

KUA KĀ KĒ NGĀ AHI: THE FIRES ARE ALREADY ALIGHT AND ALIVE - REKINDLING RELATIONSHIPS, PRACTICES, AND KNOWLEDGE OF KAI AMONGST TAMARIKI AND RANGATAHI OF NGĀTI RUAKA, WHANGANUI RIVER



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Introduction

Wānanga (traditional learning forums) focused on teaching tamariki (children) and rangatahi (youth) to hopu tuna (catch freshwater eels) has led to the consolidation of hapū (cluster of extended families, descended from an eponymous ancestor) projects and facilitation of other wānanga, that seek to share knowledge intergenerationally on tikanga (culturally and contextually appropriate practices) associated with whakapapa (genealogical connections), kai (food) gathering, and environmental restoration.

Te Morehu Whenua – the name bestowed upon this group of tamariki and rangatahi by their pahake (elders) and Ngāti Ruaka hapū – reminds participants of their connection to their remnant ancestral lands and environs, and their inherent responsibilities to these special places and spaces. This is particularly important, given the majority of participants live away from their ancestral lands, and knowledge imparted through wānanga is not generally accessible.

This paper draws on the learnings from wānanga on tuna (freshwater eels) and kākahi (freshwater mussels), from the perspective of four rangatahi. These rangatahi affiliate to Rānana Marae, Whanganui River, and have whakapapa connections to Ngāti Ruaka and other hapū from the Rānana area. Of significance is that the wānanga allow tamariki and rangatahi to re-establish their connections with each other, traditional kai and the environment, and help to foster an appreciation for what it means to actively rekindle one's ahi kā (ancestral fires of occupation) and to learn and practice tikanga of the hapū.

Rānana, Whanganui River: Our ancestral home and community

Rānana is a rural community with a population of around 60 residents, based on the Whanganui River, which flows from Tongariro in the Central Plateau area, to the west coast of the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Rānana is a one-hour drive from the city of Whanganui and features two active marae – Rānana (Ruaka) and Te Pou o Rongo.



Figure 1: Rānana (Ruaka) Marae, Whanganui River.

Members of the community are mainly of the Catholic faith, and the only surviving school on the Whanganui River Road, Te Kura o Te Wainui-a-Rua, is located at Rānana. Kauika campsite, which stands on a former marae and papakāinga (village), is frequented by tourists during the summer months, and a Māori-owned farm, Morikaunui Incorporation, provides employment to local whānau (extended families) and benefits to its shareholders. Many tribal and national events have been held at Rānana, including the Hui Aranga (Māori Catholic gathering at Easter), a reunion for veterans of the 28 (Māori) Battalion, and more recently, the signing of Ruruku Whakatupua – the Deed of Settlement for Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) (Rānana Marae Reservation Trust, Rānana Māori Committee, & Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine hapū, 2019). This is the place we call home, and is the centre for activities that have been designed for Te Morehu Whenua – our tamariki and rangatahi environmental group.

Te Morehu Whenua: The origins of our name



Figure 2: Hāmama, original tekoteko of Huriwhenua, Rānana, Whanganui River. Photo courtesy of Te Papa Museum of New Zealand.

In 1870, Taitoko Te Rangihwinui (also known as Major Kemp or Meiha Keepa) commissioned a large whare rūnanga (meeting house for tribal matters) at Rānana, on a site called Kauika or Kahotea. Taitoko Te Rangihwinui named this whare rūnanga ‘Huriwhenua’ (Bates, 1994), which describes the upheaval to Māori land, as a result of legislation and the activities of the Native (Māori) Land Court. The original tekoteko (carved figure on the gable of a meeting house) was an ancestor named Hāmama, a tupuna (ancestor) of Rānana. The following whakapapa shows a descent line from the brother of Hāmama, Kārara, to Taitoko Te Rangihwinui:

