimu
PAPA TAWA	Place of tawa
PAPA TOETOE	Place of the toetoe reed
PAPA TŌTARA	Place of the totara
PAPA TŌWAI	Place of the tōwai

Animal life at the place

PAPA HUIA	Place of the huia
PAPA KANAE	Place of the mullet
PAPA KERERŪ	Place of the wood pigeon
PAPA KŌIRO	Place of the conger eel
PAPA KŌKŌ	Place of the tui
PAPA KŌURA	Place of the crayfish
PAPA KURĪ	Place of the dogs
PAPA MOA	Place of the moa
PAPA TAHORA	Place of a small species of duck
PAPA TŌREA	Place of stilts or oyster catchers
PAPA WEKA	Place of the weka

Descriptions of the place itself

PAPA HINA	Grey or pale place
PAPA HUAKINA	Place which has been opened up
PAPA KAI	Place of eating, or where there is a food resource
PAPA KIRI	Place which is stony and spread out
PAPA KŌHATU	Place of the stone or rocky place
PAPA KURA	Place of red earth
PAPA NUI	Place of a broad expanse
PAPA ROA	Place of a long expanse
PAPA RUA	Second place or the place of food storage pits
PAPA TAHI	First place
PAPA TEA	Place of open space
PAPA TIKA	Place which is straight or flat
PAPA UKU	Place of clay
PAPA WHERO	Place of red earth

The association of people with the place

PAPA A KURA	Place belonging to Kura
PAPA AROHA	Place of pity or compassion
PAPA A TARAIA	Place belonging to Taraia
PAPA A TARINUKU	Place belonging to Tarinuku
PAPA A TE HIWERA	Place belonging to Te Hiwera
PAPA A TIHI	Place belonging to Tihi

PAPA A TIRI	Place belonging to Tiri
PAPA HAUĀ	Place of being lame, or angry without cause, or without spirit, or cowardly (haua has these several meanings)
PAPA Ō KAHU	Place of Kahu
PAPA Ō KAREWA	Place of Karewa
PAPA Ō KAWHARU	Place of Kawharu
PAPA Ō WHAI	Place of Whai
PAPA Ō WHARE	Place of Whare
PAPA RŌRE	Place of a trap for rats
PAPA TĀNE	Place of men
PAPA TAPU	Sacred place
PAPA TŪ	Place to stand
PAPA WHAKAU	Place where something was drawn around someone or something

PUKE

The word puke means a small hill. In place names it generally means 'the hill of' or 'the hill where'.

The types of vegetation found on the hill

PUKE ARUHE	Hill of the bracken fern root (used as a food)
PUKE HĪNAU	Hill of the hīnau tree
PUKE KARO	Hill of the karo shrub (a type of pittosporum)
PUKE KAURI	Hill of the kauri
PUKE KIEKIE	Hill of the kiekie (used for its fibre and as a food)
PUKE KOHE	Hill of the kohe tree
PUKE KŌWHAI	Hill of kōwhai
PUKE KŪMARA	Hill of the kūmara
PUKE MĀHOE	Hill of the māhoe
PUKE MAIRE	Hill of the maire
PUKE MAKO	Hill of the mako shrub
PUKE MANUKA	Hill of manuka
PUKE MĀPOU	Hill of the māpou
PUKE MATAI	Hill of the matai
PUKE MIRO	Hill of the miro
PUKE MOKIMOKI	Hill of the mokimoki (a climbing fern used for scent)
PUKE RANGIORA	Hill of the Rangiora
PUKE RIMU	Hill of the rimu
PUKE TĀRATA	Hill of the tārata (a type of pittosporum)
PUKE TAWA	Hill of the tawa
PUKE TI	Hill of the cabbage tree
PUKE TOETOE	Hill of the toetoe reed
PUKE TŌI	Hill of the broad-leafed cabbage tree
PUKE TUTU	Hill of tutu
PUKE WHARANGI	Hill of wharangi (another name for rangiora)
PUKE WHARARIKI	Hill of wharariki (mountain flax)
PUKE WHAU	Hill of the whau tree

Animal life on the hill

PUKE HOIHO	Hill of the yellow-eyed penguin
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PUKE HUIA	Hill of the huia
PUKE KĀHŪ	Hill of the hawk
PUKE KĀKĀ	Hill of the kākā
PUKE KĀKĀRIKI	Hill of the parakeet
PUKE KĀRARA (NGĀRARA)	Hill of the reptile or lizard
PUKE KĀREA (KAREAREA)	Hill of the bush hawk
PUKE KIWI	Hill of the kiwi
PUKE KŌTARE	Hill of the kingfisher
PUKE KOUKOU	Hill of the morepork owl
PUKE MANU	Hill of birds
PUKE MOKO	Hill of the lizards
PUKE TĪTĪ	Hill of the mutton bird
PUKE TIU	Hill of the native thrush
PUKE TŪI	Hill of the tūi (parson bird)
PUKE WEKA	Hill of the weka

