The Māori Grammars and Vocabularies of Thomas Kendall and John Gare Butler

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Just over 200 years ago, the first missionary party was sent by Samuel Marsden to establish his New Zealand Mission returned to Sydney after a visit to the Bay of Islands. Among the members of the exploratory party was Thomas Kendall, who became the first missionary teacher with responsibility for studying the Māori language. This volume brings together Kendall’s work on the Māori language with that of John Gare Butler, representing some of the earliest descriptions of the language. As well as providing a historical record of these early sources on Māori, the volume gives insights into early encounters with the language and the tensions within the Mission.
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Acknowledgements

I thank Asia-Pacific Linguistics for facilitating the publication of this work in a new and extended form, and acknowledge the assistance given by staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, where I formerly worked, for assistance with the preparation of the images used. I also wish to thank Rowan Gibbs for providing the reference to the Lhotsky connection. While the advantages of modern technology must be recognised, however, it was the more or less fortuitous and accidental discovery of a transcript of Kendall’s misidentified manuscript in the course of a mundane shelf-check, at the Turnbull basements, which enabled me to identify the work which had been lost for 150 years. This should be a warning to any who may be inclined to think that everything is now available digitally and that old manuscripts are no longer important.
Introduction

This work has been adapted from a series of parts of a work now out of print and no longer available. The first part appeared in November 2000 in the Turnbull Library Record, the intention being that a further part would appear in the following year. That did not come about, for reasons which it is not necessary to go into. The first chapter (‘The rotten branches’) covering the period from 1814 to 1823, appeared in the Turnbull Library Record vol. 33 (2000), and the second chapter (‘We have condemned the Grammar’, covering the period from 1824 to 1826) appeared before both were slightly revised for the two issues of Rongorongo Studies of 2001, with the encouragement of its publisher Dr Steven Roger Fischer. We are grateful to the Publications Board of the Friends of the Turnbull Library for permission to reprint the first article, and to Dr Fischer for his permission to reprint the rest of the series, which appeared in further instalments in Rongorongo Studies in 2001 to 2004 (Rongorongo Studies v. 11 (1) (2001): 4–24; Rongorongo Studies v. 11 (2) (2001): 47–62; Rongorongo Studies v. 13 (2) (2003): 37–55; Rongorongo Studies v. 14 (1) (2004): 20–37.

The work was developed from the Early Māori Imprints project, a proposed revision of H. W. Williams’s Bibliography of printed Māori to 1900 (1924 and supplement. 1928), herein referred to as ‘Williams’. This, when completed and published in 2004 became Books In Māori (‘BiM’) a scholarly bibliography of all known Māori language publications published to 1901, including printed ephemera. The published grammars and dictionaries of Māori to 1901 are described in that work, and noted at the end of the fourth chapter of the present work. In the course of its compilation several related unpublished works were rediscovered and the description of these, which were out of scope for Books in Māori, provided the impetus for this description of those long overlooked works.

The illustrated texts of the article in the Turnbull Library Record have largely been transcribed. Orthographic variations and accent marks in manuscripts and printed texts have been given verbatim but macrons have been added to Māori words in the commentary. The macron was generally not used in the Māori language during the 19th century and there were other orthographic anomalies such as the inconsistent use of an aspirated ‘w’ (as ‘wh’) for part of the period, while in the late 20th century a doubling of vowels was adopted before it fell out of favour (compare: ‘roopu’ vs ‘rōpu’ for instance).

The original articles have been slightly revised to permit the inclusion of further examples of words in the vocabularies and other texts of the period. An appendix has been added to transcribe the final form of the vocabulary compiled by Kendall as it was at his death in 1832, enabling a comparison with that produced in 1820. This includes explanatory glosses, correcting many Kendall errors.

The evolution of the Māori language from an oral to a written form is recounted in broad outlines by the missionaries themselves in their correspondence with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London, and in the documents associated with Samuel Marsden, the Society’s ‘Agent’ in New South

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1 For the background to Early Māori Imprints see P. Parkinson, ‘He korero no New Zealand’ Turnbull Library Record 28 (1995), 23–42.
Wales and godfather of the mission.² Parr, Jackson and McRae have given useful reviews of early Māori literacy.³

The Church Missionary Society enterprise in New Zealand was an initiative of the Colonial Chaplain at Sydney, New South Wales, the Reverend Samuel Marsden and was one of several separate missionary ventures. The first of these had been that of the London Missionary Society, and was largely Congregationalist and focussed on Tahiti and later on other archipelagos. It was not present in New Zealand. The Anglicans arrived in New Zealand in 1814 and established their first station in 1815, soon to be joined by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society mission, with which the Anglicans of the CMS were on tolerably good terms. A Roman Catholic initiative regarded by both as doctrinally hostile did not appear until 1838. The first CMS missionaries were all laymen, including Thomas Kendall and the first ordained missionary, John Gare Butler arrived in 1819. These two were soon in conflict and Kendall sought to protect his own influence by his own ordination in 1820. His primary role, however, was to study the native language, a task for which he was ill-equipped.

The earliest years of the mission and the particular role of Thomas Kendall as the author of the works about ‘the New Zealand Language’ (as it was then called) have been described in detail by Judith Binney in her biography of Kendall The legacy of guilt (1968) and several later essays.⁴ Research, however, had tended to separate archival and published materials, and the linkages between manuscripts (on the one hand) and the printed proofs and the published books (on the other) have not been much studied hitherto. Consequently several great treasures from the earliest period of European / Māori contact have gone unnoticed or unrecognised.

The present study sets out to describe six such documents all of which have been located within the decade, some of which have been missing for over 150 years. They are owned by four different institutions in three different cities. All are concerned with developing an acceptable orthography for the oral Māori language and are associated with the first ordained missionaries, Thomas Kendall and John Gare Butler, and are in their handwriting. The documents are:

- an early short vocabulary probably written in 1814 by Kendall (Hocken Library, University of Otago)
- the proof copy of the 1820 Grammar and Vocabulary by Kendall and Samuel Lee (Alexander Turnbull Library)

² See for example H. W. Williams’s Bibliography of printed Maori to 1900 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1924), Introduction and items 1 to 5, and J. R. Elder, The letters and journals of Samuel Marsden 1765–1838. (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1932). 580 pp. Most of the originals of Kendall’s and of Butler’s letters are now in the Hocken Library and those of Shepherd and Kemp are in the CMS Archives in the University of Birmingham. A microfilm of the CMS Archive with inventory is available at the Alexander Turnbull Library (‘Archives relating to the Australian and New Zealand Missions 1808–1884’ ATL Micro—MS–Coll–04).


• an extant copy of the lesson cards of 1820 extracted from the 1820 Grammar (Auckland City Libraries)
• a manuscript vocabulary of 1821–22 by Butler (Alexander Turnbull Library)
• a manuscript of 1824–25 by Butler (Hocken Library)
• and the signed holograph of Kendall’s unpublished revision of the Grammar and Vocabulary, written 1827–1831 (Alexander Turnbull Library, long-term loan from Wellington Public Library).

The first chapter discusses the first four documents in the context of contemporary published works and events in the lives of Kendall and Butler up to their removal from the Church Mission in late 1823. The second chapter describes the condemnation and restoration of Kendall and Lee’s orthography, 1824–1825, the expulsion of Butler and the survival of his 1824–25 texts. The later history of Kendall’s manuscripts (1827–31) and their history after his death in 1832, when the manuscript was purloined is described in the third chapter. The fourth chapter recounts the attempts to plagiarise the work by promoters of the New Zealand Company, 1839–1841, along with the curious reappearance in New Zealand of John Gare Butler at Wellington, and his own discomfiture and death.

The opportunity has been taken to add the text of Kendall’s 1831 previously unpublished Māori vocabulary into the light and to provide it with a context, providing the text for any further study, with explanatory notes.
I have now been absent nearly six years from my Native Land [. . .] and during the last four years my eyes have been constantly fixed on scenes of human depravity and woe, and my ears have listened to, and have been partly infected with the profane and obscene rubbish contained in the heathen Songs. The latter I am under the necessity of attending to: for it greatly assists me in learning the language, by writing down the Themes of the natives, and studying their true meaning. The study is painful, and like the study of the Metamorphoses of Ovid tends to injure the mind.¹

The earliest separately published works about Māori language (‘the New Zealand language, as it was then called) are the anonymous primer by Thomas Kendall *A korao no New Zealand* which was printed in Sydney in 1815, and the *Grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand* (1820) compiled by Kendall and the polyglot linguist Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge.² The only other publications which give more than incidental information about the language in the period prior to 1840 are J. L. Nicholas’s *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand* (1817), which contains a vocabulary derived largely from a manuscript of Kendall’s 1815 work,³ and the philological writings about the Māori language by the French explorers (especially Dumont d’Urville) from the *Coquille* in 1824, and published by d’Urville in 1827.⁴ William Yate’s *An account of New Zealand and of the formation and progress of the Church Missionary Society’s mission in the northern island* (1835) contains only a general description of the language (pages 227–232) but was clearly intended to contain a description of the Māori language; the Church Missionary Society decided to omit these passages. They survive in Yate’s manuscript journal but were never printed and published.⁵

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¹ Thomas Kendall to Josiah Pratt, 21 December 1818, Hocken Library, University of Otago, hereinafter DUHO MS–56/122.
³ J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand performed in the years 1814 and 1815 . . .* (London: Printed for James Black & Son, 1817) 2 v. (Bagnall: 4268).
⁴ See A. Sharpe, *Duperré’s visit to New Zealand in 1824* (Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, 1971) 125 pp. See also J. S. C. Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l’Astrolabe . . . Histoire du voyage* (Paris, 1830–1833), v. 2 (1830), pp. 563–567 (brief notes on the language); vol. 3 page 3 (reference to the usefulness of the 1820 *Grammar*). The main record of the linguistic findings is in Part 2 (published in 1834) of the *Philologie* volume, where the language is referred to as ‘Mawi’ after the mythological hero Maui. This volume includes a French–Māori, Māori–French vocabulary (pp. [14]–[55]); a comparative vocabulary of seven languages, four of them from the Pacific, including ‘Mawi’ (pp. 196–261) and comments on the various Polynesian dialects (pp. [263]–[306]). This last section observes (page 265) that most of the Māori vocabulary was derived from the 1820 *Grammar*, verified by the explorers and that the name given to the language had been derived from the name for the North Island (‘Ika-na-Mawi’, today normalised as Te Ika a Maui ‘the fish of Maui’).
No further grammars or vocabularies of the Māori language were actually printed and published until 1842, with the first part of Robert Maunsell’s *Grammar of the New Zealand Language* (1842/43). Several such works, however, had been written earlier for private circulation among members of the missionary circle. A dozen copies of a short untitled probationary grammar compiled by William Williams were printed and issued for private use between 1837 and 1840. A first dictionary of the Māori language was not published until 1844. It was only when the influx of colonists began, and more particularly when the establishment of a civil government in New Zealand occurred in 1840 that such a publication became essential for official purposes. This delay in the publication of a grammar and vocabulary between 1820 and 1842 is curious since the reduction of ‘the New Zealand language’ to a written form was one of the earliest objectives of the mission.

Until after 1840 knowledge about the ‘New Zealand language’ was largely confined to the small missionary circle within which manuscripts and unpublished probationary printed texts were circulated for correction. The mission, fearful of the immoral and anti-religious influence of the expansion of trade, deliberately discouraged the Māori from the use of the *English* language, despite evidence that not only were some Māori adept at picking up oral English, but also that they were eager for some forms of agriculture, trade, commerce and had already invited some European settlement.

It was not that Māori were not interested in learning the English language and English ways; quite the contrary. Kendall had learned to speak Māori from the youth Tuai in 1814–15 and Tuai had learned to speak a broken English at Parramatta even before Kendall arrived. Earlier Te Pahi had learned English at Sydney in 1805 and other Māori had learned some English in

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5 W. Yate, *An account of New Zealand and of the formation and progress of the Church Missionary Society’s mission in the northern island, by the Rev. William Yate* (London: Seeley & Burnside, 1835). The CMS refusal to include his account of the language is noted by Yate in his manuscript journal which preserves his rejected text (Alexander Turnbull Library, ATL MS-2544).

6 First published in Auckland on a subscription basis in four parts by John Moore and dedicated to the first Governor William Hobson, who did not live to see it (*BiM* 130 and 131).

7 Williams: 22, (never published) in H. W. Williams’s *Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900* (1924). This cannot, however be considered as a “publication” or an “edition” as the copies were issued singly to specific persons who requested them for private information. Only six copies were ever issued and only one of those has survived.

8 W. Williams, *A dictionary of the New-Zealand Language and a concise grammar* . . . (*Paiahi: Printed at the Press of the C. M. Society, 1844*), xli, 195 pp. (*BiM* 217). This includes a revised reprint of the unpublished Williams 22 item referred to in the previous note.

9 “Objects of Shunghee and Whycato in visiting England” anonymous manuscript in Kendall’s hand, presented to the Committee of the CMS on 14 August 1820, now at Alexander Turnbull Library, ATL MS–Papers–1009–2/76. The two chiefs arrived on 8 August: “Shunghee and Whycato are come with a view to see King George, the multitude of his people, what they are doing and the goodness of the land. Their desire is to stay in England only one Moon: and they wish to take with them at least one hundred men as settlers. They are in want of a party of men to dig up the ground in search of iron. An additional number of Blacksmiths: an additional number of carpenters; and an additional number of preachers who will try to speak to them in the New Zealand Tongue in order that they may understand them. Also 20 Soldiers and 3 officers over them. The above settlers are to take cattle with them in order to assist in cultivating the land. Land will be readily granted to the settlers. ‘The words of Shunghee and Whycato.’ ” There is a significant footnote: “Shunghee and Whycato assert that as English men are permitted to visit New Zealand, it is just and reasonable that New Zealanders should be permitted to visit England.” In short, this is the start of international relations between the British Government and the representatives of the New Zealanders. Hongi regarded King George IV as an equal in rank: “How do you do, Mr King George” to which the King replied “How do you do, Mr King Hongi”.
the course of voyages between 1805 and 1810. Marsden wrote to the CMS from Parramatta on 15 March 1814:

I think Mr Kendall will soon acquire a knowledge of their language. A very fine young man, about seventeen years old, the son of a chief, has been living for some time with Mr Kendall. They were very much attached to each other. He is gone along with him. . . . The young Chief, who is Mr Kendall’s companion, will be able to explain to his countrymen the object of the voyage. He assured me he would return with Mr Kendall. . . . [Kendall] applied to learn the language from Toohé, [Tuai] the young Chief and made some progress. On board he will have nothing else to attend to. 

Thus Tuai was the teacher of Kendall, rather than the other way. Some of the Māori who had been to England had learned and retained enough English to discuss quite complex matters with the scientists of the *Coquille* when that ship visited in 1824. Dumont d’Urville wrote of Kendall that he was the only missionary who had any scientific interest or appreciation of the language and Kendall and Tuai were d’Urville’s main informants.

**Kendall’s primer ‘A Korao no New Zealand’ (1815)**

Kendall’s first published work was *A korao no New Zealand* (‘Speech from New Zealand’) but it is little more than a list of words and expressions without much sense of the natural structure or syntax of the language. Set out in the form of alphabets, numbered lessons 1–52, and an alphabetical vocabulary (pages 40–51), and a few lists of articles, nouns, verbs, pronouns etc., it was a start but obviously not a model to follow, as Kendall well knew.

Kendall sent another vocabulary to Josiah Pratt about this time but this was only mentioned in passing by Judith Binney, who wrote the major account of the mission. It lacks a date but it was probably an enclosure in his letter dated 15 June 1814. It is organised alphabetically (C is used for K) and there are many spellings which would later be rejected e.g. ‘Why’ for wai (water), ‘Whyttoo’ for whetu (star) and ‘Whydooa’ for wairua (shadow or spirit). As shown by the first word transcribed, the sound tried to replicate the English word ‘why’. The vocabulary also contains a list of ordinal numbers and a miscellany of adjectives and verbs as well as imperatives. Kendall adds “I have not time to insert any more sentences at present and I have no doubt but I shall find it necessary to make many alterations in the above words when I get better acquainted with the language.” The holograph is difficult to read but the third column of the text (my transcription is in brackets) can serve as an indication of the vocabulary with the words in square brackets given as in modern Māori:

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11 *Missionary Register* February 1815, pp. 102–103.
12 See A. Sharpe (ed.) *Duperrey’s visit to New Zealand in 1824* (1971) quoting in translation Dumont d’Urville’s opinion: “Mr Kendall was the only one who so far had attempted to gather information about this extraordinary race; for this reason it is a matter for regret that he was not able to prolong his stay in these regions.” (p. 36).
14 In Hocken Library, Dunedin, DUHO MS–0054 the covering letter appears to be letter 38 as the number 38 appears on each page of letter 43.
15 Kendall to Josiah Pratt, undated but probably June 1814, in DUHO MS–0054, document 43. The last page of this was illustrated in P. Parkinson, ‘The grammars and vocabularies of Thomas Kendall and John Gare Butler Part I’. *Turnbull Library Record* 33: p. 39 but is not reproduced here.
The vocabulary in the manuscript does not correspond to that in *A korao*, nor does the orthography. The printed work, for example does not use C for K so ‘Cohetedo’ (manuscript) becomes ‘Ko-teentho’ (*A korao* p. 45) and ‘Connohee’ (manuscript) becomes ‘Kóñnohe’ (*A korao* p. 45). L is used for R in several words (as shown in the list above). This all confirms that the manuscript is earlier. The vocabulary supplied to Nicholas and used by him in his *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand* (1817) has been described by Binney and does not need to be re-described here, but it may be mentioned that ‘Ko-teentho’ and ‘Kóñnohe’ are the spellings used in both *A korao* and by Nicholas (*Narrative* v. II p. 333). Nicholas does use a few words with C for K (‘Coomera’ and ‘Cakenno’) whereas Kendall’s manuscript has (‘Kahkénno A seal fish’ i.e. ‘kekeno’) and lacks ‘kumara’. There are a few sentences at the end with translations:

Ire mi – come to me [i.e. haere mai]
Ho mi tōka pōti – give me my hat [homai toka potae]
Tenna ra quoi a quo – How do you do? [tena ra koe a koe]
Inghoa a quoi? –What is your name? [ingoa a koe?]
Makkahātoka Dakkahō – Heave my coat overboard [?]
Hāheng kakkee ire – Go dig the ground [hahenga kaki haere]
Ire mi kiki – Come to eat [haere mai kaikai]
And so forth. Kendall intended a further edition of the primer to be printed as more information came to hand. In his letter to Marsden of 6 March 1818 Kendall wrote:

Should you get the New Zealander’s First Book printed be pleased to insert the letter G in the first Alphabet. You will see when the letters are placed regular, and when they are placed designedly irregular. Let all the other Letters &c remain as they are.\textsuperscript{16}

The CMS did not proceed with any further editions of the primer but continued to be actively involved in ensuring that Māori vocabularies were recorded in order to support the work of the mission.

As is well known, Tuai (who had returned to New South Wales after the Rangihoua mission was established in 1815) sought help from Marsden to travel to England which he reached in June 1818 with his companion Titere. They both became ill and were sent to Madeley to recuperate at the home of the Rev. George Mortimer. Here Francis Hall became their tutor and amanuensis, the two Māori dictating in English the words which Hall wrote down on a slate from which the words were copied in formal copybook script. The originals of the letters are mostly in the Hocken Library, with a few in the Alexander Turnbull Library.\textsuperscript{17} During this period they had some conversation with Samuel Lee but were unsuccessful in forming the elements of an orthography and vocabulary as Lee was later to acknowledge: “Some materials were collected in London in the year 1818 from Tooi and Teeterree, two New Zealanders who resided some time at the Society’s House; but as ill health obliged them shortly to quit London the work was necessarily suspended, and the materials sent to Mr Kendall in New Zealand.”\textsuperscript{18}

In company with Hall, Tuai and Titere left England in the Baring in January 1819. With them came the Reverend John Gare Butler, as the first ordained missionary sent out to New Zealand. Kendall was greatly put out that another man had usurped his place as de facto head of the mission. The crisis that followed is detailed by Binney and in Butler’s journals edited and published by R. J. Barton as \textit{Earliest New Zealand} (1927).

\textbf{Kendall and Lee’s published Grammar and vocabulary (1820)}

Kendall’s purposes in returning to England are complex and need not detain us here (they are fully discussed by Binney and in my unpublished thesis\textsuperscript{19}), but his principal objective was to seek linguistic guidance so as to further the publication of his \textit{Grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand}. A secondary objective was his own ordination so as not to become subordinate to Butler. Accordingly in March 1820 he left the Bay of Islands taking the prominent Bay of Islands chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato with him with their own motives.

\textsuperscript{16} Kendall to Marsden, 6 March 1818, in DUHO MS–0056, letter 73. The work was not reprinted.

\textsuperscript{17} Tuai and Titere letters, 1818 (various dates, holographs) ex CMS, now in Alexander Turnbull Library MS–Papers–0288; Tuai and Titere letters, Hocken Library, ex CMS, MS–0056, documents 96, 111, 112, 116, 126–127, 176, 179. In the passage of six months their penmanship improved markedly but they did not learn to read, their tutor Francis Hall stating: “The words of these letters are their own. I was their amanuensis, and put them down on a slate, from which they copied them but cannot read what they have written.” (Annotation by Francis Hall on a letter by “Tooi” i.e. Tuai, 26 June 1818, ATL MS–Papers–0288).

\textsuperscript{18} Samuel Lee, preface to Kendall, \textit{A Grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand} (1820) p. \textsuperscript{v}

for their visit. The Grammar was published by the Church Missionary Society in November 1820 with a preface by Lee (who was brought in as a consultant to help Kendall arrange his writings). Samuel Lee (1783-1852) had become involved with the Society at the end of 1813 and was originally intended for a missionary but was called upon to instruct missionaries in oriental languages and to translate tracts. Many years later (1845) Lee commented on his experience with Kendall in a letter to a Mr George, referring to the appointment of George Grey as Governor of New Zealand: “Captain Grey is now going, it should seem, to New Zealand. He will find an interesting ground for inquiry there in the New Zealand language. The grammar made by me with the assistance of Kendall the Missionary some years ago is, I think, the only one still in existence. I should much like to see it improved and enlarged. It must necessarily be very imperfect, as it was composed, printed and all in two months. I should like, moreover, to have my attention called again to this interesting inquiry.”

The Grammar was written in English but contains several parallel translations of English and Māori texts. Kendall had disobeyed his superiors in returning to England and was severely criticised for his conduct in bringing two Māori to London (where it was expected that in the unhealthy climate they would probably die, like several of their predecessors). Tuai and Titere, who had visited in 1818-1819 had survived but had been ill. Kendall was denied the privilege of seeing his own name on the title-page of the Grammar and the Society subsequently treated the work as the creation of the famous Professor Samuel Lee. Before the Grammar was published the preliminary pages were altered at the behest of the CMS Secretary, Josiah Pratt, who added a short “Advertisement” and amended the original title. A single copy of the printed proofs of Grammar has survived and this is entitled: A | grammar | and | vocabulary | of the | language of New Zealand. | Compiled | for the use of the missionaries and settlers | in that island, | under the auspices of the | Church Missionary Society; this proof copy, formerly in the possession of Charles Alfred Ewen (1853-1921), is now in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

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20 A major obituary of Lee, detailing his philological accomplishments, appears in the Church Missionary Intelligencer v. 4 (1853) pp. 56–63.
21 Samuel Lee to Mr George, 27 June 1845, in Sir George Grey letters, L15 letter 1 (Auckland City Libraries).
In this proof copy the “Advertisement” page is not present, and the proof version of the preface by Samuel Lee (of five pages) is an earlier printing than that finally used. In the proof copy, the contents page follows the preface, and is itself followed by the Alphabet page (the start of signature B). In the re-set pages, however, the Contents page comes between the Advertisement and the Preface. The alterations were probably made on the instructions of the Church Missionary Society to emphasise the contribution of Lee rather than Kendall. For the same reason, apparently, the original printed title was replaced with a substituted title A | grammar | and | vocabulary | of the | language of New Zealand. | Published by the | Church Missionary Society. This work became the so-called ‘best’ edition of the Grammar.

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23 The advertisement is signed “Josiah Pratt, Secretary, Church Missionary House, November 20, 1820.” The altered preface text (of four pages, signed Samuel Lee) is dated “Cambridge, November, 1820.”
The *Grammar* of 1820 exists in several distinct ‘editions’, which must be distinguished but which are mis-described by H. W. Williams. The most common of these, (here called the ‘best edition’ Williams: 2) was intended for English readers, and the so-called ‘common edition’ was printed on coarse thick paper “for the use of the Society’s Schools in New Zealand.” to stand up to the wear and tear of the frontier society. The ‘best’ and the ‘common’ edition (Williams: 3(i)) are almost identical textually but differ in their paper quality. An abbreviated version of Kendall’s *Grammar*, printed on the same coarse paper lacks everything after page sixty (that is, it excludes the dialogues, songs and the vocabulary): this is Williams: 3(ii). This was apparently intended for readers who only wanted the formal grammar and not the reading lessons and other matter of religious and literary interest, which Kendall considered important. The abbreviated work may have been primarily intended for the use of visiting ships of the timber trade who only wanted a short work to facilitate trading contact. The various editions are all described in greater detail in another work.

None of these three editions was intended for Māori readers; they are written in English. An example, transcribed, of a vocabulary entry follows, that for the noun mākutu:

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24 Five hundred copies were printed. It is typographically identical to the ‘best’ edition except that p. [1] (the Alphabet), is reset (see ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–02, CMS Archives MC v. 5 p. 89). This setting of the alphabet was also used for the abbreviated edition (*BiM* 4 = Williams: 3(ii)).

Mākutu, s. a. v. n. ad.—s. Witchcraft. a. Enchanting; as, “E tāngata mākutu; a wizard.” v.n. Bewitching; as, “E mākutu āna te tāngata; The man bewitches.” ad. Enchantingly; as, “E titiro mākutu āna ra ōki koe; Thou art looking enchantingly.”

This page is illustrated as an example of the use of accents to indicate long vowels, a practice seen discarded after Kendall’s return.

Figure 3: Page 174 of the published Kendall Grammar (1820) to show use of accents to indicate long vowels.

Finally, however, there was a reprint on eight sheets of strong bluish paper of pages 1–8, 114–124, 130 and 127–128 of the ‘best edition’ of Kendall’s Grammar, with most of the text re-set and the pagination omitted. This book contains the Alphabet (page [1], in the original two-column setting) and Tables of Syllables, (with twenty numbered exercises corresponding to pages 2–8 of the ‘best edition’). These exercises are followed by the “Familiar dialogues between a Christian missionary and his pupil” (pages 114–124), with the Lord’s Prayer (from page 130) and the Creed (pages 127–128). This work, not recorded by Williams, and apparently not recognised until 1993, was found in the collection of Sir George Grey; it is the only recorded copy.

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26 Example from Kendall and Lee, Grammar (1820) p. 174.
27 Compare the re-set coarse paper printing, BiM 3, Williams: 3 (i).
Some of the pages in the proof copy of the Grammar (described above) are uncut but there are pencil annotations on pages 2–7 which suggest that the proof copy was used to compose the “Tables of Syllables” (pages 2–8) when the extracts of the Grammar were printed as cards. The printer’s marks of elision for the page numbers on the proof copy are consistent with the lack of pagination on these cards. The English translations of these texts have been omitted. A partial description follows: [Card 1] The alphabet, Table of syllables -- [Card 2] Familiar dialogues between a Christian missionary and his pupil. Dialogue I, Dialogue II -- [Card 3] Dialogue III, Dialogue IV, Dialogue V -- [Card 4] Dialogue VI, Dialogue VII -- [Card 5] Dialogue VIII, The Lord's Prayer, The Creed -- [Card 6] Table of syllables continued -- [Card 7] [Table of syllables continued] -- [Card 8] [Table of syllables continued]. These cards were used by John King and Kendall as reading and spelling primers for Māori students in the mission school at Rangihoua.29 They form the first book actually written in Māori and intended for Māori readers. A korao no New Zealand, by comparison, was as much a primer for European missionaries as for Māori, to assist them to express themselves in, and to understand Māori.

On Kendall’s return to the Bay of Islands in 1821 as an ordained minister he was again to be stationed at Rangihoua. Kendall took the advice of Samuel Lee by further developing and extending his vocabulary of the New Zealand language. The publication of the 1820 Grammar required its application and two significant manuscripts with vocabularies and exercises were compiled by the missionaries.

The 1821-1822 Vocabulary by Butler, Alexander Turnbull Library qMS-0358

One of these manuscripts is an unsigned but clearly dated (1821 and 1822) collection of vocabularies and phrases employing the orthography used by Kendall and Lee (with some variations). An unidentified librarian (realising the connection between the manuscript and the work Earliest New Zealand (1927), an edited transcript of Butler’s journals compiled by his descendent R. J. Barton) has inscribed it “This must be the Rev. John Butler’s manuscript. See Earliest New Zealand compiled by R. J. Barton page 490”30. The basis of the ascription to Butler is conjectural, however; the problem is that the work is not consistent with his orthography as that is displayed in Barton’s text, drawn from a manuscript then in family hands but apparently now lost. In the main the spelling resembles Kendall’s spelling as given in the published Grammar, and as for example in the use of the accented vowels.

Kendall and Butler both have variable handwriting depending upon whether they are writing private hurried notes or fair copies for public consumption. Careful formal handwriting, in

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29 At a meeting of the Methodist Missionary Society held on 6 December 1820: “The Revd Thomas Kendall & Shungee & Whycto two chiefs from New Zealand, were introduced to the Committee. Mr Kendall stated that the prospect of success for a Christian Mission in New Zealand lies among the children rather than among the adults. [. . . ] He expressed very great thankfulness at the prospect of Mr Leigh and his colleagues proceeding to labour in New Zealand.” (ATL Micro–MS–Coll–03–02). The cards are mentioned in the Minutes of the Church Missionary Society Committee of Correspondence, 11 December 1820, as “1000 copies of the simpler parts of the Grammar [. . . ] printed on cards for the younger scholars. [. . . ] The Secretary further stated, that as the Wesleyan Missionary Society has it in contemplation to form a Mission in New Zealand, near the River Thames, it might be expedient to present to that Society some copies of the Grammar and sets of Cards, to aid them in carrying their object into effect.” (ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–02, CMS Archives MC v. 5 p. 89).

any case, is less distinctively characteristic than fair copy. The variation is particularly evident in the copies of Butler’s journals where considerable parts of the journals are obviously not in Butler’s hand, but in that on an amanuensis, possibly his son Samuel. The solution to this conundrum is that the 1821-1822 manuscript is in fact Butler’s and he was trying to follow the orthographic conventions established by Samuel Lee and approved of by Kendall in 1820. He appears to have been quite unsuccessful in writing in the Māori language. By 1824, under pressure from Marsden, he adopted a distinct ‘English’ orthography and this appears in most of his later writings, including those transcribed by Barton from the manuscripts in family hands.

In his Earliest New Zealand (1927) Barton refers to: “Part of the rough draft [of a manuscript called ‘Butler’s help and guide to the New Zealand language’ (and discussed in the second part of this paper)] [which] is in the possession of descendants, part of it was lent to a resident of Wellington, who, instead of returning it, re-lent it to the late Mr Alex. Turnbull, and the whereabouts of it cannot be traced.” The ‘part’ lent to Turnbull may well be qMS-0358, subsequently part of the collection of that Library, acquired by the Crown under the terms of Alexander Turnbull’s will. The ‘part’ which was in the possession of descendants in 1927 cannot be located.

The 1821-1822 manuscript shows the progress of Kendall and Butler’s attempts to augment the vocabulary and to standardise the orthography. It is interesting to compare it with the earlier and later manuscripts described in a later chapter. The manuscript begins with a vocabulary of terms for the parts of the body, in parallel columns of Māori and English (modern orthographies are given here in round brackets) e.g. Tumuakee (Tumuaki) “Crown of the head", Huruhuru “Hair [of head]", Hupoko (Ūpoko) “Head", Martinga (Mātenga) “Head", Angangah (Angiangi) “Skull", Padihedehee (Pārihirihī) “Internal part of the skull bone” (apparently referring to the meninges), Roro “Brains” etc., and ending with Watteangah (whatīnga) “The bend of the arm inside” (elbow, more often applied to the joints in general). ‘Watteangah’ is an example of a Butler-type spelling unlikely to have been used by Kendall.

Following the terms for the parts of the body there is a collection of terms for relationships (again, modern orthographies are given in round brackets): tangahtah (tangata) [man], wyehenee (wahine) [woman], koroaike or koroaikey (korohake) for “man in decline of life” (i.e. an elder), terms for the emotions (e.g. nghakou poranghe (ngākau pōuri) for sad or dark hearted), and a list of names of economically important timber trees (e.g. kawrie or kodee (kauri), towah towah [toatoa], tahnekaaha (tānekaaha), toterrah (tōtara), kikahtaah (kāhikatea) and diemu (rimu). Spellings such as these and dinga dinga (ringaringa), koromatua (koromatua), wyehawwe (waewae) and peededayho (pīrereo, a term not in modern editions of the Williams’ Dictionary, but Butler’s “small bone of the thigh” apparently referring to the

32 Although Barton speaks of the Butler manuscripts as being in two parts it seems probably that there were two different manuscripts, the earlier being that described here and the other now lost.
33 In H. W. Williams’s Dictionary of the Maori language, 7th ed. (Wellington: Govt. Print., 1971) p. 268 the term pārihirihī is given as a synonym for “skull” but refers to the contents of the skull.
fibula). The spelling exemplified here shows the vocabulary used in the 1820 Grammar was not being closely or consistently adhered to and probably owes more to Butler than to Kendall. The vocabulary refers to common and familiar objects with little or no attention to abstract ideas.

Figure 4: An extract, p. 68. from the 1821-1822 J. G. Butler manuscript, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0358, showing sentences with translations.
The second part of the manuscript, which is dated 1822, commences with a prayer of eleven verses ("O Jehovah thou art a great god") which is essentially that in the 1820 Grammar (page 125), and it continues with a transcript of the 1820 version of the Creed, and a catechism and Lord’s Prayer (pages 125–130). The manuscript continues with extracts from the “Phrases, sentences, dialogues &c.” from the 1820 Grammar (pages 67–94). Clearly this part of the manuscript is a transcription from the printed work as the printed page numbers are cited. The texts are the same as those used for the extracts of the Grammar printed as cards. There can be little doubt but that it was used for rote teaching. The rest of the manuscript contains part of a vocabulary and miscellaneous writing exercises or word lists. This is an important document for the history of Māori orthography and deserves detailed linguistic study. This has not been attempted here, however, as the purpose of this study is to make known the existence of the manuscript and to establish its authorship.

In 1966 a short undated manuscript was found in the Mitchell Library, Sydney which proved, on investigation, to be a schedule of corrections to Kendall’s 1820 Grammar (readily recognised from the page numbers cited). June Starke from the Alexander Turnbull Library examined the manuscript in 1970 to attempt to identify the author: “I cannot, however, be completely sure as to the identity of the writer, but a comparison of the writing of various missionaries who at this time would have the greatest knowledge of the Maori language leads me to believe that it could be the work of William Williams . . .”. This attribution is not very convincing but the materials are insufficient to come to a conclusion about the scribe or the date of the document.35 William Williams, brother of Henry Williams, arrived in New Zealand to assist his brother in 1826 and went on to be the principal compiler of the first Dictionary of the New Zealand Language, published in 1844 at the mission press.36 It is possible that it was compiled to assist him in his earliest efforts at comprehending an unfamiliar language.