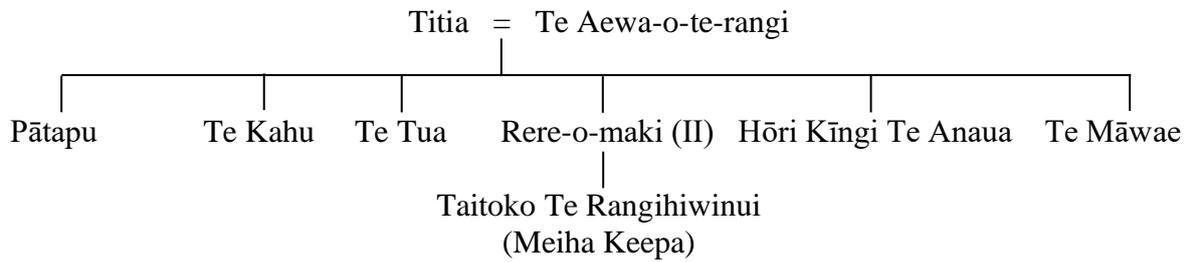


Figure 4: Whakapapa of the children of Titia and Te Aewa-o-te-rangi, and their grandson, Taitoko Te Rangihwinui (C. Shenton, personal communication, 31 March, 2020).

In 1900, a smaller wharepuni (meeting house) was constructed to replace the much larger whare rūnanga of Huriwhenua. This wharepuni was named ‘Te Morehu Tangata, Te Morehu Whenua’. This name comes from a statement made by Taitoko Te Rangihwinui to Timi Kara (Hon James Carroll), Native Minister, in 1897. Timi Kara offered his assurance that lands vested in the Crown would be protected, to which Taitoko Te Rangihwinui replied: “E Timi – te morehu tangata, te morehu whenua ki a koe” (To you, James, I leave the remnants of the people and the remnants of the land) (Tinirau, 2005, p. 17). This is the origin of the name of the environmental group, Te Morehu Whenua, bestowed upon the group by pahake of Ngāti Ruaka in 2019. Rānana, the headquarters of the group, consists of different land blocks upon which certain activities take place, including Ngārākauwhakarāra.

Ngārākauwhakarāra: Learning about our lands and hapū

One of the land blocks in the Rānana area is Ngārākauwhakarāra, originally comprised of 4,995 acres of land. Today, 17 smaller land blocks make up the Ngārākauwhakarāra block. Ngāti Rangi, consisting of four hapū (Ngāti Tamarua, Ngāti Rāwhitiaio, Ngāti Rangipoutaka and Ngāti Tāpui), is the main hapū for this land block. There are also other hapū in the Ngārākauwhakarāra block, namely Ngāti Takiora, Ngāti Tūmatau, and Ngāti Hineariki. Sometimes the hapū of Ngārākauwhakarāra affiliated to the hapū federation of Ngāti Ruaka. Ngāti Hineariki had several hapū under its mantle: Ngāti Hāmama (consisting of Ngāti

Tamateariki and Ngāti Tokatahi), Ngāti Rangiwahakaurupu, and Ngāti Kārara (consisting of Ngāti Te Pineki and Ngāti Nohokau) (Whanganui MB 1F, 1909; Whanganui MB 61, 1911). Hāmama, Kārara and Nohokau feature in whakapapa presented in Figure 3. The following table has been included to aid in understanding the hapū structure within the Ngārākauwhakarāra block:

Ngāti Rangi	Ngāti Ruaka
Ngāti Tamarua	Ngāti Hineariki <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ngāti Hāmama <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ngāti Tamateariki ○ Ngāti Tokatahi ▪ Ngāti Rangiwahakaurupu ▪ Ngāti Kārara <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ngāti Te Pineki ○ Ngāti Nohokau
Ngāti Rāwhitiao	Ngāti Takiora
Ngāti Rangipoutaka	Ngāti Tūmatau
Ngāti Tāpui	

Figure 5: Hapū of the Ngārākauwhakarāra land block.

