Not only things, but words as well have mana. This preeminently applies to ritual words, but also more ordinary speech has mana. The mana of a story appears in its being remembered and understood (see p. 79). We have also heard about Hotunui that he feared his tupu would vanish with the mana of his speech.¹ The mana of speech certainly includes also its being understood and remembered, but here especially that it should be obeyed.

It is of particular interest that a person’s name (ingoa) has mana;² for his name as well as his possessions contains man’s life. We shall therefore investigate the position of the name in Maori culture in a similar way to that of possessions.

Man extends into his name. What this means appears from the story about Ruatapu, who killed a dog named like his elder brother, or to—be more exact—his half-brother Kahutiarangi. Whereas the latter was of noble family on both sides Ruatapu had a slave-woman for his mother, so that only the father was common to the brothers. Ruatapu’s deed aroused his father’s disapproval, and he said to his son: “It is not meet that you should kill your elder

¹.  White 1888a: 188.
brother’s name, for he, Kahutiarangi, is my ornament (lit. comb); but you are only my child by a slave-woman.” An actual conflict arose when a woman was told that “The name of your son Pepe has been killed by Toenga, and I saw him and his wife Potae make a fire and eat part of it.” Here it was a pig which bore the son’s name. Long explanations are really superfluous, for man is in his name and an insult to this involves an insult to man.

Therefore it is quite natural that name and mana can be paralleled as we have seen above, p. 78 f.

We can determine more closely what part of man lives in the name. It is honour, reputation: “If Topine had been killed it would have been name (i.e. renown) for Te Rauparaha.” Te Rauparaha in return had something else which might win a reputation for him: “Te Rauparaha’s name (reputation) with these tribes was ‘a god, a European.’” In such passages, the name (ingoa) is nearly synonymous with “fame” (rongo), but the name includes fame as part of man’s life, associated with the name, whereas rongo only denotes his fame as something which is heard (rongo: hear).

Just because man himself extends into his name and reputation, it becomes something else and more than mere vanity to wish for a great and widely known name. It was true greatness in Te Rauparaha when his “heroic name wandered wide.”

The ambitious person must set his heart on his name being mentioned far and wide and not being obscured by those of others. Very few, indeed, will go so far as the deceased hero who heard that his son’s reputation obscured his own and therefore in full armour rose from the realm of the dead in order to assert himself in single combat with his son. But the living might also go rather far.

Ruataupare was Tuwhakiriora’s first wife. She grieved because his children by her and another wife were always mentioned as his, whereas her name was never mentioned. Finally she fled to her own kinship group and encouraged it to capture a piece of land on which she had a claim as an inheritance from her ancestors. This was done “and the name of Ruataupare was now loudly proclaimed and feared throughout the whole district of Tokomaru.”

5. Smith 1910b: 5.
In general, women presumably did not claim that their own name should be exalted as much as that, but the more jealously they watched those of their husbands. When a man set out on an expedition of vengeance on his wife’s cousins, she told him how he might recognize them, in order that others should not kill them, “and the name (i.e. honour) should be taken by these other men in the army, but in order that it should be taken by himself alone...”\(^\text{10}\) (Here *ingoa* can only hardly be translated by “name,” although we understand what is meant.)

The set phrase for “winning renown” is *kawe ingoa*, “bring oneself a name.”\(^\text{11}\)

The name thus can be taken or won. However, it may also *tupu* “unfold its nature.” *Toarangatira* had built a very large house, therefore “Toarangatira’s name unfolded itself (*ka tupu te ingoa*) because of his house.”\(^\text{12}\) No doubt this means that the name spread among people, but also that it literally grew and became greater.

The name in fact is not only a means of identification, but it has quite another dimension, that of contents, therefore the Maori may use an expression like “great name” literally. He says e.g. “great name” about what we should term “a comprehensive concept.” In a passage a man asks: “What is the name of the sea which stretches off this place, right from within and right out, that is its whole great name?” The people of the place answered: “The great name is Hauraki, but Tikapa is the water near us.”\(^\text{13}\)

Inversely the narrower concept is the small name. The entrance to the underworld, Te Reinga, is part of the underworld, Rarohenga; therefore it says, “This place is a small name within Rarohenga,” i.e. a smaller area.\(^\text{14}\) Our expression “concept” is here rather lopsided; the idea is that the great name covers a great reality, not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. In a certain passage, a Maori has commented on the expression “ordinary trees” (*rakau maori*), mentioning some concrete examples and rounding off his explanation with the phrase “and the other trees with a small name. All that kind of trees are called ‘rakau maori’ as compared with the trees that possess a name.”\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{10}\) Tuwhawhakia 1896: 169.

\(^{11}\) E.g. Te Whetu 1894:17; Smith 1897: 62.