Descriptions of the hill itself

PUKE ANGIHAU	Hill of gentle breezes
PUKE ARENGA	Hill with caverns
PUKE HĀMOAMOA	Hill of clay
PUKE HINA	Grey hill
PUKE ITI	Small hill
PUKE KOHU	Hill of mists, misty hill
PUKE KŌHUHU	Hill where a spring of water wells up
PUKE KOIKOI	Sharp pointed hill
PUKE KŌMĀ	Whitish hill
PUKE KŌHATU	Hill of stones or rocky hill
PUKE KURA	Red hill or hill of reddish earth
PUKE MAKARIRI	Cold hill
PUKE MANGUMANGU	Black hill
PUKE MĀORI	Ordinary hill
PUKE MĀRAMA	Hill with a clear view
PUKE MATEKEO	Frosty hill or hill of frosts
PUKE MIMIHAU	Hill of passing showers
PUKE MOKEMOKE	Lonely hill or hill which stands alone
PUKE MOREMORE	Plain and bare hill
PUKE MURI	Hill to the north
PUKE MUTU	The last hill, the hill at the end
PUKE NGAHU	Hill with or on a point or promontory
PUKE NINIHI	Steep hill
PUKE TEA	White or clear hill
PUKE TIHI	Pointed hill
PUKE TIKA	Hill with a flat top
PUKE TOA	Stormy or strong hill
PUKE TOHA	Hill which is spread out
PUKE TORO	Hill which stretches out or is extended
PUKE TŪRUA	Hill of a volcanic stone prized for use in umu
PUKE WAO	Forested hill
PUKE WHERO	Red hill or hill of red earth

The association of people with the hill

PUKE ĀHUA	Hill of an appearance or taking form
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PUKE A KURA	Hill belonging to Kura
PUKE A KURĪ	Hill belonging to Kurī
PUKE A MARU	Hill belonging to Maru
PUKE A MUKU	Hill belonging to Muku
PUKE ARIKI	Hill of chiefs
PUKE ATUA	Hill of the gods
PUKE HOKO	Hill when an exchange or barter took place
PUKE HŌU	Hill where initiation rites were performed (hou can also mean just cold)
PUKE HURUHURU	Hill of feathers (gathered for adornment)
PUKE ĪNOI	Hill where prayers were said or the gods invoked
PUKE KAIKAPO	Hill where something happened suddenly or quickly
PUKE KAI KIORE	Hill where rats were eaten
PUKE KAI TARO	Hill where taro was eaten
PUKE KĀPIA	Hill where kauri gum was gathered
PUKE KAWA	Hill of bitterness or a bitter event
PUKE KINO	Hill of bad behaviour
PUKE KI WAITAHA	Hill towards Waitaha
PUKE KŌWHETEWHE	Hill where murmuring was heard
PUKE MĀROHIA	Hill where people were made strong or sturdy (as warriors) or acted as warriors
PUKE MATAWAI	Hill where someone was filled with tears
PUKE MOTĪTĪ	Hill where something was abolished or wiped out
PUKE Ō KAHU	Hill of Kahu
PUKE TAPU	Sacred hill
PUKE TIRITIRI	Hill where something was apportioned or shared out
PUKE TIRO	Hill from which the land was surveyed or viewed
PUKE TOHE	Hill where someone persisted or acted with determination
PUKE TŌPŪ	Hill where people assembled in a body
PUKE TUKUTUKU	Hill where something was let go or given up
PUKE TŪREHU	Hill of the tūrehu, a light-haired people
PUKE TŪROA	Hill of something longstanding or well established
PUKE URI	Hill of a descendant

Here are some shorter lists of names which begin with a word that refers to some physical feature of the landscape which we have not divided up into different classes like the much longer lists above.