**John King’s manuscript of 1821/22**

A further linguistic manuscript from 1821 should be noted at this point, although it is incidental to the manuscripts of Kendall and Butler. This was recently located in a collection of uncatalogued manuscripts in the Hocken Library and was probably acquired by Dr T.M. Hocken with other Church Missionary Society (CMS) material in 1903. Captioned ‘Words & sentences in the New Zealand Language with their meaning collected by Mr John King’ it was received by the CMS on 29 May 1822, laid before the Committee on 17 June and acknowledged on 7 September.37 The manuscript is a fair copy in King’s script and comprises fifty–four numbered sheets of vocabularies, parts of speech and sentences. Stressed vowels are marked by an inverted comma. A pencil annotation on page three reads “Introduce next page in 4 columns” but if this was intended as an instruction to typesetters or a transcriber it was probably ignored as there are no further annotations after this page. Most probably the

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37 Hocken Library, Dunedin, uncatalogued MS currently in the collection DUHO MS–1166. The dates of receipt and acknowledgement are noted on the manuscript, as was the usual practice of the CMS. Watermark dates are 1807 and 1808 and the paper is Ivy Mill.
text was not considered worth publishing. An alphabetical vocabulary (sheets 40 to 49) lists words beginning a, d, u, i, k, m, n, o, p, t, and r (‘rawiti, over, the other side’ [i.e. rāwhiti, East literally ‘sun rising’] is the only word listed under this head). A few fragments of the text should suffice to give the character of the King manuscript, giving the sense in Māori but with an English style which is strange to modern ears:

i hea ra ne taku meai noho mai nei ina po? – where is my thing that rested here last night?
i hea oki to tatu nei hoe? – where is our padle [sic]
i hea oti o tatu nei toki? Where else is our axes [?]?
no hea ra ne ena waha e tere mai ana? – from whence are those canoes that are sailing this way?
– no waikadi – from waikadi
no hea oti te kaipuke ka ú mai nei? – from whence the ship that is just now arrived here? – No
Port-Jackson – from Port Jackson – kaore, kaore – no, no – no hea oti te kaipike nei? – from
whence then is this ship?
nona hea ra ne i tai mai? – when did he arrive?
nona hea oti i madu ai te tangata? – when was the man killed?
nona mata ra oki, no mua ke – a long time back
nona hea oti i madu ai te tangata nei? – when then was this man killed?
ki te aha ra ne e wawahi ana nga manu? – to what purpose is it, or what are these Birds fighting
about?
ki te aha oti e aere mai ana te pakeha? To what purpose is the white man coming here? Ki te
korero, to speak
ki te aha oti? To what else?
e aha te utu ma nga kouda? – what is the price for these fish
e aha te utu mo nga ketemuka? – what is the price for these Baskets of Flax? – e toki ra pa oki –
a ax [sic]
e utu aha ma nga kete kapana? What is the price for these Baskets of Potatoes

To transliterate these expressions into modern Māori would be possible but rather fruitless but the last may be rendered as: ‘He utu aha mā nga kete kapana?’ ‘kapana’ being a neologism for the foreign potato, introduced by Captain Cook (Kapana Kuki) in 1769. The circumstances of the manuscript are revealed by the letter which accompanied it, and also in the Hocken Library but now separated from the other document. King writes that it is “some of the New Zealand language that I had penned down from time to time with the English to most of it. [B]ut [I] do not find it so difficult to get words and sentences as it is to learn their proper, various and extensive meaning, and how to apply them.” King was much more successful than Butler in interpreting Māori phonology and expressing it in written text.

Kendall’s dismissal, and Marsden’s ‘spelling reform’, September 1823

The departure of Thomas Kendall and his brief visit to England with Hongi Hika in 1820 has been discussed. Between the time of Kendall’s return with Hongi in 1821 and late 1823 the Church Mission disintegrated. The sorry story includes Kendall’s domestic difficulties – repercussions of his wife’s adultery with the convict servant Richard Stockwell in 1816, which had been one of Kendall’s reasons for leaving New Zealand – Kendall’s own

38 ‘Words & sentences . . .’ (1822) in DUHO MS–1166 p. 8. A photocopy of the entire manuscript has been deposited at the Alexander Turnbull Library.

39 The dates of receipt and acknowledgement are noted on the manuscript, as was the usual practice of the CMS. King’s covering letter to Josiah Pratt, 18 January 1822 is in his ‘Letters and journals, 1819–1853’ (Hocken Library, DUHO MS–0073, copy at Alexander Turnbull Library, ATL qMS–1111).
subsequent adultery with a Māori woman (Tungaroa, daughter of the tohunga Rakau, an eminent priestly expert) late in 1822, and, above all, Kendall’s involvement in the arms trade sealed his fate. The CMS determined to be rid of him.

The Rev. John Butler was considered no more suitable as a missionary than was the newly ordained Kendall, but for different reasons. In addition to Butler’s repeated disagreements with Marsden, Butler was also accused of insobriety. By August 1823 Marsden was fed up with both of them and decided to get rid of both as soon as he could. \(^{40}\) Butler and Kendall were hardly on speaking terms for part of the time, but Butler recorded in his journal for 1823: “Saturday August 2nd Mr Kendall came to see me and bring some writings in the New Zealand language, remained until Monday Morning.”\(^{41}\) The ‘writings’ referred to have not been identified. If it is assumed that the 1821–22 manuscript in Butler’s hand (or that of an amanuensis) was that of Butler it is still possible that this manuscript is a transcript of writings supplied by Kendall. In the face of Marsden’s displeasure they may have sought to retrieve what they could. In either case this leaves a further Kendall document unaccounted for. Two days after Kendall had visited Butler Marsden arrived with the Rev. Henry Williams and the Wesleyan missionaries Nathaniel Turner and John Hobbs on the Brampton. Marsden intended to replace the broken reeds with new men.

Marsden’s visits to Kendall to remove him from the mission confirmed his dislike for a man whom he considered to have been under the domination of the vices of pride, passion and lust: “I am convinced he will never recover himself out of the Snare of the Devil while he remains in New Zealand.”\(^{42}\) Marsden delivered the letter of dismissal from the CMS on his second visit to Kendall (12 August 1823), and Kendall eventually accepted Marsden’s demand that he leave New Zealand. This plan was foiled by the wreck of the Brampton on 7 September, after which Kendall decided to remain at Matauwhi in the Bay of Islands. When the Dragon arrived Butler was removed instead.

Late in September 1823 Marsden concluded that the 1820 Grammar and the orthography then in use by the missionaries was incomprehensible. As Kendall seemed to have failed in everything, Marsden decided upon a new way of keeping the miscreant Kendall occupied and quiet. The Kendall orthography had been adopted by the other older members (John King and William Hall) but not by John Butler, or the new members James Shepherd and James Kemp and Henry Williams. \(^{43}\) An example can be seen in Butler’s ‘Guns parted with by Mr Kendall since his return from England’ (1821) where the recipients are named as Wharrie Pork (Wharepoaka), Maku, Dudungah (Tutunga?), Kiddee pido (Kairipiro?), Kidar Waiheeno (Kaira Wahine, the wife of Kaira (Kira), Jackey Terrah (Tera?), Whahienu warro (?), Mowhunnah (Moehanga), Tadenanah (Tarenana?), Tohedeedee (Toheriri?), Shunghie (Hongi), O’Gunnah (Te URI a Kana), Wharemoki, (Wharemokaikai?) A Towah (Atoa?),

\(^{40}\) Samuel Marsden, writing to James Kemp on 11 June 1823, warned: “The rotten branches must be cut off soon. Every Missionary that conducts himself with propriety may rely upon my support as far as I can give it. But I will have no communication with those who act unbecoming in their character if I can avoid it. The Rev. Mr. Kendall I can consider no longer in the light of a missionary nor in connection with the Missionary Society. His fall is dreadful and he will feel it sooner or later, his sin will surely find him out.” (Marsden to Kemp, 11 June 1823, (typed transcript) shelved in the ATL Printed Collections at q266.83 MAR.

\(^{41}\) J. G. Butler, 2 August 1823, in Earliest New Zealand (1927) p. 287.

\(^{42}\) S. Marsden, in ‘Marsden IV Journal’, 8 August 1823, DUHO ms. 177D.

\(^{43}\) The originals of Butler’s letters are at the Hocken Library, those of Shepherd and Kemp are in Birmingham in the CMS Archives. The CMS documents at Birmingham are available on microfilm in Alexander Turnbull Library, at ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04.
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Torrah (Tora?) and Teteree (Titeri), most of whose names are uncertain and almost unrecognisable.44

A more securely dated list sent to Marsden by Butler on 18 September 1823 gives the “names of natives who have been under my care” (fifty-three names) and has a similar orthography but as in the former case many of the names cannot be recognised. Some had adopted English names such as William, Peter, Tommy, Hall and Frank. In this list ‘Tywanga’ (Butler’s foreman) is Taiwhanga, ‘Maddu’ is probably Madu who was with Butler in Sydney in 1824. Several girls are named including ‘Pai-hi-tha (daughter of Shunghie) and Hannah named as the daughter of Rewa); other have also adopted English names such as Sally, Kitty and Jane.45

In retribution for Kendall’s sins and in partial compensation to the CMS for all the trouble he had caused, Marsden decided Kendall should wholly revise the orthography on new lines, shaping it on the basis of English vowels:

Sept 27, 1823. This morning I visited the Rev. T. Kendall and conversed with him relative to his Grammar. I stated to him the difficulty I found in it with respect to the pronunciation of the vowels, and that the Missionaries met with the same difficulties in following his Rules. Mr Kendall candidly admitted that the difficulty was so great, he could not himself follow the system he had laid down. It appeared to me absurd to study Mr Kendall’s theory which he himself could not reduce to practice; and conceived that, if a vocabulary of the New Zealand Language were written, in which the pronunciation of the Vowels was retained according to the English, the difficulty would be removed. They also spelled proper names different to what they were in the original by which great difficulties were created both in writing and pronouncing the New Zealand language. Mr Kendall gave me no satisfactory reason. I intended that as the New Zealanders were so quick in learning our language and could pronounce the vowels so well according to our custom, I thought it advisable to retain the English pronunciation of the vowels, as this would greatly facilitate the acquirement of the language. The Missionaries would soon learn to speak and write it while according to the present system they never could. I also recommended that all the English terms, for such things as the Natives had not seen, should be introduced into the New Zealand language; that a Sheep should be called a Sheep, a Cow a Cow &c. If we did not do this the New Zealanders would give them names by comparison, and, probably it could require three or four words in some things, to express what we do in one. The New Zealand Language is also very impure, and that impurity would increase by allowing them to give names to Animals &c.; but if we retained our own terms, and interwove our language with theirs, this would tend to make the Language more chaste; at present it is very unchaste and offensive.46 It was at length determined to write a new vocabulary of the New Zealand language, and to retain the English pronunciation of the Vowels, and the English terms for such things as they never saw. I recommended Mr Kendall to set about the important work immediately, which he agreed to do. He was not to write this Vocabulary on the Church Missionary Society’s account, as he is

44 List of names given by R. J. Barton in Earliest New Zealand (1927) p. 172, and Butler’s transliteration of the Kendall translations of the Lords Prayer and ‘Ta Creed’ and other texts quoted by Barton, ibidem, pp. 359–362 where ‘koe’ is often rendered as ‘quoi’ as in ‘Awa ra oki quoi a tonga tonga noa ke tou rayo te ingoa i tou Atua. Aquorree te Atua a payna, a pi Hea ke te tangata tonga noa ke tona ingoa.’ (the Third Commandment, cf ‘Aua hoki te ingoa o Ihowa to Atua e waka huatia noata . . .’, using 1840 orthography), and the Eighth Commandment, ‘Awa ra okee quoi a tyhi’ of Butler, but ‘Aua koe e tahae’ in 1840. Kendall had not used ‘quoi’ for ‘koe’ since 1814!


46 These remarks on the offensiveness of the Māori language may reflect missionary sensitivity to the sound of the ubiquitous causative prefix “whaka-” (at that time spelled “waka-” and evidently pronounced as “fucker”). This was probably a great joke for the sailors but distressing to evangelical sensibilities.
no longer a servant of theirs. I shewed to Mr Kendall, the Society was no debtor to him, but he was a debtor to the Society; and therefore should do anything he could to repay them.\(^{47}\)

This crucial extract establishes the date of Marsden’s attempted ‘spelling reform’. Marsden renewed his conversation on this proposal a week later:

as I wished to gain what information I could on the subject in order that I might form some opinion on the best mode to be employed in learning it. I cannot rely on my own judgement for want of knowing more of the Language myself. . . . following the directions of the grammar with respect to the vowels burdens the memory too much, and is more than the Missionaries can accomplish. They read the English Language daily and are in the constant habit of pronouncing the Vowels according to custom; when they come to the New Zealand Language they die at a stand.\(^{48}\)

The Wesleyan missionary Nathaniel Turner visited Marsden for a discussion about orthography on 3 October:

They were all in confusion at their settlement [Whangaroa] about it as they could not follow the Rules laid down in Mr Kendall’s Grammar, with respect to the pronunciation of the Vowels. I informed Mr Turner what resolution the missionaries had come to respecting it and also what the Rev. Kendall said. Mr Turner expressed much satisfaction that an alteration was to be made; that it was his opinion, as well as that of his colleagues, that, the English pronunciation of the Vowels should be followed. I hope the question will now be at rest as all are unanimously of opinion that, the Vowels should return to the English pronunciation; and, that future experience will prove that the view now adopted is the best.\(^{49}\)

Kendall compiled a vocabulary of about five hundred words and brought it to Marsden at Kerikeri on 4 October, “very much agitated in his mind and under the government of a very unchristianlike spirit”. In the next fortnight an alternative plan for the orthography was determined upon, in which Kendall was to have no part, as the Wesleyan missionary William White wrote to Butler: “At length a plan is fixed upon to spell New Zealand words. Will it answer? I fear not. However, I submit for conscience sake. I shall thank you in your next communication to furnish me with all the help you can on the subject of the NZ language”.\(^{50}\)

At the end of October Marsden demanded that Kendall return to New South Wales with him on the Dragon; but Kendall refused to go unless he was given paid passages to England for himself and his family. Marsden replied on 31 October with a refusal, and terminated all further communications between them. Marsden wrote in his journal: “No man in Bedlam was ever more under the influence of Insanity, than Mr Kendall appears to be under the influence of a wicked, and satanical Spirit.”\(^{51}\)

The disagreements about orthography are symptomatic of a larger problem, which was Kendall’s growing realisation that Europeans and Māori had quite different conceptions of the cosmos. The differences over language had precipitated both a linguistic crisis and an

\(^{47}\) S. Marsden, in ‘Marsden IV Journal’, 27 September 1823, DUHO ms 177D; also quoted in ATL-Micro-MS-Coll-04-29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 3 p. 1–2.

\(^{48}\) Ibidem p. 3.

\(^{49}\) Ibidem p. 5.

\(^{50}\) W. White to J. G. Butler, Letter, 14 October 1823, in Earliest New Zealand (1927) p. 302.

\(^{51}\) S. Marsden, ‘Marsden IV Journal’, 29 October 1823, DUHO ms 177D; see also ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 3 p. 19.
epistemological crisis. Kendall was exploring notions which were tainted with heresy. It is to this which Kendall seems to be referring in his reference to the metamorphoses of Ovid the study of which ‘tends to injure the mind’. Thenceforth he looked for alternative ways of describing reality.\textsuperscript{52}

In 1824 R. P. Lesson shared Dumont d’Urville’s appreciation of Kendall’s abilities, but he was not uncritical. He comments that Kendall “might possibly have been able to render great service in this field, if he had not related the beliefs of the New Zealanders exclusively to the trinitary system of Pythagoras, considering them to be a colony of Egyptians.”\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52} See J. Binney, \textit{The legacy of guilt} (1968) Appendix I pp. 171–176 (Kendall’s letter to Pratt, dated 27 July 1824, received by the CMS 17 January 1825, about the ‘three states of existence’) and pp. 125–127 (chapter 7 ‘The heritage of Isaiah’).

\textsuperscript{53} Lesson in Sharpe, \textit{Duperrey’s visit to New Zealand} (1971) p. 97.
After Marsden departed with Butler (at the end of October 1823) a Quarterly Meeting took place at the mission. It was attended by Henry Williams, William Hall, John King, James Kemp, and James Shepherd and was held on 5 January 1824. The disgraced Kendall was not invited. The Committee decided that the English alphabet and pronunciation were to be used in the schools “with the addition of an accented A.” This seems to show that a decision was made to reject most of the long vowel sounds (now represented by the macron) in written texts, although the distinction between long and short vowels was recognised. Henry Williams wrote of Kendall on 9 February 1824: “He has a turbulent disposition. I think his great influence over the natives is subsiding. The various members of the mission can now talk to the natives as well as himself. We have condemned the Grammar. We have taken the English alphabet, as all the Newzealand [sic] sounds may be formed by it; and we consider it unnecessary to improve upon that.”

On 4 February he wrote to E. G. Marsh:

Great progress in the language is made by Mr Shepherd and we are paying particular attention to it. We meet on Tuesday to examine some words and on Monday next we assemble for two days at least. We, in Council, have condemned the book called The Grammar. I cannot tell what share Professor Lee may have had in its composition, but it certainly appears far from simplicity.

The original missionaries, William Hall and John King, wrote to the CMS (on 4 February and 5 February respectively) defending the Grammar. Hall remarked, in the postscript to his letter:

The New Zealand Grammar as formed by Mr Kendall, and, Mr Professor Lee is about to be thrown aside in disuse, which is far from meeting with my approbation. Improvements indeed might be made in the Spelling, Vocabulary &c, but I am of opinion that the sounds of the vowels will never be better adapted to the capacities of the Natives. I should like very much to know Mr Professor Lee’s opinions upon this.

King continued his school, which was based largely on recitation from the reading lessons on cards extracted from the Grammar, and the use of transcripts of the Creed and Ten Commandments, doubtless like those in the 1821–1822 manuscript discussed in the first chapter, as well as a catechism first circulated in manuscript. King remarked:

I am sorry that an alteration has taken place here in spelling and writing the New Zealand Language, because the plan laid down by Professor Lee is a plain, simple and unembarrassed, not burthensome to the memory, nor perplexing to the understanding of the Natives. The

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1 H. Williams, ‘Extracts from the letters of the Rev. Henry Williams and his wife [. . .]’. p. 228, ATL MS–2409.
vowels each bearing but one sound throughout the language makes it so plain and easy. When
the children have learned well the vowels, consonants and the single syllables contained in the
first card, they will go on with ease, without obstruction or embarrassment. It may be made
plainer and easier for Englishmen in general, there is no doubt, but in my opinion it will not be
made better for the Natives.4

The Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect of the Polynesian Language written anonymously in
English by the Rev. John Davies and printed at the London Missionary Society’s press at
Burder’s Point, Tahiti, in 18235 contains reflections on Kendall’s work in comparison with other
dialects of the ‘Polynesian Language’, but avoids mention of Kendall by name, attributing his work to Lee instead. Davies pointed out that:

Mr. Lee, in his preface to the New Zealand Grammar observes, that there is one peculiarity in
the pronunciation: viz. ‘When two vowels occur, the combined sound becomes that of the
English sh; as for example Eongi a salute, is pronounced Shongi, and so of every other
combination in which the in definite article e precedes a vowel’ and that this appears to be ‘a
phenomenon in the history of speech.’ This appears however to be a mistake; the sound
alluded to, is an aspirate, followed by a vowel, and not that of sh, the combination is common
in Tahitian, the word Eongi is the same as the Tahitian Ehoi, and ought to be spelt not Shongi
but Hongi or Eh’-ongi.6

In June 1824 the CMS secretaries in London received a large collection of documents from
Marsden giving Marsden’s version of events between September 1823 and February 1824. The
documents were recorded in the Committee Minutes on 8 September 1824. On 13
January 1824 Marsden had “suspended the Rev. John Butler from all connexion with the
Society,” but he had engaged him “to instruct the New Zealanders under his own control”.7
The documents sent by Marsden were conveyed through Barron Field, (the former Chief
Justice of New South Wales) who visited the CMS to discuss the New Zealand language and
the situation of the mission on 12 July 1824. As discussed at the Committee’s meeting on 8
September 1824 (which also recorded Marsden’s documents) Field thought that Kendall
would leave New Zealand but that he should be forced out if he would not go of his own
accord:

[Field] is of [the] opinion that the Governor of New South Wales is vested with power to
remove Mr Kendall from New Zealand, and thinks it desirable that Mr Marsden should apply
to His Excellency, Sir Thomas Brisbane to effect the removal of Mr Kendall – the Rev. J.
Butler has been abetted in his opposition to Mr. Marsden by some person in the Colony, but is
of opinion that Mr Butler will be induced to pursue that cause which Mr Marsden purposed to
adopt towards him [. . .] thinks that the establishment in New South Wales of a Seminary for
New Zealand Youths will be attended with many advantages [. . .] conceives that in fixing the
New Zealand Language, it would be advisable to adopt the principles laid down by Dr. Martin
in his Grammar & Vocabulary of the Tonga Islands.8

The CMS resolved to request Field to confer with Martin on the subject. In the matters
relating to Kendall, the CMS resolved to approve of Marsden’s handling of the situation. The

5 John Davies, A Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect of the Polynesian Language. (Tahiti: Printed at the Mission
6 J. Davies, ibidem p. 7.
8 Committee of Correspondence 12 July 1824, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–04, CMS Archives MC vol. 7 p. 128.
CMS considered the matter on 8 September 1824 noting “that while the Committee contemplate with pain and regret the conduct pursued by Mr. Kendall since his separation from the Society, . . . it does not appear to them expedient to attempt to effect Mr Kendall’s removal from New Zealand by coercive means, but that should any further measures be called for respecting Mr Kendall’s conduct in New Zealand, Mr Marsden be requested to confer with His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane thereon and he avail himself of the friendly disposition towards the Society expressed by His Excellency in carrying those measures into effect.”

The missionaries were instructed to break off all communications with Kendall. In consideration of the linguistic work of the mission:

11. That extracts of those parts of the foregoing Despatches which relate to the New Zealand Language, be communicated to Professor Lee; and that he be requested to state to the Committee the view which he takes of the subject and the course of proceeding which he would recommend; and that Barron Field Esqr. be requested to confer with Dr. Martin, the editor of Mariner’s Tongi [sic] Islands, relative to the principles on which it is advisable to fix the New Zealand language; and to state to the Committee the result of his conference with Dr. Martin.

In reply, Lee wrote to the CMS from Cambridge “relative to the New Zealand Grammar (see [CMS Committee of Correspondence] Minutes p. 195) expressing his opinion that it will be advisable to adhere to the principles of orthography already laid down.”

Kendall, perhaps emboldened by the encouragement he had received from the French visitors J. S. C. Dumont d’Urville and R. P. Lesson, during their voyage with the Coquille in April 1824, himself defended his orthography in a letter to the Secretaries on 23 and 24 July 1824, this letter crossing with that of Lee to the Secretaries. Kendall wrote:

It is my intention after a while to make improvements in my New Zealand Grammar. I am certain the mode of pronouncing the vowels as adopted by Professor Lee will be found to be the best. The Missionaries at Wangaroa [Whangaroa, where the Wesleyan mission had established itself, under Nathaniel Turner, William White, and John Hobbs] are of the same opinion. I have also seen Gentlemen of talent both from Spain and France who fully agree with me in my ideas. I began to copy a few sheets for Mr Marsden with a different spelling, but in my opinion it will not answer. I did them at his request.

Within New Zealand attitudes towards the Grammar of 1820 had changed by the end of the year 1824. James Shepherd wrote to Pratt on 17 December 1824 stating: “I had not for some time previous to my receiving your Letter, written much in the New Zealand language. I intend in future to follow the orthography laid down in Mr Lee’s Grammar of the New Zealand Language, believing it to be, with a few exceptions a easy way to spell the New Zealand Language.”

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9 ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–04, CMS Archives MC vol. 7. p. 193
10 Minutes of Committee of Correspondence, 8 September 1824, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–04, CMS Archives MC vol. 7 p. 195.
The change in attitude of the members of the mission is probably due to the influence of Shepherd as its most fluent member. On her arrival in New Zealand in 1823 Marianne Williams (wife of Henry Williams) had noted the singing of hymns: “in the native language, written by Mr Shepherd” and subsequently she remarked in a letter: “Mr Shepherd, having made great proficiency in the language, has written many hymns and begun to translate the scriptures.”

In a report on the mission printed in the Missionary Register it is reported of Shepherd that he “has begun a translation of the Gospels, is preparing a Vocabulary, and has composed several Hymns, with a Tract on the Creation, Fall and Redemption of Man. Mr Marsden was very urgent with the Missionaries on his last visit to enter on the business of Education.” Unfortunately most of Shepherd’s translations and literary works appear not to have survived.

‘The New Zealand Grammar’ from 1824 to 1826

John Gare Butler, put in charge of the Maori at Paramatta, soon fell out again with Marsden and sought advice from Governor Brisbane. Towards the end of 1824 Butler left New South Wales to pay his complaints against Marsden before the CMS in London. In February 1825, (after the CMS met with John Butler), it was suggested to the CMS by E. G. Marsh, Judge Barron Field and others that Samuel Lee be consulted over the desirability of effecting an alteration to the standard orthography of the New Zealand language. A letter was sent from the Parent Committee containing approved changes in the orthography from Professor Lee but unfortunately this letter has not been identified. In reply, however, in late December 1825 the missionaries in New Zealand objected:

The New Zealand Grammar has been in universal use for several months, and the difficulties generally surmounted; there is no doubt as to its simplicity for the use of the natives. The new Table of vowels in your Letter just received appears to disagree considerably with that in the Grammar. We have not yet been able to take any particular view of it.

Writing again from New South Wales on 31 January 1826 Shepherd said: “The alteration which the Society has made in the authography [sic] of the New Zealand Language has occasioned me to defer the printing of the Spelling Book which I mentioned to you in my last till another opportunity.” At the same time, however, he requested Greek reference works with a view to starting scriptural translations. When William Williams (Henry’s more academic brother) arrived at the Bay of Islands he revisited the orthographic controversy and

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14 Marianne Williams, 10 August 1823, in H. Williams, ‘Extracts’ ATL MS–2409.
15 Missionary Register (February 1825) p. 102.
16 Samuel Lee (1783-1852) became involved with the Society at the end of 1813. He had originally been intended for a missionary to the Mediterranean or to India but was then called on to instruct missionaries in oriental languages and the translation of tracts. A long account of his services was included in the minutes of the CMS Committee of Correspondence on 15 February 1825 and printed as a record (Lee papers, in the Alexander Turnbull Library, ATL qMS–1148). Eventually Lee had employed thirteen different languages in his work for the Church Missionary Society (not including those of modern Europe), including three which he learned especially. He had edited three Bibles, two New Testaments, three psalters, a prayer book and the Gospel of Matthew. The languages included Arabic, Syriac, Malay, Hindi, Persian, Ethiopic and Amharic. A major obituary of Lee appears in Church Missionary Intelligencer vol. 4 pp. 56–63.
17 H. Williams to the Secretaries, 26 December 1825, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 4 p. 45.
the first translations to be printed for the mission at New South Wales were produced in August 1827. These consisted of extracts of Genesis, St John, Exodus, St Matthew the Lord’s prayer and hymns, using the recently approved alphabet but with an aspirated w (‘w) to represent what would later become wh (for example ‘wenua later became whenua). The following month Marsden wrote with relief to the missionaries:

I am satisfied God will incline the hearts of the New Zealanders to read and study the Scriptures as soon as they are translated unto their own tongue. When the Gospel was first preached to the Gentiles, the Apostles had not time to learn the languages of those they were commanded to preach to; therefore God gave them the Gift of Tongues that everyman might hear the Glad Tidings in his own tongue. When you can preach to the New Zealanders in their own tongue, you may then expect to see the fruit of your labours. The portion of Scriptures which are now printed I hope will be of great benefit.

Another previously unknown and unattributed ‘Kendall’ manuscript has recently been identified in the Alexander Turnbull Library although it is not in Kendall’s hand. This is a transcript of the first twelve dialogues from Kendall’s 1820 Grammar and, since it has an 1824 watermark it was probably written in late 1824 or early in 1825 at the earliest. The 1820 text has been modified to improve the Māori orthography, probably for George Clarke’s school at Kerikeri, as Clarke mentions in his letters that the dialogues were used as teaching material. The scribe cannot be identified; it is not Butler or Kendall but might be William Williams who arrived in New Zealand in late 1825. As was noted in the previous chapter in 1966 a short undated manuscript was found in the Mitchell Library, Sydney which proved on investigation to be a schedule of corrections to Kendall’s 1820 Grammar (readily recognised from the page numbers cited). June Starke from the Alexander Turnbull Library examined the manuscript in 1970 to attempt to identify the author: “I cannot, however, be completely sure as to the identity of the writer, but a comparison of the writing of various missionaries who at this time would have the greatest knowledge of the Maori language leads me to believe that it could be the work of William Williams . . .”. This attribution is not very convincing but the materials are insufficient to come to a conclusion about the scribe.

The removal of John Gare Butler, 1824-25

On 13 January 1824 Marsden had suspended Butler from all connection with the Church Missionary Society. Butler remained at Parramatta meanwhile, Marsden hoping that he would go away. In a letter to the CMS written at Parramatta on 26 January 1824 Butler “denies that he entertained animosity towards Mr Kendall” and attempted to explain “the

19 BiM 9, with caption title ‘Kenehihi’ i.e. Genesis, printed by G. Eagar, Sydney, 400 copies, August 1827.
20 Samuel Marsden to Kemp and Clarke, 4 September 1827 (transcript), in ATL Printed Collection q266.83 MAR.
21 This manuscript was in George C. Petersen’s papers, so it was probably first gathered by William Colenso circa 1835. It passed on Colenso’s death in 1899 to his daughter Frances Simcox, then to her son Martin Simcox and it was purchased with the rest of the Simcox collection by Petersen in 1954 (Bagnall to J. Traue, 18 February 1979, in A. G. Bagnall, ‘Further papers’, ATL 89–249). The current location of the manuscript is T. Kendall, ‘[Dialogues I-XII]’ in ‘William Colenso – Draft correspondence and other material, 1824-1899’ [MS Papers] 80–038–09.
23 This letter is printed in full in Barton’s Earliest New Zealand (1927) pp. 334–336.
difference between Mr Kendall and himself” stating that he thought the other missionaries had sided against him. Butler sought means of redressing his grievances against Marsden (and reparation for the accusations made against him of drunkenness) by consulting Governor Brisbane. Ultimately, finding no solution in New South Wales, on 10 July Butler left for London on the Midas to place his grievances before the Parent Committee.

On his return to England in January 1825 Butler attended a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence and “laid before them some translations into the New Zealand language; some vocabularies of that language; and His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane’s proclamation against the commission of outrages on the natives of the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans”. These documents were noted at the end of the Minutes (page 365) as “Vocabularies & Translations in the New Zealand Language by Rev. J. Butler” and “Proclamation of his Excellency . . .”. The printed proclamation was removed by Dr Hocken in 1903 and is now in the Hocken Library in ‘Flotsam & Jetsam’ scrapbook v. 13 no. 2. The manuscript “Vocabularies & Translations in the New Zealand Language by Rev. J. Butler” however was rediscovered in June 2000 among a box of uncatalogued manuscripts along with the 1821–22 manuscript of John King already mentioned in the first chapter.

The Proclamation actually exists in two formats, firstly as an English language proclamation printed as a large placard for pasting on walls (as in the copy in the Hocken Library ‘Flotsam & Jetsam’ scrapbook), and secondly as an offprint of a gazette with a parallel text in Māori. The translation into Māori is anonymous but is doubtless Butler’s, perhaps assisted by the Māori youths ‘Shou’ (Hau) and ‘Madu’ (Maru) who were studying with him at Parramatta. Butler remarks in his journal on 3 May 1824:

Went to Government House in the morning; took with me Madu and Shou. His Excellency was much pleased with their behaviour, and promised to give them a suit of clothes each. His Excellency also informed me that he was about to issue a proclamation, to prevent the outrages committed by the whalers and other ships touching their shores.

In a letter to the Church Missionary Society dated 27 May 1824, enclosing a copy of the Proclamation, Brisbane states “I have considered it incumbent on me to issue the accompanying Proclamation in consequence of many diabolical acts of outrage committed by British Ships in these Seas, and more particularly on a recent occasion at Vavaoo [Vavau], one of the Friendly Islands [Tonga], by the “Rambler” whaler, when the Master paid the forfeit of his life for his brutality, otherwise he must have been tried for his life here.”

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24 Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, 8 September 1824, in ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–04, CMS Archives MC v. 7 p. 184. With the letter he enclosed his journal and affidavits in his own defence (see pp. 184–186).
25 Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, 14 January 1825, in ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–04, CMS Archives MC v. 7 p. 361.
26 Hocken Library, Dunedin, uncatalogued manuscript currently in DUHO MS–1166.
27 In his letter to the CMS dated 14 January 1825 Butler names the child brought to England as ‘Frank’ which indicates that he was named after Francis Hall. He was captured as a slave at Hauraki in Hongi Hika’s wars in 1821 and purchased by Mrs Butler for two axes, as the vendors intended to kill and eat him if the missionaries refused to take him in. (Butler to CMS, cited in Earliest New Zealand (1927) p. 396). Maru and Hau and other Māori who had lived with Butler are mentioned in the same letter, ‘Shou’ (Hau) being called ‘The most promising youth’ and elsewhere identified as a brother of Tuai and Te Rangi of Paroa (p. 262).
28 R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand (1927) p. 370.
translation is bizarre, using the ‘more chaste’ orthography mandated by Marsden a few months earlier.

New South Wales
E Korero,
I. Ná tóna Excelenei iá Sir Thomasa Brisa- | bane, ko te Captani, ko te tínō Rángatira | wáka shau; o ténei káinga, o New South | Wales, me óna tine motu atu óki, &c. &c. &c

[Preamble begins:] II. Na te mea, e máha ngá páshua tanga o ngá Mótou, ki te Moana Pocifica; a ki te Moana tudiana, e | nga tángata kíno: á ko úgá tángata shóko ká máte iá rátou ; me ngá tángata maori, e áta nóho ana ká máte, me ngá tángata | átu óki. 'A e páshua tiá áua óki ki te e Moana, ki ngá káinga, | átu óki, ko nga Ademirala, te Rángatira wakashan o rída.

[three further paragraphs]

[Testamentum clause:] 6. Kua óti nei te o átu i tóku nei | Ringa ringa me tóku Seala i Sydiny, 17 May, 1824. | E tono ná tona Exceleny | Ko F. Goulburn, To kónei | kai túhi túhi. | Má te Atua e wáka óra te Kingi.30

It is likely that these peculiarities of orthography are the results of Marsden’s insistence upon the adoption of ‘English spelling’ as taught by Butler at Parramatta in the first half of 1824. Nobody else used these conventions. The aspirate ‘h’ is dropped so ‘hoki’ is rendered as ‘óki’. A few remarks on expressions used are noteworthy: the Governor is called ‘tino rangatira’ literally ‘high chief’ which is not an expression any Māori would have used, each being jealous of his own prestige (mana) and the expression was only used, at least until the 1850s for British officials. ‘Waka shau’ appears to mean sailing ship (from waka, a canoe and hau, wind) but is misspelled in the second usage: ‘ko nga Ademirala, te Rángatira wakashan o rída’ (the admirals, the chiefs of sailing-ships). The use of consonants not used in Māori is also noteworthy: b, d, l, s, x. Fortunately, this experiment seems to have ephemeral.