\(^{12}\) White 1888a: 94.

\(^{13}\) White 1888a: 33; cf. Whatahoro 1913: 31 and White 1888a: 36.

\(^{14}\) Whatahoro 1913: 39.

\(^{15}\) Hauraki Paora 1893: 116.
When referring to human beings and sometimes to things the great name means “renown,” but as made clear by the examples above, it is a matter of course to the Maori that the great name is due to, or rather is a corollary to, great qualities. *Ingoa nui,* “great name,” is often used about human beings. It may even be used as a verb, “obtain a great name.” Miru would not permit Ihenga and Rongomai to return from the underworld lest they should convey his ritual knowledge to the earth and obtain a great name in the world (*ka ingoa nui raua ki te ao*).  

*Ingoa nui* is, however, used most frequently as an adjective, meaning “famous;” *whai ingoa* is used in the same way.

The name is effective because there is life in it. It rankles in one’s enemies, as Tane’s name, Great-Tane-of-Heaven, provoked his enemy Whiro to anger.

In short, the name has *mana.* Whaitihua had two wives, *Apakura* and *Ruaputehanga.* Ruaputehanga was pregnant and one day took a fancy to eels. As the pregnant woman’s wishes for food were always complied with, if possible, her husband went eel-fishing. First he repeated an incantation with Ruaputehanga’s name; but the eels did not bite the bob; so he substituted Apakura’s name, the eels bit, and he took them to Ruaputehanga. When Apakura heard how the eels had been caught, she grew angry because “the fish that had been caught by the *mana* of her name were given to another woman.” The life which inspired the name so that it could put its will into the fish, is of course Apakura’s; the fish had a little of her life in them, therefore she grew angry.

On the whole, the name shows its *mana* particularly in ritual situations; there is special reason to mention its importance at births. In mythology the ritual of birth is instituted amongst others by *Tura,* who instructs his wife as follows: “If you think that the child will not come forth, you must recite: ‘Let one come to Aonui, let one come to Aoroa, let one come to Aotauira,’ and if you (still) do not give birth to a child, then call with my name: ‘Let one come to Tura.’”

18. E.g. White 1888a: 21; 1888b: 85; 131.
20. Whatahoro 1913: 44.
It might give rise to awkward scenes that the father’s name should be so effective at births. When Tumaro’s wife was to give birth to a child, he repeated *karakia* as usual. “Having exhausted his store of charms and repeated all the genealogies of his ancestors in vain, he began to suspect that something was wrong, and questioned his wife, who, after a little delay, confessed that one of his relations had been to her. ‘But who was it?’ he demanded. ‘Te Aohikuraki,’ she replied. The moment that name was uttered the child was born.”

The names of the ancestors are especially important in the rituals. The recitation of genealogies is an essential factor also in other rituals than the one used at births. Particularly important are the first links in the genealogies with the gods’ names of mythology; all greater rituals teem with them.

Even if the *mana* of the name is utilized especially in the rituals, it also asserts itself in profane situations. A pretty little scene from the time of immigration brings this out with a grace of its own.

During the Maoris’ fight with the aborigines a young woman among these was taken prisoner by Toikairakau. When the girl’s father, Pohokura, heard this, he went to Toikairakau and asked that she might be released so that she might return with him. Toikairakau answered, “She has my leave. When you take her to your home, let her be named Kairakau” (thus part of his own name, Toi-kairakau). Pohokura said, “It is well! But now you have mentioned yourself as a name for her take her; for your wife as well; for I understand that my child is honoured (*manaakitia*) by you.” When giving his name, he gives something of himself; he creates *mana*, exactly what is called *manaaki*, to honour. At the same time, he becomes greater himself, as the girl gets part of his life. Therefore it is quite natural that the father should offer her as Toikairakau’s wife. Indeed, she did get married, although not to Toikairakau, as the latter intended her for his grandson.

In a story about a priest who predicts many sons for a childless woman if she will name them after him, it is difficult to decide whether the naming takes place most in order to give the sons life, or in order to make the priest greater; but this is a doubleness which cannot be removed, because it is inherent in the very basis.

The man also gains strength from his own name. *Hua* and *Whiro* were two brothers who quarrelled about a tree in the forest, after which Hua felled
it and hollowed it out for a canoe; but as he and his people could not themselves pull it down to the shore, he asked Whiro to help him. The latter also came with his people; they pulled at the canoe while Whiro pronounced Hua’s name, but it did not stir. Whiro then pronounced his own name and the canoe was set in motion. There is, however, something elusive about the story since Whiro had arranged with his people beforehand that they should drag the canoe towards their own home, to a place where the road forked. There must have been some play-acting in that scene, a kind of temporary appropriation of the canoe. On the other hand, the play-acting seems to depend on the belief that the name was actually a strengthening. A less ambiguous scene seems to corroborate this: the brothers Maui were once throwing darts, and every time one of them threw a dart, he pronounced his name.