RAE

Rae is a promontory or headland

RAE HORE	Bare or bald headland
RAE HUKA	Cold headland
RAE KĀHŪ	Headland frequented by hawks
RAE O WHAKAARI	Headland belonging to Whakaari or named after him
RAE PARE	Promontory which diverts or divides, possibly the wind
RAE PŌHATU	Stony or rocky headland
RAE PUKU	Protuberant headland, headland which sticks out
RAE RĀTĀ	Headland on which rātā trees are growing
RAE TAHI	Single or one headland

RAE TAKAHIA	Headland where there was much coming and going, with a well-worn pathway
RAE TEA	White or clear promontory
RAE TIHI	High or prominent headland
RAE TOKA	Headland of solid rock

WHANGA

Whanga means a stretch of water as in a bay, a bight or a large river mouth. It has wider meanings than just 'harbour' which is how it is often translated.

WHANGA EHU	River of turbid waters
WHANGA ITI	Small bay
WHANGA MAIRE	Bay in which fish are found
WHANGA MARINO	Large river of calm waters
WHANGA MATĀ	Bay or harbour where obsidian is found
WHANGA MOA	Bay where a type of stone which occurs in spherical masses is found
WHANGA MŌMONA	Bay which is rich or fertile
WHANGA MUA	Bay where there is an ancient sacred place
WHANGA MŪMŪ	Bay of boisterous winds
WHANGA NUI	A large expanse of water as at a river mouth
WHANGA NUI Ō PARUA	Large bay of Parua
WHANGA Ō KENO	Bay of Keno
WHANGA PAPATIKI	Bay where flounder is plentiful
WHANGA PARĀOA	Bay of whales
WHANGA PARAPARA	Bay of dirty water
WHANGA PĒ	Bay of the roe of fish
WHANGA POA	Bay where food is plentiful (because planted there)
WHANGA POTO	Short bay
WHANGA POUA	Bay of poua, a particular type of shellfish
WHANGA RĀ	Bay of sunshine
WHANGA RAE	Bay partly enclosed by a headland
WHANGA RAHI	Large bay
WHANGA RĀTĀ	Bay lined with rātā trees
WHANGA REI	Bay belonging to Reitu, an early northern ancestress
WHANGA RINO	A wide river where a particular type of eel, rino, is found
WHANGA RIPO	Bay or large river with whirlpools
WHANGA ROA	Long Bay
WHANGA RURU	Sheltered bay
WHANGA RĀNE	Bay or waters of men
WHANGA TE AU	Channel with a strong current
WHANGA TIKITIKI	Waters frequented by the spotted shag
WHANGA TOETOE	Waters beside which there is an abundance of the toetoe reed

PARI

In these place names, pari means a cliff or precipice. It also means the flow of the tide, but in all these names its meaning is cliff.

PARI HĀKOAKOA	Cliff where fluttering shearwater or southern skua gather
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PARI HĀMORE	Barren cliff
PARI HAUHAU	Sheltering cliff
PARI KĀNAPA	Gleaming or conspicuous cliff
PARI KĀRANGARANGA	Echoing cliff
PARI KAWAU	Cliff where shags gather
PARI KAWA	Unpleasant or forbidding cliff
PARI KINO	Evil or unpleasant cliff
PARI KOHIKOHI	Cliff at the foot of which gather kohikohi, trumpeter fish
PARI KORI TAUĀ	Cliff where there was a movement of warriors
PARI KŌTUKU	Cliff where the kōtuku, white heron, gathered
PARI MATĀ	Cliff of flint, quartz or obsidian
PARI NUI	High cliff (this is one name where pari could mean the flow of the tide; pari nui would be a strong tidal flow)
PARI Ō KĀRIWA	The cliff of or belonging to Kāriwa
PARI Ō KENA	The cliff of or belonging to Kena
PARI Ō TE ATUA	Cliff of the gods or supernatural beings or object of high regard
PARI PĀHEKEHEKE	Slippery cliff
PARI TEA	White cliff
PARI TĪTAHĪ (TĪTAHA)	Slanting cliff
PARI TŪ	Upstanding or upright cliff
PARI TUTU	Cliff overgrown with tutu
PARI WHERO	Red cliff

ANA

Ana means a cave.

ANA KAI TANGATA	Cave where human flesh was eaten or where people ate, depending on the circumstances in which the cave was named
ANA KĀKATA	Brown or rusty coloured cave
ANA KAWAU	Cave of shags
ANA KINA	Dark cave
ANA KŌHĀ	Cave where fish was prepared for drying
ANA MĀ	White cave
ANA Ō HINERANGI	Cave of Hinerangi
ANA Ō PAIKEA	Cave of Paikea
ANA Ō TE HURUHURU	Cave of Te Huruhuru
ANA Ō WAKINO	Cave of Wakino or of bad times (wa kino)
ANA PAI	Pleasant cave
ANA PUA	Smoky or hazy cave (pua has many other meanings, depending on the context)
ANA PUHIPUHI	Cave where the wind blows frequently
ANA PUTA	Cave with an escape hole
ANA RAKE	Barren cave
ANA TAKAPŪ	Cave of gannets
ANA TĪTĪ	Cave of mutton birds
ANA TOHIA	Cave where certain ceremonies were performed before or after a battle or where a baptismal ceremony was performed