The companion ‘Vocabularies and Translations’ manuscript by Butler however does not use these conventions. It is a substantial and very carefully written document on thirty-five numbered leaves on paper watermarked ‘Slade | 1823’. It is not explicitly signed by the author or scribe but it is annotated ‘Butler’ and the title given at its top (‘Vocabularies and translations in the New Zealand language’) is the same as that recorded in the CMS minute books for January 1825 (see above), confirming that this is indeed Butler’s document. The Hocken manuscript is moreover, in the same hand as that of the 1821-1822 manuscript in the Turnbull Library which had also been ascribed to Butler (Alexander Turnbull Library qMS-0358, see the previous chapter).

The likely date of composition of this manuscript is between April 1824 (the time of the visit of the Coquille) and July 1824 when Butler left Sydney on the Midas, taking the manuscript

30 Parallel translation: ‘New South Wales. Proclamation, I. By His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., Captain General and Governor in chief in and over the Colony of New South Wales and its dependencies, &c. &c., &c. II. Whereas misguided Persons often commit gross Outrages in the Islands of the Indian and Pacific Ocean, and elsewhere, against the Interest of the fair Trader, and to the extreme injury of the unoffending Natives thereof, and of Others; and also, upon the Sea, and in places where the Admiral or Admirals have Authority. [four more paragraphs followed by testamentum clause]. (BiM 6, only known copy at Auckland Public Library). The sheet was printed by R. Howe, Government printer, in the style used for gazette notices. Part of the text was illustrated in my article in the Turnbull Library Record v. 33 (2000) p. 53 but this is not repeated here, as the text has been transcribed.
with him. With time on his hands during the voyage Butler would have had ample opportunity to produce a fair copy on the Midas. The main sections of the manuscript are described below:

‘Names of Persons’ (sheets 1–15) is an alphabetical list (a, d, h, k, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, w) in which every name is prefixed by the particle ‘ko’ and is given with the English text in parallel. Stressed vowels are marked by an acute accent, the d is retained for r (but only with the vowels e, i and u. The r is used only with the vowels a and o except in ‘Ko Rēhūa – a fainting heat’, ‘Ko Reko – a bird so called’ ‘Ko Repa – a garment so called’ and ‘Ko Ruku ruku – a part of a basket of victuals’). The S occurs as expected (e.g. ‘Ko Shāka – a dance’ in ‘Ko Shoa – a friend’ and ‘Ko Shongi híka – a fishy smell’). These expressions are respectively haka (the ‘war dance’ now perhaps most familiar at rugby football matches), hoa (friend) and Hongi Hika (the personal name of the eminent chief combining the words hongi (a greeting in which the noses are press together to symbolise the mingling of breath, and hika which has diverse meanings, some of them derogatory, but here has been mistaken for ika (fish) to produce the absurd confection ‘fishy smell’).

‘Names of Persons and Things’ (leaves 16 to 22) differs from the previous chiefly in that the filing word is preceded by “Ko te” rather than “Ko” e.g. “Ko te Adu – the pursuit” and “Ko te Ahi – the fire”. Notable among the phrases is “Ko te Húdi-o-Kúna – The last of a generation” – which is the name of the chief of Rangihoua, Te Uri a kana (otherwise ‘Ahoodee O’Gunna’), whose moko adorned the deed witnessed by in Kendall 1814. The alphabet lists words under a, d, h, k, m, n, p, r, t, w.

‘Names of places’ the third vocabulary (leaves 23 to 26) is in a single column using the same alphabet as before (a, d, h, k etc) without translations (e.g. ‘Ko Árúhe te hudu’) and is followed by a short counterpart list (leaf 27) using the article ‘te’ (e.g. ‘Ko te Áhu áhu’).

‘Principal Chiefs’ with their places of residence contains 85 names thus for example “1. Ko Hīhi o tote [at] Te Kídi kídi” (i.e. Hīhi o tote at Te Kerikeri) – occupies leaves 28 to 30 – and is described further below.

‘Names of Tribes’ with translations of the names and the chief (e.g. “7. Na puhe – The offspring of the feathered sternpost of a war canoe – Shunghe”). This list contains sixty-nine entries but the chief is not always named and some chiefly names appear several time (e.g. Shunghe [Hongi Hika] appears both at entry 7 and also as the chief of the tribe “65. Te Tawai ‘The watery tomb with its remains broken down’” Some of them are fanciful or just plain wrong. ‘Na puhe’ for example should have been Ngapuhi and actually refers to a topknot hairstyle and to a decorative bunch of feathers, but is confused with an alternative usage of puhi for certain young women of high rank who were regarded as ornaments of their tribe. This is another instance showing that Butler understood neither the language not the people.

The 1824–25 document concludes with the Lord’s Prayer and ‘A Prayer to be used before repeating the Ten Commandments’, then the Ten Commandments themselves and another prayer commencing; “E Jehovah! E Atua nui koe, nau te mahinga katoa tanga ki dunga ki te rangi . . . .” These texts are further versions of the prayer given in the Grammar and Vocabulary of 1820 (pages 125–126) but without the translation. The texts correspond to those given by R. J. Barton in Earliest New Zealand (1927) pp. 359–362: the prayer “E Jehovah! E Atua nui koe, nau te mahinga katoa tanga ki dunga ki te rangi . . . .” in Butler’s orthography is rendered: “A Jehovah! A Atua newee quoi, na ‘au te mahhinga karoa tanga ke
Maori Grammars and Vocabularies

An analysis of the list of eighty-five ‘Principal chiefs’ (sheets 28–30) raises further queries about the identity of the manuscript. While the names in the list are the same as in the list of eighty-five chiefs given by R. J. Barton in *Earliest New Zealand* (1927) pp. 350–358, the orthography is quite different. This can be demonstrated by the first ten names, using the orthography of the manuscript with Barton’s printed version in parentheses: Ko Híhi o tote (Ko Heehee-o-Tottay) Ko Híau (Ko Heenau) Ko Hívi (Ko Heevée) Ko Hengi (Ko Hengi) Ko Hudu roa (Ko Hoodoo-roa) Ko Kíra (Ko Keera) Ko Kúkúpa (Ko Kookoopa) Ko Kaihu (Ko Kyhoo) Ko Kaiga dua (Ko Kynga-dooa) Ko Kai tara (Ko Kytarra). Barton’s list is in three columns, the middle column consisting of a concordance of annotations to names mentioned by Percy Smith, Drummond, Cruise, Leigh, Henry Williams and others. According to Barton Butler’s list was “evidently compiled soon after [Butler’s] arrival in England, either from memory or from notes in his possession.” This is quite possible but in the absence of Butler’s script which version is the earlier is uncertain. As with the 1821–1822 manuscript, Barton was working in 1927 from a manuscript which apparently no longer exists.

Why then are there two distinct orthographies for these two lists? Which is the earlier and which is derivative? I suggest that the list of names given by Barton in *Earliest New Zealand* (from the now lost manuscript) is the original list, made in 1824 using the orthography mandated by Marsden in 1823–1824. The version presented to the CMS in January 1825 is the corrected fair copy made by Butler using an orthography more like Kendall’s – and therefore more likely to meet the approval of Professor Lee. If Butler was hoping to make a favourable impression on Lee, the 1824 Governor Brisbane proclamation was unlikely to serve him well. The list of chiefs may have been Butler’s own, but might equally well have been compiled by any missionary, or several conjointly. It should be remembered that several such vocabularies may have existed for private use among the missionaries – indeed it would be surprising if they did not copy and transcribe each others vocabularies. In 1824 there are few possible authors for these vocabularies; Kendall, Butler, John King and James Shepherd stand out but Henry Williams and James Kemp had only been in New Zealand for a few months. George Clarke did not arrive until April 1824 and William Williams not until the end of 1825.

There is no evidence that there are any compositions in Māori by Butler except the translated proclamation of Governor Brisbane. There are not even any religious texts or primers which can be attributed to him and this probably indicates that he was not a fluent Māori speaker. Māori with whom he was in contact at the Bay of Islands and at Paramatta had acquired some English. But he would, presumably, have been able to convert orthography from Kendall’s format to Marsden’s. After his separation from the Church Missionary Society in 1825 and free from Marsden’s orthographic prejudices, Butler became interested in New Zealand again in 1840, a this story will be told in a later chapter.

Between 1820 and 1826 only two printed texts appeared in Māori. One was the May 1824 proclamation by Governor Brisbane in English and Māori, translated by Butler, discussed above. The other is a version of the Lord’s Prayer by the Wesleyan layman John Hobbs, (the most fluent Wesleyan) who refers to such a translation in April 1825. This also uses the

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32 The Lord’s Prayer in the New-Zealand tongue. [Placard, 230 x 195 mm (cropped)] BiM 7, known from three extant copies. (Also described as Williams: 4a, Bagnall: 3183).
letter D (= R) a letter which was still favoured by the Rev. William White as late as 1836.\(^{33}\)

The decision by the CMS and Wesleyan missions to abandon Kendall’s orthography at the end of 1823, and the failure to develop an alternative which might have allowed a return to written compositions, probably accounts for the hiatus in printing and publishing in Māori. A further consideration is the destruction of the Wesleydale mission in January 1827 and its withdrawal from New Zealand until it could be re-established at Hokianga at the end of that year.

The lack of surviving Shepherd manuscripts makes the extent of his contribution unclear but it seems likely that his vocabulary was subsequently sent to England and given to William Williams, since the latter refers to it in a diary entry of 19 December 1825 (already quoted) while en route to New Zealand: “The vocabulary by Mr Kendall, with Mr Shepherds additions is very bulky, but it will be some time before the exact meaning of the words is ascertained.”\(^{34}\) The loss of early vocabularies from the period 1825–26, and especially that used by William Williams in 1824–26 is frustrating.

Māori learn to write, 1825

The Grammar of 1820 was still in use (as the only available text for teaching) at the start of 1826, and George Clarke was using it at his Kerikeri school, evidently in some embarrassment as he refers to “the bad language in which the Grammar Book abounds”, which led his students to say “that that man’s heart must be very dark who wrote it”:

> Your final determination respecting the orthography of the Language is a great relief to my mind, it has from the beginning of my labours, been my invariable rule, sensible as I am, that it is far superior to any attempt that has since been made. There is however one point to which I wish for a moment to direct your attention. My Boys whom I request to write sentences for my instruction, invariably use the consonant h instead of the vowel e which is to form the sound of the sh; for example eori they spell horoi; instead of as eoro they spell hohoro; this seems more natural to them than to write or put four or five vowels together, to give the various sounds required. I have corrected this false orthography in the Boys, yet they commonly slide into it again. If you think fit to submit these few remarks to Prof. Lee I should be glad to hear his and your opinion on the subject.\(^{35}\)

A example of the use of written Māori as an advertisement of the work of students of Clarke’s school is found in that same letter (written by Clarke on 2 January 1826) as it enclosed the specimen and translation by Clarke who writes:

> I enclose a specimen of the writing of my two senior boys, who have been with me about 16 months – they are quite masters of reading and writing, and would be able to read any part of the word of God was it translated into their language. If they have anything to say to me, they generally say it on paper or their slates, which I endeavour to answer in the same way. The

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\(^{34}\) William Williams, ‘Journal vol. 1, 1825–1831’ ATL qMS–2248.

The letter was received by the secretaries in June 1826. It is from “Shunhee (a School-boy)” and is addressed to ‘the throng of chiefs of Europe’ (te tini rangatira o ropi’). The D is occasionally used and initial H is often dropped (e.g. ‘okī’ for ‘hoki’). The stress marks on vowels are no longer used. The text of Hongi’s letter is:

E te tini rangatira o ropi e kite ana oki koutou ki taku buka buka a mai te tahi buka buka kia tuhi tuhi te tahi buka buka ki akotou E pai koutou ki takou buka buka e arie atu ana ra oki au ki tou kainga pai e kite au, e ware pai taware E kino ana mea oki koe mo te mea ka tuhi tuhi atu ki a kite kotou e didi pea te rangatira ki te na kainga. Ko wai te ingoa o te rangatira o te pakeha e reira E tuhi tuhi kino pea te tuhi tuhi a te tangata maori i te mea kino No wai te iwi pai o te tangata kino o te tangata pai a hea oti te pakeha o reira kia kete au Ko tapi ra hi o ku tau, ake a o mai ai te tahi utu mo maua ko taku ehoai pai taku Kia rongo rongo kia tua takau kei rapu i te taku ingoa Ko Shongi te ingoa o te tangata i tuhi tuhi ai

The “Translation of Shunhee’s letter” initialled “GC” and in Clarke’s hand, is:

Gentlemen of England, When you come to see my book perhaps you will be so kind as to give me more letter paper that I may write to you. If you like my book you will perhaps allow me to come and see your country and your good houses. If my writing is bad that I send you all the Gentlemen in the country will be angry with me. What are the names of the Gentlemen in England perhaps both the writing and the words of New Zealanders are bad to whom will the bad men go when they die and to whom will the good men go One year I have been here (meaning with me [George Clarke]) when I shall have a payment and my friend also with me. Do you know or have you ever looked for my name who am writing this book my name is Shunghe Farewell

The authorship is plain from the concluding words: Shongi is the name of the man who writes to you thus. This letter is the first known document written in the Māori language written by a Māori. Hongi (not to be confused with Hongi Hika) went on to become one of the most prominent Māori scribes of the 1830s, preparing several of the Māori land deeds for George Clarke. In these he appears under his full name Eruera Pare Hongi (a Māorification of the name of his sponsor Sir Edward Parry). A portrait of him has survived – this was made in 1833 when he was assisting the Rev. William Yate with the proofreading of the 1833 Māori prayer book. Hongi (thereafter usually called Edward Parry = Eruera Pare) subsequently

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36 George Clarke to CMS, 2 January 1826, Alexander Turnbull Library ATL qMS-0463, photocopy of holograph in the Hocken Library, DUHO MS–60.
37 In K. A. Webster collection, ATL MS–Papers–1009–2/76.
38 The “Letter from the Chief Taiwhanga [David Taiwhanga] to the Author [J. D. Coleman] in Maori and English. The first letter ever written to England by a Native of New Zealand” dated “Mardene Pele, Octr. 23d, 1826” (i.e. Marsden Vale) which is included by Coleman in his Memoir of Richard Davis is another rare example of the transitional orthography using d, v and l. It is not, however, the first letter written by a Māori, that distinction due to Hongi (Edward Parry Hongi).
39 Deed no. 4 (27 July 1834) witnessed by ‘Henare Hori Watiwini Waru’ (Henry George Watkins Waru) and ‘Eruera Pare Hongi’ (Edward Parry Hongi); Deed no. 7 (11 February 1834) witnessed ‘Na Euwera Pare Hongi’, ‘Na Kahimo’ and ‘Na te Waru’, Deed no. 8 (30 October 1834) witnessed by ‘Erewara Pare Hongi’ ‘Hori Waru’ and ‘Ngapuhi’ and Deed no. 9 (6 February 1834) witnessed ‘Na Erewara Pare Hongi’, and ‘Na te Waru’. Others are signed ‘Eruera Pare’; all of these deeds are in the Hocken Library, DUHO MS–1166. The deeds are listed with transcriptions and translations in H. H. Turton’s Maori deeds of old private land purchases (1882) pp. 83–92 Deed No. 92, with 36 enclosures.
facilitated the collection of the votes of the chiefs at the presentation of the New Zealand Standard in 1834 before becoming the scribe “Eruera Pare te kai tuhituhi” for the so-called Declaration of Independence devised by the British Resident, James Busby in 1835. Letters by Edward Parry Hongi were published by Yate in 1835, along with other letters by literate Māori taught by Yate and George Clarke at Kerikeri and Te Waimate. The name of Hongi’s student associate is not mentioned by George Clarke but he is likely to have been Waru (Henare Hori Watikini Waru or Henry George Watkins Waru, named for the Rector of St Swithin’s “to whom this youth has written two letters” as William Yate reports.

The vindication of Kendall’s orthography, 1826

On 3 April 1826 the Committee of Missionaries held a Quarterly Meeting at which it was decided to continue to use the orthography adopted in the 1820 Grammar. In October, William Williams wrote to the CMS with more precise information on the orthography then in use:

You will be pleased to hear that the study of the language received general attention, and that for the most part a portion of each day is set apart for this special purpose. Upon the Orthography however, I must say a few words. As soon as I arrived, I mentioned the decision of the Committee and the alterations made by Prof. Lee in compliance with their own wishes, expressed to me some time before; but various objections were made to the new orthography which must still be referred to the consideration of the Committee. It is not easy to explain by letter the niceties to which I refer, but I will mention two which are most obvious; – according to the new method no provision is made for short A, the E without an accent in Mr Kendall’s book, which is in constant use, and that the I’ according to the present rule will not express the sound in use: Pi’ good, before spelt Pai is pronounced after the same manner as the Greek pai, in which both the a and i are sounded. Besides these instances there are others in which the orthography as laid down in Mr Kendall’s book is much better adapted to the necessities of the case. It is therefore the general wish that the latter should be continued; and it may influence the Committee to allow this when it is remembered that the copies of the Grammar and Reading Lessons printed in England will still be of use; but that if the alteration be made it will be long before the new printed lessons can be provided, not to mention the difficulty to be encountered in teaching the new method to those boys who have been instructed in the old. Besides which our Wesleyan friends at Wangaroa have accustomed themselves to the orthography in use here.

But although Kendall’s orthography was validated by experience he was never to be restored to favour or to be credited with his linguistic studies. After his ostracism Kendall lived with his family at Matauwhi, but he left secretly and suddenly for Valparaiso, Chile, on the St

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40 He also wrote or signed the deed of 20 August 1834 for the Ruapara No. 2 Block, H. H. Turton, *Maori deeds of old private land purchases* (1882) p. 69. Edward Parry Hongi was the favourite of the Rev. William Yate but died late in 1836 about the time Yate was accused of sodomy with his native bedfellows, disgraced and expelled.


42 Ibidem p. 264.

43 Extract of Minutes of the Quarterly meeting of April 3 1826, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 4 p. 229.

44 The “short A” is the aspirate noted by John Davies i.e. “he” or “E”.

45 William Williams to the Assistant Secretary, 26 October 1826, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M v. 4 p. 185.
Patrick on 3 February 1825, just a month after writing again to Samuel Lee to tell him that the missionaries will be unable to translate the scriptures for years to come:

It has been doubted by some whether the plan you adopted in the New Zealand Grammar is a proper one or not, but I am glad to inform you that the Church & Wesleyan Missionaries after trying other methods now generally agree that yours best suits the idiom of the New Zealand language, the fact is, that the New Zealand Grammar and Vocabulary which was compiled under your inspection may be considerably improved, but neither the sounds of the vowels, nor the orthography can be changed for the better. The Missionaries must live amongst the Natives some years longer before any of them can acquire a competent knowledge of the language to enable them to translate the scriptures. The Missionaries can make themselves understood by the natives in matters of common ordinary subjects of conversation, but I do not think they are yet acquainted with one of their songs or themes. The New Zealand Language is very imperfectly understood – a man may be tempted to make the language to correspond with his own ideas of it, but time will convince him, in such a case, of his own error. It will be found that the sounds of the vowels not only express the names of them, but each sound must be carefully preserved throughout, and each letter a mark of the sound of a vowel must keep its place in writing or print, or else the Language will never be understood, nor can it be taught. How can any man wish to assimilate the sounds of the New Zealand vowels to those of the English, when so many other living languages such as the French, Spanish, Portuguese, German and the Hebrew itself will suit the purpose better. Is it because the English is more perfect than any of the other Languages? If any think so cannot you try to remove the difficulty?46

What Kendall means by ‘themes’ is obscure but it is probably another indication of his quest for a philosophical grammar. Lesson had earlier written of Kendall’s Pythagorean speculations and the ancient Egyptians, this being the period of Champollion’s hieroglyphic decipherments. It appears Kendall may have thought that he found a solution in Samuel Pike’s ‘Hebrew Lexicon’ of 1766, which is discussed in a later chapter. If so he was again mistaken. The disgraced missionary never returned to New Zealand but his involvement with the orthography and vocabulary was far from over.

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46 T. Kendall to S. Lee, 7 January 1825, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 4 pp. 34–35.
Thomas Kendall, at first a layman school teacher, but ordained as a deacon and priest in 1820, was the person chiefly responsible for establishing an orthography and vocabulary for the Māori language (or ‘the New Zealand language’, as it was then called), although neither he nor most of his missionary colleagues were familiar with any language but English. None of them knew Greek until William Williams arrived in 1826 and it is doubtful that they knew more than a rudimentary Latin. No missionary with knowledge of Hebrew arrived until 1838. Kendall’s academic knowledge of languages was non-existent, and this is evident in his writings. In compiling his vocabulary in 1819–1820 he had been assisted by the great Cambridge linguist Samuel Lee for a few months, with Kendall producing the words lists and Lee trying to make what sense he could of the syntax. Their Grammar and Vocabulary was published in late 1820, and it was expected that Kendall’s further work would improve the text. But, as explained in the two previous chapters Kendall’s disgrace and expulsion by the CMS in late 1823, saw the Grammar and Vocabulary condemned by other members of the mission.

In the revised grammar of 1827–1831, discussed below, Kendall wrote “the roots of the language are taken from certain primary and essential principles agreeing with the signification of the Sounds of the vowels a, o, u, i and e, as they are pronounced by the natives, and also from certain elementary natural principles agreeing with the signification of the numbers from one to ten.” Judith Binney noted, in her introduction to the new edition of The Legacy of Guilt, that the same comments appear on a Kendall letter of 1831 remarking:

There he pursued his theory that the similarity of the grammatical use of affixes and suffixes in Maori, together with the sound and ‘signification’ of many words in Hebrew, suggested a common origin for the two languages, as well as for Coptic, a term he used to describe the language of the early Egyptians. Kendall’s efforts at comparative philology were even less reliable than his comments on middle-eastern mythologies. [. . .] his constructions ringed the Maori cosmological ideas into which he was inducted with almost impenetrable thickets of misinterpretation. Searching for affinities based on a scriptural world view, he was by no means the last commentator to interpret Maori cosmology through these distorting lenses.”

The Grammar was not restored to favour until 1826, when William Williams took up the work, rationalised the orthography and established an agreed phonology, based on the dialect of the northern tribe, Ngāpuhi among which the mission had settled. Working from notes supplied to him while on the way to New Zealand, William Williams reports in a journal entry:

I find the New Zealand Language much more copious than I expected, for instance, by the word ‘post’ we understand a piece of wood fastened in the ground, they however give a different name to it according to the uses to which it is put. The vocabulary by Mr Kendall, with Mr Shepherd’s additions is very bulky, but it will be some time before the exact meaning of the

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words is ascertained. By the help of Eau, the New Zealander, I have detected many words to which a wrong interpretation has been given. From Mr Kendall’s book I took the word *rongoa* to blow the nose, which means to pull the nose, according to Eau’s explanation, ‘for’, said he, ‘When I see a man asleep on the ground and another goes slyly up to him and pulls his nose to wake him, that is *rongoa.*’

The Rev. William Williams, after a period at Sydney, arrived on 25 March 1826, with the layman James Shepherd, who had been to Sydney for medical treatment, Hau (‘Eau’ later Wiremu Hau, baptised as William Marshall Hau in 1834) who is perhaps the same ‘Shou’ who had worked with Butler; Hau was prominent in the life of the station from this point on as a bilingual informant. Also present was the young William Gilbert Puckey who had come to New Zealand as a child and grew up as a native speaker of Māori. Shepherd was stationed at Rangihoua (the first station of the mission) and when the orthographic reforms suggested by Samuel Lee were considered by the full mission in April 1826 they were rejected.

The Rev. John Gare Butler, the first ordained missionary sent to New Zealand – he had arrived in 1819 – had proved as unsatisfactory as Kendall, if for different reasons, as discussed previously but his linguistic facility was worse, if anything. Samuel Marsden had removed Butler to Sydney in 1823 and Butler had returned to England at the start of 1825, to seek redress for his grievances, only to be told that there was no future for him in missionary work. At about the same time, early 1825, Kendall had fled New Zealand for Valparaiso, Chile.

The Church Mission (Anglican) missionaries, worked in harmony with some Wesleyans at another mission station (Wesleydale, the first Wesleyan station) and these had begun work on a catechism, which was finished in December 1826, along with the Lords Prayer, already referred to. The Wesleyans held their ground until January 1827 when the station was abandoned in the face of hostilities between traders and tribes. The Wesleyans retreated to New South Wales and Tonga. It was not until late in 1827 that the Wesleyan mission was revived at Hokianga with new personnel. Efforts to acquire a printing press at this time were not successful. The orthography used in the 1820 *Grammar* was modified as better missionary philologists appeared. The Rev. William Williams and the Rev. William Yate – who arrived in New Zealand in December 1825 and January 1828 respectively – contributed to the expansion of the vocabulary and they commenced a dictionary. In 1827 the New Zealand missionaries printed a short book at Sydney and even brought across a small printing press in 1830. By 1830, setting aside the lingering dispute over ‘w’ v. ‘wh’ – not to be resolved until 1844 – the spelling controversy was over, essentially, by 1827.

The unwanted reappearance of Kendall at Sydney in 1827, however, threatened to revive an unwanted controversy. Thinking that circumstances might be more favourable towards him in New South Wales, in 1827 Kendall had returned to Sydney to try to publish a second edition of his *Grammar and Vocabulary*. Again, however, he was to be blocked by Marsden. Although the second edition of the *Grammar and Vocabulary* was never published, and was known from just a few scattered printed specimen signatures. Kendall’s manuscript did survive, although it was lost for over 150 years. Kendall’s manuscript was rediscovered in the

2 Butler had taken with him to England, in 1824 a ‘creole or half-caste youth’ called Frank and the CMS had ordered his return to New Zealand. It is possible that ‘Frank’ and Hau are the same person, as this would provide a coherent explanation for the presence of a bilingual teacher for William Williams.

Wellington Public Library in 1996. When it was donated in 1930 it had been misattributed to another author by a former owner.

In the long interim in 1841 Kendall’s enemy John Butler returned to New Zealand as a translator and ‘Native Guardian’ for the New Zealand Company and there attempted to publish another obscure philological work called ‘the New Zealandic Vocabulary’. Examination of the evidence shows that this work, although advertised, was never actually printed. There is evidence, moreover, that it was not primarily the work of Butler, but, rather, a work of George Samuel Evans, who can now be shown to have at last in part plagiarised it from Kendall, via another sometime philologist, John Lhotsky. These complications are unravelled in the following chapter.

Works “calculated to promote the real good of the New Zealander”

Kendall left New Zealand suddenly and secretly in February 1825 and remained in Valparaiso, Chile, for two years. In September 1825, shortly after he reached Valparaiso, Kendall sent a further manuscript (now lost) for Professor Lee’s approval and asked “if a revision of the New Zealand Grammar and Vocabulary will be acceptable to the Society.” While still in Chile he continued revising his Māori texts, writing “Easy Lessons in the New Zealand Language” (never published) which was sent to England for Samuel Lee to examine. The Society was reluctant to continue communication with Kendall but finally agreed, in 1827, to receive any work “calculated to promote the real good of the New Zealander.” On 1 June 1827 the Kendall family sailed for New South Wales, and during the voyage Kendall compiled two books of instruction for Māori pupils beginning to learn to write. He had also translated a Hawaiian language catechism and realised the similarity of the various tongues of Polynesia, supposing their common origin.

When Kendall met Marsden at Sydney, however, Marsden opposed publication of a revised Grammar. Marsden considered that the orthography controversy from 1823 was now settled, and that the members of the New Zealand mission would be offended if the controversy was revived. A volume of texts using the new orthography, as now approved by the new Committee of Missionaries had been put through the press, just weeks before. Kendall wrote to Edward Bickersteth of the CMS in October 1827 to assure him of the genuine motives he had for pursuing the new edition of the Grammar but any attempt to publish a second edition at his own risk – and in the face of missionary opposition – was doomed. It has long been known that some proof pages of the projected work were printed, including an “Advertisement” dated October 1827, but they seem to have been printed as a sort of probationary text, rather than a commercial edition. On the only known surviving copy of the first printed signature – that sent as a specimen to the CMS – Kendall had written:

4 T. Kendall to D. Coates, 16 September 1825, in DUHO ms. 71 p. 70.
5 T. Kendall to E. Bickersteth, 24 May 1827, in DUHO ms. 71 p. 71.
9 The difficulty of publishing in Sydney in 1827 and even later was well recognised. Kendall may have intended to have his text reprinted in England once the work was endorsed by the people to whom the probationary copies were sent.
I have to struggle with greater difficulties in getting this edition printed than the First which was printed some years ago in London — The Enemy still continues his unceasing efforts to check my ardour in every thing that relates to New Zealand.  

But Kendall did not entirely give up hopes of seeing his work in print. In 1986 Judith Binney identified a letter by Kendall “Origin, language and religion of the New Zealanders” in the Sydney Gazette. Kendall had purchased land and taken up farming. His article was published under the nom de plume Solicitus on 8 January 1831. On 12 December he started a subscription list for a second edition of his Grammar, to be printed by the Sydney Herald. An advertisement urges that:

The present extensive connexion with New Zealand, appears to create an imperative demand for a work illustrative of the Language of the Natives; and at such a crisis it may not be presumptuous to hope, that the present attempt to supply the deficiency will be appreciated according to its seasonable usefulness. With this consideration, the Rev. Thomas Kendall has it in contemplation to publish by subscription, for the use of Students, Merchants, and Mariners, a “New Edition of the New Zealand Grammar and Vocabulary,” in the compiling of which he has availed himself of the best and latest authorities for improving the learner in the knowledge of that interesting language. The Grammar will be particularly useful to Students, and the Vocabulary will at once facilitate the acquirement of the language sufficiently for Mercantile purposes.

A first list of subscribers, containing sixty names, was printed as an advertisement in the paper for 26 December and again on 13 February 1832. The last advertisement appeared on 12 March. Although the advertisement asserted that the work will be published “shortly” it also said “as soon as the work is printed” and it can be safely assumed that no further actual printing occurred after 1827. Rather, the waters were being tested to see if the prospects were better, in 1831, than they had been in 1827. The intended publisher can be identified as the Presbyterian minister and writer the Rev. John McGarvie (1795–1853), who, with his brother William, became the original proprietor of the Sydney Herald in 1831. William McGarvie (1810–1841) appears with Alexander McLeay in the subscribers list for the proposed “1832 edition” of Kendall. The death of Kendall by drowning in August 1832, however, stopped any possible future publication. The manuscript was loaned to John Llotsky by Kendall’s son Basil, who sought its return. Kendall’s manuscript then disappeared and only resurfaced in 1996.

Rediscovery of Kendall’s 1827–32 manuscript, Alexander Turnbull Library MSZ–0871

The holograph of the abortive “second edition” of Kendall’s grammar had long been considered irretrievably lost, but it was unexpectedly relocated and identified in 1996 in the Wellington Public Library, to which it had been donated in 1930. The Public Library has now transferred it permanently to the Alexander Turnbull Library. Signed by Kendall, partly

10 MS note added to the “Advertisement” p. [1] of 8 pp. In DUHO ms. 72 p. 3.
13 Sydney Herald vol. 1 no. 35 on Monday 12 December 1831.
15 Kendall, T. ‘Draft for unpublished second edition of the Grammar of the New Zealand language’ [1827–1832]. (holograph) ATL MSZ-0871. A photocopy which I have annotated, to reduced risk to the fragile original
printed and partly in Kendall’s hologram, it is accompanied by six signatures of a printer’s proof, with a signed holographic instruction to the printer: “The Author requests the Printers to use the same Types as is used in the Sydney Herald — and to get as much crowded into each page as possible. [signed] Tho. Kendall” (see Figure 6, below). The manuscript bears evidence of repeated revisions and watermark evidence reveals that it was compiled between 1827 and 1832. Most of the manuscript is on paper with the watermark date 1823, but a substantial part has an 1831 watermark. This portion was doubtless written in 1831 or 1832 when publication by the Sydney Herald was under consideration. Judith Binney in her examination of the manuscript opines that not all of the manuscript is in Kendall’s hand, and that is most obviously true of one sheet with a late watermark, postdating Kendall’s death. The three pages with the lists of eighty-nine villages, geographically organised, is a late addition almost certainly added so as to provide names of places and people with whom trading relationships might be established. I do not agree with the late Judith Binney, however, who believed that it was not by Kendall but by some other scribe. Even if it were, however, a fair copy written by an amanuensis that would not derogate from Kendall’s primary responsibility for the document as a whole.

The donor of the manuscript (the Rev. Ernest Hampden-Cook) had not noticed the signed printing instruction and had identified the author of the work as being the Rev. George Samuel Evans (after whom Wellington’s Evans’s Bay is named). Hampden-Cook wrote to the Town Clerk of Wellington (4 October 1930): “By this mail I have the pleasure of sending you the rough manuscript of a Maori Grammar, edited by the Hon. George Samuel Evans, M.A., LL.D., once Chief Justice of Wellington.” A short article about the MS appeared in the Dominion (the Wellington morning paper) on 19 December 1930 but the authorship of Kendall was not recognised. The manuscript was referred to the noted Māori scholar Elsdon Best for comment but Best, along with everyone else, appears not to have noticed Kendall’s inscription or the significance of his name.


16 A single leaf, which is not in Kendall’s hand, and which is watermarked 1838, is probably a transcript to replace a damaged original leaf.

17 A preterist writer, formerly the Congregational Union of New Zealand minister at Thames, New Zealand, 1887–1889, and author of The Christ has come, the Second Advent an event of the past, an appeal from human tradition to the teaching of Jesus and his Apostles (1891) and former ‘late Resident Secretary of Mill Hill School, London’. Preterists believe that the biblical prophecies refer to events which have already happened.

18 Evans appears to have been a former owner but his name does not appear on the manuscript.

19 Evans was not in fact “Chief Justice of Wellington” but rather the “Advocate” for the New Zealand Company, and also held the office of “Umpire” under the provisional constitution of the Company settlement, as will be explained in the fourth chapter. He arrived on 7 March 1840 and as deputy to William Wakefield decided to shift the initial site of the township of Britannia (Petone) to the Lambton Harbour, (later Wellington) a few days later.

20 “Very old Manuscript — Interesting Maori Grammar” Dominion 19 December 1930 p. 9. On the same day the Evening Post contained a letter headed ‘Old Maori Grammar’ and signed by the historian Horace Fildes. Fildes also overlooked the authorship of Kendall and attributed the work to Evans on the word of the donor, with whom Fildes had been in correspondence between 1916 and 1920. At that time Hampden-Cook intended to write a biography of Evans ‘if sufficient material was forthcoming’ but he later abandoned the idea. Fildes concludes “May we hope that with what is given in the first part of my letter, Mr Elsdon Best, of the Turnbull Library, will, with his exceptional knowledge of the Maori language, see whether Dr Dieffenbach has based his Maori vocabulary on the manuscript one of Dr G. S. Evans.” The ascription to Evans was accepted by Elsdon Best (not a staff member of the Library but associated with it through the Polynesian Society) when he examined the MS in December 1930. A microfilm of the holograph was made by the National Library of New Zealand in 1969, still without recognition of Kendall’s authorship.
Figure 5: The first page of the 1827 revision of the Grammar, MSZ-0871, showing the Alphabet page, with Kendall’s corrections: “AEGHIKMNOPRTUW. This constitutes the Alphabet but in some instances the letters B D & L are used, their sounds being occasionally confounded with the sounds of the letters P T and R. The letters FJSVY and L are made use of in Foreign words.”