We hear the Maori pronounce his name at great moments. “I, Kahu-kakanui-a-Manaia, killed the first,” he might cry out, as it was a great honour to have killed the first enemy. Or, like Hakeke, who broke away from a greatly superior force, he might cry out, “I am Hakeke, the great Hakeke. You cannot capture me.”

One would hardly consider these single cases if they did not occur against the background that the Maori otherwise is very reluctant to mention his name. This reluctance may be connected with the fact that there is something insulting to a great man in his name and himself not being known. Gudgeon has an amusing story which shows this: One day a guest came to the chief Taipari.

He found him outside his house, but not knowing who he was, asked, ‘Where is Taipari?’ The old chief was annoyed at not being known, and perhaps at the abruptness of the question, and instantly indicated his slave Netana who was sitting a short distance from them, and said, ‘He is there.’ Consequent on this direction our chief went up to Netana with much ceremony, rubbed noses, and then entered into amicable conversation with the much puzzled old slave. When the real Taipari thought that this malicious joke had gone far enough, he ended the comedy by calling out, ‘Netana, let food be prepared for my guest.’ The visitor thus rudely awakened to a sense of his ridiculous position, made the best of his awkward mistake, for

27. White 1887b: 15.
31. Exceptions occur; see e.g. Grey 1855: 154; Stack 1877: 67.
he knew that he had not used the caution required in such cases.\(^{32}\)

In the legend about *Tinirau* and *Kae*, this motif plays a great part because those who are to wreak vengeance on *Kae* do not know him, but must resort to a stratagem in order to learn who is *Kae*.\(^{33}\)

The insult is, however, only one aspect of the matter and not even the most important one. In numerous scenes from Maori history we witness how a prominent Maori behaves if he is asked about his name. He evades in different ways, but otherwise takes the situation meekly. As meekness in matters of honour is no virtue from a Maori point of view, rather a sign of morbidity in the soul, the insulting factor cannot possibly be the fundamental constituent of the situation. Nor can it—as in the case of sacred names—be fear that the name should be known and perhaps used for sorcery; on the contrary the awkwardness of the situation is only resolved when the name is pronounced, but—be it noted—by somebody else. To my knowledge the Maori has never confided to us what he feels by stating his name; therefore we can only make assumptions about it; but I have at least a strong assumption that it is modesty. The strength and pride associated with the name is of so intimate a kind that he feels a shyness and modesty before stating it, which can only be overcome in great situations, in the foaming wake of great deeds.

Often the Maori only dodges the question. When Ranginui was asked “Who are you?” he answered, “A vagrant man, whom some trouble has brought to this place, where I only ramble.” Only when one of his companions is asked, does his host learn his name.\(^{34}\)

When *Kapu* the chief received a visit and was asked where *Kapu* was, he only answered, “Over there,” but promised to fetch him.\(^{35}\)

Hinauri gave a false name when she was asked, even though she married the two men who asked.\(^{36}\)

A few people understood how to manage the situation with elegance. When Tutamure was asked his name, he answered, “Have you never heard that when a mild breeze is blowing, then the spines of the *tamure* fish stand (tu) in the surface of the water (ka tu nga tautara o mure)?” In this clever way he gave his name without stating it.\(^{37}\)

\(^{32}\) Gudgeon 1905: 65.

\(^{33}\) E.g. Grey 1855: 29 f.

\(^{34}\) Whatahoro 1915: 233.

\(^{35}\) White 1888b: 54.

\(^{36}\) Grey 1855: 24.

\(^{37}\) Rimini 1892: 150 and Mair 1895: 37. A version, Whareauahi 1905: 75, is somewhat pointless, as he still ends by telling his name: “*Ko au tenei, ko Tutamure.*”
Of course it is not good form to ask people their names, at any rate not noblemen and women. Etiquette required that one ask a companion, indeed preferably when the person in question was not present. In some stories in which hero or heroine has left home accompanied by a single person, they take care, when meeting strangers, to drop behind or move off on some pretext, in order that the strangers may get an opportunity to ask the companion who they are.\footnote{Grey 1855: 116; 124.}

When one vanquishes a man, one also captures his name, a fact which makes sense since there is life in the name. Thus the land on which a man is killed may be named after him and the victor take possession of it.\footnote{White 1888a: 172; cf. Best 1903c: 161; the naming need not be connected with conquest.} It is told somewhere that the descendants of a man who had been murdered, thus people who had a special claim to vengeance, named their kumara fields after some killed chiefs of the murderer’s tribe.\footnote{White 1888b: 129.} It is hardly accidental that the name is associated with the fields; for in this way one would eat of the life of the name when eating the crop. The most important thing in this custom was the insult to the enemy. Altogether one might insult a man by naming certain things after him (tukutuku).\footnote{Grey 1855: 182.}