ANA TOKI	Cave exposed to dew
ANA TŪPAPAKU	Cave of the dead
ANA AU	Cave of rapids or fast-moving water
ANA URE URE Ō	
MANIAPOTO	Cave where Maniapoto demonstrated his courage
ANA URA	Cave showing red or brown colouration
ANA WEKA	Cave of the weka
ANA WHATA	Cave in which an elevated stage was built to store food
ANA WHENUA	Cave where an afterbirth was hidden or buried

To tell you the truth, it was hard to know where to stop making these lists of names which begin with a word that identifies some feature of the landscape and carry on to describe that feature in some way. So here, to round this section out, are a few more words you may come across as parts of descriptive place names of your district. We have given just one or two examples of each, and also drawn attention to some pitfalls you may encounter.

TAI the tide; but not all names which begin with Tai refer to the sea.

TANGI to weep or mourn; you will find places called both Wai Tangi and Tangi Wai.

TAHI and RUA one and two; you will find these occurring as suffixes in some place names, but rua can be a trap because it also occurs in place names with the meaning of a food storage pit.

ITI and NUI big and little; sometimes you will find the same name with these two different endings close by each other.

WERA hot; Tara Wera and Wai Wera are probably genuine names but Maungawera could be a name that was coined later by Pākehā.

HAU the wind or breath; Hau Raki and Hau Roko (Hau Rongo) are examples

RANGI rangi has many meanings; in place names it will usually be a reference to the heavens or the sky. In the southern dialect rangi becomes raki, so we have Puketeraki and Rakiura.

AHI fire; Ahi Para and Ahi Aruhe are examples.

ARA track or pathway, as in Ara Moana, Ara Moho and Ara Nui; but in ancient times ara also referred to a 'star path' or 'navigation track', so it is worth looking carefully at any names with ara in them, as they may be ancient names and difficult to translate.

KAI to eat; this is one Māori word which almost all New Zealanders know. It occurs in many place names, for example Kai Para and Kai Kōura. But if you refer to the *Māori Oral History Atlas*, you will find that both these names also have traditional histories which explain why the names occur at those particular places.

ONE a sandy beach, as in One Hunga and One Rahi, and also in Petone, the correct form of which is Pito One.

URU a grove or clump of trees.

MOTU an island, but also an isolated group of trees, growing as an 'island' of taller vegetation in scrub or grassland. Motu Kārara, in Canterbury, is now high and dry because the level of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) is lower than it was in times past, when the rocky outcrop would have been surrounded by swamp and open water. This is an example of how knowing what a Māori name means can bring to your attention interesting geographical changes that have occurred since the name was first given.

- WHARE a house, is another Māori word most New Zealanders are familiar with, but it is likely that many place names which have this word in them are late nineteenth or early twentieth century new coinings.
- ROTO lake. Roto Rua is a familiar place name, but to know why it is 'lake number two', you need to know the traditional history, which is given in the *Oral History Atlas*.
- MOANA lake or sea. Wai Kare Moana is a name which has given rise to endless discussion about what the first two parts of the name actually mean when used together like that.
- PAE horizon, ridge or hill.
- AWA river.
- HOKI to return. Hoki Tika and Hoki Ānga are probably both ancient names. The origin of Hoki Ānga is given in the *Oral History Atlas*.
- WAI There are probably more Māori place names containing the word wai, water, than any other single element. This is understandable because New Zealand is well watered and its swamps, streams and rivers were important to the Māori both as means of getting around the country and as sources of food.

BEYOND YOUR OWN DISTRICT

We have suggested in this booklet that the best way for you to approach Māori place names is to work on the origins and meanings of the names which you find in your own locality or district. This is probably the only way to keep the task manageable. But in many districts, you will come across names that can only be properly understood in the context of names which occur in other parts of the country.

There are several examples of this in the *Māori Oral History Atlas* which is the companion volume to this booklet. There you will find that names associated with Kupe are to be found in widely separated parts of the North Island, from Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait) right up to Northland. Names associated with perhaps the greatest of the Māori explorers, Tamatea Pōkai Whenua, range even more widely, from Northland down to Fiordland and Foveaux Strait. Another story in the *Oral History Atlas*, about the journeys made by Ihenga and his uncle Kahumatamomoe, links names in the Roto Rua region with names in Northland. In the South Island you will find names given by the early tupuna Rākaihautū from the top of the Island to the bottom.