Figure 6: Verso of the Alphabet page, showing Kendall’s MS note to the printer: “The author requests the printers to use the same types as is used in the Sydney Herald and to get as much crowded into each page as possible. [signed] Thos. Kendall” MSZ-0871
As already noted, the manuscript is partly hand-written and partly in printer’s proofs. The paper and typography match the other known printed fragments in other libraries, which were described by Binney in 1968. These fragments are briefly described below:

(1) Hocken Library. This is unnumbered signature [A]. The first extant pages of the 1827 printing (now in the Hocken Library ms. 72/3) consist of an “Advertisement” which provides the date “Pitt-street, Sydney, Oct. 1827.” (p. [i]), and a reprint of Samuel Lee’s preface “The Rev. Professor Lee’s preface to the first edition” (pp. ii–iv) followed by an abridgement of the preface from the first edition – but with the footnotes and concluding paragraph omitted. This is followed by an alphabetical table (page 5), a table of diphthongs and alphabets (page 6), and “Tables of syllables” (a set of exercises numbered 1 to 11, commencing on page 7 and continuing on page 8, where the signature breaks off). This 1827 fragment would have continued with signature B (pages 9–16, containing lessons 12 to 66) but no copy of that signature now survives. The Hocken Library fragment was obtained by Dr. Hocken from the Church Missionary Society in 1903.21

(2) Auckland Museum Library. A copy of signatures C (starting on page 17) through signature F (starting on page 41 and ending on page 48). This fragment is inscribed by Kendall “Rev. Mr Hill with the Authors Compl.” The provenance is not in doubt as Rev. Richard Taylor would have found it in Rev. Richard Hill’s papers on the latter’s death in 1836. The fragment was purchased for the Museum in 1952, some years after it was found by a descendent of Taylor in 1933.22 It was later noted as missing but was rediscovered by Jeny Curnow in 1995 in the Auckland Institute and Museum.23 Unfortunately it later went missing again, but a photocopy has survived.24

(3) Mitchell Library, Sydney. A duplicate of signatures D, E and F (pp. 25–48) survives in the Mitchell Library (as described by Binney p. 184). This copy was one sent by Kendall to Alexander McLeay.25

(4) Alexander Turnbull Library MSZ-0871, (formerly held at Wellington Public Library). This newly recovered Kendall holograph, includes printed signatures C through H, (printed pages 17 to 64) with Kendall’s autograph corrections, followed by holograph

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21 The precise circumstances under which Hocken obtained possession of CMS archives are suspicious (see J. Binney, *Legacy of guilt* (1968) p. viii.

22 “First Maori Grammar — Rare booklet unearthed — Printed 115 Years ago” *Dominion*, 7 August 1933. According to this account “The title page reads ‘Kendall’s Maori Grammar, Sydney, written 1818” but this information (including the date) is certainly incorrect and possibly a misprint for 1828. The article continues “The 1818 Grammar is of great interest, showing, as it does, letters discarded later as not representing correctly the true sounds of the Maori language. There is only one other copy of this book known in Wanganui.” The last remark is a puzzle, perhaps referring to a copy of the 1820 Grammar or perhaps indicating that Taylor had acquired two copies.


25 J. Binney, *Legacy of guilt* (1968) p. 184. H. W. Williams records in the *Supplement* to his *Bibliography*, “The Mitchell Library has signatures D, E, and F, containing the portion of a grammar dealing with nouns, adjectives, numerals and pronouns. P. 25 has an inscription, ‘The Honble. A. McLeay, with the Revd. Tho. Kendall’s compts.’” H. W. Williams, knowing of Kendall’s letter to Edward Bickersteth dated 24 May 1827, commented: “No copy of the *Easy Lessons* [Kendall’s ‘Easy lessons in the New Zealand language’ a manuscript sent to Bickersteth] has been traced, but these sheets, which would appear to have been printed in Sydney, are probably part of the proposed revision.” (H. W. Williams, *Supplement* (1928) p. [5]). The printing of the Mitchell fragment is identical to the others. The ‘Grammar’ and the ‘Easy lessons’ appear to be separate works.
material which was never printed. For a more complete description of this manuscript see below where the eleven parts into which the work was collated, are described.26

A ‘Master hand’ (Elsdon Best)

In the ‘Advertisement’ printed for the aborted 1827–32 edition Kendall had stated: “It is the production of fourteen years incessant study, and however defective it may be, it is certainly the result of my best wishes and best abilities.”27 Kendall’s labour was substantial but it lacked philological scholarship, in the view of Elsdon Best, who examined the MS in December 1930:

This betrays a master hand in the arrangement of philological data. Evidently the writer had a fairly copious vocabulary at his command, and had also acquired a good insight into the grammatical construction of sentences in te reo Maori. Weak points in the compilation are the spelling of words of a strange tongue possessing no written form, the incomplete grasp of the un-English sounds assigned to four vowels, and the inability, in certain cases to detect the root-form of words. The H is occasionally inserted where it should find no place, and in other cases is omitted, a common habit of early missionaries. Tangata hika occurs for tangata hi hika, kohutou for koutou [. . .] The derivation assigned to some particles is weird. Brief sentences are often correct as to spelling. The MS is interesting and valuable as an illustration of the difficulties encountered in reducing a barbaric tongue to a written form when the sounds of certain letters, vowels and consonants, differ from our own. The MS should be carefully preserved. [signed] Elsdon Best.28

The scholarly input was that of Professor Lee, rather than Kendall. The “weirdness” of the manuscript is derived from Kendall’s “philosophical” explanations on the nature of the Māori language. The “Observations” on page four of the preliminary pages of the 1827 printing (quoted above) allude to this:

The language of New Zealand is founded on a system of philosophical rules; and the roots of the language are taken from certain primary and essential principles agreeing with the signification of the sounds of the vowels a, o, u, i, and e, as they are pronounced by the natives [. . .] From the vowels are derived certain auxiliary particles, which are made use of in the

26 Summary of the collation of printed signatures. The 1827 printed fragment [A] continued with signature B (pp. 9–16), but no copy of that signature now survives. Signature C (starting on page 17) through signature F (starting on page 41 and ending on page 48) are inscribed by Kendall “Rev. Mr Hill with the Authors Compl.”; and this copy was addressed to the Rev. Richard Hill (1782-1836). The Hill copy was undoubtedly acquired by Rev. Richard Taylor from Hill’s papers, as Hill died on 30 May 1836, at precisely the time Taylor arrived in New South Wales. It was preserved by the Taylor family, a descendent (Miss L. Harper) holding it in 1933 (The Dominion, 7 August 1933). It was subsequently purchased by the Auckland Institute and Museum Library in 1952. A copy of signatures D, E and F (pp. 25-48) survives in the Mitchell Library as described by Williams and by Binney (Legacy of guilt, p. 184), this copy being sent by Kendall to Alexander McLeay (see note 101). Signatures G and H are in the Wellington Public Library manuscript (now Alexander Turnbull Library MSZ–0871) but otherwise unknown. That manuscript contains the 1827 printed proof signatures C through H, with Kendall’s autograph corrections, followed by material which was never printed (see detailed description below).


28 Undated typescript letter, December 1930. A short article about the manuscript, in which it was identified as the work of George Samuel Evans, was published in the Dominion on 19 December 1930. A transcript of the manuscript was made at the Wellington Public Library in January 1954 and a duplicate of this transcript was sent to the Alexander Turnbull Library, with a presentation note from the Wellington City Librarian, Stuart Perry, dated 29 January 1954 (now ATL qMS–1316). The National Library of New Zealand microfilmed the original manuscript in 1981 (Alexander Turnbull Library Micro–MS–0479).
New Zealand language, and may be arranged thus; the vowel A gives the particles Ka, Ma, Na, Pa, Ra, Ta [and so forth].

The “philosophical rules” which Kendall refers to are obscure, but are probably those of Samuel Pike, as expressed in his work *A compendious Hebrew Lexicon* (1766) – to which Kendall refers in the manuscript. Kendall had seen a copy of this work during his visit to London in September 1820: “Do send me Pike’s Hebrew Lexicon – Mr Coates’s friend the Rev. W. Howell has a copy.”

Binney, in *The legacy of guilt* has discussed Kendall’s influences, but without reaching firm conclusions on the source of his ideas, although the most apparent source was a copy of the 1797 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

The manuscript contains a substantial vocabulary, grammatical exercises, dialogues and other texts. Some of these are revisions of old texts from the 1820 grammar, while others are more recent additions. The physical makeup, as well as the intellectual contents of the document, are briefly described below but may deserve more specialised philological study, although nobody should expect philological enlightenment.

As finally collated MSZ–0871 is of 199 numbered leaves – with several inserted slips paginated in sequence with them – and there are a couple of pagination errors. The document was conserved at the National Library of New Zealand Conservation Unit in 1998–1999. The National Library of New Zealand microfilmed MSZ–0871 as MS–Copy–Micro–0763 (so that the text is available for most purposes in facsimile) and an older (pre-conservation) microfilm is at Micro–MS–0479. A photocopy of the manuscript is also available for use in the Library and this is located at fMS–Papers–6666.

### Introduction to the contents of the Kendall MS.

The first MS page (MS page 1) begins with alphabets (including *b d* and *l*, with alternative orthographies as *b* for *p*, *d* for *r*, *d* for *t*, *r* for *l*) and followed by an unnumbered page on which Kendall wrote his instruction to the printer (as already mentioned), Figures 5 and 6.

MS page 2 has a cancelled title replaced with a chapter title “Of Pronunciation” with a pinned slip added which reads “The Revd. McGarvie will reject this note if he does not approve of it or if he thinks it is unnecessary. T. K.” Kendall’s text then includes some remarks on the formation of the vowels: “The vowels in the New Zealand Language not being distinguished by three or four different sounds as in English, but merely by one long and short sound; and

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30 S. Pike, *A compendious Hebrew lexicon adapted to the English language and composed upon a new commodious plan to which is annexed a brief account of the construction and rationale of the Hebrew tongue*. (London: Printed for the author by E. and C. Dilly, 1766). viii, 187 pp. There are two recorded reprints, 1802 and 1811.


32 Binney, *Legacy of guilt* (1968) Chapter 7 ‘The heritage of Isaiah’ pp. 124–157 discusses Pythagorean influences calling them “hopelessly obscure” (p. 156, see also Binney p. 51, note 12). But the relevance of the John Parkhurst *Hebrew and English lexicon* is doubtful – Binney observes that it is “nothing more than a grammar of Hebrew and Chaldee” and that the work “offers no clue to the conclusions which he drew from it.” (p. 51). Kendall’s interest in Pythagoreanism was signalled long before Binney, for Lesson commented adversely on such ideas in 1824 (see R. Lesson in A. Sharp, *Duperrey’s Visit to New Zealand in 1824* (1971) p. 97. In *The search for the perfect language* (1995) Chapter 5 ‘The monogenetic hypothesis and the mother tongue’ Umberto Eco outlines the extent of poor linguistic philosophy prior to the invention of comparative linguistics (p. 74).
the sound of the vowel *i* when pronounced like *i* in *mine* being in the New Zealand language a compound of the sounds of *a* and *i*, the author has been reluctantly compelled to adopt the mode in general use on the continent of Europe. He requests the English reader to refer to the Alphabet (page 2) when studying or reading the New Zealand Grammar.\textsuperscript{33} The MS consists of eleven sections or “numbers”, as individually described below. For reasons which will become evident the physical characteristics of the MS, including watermarks, need to be considered alongside the philological aspects:

“\textbf{No. 1}” comprises MS pp. 1–54, the pages measuring 200 mm × 160 mm.

Apart from the first seven pages and a few inserted slips of corrections (all in Kendall’s holograph) the first “number” consists of printed signatures C to H. It has manuscript pagination (pp. [7] to 54) cancelling the printed pagination (originally pp. 17–64). Printed proof page 64 (MS pagination as page 54) ends the first part of the MS. Two pages (page 8 and page 13) are illustrated as Figure 7 including observations on Parts of Speech. Signatures A and B of this copy are not extant. The printed proofs are all identical in size and paper type, and each signature is of eight pages, without watermarks. There are numerous small corrections and clarifications in Kendall’s own handwriting. The paper is thin and there is a great deal of show-through. At the end of the “number” is a corrected sheet of manuscript concerning particles used with verbs; this begins “belonging to page 43” but the printed page number is “63” (i.e. manuscript page 53 in the final holograph, within in signature G). This is confirmed by an annotation on that page “Of the Auxiliary Verb Hia”.

![Figure 7: A sheet from the printed part of the 1827 revision, MSZ–0871, showing pages 8 and 13 ‘of the parts of speech’](image)

“No. 2” (MS pp. 55–67, page size 320 × 200 mm)

This is on half-sheets of foolscap paper watermarked 1823, with Britannia and a crown, with some MS inserts on paper watermarked 1821. Page 55 begins with the example of the verb “Korero – to speak”. Page 58 is a wove sheet watermarked “H & P 1821” and appears to be a late revision to the text dealing with the use of tenses with the verb. Two separate slips of amendments (once pinned to page 59 but now detached) suggest that “Pike’s Lexicon” was the source for Kendall’s attempt to conjugate the verbs. Further slips concerned with the verbs are attached to pages 63, 65 and 67. The verso of page 67 is marked “Examined to pag. 77”

“No. 3” (MS pp. 68–78, page size 320 × 200 mm)

This is on ruled half-sheets of foolscap paper (watermarked 1823 with Britannia and a crown). The section commences with a collection of examples of verbs “In the Indicative Mood, Present tense” (thirty-six exercises) followed by one exercise (thirty-seven) in the subjunctive mood. A new text “Of the Causative Verb” begins on page 78: “The word waka is used as a prefix in the causative verb and is derived from the word wa which denotes a supporting, and ka which as has been already explained denotes a doing.” – a further example of a Kendallian Pythagoreanism or else something derived from Samuel Pike. The text breaks off at that point and is marked on the verso “Examined to page 88” (i.e. page 78 as finally revised).

“No. 4” (MS pp. 79–87, page size 320 × 200 mm)

This is on the usual half-sheets of foolscap paper watermarked 1823, except for two pages (these are watermarked H & P 1821). It commences with examples to illustrate the causative verb (“Wakamatau, to cause to understand. To learn” followed by “Wakapai to cause good, to favour, to befriend, to praise”) which is conjugated at length. Page 79 and the slip attached to page 92 both have the 1821 watermark. On the verso of page 82 is the note “To page 92”. Page 83 contains three exercises to illustrate causative verbs. Pages 84 to 86 presents a list of “verbs [which] become nouns substantive by postfixing the syllable nga” (e.g. as “haere” [i.e. haerenga]), and pages 86–87 also give examples of the use of the prefix kai- to transitive verbs and the use of the suffix –tanga: “Note the word kai particularly alludes to the power that does any work and the word tanga to the time that is spent in doing it.” The verso of page 84 is annotated “Fourth lot New Zealand”.

“No. 5” (MS pp. 88–104, page size 320 × 200 mm)

This is on half-sheets of foolscap and has the 1823 watermark. It commences with adverbs relating to time and place, quantity, quality and manner (pages 88–91), followed by adverbs of affirmation, negation and doubt, comparison and interrogation (pages 92–93). Next follow seventeen examples of the use of adverbs (pages 94–99) and further exercises illustrating the use of prepositions, conjunctions and interjections (pages 100–104).

“No. 6” (MS pp. 105–120, page size 320 × 200 mm)

This is also on the 1823 foolscap paper. The verso of page 105 is marked “Fifth lot New Zealand Grammar” and is annotated on the verso of page 120 “End of the Grammar”. One page, however, (page 112) is watermarked “H & P 1838”, and is in a different hand by an unidentified scribe (Kendall himself had died in 1832). “No 6” begins with an explanation of syntax, apparently modelled after Pike (pages 105–111). After syntax comes a sheet marked
“Praxis” and “Lamentation of the widow of the New Zealand chief Hinaki, alias Nga Ware, who was slain in battle in the year 1821, after he had visited Port Jackson in H. M. S. Coromandel.” This *waiata* is of ten lines and is accompanied by a translation and a large number of explanatory notes. After the first page of “Praxis” pages 113 to 115 continue the explanatory notes and they are in Kendall’s holograph. It appears likely that Kendall devised the “Praxis” but that the original sheet was replaced in 1839 (or later) by a fair copy by someone else. The rest of the “Praxis” text is on watermarked paper dated 1823, and consists of a single dialogue in Māori, with a translation, with a large number of explanatory notes.

“No. 7” (MS pp. 121–136)

Section 7 commences with an alphabetical vocabulary “The New Zealand Vocabulary” including “Proper names of persons” and “Proper names of places” (pp. 121–133, also paginated separately as pp. 1–13). The first page of this section is illustrated as Figure 9 (see page 77). The vocabulary is followed by a list of “Names of some of the principal Districts, Villages or Towns, Tribes or Families and Chiefs of New Zealand taken in the year 1822” (pp. 134–136). This entire section is on foolscap dated and watermarked “Webster 1831”, and was clearly one of the last sections to have been compiled. This same paper was used in some other sections of the MS. The list of 89 chiefly names and locations is of particular interest and importance. It sets out in four columns the district, village tribe and chief (e.g. 13 is Tepuna – Rangihoua – Te Hudi o Kuna – Te Hudi o Kuna [and] Ware mokaikai and 19 is Pukekoi – Te Kedikedi – Napui – Hongi Hika [and] Rawa). The relationship between this list by Kendall and that of 85 names in the Butler manuscript of 1824 will be discussed later in this study.

[“No. 8”] (MS pp. 137-148)

This section is not numbered but starts at page 137. It is inscribed on the reverse “Sixth lot New Zealand Grammar to page 173” and begins with seven vocabularies, watermarked and dated 1823: 1: “Of the Universe and the Elements”; 2: “Of Man and his Parts”; 3: “Of the different degrees of Kindred” (see below); 4: “Of a Village”; 5: “Of a House” (pp. 137–148). These Kendall vocabularies are more elaborate than those in the 1821–1822 MS of John Butler (Alexander Turnbull Library qMS–0358) described in the first chapter.

“No. 9” (MS pp. 149-174)

Section 9 continues the series of specialised vocabularies, but page 149 has been separated into two parts (a consequential repagination results in pages 149 and 157, originally two parts of the same original half-sheet of 1823 paper, being separated). Pages 150–157 do not exist – the text continues without a lacuna – and the pagination is erroneous. The final vocabulary of nouns 6: “of Household Goods”; is followed by 7: “A Collection of Verbs”, with numbered subsections on studying, speaking, eating and drinking, going to sleep, dressing oneself, and “On the ordinary actions of men” (pp. 159–160). This list is effectively a list of the infinitives of verbs. Pages 159–177 are on paper watermarked “JM 1819” and are probably the earliest parts of the manuscript. Page 161 is damaged at the top and lacks a number but was probably headed “On the different dispositions or properties of the Heart”; it bears a long list of statements of the form “Kaputa te ngakau – The heart does discover itself” (whatever that

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might mean), and continues (on page 162) with “E tangata ngakau pai – A well-disposed man” and other examples. This is followed by “On the different properties of the Living Breath or Animal Spirits” (page 163), and a collection headed “On the different uses of the word Hahi” (i.e. Ahi, fire) apparently intended to illustrate sacred fire (“Te Hahi Tu – Fire of God, an altar, fire offering”) i.e. a fire offering (holocaust) to the war-god Tū. Then comes a collection of “Familiar Phrases” (page 165–177) an extract of which is given below.

“No. 10” (MS pp. 191–195).

Pages 178–190 have not been found, but there is no obvious lacuna in the internal logic of the text, suggesting that there was another error in pagination, rather than the loss of text. This entire section is watermarked “Webster 1831”, showing that it is among the latest parts composed. It contains a series of literary texts in Māori and in English: “Wai Ata (Song)” followed by a translation (page 191); “New Zealand Baptismal Service as used by some of the Natives” and “Pi E (Pronounced Pihe) The Funeral Ode.” The “Pi E” or “Pihe” is in several parts (“Introduction, used only when the deceased has fallen in battle” pp. 192–193), ‘The History of man”, “The end of man”’, “The descent of the fire of the offering and the ascent of the incense or soul”, “Address to the Deceased”, “Address to the spectators” and “Address to the Friends”. These texts are the latest versions of the early Māori literary texts collected by Kendall before 1820 and published in the 1820 Grammar.

“No. 11” (MS pp. 196–199).

The final section begins on page 196, watermarked 1831. Headed “The Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments chiefly selected from the latest publications in the New Zealand language”, these are the texts printed in the 1820 Grammar and which were also used in the 1821–1822 manuscript by John Butler (ATL qMS–0358) – as is shown by page references to the 1820 Grammar.

Comparison of the 1824 list (Butler) and the 1831 list (Kendall)

Two parts of the 1827–1831 manuscript call for further comment. The list of “Names of some of the principal Districts, Villages or Towns, Tribes or Families and Chiefs of New Zealand taken in the year 1822” (pp. 134–136) invites comparison with the two lists of 85 ‘Principal Chiefs’ (leaves 28 to 30) and 69 ‘Names of Tribes’ (leaves 31 and 32) of John Gare Butler’s 1824 manuscript, already described in the first parts of this study and also noted and illustrated in Turnbull Library Record 33 pp. 53–55.35

The 1824 list contains 85 named chiefs, listed alphabetically (Hīhī o tote, Hīnau, Hīvi, Henge, Hudu roa, Kīra, Kūkūpa, Kailhu, Kainga dua etc.) down to chief 48 (Waidua of Mataudi (i.e. Wairua of Matauri). Wairua is followed by Te Āhi, Te Āhi tu, Te Hei, Te Húdi o kūna, down to Te Tōdū, Te Tutai, Te Wāha, Te Ware ōne ōne, Te Wāre kūmu, Te Ware nūi, Te Ware papa, Te Wata, Te Wera, Te Wairo.36 ‘Te Tōdu’ is Te Toru, the chief depicted as ‘Tetoro,
chief of New Zealand’ in an aquatint by Edward Finden after a painting by Richard Reed Jnr (1820) which is significant as the earliest portrait of a named chief.37

Kendall’s list of chiefs on the other hand – with a text dated 1822 but written on paper dated 1831 – is organised geographically by district: 1 Mudi Wenua (village = Kohudu anake; tribe = Te Ao poudi; chiefs = Hongi & Manaihia) and proceeding through districts named Wa Roa, O Dudu, Rangaunu, Kahia Taiaia (i.e. Kaitaia with chief Kahia), Motu Hunga, Didiva, Wangaroa, (i.e. Whangaroa, with its chiefs “Te Pui” i.e. Te Puhu and “Teara” i.e. Te Ara), Mataudi, Taku, Tohora nui, and Tepuna (Te Puna with the village Rangihoua, the tribe Te Hudi o Kuna, and the chiefs Te Hudi o Kuna and Ware mokaikai). Kendall’s list continues down the Te Tai Tokerau peninsula, past Te Waimate to “Hoki Hanga” (Hokianga) to Tai Hamai (Taiaiai), to Kororareka (district 56) and then on to the tribes “Na ti Pawa” (Ngāti Paoa), Na ti Watua (Ngāti Whataua), and “Na ti Madu” (Ngāti Maru) situated at Waitemata and the Hauraki Gulf, called by the English ‘the Thames’ and the later site of the city of Auckland, the capital after settlement in 1841. After the “Na ti Moe” (Ngāti Moe) of Mangakahia district (near the present city of Whangarei) the village names are missing and only six more districts are listed, this being these extent of Kendall’s geographical knowledge. Stress marks on vowels are absent. The two lists, therefore, are quite different in construction and should repay further detailed comparative examination by historians familiar with Ngāpuhi history and associations.

As for the two vocabularies, there are major differences also. Kendall’s 1827–1832 vocabulary is part “No. 7” of his manuscript and is written on paper watermarked 1831. The original heading of the section was “Proper names of persons” with the following explanatory note: “Words and sentences selected for proper names of persons in the New Zealand language are generally commemorative of some event which has taken place in a family” and these names are listed alphabetically (A, E, I, O, U, D, H, K, M, N, P, R, T, W, pages 121–130) followed by a second list “Proper names of Places” (A, D, H inserted for four expressions only, K, M, N, O, P, R, T, W, page 130–133). There is no correspondence between Kendall’s list (Adu, Ahí, Ahinga, Ahí tangata, Ahó, Aku or Shaku, Anu, Ánga rau, Ará, Arahi te Udu, Te Adu, Te Ahí, Te Ahinga, Te Aho etc.), and Butler’s of 1824 (six names only: Adí, Áha rau, Aho, Áki, Ánga rau, Ará) although there are some curious correspondences. Kendall’s Anga rau – “a hundred works” is the same as Butler’s, but, on the other hand Kendall’s “te Udi o Kuna – the revolution or renewal of a tribe” is rendered by Butler as “Te Húdi o kúna” – interpreted as “the turnover of the generation in the grandson.” Te Udi o Kuna (variously spelled) is the name of the chief at Rangihoua, the first mission settlement and better known as Te Uri o Kana but spelled as ‘Ahoodi O’Gunnah’ in some of the early sources. Both Te Uri o Kana and Te Toru had learned some English at Parramatta, near Sydney and had acted as interpreters on spar gathering ships.

‘Of the different degrees of Kindred.’

One of the special vocabularies found in Kendall’s manuscript is “3. Of the different degrees of Kindred” (pages 143–145). This is transcribed entire from the manuscript as an example of his late work. I have added some explanatory corrections in square brackets.

E Hivi * a tribe, or family ['Hivi' = he iwi]
E Tupuna * an ancestor, or grand parents
E Tupuna tane * a grand father
E Tupuna wahine * a grand mother
E Mokopuna * a descendant, or grand child
E Mokopuna tane * a grandson
E Mokopuna wahine * a granddaughter
E Hudi * posterity, succeeding generation ['Hudi' = uri]
E Madua, or Matua * a parent [matua is normal as ‘d’ was not used after 1836]
E Madua tane * a father
E Madua wahine * a mother
E Tamaiti * a son
E Tamahine * a daughter
E Tungane * a brother, to a sister or female cousin
E Tuwhine * a sister to a brother, or male cousin
E Tuakuna * a brother’s elder brother, or sister’s elder sister, also an elder brother’s or sisters children, to a younger brother or sister’s children, male to male &c. [tuakana]
E Teina * a brother’s younger brother, or sister’s younger sister; also a younger brother or sister’s children to an elder brother’s or sister’s children, male to male etc.
E Potiki * the last or youngest child in a family
E Wanaunga * a cousin german
E Madua kēke * an uncle or aunt
E Madua kēke tane * an uncle
E Madua kēke wahine * an aunt
E Hiramutu * a nephew or niece
E Hiramutu tane * a nephew
E Hiramutu wahine * a niece
E Madua pu * a real parent
E Tamaiti pu * a real child
E Tane * a male spouse, a husband
E Wahine * a female spouse, a wife
E Hungawai or Madua hungawai * a parent in law
E Hungawai tāne * a father in law
E Hungawai wahine * a mother in law
E Hunahunga tane * a son in law
E Hunahunga wahine * a daughter in law
E Taokete tane * a brother in law
E Taokete wahine * a sister in law
E Ou tane * a cousin german by marriage (m) [Actually ōu is a pronoun, 2nd person singular, u, with the preposition ō prefixed ‘of thee’ i.e. ōu tane = ‘your male cousin’]
E Ou wahine * a cousin german by marriage (f)
E Wanau * a family of children ['Wanau’ modern form whanau, wh introduced after 1840]
E Wanaunga * a relative by birth [now whanaunga]
E Pani * an orphan
E Maehanga * a twin
E Podiro * a bastard [potiro probably an error for pōtiki i.e. an infant]
E ‘hoa or Shoa * a friend [hoa]
E ‘Pononga * a servant [pononga servant or true friend from the root word pono, true; but could also be used for a captive slave, perhaps ironically. The term is used of the High Priest’s servant in Matthew 26, 51]
E Pononga tane * a manservant
E Pononga wahine * a maidservant
E Taorekareka * a slave m or f [tārekareka, slave, elliptically as someone fit for eating, still in use in that sense until the 1830s]
E Wari * a person in a low situation [a derogatory term, mean, of no account = wareware]
E Mokai * a ditto [mokai a captive slave, used as a term of opprobrium or ironically as pet bird etc.]
E Tangata ke * a stranger [a man ‘not one of us’ i.e. not a relative]
E Manuwīdi * a visitor [manuhiri, visitor, ‘bird of passage’]
E Taumāro * a lover
E Rangatira * a gentleman [rangatira = a chief, a man of standing]
E Rangatira tāne * a master
E Rangatira wahine * a mistress
E Duwahine * an housekeeper f.
E Tangata maodi * a countryman [tangata (man) māori (ordinary)]
Te Anga * an assembly conversing [= hunga]
Te Unga * a community or body of people, on their arrival at a place. [hunga a throng]

Examples from ‘Familiar phrases’

Page 175 of Kendall’s manuscript is headed “To buy, sell &c.” and consists of twenty examples to do with trading. It is copied below with Kendall’s own spellings and accent marks. Here Kendall renders “hoko” strangely as “yoko” perhaps a transition from ‘oko’. At the end of the previous list ‘Te Unga’ however should have been ‘te hunga’ i.e. the throng and in other places price ‘utu’ is aspirated as ‘hutu’:

Ehaha tau mea yoko? * What hast thou to exchange?
Kahore taku mea yoko. * I have nothing to exchange.
E rakau taku mea yoko. * I have wood to exchange.
Ahea kae e yoko ai? * When wilt thou barter?
Kayoko taua. * Let us barter.
Ahea taua e yoko ai? * When shall we barter?
Ekore taua e yoko. * We will not barter.
Ekore oti e reka tera yokonga. * That bargain is not a pleasant one.
Ma tatou e yoko ki a kohutou. * We will trade with you.
Kaua tatou e yoko ki te ta tapu. * Let us not barter on the sacred day.
E kore tatou e yoko ki te ra tapu. * We will not barter on the sacred day.
Ka yoko tatou ki te ra noa. We trade on the common day.
Ka aere mai hau ki te yoko aku porka. * I come to barter my pigs.
Ehaha te hutu mo au porka? * What is the price of thy pigs?
Hawa te hutu mo aku nei porka. * Do not pay me for my pigs.
Kawa oki e hutu mo aku nei porka. * Do not pay me for my pigs.
Mea hoatu noa aku nei porka ki a koe. Kawa oki koe e hutua. * My pigs are gratuitously given to thee. Do not pay for them.
Maku te tahi matau. * Give me a fishhook.
Mo tehaha oti? * For what purpose or reward?
Mo te homai nea ra oki. * For nothing certainly.
Here some loan words make an appearance. Like *kapene* = captain for potato, the other introduced staple is the pig, hence *porka* or *poaka*, from porker.

The watermark on the sheet with the vocabulary on buying and selling is “J. M.1819” but the date on which the sheet was written is uncertain. 38 The twelve-page portion of the manuscript in which it appears, however, may be early and it was possibly written before the publication of the 1820 *Grammar*, in which “hoko” is rendered as “O’ko” and “óko” with an acute mark replacing the letter ‘h’ (see page 142). Dialogue XIII (page 105) in the 1820 *Grammar* contains a brief example using the expression: “E kôre óti koe e pai kia túa e tâhi râkau móku? (Art thou not willing to fell some wood for me?) E pai āna ra ōki ’au. E’aha te ūtu’? (I am willing. What is the exchange for it?)” But “y” for “h” does not occur in the 1820 grammar, except in the alphabet page; it is not included in the vocabulary.

**Conclusion: Posterity and Kendall’s other legacy**

In the *Grammar* of 1820 (page 145) “U’di” is translated as “revolution, succession, posterity; also the proper name of a person” and four entries later we find “U’di o Kuna: The renewal of a tribe; also the proper name of a person”; the most obvious explanation is that both Butler’s 1824 list and Kendall’s 1831 list are derived from the vocabulary contained in Kendall and Lee’s *Grammar* of 1820 (pp. 131–230). Ultimately, it would seem that neither Kendall nor Butler progressed much in their philological studies after they left New Zealand, in 1825 and 1823 respectively. Removed from contact with Māori by forces beyond his control, Kendall was unlikely to be able to further his philological studies. Butler, from the available evidence, was even less successful than Kendall. Other people, now aware of the lost manuscript of Kendall, have the opportunity to explore further the rude efforts of New Zealand’s first resident philologist. Kendall’s name is now associated with Binney’s title *The Legacy of Guilt* but there is another legacy in the form of the manuscripts.

As Judith Binney pointed out, in the introduction to the second edition of her work *The Legacy of Guilt* (2005): “In December 1835, Kendall’s son Basil advertised in the *Sydney Morning Herald* for the immediate return of his father’s manuscript for the revised grammar. He asserted that he had lent it to Dr John Llotsky two years previously, and threatened ‘coercive measures’.” 39 The naturalist Lhotsky had been commissioned, by Ludwig I of Bavaria to travel, explore and describe the ‘new world’, spending eighteen months in Brazil before travelling to Australia. He landed at Sydney on 18 May 1832, moved to Hobart in Tasmania in 1836, and there obtained a ‘Van Diemen Land Vocabulary’ from a Mr McGeary “who had been upwards of twenty years resident in the island and is well acquainted with the manners and language of the people” but this was not published; it is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. 40

Lhotsky was a prolific writer and on leaving Australia for England he gave a talk in December 1838 to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta on Kendall’s ‘manuscript grammar of the

38 The page is numbered ‘11’ at the top right-hand corner but is also numbered 170, then 151, 159 and finally 175, although all but the last of these is crossed out.

39 ‘Notice to Dr.Lhotsky’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1835, p. [4].

40 A short account was published in London in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* v. 9 (1839) pp.157 –162, as ‘Some remarks on a short vocabulary of the natives of Van Diemen Land; also of the Menero Downs in Australia’ The second work was Lhotsky’s own, the Menero Downs (New South Wales) work dating from 1834. The work by Kendall may have been borrowed for comparative purposes. There is no indication that Lhotsky sought to publish it or to misattribute it.
New Zealand language." Prior to that, a note appeared in the proceedings of the society to explain that: The secretary read a notice, by Dr Lhotzky, of a New Zealand Grammar and vocabulary compiled by the Rev. T. Kendall, from the MS of a gentleman deceased. Mr Kendall had commenced printing the work in Sydney, but having also died it came into the hands of Dr Lhotzky who now proposes to publish it in England. From this notice we learn that the grammar fully elucidates the philosophy of the language; and the vocabulary evinces its copiousness, especially on subjects of natural history. The list of adverbs is extensive and comprises many of a complex kind, not existing in modern languages. The grammar contained specimens of the native songs some of which have appeared in this journal. The New Zealanders are of Malay origin." This appears to be the advance notice of a forthcoming lecture by Lhotsky during his travels. It suggests that Kendall had copied the work of a deceased man but had then died himself, but this may have been a subterfuge. Certainly the praise of the copious vocabulary in natural history is much exaggerated.