In 1909, there was a Māori Land Court hearing regarding Ngārākauwhakarāra and the claims people had to this land block. A tupuna named Arama Tinirau stood and presented evidence on his and others' connections to the Ngārākauwhakarāra land block. His evidence included names of special places on the block, some of which are presented in the following table:

Feature	Name (example)
Hākari nui (great feasts)	Tangimara
Kāinga (villages)	Wahietataroa
Kōhatu tipua (supernatural rocks)	Tuhi-a-Tūmaterua
Mahinga kai (gardens)	Te Houhi
Pā (fortified villages)	Mātaikaitupu
Pā tuna (eel weirs)	Ōrongotea
Rākau (trees)	Tionga
Rua kūmara (kūmara pits)	Te Anu o Matariki
Tāwhiti manu (bird trapping places)	Tāwhiti-a-Tūkapua
Uru karaka (karaka groves)	Mokonui
Wāhi tapu (sacred places)	Ōkawa

Wāhi tārai waka (canoe fashioning places)	Te Hiwihiwi
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Figure 6: Features and names of significant places or events, on the Ngārākauwhakarāra land block.

Although wānanga for Te Morehu Whenua were based at Rānana Marae, much of the hopu tuna activity was undertaken on the Ngārākauwhakarāra block. Understanding participants' whakapapa connections to these lands became critical.

Whakapapa: Understanding our genealogical layers and connections

Each of the contributors to this paper have whakapapa to Ngāti Ruaka hapū, based at Rānana, on the Whanganui River. During wānanga, tamariki and rangatahi of Te Morehu Whenua learnt their whakapapa to an original land owner of Ngārākauwhakarāra, enabling them to understand their descent from tūpuna of the land, their connection to Ngārākauwhakarāra, and validation to set foot upon these lands, and to gather kai:



Ko Ngārākauwhakarāra te whenua
Ko Ngāti Rangipoutaka te hapū
Ko Taiwiri Tiripa te tupuna, ka noho ki Wiremu Pātene Te Rangituawaru
Ka puta ko Ngāpera Taiwiri Te Tāwhero
Ka puta ko Tiripa Te Uira
Ka puta ko Pani Te Uira, ka noho ki Robert Allan
Ka puta ko Lana Allan, ka noho ki Peter Pauro
Ka puta ko Jason Pauro, ka noho ki Helena Murray
Ka puta ko au, ko Cruz Pauro



Ko Ngārākauwhakarāra te whenua
Ko Ngāti Tamarua te hapū
Ko Pauro Tūtāwhā te tupuna
Nāna ko Wī Pauro Tūtāwhā
Ka puta ko Tūtāwhā Wī Pauro, ka noho ki Te Manawanui Peina
Ka puta ko Peter Pauro, ka noho ki Lana Allan
Ka puta ko Jason Pauro, ka noho ki Helena Murray
Ka puta ko au, ko Connor Pauro



Ko Ngārākauwhakarāra te whenua
Ko Ngāti Hineariki te hapū
Ka noho a Neri Metera i a Taho Pestell, ka puta ko Ani Metera
Ka noho a Ani Metera i a Hōri Haami, ka puta ko Pita Haami
Ka noho a Pita Haami i a Meri Tinirau, ka puta ko Patricia
Haami
Ka noho a Patricia Haami i a Turoa Maraku, ka puta ko Shona
Maraku
Mai i a Shona Maraku, ka puta ko Hineaupouamu Maraku
Ka noho a Hineaupouamu Maraku i a Baker Tohe
Ka puta ko au, ko Pera Maraku

For some of the tamariki and rangatahi of Te Morehu Whenua, they have more than one hapū and/or whakapapa connection to tūpuna of Ngārākauwhakarāra. In one case, the rangatahi member has whakapapa connections to a neighbouring land block, Ōhotu, yet has whakapapa connections to many of her wānanga peers:



Ko Ōhotu te whenua, ko Ngāti Ruaka te hapū
Ka noho a Te Mā Panitua i a Richard Pestell, ka puta ko Mere
Te Mā
Ka noho a Mere Te Mā i a Te Piki Kiriona, ka puta ko
Hokiwaewae Kiriona
Ka noho a Hokiwaewae Kiriona i a Tūkotahi Woon, ka puta ko
Tangiwai Woon
Ka noho a Tangiwai Woon i a Alan Bishop, ka puta ko Maire
Bishop
Mai i a Maire Bishop, ka puta ko Tania Kara
Mai i a Tania Kara, ka puta ko Te Aroha Mihaka
Ka puta ko au, ko Raiha Mihaka

Having whakapapa to our ancestral lands is one thing; it is another thing to know these lands, to occupy your lands, and to have a meaningful connection with them. This is known as ahi kā.