You should always keep in mind that names which occur in your own district may have fascinating links with names in other parts of the country and often you will need to know about these other names in order to make proper sense of your own local names.

You will find the lists of these island-wide or country-wide names associated with the early explorers and travellers named above in the *Oral History Atlas*. Here we add a list of just some the names which are associated with an even earlier discoverer and explorer, Maui. This list by no means exhausts the Maui names that occur in New Zealand, but they underline the point that some names you may find in your district need to be understood in a context of names which occur in other parts of the country.

NAMES COMMEMORATING MAUI

TE WAKA Ō MAUI	The canoe of Maui, an ancient name for the South Island (Te Waipounamu)
TE PUNGA Ō TE WAKA Ō MAUI	The anchor of the canoe of Maui, an ancient name for Stewart Island (Rakiura)
TE IKA A MAUI	The Fish of Maui, North Island
TE TAPUWAE Ō MAUI	The sacred footprint of Maui, Divide Hill in Chalky Inlet
TE REREKA Ō MAUI	The great leap of Maui, the hills behind Chalky Inlet
TIHE MAURI ORA	Maui's axe, the hills behind Big Bay
TE HEHE and EHENA	Maui's sailing master and his assistant, Anita Bay
TE MATAU A MAUI	Maui's fish hook, Hawke's Bay
TE KAUA E Ō MAUI	Maui's jawbone, the southern tip of Hawke's Bay
TE HIKU O TE IKA A MAUI	The tail of the fish of Maui, the northern peninsula of New Zealand
TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MAUI	The head of the fish of Maui, the Wellington area
TE IKA ROA A MAUI	The long fish of Maui, from north of Wellington up to Taranaki

WATCH OUT FOR NAMES WITH NGA IN THEM

Many New Zealand place names begin with the three letters nga. Some of these names may give you problems because the nga can be either the article 'the' (plural) or it can be part of the whole word. This is a good example of why it will be sound practice to start writing down Māori place names as separate words — then the confusion between the two different sorts of 'nga' names should not arise. So:

NGAERE is a single word meaning to quake or a bog; if you break it down to Nga Ere you might end up trying to make ere (which does not occur in Māori) into something else to give the name its meaning.

NGĀ RUA WAHIA means the storage pits opened up (or possibly broken into or pillaged, you would need to find out the story of the naming to be sure which). Here the ngā means simply the, in just the same way as 'The' occurs as part of the English place names The Brothers or The Notches.

NGĀ

Ngā as the plural 'the'

NGĀ AWA PŪRUA	The meeting of the rivers
NGĀ HĀPUA A TŌ	The valleys belonging to Tō
NGĀ HARURU	The dull or heavy sounds
NGĀ HINA	The grey hair
NGĀ HINA Ō TE PUREWA	The grey hair of Te Purewa
NGĀ HINA PŌURI	The events which gave rise to much sadness
NGĀ HIWI E RUA	The two hills
NGĀ HŪHĀ	The thighs
NGĀ HUINGA	The gatherings or assemblies
NGĀ KĀHŪ	The hawks or the cloaks
NGĀ KĀKAHU	A salt water shellfish or a species of whale or large dolphin

NGĀ KANOHI	The eyes
NGĀ KAPUA	The clouds
NGĀ KARA	The old men
NGĀ KĀRAPŪ	The north winds
NGĀ KĀROA	The difficult coastal landing places
NGĀ KAWAU	The shags
NGĀ KAWE KAI TI	The cabbage tree, of several varieties, used as food
NGĀ KENGO	The dark nights
NGĀ KIRI PARAURI	The brown skinned
NGĀ KORO	The boys (koro has many meanings of which this is only one)
NGĀ KŌROA	The forefingers
NGĀ KŌUKA	The cabbage trees
NGĀ KUKU	The mussels
NGĀ KŪKŪ	The wood pigeons
NGĀ KUTA	The reeds (of a particular species)
NGĀ MĀHANGA	The twins
NGĀ MATAI	The matai trees
NGĀ MAKawe O MĀHU	Māhu's hair
NGĀ MOTU	The islands
NGĀ NGARU A KUPE	Kupe's waves
NGĀ PAIAKA	The roots
NGĀ PĀKORO	The small fenced enclosures
NGĀ PARI	The cliffs
NGĀ POU A TŪ	The posts of Tū
NGĀ PŌURI	The black or dark (lakes)
NGĀ PUKE	The hills
NGĀ PUKE RIKI	The small hills
NGĀ PUKE TŪRUA	The two hills standing together
NGĀ PUNA	The springs
NGĀ PUNA A TAMA	Tama's springs
NGĀ PUNGA	The anchors or eel baskets
NGĀ RĀKAU	
WHAKARARA	The trees standing in parallel lines
NGĀ RANGI	
PŪKOHUKOHU	The misty days
NGĀ ROTO	The (group of) lakes
NGĀ TĀHUNA	The sand dunes
NGĀ TAI PARI RUA	The twice-flowing tides
NGĀ TAI RAHI	The big tides
NGĀ TAMĀHINE	The daughters
NGĀ TAMĀHINE E RUA	The two daughters
NGĀ TAMARIKI	The children
NGĀ TAMARAKI A	
PARERA	The children of Parera (ducklings)
NGĀ TAMAWAHINE	The east wind or tide
NGĀ TAPUWAI KIWI	The footprints of the kiwi or of someone named Kiwi
NGĀ TAUMARE	The flax kilt worn by children
NGĀ ŪRANGA	The canoe landing places