An extract of New Zealand poetry ‘the lamentation of the widow of the chief Hinaki alias Nga Ware, who was slain in battle in the year 1821’ communicated by Dr Lhotsky was printed with note: “Extracted (like the specimens given in our journal for October 1838) from the manuscript grammar of Mr Kendall.” This text is certainly that from Kendall. The October 1838 extract is from the The Asiatic Journal Issue 106 (1 October 1838) pp. 131–133, where Lhotsky is not specifically mentioned and is prefaced by the remarks:

The Polynesian nations, those pure children of nature, are fast disappearing under the influence of European civilisation, which is rapidly thinning their numbers; or, where a less destructive system is pursued, is extinguishing their national characteristics by the introduction of Christian education. Under these circumstances it is desirable to present some relics of the aboriginal literature (if it may be so called) of Polynesia; and with this view we insert the following unpublished songs of the New Zealanders, which have been introduced into a second improved edition of the Rev. Thomas Kendall’s New Zealand Grammar, the printing of which was begun at Sydney, New South Wales but was interrupted by the death of the author. It is to be hoped the work will not be dropped, as it is important both for missionary and commercial objects that there should be a medium of intercourse with the natives of these fine islands in their own tongue.

The literary extracts which follow had in fact already appeared in the first 1820 edition of the Grammar. They are: “Wai Ata. (Song.)” beginning “E taka to ‘shau ki te tiu marangai”; “The New Zealand Baptismal Service. As used by some of the natives”; “Pi E (Pronounced Pihe), or the Funeral Ode. Introduction only used when the deceased has fallen in battle” and six further parts of the same extended composition.

As Binney suggested: “The lecture suggests that “Lhotsky had hung onto Kendall’s manuscript at least until then; the box of revisions for the Grammar may therefore have

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41 Talk given on 1 December 1838, reported from a Calcutta newspaper in the Sydney Morning Herald, 17 April 1839, p. [2]
42 Asiatic journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia new series vol. 28 (January-April 1839) ‘Miscellanies original and select’ p. 96.
43 Asiatic journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia v. 31 no. 122 (January–April 1840) p. 94.
44 The Asiatic Journal no. 106 (1 October 1838) p. 131. I am grateful to Rowan Gibbs for drawing my attention to this reference.
passed through Lhotsky’s hands and it may include some of his annotations and transcript pages.\textsuperscript{45}

Somehow, however, the extant collation reached George Evans in England by June 1839, when he advertised his intention to publish a ‘Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand Language, with a Collection of Dialogues and Songs’. As will be shown in the following chapter, Evans plagiarised portions of the collation, notably the songs recorded by Kendall, and religious texts translated into Māori, but ultimately he too failed to publish, being caught up in the affairs of the New Zealand Company. In 1840, nevertheless, John Butler did return to New Zealand and he also attempted to publish a vocabulary and grammar of the Māori language, with a comparable lack of success, based in part on the manuscripts of Kendall, with the adaptation by Evans, now an associate in the Company.

As recounted in the previous chapter, soon after Thomas Kendall drowned in 1832, his manuscript grammar was placed on loan to Dr John Lhotsky, but it disappeared. At some stage it fell into the hands of George Samuel Evans (1802–1868), who evidently felt he could make use of it when schemes for the British colonisation of New Zealand were revived in 1838–1840. More than sufficient has been written of this fraught enterprise, so only a cursory account is necessary here. While New South Wales had been founded as a penal colony in 1788, and some of the early governors of that colony had regarded the islands of New Zealand as merely the offshore islands of that colony, like the small islands called Lord Howe Islands and Norfolk Island, but that view had been dropped after 1824. Thereafter, the view was taken that New Zealand was not a British territory, and that the governance of it was a matter best left to the various chiefs. In fact there were no prospects that the frequent sanguinary conflicts between the chiefs would be soon resolved but after about 1830, the period of the musket wars was drawing to a close and some of the northern chiefs, mostly of Ngāpuhi extraction, impressed with the military power of the British and occasional French visitors and anxious to encourage friendly economic relations with the neighbouring Colony of New South Wales expressed themselves willing to forming a trading connexion and explore friendly political relations.

After an alarum created by fears of an imminent French annexation in late 1831, a group of thirteen chiefs wrote to King William IV (16 November 1831) asking that they come under British protection, ‘lest the French come to take away our land’ (“Kua rongo matou ko te Iwi o Marion tenei me ake a mai ki te tango i to matou kainga, kota matou ka inoi ai kia meinga koe hei hoa mo matou hei kai tiaki e enei motu kei tata mai te wakatō o nga tau iwi, kei haere mai nga tangata ke kī e tango it e matou wenua.” Furthermore “and if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us (for some persons are living here who have run away from ships) we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them. This letter is from us the chiefs of the natives of New Zealand.” The original letter and translation are in the Colonial Office archives.¹

A British Resident was appointed at London, in June 1832 and the chiefs received an assurance that he would investigate all complaints made to him. He arrived in May 1833 but proved quite ineffectual as he was not empowered with any coercive force, and the means of seeking redress remained with missionary influence. The Resident, James Busby, is thus called ‘the man of war without guns’ and soon became a figure of exasperation and ridicule. By October 1836 colonial office correspondence revealed: “The state of New Zealand is shewn to be lamentably bad and Mr Busby has long been regarded as unfit for office. Sir R.

¹ Public Record Office, CO 201/221 ff. 384-388, inscribed and translated by the Rev. W. Yate.
Bourke was authorised to remove him and in one of his communications to Mr Busby he intimates that fact to him.\textsuperscript{2}

In March 1837 the British settlers were also fed up with Busby’s inaction and commented that in “the infant state of the country” it was acknowledged by the chiefs themselves that the country was lawless and ungoverned: “Your petitioners therefore feel persuaded that considerable time must elapse before the chiefs of the land can be capable of exercising the duties of an independent government.”\textsuperscript{3} It was about this time that the first New Zealand Association (1837–1838) was formed by the colonialist ideologue Edward Gibbon Wakefield who claimed that the chiefs were “independent for the purposes of ceding land for settlement” but that Captain Cooks’s proclamation of sovereignty in 1769 was a bar to all foreign powers. The British had done nothing to follow up on the 1769 proclamation. The missionary societies, both Anglican and Wesleyan swiftly opposed the formation of the Association. The association sent the Congregationalist minister Rev. Samuel Evans (who was now in possession of Kendall’s manuscript) to sound out any possible support for the Association but he found that the Church Missionary Society found the plans highly objectionable and resolved to do all it could to defeat the plan.\textsuperscript{4} Helen Riddiford’s recent life of Evans makes only one brief reference to Kendall and none at all to John Gare Butler. She seems to have thought that the work of Evans was original, and not to have known of its history of theft and plagiarism.\textsuperscript{5}

The death of the King and accession of Queen Victoria (on 20 June 1837) stopped further proceedings allowing for a concerted effort by the missions to defeat the first Association: “It cannot be too deeply impressed upon your minds that the colonisation of New Zealand has already commenced. The Bay of Islands and other important places are already in the possession of Europeans. The natives of the northern part of this island are only nominally the sovereigns of their country; they are too divided as a people to regain the sovereignty, & the whites are too numerous to be opposed with success by such a divided community. It is only by the intervention of the British Government that the New Zealanders will be maintained a portion of their country. Collision without such an intervention must soon take place, & the result will be disastrous for the New Zealanders. There must be a government that will not only restrain British subjects but New Zealanders also.”\textsuperscript{6}

It is not certain that this view much influenced the thinking of the Colonial Office. Both Glenelg and Melbourne attended a meeting with deputation from the New Zealand Association on 13 December 1837 where Glenelg stated his view that “Great Britain has no legal or moral right to establish a colony in New Zealand, without the free consent of the natives, deliberately given, without compulsion and without fraud.” After the meeting Melbourne commented that the intending colonists were “quite mad” to go to New Zealand

\textsuperscript{2} Notes to James Stephen from Gardner, 23 October 1836, and response, 15 November 1836, PRO CO 209/2 pp. 228, 287–288, 291–292. Stephen annotated the latter: “I confess I do not perceive the possibility, or rather the utility of moving at all in these matters at present.”

\textsuperscript{3} The full text and list of signatories is reproduced in R. A. A. Sherrin and J. H. Wallace’s Early history of New Zealand (1890) pp. 463–464.


and reflected on the ‘fatal necessity’ that, when “a nation begins to colonise it is led step by step over the whole globe.”

But soon after this Glenelg came to the view that the missions, even if backed up by the British Government, were insufficient to prevent the demise of the New Zealanders, and the missions were also ineffective in preventing an influx of would be colonists. Wakefieldian colonisation was now seen as a more practicable solution than mission colonisation. Then a further report by William Hobson became favoured by the Colonial Office because “it avoided the issue of organised colonisation and because it was superior to the programme of the missionary societies.” In August 1838 elements of the New Zealand Association formed themselves into a new colonising scheme and purchased a vessel (the Tory) for the New Zealand Colonisation Association. Glenelg advised Governor Gipps of New South Wales that he intended to appoint a Consul to replace Busby. A decisive step to establish a British protectorate over New Zealand was precipitated with the departure of the Tory as Great Britain had to interfere to prevent the establishment of an extraterritorial British settlement outside British legal jurisdiction. Māori ‘the New Zealanders’, would be given what they had asked for, the lex Britannica, initially by making the islands a dependency of New South Wales, and seeking cession of sovereignty by means of a treaty of cession signed by the diverse chiefs and the consul empowered to treat with them, and then the institution of a new colony, separate from New South Wales, with its own governor, by Royal Charter. The Consul and Lieutenant Governor, William Hobson, arrived at the Bay of Islands in January 1840, to learn that the Tory and other ships of the New Zealand Company had already arrived at Port Nicholson, at the far end of the North Island, or else were on their way. Among them was the ‘Umpire’ of the settlement of the colonists, the Rev. George Samuel Evans soon to be joined by a Protector of Aborigines said to be fluent in the native language.

**John Butler’s return to New Zealand**

On an unknown date (apparently in November 1839) a Mr N. Broughton (probably influenced by the attack on the Church Missionary Society by the Rev. Dr John Dunmore Lang,)

wrote to Henry Williams, in a letter strongly critical of the CMS: “I should almost recommend their declaring the New Zealand Mission defunct – discharge the whole lot and then select from application, such and only such as have proved themselves worthy of their holy vocation. . . . But I fear like Messrs Kendall & Butler they will keep a better eye on their self than on their consecration oaths – bye the bye Butler has been trying to get out again (so a relation of his told me some time ago) & if he sets his foot again in New Zealand he will soon kick up a flame that the CMS will not soon quench.” But it was not really the holy vocation of the priesthood that attracted Butler back to New Zealand. Rather, it seems it was a financial lure and the opportunity of colonization.

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10. See J. D. Lang, *New Zealand in 1839; or four letters to the Right Hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company, . . . on the colonization of that Island and on the present condition and prospects of its native inhabitants.* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1839). 120 pp. This contains much abuse of fallen missionaries, particularly Kendall, Butler and Yate.
Butler, now stationed at Sheffield, seems to have become involved with the New Zealand Company rather suddenly. Arming themselves with the writ of *dedimus potestatem* (a writ to commission private persons to do some act in place of a judge, such as to administer an oath of office to a justice of the peace or to examine witnesses, which had been given to Butler by Governor Macquarie in 1819), the Company attempted to establish a legal authority for Butler so that he might enter again upon his office.\(^\text{12}\)

On the 14\(^\text{th}\) November 1839 Henry Cheeswright, a ‘Notary Public by royal authority duly admitted and sworn’ engrossed and attested a faithful copy of Lachlan Macquarie’s *dedimus potestatem* of 24 July 1819:

> By his Excellency Lachlan Macquarie Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty’s territory called New South Wales and its dependencies etc. By virtue of the power vested in me, I do hereby nominate constitute, appoint and assign You the Reverend John Gare Butler a Justice to keep His Majesty’s Peace and for the preservation thereof and the quiet rule and Government of His Majesty’s people within and throughout the British Settlements at New Zealand, a dependency of the said Territory. Given at Government House Sydney New South Wales, this 24\(^\text{th}\) day of July in the year of Our Lord 1819.\(^\text{13}\)

The acquisition of a ‘lawful magistrate’ to accompany the New Zealand Company settlers to New Zealand would have a boon to the settlement, if Butler had had any legitimate authority. Unfortunately for Butler and for the Company’s legal advisers, Butler’s commission as a Justice of the Peace had expired with the death of George III, just a few months after it was bestowed, and it was never renewed; this was pointed out to Edward Gibbon Wakefield at the Select Committee in London the following year.\(^\text{14}\)

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\(^{12}\) See Archives New Zealand NZC 102/1 pp. 200–206: “But Mr Butler, as well as being an ordained minister of the Church Missionary Society, is a lawful British Magistrate in New Zealand having received a commission of *dedimus potestatem* [. . .] He still holds that Commission and will take it with him; here then the Directors trust is a sufficient temporary provision for the prevention of such offences as might otherwise have been committed with impunity.” Butler was appointed at a salary of £250 per year commencing 1 November 1839 and given formal instructions (Ibidem pp. 252–259).

\(^{13}\) The notarised copy is in the Alexander Turnbull Library (MS–Papers–3425) and was presented to the Library by Archives New Zealand in 1962. Its earlier provenance is uncertain but a reference to it in a list of ‘Documents in the iron chest, Secretary’s room’ (item 17, ‘14 Novr 1839 Notarial copy of Mr Butler’s De. Po’) in the New Zealand Company Papers at the Public Record office CO 208 / 294 shows that it was originally there). The original document with the Macquarie signature is now within the Old Land Claims files at Archives New Zealand (OLC 636) with other documents relating to the claim. The *dedimus* itself in annotated in Butler’s hand: “By virtue of this document I was very actively engaged in my official capacity as magistrate for five years and received the thanks of Governor Macquarie and Sir Thomas Brisbane who succeeded him for my services in New Zealand.” There is no evidence that the commission was renewed after the accession of George IV. The fact that Butler took formal statements under the ‘authority’ of *dedimus* is confirmed by the transcripts of depositions of 1821 and later which he included in his papers (*Earliest New Zealand* e.g. p. 174, 192, 202) all signed as a JP.

\(^{14}\) GBPP 1840 (582) pp. 22–23. Evidence of E. G. Wakefield, 13 July 1840, questions 99–102, 129–143. See p. 19: “[. . .] by a fortunate accident they discovered in England a gentleman, formerly a member of the Church Missionary Society, a clergyman holding a little incumbency at Sheffield, who happened to have in his possession a commission as a Justice of the Peace in New Zealand, under which commission he has acted; and they induced that gentleman to go out for the purpose of sending out there something like protection against crimes. I have a copy of his commission here, and as it is curious, perhaps the Committee would like to hear it read. [. . .] That gentleman the Company despatched as soon as they possibly could, with that commission in his pocket, [. . .] but which the Company, as soon as they discovered it was technically illegal, strongly recommended them to abandon.”
And a few days earlier, in Sydney, Governor Gipps in his speech to the Council of New South Wales on 9 July 1840, was even more scathing:

Governor Macquarie, it is well known, claimed and exercised authority in New Zealand, and it is somewhat curious that the New Zealand Land Company, when convinced by Serjeant Wilde that they could not constitute justices of the peace at Port Nicholson, should have rummaged up a gentleman who formerly held a Commission of the Peace for New Zealand from Governor Macquarie, and have actually sent him out to re-enter on his functions, forgetting that since 1814 there have been no less than three demises of the Crown any one of which would have rendered his commission a nullity. That men who hold Her Majesty’s Government in defiance, and pretend to found colonies for themselves, should be so simple, is truly marvellous.\(^15\)

An official letter from John Ward, of the New Zealand Company, had advised Butler of his appointment as interpreter in 1839: “I have to acquaint you that your engagement as Interpreter to the Company in New Zealand, has been confirmed by the Board, and a salary of £250 per annum commencing on the 1st November instant will be payable to you one half year’s salary in advance.”\(^16\) Butler’s instructions, dated 15 November 1839, just four days before he sailed on the Bolton, lay emphasis on his expected familiarity with the language:

The Directors have been induced to select you as their Interpreter from the confidence which they place not only on your long and familiar acquaintance with the natives, their language, manners and character but from the conviction the Directors entertain that you are strongly impressed with those principals of justice and humanity which the Directors seek to follow as the rule of the Company’s dealings with the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand.

Butler was to “spare no pains to satisfy the natives that the Company has no object hostile to them — on the contrary — that it will be the means of imparting to them the substantial benefits of civilisation”, although it was acknowledged that a regular system of dealings had been established by the “Officers of the Church Missionary Society, and others”\(^17\). The expected familiarity with the language appears, however, to be subsidiary to the “principles of justice and humanity.”

Evans’s ‘Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand Language’, 1839

Independent of Butler, another philologist had taken up the cause of the “New Zealand language” for the New Zealand Company. Another intending colonist, already familiar to us, the Rev. George Samuel Evans (“as pretty a specimen of humbug as you could meet in a days march”\(^18\)) had studied classical languages, including Sanskrit, at Cambridge and then took the

\(^{15}\) G. Gipps, Speech of His Excellency Sir George Gipps, in Council, on Thursday, 9th July, 1840, on the second reading of the Bill for appointing Commissioners to enquire into claims to grants of land in New Zealand (Sydney: J. Tegg & Co., 1840) pp. 23–34.

\(^{16}\) Archives New Zealand NZC 102/1 pp. 252–259.

\(^{17}\) Ibidem pp. 252–259.

degree of M.A. at Glasgow, at which time he was ordained as a Congregationalist minister. He became headmaster of the Protestant Dissenters Grammar School, Mill Hill, London, ("the Mill Hill School") in 1827–1828, and on leaving there married the widowed Matron of the school, Mrs Harriot Strother Riddiford. The Mill Hill connection supplies the link between Evans and the Rev. E. Hampden-Cook – the donor of the Kendall manuscript described in the previous chapter. After leaving Mill Hill, Evans entered Lincolns Inn in 1832. He was called to the bar in 1837 and subsequently practised law at Bristol.

Evans was the host to Te Aki ("Jackey"), a Māori youth whom Edward Gibbon Wakefield had befriended in London at the same time as Ngaiti ("Naiti" or "Nayti") was accommodated by Wakefield himself.19 Evans is supposed to have gained some knowledge of Māori from Te Aki, but it was Ngaiti rather than Te Aki who was appointed as interpreter to the New Zealand Company and who accompanied William Wakefield and Jerningham Wakefield to New Zealand in the Tory.20 According to Patricia Burns: “Jerningham wrote that Maori vocabularies were constructed from the dictation of Ngaiti. It is apparent, however that no serious effort was made to learn the language or understand the culture.”21 The notion that either Te Aki or Ngaiti had meaningful input into Evans’s philological work should be viewed with scepticism, and in The interpreter, her biography of Dicky Barrett, Angela Caughey hardly mentions Ngaiti.22 Barrett met the Tory expedition at Te Awaiti on 17 September 1839 and was signed on as an interpreter at once four days after William Wakefield has lost confidence in his own interpreter.23 It is unlikely that Ngaiti could write, either in English or in Māori, for literacy did not penetrate so far south until late 1839.

Independently, however, the officials of the New Zealand Company in London had already replaced Ngaiti with the Rev. John Gare Butler. Their primary motive for engaging him appear to be legal rather than philological: “In order to deal with lawless and dissolute persons, the directors have induced the Rev. W. [sic] Butler, a lawful British magistrate to proceed to the Colony.”24 But it also seems to have been assumed that the ability of Butler in the native language would benefit the plans of the New Zealand Company. That this ability was greatly overrated, the events will show. When Butler arrived, on the Bolton (which sailed 19 November 1839 and arrived on 20 April 1840) the ex-missionary was quite superfluous – Dickey Barrett (a British man with some understanding of the local dialect, but no philologist or grammarian) was now the preferred translator.

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20 Te Aki did not give evidence to the Select Committee and his fluency in English was probably less than that of Ngaiti.

21 Burns, Fatal success p. 91.


23 Extract from the journal of William Wakefield in GBPP 1844 Appendix to report from Select Committee in New Zealand, p. 593. See also P. Burns, Fatal success (1989) p. 113.

24 Archives New Zealand, NZC 102/1, 14 November 1839, sheet 200, see also sheet 203: “Mr Butler has full authority to appoint and enrol special constables.” However William Wakefield observed (in NZC 3/2 no. 91, dated 25 May 1840) “[The Rev. J. Butler] assists the Magistrate in all cases relating to the natives but has not been called upon to act under the powers granted to him by the late Governor Macquarie. It seems indeed probable that those powers have ceased to be of effect since the omission of Mr Butler’s name in the Commissions of the peace issued by subsequent Governors of New South Wales.”
Since Evans had left England two months before Butler was first heard, it seems probable that the two men did not meet until after they arrived in Port Nicholson. Evans and his wife reached New Zealand on the *Adelaide* (which sailed on 18 September 1839 and arrived at Port Nicholson on 7 March 1840) on the same ship as Samuel Revans and his printing shop. Butler arrived a month later. Evans had soon made himself unpopular, characterised by Caughey as “arrogant, bad tempered and outspoken” and although “he was to be the chief magistrate in the colony, […] according to Revans, he had a total disregard for justice; his wife was almost more unpopular.”

In preparation for his work in New Zealand Evans had already written a work called “A grammar and vocabulary of the New Zealand language, with a collection of dialogues and songs. By George Samuel Evans, of Lincoln’s Inn, Esq., D.C.L.” This title is given in an advertisement on the cover of Ward’s *Information relative to New Zealand* which is dated 9 June 1839. The title, unsurprisingly, closely resembles that used by Kendall in 1820, for it was in part plagiarised. This work by Evans can be safely assumed never to have been published, but must have been written long before Butler was engaged. By 1924, when H. W. Williams’s *Bibliography of printed Maori to 1900* was published, the Evans manuscript itself had long been lost, Williams stating: “Exhaustive inquiries have failed to elicit any information as to the work.”

Evans’s “Grammar and vocabulary of the New Zealand Language” begins with a formal grammar, which may well be partly original. The collection of Māori literary texts which it contains, however, is composed of transcriptions of parts of the unpublished “second edition” of Thomas Kendall’s “Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand Language” (1827–1832), described in the previous chapter. Aside from the obvious transcriptions of Kendall’s 1827–1832 work, such as a dialogue, and a Waiata (compare page 191 of MSZ–0871, pages [57–58] in qMS–0688), Evans also copied Kendall’s texts of the Pihe ‘Ode’ (compare pages 192–194 of MSZ–0871, corresponding to pages [59–61] of qMS–0688), and also the inclusion of the texts of the Apostles Creed, Lord’s Prayer and Ten Commandments (pp. 196–199 in Kendall’s holograph MSZ–0871 and pages [62–65] in Evans’s holograph qMS–0688). Evans’s holograph lacks page numbering (page numbers are indicated below in square brackets). It seems highly probable, therefore, that Kendall’s holograph (now MSZ–0871) was in Evans’s possession by 1839 and that Evans copied (and effectively plagiarised) from it. The first page of the holograph is illustrated as Figure 8 and can be compared with the corresponding text relating to the alphabet in Kendall’s work, illustrated as Figure 5. The copying is obvious: “The Alphabet. Adopting generally the alphabet of the Italian and other continental languages all the elementary sounds of the Polynesian language may be expressed by means of the following letters A E G H I K M N O P R T U. But as the pronunciation of the consonants by the New Zealanders is not forcible or determinate we sometimes find them substituting one sound for another produced by the same organs viz. B for P, D for T, L for R.

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27 H. W. Williams, *Bibliography of printed Maori to 1900* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1924) p. 11 entry 34a. H. W. Williams knew of this work only on the basis of the advertisement. He did not connect the Evans’ work with Kendall, and thought it may have been connected with Dieffenbach’s *Travels in New Zealand* (London: John Murray, 1843).
and, vice versa, – which leads to the admission of these three letters into the alphabet. For the letter U we write W at the beginning of a syllable and in that case it sometimes in pronunciation represents a sound between W and F such as most probably was given to the Digamma by the Greeks. We thus admit seventeen letters A B D G H I K L M N O P R T U W.” In fact the G was only used in the NG digraph and W and WH were distinguished from 1839. L, S and D had been discarded by 1826 except in occasional foreign words.

Figure 8: The first page of the manuscript of George Samuel Evans, 1839, plagiarised and adapted from the stolen MS of Kendall, but never published, and now in the Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0688.
A further connection between the Kendall and Evans manuscripts is provided by the lamentation with translation and analysis (page 112 of the Kendall holograph which is also present on page [56] of Evans’s work here headed ‘A lamentation of the widow of the New Zealand chief Hinaki some times called Nga Ware, who was slain in battle in the year 1821 after he had visited Port Jackson in HMS Coromandel’ – the same unpublished text as in Kendall’s manuscript, cited in the previous chapter and quoted by Lhotsky.\textsuperscript{28} Evans was quite critical of ‘the missionaries’ in respect of their linguistic knowledge: “It is pretended that the New Zealanders assign an abstract philosophical signification [to the vowels]. But we consider these speculations very premature and very inconsistent with that of the spirit of induction which is the best guide in such inquiries. The missionaries have indulged in such dreams which appear to have been indulged by Parkhurst’s Hebrew lexicon\textsuperscript{29}, in consequence of which, with the introduction of many European words they have invented a jargon unintelligible to the natives beyond their own establishments.”\textsuperscript{30} These remarks are strongly suggestive of the speculations in which Kendall had indulged.

It seems likely, although no evidence can be found, that Evans (who deputised for William Wakefield) may have assigned the printing of the grammar to the quite underemployed ‘Native Guardian’, Butler. What else was to be done with Butler, since his alleged magistracy was an illusion? From the scant surviving examples of Butler’s Māori texts it seems that Butler was of even less use than Barrett or Ngaiti as a translator. In any event, the publication of the Proclamations of British Sovereignty over New Zealand, on 21 May 1840, and the subsequent and infamous proclamation by Hobson of 23 May – in which the ‘Council’ at Port Nicholson was declared illegal and treasonous – shattered the dreams of Evans the ‘umpire’ and Butler the ‘Justice of the Peace’. Their authority was a mirage. When Willoughby Shortland arrived on 2 June the Company flag was pulled down and the colonists capitulated.\textsuperscript{31} The production of a vocabulary and grammar of the New Zealand language was clearly an intrinsic element of the Company’s plan, but it was not well thought out, as was the case with so many of the Company’s schemes.

**Butler’s ‘New Zealandic Vocabulary’ 1840**

Butler was certainly not well suited to attempt a New Zealand vocabulary, but attempt it he did. An advertisement in the *New Zealand Gazette* no. 10 (13 June 1840) two months after Butler’s arrival – and barely a fortnight after Shortland appeared and accused the colonists of treason – announced:

\textsuperscript{28} Kendall’s text (a transcript) is on paper dated by a watermark 1838, and Evans’s MS has a watermark ‘Superfine 1839’ and so may be in Lhotsky’s hand, but specimens of Lhotsky’s handwriting have not been evaluated.

\textsuperscript{29} J. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English lexicon, without points . . . to this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar without points*. (London: W. Faden, 1762). Other editions were published in 1788, 1792, 1799, 1807, 1813, 1823, and 1829.

\textsuperscript{30} Evans, in ATL qMS–0688 pages [3–4]).

\textsuperscript{31} See GBPP 1841 (311) p. 79, Shortland to Hobson, 20 June 1840, “They assured me that they had been greatly misrepresented. Dr Evans stated that the council had been formed to keep the peace, and for mutual protection until the arrival of your Excellency or any persons appointed by you. I told him I was disposed to view their proceedings in that light, provided the council vanished and that the flags were immediately hauled down; but that any proposal from any body of persons assuming any power of rights I should consider hostile. He assured me of the loyalty of the emigrants, and that my wishes would be complied with.”
To be printed and published forthwith, in as cheap a form as possible by approbation of Colonel Wakefield. A NEW ZEALANDIC vocabulary by the Rev. J. G. Butler, Native Guardian, and Interpreter to the New Zealand Company. To which will be added, as an appendix, a list of some of the Sovereign Chiefs, with the usual place of their residence so far as they are known, and also for convenience sake, a list of trees, shrubs &c together with a list of the names of fishes, &c. N.B. As J.G.B. has no other object in view than to render some useful service to the colonists and colony in general, he therefore hopes that a sufficient number of subscribers will be found to secure him from any loss, in the undertaking. Those who favour the work will send in their names to the "Gazette" Office immediately.\(^{32}\)

This advertisement was repeated in the two following issues in an expanded form, and a dedication to William Wakefield:

The subscribers to the above work are informed, that it has been determined to issue it in monthly parts of 24 pages demy 8vo. each. This plan has been adopted in order to put the Colonists in possession of material parts of the language as early as possible; and they will have an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of it progressively. It is hoped that this arrangement will give satisfaction to the present subscribers, and be the means of providing an occasion from those who may not feel justified or cannot at conveniently pay the whole amount at one period. The work will be completed in 6 monthly parts. The price of each part will be, To subscribers 10d. To non-subscribers 1s. The first will be issued on the 1st of August, and be continued regularly on the 1st of each month, until completed.\(^{33}\)

When a file of the New Zealand Gazette (the first Company paper, printed by Revans at Port Nicholson) was received at the Bay of Islands in July, a note about the forthcoming publication of the ‘Butler’ vocabulary was included.\(^{34}\) But the first part of the work was still not available in August, and it is almost certain that no part of the work was ever printed. The publisher probably waited for demand for the work to manifest itself before he was willing to devote time to setting a book in type. This, of course, had been the course Kendall and his publisher had followed. All that seems to have been produced relating to the vocabulary were a few advertisements and a small placard or circular, dated 24 June. No copy of the circular has been located but the text is known:

Whereas the major part of the materials contained in the present number, and those which will succeed in this treatise, have heretofore undergone the examinations and scrutiny of that profound scholar, Professor Lee, of the University of Cambridge, it may be concluded that the elements and principals of the New Zealand language are satisfactorily laid down on a good foundation. An authority like this cannot fail (I imagine) to recommend a small work of this nature to the notice and perusal of colonists and others, who may be desirous to obtain a competent knowledge of the language, in order to convey their ideas and sentiments to the natives.\(^{35}\)

The circular was dated at the head “June 24\(^{th}\), 1820” (clearly a typographical error for ‘1840’) and signed at the foot “Britannia, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1840.” The imprint given by

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\(^{32}\) New Zealand Gazette no. 10 (13 June 1840).

\(^{33}\) This information is also mentioned in the New Zealand Journal for 5 December 1840, page 290; apparently the only mention of the work.

\(^{34}\) New Zealand Advertiser no. 5 (9 July 1840) page 3 col. 3: “A New Zealandic Vocabulary is to be published by the Rev. J. G. Butler, Native Guardian.”

\(^{35}\) The circular (no extant copy of which has been traced) is quoted by R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand (Masterton: Palamountain & Petherick, 1927) p. 430
Barton is “Printed by Samuel Revans.” This may also indicate that there was no interest in the “New Zealandic vocabulary” or in “Butler’s Help and Guide” among the readers of the paper. Although the advertisements make no acknowledgement to Kendall they pointedly mention “that profound scholar Professor Lee” of Cambridge. But in fact Samuel Lee had no direct connection with the “New Zealandic Vocabulary” and was probably unaware of its intended publication. His name was used for the purpose of propaganda. There is no reference to Evans either, but this is unsurprising given his current unpopularity. A final reference to the work comes in an editorial comment in the New Zealand Journal for 16 January 1841, quoting a letter of two days earlier:

“A gentleman intending to emigrate to New Zealand has sought in vain for books to guide him in the acquisition of the native language. If the Editor of the New Zealand Journal can throw any light on the subject, the writer will be truly obliged.” — There is a grammar and vocabulary by Professor Lee of Cambridge, but we have never met with it. We are not aware of any other work published in this country. At Port Nicholson, however, some works are announced, and copies will probably shortly reach this country. Many of the settlers who sent out in 1839, have acquired the language, which does not appear to offer any peculiar difficulties. — Ed.

The “list of some of the Sovereign Chiefs, with the usual place of their residence so far as they are known”, conspicuously mentioned in the advertisement of 1840, is a clue to link Butler’s involvement and the Kendall manuscript. Kendall’s list of eighty-nine names (written ca 1831, and discussed above) therefore also invites comparison with the list of eighty-five names given by Barton in Earliest New Zealand pages 350–58 and headed: “In the Bay of Islands. Names of the principal chiefs” According to Barton “This list was evidently compiled soon after his arrival in England, either from memory or from notes in his possession.” The peculiar orthography, however, resembles that demanded by Samuel Marsden in 1823. This suggests that the list in Earliest New Zealand preceded the list given to the CMS in 1825 (i.e. the manuscript illustrated in the Turnbull Library Record 33).

The Barton transcription is not, however, a straight transcript. It seems to include parenthetical supplementary information such as transliterations of Butler’s unconventional spellings (such as ‘Wedee Nakee’ for Whirinaki, p. 350) and identifications of persons supplied by later authors (among these are Percy Smith, William Williams, Earle, Cruise, Yate and Drummond). It is most probable that the Butler list of 1840 was compiled specifically for the “New Zealandic Vocabulary”, drawing on Butler’s private duplicate of the list, the original of which he had given in 1825 to the CMS (now in the Hocken Library in DUHO MS–1166). A twenty-year old list of names for chiefs from the far end of the Island,

36 Barton’s transcription (which prints the text of the letter by Butler to William Wakefield), states: “The work was called ‘Butler’s Help and Guide to the New Zealand Language’. Dedicated by permission, to Col. William Wakefield, principal agent for the New Zealand Land Company” – a different title from that used in the advertisements.

38 Kendall’s list of eighty-five names (written ca 1831, and discussed above) therefore also invites comparison with the list of eighty-five names given by Barton in Earliest New Zealand pages 350–58 and headed: “In the Bay of Islands. Names of the principal chiefs” According to Barton “This list was evidently compiled soon after his arrival in England, either from memory or from notes in his possession.”
39 Barton, Earliest New Zealand p. 358.
40 Ibidem p. 350. Barton remarks: “A large number of these names appear in works dealing with natives of that period and can be traced. It is difficult to understand the omission of others who were personally well known to Mr. Butler. Possibly they were of inferior rank, for some called chiefs by one writer are called servants by another.” (p. 358).
and many of whom were probably already dead, was surely of little use at Port Nicholson in 1840. There is no such list in the Evans manuscript of 1839.