Ahi kā: The importance of keeping our fires alight and alive

On 1 March 1909, Arama Tinirau opened his case for the Ngārākauwhakarāra block with the following quote:

I live in Okapua now. I know this land and am an owner. I claim by ancestry. Ahikaroa. My ancestor occupied the land and we have lived on it. (Whanganui MB 59, 1909, p. 80)

This quote suggests that ahi kā is passed down from one's ancestors, and noting earlier discussions regarding Ngārākauwhakarāra, is also "demonstrated by an intimate knowledge of the land and history, continuous occupation and use of the land, and genealogical links to ancestors of the land" (Tinirau, Gillies & Tinirau, 2008, p. 18). Wānanga for Te Morehu Whenua provides an opportunity for uri (descendants) of those ancestors to do the same: to connect with the land, and to keep their ancestral fires burning. For our tamariki and rangatahi, returning home to the marae is important, because it entails reliving the deeds and practising tikanga of our tūpuna, such as monitoring kākahi and fishing for tuna. Returning to one's marae regularly, and contributing to the work at one's marae, within the hapū and upon one's ancestral lands, can be considered a modern interpretation of ahi kā. The tamariki and rangatahi of Te Morehu Whenua understand that without returning to keep their ancestral fires alight and alive, consequences ensue. This has been illustrated through their kōrero:

When you lose the connection to your home and slowly stop occupying the lands your ancestors once called home, then that shows ahi mātaotao (cold fires).

Envisaging a future where uri are connected to their ancestral spaces and the practices of our tūpuna is an aspiration that many whānau, hapū and iwi share. The challenge is how to support and realise numerous and sometimes competing priorities that exist; Te Morehu Whenua offers a response to this challenge from a hapū perspective.

He Toi Wawata: Our hapū aspirations framework

An aspirations framework for hapū of Rānana was endorsed by our hapū in 2018. It is called *He Toi Wawata* (2018), and the framework contains environmental, cultural, and social objectives, themes, outcomes, and indicators. Our environmental group, Te Morehu Whenua, performs different activities that work towards realising our hapū aspirations. For example, within the objective *He Toi Taiao: Environmental Well-being* under ‘Taonga tuku iho’ (theme), is the indicator ‘Wānanga held and research conducted on sites of significance’. Wānanga for Te Morehu Whenua have involved research and discussions by rangatahi on the Ngārākauwhakarāra block, contributing to protecting our hapū sites of significance (outcome). Given that our Te Morehu Whenua wānanga activities focus on kai, another theme, ‘Food sources and sustainability’, and the four indicators under this theme (see below) are also achieved.

Objectives	Themes	Outcomes	Indicators
He Toi Taiao Environmental Well-being	Health of the Whanganui River	A healthy, free-flowing Awa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Higher river levels ▪ Increased number of fish, e.g. tuna, ngaore, kākahi ▪ Lower levels of silt ▪ Riparian planting activities ▪ Increased number of whānau returning home to swim
	Land custodianship and utilisation	Sustainable development of ancestral lands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Active and capable governance and management ▪ Increased employment opportunities ▪ Increased benefits for hapū community and land owners
	Taonga tuku iho (e.g. wāhi tapu, wāhi tūpuna)	Protection of sites of significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wānanga held and research conducted on sites of significance ▪ Increased hapū cultural capability and capacity ▪ Whānau re-engaging with wāhi tapu, wāhi tūpuna

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mapping of wāhi tapu, wāhi tūpuna ▪ Creation of ‘silent’ files ▪ Increased respect and acknowledgement for hapū views on taonga tuku iho
	Food sources and sustainability	Well-fed whānau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wānanga held and research conducted on food sources and sustainability ▪ Increased whānau cultural capability and capacity ▪ Planting and stock rejuvenation activities ▪ Increased whānau engaged in food gathering and growing activities
	Environmental impacts and threats	Resilient, well-supported hapū community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wānanga held and research conducted on environmental issues and solutions ▪ Management plans developed and operationalised ▪ Reduced levels of pests, poisons, and pollution

Figure 7: Themes, outcomes, and indicators of He Toi Taiao: Environmental Well-being, which forms part of *He Toi Wawata: Ngāti Ruaka Hapū Aspirations Framework* (2018).