NGĀ WEHENGĀ	The divisions
NGĀ WEKĀ	The weka
NGĀ WHAKAWHITI	The crossings
NGĀ WHĀNAU A MAAHU	The families of Maahu
NGĀ WHĀNAU ŌRUAPANI	The families of Ruapani

Ngā as part of the whole word

NGAERE	To quake or a bog
NGAHERE	The forest
NGAIŌ	The ngaiō tree
NGAIŌ NUI	The large ngaiō tree
NGANGANA	Red or glowing
NGĀRAHU	The ashes
NGĀRARA	The lizard or insect
NGAU MATAU	To take the bait on a hook
NGAU O TE KĀKĀ	The peck of the kākā
NGĀWHĀ	The hot springs

Ngā means 'the' when the word following is plural. The singular form for the is the familiar te, which also occurs in many place names throughout the country, like TE PUKE, TE KUITI, TE APITI and so on.

IN CONCLUSION

YOU WILL NEVER COME TO THE END and SOMETIMES YOU WILL BE COMPLETELY STUMPED

Perhaps the main reason you will never come to the end of unravelling the stories of the Māori place names of your district is the sheer number of names. At the beginning of this booklet we stressed that the Māori covered the landscape of New Zealand with a dense mat of place names, giving a name to almost every distinct geographical feature.

In recent years an inventory has been made of the surviving Māori place names of Fiordland. This is an area of Aotearoa which never supported as large a population in early times as other more favourable parts of the country further north. Yet investigation uncovered hundreds upon hundreds of names for Fiordland, and the same would have been true for every part of the country, even more so for the parts of the country which were more densely populated, and more vigorously contested in the centuries before the arrival of the Pākeha. These parts of the country tended also to be the parts of the country favoured by the newcomers, so there is often a much thicker overlay of English place names to peel away than there is for a place like Fiordland. But if you are persistent, you will find as many names for every part of the country as the place names inventory found for Fiordland.

But you will also never come to the end of an investigation of Māori place names because sometimes you will come across 'problems' for which, at least at present, we have no answers. For some, perhaps, we will never have answers because the traditional knowledge that would allow us to establish

the origin or meaning of the name has been lost forever.

"The origins of traditional place names are often cloudy and uncertain" wrote one modern investigator of the meanings of Māori place names, and you will have to accept that sometimes the uncertainty will remain.

In the *Oral History Atlas*, for example, the well-known name Wakatipu (which should probably be Whakatipu) is identified as one of the names given by the explorer credited with 'creating' (that is discovering and naming) the Southern Lakes. A number of features in the area, not just the lake which bears the name today, have Whakatipu as part of their name. But the word has baffled historians for several generations. No-one has been able to come up with an acceptable translation or explanation for the name; there appears to be no solid, authentic traditional material which will clarify the word's origin or meaning. The slender hope in this case is that the name will turn out to be a Hawaiki name and that somebody will some day stumble across a place name in the Islands, or learn of some ancient Pacific tradition, which allows us to trace the origin of the name. But until then one of New Zealand's best-known Māori place names must remain a puzzle.

A puzzle of exactly the same sort is found in the Wellington area. There, Te Awa Kairangi is an old name for the Hutt River and Te Motu Kairangi an old name for the Miramar Peninsula, which was formerly an island, before earthquakes occurring after the Māori had settled the area raised the isthmus of land which joins Miramar to the mainland. A great ridge-top pa of Ngāi Tara on the Miramar Peninsula was called Te Whetu Kairangi. But no adequate translation of the word 'Kairangi' has ever been advanced and no adequate traditional evidence has yet surfaced to explain how the places came to be given that name. Like Whakatipu, it must remain, at least for the meantime, a mystery.