H. W. Williams, in his *Bibliography of printed Maori to 1900*, seems not to have been aware of the “New Zealandic Vocabulary”. But on the evidence of Butler’s other transcriptions – such as the proclamation translated for Governor Brisbane in 1824 and the transcriptions printed by Barton in 1927 – the claims made for Butler’s ability as a translator are much exaggerated. The Butler “translations” copied by Barton and called “possibly Butler’s first translations” are no more than Butler’s transliteration of the texts he had obtained from the 1820 Grammar of Kendall, with the orthography mandated by Samuel Marsden in 1823. In short his contribution to the vocabulary and grammar of the Maori language was negligible.41

**Butler’s Island**

The failure to publish the “New Zealandic Vocabulary” is hardly surprising. Butler died on 18 June 1841 and doubtless any scheme by Evans or Butler to use Kendall’s manuscript died with Butler. It is likely that the manuscripts went back to Evans. In a letter to the directors, dated at Wellington 3 July 1841, the dedicatee Colonel Wakefield wrote: “with respect to the Revd. Mr Butler I have to inform you that that gentleman died on the 18th of last month. I shall pay over to his widow the balance due to complete the two years salary voted him by the Directors.”42

Prior to his death, Butler had made a land claim for the Island of Motuihe (Motu Ihenga) in the Waitemata Harbour at the new capital, Auckland.43 While the history of this claim falls outside the subject of this present work a brief account of the fate of the claim and the file is instructive. Butler wrote to Hobson asking for Motuihe (here called ‘Butler’s island’) on the basis that Butler had been given it by the chief Hinaki of Mokoia in 1820. The claim is patently absurd.44 Butler enclosed the alleged original deed (in English!) with the ‘signature’ of Hinaki alleging that “Butler’s Island” was:

> so named from the circumstance of its being given and made over to me, and my children for ever – Novr 21st 1820 – in consequence of, and as a recompense for the many valuable Presents made to the chiefs, and natives of Mogoia, by myself and the Rev. Saml Marsden on our first visit to their settlement, [. . .] The Island called Butler’s Island or the Hei, the Keepsake, or the Bequest or Legacy45, has borne that name from that time up to the present

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41 Earliest New Zealand pp. 359–360
42 W. Wakefield to the New Zealand Company Directors, 3 July 1841, in Archives New Zealand, NZC 3/1 no. 59 sheet 588.
43 Butler’s holograph letters to Governor Hobson (accompanied a transcripts by his daughter Hannah) are at Archives New Zealand in OLC 636. They include the original writ of *dedimus potestatem* for Butler, 1819, signed by Governor Lachlan Macquarie.
44 Butler’ journal of his visit to Mokoia can be found in his journal, as transcribed in Barton’s *Earliest New Zealand* pp. 95–105. The original text of the journal (of which variants exist) contains no reference to the ‘deed of gift’ from Hinaki, which Butler said (in 1840) had taken place on 21 November. The timing makes the transaction impossible. As for Hinaki himself, that chief encountered Hongi Hika (returning with Kendall from his visit to England) in Sydney in 1821. Hongi informed Hinaki of his intention to attack him in the next year and Hongi was true to his word. Butler’s account of this can be found in *Earliest New Zealand* p. 216, Butler to CMS, 2 March 1822. Hinaki’s head was taken as a trophy at the sack of Mokoia.
45 Evidently referring to the kind of neck ornament.
and is still so called and laid down in Herd’s Chart of the Thames some years ago, so that I have had the quiet and undisturbed Title and Right and Possession of the said island for these 20 years last past.

Aware that his claim would be unlikely to succeed, he sought another “small portion of land elsewhere” as compensation for this “loss”. The Governor, William Hobson, however, annotated the letter: “I have not power to grant the request of Mr Butler WH” and, in an afterthought, “He must lay his claim before Sir G. Gipps, WH.” The “deed of gift” is the following curious text, (a holograph by Butler, with a duplicate also in his hand) with a fanciful explanation of the derivation of Hei:

Know all men unto whom these presents shall come – that I, Enackie, Principal chief of Mogoia do hereby and by this present instrument, do give and present to the Rev. John Butler as a reward for his adventures, in coming amongst us, as also for the valuable presents made by him to myself and friends &c – The Island at the Wahapu or entrance of the river leading to my residence – to be held by him as his own proper right for ever – in token whereof the said island shall henceforth be called the Hei or the keepsake, or the bequest of me Enackie to him and his heirs forever, from the date hereof and further that the said island also bear the name and from henceforth be called Butlers Island in commemoration of this event. Signed Enackie, Principal chief of Mogoia [representation of moko of Hinaki] [and] Tiwana

Unfortunately for Butler, the deed and its duplicate are both on paper watermarked “Fellows 1839” for the paper was made almost twenty years after the composition of the deed! A letter from Butler’s daughter Hannah (dated at Petone, 6 September 1841) written to her legal adviser Robert Roger Strang (1795–1874) – and also located in the Old Land Claims file – sheds further light on events after J. G. Butler’s demise: “I have sent to you a copy of the documents regarding the island. They will give you all the information you will require, viz date when given, the situation etc. Also state our present circumstances viz my death father’s death and no relations in this part of the Globe.”

The office of the Land Claims Commission duly issued a notice of hearing. The claim was investigated at Auckland on 13 June 1842, and the claim was refused, the refusal of the grant being confirmed by Willoughby Shortland (the Officer administering the Government after the death of Hobson in September 1842) on 5 July 1843. Hannah wrote to Shortland on 26 July 1843 pleading hardship, and adding several further details to the story, but without result. Eventually the case was referred to the then Protector of Aborigines, George Clarke, who had earlier acquainted with Butler from their intercourse at Parramatta in 1823–24. Clarke wrote to Shortland on 6 September and Clarke replied two days later:

I knew Mr Butler and believe his claim to an island he calls Motu Hei altogether preposterous, and the professed copy of a deed thereto a gross fabrication not only from its general tenor but from the position in which he places the said island and the definition of the word hei. GC Sept 8th 1843.

Finally, Shortland had marked the claim: “Say this case has been decided in favour of Mr Tayler, to whom the island has been granted. WS Sept 11th”. It is obvious, as George Clarke’s

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46 Captain James Herd, of the Providence who visited New Zealand in 1822 and collected spars at Hokianga.
47 Hannah Butler to R.Strang, 6 September 1841, in OLC 636. Hannah had gathered together her father’s papers to see if the Lands Claims Commissioners would come up with a grant and she prepared them in the form of a memorial to be sent through Strang, with a note to go to Hobson
philological observation attests, that Butler could not have become an effective translator or interpreter.

**Grammars and Vocabularies after Kendall and Butler**

A further recently located vocabulary of about 1835 should be noted at this point, on watermarked paper ‘R. Allford | 1834’ it is anonymous but the cover is marked ‘For Revd J[ames] Buller’. It is headed Vocabulary and is set out in two columns with ‘N Zealand’ on the left and ‘English’ on the right, after the manner of the Kendall and Butler word lists, except that in the Buller list the words are numbered from 1 to 920. A few examples provide an indication from a transcription of the first page:

1. A sometimes denotes And more frequently measures time
2. Ae – Yes general affirmation
3. Aua – Thou – command Do not
4. Aonga – beginning of the day
5. Aianei – Now – During the day
6. Ahua – Shape or form
7. Ahu – Come with haste
8. Ahea? – When?
9. Aroha – Love
10. Arohaina – Loved or Love Imp.
11. Atawai – Kind
12. Atawainga – Kindness
13. Atawaitia – Befriended, or Befriend Imp.
14. Arahī – To guide
15. Arahina – Guided or guide Imp.
16. Atua – God – Awangawanga – Hope
17. Atuatanga – Godhead – Awa a river

The scribe is not known but the script resembles that of Henry Williams and it may be a gift from the Anglicans to the Wesleyans as two missions were attempting to harmonise their usage in 1836 following a dispute over whether the Wesleyans were to persist in the use of the letter D, favoured by William White but disapproved of by everybody else. In this document A, E, I, O, and U are all used, but U is misplaced, coming at the end after W. D is excluded and WH is not yet in use, but N and NG are interfiled. There are two sequenced with WAKA- as if a page has been left out. It is probable therefore, that the scribe who prepared the document was working from an approved wordlist, probably that in use by William Williams. It is clearly a missionary document with no evident Maori participation.

The innovation of writing by Māori in their own language, initiated in 1825, had become extensive by 1840, mostly in the form of letters. From 1835 when the first effectual printing press was used by William Colenso, employed as the mission printer at Paihia dissemination of printed texts in considerable quantities was possible. With insignificant exceptions these were all in Māori and comprised catechisms, primers and extracts of scripture. The only major texts available until 1840 were the New Testament in Māori issued during 1838 and the quotidian parts of the Book of Common Prayer. Accounts of the printing and publication

50 ‘James Buller’s Maori English Lexicon’ ATL MSX-9261.
51 BiM 45. Ko te Kawenata Hou o to tatou Ariki te kai Wakaora a Ihu Karaiti, he mea wakamaori i te reo Kariki (Paihia: He mea ta i te perehi o nga mihanere o te Hahi o Inganui, 1837 [i.e. 1838]). (Translation of title: The
histories of all of these works are given in *Books in Maori*. A small issue of single copies of the projected grammar of the language by William Williams occurred from 1837 but it was circulated only to other missionaries and friends of the mission. The missionaries had discouraged the use of the native language among Europeans in a misguided attempt to preserve ignorant natives from the contamination of foreign ideas, but this plan was not successful. Between 1839 and 1844 the increasing use by Māori of the *English* language for trade and general commerce made the need for fluency in Māori of less importance in the Company townships. The need for an approved official grammar and dictionary for the use of officials, however, as the social intercourse between the government and the governed majority of Māori necessitated some reliable official guide to the alphabet, vocabulary, and syntax. Matters were complicated after 1838 by the arrival of the Roman Catholic Mission which used a different orthography (Anglican ‘Ihu Karaiti’ vs Roman Catholic ‘Hehu Kerito’ and Anglican ‘Katikihama’ vs Roman Catholic ‘Katekihama’). Even Wesleyans and Anglicans differed over the use of the ‘wh’ used in causative prefixes ‘waka-‘ vs ‘whaka’) and these matters were not resolved until 1844. For all of these reasons the most linguistically able of the missionaries, Robert Maunsell produced a formal grammar in 1842. The publication, with official support in 1842–43, of Robert Maunsell’s *Grammar of the New Zealand language* made the publication of any rival work unlikely. The *Grammar* by Maunsell eliminated any possibility of a market for Kendall’s work and it was Maunsell’s work which became the standard Māori grammar for the next fifty years.52

C. J. Parr has commented on the early attempts of the missionaries and of Bishop Selwyn (from 1843) to promote the learning of English by Māori, pointing out Marsden’s use of English at Parramatta in 1820 “but his example was not followed by the missionaries resident in New Zealand who, preferring to instruct in Maori, always refused to teach English to the Maoris.”53

The other major work of the Church Mission press after 1841 (when the so-called ‘large prayer book’ was finished by Colenso) was the William Williams *Dictionary of the New Zealand language* of 1844. This it had two rivals, but neither issued through the Church Mission. The first of these was a work by Bishop Pompallier, advertised in issues of the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* (issues 17–19, October 1841):

> In the Press, and will shortly be published, Price 2s 6d, Grammatical Notes on the New Zealand Language by Bishop Pompallier, Vicar Apostolic of the Southern Ocean. Printed and published by John Moore at the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company’s Office, Auckland, New Zealand. A list is now open for subscribers to the above work at the Company’s Office. October 1841

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52 BiM 130 Grammar of the New Zealand Language by the Rev. R. Maunsell [. . .] 1842–1843. Maunsell’s preface is dated February 1842 but the work was issued in parts 1842–1843. 3000 copies were issued at the author’s expense.

A lack of interest in the work, presumably, led to its failure to appear in English (it was later translated into French and was published in 1849).\textsuperscript{54} The announced Catholic grammar of October 1841 was probably the direct stimulus for Maunsell’s Protestant competitor.\textsuperscript{55} Maunsell’s \textit{Grammar} was written in 1841 and 1842 and printed by John Moore of the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company – the previously announced publisher of Pompallier’s work. Maunsell’s work was issued in parts from April 1842, the oversight of the work being by the Chief Justice, William Martin.\textsuperscript{56} It is dedicated to Governor Hobson, who did not live to see its completion. Maunsell writes:

> It has, moreover, been the Author’s opinion that, as an acquaintance with the language of a country is a key to the affections of its inhabitants, so he who is labouring to facilitate its acquirement is aiming at a very important element of a colony’s prosperity.\textsuperscript{57}

Although published at Maunsell’s own expense, the work was plainly intended to meet the needs of the government service for a professionally printed and published \textit{Grammar}. Unfortunately, however, political, financial and other difficulties led to the termination of the printer’s contract on 30 September 1842, before the last part of the work was issued.\textsuperscript{58} Maunsell, like his colleague William Williams, passed over in silence the philological works of the disgraced missionaries Thomas Kendall and William Yate:

> It is unnecessary, perhaps, to remind the reader that some notes on the language were published by the Church Missionary Society, in the early formation of their mission in this island. The attempt was, of course, imperfect, and was merely intended to lead the way to further investigation. The demand, however, for a Grammar has not heretofore been sufficiently great to warrant any further publication on the subject, and what each had acquired was communicated to every new missionary on his arrival, either by verbal communication, or manuscript. The change however, that the last two years have witnessed in the island, seems now to point out the proper period for again commencing our labours; while the desire evinced by the settlers for a Grammar, is a pleasing evidence of the terms of amicable intercourse on

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{BiM} 377 Notes grammaticales sur la langue Maorie ou Néo-Zélandaise, par Mgr Pompallier. (Lyon: Imprimerie D’Antoine Perisse, Imp. de N. S. P. le Pape de De S. Ém. Mgr le Cardinal-Archevêque, 1849.) 40 pp. This work was reissued in 1860 in Rome (\textit{BiM} 522).

\textsuperscript{55} In a letter to Davis, Secretary of the Committee of Missionaries, Northern District, dated 4 August 1842, Maunsell refers to an earlier letter: “I informed you in that letter of the origin of my Grammar – that all my brethren of this district urged me to write it – and that some offered to contribute £5 each for that object – that it was got up (and successfully) against a work of the RC Bishop while none of us were in the least aware that any grammar was in contemplation by the Northern District Committee [. . .]” (this is a reference to the grammar and dictionary of William Williams, later issued in 1844).

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{BiM} 130, 131 R. Maunsell, \textit{Grammar of the New Zealand Language} (Auckland: Printed and published by J. Moore, 1842-43) xvi, 186 pp. A further unpublished grammar was prepared by Edwin Norris “who had seen through the press for the Bible Society the 1841 edition of the New Testament.” (H. W. Williams, \textit{Bibliography}, entry 83). “The first sheet, signature B, is not filled, the matter ending at the top of p. 14. It treats of pronunciation, nouns, pronouns, verbs and particles. The twelve pages are on four unfolded sheets (337 × 216), three on each, paged 1–12, and with the signatures B, B2, B3. These contain Luke i–ii, 20, with an interlinear English translation. Apparently this is connected with the Grammar, as paragraph 2, of the latter runs, ‘It has been thought advisable to preface the version with a few observations,’ &c.” Norris gave the work to Prof. Alfred Hoefer on 30 September, 1842 and Hoefer gave it to Sir George Grey. It is now in the Grey Collection AP, bound as “Unicum”. Hoefer included a translation of the grammar and a reprinting of the scriptural passage and interlinear translation in his own \textit{Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache} (Berlin, 1846) pp. 187–209. This work, however, like several of its predecessors, remained unpublished.

\textsuperscript{57} Maunsell, \textit{Grammar} dedication (unnumbered leaf).

which they seem disposed to reside with the aborigines. It was not however, till the author’s visit to Auckland in November last [1841], that he became aware of the extent to which it is desired; neither had he then the remotest intention of submitting any remarks of his to the public. The peculiar gratification, however, with which he learned that some individuals high in office had already commenced the study of the language—the kindness with which they attested the success of our labours in this island—and a request moreover, from his own brethren, decided his mind; and he has since, as far as his duties, and many interruptions would admit, devoted himself to the undertaking.59

The orthography had been the subject of dispute between Maunsell and William Williams for some years, Williams adopting the conventions of Ngāti Porou and Maunsell the conventions of Waikato, while most of the Europeans came from areas in which the Ngāpuhi dialect was dominant. But, Maunsell observed:

It may be right here to state that, as the orthography has for some time been established on the basis of the Ngapuhi dialect, no alteration, excepting the occasional introduction of the \( \text{wh} \), has been intentionally made. It is necessary to have a standard; and that is the best which has been most generally circulated. In other respects, however, the author has considered that the dialect of Ngapuhi is by no means a safe one on which to found a grammar. In consequence of the close intercourse of that people with foreigners, it has not been enriched, but adulterated; and some of the most beautiful distinctions of Maori can only be there detected in remote places, and after considerable enquiry.60

The Grammar was constructed “as much as possible on the model of that of the English by Lindley Murray”61 and independently of William Williams, as Maunsell remarked that he had “been deprived of the assistance of another of his brethren, whose labours in Maori have been of such benefit to the country, but who is now too far removed to admit of correspondence.” He acknowledged assistance from another of his unnamed brethren (probably James Hamlin), “with whom he has frequently discussed these subjects, and whose knowledge of colloquial Maori is not to be surpassed in New Zealand.”62 In the Errata Maunsell commented “the difficulty of Printing a strange language at a new Press has caused the number of Errata to be unusually large.” He also supplied a list of corrections to words containing \( \text{wh} \). At least one hundred and sixty-two copies were ordered, according to the list of subscribers on the last page. The late governor had ordered a dozen copies for the use of officials.

Maunsell’s Grammar was reprinted in 1862 and subsequently revised again until a fourth edition appeared in 1894.63 In the 1882 edition the author said “The reader has here before him the analysis of a “strange language” unlike anything known in Europe, with rules of construction and an idiom peculiar to itself. He must, therefore, when speaking, endeavour to

59 Maunsell, Grammar, Introduction p. [v].
60 Ibidem pp. vii-viii.
61 L. Murray, English grammar, adapted to the different classes of learners, with an appendix containing rules and observations for assisting the more advanced students to write with perspicuity and accuracy. (York, Wilson, Spence and Mawman, 1795). There were several editions.
62 Maunsell, Grammar p. xiv. It is unlikely to have been William Colenso, who was not considered a good translator, nor a good stylist and was at this time in dispute with Maunsell over the printing of Maunsell’s scriptural translations.
63 Descriptions of these are given in BiM 567 (1862), 647 (1864?), 704 (1867), with a reset edition in 1884 called ‘third edition’ i.e. BiM 1036 and a ‘fourth edition’ 1403 in 1894, but none of these was revised to incorporate the \( \text{wh} \) digraph adopted in 1843. The late reprints severely abridge the preliminaries.
divest his mind of European rules of speech, and adopt those of the Antipodes.”

Most colonists were not prepared to make this effort.

Maunsell’s Grammar thus remained the only significant Māori grammar for most of the nineteenth century. Several shorter grammars were issued some in several editions. Some of these works were reissued until World War I. Suzanne Aubert’s popular New and Complete Manual of Māori conversation published in 1885, contains only fourteen pages of grammar, and was written because the author had “often heard people express astonishment and disappointment at not being able to procure any book that would help them to acquire a little practical knowledge of the Māori Language.” A common popular modern grammar of te reo Māori in English is John Foster’s Ngā kupu whakamārama, Māori grammar (1997). It was not until 2008 that a comprehensive dictionary of the Māori language in that language was published. This was He pataka kupu: te kai a te rangatira (“A storehouse of words : the food of the chief”) which is entirely in Māori and was “compiled out of seven years research by the Māori Language Commission. Containing over 22,000 entries, it is a comprehensive and authoritative dictionary of the Māori language for proficient Māori speakers. For each entry, the dictionary gives the ātua category, parts of speech, definitions, examples of the word used in context, and an etymology of the word, drawing on a wide corpus of written material in te reo.” (from the formal description in the National Library of New Zealand catalogue).

The production of a “grammar of the New Zealand Language”, however, was one of the first objectives of the Church Missionary Society mission to New Zealand. The effort took almost thirty years. And, even then, it was only accomplished by a clergyman acting privately and at his own expense, and the work was not printed at the mission’s own printing establishment. It is reported that few Māori were fluent in English in 1844 or even in 1859, although, in 1840 at least some had begun to make the attempt.

The Rev. William Williams was regarded – throughout the period 1830 to 1850 – as the foremost scholar in the Māori language, especially on the basis of his translation of the New Testament (printed in 1837 and issued in 1838) and his Dictionary (issued in 1844). These were his only works of substance in which the Māori language was used. He did not produce educational works such as Maunsell’s primers and tracts. Maunsell again, rather than Williams, was chiefly responsible for the translation of the Old Testament. The expertise of William Williams was devoted almost entirely to the New Testament and to the Book of Common Prayer. Literary translations into Māori were rare (Puckey’s translation of Pilgrims

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64 Maunsell, Grammar, 3d ed. (1882) p. [v].
65 BiM 363: H. T. Kemp’s First step to Māori conversation. . . intended for the use of colonists (Wellington: Printed at the Office of the “Independent”, 1848). New editions appeared in 1867, ca 1869, 1878, and 1879 (BiM 701, 727, 739, and 932 respectively). Kemps Korero Māori (“by a Pakeha-Māori”) appeared in five editions between 1876 and 1899, respectively BiM 842 (1875?), 915 (1878?), 1061 (1882), 1165 (1886?) and 1534 (1899?). W. L. Williams’s First lessons went through six editions or reprints between 1862 and 1896, issued in London (Trübner, 1862), Auckland (Upton, 1872), Auckland and London (Williams & Norgate, Upton, 1882), see BiM nos 593, 769, 1065, 1420, and 1481. There is also Edward Shortland’s How to learn Māori (Auckland: Upton, 1883) BiM 1095.
progress was never published, and H. T. Kemp’s translation of Robinson Crusoe and of the first part of Pilgrim’s progress only appeared in the 1850s. William Colenso’s inclination to “improve” the translations of his brethren (such as the more able William G. Puckey) led to his exclusion from the translation syndicate established by Bishop Selwyn in 1844, when the extent of Colenso’s alteration of their texts was realised.

Within the Anglican establishment and particularly in the avowedly missionary Diocese of Waiapu (complementing Selwyns “Diocese of New Zealand”) the Māori language was preserved as a liturgical language, not one of commerce. The foremost translator was now Robert Maunsell from Waikato, in uneasy co-operation with the Bishop of New Zealand at ‘Bishop’s Auckland’ the theological college of St John, Purewa (now Meadowbank) while the translation of the Old Testament continued. Responsibility for translations of English texts into Māori became a largely government initiative with the decline of missionary influence in the 1860s. By 1860, when the missions were in decline, the language was under renewed threat from political forces which the missions could not influence. By the end of the century the language was under threat and discouragement of its use persisted until the 1970s, since when it has undergone a major popular revival. But the language has changed. The usages of the 1820s and 1830s are strange to modern ears and many expressions have changed their meanings.

Recent re-identification of the surviving manuscripts should allow the solution of some of the problems in the history of the “very unchaste and offensive” in manuscript and in print as well as increasing knowledge of Māori philology. The recovery of the long-lost manuscripts of Thomas Kendall, the founder of Māori orthography, opens a field for further studies in cultural relations and the revival of te reo Māori.
Appendix: Thomas Kendall’s 1831 Vocabulary

Thomas Kendall’s 1831–32 vocabulary, on 13 numbered sheets of paper which are watermarked ‘Webster 1831’, (Alexander Turnbull Library, MSZ–0871) is presented as two columns of text. Originally it appears to have been headed “Proper Names of Persons” with “The New Zealand Vocabulary [page] 121 and forwards” inserted above that heading, at a later date, and with the initial pagination 185–197 crossed out. The first page is illustrated as Figure 9. In addition to the primary text sequence, there is a secondary sequence of “Proper names of Places” (pp. 130–133). The watermark shows that this ‘vocabulary’ was compiled shortly before Kendall’s death by drowning in 1832 and that it represents his last work on ‘The New Zealand Language’. The serial renumberings may be partly by Kendall himself and partly by others such as John Lhotsky and others into whose hands it passed.

Figure 9: The first sheet, page 121 of part ‘No. 7’ in ‘The New Zealand Vocabulary’ in Kendall’s MSZ-0871, the whole of which is transcribed below.
This two-part vocabulary is not a replacement for that contained in the 1820 Grammar, with which is has little in common stylistically. An examination of those proper names which are included, however, shows that most of them also occur in the 1820 work’s vocabulary; others have been dropped without explanation and a small number have been added. The “Table of abbreviations used in this vocabulary” (of the 1820 edition) is not present, and no attempt was made in 1831 to indicate substantives, verbs or anything else. The Alphabet has also been modified, introducing the H rejected by Samuel Lee in his 1820 preface, but allowing the use of SH. Kendall also retained the D, but dispensing with the diphthongs AI, AU, OI and OU – all of which are present in the 1820 work (pp. 148–150). From his strange remarks on the vowels it seems that Kendall did not recognise diphthongs.

Some examples will suffice to show the character of the changes made. The very first entry in the 1831 vocabulary is: “Ko Adu ….. Following” whereas the 1820 text has: “A’du, v. n. Following, pursuing, driving; as, ‘E ádu ána ’au ki á koe; I follow you’: ‘Téra nga mánu ádu mia mai; Drive hither those birds.” This is the verb aru, to pursue, and as rendered in the modern (1971) Dictionary of the Maori language it is rendered thus: “Aru, v.t. Follow, pursue. Pass. Arumia. Arumia te tahae. Kei reira tonu atu aku kanohi te aru iho nei ki a Ruta. [. . .] Sometimes used intransitively: E aru ana i muri i o raua waewae ko Paratene.”

In general the 1831 texts are simplified. Most of the accents used in the 1820 text have been dropped, along with the explanatory examples of usage. The second entry (“Ko Ahi … Fire”) was also much reduced from the text of 1820 where it had been given as: “Ahi, s. a and v.n. – s. A fire, or, the act of catching fire; also copulation, generation; also the proper name of a person. a. Fiery; as, ‘E wáhi áhi; A fiery place or spot.’ v.n. Begetting; as, ‘Na wai i áhi te tamaiti nei? Who begat this child?’ – Causative, as, ‘Waka áhi; Causing a fire.’” Some expressions, however, have been used in new senses, as in the case of the 1831 “Ko Ahi tangata …. Man’s fire” which, in 1820 had been given as “A’hi tángata ; Proper name of a person; also the name of a place.” It is also evident that Kendall did not distinguish between the practical and allusive senses of words.

The simplification when the work was revised in 1827–1831 might be taken as indicative of Kendall’s wish to make his work more useful for traders. On the other hand, however, no concessions to the needs of traders are evident in the text. In fact the 1831 version is not really a ‘vocabulary’ of Māori words at all. Rather it is, as indicated in the original 1831 heading, two lists of personal names and place names with attempts to explain the derivation and meanings of the names (often unsuccessfully). These personal names can be linked to the section of the manuscript headed “Names of some of the principal districts, villages or towns, tribes or families and chiefs of New Zealand taken in the year 1822” (pages 134–136) which immediately follows the “Proper names of persons” and the “Proper names of places”.

Another peculiarity of the vocabulary is that, in addition to the particle ‘Ko’ (which introduces every word) Kendall adds a subsidiary sequence ‘Ko te’ for selected words, resulting in much repetition. For example “Ko Adu …. Following” is found again, only ten lines later as “Ko te Adu … The pursuit”, the latter referring to a person named Te Adu (Te Aru). Kendall may be making a distinction between commoners and chiefs, using “Ko Adú”

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1 Kendall, T. A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand. Published by the Church Missionary Society. (London: Printed by R. Watts, 1820)

2 See discussion of Kendall’s advertisements in the Sydney Herald, where the emphasis is on the utility of the work for students, merchants and mariners and it is stated that “the vocabulary will at once facilitate the acquirement of the language sufficiently for Mercantile purposes” Sydney Herald v.1 no. 35, 12 December 1831.
for a commoner named ‘Aru’ but “Ko te Adu” for a chief of that name. Thus “Te Aru” (‘Mr Aru’) is given the same ‘honorific’ style was adopted for both chiefs and missionaries in the 1830s (e.g. the chiefs Te Morenga, Te Ara, Te Puhi, Te Hinaki, Te Koki, Te Whareumu, Te Uri o kana and the missionaries Te Wiremu (Mr [Henry] Williams) Te Parata (Mr [William Williams, his brother = ‘parata’ a transliteration of brother, here not using the proper Māori term taina = teina, younger brother of a man), and Te Karaka (Mr [George] Clarke).

In the 1820 vocabulary personal names are usually indicated by the addition of an expression such as “also the proper name of a person” to the entry, e.g. “Aho, s. A fishing-line, any line; also the proper name of a person” (page 133) but in the MS of 1831 we find not only “Ko Aho” but also, ten lines later, “Ko te Aho” with the same meaning, referring to what is presumably a different person with the same name. This redundancy is not consistent and is ignored in the explanatory notes given below, except in the page references for the “Ko te” names. The third column, in the list given below, gives references to the use of the word in the 1971 edition of the Williams Dictionary with the page references for the orthographic alterations to words used in 1820 for the 1831 MS.

In some cases the personal names can be identified with known historical figures, using the names as given in Kendall’s own list at pages 134–136 of his manuscript, and some can be identified in John Gare Butler’s manuscript. The lists of chiefly names, and locations, may deserve further historical comparative study, but this study is beyond the scope of the present contribution. I have confined myself to supplying a suggested ‘correct’ spelling of the personal names and place names mentioned in 1831.

I have added page references to the 1820 vocabulary, as well as definitions, in cases where the texts differ substantially between the 1820 and 1831 versions. I have also added, where practicable, also in the third column, explanations of terms which Kendall used for named birds, fish and plants. Kendall did not clearly identify most of these; he is prone to say “A certain kind of bird” without providing any clue to its specific identification, so this information is supplied. I have also added current Latin names for plants and animals which can be identified, and disambiguation notes and corrections for terms which had confused or defeated Kendall, where possible. The modern orthography of these words (as given in the 7th edition of the Dictionary of the Maori Language by H. W. Williams (1971) has also been indicated (as W1971, with page reference) in selected cases.

In general, this vocabulary is deficient in many nameable subjects that should have been familiar to the missionaries. Many eligible words are to be found in the series of five specialised vocabularies that occur following page 137 (1: Of the Universe and the elements; 2: Of man and his parts; 3: Of the different degrees of kindred; 4: Of a village; 5: Of a house). No attempt has been made here to amplify the vocabulary by the inclusion of such terms. Names of birds and of trees (the latter of potential commercial important for trade, and so proper to include, given Kendall’s stated objectives in preparing the 1827–31 edition) are quite poorly covered. Chapter II of William Yate’s An Account of New Zealand (1835), of just a few years later, lists far more trees and birds, sometimes with Latin names, and his orthography – which follows the standard missionary orthography in use from 1830 – is accurate and fairly thorough. Yate lists the following twenty–one trees, most of which go by the same common names today: Kauri (Kendall has Koudi), Tanekaha, Totara, Kahikatea

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3 See chapter 3 ‘Comparison of the 1824 list (Butler) and the 1831 list (Kendall)’.

4 H. W. Williams, A dictionary of the Maori language 7th ed. (Wellington, Govt. printer, 1971)
Kendall’s practice of recording the names of specific persons. Yate does not bother to list kinds of fish and he is aware of only one reptile, clearly a skink. Yate does not know of the tuatara, named as such by Kendall, who is also aware of skinks. But this may be explained by Kendall’s practice of recording the names of specific persons.

A very much more copious vocabulary of names for plants was given by another missionary, William R. Wade, making use of a list of names compiled by the visiting botanist Allan Cunningham in 1837. As for the birds, Yate lists no less than thirty–three by species – the Tūī, Koukou (better known as the morepork or Ruru), Pōwhaitere (Kākāriki, parakeet), Kākā, Kororimako (better known as the Korimako or bellbird), ‘Tataiato’ (tātāeko, the whitehead), ‘Tiaki or Purourou’ (Tīke, the saddleback), Ngirungiru (tomtit), ‘Toutouwai’ (or tōtōwai, the New Zealand robin), Pipiripiri (riflemen), Pārera or wild duck, Piwakawaka (fantail), Riroriro (grey warbler), Pihoihoi (New Zealand groundlark), Kiwi, Mātātā (fernbird), ‘Kauaua’ (kārea area or falcon), Kāhu (hawk), Tatariki (apparently a duplication of the whitehead entry), Huia, Pūkeko, Kūkupa (or Kererū, wood pigeon), Kōtihe (stitchbird), Kōkako, ‘Pipiwarauoa’ (Pipīwharauroa, shining cuckoo), ‘Kohaperoa’ (also kwakewaē, long-tailed cuckoo), ‘Tuturirawatu’ (Tūturiwhatu, New Zealand dotterel), Tākahihaki (also the New Zealand dotterel), ‘Kotaretare’ (or Kōtare, kingfisher), ‘Matuku urepo’ (Matuku hūrepo, bittern), Pūtoto (spotted crake), Pukunui (identity uncertain), Katatai (possibly godwit) – as well as a collection of generic or familial seabirds such as shags, gulls and petrels. But Kendall names only 15 birds – Huia (called ‘U’īa’ in 1820), Kivi (Kiwi), Koekoe (or Kawekawea), Kōtuku, Miromoro, Pihoihoi, Pūtoto, Tūī, Ūīrīhuia, Tākapu, Kōkako, and several with uncertain names (Kaha which possibly may be Kākā or Kāhu); Reko, Ohi, Kio, are all unidentified.

Some important terms, with which Kendall ought to have been familiar, seem not appear at all. Aruhe (fernroot) is “Adûe” in 1820 (p. 132), but the term seemingly omitted in the 1831 MS, appears in the form “Nga dûe; Roots of fern”. “Ahinga tapu” of 1820 (p. 132) said to be “a house or sleeping-room for a man and his wife” has been bowdlerised in the translation and has been dropped altogether in 1831. A more surprising omission may be “Aka . . . a war dance” of 1820 (p. 133) (i.e. haka) but here Kendall has filled the work ‘Haka’ correctly in his H sequence, and there are several other instances of omission of initial H or SH. Notable among these is Hongi (“a salutation”: in 1820 “O’ngi s. Salute performed by touching noses, a smelling, as “E’O’ngi.” p. 142) but in the 1820 Grammar (preface page [vi] Samuel Lee

5 Cunningham visited in 1837 and introduced William Colenso to botanical pursuits, but he died in 1839. The list was published as an appendix to Wade’s Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand (Hobart, Printed by W. Pratt, 1842) and is an account of a journey in 1838. Wade (pp. 102–108) provides a brief account of the language (“In some respects, the language of a savage people must of necessity be very defective. That of New Zealand is so, both in want of words to express many things visible, tangible and abstract, of which they have no conception; and also in the latitude of meaning attached to some of their words. [. . .] Notwithstanding these defects, arising from a limited vocabulary, there are points of beautiful precision in which the New Zealand language will stand comparison with those of Greece and Rome.” Pp. 102–103). Wade considered that “To enter here into further particulars respecting the language, would appear tedious and out of place” but thought that “a well written grammar with pertinent and copious illustrations by some of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society [. . .] would form an interesting volume, not only for the use of colonists but for the general linguist.” (p. 108). He makes no reference to the works of either Kendall or Yate, both disgraced.

6 Yate does not bother to list kinds of fish and he is aware of only one reptile, clearly a skink. Yate does not know of the tuatara, named as such by Kendall, who is also aware of skinks. But this may be explained by Kendall’s practice of recording the names of specific persons.
draws attention to the deliberate omission of this “phenomenon in the history of speech” and this accounts for its omission in the 1831 manuscript also. The diphthongs shown on pages 148–150 of the 1820 Grammar (“AI. AU.” and “OI. OU.”) are incorporated in the usual alphabet, and not separated. Kendall did not use WH at all, and did not distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated form of ‘w/wh’ in either the 1820 or 1831 versions of his vocabulary, using ‘W’ throughout (pages 221–228 in 1820).