Despite the obvious linkages between Te Morehu Whenua and those themes, outcomes, and indicators under the environmental well-being objective for our hapū of Rānana, there are connections to cultural and social themes also. For example, one of the cultural indicators is the ‘Increased number of hapū members maintaining marae roles’. Through Te Morehu Whenua wānanga, tamariki and rangatahi learn aspects of the various paepae on the marae, including karanga, whaikōrero, waiata, karakia and tunu kai. One of the social indicators is ‘Increased number of whānau returning home for hapū events’, where again, wānanga of Te Morehu Whenua might be used as one measure, as they provide opportunities for whānau of the hapū to return to Rānana for wānanga. The focus of wānanga for Te Morehu Whenua thus far has been tuna and kākahi.

Hopu tuna: How our tūpuna caught, prepared and consumed tuna

When Arama Tinirau and other tūpuna were giving evidence of their connections to land, such as Ngārākauwhakarāra, they were providing insight into our cultural heritage and knowledge. Through Te Morehu Whenua, we are keeping this heritage and knowledge alive, and honouring our tūpuna. Tuna activities for Te Morehu Whenua have consisted of toi tuna (bobbing for eels), pāwhara tuna (bleeding, cutting open and drying eels for preservation), and tunu tuna (preparing eels for sharing and consumption). These activities will be described in detail below:

Toi tuna: Bobbing (fishing) for our tuna

Toi tuna involves bobbing for tuna, which requires certain resources, including bait. Our tūpuna used toke (glow worms), because their scent attracts tuna. Toke can be found in damp areas in the bush: we sourced our toke from the Ngārākauwhakarāra block.



Figure 8: Haare Te Whio Marshall and Raukura Butler sourcing toke on the Ngārākauwhakarāra land block.

Wire is used to thread the worms onto string, though traditionally muka (fibre from harakeke) was used. When fishing, the teeth of the tuna get caught in the string or muka, and they find it difficult to free themselves. For the purposes of our wānanga, tamariki and rangatahi sourced

bamboo as rods for bobbing. Traditionally, our tūpuna used manuka. The string with the threaded toke is tied between the ridges of the bamboo at one end of the rod.

The tamariki and rangatahi attending Te Morehu Whenua wānanga worked together to discuss safety around our waterways. Discussions included: making sure an adult or older rangatahi is observing our tamariki at all times; staying close and keeping within assigned fishing groups; if in the water, being aware of any trees, rocks, currents, and undertows; and not entering the Awa (river; in this context, the Whanganui River) if conditions are rough.

Bobbing for tuna takes place on a favourable night in accordance with our maramataka (lunar calendar), and requires patience and perseverance. One night that was considered a good night for catching tuna was Tangaroa-ā-roto, the twenty-fifth night of the maramataka.

Before fishing commences, we recite a simple affirmation taught to Te Morehu Whenua by Tamahau Rowe, uri of Ngāti Ruaka:

Tuna, tuna, para, para, hara mai rā ki te hopu.

This affirmation calls to the tuna, to come to our line and bait. One must keep quiet and still whilst bobbing. For the purposes of our wānanga, we fish at the confluence of the Whātaumā Stream and Whanganui River. This fishing place is on the Ngārākauwhakarāra block, and provides easy access to Te Morehu Whenua.

One of our tikanga with tuna, is that the first tuna caught is offered and given back to the atua (god), Maru. This is to acknowledge and appease our atua, with the hope that more tuna will be caught. Another tikanga involves taking only what we need, which ensures that there is kai for others, and that our fishstocks are not depleted.