You will probably encounter similar names whose meaning or origin must remain obscure among the Māori place names of your own district.

In the story about Rākaihautū in the *Oral History Atlas* the old name for the Canterbury Plains is discussed, Ngā Pākihi Whakatekata a Waitaha. The 'problem' word in this name is Whakatekata. Some authorities in the past have taken the element teka, which can refer to a dart used in divination or mean false or deceitful and suggested the origin of the name could have something to do with distances and appearances on the vast open plains being misleading or deceiving. But it seems more probable that the word Whakatekata means more simply 'the seedbed', which gives a much more acceptable meaning for the name of the Plains (pākihi) where the Waitaha (an old tribe) grew as a people.

Timaru is another well-known name that has given rise to endless discussion. The easiest way out is to say it is simply a corruption of Te Maru, which means the place of shelter. This seems to make some sense because

the reefs and low headlands at Timaru did afford some shelter on an otherwise exposed coastline. Other people broke the name up into ti and maru and suggested the name had something to do with shelter afforded by, or available at, a place where there were cabbage trees growing. This, again, is plausible because the ti or cabbage tree was common in South Canterbury.

But taking the maru part of the name to mean shelter has put everyone on the wrong track, for Maru is also a proper name, of an important tupuna of the Ngai Tahu people and both Ti Maru and O A Maru are names, perhaps contracted or corrupted in some way, which relate to the tupuna Maru and have nothing to do with shelter or protection.

In these and many other cases, the best you can do is consider the various alternatives, and say something like “the most likely meaning, or origin, of the name is . . .” and leave it at that.

WHERE YOU SHOULD GO FOR MORE INFORMATION

To end this booklet we have listed some of the books that will help you track down the origins and meanings of Māori place names. Some of the books should be used with caution as they are not always reliable. Many other books not listed here contain information relating to smaller areas, districts and localities rather than regions. Your local library should be able to tell you of further books that will help you find out the origins or meanings of your local Māori place names.

And always remember that this is an area of study in which not all the information you will need can be found in books. The answers to many of problems you encounter may be found only in the surviving oral traditions of your district. You will have to supplement your use of books and other written sources with approaches to local tribal scholars.

You will also need to have at your elbow a Māori dictionary. The best of these is H. W. Williams *A Dictionary of the Māori Language*. At first you will probably be confused by the many different meanings some common Māori words have, but as you gradually become familiar with the *Dictionary* and with how Māori place names are put together you will find Williams *Dictionary* a reference book you can't do without.

Apart from a dictionary of the Māori language, you will need to refer to maps of your district published by the Department of Survey and Land Information and the same Department's *Gazetteer of New Zealand Place Names*, of which your local library should have a copy.

General Books

Johannes Andersen	<i>Māori Place-names</i>
Elsdon Best	"Topographical Nomenclature of the Māori", 1919 <i>New Zealand Yearbook</i>
George Grey	<i>Polynesian Mythology</i>
G. J. Griffiths	40 Common Elements in Māori Place Names
A. W. Reed	<i>A Dictionary of Māori Place Names</i>
A. W. Reed	<i>Treasury of Māori Exploration</i>
L. S. Rickard	<i>Historic Place Names of New Zealand</i>
John White	<i>The Ancient History of the Māori</i> 6 vols
H. W. Williams	"A Plea for the Scientific Study of Māori Names" <i>Transactions of the New Zealand Institute</i> , vol XLV, 1912

Tribal Histories

E. Best	<i>Tuhoe</i>
J. Grace	<i>Tuwharetoa</i>
L. G. Kelly	<i>Tainui</i>
J. McEwen	<i>Rangitane</i>
J. H. Mitchell	<i>Takitimu</i>
D. Stafford	<i>Te Arawa</i>

Northland and Auckland

G. M. Fowlds	<i>History Around Auckland's Hills</i>
G. M. Fowlds	<i>The Māori Association with the volcanic hills and craters of the Auckland Isthmus</i>