In 1820 he added NG at the end of the vocabulary (pages 228–230) but frequently confused the plural article ‘nga’ with other words as, for examples, “Nga; Particle used in forming the plural number” followed by “Nga aire; A wood” (actually Ngāhere, a forest) and “Nga dua; The tombs” (actually ngā rua, ‘the storage pits’, “Nga due; Roots of fern” (for ngā aruhe) and “Ngāngā; A human scull” (for ngā anga). The failure to distinguish NA from NGA in 1820 also occurred with “Napui, s. The tribe so called” (i.e. Ngā Puhi or Ngāpuhi). In 1831 the NG was incorporated in the main N sequence but N and NG were still not reliably distinguished, so that “Ko Na ti Kura – Bloody spectacle” (perhaps the hapū Ngāti Kura) is followed on the next line by “Ko Nga Dua – Storehouses” (for ngā rua). There is a single instance of ‘wh’ in the 1831 listing “Ko Niwha – a New Zealand deity” but Kendall does not use ‘wh’ with the name of another ‘deity’ “Nuku Tawiti” on the next line.

In the Preface to the 1820 edition of the Grammar Samuel Lee admitted: “That neither the Grammar or Vocabulary is as perfect as may be wished, no one will take upon himself to affirm: but when the unfavourable circumstances are considered, under which the materials have been collected and the work composed, it is to be hoped that it will be found not to fall very far short of reasonable expectation, both in extent and accuracy. At all events, a foundation has been laid; and we may hope, by the blessing of God, hereafter to see a fair superstructure.” That was not to be, despite Kendall’s dogged persistence in the work for fourteen years. The present work, however, supplies the opportunity to see the extent of Kendall’s advancement in te reo Māori from 1820 to 1831.

Page references to the current (7th edition) of the Williams Dictionary are added to the last column (“W1971”). Other conventions of that work in the form of abbreviations for grammatical terms are as follows:

- a. Adjective
- ad. Adverb
- conj. Conjunction
- int. Interjection.
- n. Noun
- prep. Preposition
- v. Verb
- v.i. Verb intransitive
- v.t. Verb transitive
Proper names of Persons

Words and sentences selected for Proper Names of Persons in the New Zealand Language are generally commemorative of some event which has taken place in a family.

A


Ko Ahi Fire 1820 “Ahi, s.a and v.n. – A fire, or the act of catching fire; also copulation, generation; also the proper name of a person …” p. 132. Cf “Ko te Ahi” below. From this point on references to proper names are indicated by an asterisk (*). [W1971 = Ahi (i) n. Fire. p. 2]

Ko Ahinga An amour 1820 “a time of copulation &c” * p. 132 [A hot passion, a French euphemism]

Ko Ahi tangata Man’s fire 1820 “*Proper name of a person; also the name of a place” p. 132 Cf W1971 p. 2: “As the first element of a compound word ahi is applied to a large class of karakia.”

Ko Aho Fishing line, small line of any sort 1820 “A´ho, s. A fishing line, any line”* p. 133. [W1971 = Aho (i) n. 1. String, line. p. 3]

Ko Aku or Shaku Name of a shell fish in New Zealand 1820 “name of a certain shell-fish” * p. 133. (Species not identified, but possibly an error for the fish haku (Seriola grandis [‘kingfish’ or ‘yellowtail kingfish’])

Ko Amu Eating by morsels 1820 “eating by morsels” * p. 134. [W1971 p. 33 Hamu v. t. Gather things that are thinly scattered.]

Ko Anga rau A hundred works 1820 “A´nga … a party engaged in work” * p. 134 [W1971 p. 10] Probably the verb anga ‘Turn to, set about doing anything, followed by ki or ka’ with rau = a hundred, hence a work party of 100.


Ko Arahi te Udu To direct the rising[?] waves [word deleted] 1820 “Name of a certain place” p. 136 [Perhaps arahi te uru escort to the west, but obscure.]

Ko te Adu The pursuit Cf without “Ko te” above [cf Te Aru]

Ko te Ahi The fire Cf [Te Ahi] Name of a chief ‘Ahee’ of Paihia of Butler (p. 355) d. 1832

Ko te Ahinga The amour [Cf Te Ahinga]

Ko te Aho The fishing line [Cf Te Aho]
<p>| Ko te Ahi Tu       | God’s fire, or altar | [Te Ahi Tū] Or the ‘fire of Tū’ i.e. a sacrifice; but 1820 has “A’hi tu, The cry of a certain bird” (as a proper name)*, p. 133 |
| Ko te Akau        | The coast sea [i.e. seacoast] | [Te Akau] Cf 1820 “A’kau s. A straight sea-cliff” * p. 133 [W1971 p. 6 Akau n. 1. Shore, coast, especially rocky coast] |
| Ko te Aki         | Close upon, above    | [Te Aki] 1820 “Close to, against, above, …” * [Cf W1971 p. 7 Āki (4) Abut on] |
| Ko te Ama         | Two corpse bearers   | [Te Ama] 1820 “bearers of the dead” * p. 134. [W1971 p. 8 Ama (i) n. 1. Outtrigger, on the windward side of a canoe, ‘waka ama’ also thwart of a canoe, hence presumably ‘supporter’] |
| Ko te Anga        | The work or workers  | [Te Hunga] [W1971 p. 70 Hunga (i) n. 1 Company of persons, people (throng)] |
| Ko te Anga Taniwa | The monster called Taniwa | [Te Hunga Taniwha] Cf 1820 “A party or company of sea-gods, called Tāniwa” * p. 134. [Cf W1971 “Taniwha: a fabulous monster supposed to reside in deep water” p. 377. Perhaps also a school of sharks] |
| Ko te Ao          | The day light or day  | [Te Ao] 1820 “Light, day, realms of light &amp;c” * p. 135 [W1971 p. 11 Ao (i) 1. n. <em>Daytime</em>, as opposed to night] |
| Ko te Aa i kai Tia | The day on which the God eats | Deleted in MS. 1820 has “A’o kai Tū; The day on which God ate (something); also the proper name of a person” p. 135. ‘Tū’ is the name of the war god Tūmatauenga = Tū of the angry face, ancestor of humankind. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ara roa</td>
<td>The long road</td>
<td>[Te Araroa] Cf 1820 “A long road; also the proper name of a person” * p. 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Akiro</td>
<td>Light, or powers</td>
<td>[Te Hakiro?] Possibly a person, term unknown, out of order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ariki</td>
<td>The priest</td>
<td>[Te Ariki] 1820 “A representative of God, a priest” * p. 166 but more properly a sacred person of genealogical importance; on the rise of Christianity the term was suppressed as Jesus became ‘Te Ariki’ (The Lord).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Atu</td>
<td>The fulfilment</td>
<td>[Te Atu] 1820 ‘Atu’ used as adjective only, pp. 136-137. The word is used as a correlative with mai in association with certain verbs, see W1971 p. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ei</td>
<td>Necklace</td>
<td>1820 “Hei, s. Necklace, bosom, keep-sake” * p. 153 [cf W1971 p. 44 Hei v. i. &amp; n. (4) An ornament for the neck. Usually in the form of a humanoid figure ‘hei tiki’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Eipu</td>
<td>The flute suspended on the necklace</td>
<td>1820 “Hei pu; A flute worn at the bosom for an ornament” * p. 153. [Cf W1971 p. 300 Pū (ii) 1. V.i/ Blow gently; 2. n. Pipe, tube, flute, used in the names of wind instruments (e.g. pūkaea) made from shells (pūpū) page 300, worn as a neck ornament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Idinga</td>
<td>The suspension</td>
<td>1820 “I´dinga, s. A hanging up, or putting into a place out of the way” * p. 138 [W1971 p. 79 Iri (i) v.i. 1. Be elevated on something; (3) Hang, be suspended]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Ko te Oka</td>
<td>The bayonet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te One, or Hone</td>
<td>The sand or ground</td>
<td>[Te One] 1820 “O’ne, s. The sandy shore” * p. 142 [W1971 p. 239 One n. (2) Sand, mud. (3) In various names for different kinds of soil.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Orahia</td>
<td>Covering with cloth</td>
<td>[Te Horahia] 1820 “O’ra ia; A covering over with cloth” * p. 143 [Cf W1971 p. 59 Hora, (i) 1. v.t. Scatter over a surface, spread out; not about ‘cloth’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Oupepe</td>
<td>The trembling feather</td>
<td>[Te Houpepe] 1820 “Ou Pépé; a trembling feather” *p. 150 [Cf W1971 p. 62 Hou (i) n. Feather (probably strictly tail feather), and Pepe (i) 1. v.i. Flutter p. 277]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ou kai Tu</td>
<td>The feather which God ate</td>
<td>[Te Hou kai Tū] Not in 1820 text, a nonsense derivation; hou has many senses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ko te U a Watu | Hair wrought into a mat | [Te U a Whatu] “U’ a wātu; Hair wrought into a mat” * p. 145 [W1971 p. 492 Whatu (ii) v. t. Weave garments, basket etc., and Ua, a hem on a collar of a cloak] |
| Ko te Udi heke | The wreck of a vessel on a rock | [Te Huri Heke] 1820 “U’di ēke; the rolling or turning over upon a rock” * p. 145 and p. 153 “Hēke s. A wreck, as of a ship; a slip, a change of place” [cf W1971 p. 71 Huri (i) 1. v.t. Turn round, (2) overturn and heke in the sense of diminish or decrease hence shipwreck] |
| Ko te Udi o kuna | The revolution or renewal in a tribe | [Te Huri o kana] 1820 “U’di o Kúna; the renewal of a tribe” * p. 145 [As a personal name “Huri O Gunna” the “King of Rangihoua”] |
| Ko te Uri papa (words missing) | The supports of a boarded bier | [Te Huri Papa] 1820 “U’di Pápa; the posts or props of a bier” * p. 145 [Cf W1971 p. 71 “hurihuri 2. Turn over. Hurihuri ika some ceremony performed with a dead body” may be related] |
| Ko te Udu or Hudu | The hair or rays of light | [Te Huru] 1820 “U’du, s. Life, light; the glory round a person’s head compared to the beams of the sun” * p. 145 [mixing up a practical and a metaphorical meaning. Cf W1971 p. 72 Huru (i) n. 1. Hair and Huru (iii) 1. n. Glow.] |
| Ko te Uru roa | The long hair | [Te Ururoa] 1820 “U’du Róa; Cockles” * p. 146 [Cf W1971 p. 470 Ururoa n. 2. Gari stangeri, a bivalve mollusc = kuharu, kuwharu. (Purple sunset shell, Psammobiidae) Possibly also applied to other bivalves e.g. Resania lanceolata Gray, 1853 (Mactridae). ‘long hair’ seems fanciful] |
| Ko te Udu tara | The gannets short feathers called hair | [Te Hurutara] 1820 “U’du Tára; The downy short feathers of the gannet” * p. 146 [Tara is a term applies to various white breasted seabirds such as terns and gulls e.g. tara punga or Larus scopulinus (now Chroicocephalus scopulinus); the gannet (takapu, Morus serrator (G. R. Gray, 1843), or Australasian gannet is not a ‘tara’. Here huru refers to the white feathers, often worn as a tuft in the ear] |

**D**

| Ko Dehu | To break as a bottle or flint into small sharp pieces | [Rehu] 1820 “Déhu, v.n. Chipping or breaking off a piece of flint &c.” * p. 150 [Cf W1971 p. 334 Rehu (iii) 1. n. Flint & 3 v.i. Chip, split of in chips] |
| Ko Dimu | A seaweed called kelp | [Rimu] 1820 “Dimu, s. A certain fig tree” is not a ‘fig’ but a podocarp tree Dacrydium cupressinum Sol. ex Lamb. The resemblance of the foliage of the tree to that of the edible green seaweed rimurimu = Caulerpa brownii (C. Ag.) Endl. (which is not a ‘kelp’) shows Kendall was a poor naturalist as well as a poor linguist. Rimurapa is the bull kelp Durvillaea used to make storage bags (pōhā for edible seabirds – pōhā tūī– muttonbirds, Puffinus griseus) Cf W1971 p. 340. See also “Sea weeds” Kendall 1820 p. 150 |
Ko Dinga  The hand  [Ringa] 1820 “Dinga, s. The proper name of a person” with “Dinga dinga, s. The hand” p. 150 [W1971 p. 341 Ringa, ringaringa n. hand ]

Ko Dipa  To roll or turn over a basket containing anything  [Ripa] 1820 “Dípa, s. The turning of bones or a skeleton out of a basket, without lifting it from the ground” * p. 150 [Probably associated with the hahunga ceremony Cf W1971 p. 30 Hahu v.t. 1. “Disinter the bones of the dead before removing them to their final resting place.” And p. 341 Ripa 1. N. Ridge, side, edge boundary]

Ko Dipiro  The sand called Dipiro  [Ripiro] 1820 “A certain sandy coast on the western side of New Zealand” * p. 150 [Ripiro Beach on the northern Kaipara Harbour; Ripiro or Repiro was a son of Hongi Hika]

Ko Duanga  A dual emotion, generally applied to the mind  [Ruanga] 1820 “Dú ánga; Place for two, or two in one place” * p. 151 A fanciful derivation from rua = two andanga W1971 p. 10 Anga 3. n. Aspect (mood)]

Ko Duatara, or Tuatara  Reptile like Gohanna [i.e. goanna]  [Tuatara] 1820 “Túa tára; a species of lizard” * p. 218 Properly the two species of tuatara (Sphenodon) are the only surviving members of their order Rhynchocephalia. The derivation of tuatara is given as ‘peaks on the back’ and refers to the soft crest of spines along the back.

Ko Duawahine  A housekeeper or watchwoman  [Ruawahine] 1820 “Dua wahine; a house-keeper” * p. 151 [From W1971 p. 349 Rua (ii) n. 1. Pit, hole, store for provisions and Ruahine, ruawahine 1. n. Old woman]

Ko Duawehea  Sepulchre emptied of its remains  [Ruawehea] 1820 “Dúa wehéa; Sepulchre robbed of its contents” * p. 151 ‘Rua’ is here (W1971 p. 349) Rua (ii), n. 1. Pit, hole. Wehea is from “Wehe (i) 1 Detach, divide”) and seems to be associated with the hahunga ceremony.

Ko Dui  Leak or leakage of a vessel  Cf ‘Duinga’, below


Ko Duinga  a shaking out of anything contained in a vessel held in the hand


[obscured]  An earthquake, a shrug of the shoulders


Ko te Dua renga  The house made of the plant renga renga

[Te Rurengarenga] 1820 “Dúa Rénga Rénga; Proper name of a person” * p. 151 [Rua is a covered pit, and renga is fine bround up material, so the expression probably refers to a storage pit = rua tāihu cf W1971 p. 349 Rua (ii) n. 2. Store for provisions. The plant rengarenga (Arthropodium cirratum) cannot be used for building.

Ko te Dua tahi  The first house

[Te Rua tahi] 1820 “Once twice” * p. 151 [A nonsense: the numbers are tahi, rua, toru, wha (1, 2, 3 4) etc., nothing to do with a house]

Ko te Dua wai  The watery house

[Te Ruawai] 1820 “The watery Dua” * p. 151 [Another nonsense; perhaps cf W1971 p. 349 Rua (iii) n. a fish [not identified] in the saying ‘He rua te ika nana o piki te kauae o Murirakawhenua.’

Ko te Dudunga  The bush or heaths

[Te Rurunga] 1820 “A bush or close place” p. 151 Ruru, v.t. 1. Tie together, with addition of suffix –nga which turns the verb into the verbal noun = shelter.

H
[obscured, Ko Hadi] or Shadi  A dancing

[Hari] 1820 “A´di, … s. A dance, joy &c; also the proper name of a person” * p. 131 [W1971 p. 37 Hari (i) v.i. Dance with joy and 4 n. Dance]

[obscured, Ko Hakirau]  a hundred coughs or breaths

[Hakirau] 1820 “Há; a going forth of breath” p. 152 [Ha! An exhalation, also W1971 p. 31 Haki, n. Ripple, hence Hakirau ripples e.g. of sand, with ‘rau’ hundred]

Ko Heke  The rafter of a house

[Heke] 1820 “Heke, s. Rafter of a house” and “Heke, s. A wreck, as of a ship; a slip, a change of place; also the proper name of a person” * p. 153 [W1971 pp. 44-45, various meanings, as a noun Heke 7. One who migrates, party of emigrants, 8. Rafter, all from Heke 1. v.i Descend, migrate]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition/Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hihi</td>
<td>Rays of the sun or moon &amp;c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hihi o Salta</td>
<td>The sparkling of salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hinau</td>
<td>Tree called the [Hinau] the bark of which is used in dying garments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hika</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hike</td>
<td>Bruising or beating bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hiku</td>
<td>The tail of a fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hine o Madu</td>
<td>Daughter of Madu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hine hono</td>
<td>The scolding woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hi na te Shau</td>
<td>Beat by the wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hine Hudu</td>
<td>The offered girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Hine wai</td>
<td>The watery girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Hawe</td>
<td>The soot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Hahwi</td>
<td>The gathering of anything together</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko te Hawa i kou  The river he swam in  
[Te Awa i koia] 1820 “A’wa i kou ia; The river he swam in” * p. 137 [W1971 p. 127 Koia ad. 1. Expressing assent. It is so [. . .] 4. For ko ia, it is that i.e. ‘That river’]

Ko te Hasho  The fish so called  
[Te Aho] 1820 “Há eó; A certain fish” p. 152 [not identified and not listed as a personal name. Cf W1971 p. 3 Aho (iv) ahoaho, n. A fish, likely a porpoise or dolphin]

Ko te He  The error  

Ko te Hia  The doing or acting  
[Hia] 1820 “Hia; auxiliary verb, as, Do it. Also the proper name of a person” * p. 153 [W1971 p. 47 Hia (i) a. 1. Interrogative numeral. How many?]

Ko te Hiamoe  Sleepy-headed  

Ko te Hika  The fish  
[Te Ika] 1820 “I’ka, s. Fish” * p. 138 [W1971 p. 76 Ika (i) n. Fish]

Ko te Hina  The aged person  

Ko to Hinu  The oil  

Ko te Hira  The mole on the skin  
[Te Ira] 1820 “I’ra . . . A mole on the skin” * p. 139 [W1971 p. 75 Ira (i) iraira 1. n. Freckle, mole or other natural mark on the skin]

Ko te Hishu ponga  The nostril  

Ko te Hishu rakau  The woody nose  
[Te Ihu rakau] 1820 “Híhiu rákau; The woody nose” * p. 151 [Probably refers to the nostril tattoo pōniaia]

Ko te Hua rahia The road  

Ko te Hudu  The rays or glory surrounding the sun  
[Te Huru] 1820 “U´du, s. Life, light: the glory round a person’s head compared to the beams of the sun” * p. 145 [W1971 p. 72 Huru (i) Hair (of the head) and Huru (iii) 1. n. Glow (as in sunrise) hence halo, nimbus]

Ko te Hukahuka  The tassles of garments  
[Te Hukahuka] 1820 “U´ka úka; Hair woven with the tassles of mats” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 67 Hukahuka 2. Thrums or shreds on a cape, fringe]
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Māori Grammars and Vocabularies</th>
<th>91</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Huke renga</strong> Taking away the plant called renga</td>
<td>[Te Hukerenga] 1820 “Uke rénga; Proper name” * p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 68 Hike v.t. 1. <em>Dig up.</em> Renga may refer to two plants, the edible <em>Tetragonia expansa</em> (= rengamutu) and the decorative <em>Arthropodium cirrhatum</em> (= rengarenga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Humuroa</strong> The long oven</td>
<td>[Te Umuroa] 1820 “U´mu róa; a long oven” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 467 Umu, imu n. <em>Éarth oven = hangi.</em> “As fire was used in many mystic rites we find <em>umu</em> used in phrases referring to rites [ . . . ] nearly every rite having its distinctive <em>umu.</em>”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Huitanga roa</strong> The long solicitation</td>
<td>[Deleted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Huoro</strong> The eel so called</td>
<td>[Te Huoro] 1820 “U´oro, s. A species of eel” * p. 147 [Possibly <em>puhikorokoro</em>, the lamprey <em>Geotria australis</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Hunga</strong> The appendage</td>
<td>[Te Unga] 1820 “Unga, s. An appendage” * p. 147 [W1971 Û (ii) <em>Breast of a female, udder, teat, with verbal noun form –nga</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Hue te wenua</strong> The Pompkin &amp;c growing on the surface of the earth</td>
<td>[Te Hue] 1820 “U´e, s. A melon, cucumber or anything that matures on the ground” p. 146 [W1971 Hue (i) n. 1. <em>Lagenaria vulgaris</em>, calabash gourd and a general name for all gourds] = <em>L. siceraria</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko te Huwahuwa</strong> The arteries</td>
<td>[Te Huahua?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko Hudu or Huru</strong> Hair or rays etc</td>
<td>[Huruhuru] 1820 “U´du údu ; Hair of the head etc – See šúdu údu” p. 146 [There is extensive duplication here]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko Hudu roa</strong> Long hair</td>
<td>[Ururoa] 1820 “U´du Róa; Cockles” * p. 146 [W1971 p. 470 Ururoa n. 2. <em>Gari stangeri</em> a bivalve mollusc; nothing to do with long hair]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko Huna</strong> Hid</td>
<td>[Huna] 1820 “Una … a concealment” * p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 69 Huna (i) 1. v.t. <em>Conceal</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko Hura</strong> Steam</td>
<td>[Hura] 1820 “U´ra, s. The taking off of a cover, as a pot lid” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 70 Hura (i) 1. v.t. <em>Remove a covering</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko Huta</strong> The land (interior)</td>
<td>[Uta] 1820 “U´ta, s. A shore” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 470 Uta (i) n. 1. <em>The land</em>, as opposed to the sea or the water [ . . . ] the inland as opposed to the coast]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ko Hunga</strong> An appendage</td>
<td>[Unga] 1820 “U´nga, s. An appendage” * p. 147 [W1971 Û (ii) <em>Breast of a female, udder, teat, with verbal noun form –nga</em>]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Huia  Bird called Huia  [Huia] 1820 “U´ia, s. a certain bird, also the proper name of a person; and a certain shellfish” * p. 146 [Huia (Heteralocha acutirostris), extinct bird]

Ko Hukehumu  Drawing the oven  [Huke umu] 1820 “U´umu, s. An oven. “U´ke umu; Draw the oven” p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 68 Huke, v.t. 1. Dig up, expose by removing the earth in which it has been buried; of a umu = hāngi]

Ko Hui tangaroa  The long solicitation  [Uitanga roa] 1820 “U´itanga roa; A long solicitation” * p. 146 [W1971 p. 466 Ui v.t. 3. Ask enquire, with the verbal noun ending –tanga and adjective roa = long]

Ko Hope  The abdomen  [Hope] 1820 “Ope, s. Abdomen of human body” * p. 143 [W1971 p. 59 Hope n. 1 Loins, waist also the main body of an army]

Ko Hunuhunu  The fastening as between one  [Hunuhunu] 1820 “U´nu únu; proper name of a person” * p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 70 Hunu (ii) hūhunu n. Double canoe]

K

Ko Kadudu  It is close  [Ka ruru] 1820 “Kadúdu, s. A confined animation” * p. 154 [Cf W1971 p. 81 ka = verbal particle etc., with Ruru (ii) 1. v.t. Tie, tie together and 4 v.i. Draw closer together]


Ko Kahoe  It is sailing  [Hoe] 1820 “Kahōi, v.n. “Ka hoi tatu; let us sail” * p. 155 [Cf W1971 ka = verbal particle etc., Hoe 1. v.t., 2. Paddle, row, convey by canoe, hence transitively travel in a boat or canoe, make a voyage]


Ko Kahupai  The good garment  [Kahu + pai] 1820 “Kāhu pai, A good garment” * p. 155 [W1971 p. 84 supplies named varieties]

Ko Kahupara  The unctuous garment  [Kahu] 1820 “Kāhu pāra, An unctuous garment” * p. 155 [A nonsense, but here para = greasy. Para is often used in a negative way for waste]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<th>Page Numbers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kahu rere</td>
<td>The flying garment</td>
<td>1820 “Kāhu rére, A flying garment” * p. 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>1820 “Kai, s. Name of a certain sweet potatoe” * also “… Victuals, support” p. 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kahu rere</td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kaihiko</td>
<td>Eating the line</td>
<td>1820 “Kai aho; Biting the fishing line, as a fish” * [presumably ‘kai aho’ but probably confusing aho (a fishing line) with the verb Kai (consume) and the prefix Kai– to transitive verbs to form nouns denoting an agent see W1971 p. 86]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kainga</td>
<td>Meal, also table</td>
<td>1820 “Kai ínga; Dining table” p. 156, but also “Káinga, s. A place of residence, a home &amp;c’ and “Kainga, s. A meal. Proper name of a person” * p. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai nanu</td>
<td>A quarrelsome meal</td>
<td>1820 “Kai Nánu; A jarring meal” * p. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kainga dua</td>
<td>The second meal</td>
<td>1820 “Kainga dúa; The second meal” * p. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kaingaroa</td>
<td>The long meal</td>
<td>1820 “Kainga roa; The long meal” * p. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kaipo</td>
<td>Eating by night</td>
<td>1820 “Kai po, s. A nightly meal” * p. 157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Kai Pue  Eating the fish called Pue  
[? Kaipue] 1820 “Kai pue; A meal of the intestines of a fish called Pue” * p. 157  
[Probably nonsense; no such fish has been identified. This may be a reference to Kendall’s puikorokoro (p. 196) or piharau or kanakana, the lamprey, Geotria. Korokoro = throat probably refers to the pouch of the adult fish]

Ko Kai rawa  Greasy mouth after a meal  
[Kairawa] 1820 “A greasy mouth after a meal; the remains of victuals” * p. 157  
[Another fanciful derivation. Rawa (ii) 1. ad. Intensive. Quite, very]

Ko Kai tangi  a mourner  
[Kai tangi] 1820 “Kai tangi; Mourners; mourners food” * p. 157  
[Again confusing kai, food with a prefix kai- with tangi 1 v.t. Cry, weep]

Ko Kai tara  Food of gannets  
[Kaitara] 1820 * p. 157  
[Supposedly food of seabirds ‘tara’ (not gannets, which have a different name) but also Kaitara a. rough, coarse, from tara (1) Anything sharp p. 386]

Ko Kai tata  War food  
[Kaitata] 1820 “Food near. Proper name of a person” * p. 157  
[Meaning obscure cf W1971 p. 393 tata (i) 1. Near, or place or time]

Ko Kaitoke  Food of worms  
[Kaitoke] 1820 “Kai tóke; Food of worms” * p. 157  
[Meaning obscure: toke (i) n. 1. Earthworm, but with other meanings also]

Ko Kaitoke  A bar so called  
[Kaiwaka] 1820 “A name of a place” * p. 157  
[Also the name of a star and of at least one tree]

Ko Kai we  Food of caterpillars  
[Kaiwhe] 1820 * p. 157  
[From whē W1971 p. 493 Whē, n. Caterpillar, but also used for various insects. Whē is more properly the mummified caterpillar taken over by the fungus Cordyceps robertsii, which seeks out the larvae of one of six species of moth belonging to the genera Dumbletonius and Aoraia. Only the forest species are known to be attacked by Cordyceps.]

Ko Kaki  The neck  
[Kaki] 1820 “Káki, s. The back part of the neck” * p. 158  
[W1971 p. 92, also the throat]

Ko Kanohi  The eye  
[Kanohi] 1820 * p. 159  
[W1971 p. 94 Kanohi n. 1. Eye]

Ko Kapu  To open and shut as a crayfish tail  
[Kapu] 1820 “Kápu, s. An adze; tail of a crayfish” * p. 159  
[W1971 p. 97 3. Tail of a crayfish, among other meanings, probably from the sound it makes]

Ko Kare  A reflecting light  
[Kare] 1820 “Káre, s. Reflection of the light on a running stream” * p. 160  
[W1971 p. 100 Kare (i) 1. n. Ripple]
Ko Karamaroa | A burning torch | [Ka ramaroa] Presumably from kā (i) v.i. Take fire, be lighted, burn, with rama roa, a long torch. 1820 “Rama roa; A mountain so called; also the name of a person” * p. 199 The legend refers to the torch which guides the explorer Kupe into Hokianga Harbour. [W1971 Rama: “torch or other artificial light” p. 322]


Ko Kauakaua | very bitter | [Kawakawa] 1820 “Kaua kaua; A species of stone” * p. 161 [Kawakawa (Macropiper excelsum has a bitter taste; a form of dark green jade of the same colour]

Ko Kawehou | A reptile so called | [Kawau, kawekau] 1820 “Káweou; A reptile so called” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 111 Sphenodon sp. = Tuatara but also used for a bird Eudynamis taitensis, a cuckoo]

Ko Kawadu | Eight | [Ka waru] 1820 “Ka wádu; Eight” * p. 161 [i.e. waru = 8]

Ko Ke | Different | [Kē] 1820 “Ké, s. The cry of a certain bird; also the proper name of a person” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 111 Kē (i) 1. a. Different, of another kind]

Ko Kedia | To dig the ground | [Keria] 1820 “Kédia, v.n. Dig (thou) up the ground” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 114, Keri = kari 1. v.i. Dig]

Ko Kedua | The second arm pit | [Kerua?] 1820 “Ke dúa; The proper name of a person” * p. 162 [A fanciful derivation, with ‘dúa’ from rua = two and kēkē = armpit]

Ko Keke | A creaking noise | [Keke] 1820 “The cramp; a certain bird; and proper name of a person” * p. 162 [Cf W1971 p. 113 Kekekeke v.i. 2 Chatter, as the teeth with cold]


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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kidí</td>
<td>The skin</td>
<td>[Kiri] 1820 “Kídi, s. The skin” * p. 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 119 Kíri, n. 1. Skin, bark]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kidí pero</td>
<td>The stinking skin</td>
<td>[Kíri píro] 1820 “Kídi píro; A stinking skin” * p. 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kidí shau</td>
<td>The skin stripped off</td>
<td>[Kiríhau] 1820 “Kídi e ’au; A naked skin; skin exposed to the wind” * p. 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kína nehe</td>
<td>A small sea egg</td>
<td>[Kína néhe] 1820 “Kína néhe; a small sea egg” * p. 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 118 Kína n. 1. Evechinus chloroticus [green sea urchin] or Kína kórako ‘a small variety of same’ the meaning of nehe is obscure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kína</td>
<td>a Sea egg</td>
<td>[Kína] 1820 “Kína, s. A sea egg” * p. 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kiore</td>
<td>A mouse</td>
<td>[Kiore] 1820 “Ki óre; A mouse, rat &amp;c” * p. 164</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 119 Kiore n. 1 Rat, mouse. Esp. The Polynesian rat Rattus exulans, formerly used as food]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kíra</td>
<td>A reptile so called</td>
<td>[Kíra] 1820 * p. 164</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 119 Kíra a. Rough with sharp points. Possibly a name for tuatara]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kívi</td>
<td>A bird so called</td>
<td>[Kiwi] 1820 “Kívi, s. Name of a certain bird” * p. 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 120 Kívi, n. Apteryx of various birds. It is very odd that Kendall confuses the kiwi and emu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kívikívi</td>
<td>The Emu feathers</td>
<td>[Kiwikíwi] 1820 “Kiwi kíwi, s. Feather of the bird called Kíwi” * p. 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[= kiwi, Apteryx mantelli is the species Kendall will probably have seen, but he may have seen the emu later in New South Wales]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kohu</td>
<td>Fog mist</td>
<td>[Kohu] 1820 “Kohu, s. A fog” * p. 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 126 Kohu (i) n. Fog, mist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kou</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Not in 1820 [W1971 p. 150 Kou (i) n. 1. Knob, end, stump etc., but here in a middle or words to do with swimming but in which the particle Ko has been inserted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Koukou</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Not in 1820 but Kendall does have “Kóhu kóhu s. A certain bird; an owl” p. 165.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[W1971 p. 151 koukou 1 v.i. (onomatopoetic) Hoot, hence the name of the owl Ninox = ruru]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kongangi</td>
<td>[no definition]</td>
<td>Not in 1820 [Probably Ko angiangi from angi to float]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kopi te Hawa</td>
<td>Swimming in the river</td>
<td>Not in 1820 ['Hawa' = Awa, river]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kou te hawa dua</td>
<td>Swimming in the second river</td>
<td>Not in 1820 ['hawa dua' = awa rua]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ko Pipi</td>
<td>To dig up cockles</td>
<td>[Ko pipi] 1820 “Kōpipi, s. A gathering of cockles; also a sort of cockle” * p. 167 [W1971 p. 120 Kō (i) 1 n. A wooden implement for digging or planting [. . .] 2. v.t. Dig or plant with a kō, hence dig up pipi (bivalves then called Amphidesma austral, now Semele australis)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Koti</td>
<td>To dig tea root</td>
<td>[Kō and Tī] 1820 “Kō Ti; A digging up of Tīe root” * p. 169 [A confusion of the particle ko with kō, the digging stick and tī a plant Cordyline spp. ‘cabbage trees’ with various epithets e.g. tī kōuka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kowai</td>
<td>Red ochre</td>
<td>[Kokowai] 1820 “Kō wai; Proper name of a place” * p. 169 [W1971 p. 131 Kōkōwai, n. Earth from which red ochre is procured by burning]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kue</td>
<td>A complaint common to females</td>
<td>[Kue] 1820 * p. 170 [Not explained, not in W1971]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kurutau</td>
<td>Bloody year, also a birds tail of red feathers</td>
<td>[Kurutou] 1820 “Kūra tau; A year in which there is much battle, or blood shed” * p. 171 [Cf W1971 p. 160 Kurutou, n. Tail of a bird, tail feathers and p. 157, Kura (i) 1. a. Red, glowing, 4. v.t. redden, 5. n. red feathers used as an ornament, with tau (i) n. 1 Season, year, p. 395]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kurutonghia</td>
<td>Taking in the fish (?)</td>
<td>[Kuru Tongia] 1820 “Kūra tōngia; A thin soil” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 159 Kuru (i) 1 v.t. strike with the fist, pound etc. ? meaning obscure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kuwou</td>
<td>A young male beast</td>
<td>[Kūwao] 1820 “Kūōu, s. A young male beast, a pig &amp;c” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 160 Kūwao, a. Wild, of the woods. Pigs were introduced in 1769]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Kutu  A louse  1820 “Kúta, s. A louse. Kútu ; Ditto: also the proper name of a person” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 160 Kutu n. 1. Louse, or vermin of any kind infesting humans]

Ko te Kadehu  The broke breaking of flint  [Te kā rehu] [W1971 Rehu (iii) 1. n. Flint 3. v. t. Chip, split off in chips with particle Ka inserted]

Ko te Kadu  The head  [Te Karu] 1820 “Kádu, s. The head of a brute, as a fish, beast &c” * p. 154 Cf W1971 p. 102 Karu (i) 1 n. Eye 2. Head v.i. Eye, to look at

Ko te Kahehaweha  The bird so called  [Te Kawekawea] 1820 “Ka eua eua; Name of a certain bird” p. 154 [W1971 p. 111 Kawekawea / koekoeā or long-tailed cuckoo (Eudynamis taitensis)]


Ko te Kahu ara  The garment used on the road  [Te Kahuara] 1820 “Káhu ara; A walking garment” * p. 155 [W1971 p. 84 Kahu n. 2. Garment (with a dubious epithet)]

Ko te Kahu aute  The garment made of the cloth called Aute  [Te Kahu aute] 1820 “Káhu aute; A garment made of Otaheitan cloth called A’ute” * p. 155 [Aute = cf W1971 p. 23 Aute n. 1. Broussonetia papyrifera, paper mulberry, almost extinct by 1820]