Pāwhara tuna: Bleeding, cutting open and drying our tuna for preservation

Pāwhara tuna involves bleeding and gutting large tuna, and cutting tuna open to remove the spine, thus keeping most of its meat intact, before it is dried naturally. When caught, tuna are

cut on the tail, and hung overnight to bleed. After they have been bled, the slime is removed from the tuna, and they are then cut down the fin, staying close to the spine.

The spine and gut are then removed. Te Morehu Whenua used this opportunity to examine what tuna eat. The kai found inside tuna included toke, anuhe (caterpillar), kōura (fresh water crayfish) and peka (little branches). Understanding the kai sources of tuna is particularly important, as one rangatahi stated:

... it is important for us to give back to our tuna as they provide us with kai. Us giving back is simply just looking after our environment. If we do this it will keep the Awa healthy, which will keep our tuna happy.



Figure 9: Jodeci Morgan removing slime from tuna, prior to pāwhara.

Once the tuna are opened, they are held in place with mānuka sticks, salted, and then hung in the air to dry.

Tunu tuna: Preparing our tuna for sharing and consumption

Tunu tuna is the act of cooking tuna. Te Morehu Whenua have cooked tuna in two ways: smoking and deep frying. For smoking tuna, a smoker, brown sugar, mānuka chips, and

methylated spirits were used; for deep frying, a deep fryer or a deep pan and flour was required.

For smaller tuna, rather than using the pāwhara method, tuna are cut into small slices.



Figure 10: Smoked tuna, using brown sugar and mānuka chips.

Once cooked, a karakia (prayer, incantation) for our kai is said, and the tuna served and shared amongst those in attendance. For those who are unable to be present, particularly for kuia (elderly females) and koroheke (elderly males), kai is sent to their homes.

One mōteatea, again taught to Te Morehu Whenua by Tamahau Rowe, recites the Whanganui names of tuna and stages of their lifecycle:

Te Wainui-a-Rua e ...

Tuna toke, tuna para, tuna riri, tuna kōhau, tuna kai ngārā, tuna kouka, tuna kōkopu.

Whātaumā e ...

Tuna heke, tuna rere, tuna moemoe, tuna arawaru, tuna puhi, tuna hāhā.

Ōrongotea e ...

Tuna tākākā, tuna paratāwai, tuna ngahuru, tuna hopuhā, tuna pango, tuna paramui e.

Tangaroa taiwhenua e ...

Tuna piki, tuna pūharakeke, tuna pūtaiore, tuna Tangaroa, tuna tuoro e.

Eke panuku! Eke Tangaroa!

Haumi e! Hui e! Tāiki e!

Kākahi: Monitoring our natural water filters, freshwater mussels

Another activity that Te Morehu Whenua have been involved with is the monitoring of kākahi. Kākahi are located in either calm shallow rocky pools or on the side of a streambank. Kākahi are considered taonga that contribute directly to the health and well-being of our waterways, by filtering sediment and thereby contributing to water quality. In contemporary times and within our hapū context, kākahi are not eaten, yet they are an important part of our hapū and river ecosystem. Given the interconnectedness of river and people, the presence of kākahi can be considered an indicator of river and human wellness.

Hannah Rainforth, an uri of Whanganui and Trustee of Ngā Tāngata Tiaki o Whanganui, has been advising Te Morehu Whenua on kākahi, describing what they look like, how they filter and clean our waterways, and how best to search for and monitor them. As part of her Master's research, Hannah Rainforth (2008) discovered a population of kākahi near Tawhitinui, an old kāinga upriver from Rānana, on the opposite side of the Whanganui River. Tamariki and rangatahi of Te Morehu Whenua travelled to Tawhitinui to search for kākahi, completing hand-searches at the confluence of the Moutoa Stream, as well as upstream. To the north of the mouth of Moutoa Stream were some pools of water amongst the rocks on the Whanganui River. Here, six kākahi were discovered over a one-hour period, and the following details were kept, by Te Morehu Whenua:

Date	Wednesday 9 October 2019	
Start time	11 a.m.	
Finish time	12 noon	
Site	Main stem of the Whanganui River, north of the confluence of the Moutoa Stream	
Team	Manaaki Hogg, Atarau Lind, Te Aotahi Whaanga, Laikyn Wakefield-Fowlie, Jodeci Morgan, Pera Maraku, Raiha Mihaka, Connor Pauro, Cruz Pauro, Susie Wakefield, Hannah Rainforth, Meri Haami, Baker Tohe, Rāwiri Tinirau	
Kākahi number	Length	Width
1	72mm	36mm
2	81mm	40mm
3	75mm	37mm
4	79mm	40mm
5	52mm	27mm
6	49mm	26mm

Figure 11: Record of kākahi finds, Wednesday, 9 October 2019, at Tawhitinui, Whanganui River.

Although it felt successful that kākahi were found, of concern are the low numbers discovered, given the number of hapū members searching. In the future, a fish counting and monitoring programme, and riparian planting, is highly recommended, as both tuna and kākahi need shelter to hide and rest. If there is an increase in the numbers of tuna and kākahi found in the river, we would expect to see an improvement to water quality and uri health. We are often reminded of the inextricable links between people and nature, and in this case, the Whanganui River; if the Awa, and all life within it, is well, then concurrently the people will be well.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the tamariki and rangatahi of Te Morehu Whenua environmental group and associated wānanga, are:

- rekindling their relationships with each other, their whakapapa, their hapū, and their lands at Rānana, Whanganui River;
- learning about the way their tūpuna and mātua lived, and how they gathered kai;
- developing an understanding of kai sources and the environment;

- proud to have been named, Te Morehu Whenua, by their pahake and hapū, and have a responsibility to their lands and waterways; and
- wanting to be good custodians of the knowledge shared with them, and will further share this knowledge with others.



Figure 12: Manaaki Hogg with kākahi found at Tawhitinui, Whanganui River.



Figure 13: Tamariki and rangatahi of Te Morehu Whenua, Rānana Marae, Whanganui River.

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Glossary

ahi kā	ancestral fires of occupation
anuhe	caterpillar
atua	god
awa	river; in this context, the Whanganui River
hākari nui	great feasts
hapū	cluster of extended families, descended from an eponymous ancestor
harakeke	flax, <i>Phormium tenax</i>
hopu tuna	catch freshwater eels
Hui Aranga	Maori Catholic gathering at Easter

kai	food
kāinga	villages
kākahi	freshwater mussels
karaka	tree with orange fruit, <i>Corynocarpus laevigatus</i>
karakia	prayer, incantation
kōhatu tipua	supernatural rocks
kōrero	discussion
koroheke	elderly males
kōura	freshwater crayfish
kuia	elderly females
kūmara	sweet potato, <i>Ipomoea batatas</i>
mahinga kai	gardens
mānuka	tea-tree, <i>Leptospermum scoparium</i>
maramataka	lunar calendar
muka	fibre from harakeke
pā	fortified villages
pahake	elders
papakāinga	village
pā tuna	eel weirs
pāwhara tuna	bleeding, cutting open, and drying eels for preservation
peka	branch
rākau	trees
rangatahi	youth
rua kūmara	kūmara pits
Ruruku Whakatupua	Deed of Settlement for Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims)
tamariki	children
tāwhiti manu	bird trapping places
Te Awa Tupua	supernatural river; in this context, the Whanganui River
tekoteko	carved figure on the gable of a meeting house
tikanga	culturally and contextually appropriate practices
toke	glow worms
toi tuna	bobbing (fishing) for eels
tuna	freshwater eels
tunu tuna	preparing eels for sharing and consumption
tupuna	ancestor
tūpuna	ancestors
uru karaka	karaka groves
wāhi tapu	sacred places
wahi tārai waka	canoe fashioning places
wānanga	traditional learning forums
whakapapa	genealogical connections
whānau	extended families
wharepuni	meeting house
whare rūnanga	meeting house for tribal matters