- G. Graham *Māori Place Names of Auckland*
 S. Percy Smith *The Peopling of the North*
 D. R. Simmons *Māori Auckland*
- Waikato**
 B. Morgan *Historic Māori Place Names from the Waipa River to Mokau*
 F. L. Phillips *Landmarks of Tainui*
- Central North Island, Rotorua and Bay of Plenty**
 J. Cowan *Māori Place Names of the Thermal Regions and their Meanings*
 J. Cowan *The Tongariro National Park*
 A. W. Reed *Legends of Rotorua and the Hot Lakes*
 D. Stafford *Māori Place Names of the Thermal Regions and their Meanings*
- Taranaki and Wanganui**
 T. W. Downes *Old Whanganui*
 S. Percy Smith *History and Traditions of the West Coast*
- Wellington, Wairarapa and Hawkes Bay**
 G. L. Adkin *Horowhenua, Its Māori Place-names and their Topographic and Historical Background*
 G. L. Adkin *The Great Harbour of Tara*
 E. Best *The Discovery and Rediscovery of Wellington Harbour*
 J. D. H. Buchanan *The Māori History and Place Names of Hawkes Bay*
 W. Carkeek *The Kapiti Coast*
- South Island General**
 B. Brailsford *Greenstone Trails*
 B. Brailsford *The Tattooed Land*
 J. W. Stack *South Island Māoris*
 W. A. Taylor *Lore and History of the South Island Māori*
 T. T. Tikao *Tikao Talks*
- Marlborough and Nelson**
 W. J. Elvy *Kaikōura Coast Māori History, Traditions and Place-names*
 W. J. Elvy *Kei Puta Te Wairau: A History of Marlborough in Māori Times*
 H. A. H. Insull *Marlborough Place Names*
 J. D. Peart *Old Tasman Bay*
- Canterbury**
 J. C. Andersen *Place Names of Banks Peninsula*
 J. Herries Beattie *Māori Place-names of Canterbury*
 A. Couch *Rāpaki Remembered*
- West Coast**
 G. G. M. Mitchell *Māori Place Names of Buller County*
- Otago and Southland**
 J. Herries Beattie *Doubtful Sound*
 J. Herries Beattie *Māori Lore of Lake, Alp and Fiord*
 J. Herries Beattie *Māori Place-names of Otago*
 J. Herries Beattie *Moriori: The Morioris of the South Island*
 J. Herries Beattie *Our Southernmost Māori*

J. Herries Beattie	<i>The Māoris and Fiordland</i>
J. Herries Beattie	<i>Traditions and Legends: Collected from the Natives of Murihiku</i>
G. Griffiths and M. Goodall	<i>Māori Dunedin</i>
J. Hall-Jones	<i>Fiordland Place-names</i>
B. H. Howard	<i>Rakiura</i>
W. H. S. Roberts	<i>Place names and early history of Otago and Southland</i>

Southern Dialects

B. Biggs	<i>The Māori Language Past and Present</i>
A. C. and N. C. Begg	<i>The World of John Boulton</i>
R. Harlow	<i>A Word List of South Island Māori</i>
E. Shortland	<i>The Southern Districts of New Zealand</i>

(These books will help people enquiring into South Island Māori place names, the spellings of which often reflect southern pronunciations and so differ from spellings you will find in standard dictionaries.)

Library and Manuscript Sources

In the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington are some important unpublished sources which you may need to refer to to solve particular puzzles.

H. J. Fletcher "Index to Māori Names", 3 vols, typescript
Papers and Maps from the 1940 Centennial Atlas Project, Department of Internal Affairs

J. C. Andersen	<i>Card Index of Māori Place Names</i>
A. W. Reed	<i>Card Index of Māori Place Names</i>

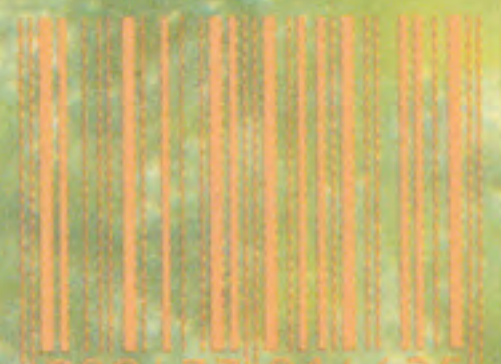
Finally,

Remember that your most important, and most authoritative, sources will almost always be the kaumātua and Māori scholars of your district. You will be able to find out who they are from the local tribal trust board or incorporation or from the local office of Te Tira Ahu Iwi (the Iwi Transition Agency) or Manatū Māori (the Ministry of Māori Affairs). But when you approach these people you must remember that most of them lead busy lives and also that you are asking them to pass on what they may regard as "sacred knowledge". You must respect their wishes to be sure that they are not passing this knowledge on into the wrong hands or for uses they may think are not correct.



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