All personal names have a meaning, but there is a peculiar difference between the mythical names and those belonging to later times, as only mythical names aim at a characterization of the bearers. This applies in particular to the names of the great gods, e.g. Io, Tane, etc.\footnote{See e.g. Whatahoro 1913: 16, 27.} The characters of the myth simply take it for granted that names are descriptive. Whatitiri (Thunder) marries Kaitangata (Cannibal) on this presupposition, but is greatly disappointed when he proves to be extremely peaceable and without any desire for human flesh. Thus the myth presupposes that names are descriptive, Kaitangata is, however, far from being the only exception.

The mythical name custom is so remarkable because it deviates from what has been Maori custom for a number of centuries, descriptive names being rare exceptions.\footnote{Best 1925b: 304 (= Best 1903c: 159): a name is connected with personal qualities, but it is probably only a pun. In Andersen (1942: 76), there is an example of a descriptive name, but the special circumstances are such that we cannot be sure that it is expressive of old naming practice. Grey 1855: 145: Kiki whakamaroke rakau and the like are probably formed afterwards together with the proverb.} The commonest thing was probably that children were named af-
The Maori and his religion

This is natural enough as the name thus acquired kinship life, but it was not necessary. It seems as if naming had its special mission at adoption. We hear about a case in which the decisive point is that the child is named after an ancestor in the adopting kinship group. Regular naming after an ancestor was used only for hapus and tribes, the personal name getting the prefix Ngati (or secondary forms like Ngai-, Nga-, and Ati-). Thus the descendants of Porou-rangi were named Ngati-Porou.

Regular naming after an ancestor was used only for hapus and tribes, the personal name getting the prefix Ngati (or secondary forms like Ngai-, Nga-, and Ati-). To return to the personal names: Not rarely a completely new name was found for the child, then generally referring to some event. The events which thus give material for names may be of great weight, e.g., when an insult and thus the will to revenge is maintained, but often enough the occurrences seem rather insignificant.

It seems that men who begot children who would grow up far from their father used to leave a name for them, and in this small feature we also see a glimpse of the nature of the name, here as a link with the child; but furthermore it was presumably of a certain practical importance if a meeting between father and child should be brought about later on.

The name and man belong together, and therefore it is quite natural that a person should change his name if his life takes on another character. This may happen even to the baby, the first-born child of a noble family beginning with a tapu (sacred) name immediately after birth. By the tua rite it was then replaced by an ordinary name, the special sacrificial vital principle of birth by this rite being exchanged for ordinary kinship life.

The Maori may change his name later in life as well. When Pare had been fetched from the realm of the dead by Huttu, she was given the name Pare-Huttu (Huttu’s Pare). Pahau took Tamure’s mana in a fight and cried out, “This is due to the bravery of the noble child (te toa o te tamaiti rangatira) under the radiant sun,” and since then he was called Toa-rangatira.

44. Anderson 1942: 72; Taylor 1870: 325; Shortland 1856: 145.
46. Rangi Hiroa 1950: 334; however, is of opinion that they are variants of the plural article nga.
47. E.g. Best 1925b: 415; Best 1902c: 159.
48. Some examples have been collected in Andersen 1942: 72 ff.
50. Best 1906: 154 f.; cf. Whatahoro 1915: 177, note 2 and White 1887b: 141, where, however, the first name is not called “tapu.”
“the noble hero.” Tamatea gradually acquired quite a number of names.53

The connexion between man and his name is brought out in a fine way in the custom according to which a man who married his deceased brother’s widow often took his brother’s name and gave up his own.54

A new name is not always given for a good purpose. When Rakaihikuroa had subjugated Tu-mapuhi-a-rangi he said, “Your name shall no more be known as Tu-mapuhi-a-rangi; but henceforth men shall call you Tu-mapu-raro, which is a name of less degree, for you have fallen.”55 The deterioration of the name is especially due to the fact that rangi, “heaven” is supplanted by raro, “the lowest.”

The new name like a “baptismal name” may keep alive the memory of an insult. A sister whose brother had fallen in the battle of Te Kareto gave up her old name and named herself Te Kareto;56 inversely Pironga, whose name was reminiscent of an insult, dropped the name when he had obtained his vengeance and then resumed his proper name, Rata.57

52. White 1888a: 87.
54. Best 1903d: 63.
56. Best 1904a: 17.
57. Gudgeon 1904a: 183 f.