Ko te Kahu ma  The clean garment  [= Te Kahu ma] [W1971 p. 161 Mā (i) a. 1. White; 3. Clean]

Ko te Kahu Shoa  The bier  [Te Kahuhoa] 1820 “Kahu e óa; Bier for the dead” * p. 155 [Sense obscure]

Ko te Kai Atua  The God’s food  [Te Kaiatua] 1820 “Kai Atua; Victuals for the Atua” * p. 156 [W1971 p. 20 Atua 1. n. God, demon, supernatural being, ghost. etc., and Kai (i) 1 v.t. Consume, eat, but also Kai– (iv) a prefix to transitive verbs to form nouns denoting an agent used with the verb to which it is attached. In the following examples the error sometimes results in nonsense]

Ko te Kai kaha  The nourishing food  [Te Kaikaha] 1820 “Kai kaha; Wholesome victuals” * p. 156 [W1971 Kaha (i) 1. a. Strong, able; 2. n. Strength]

Ko te Kai kumu  The food of the Anus or breech  [Te Kaikumu] 1820 “Kai kūmu; Eating the arms of an enemy” * p. 156 [‘rump’ was probably intended, but perhaps for reasons of indelicacy ‘arms’ was perhaps substituted for ‘anus’ by the printer. Cf W1971 p. 156]
| Ko te Kaingamata | The raw or uncooked meal | [Te Kaingamata] 1820 “Kai Māta; [Name of a certain place]; also raw food”, and “Kainga māta; Eating a ball, or shot” * p. 157 [Kai (food) nga mata (raw) cf W1971 p. 88 Kaimata a. 1. Unripe, 2. Uncooked from Mata W1971 p. 185 Mata (ii) a. 1. Raw, uncooked, 2. Unripe, of fruit] |
| Ko te Kanawa | The motion of the eye | [Te Kanawa] 1820 “Kānawa, s. An eye” * p. 158 [W1971 p. 93 “Kanawa, n. A white-skinned variety of kumara” but also “Kana 1. v.i. stare wildly”] |
| Ko te Kawakawa | The stone so-called | [Te Kawakawa] 1820 “Kaua kaua; A species of stone” * p. 161 [A variety of jade so called from the colour of the leaf of the plant Macropiper excelsum] |
| Ko te Ke | Cry of the bird Kaha | [Te Ke] 1820 “Kē, s. The cry of a certain bird” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 82 Kaha, n. Podiceps cristatus, crested grebe, otherwise called puteketake but as the species does not occur in the North Island this seems dubious, moreover kēkē 1. v.i. Is ‘quack’ as a duck p. 112, and is obviously onomatopoetic] |
Ko te Keke Ao  Armpits (enlightened)  [Te Kekeao] 1820 “Kéke áo; A light supposed to emanate from the armpits of the deity” * p. 162 [More nonsense: Keke can be armpit (see above) or the sound made by a duck (quackquack) and ‘Ao’ is daytime W1971 p. 11 Ao (i) n. *Daytime as opposed to night. Also W1971 p. 113 Kékéao 1. n. *Dark cloud and 2 a. *Overcast. The expression is an allusion to shafts of light shining through clouds]


Ko te Kikiwa  The close pressure of the eyelids  [Te Kikiwa] 1820 “Kikiwa, s. A winking; pressing the eyelids closely together” * p. 163 = kemo, kimo, cf W1971 p. 120 Kiwa 1, v.i. *Shut the eyes, wink [to cut off light]

Ko te Koikoi  The lance  [Te Koikoi] 1820 “Kói kó; Lance at the top of a spear, a bayonet, &c” * p. 166 [W1971 p. 127 Koi (i) 1. a. *Sharp, also koikoi 1 a. Somewhat sharp, 2. Prickly, 3. n. *Spear, 6 ft to 8 ft long, pointed at both ends [for spearing birds]

Ko te Koihudu  The act of putting heads into a basket  [Te Koi huru] 1820 “Kói údu; A putting together of heads, as into a basket” * p. 166 [Another nonsense? Huru = hair, so may mean picking up by the hair]

Ko te Koi we  The act of putting caterpillars into a basket  [Te Koi whē] 1820 “Kói we; Collecting caterpillars” * p. 166 [W1971 p. 493 Whē n. *Caterpillar]

Ko te Koki  Limping with the leg  [Te Koki] 1820 “Kóki, s. A limp with the leg, &c” * p. 166 [W1971 p. 129 Koki (i) n. *Angle, corner; (3) ad. Bent at an angle and (ii) 1. v.t. 2 *Limp]


Ko te Kone  The sliding on the breech  [Te Kone] 1820 “Kone, s. Proper name of a person” * and “A slip with the buttocks” p. 167 [W1971 p. 133 Kona (i) n. Lower part of the abdomen cf konakona 1 v.i. Smell, give out odour]

Ko te Konake  The slip with the foot  [Te Konake] 1820 “KonAKE, s. Proper name of a person” * and “A slip with the foot” p. 167 [Obscure, probably kona kē from kē = different]


Ko te Kotuku  The bird called Kotuku  [Te Kotuku] 1820 “Kotuku, s. Name of a certain bird ... and the putting together of the feathers of the bird so called” * p. 169 [W1971 p. 150 Kōtuku n. 1. Egretta alba, white heron, also its feathers, awe]

Ko te Kowow  The lesson of instruction  [Te Kowao] 1820 “Ko wao; A hole” p. 170 [W1971 p. 152 Kōwao 1 n. Plot of fern land in a wood i.e. a cleared area for a garden]

Ko te Ku  Peg for a mat  [Te Kū] 1820 “Ku, s. a peg for a mat” * p. 170 [Cf W1971 p. 153 Kū (ii) 1. n. A game = tī or tī rākau, using sticks p. 414]

Ko te Kudi  The young dog or pig  [Te Kuri] 1820 “Kudi, s. A young dog, pig etc” * p. 170 [W1971 p. 159 Kuri n. 1. Dog (introduced from Polynesia, now extinct, but formerly eaten]


M


Ko Mahi  Working  [Mahi] 1820 “Máhi, s. … Work; also the proper name of a person” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 163 Mahi 1. v.t. Work, work at, do, perform etc.]

Ko Maiki  nursing a child  [?Maiki] 1820 “Maiki, s. A manner of
nursing, a pressing to the breast” * p. 173
[not W1971 p. 167 1. Maiki v.i. Remove, depart]
Ko Maihore  Flay ['flea', in error]
off the skin  [Hora?] 1820 “Mai eôre, v.n. Skinning, a
pulling off of the skin” p. 173 [Cf W1971 p. 59 Hora (i) 2. Spread out, display]
Ko Maki  a wise person  [Maki] 1820 “Mákí; The last survivor of a
Invalid, sick person]
Ko Makadihi  a repelling  [Makarihi] 1820 “Máka diii, v.n. Repelling” *
p. 173 [W1971 p. 169 Makarihi 1. n. Frost,
cold 2. Winter]
Ko Makohia  The fish so called  [Mako hia] 1820 “Mákoia; A certain fish” p.
173 [Evidently mako shark, Cf W1971 p. 170
Mako (i) n. Isurus glaucus, mako shark; 2.
Tooth of the same worn as an ear ornament.
Now Isurus oxyrinchus]
Ko Manaihia  Hill co called  [Manaia] 1820 “Manai ia ; Proper name; also
the name of a certain place; uneven rocks” *
p. 174 [Clearly refers to Mount Manaia at
Whangarei Heads]
Ko Manawapa  Sulky, mean-spirited  [Manawa pā] 1820 “Manawa pa; An
overflowing spirit, envious” * p. 175 [Cf
Manawa-pā (a) Grudging, parsimonious
e tc., with other expressions about mental
states (Manawa = mind, spirit)]
Ko Manga  The branch of a tree  [Manga] 1820 “Mánga ; The graining or
branching of a tree: a branch …” * p. 175
[W1971 p. 177 Manga n. Branch of a tree,
also of rivers etc., common on place names]
Ko Manu  Bird  [Manu] 1820 “Mánu, s. A bird” * p. 175
[W1971 p. 176 Manu (i) n. Bird (also used
figuratively))]
Ko Manu waka hounga  Bird crying hounga
[?Manu whaka hounga] 1820 “Manu waka
óunga; Name of a certain bird, which, in its
cry mimics the word óunga. Proper name of a
person” p. 175 [Not identified]
Ko Mapuna  Anything secreted or
placed in a nook  [Mapuna] 1820 “Mapûna, s. (A thing)
iclosed in stone” * p. 176 [Cf W1971 p. 180
Mapuna (i) 1. a. Prized, precious, perhaps a
jade ornament]
Ko Mara tea  Farm or garden empty
[Fara atea] 1820 “Mara têu; A certain fish” *
p. 176 [Cf W1971 p. 180 Mara n. Plot of
ground under cultivation, farm, garden + ātea
= clear, free from obstruction p. 19]
| Ko Mataka     | A hill called **mataka** | [Mataka] 1820 “Mataká ; A certain high hill”  
 p. 177 [The name of the hill above the mission station at Rangihoua, Cf W1971 p. 198 Mataka (iii) n. *A sacred plot set aside in a kāmara field*] |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ko Matakidi   | The eyelid               | [Mata kiri] 1820 “Matakidi ; Eye-lids”  
 p. 177 [From mata eye and kiri skin, Not in Williams 1971 modern kama, rewha] |
| Ko Matanawe   | The scar or mark of an ulcer | [Mata nave] 1820 “Matanāwe ; The scar or mark of an ulcer”  
 p. 177 [W1971 p. 219 Nave n. scar] |
| Ko Matangi    | Awaking in the bowels    | [Matangi] 1820 “Matangi ; The air: working of the bowels after death”  
 p. 177 [W1971 p. 189 Matangi n. *Wind, breeze* (suggesting a posthumus fart)] |
| Ko Matapiko   | Hanging down the head    | [Matapiko] 1820 “Mātapiko … Hiding the face by hanging down the head”  
| Ko Mate Ahia  | A slight                 | [Mate Ahia] 1820 “Māte A’ia, s. A slight”  
 p. 178 [Meaning uncertain] |
| Ko Mate hika  | The first who falls in battle | [Mate ika] 1820 “Māte ika ; Illness from eating fish”  
 p. 178 [Mate ika, first who falls in battle is correct, cf W1971 p. 76 Ika (ii) n. *Fighting man, warrior, especially of one slain in battle; Ika i te ati = mātāika etc.*] |
| Ko Mate Tu hahu | A place called **Mate Tu Hahu** | [Mate Tūahu] 1820 “Māte tū āhu ; Name of a place”  
 p. 178 [from Tūahu W1971 p. 444 “Tūahu n. *Sacred place consisting of a mound and marked by the erection of rods or poles, which was used for the puposes of divination and other mystic rites*”] |
| Ko Marae      | A courtyard              | [Marae] 1820 “Marae, s. A courtyard”  
| Ko Mau        | Securing                 | [Mau] Probably from *Mau* W1971 p. 196 Mau (iii) (participle) with the sense of being fixed, constrained or established] |
 p. 179 [cf W1971 p. 196 Mau (i) n. *Food products*] |
| Ko Maunga dudu | The close or confined sheltered mountain | [Maunga ruru] 1820 “Maunga dúdú ; A mountain situate in the midst of other mountains”  
 p. 179 [Perhaps Maungaru, a range North of Dargaville. ‘Maunga- = mountain’ is a common prefix for place names] |
| Ko Mawete     | To untie any bundle or unbutton a coat | [Mawete] 1820 “Ma wéte ; To untie the garment”  
Ko Mea  Any person or thing  See four entries below
Ko Mawi  Name of the New Zealander’s grandsire  [Māui] 1820 “Māwi, s. The left hand; the name of the first man”  p. 179 [Correctly the demi-god, and hero, who fished up the North Island of New Zealand; but in some places, he is regarded as human and the first explorer of the coast]
Ko Mawi mua  The first Mawi  [Māui] 1820 “Māwi mua ; The first Māwi, or man”  p. 179 [W1971 p. 213 Mua 2. n. Elder child]
Ko Mea  Any person or thing  [Mea] 1820 “Mea, s. A thing” a word often used as a substitute for a person, place, thing, word &c, and literally signifies the likeness of the person &c understood”  * p. 180 [W1971 p. 199 Mea (i) 1. n. Thing]
Ko Mere  A club called Mere used in battle  [Mere] 1820 “Mére, s. A war-club”  p. 180 [W1971 p. 201 Mere (i) n. A short flat weapon of stone for hand to hand fighting. Sometimes called meremere. Those made of jade are called mere pouamā]
Ko Mio  An intercession after death  [Mio?] 1820 “Mio, s. A prayer after death”  * p. 181 [Uncertain]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko Moa</th>
<th>Coals</th>
<th>[Moa] 1820 “Móa, s. A stone” * p. 181 [W1971 p. 204 “Moa 2. A stone” often found in spherical masses, some compound of iron, also called moamoa” but according to Polack (1838) p. 342: “A peculiar mineral stone exists on the boundaries of a lake a few miles inland from Tokomaru, in lat. 38 deg. 5’ S., long. 176 deg. 8’ E., forty miles south of the East Cape. This stone is called by the natives moamoa. They are perfectly spherical, studded with iron pyrites, and are found from the dimensions of a pistol-ball to that of the calibre of a cannon. These are made use of by the natives for their ammunition.”]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Moe koroha</td>
<td>Sleeping in the bush</td>
<td>[Moe] 1820 “Móe kóroha, Asleep in the bush” * p. 181 [Doubtful; moe is associated with visions and dreams. Koraha = shallow, so moe koraha is probably a a light sleep]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Moenga roa</td>
<td>The long bed</td>
<td>[Moengaroa] 1820 “Moenga roa ; A long sleep” * p. 181 [Actually a euphemism for death]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Moe ti</td>
<td>Resting on the Ti tree</td>
<td>[Moe Tī] 1820 “Móe Tī’ Sleeping on the Tee-tree” * p. 181 [Very doubtful!]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Moidishau</td>
<td>Exposed naked to the wind</td>
<td>[Moere hau] 1820 “Móidi e āu ; A corpse exposed to the wind” * p. 182 [W1971 p. Maero (i) 1. n. A fabulous monster. Also Maero (ii) 2. v.i. Float, drift, and Maeroero v.i. Drift about, which suggests Kendall’s idea (above) of a ‘floating corpse’. The Moehau (also called the Maeroero) is reputed to be a large, hairy hominid (a bigfoot /yeti in the Coromandel – Moehau Range north of Thames. Kendall’s seems to be the earliest reference, but there are other tales from other places, all much later]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Moehanga</td>
<td>Twins</td>
<td>[Māhanga] [W1971 p. 162 Māhanga (i) n. Twins]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Moe tutudu</td>
<td>Resting on the pegs or the web of the mat while at work</td>
<td>[Moe tuturu] 1820 “Moe tutúdu, v.n. Placing the heads of enemies upon the pins used in making mats, for the purpose of looking at them while at work” * p. 181 [Probably moe tuturu, associated with tūturu n. 1. An upright post of a weaving frame but also 2. “Stage on which a corpse was laid out” W1971 p. 460]</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ko Mokinui</td>
<td>A large fish so called</td>
<td>[Mōki] 1820 “Mōkūnūi; A large fish so called” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 207 Mōki (Latridopsis ciliaris), blue moki, a species of trumpeter, Latridae]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motoe</td>
<td>Chagrined with neglect</td>
<td>[Motoei] 1820 “Motōī, s. A person neglected at meals” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 211 Motoi (ii) v.i. 2. Beg i.e. a beggar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mudiwai</td>
<td>The after water</td>
<td>[Muriwai] 1820 “Mūdī wai; The water at the extremity of any place” * p. 183 [W1971 p. 214 Muri (i) 1. l. n. (a) of place, the rear, the hind part, but also Muri (iii) n. North hence Muriwai = northern water; but also W1971 p. 215 Muriwai (i) n. 1. Backwater, lagoon at the mouth of a river, and a junction of streams]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mudi wenua</td>
<td>The after land</td>
<td>[Muriwhenua] 1820 “Mūdī wenua; The land at the extreme point” * p. 183 [Northern land, used of the lands North of Mangonui]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mudi waka roto</td>
<td>Indelicate</td>
<td>? [Muriwhakaroto] [Obscure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mudu painga</td>
<td>Burying place stripped of its remains</td>
<td>[Murupaenga] 1820 “Mudupainga; Name of a person” * p. 184 [The Ngāti Whātua chief, killed by Ngā Puhi at Puhoi in 1826. His name elements Muru = plunder; paenga = boundary]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Muna</td>
<td>The ringworm</td>
<td>[Muna] 1820 “Mūna; Ringworm, a circular scar or mark on the skin &amp;c” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 214 Muna (ii) n. Ringworm]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori Grammars and Vocabularies</td>
<td>107</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ko Mure</td>
<td>Fish called <strong>Mure</strong> snapper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Maha</td>
<td>The many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Māidi</td>
<td>The tree called <strong>Māidi</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Māki</td>
<td>The wise person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Makoi</td>
<td>The extraction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Māku</td>
<td>The wet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Maode or Maore</td>
<td>The native</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Mangina</td>
<td>The club called <strong>Mangina</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Makudu</td>
<td>Falling down unripe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Mangaiti</td>
<td>The little branch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Manu kura</td>
<td>The red bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ko Mure** 1820 “Mûre ; A fish so called” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 377 Tâmure, n. Pagrosomus auratus, snapper, now Chrysophrys auratus]

**Ko te Maha** 1820 Máha, a. Much, many” * p. 172 [W1971 p. 162 Maha (i) 1 a. Many]

**Ko te Māidi** 1820 “Maire; Name of a certain tree” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 167 “Maire (ii) 1. n. Olea cunninghamii and other species of Olea” later in Gymnelea, now in Nestegis; N. cunninghamii = black maire; N. lanceolata = white maire’ in Oleaceae; also Maire tawake (swamp maire, now Syzygium maire, formerly Eugenia maire, Myrtaceae]

**Ko te Māki** 1820 “Māki; The last survivor of a tribe” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 170 Maki (i) n. Invalid, sick person, 2 v.t. makimaki afflict, of an illness]

**Ko te Makoi** 1820 “Máko; Proper name” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 170 Makoi (ii) n. Cockle shells; (iii) Barbed point of a bird spear; (iv) n. Comb]


**Ko te Maode or Maore** 1820 “Māodi, a. Indigenous, native; as, “E tangata maodi; A native man” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 179 “Māori (i) 1. Normal, usual, ordinary 2. Native or belonging to New Zealand (a comparatively modern use)” 3. n. Person of the native race, New Zealander, Maori “This use began about 1850” apparently among Maori themselves.


**Ko te Manga iti** 1820 “Māgaiti, s. A small branch” * p. 175 [W1971 p. 177 Manga n. 1 Branch of a tree + iti = small]

**Ko te Manu kura** 1820 * p. 175 [W1971 p. 176 Manu (i) n. 1. Bird [. . .] 2. Fig. Person held in high esteem hence Manu-kura, chief, leader in council (red being a chiefly colour); also 3. Kite, for flying]
Ko te Mara  The garden  [Te Mara] 1820 “Mára, s. A place exposed to the warmth of the sun; a farm” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 180 Mara n. Plot of land under cultivation, farm]


Ko te Mata  The flint or ball  [Te Matā] 1820 “Matā, s. Musket-ball, shot &c; gun-flint … a. Raw uncooked” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 185 “Mata n. 1. Flint, quartz or obsidian, used for cutting. 2. Lead, bullet (Mod.)”]

Ko te Mate huna  The concealed death  [Te Matehuna] 1820 “Máte úna; Conceded affliction” * p. 178 [Unidentified]


Ko te Mihinga  The sigh  [Te Mihinga] 1820 “Mihinga, s. A moaning, whining” * p. 180 [Cf Mihi, the verbal noun form]

Ko te Moki  The fish so called  [Te Moki] 1820 “Móki, s. A fish so called” p. 182 [Cf above (Latridopsis ciliaris)]

Ko te Moko  The newt or lizard  [Moko] 1820 “Móko móko; A small lizard” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 207 Moko 3. A general term for lizards (skinks and geckos) used with various epithets, (the skinks are Oligosoma, Cyclodina and Leiolopisma spp., currently in some taxonomic confusion; the geckos are in Naultinus and Hoplodactylus, with about 40 species); there are no New Zealand newts]

Ko te Morenga  The club made of red wood  [Te Morenga] 1820 “Mórenga; Club made of red wood, with which they beat fern-root” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 209 Morenga n. 1. Pestle or club for pounding fern root]

Ko te Motu hiti  The little island  [Te Motu iti] 1820 “Mótu iti; A small island” * p. 183 [W1971 p. 211 Motu (7) Island & iti a. small]

Ko te Mutu  The ending  [Te Mutu] 1820 “Mútú, s. The end” p.184 [W1971 p. 215 Mutu 1. a. Brought to an end, left off etc., cropped, completed, v.t. cut short]

N
Ko Nadi  Pleased with anything  [Nā] 1820 “Nādi, s. Proper name” * p. 184
          [W1971 p. 216 Nā (i) a. Satisfied, content; whakanā 1. v.t. Satisfy, refresh]
Ko Naho  Potatoe called Naho  [Nao?] 1820 “Nāho, s. A species of the potatoe” * p. 184 [Uncertain, possibly nahonaho 1. a. Small, diminutive; ?= naonao]
Ko Na ti kura  Bloody spectacle  [Ngati Kura] 1820 “Na ti kura; A red spectacle, or exhibition: name of a person” * p. 185 [Ngāti Kura, a tribal name]
The following section beginning ‘Ko nga –’ is mostly redundant:
Ko Nga Dua  Store houses  [Ko ngā rua = the store pits] Probably intended for 1820 “Nga dúa: The tombs; name of a person” * p. 228, where storage pits were confused with tombs
Ko Nga Due  Fern root  [Ko ngā aruhe = edible fern-root. W1971 p. 17, “Aruhe n. Edible fern root being the root of Pteridium aquilinum var. esculentum” [bracken] cf. 1820 “Nga due; Roots of fern” * p. 228 The rhizomes were called aruhe, but rarauhe was the name of the plant]
Ko Nga Hihi  Rays or beams of Sun & horns of cattle, whiskers of cat &c  [Ko ngā hīhī – see Hīhī] 1820 “Nga hīhi; Beams of the sun; hair tied up like horns on each side of the forehead; whiskers of a dog, cat &c; name of a person” * p. 228 [= hīhi (figurative usage)]
Ko Nga Kohu  Fogs  [Ko ngā kohu – see Kohu] 1820 “Nga kōhu; Fogs” * p. 229
Ko Nga Mata  Wise persons  [Ko ngā Mata – see Mata]
Ko Nga Huia  Birds called Huia, also feathers of same  [Ko ngā huia – see Huia] 1820 “U‘ia, s. A certain bird, also the name of a proper person and a shell-fish” * p. 146 But also “Nga úia, s. Feathers of birds called U‘ia” * p. 229 = Huia (Heteralocha acutirostris) now extinct
Ko Nga Hura  Indelicate  Words deleted in source; probably: W1971 Ure n. 1. Membrum virile [penis]]
Ko Nga Manu  Birds  [Ko ngā manu – see Manu]
Ko Nga Motu  Islands  [Ko ngā motu – see Motu]
Ko Nga Taro  Roots called Taro  [Ko ngā tāro – see Taro] 1820 “Tāro, s. A root so called; bread” p. 209 and “Nga tāro; Roots of Tāro” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 391 “Taro (i) n. 1 Colocasia antiquorum a plant cultivated for food” now C. esculenta]
Ko Nga Ti  Roots called Ti  [Ko ngā tī – see Tī] 1820 “Tī, s. The root called Tee, when, when baked, is very sweet” * p. 212, [W1971 p. 413 Tī (i) n. Cordyline of several species e.g. Tī kāua etc., esp. C. australis = ‘cabbage tree’ of New Zealand; also “Nga tī; Cry of a certain bird; name of a person” * p. 229 [the latter = Ngātī]
Ko Nga Tihi  The top summit of hills  [Ko ngā tihi – see Tihi] 1820 Nga tīi; The top summits of hills: name of a person” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 416 Tihi (i) n. *Summit, top, peak, point*]


Ko Nga Wai Hudi  Rolling waters  [Waihuri] 1820 “Nga wai ūi; Rolling waters” * p. 229 [Cf Huri (i) 3. Overflow, overwhelm as in surf ‘rollers’]

Ko Nga Waka  Canoes  [Waka] 1820 “Nga wāka; Canoes” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 478 Waka n. 1. *Canoe in general*, different forms being distinguished by epithets or distinct names e.g. waka taua (war canoe)]

Ko Nga Wao  Nails  [Whao] 1820 “Nga wāo; Nails” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 488 Whao (i) 2. n. Chisel; 3. Iron tool, nail (mod.) (because iron nails were fashioned into chisels for wood carving)


Ko Niwha  A New Zealand female deity  [Niwha] [W1971 p. 222 Niwha n. 3. *Barb of a fishhook or bird spear*

Ko Nuku Tawiti  Vulcan  [Nukutawahiti] This (as ‘Vulcan’) should have been *Ruatumoko* the chthonic power of earthquakes, but according to Binney Nukutawahiti was the founding canoe ancestor of the Hokianga people and drowned in the Hokianga River (see Binney *Legacy of Guilt* (2005) pp. 11–14); ancestral figures and Gods (*atua*) were confused]

Ko Nuku  
To draw near unto  

Ko te Nana  
The restlessness of a dying person  

Ko te Nga wi  
Rushes  
[Wi or Wīwi] 1820 “Wiwi; Rushes, also the being entangled in the rushes” p. 228 [W1971 p. 483 “Wi n. *Poa caespitosa*, tussock grass [. . .] 3. *Juncus polyanthemos* and other species of rushes.” Silver tussock (now *Poa cita*) and Edgar’s rush (*Juncus edgariae*) are the current names]

Ko te Nganga  
The skull  

Ko te Ngau kadihi  
Biting the weights of a seine  
[Ngā Ū kaharoa] [W1971 p. 83 Kaha (ii) n. 1. *Rope, especially one on the edge of a seine. With Ū (iii) v. t. Bite, gnaw* p. 464 and Ua n. 3 *Thick twisted or plaited hem on the collar of a cloak*]

Ko te Ngere  
Lazy  

Ko te Nohu  
The sickening pain  

Ko te Nope  
A pain  

Ko te Ngungu  
Stooping low when walking  

P

Ko Pa  
Father  
[Pa] 1820 “Pā, s. An elevated village; an affectionate name for parent; a place for residence” p. 186 [W1971 p. 244 Pā (v) n. *A term of address to a male elder or superior*; Also Pa (ii) 4 n. *Stockade, fortified place etc.*]

Ko Padi  
Cliff, or steep rock  

Ko Padi shoro  
A falling down part of a cliff  
[Parihoro] 1820 “Pādi e ōro; Falling down a steep rock, or shore” p. 186 [Pari = cliff & horo (W1971 p. 60) Horo (i) 1. v. i. *Fall in fragments, crumble, slip, as land*]
Ko Pai rau  Many kindnesses  [Paerau] 1820 “Proper name of a person” * p. 187 [Uncertain, perhaps pae a transverse bean with rau = a hundred]
Ko Paka  Garment called Paka, parched with the Sun  [Paka] 1820 “Pāka, s. A garment so called, anything dried by the sun” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 250 Paka (i) 2. Dried provisions = pakapaka. The cloak is Pākē n. A rough cape made from undressed leaves of kiekie or flax]
Ko Pakia  Mat for the waist, breeches  [Pakia] 1820 “Pakia, s. A covering for a man’s back”, also “Pakii, s. A garment for a man’s breeches” * p. 188 [W1971 p. 253 Paki (iii) pāpakī n. 1. Kilt, apron; 2. Clothing etc.]
Ko Pakii kura  The red fern soil  [Pakihi kura] 1820 “Pakii kura; Red land where fern root has been collected” * p. 188 [Cf W1971 p. 253 Pakihi 1. v.i Dig for fern root 2. n. Place where fern root has been dug]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko Pana</th>
<th>Fillipping with the finger</th>
<th>[Pana] 1820 “Pána, s. A fillip with the finger” * p. 188 [W1971 p. 256 Pana (i) 4. n. Fillip = toropana]</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pakira</td>
<td>Bald head</td>
<td>[Pakira] 1820 “Pákira, s. A bald head” * p. 188 [Pákira a. Bald-headed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pani</td>
<td>The god Pan</td>
<td>[Binney 2005 p. 13 notes: “Kendall constantly sought parallels from the classical world to explain the Maori ancestral gods. [. . .] Kendall considered Pan to be the primary creator god in the non-Christian world.”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Papa</td>
<td>Board, also a persons breech</td>
<td>[Papa] 1820 “Pápa, s. A thin board; the buttocks” * p. 189 [W1971 p. 250 Papa (i) 1. n. Anything broad, flat, and hard; Papa (iii) n. Breech, buttock]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Papangadua</td>
<td>The second half</td>
<td>[Papanga rua] [Cf W1971 p. 260 Papanga (i) a. Partly filled, as of a lake]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Papaware</td>
<td>The houseboard</td>
<td>[Papa whare] 1820 “Papa ware; The house boards” * p. 189 [Probably an invented term Papa (board) of a whare (house)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Para kore</td>
<td>Without unction</td>
<td>[Para] Cf 1820 “Pára, s. A fish so called … a. unctuous” p. 189 ‘Para’ has several usages [W1971 p. 261–261 e.g. Pára n. 1. Lepidopus caudatus, frostfish, also p. 262 Para (iii) n. Bravery spirit, cf Para kore disheartened, crestfallen, etc.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Para roi</td>
<td>The juice of fern root</td>
<td>[Para aruhe] 1820 * p. 189 [cf W1971 Para (ii) 1. n. Tuber of various orchids and 2 tuber / corm of the edible king fern Ptišana salicina (formerly Marattia salicina) Marattiacae p. 262; p. 17 Aruhe n. Edible fern root. ‘Wai aruhe’ is “a term applied to one whose death has not been avenged, so Kendall probably muddled the ideas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Para hiku</td>
<td>The juicy tail of a fish</td>
<td>[Also a reference to the Pára (frostfish, scabbard-fish) which has a long thin form. [W1971 p. 50 Hiku (i) 1. Tail of a fish or reptile etc; (ii) n. Lepidopus caudatus, frostfish = pára]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Parawa</td>
<td>Sperm whale, also the white bone of a sperm whale</td>
<td>[Parāoa] 1820 “Parawa, s. A sperm whale, also the jaw bone of the whale” p. 190 [W1971 p. 264 Parāoa, l. Physeter macrocephalus, sperm whale]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ko Pare</td>
<td>Head ribbon, crown, wreath of flowers</td>
<td>[Pare] 1820 “Pare, s. An head ribbon; the top knot of a bird …” * p. 190 [W1971 p. 266 Pare (i) n. 1. Band for the hair, fillet, wreath. 2. Ornament for the head]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pare waka taha</td>
<td>Head ribbon with a knot an ornamental knot at one side</td>
<td>[Pare whakataha, presumably; Pare koukou is another style with a plumed bunch of hair as a topknot]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Parode</td>
<td>Fish called Parode</td>
<td>[Pāore] 1820 “Paróre, s. A fish so called” p. 190 [W1971 p. 268 Pāore, Girella tricuspidata, Black bream or luderick]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Patu hone</td>
<td>Killing on the ground</td>
<td>[Patuone] 1820 “Patu óne ; A slaughter on the sand, name of a person” * p. 191 [The Ngāti Hao chief, Patuone, brother of Nene, also named in this list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pikirangi</td>
<td>Climbing up to heaven</td>
<td>[Pikirangi] 1820 “Piki rāngi; A climbing up to heaven” * p. 192 [W1971 p. 281 Pikirangi n. Elytranthe tetrapetala, a semiparasitic plant = pirirangi, now Peraxilla tetrapetala, Loranthaceae, red mistletoe, an arboreal parasite of beech (Nothofagus)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Pipi  Turkey  Cockle  [Pipi] 1820 “Pipi, s. Cockle” * p. 193  
[W1971 p. 282 Pipi n. 1. Cockle, in general particularly applied to Chione stutchburyi and Amphidesma australis (now Austrovenus stutchburyi and Semele australis) more particularly the latter]

Ko Pitau  Particular mark on a woman’s face  [Pitau] 1820 “Pitau, s. The tattooed face of a woman” * p. 193 [W1971 p. 284 “Pitau (i) n. Young succulent shoot of a plant, especially circinate frond of a fern” here applied to a form of tattoo]


Ko Piu  Grass so called  [Piu] 1820 * p. 193 [W1971 p. 285 “Piu 1. v.t. Throw or swing, as with a cord” piupiu 1. v.i. Oscillate, move to and fro, referring to the fringe of a garment called piupiu ]

Ko Poa  Smoke evaporating from a skull during the time of dressing it, incense  [Poa] 1820 “Póa, s. The smoke evaporating from a scull during the time of dressing it, as is customary in New Zealand” * p. 194  

Ko Ponga  Nostril, The elder tree  [Ponga] 1820 “Ponga, s. A pithy wood so called” * p. 194 [W1971 p. 291 Ponga 1. n. Cyathea dealbata, a tree-fern [silver-fern] The ‘elder tree’ reference is to the soft pith; the nostril reference is to pongaponga n. 1. Nostril, = pongaihu]

Ko Po o kuo  Canoe so called  [Pora?] 1820 “Po ó ku ó; A canoe so called” * p. 195 [Cf W1971 p. 293 Pora 1. n. Large sea-going canoe]


Ko Pohuroto  A pillar  [Pou roto] 1820 “Póu róto, s. The inside post or pillar of a house” * p. 195 [From pou = pole & roto = inside] [W1971 p. 297 Pou roto a post supporting the ridge-pole of a house]

Ko Po nui  The great night  [Po nui] 1820 “Po núi; A remarkable night” * p. 195 [Pō = night; nui = large; perhaps = death, cf Pōroa]
Ko Ponahia  Making or tying [sic] a knot  [Pona] 1820 “Póna, s. A knot v.n. Making a knot; as “Póna hia; Make a knot” * p. 194  [W1971 p. 291 “Pona (i) n. Knot, Pona taniwha a single hitch kept from slipping by a knot on the cord”]


Ko Pui  The ornamented stem post of the war canoe called Pui  [Pūhi] 1820 “Pūi, s. The ornamented stern-post of a canoe” p. 196 [W1971 p. 304 “Pūhi (2) Bunch of feathers, etc., as an ornament; especially the plumes decorating a canoe”]


Ko Purepure  Spotted  [Purepure] 1820 “Pūre pūre, a. Spotted” * p. 198 [W1971 p. 313 Pure (ii) v.t. Arrange in tufts or patches; purepure l. a. In tufts or patches]

Ko Putedudu  The enclosed basket  [Pūtē ru] 1820 “Pūtē dūdu; A close or tied-up bag or basket” * p. 198 [W1971 p. 317 Pūtē, pūtea, n. Bag or basket of fine woven flax for clothes etc. with ru ru p. 352 Ruru (ii) 1. v.t. Tie, tie together, 2. Enclose]

Ko Putoto  Bird called Putoto  [Putoto] 1820 “Putūto, s. A bird so called, a partridge” * p. 198 [W1971 p. 317 Pūtoto, pūweto or spotless crake, a swamp rail (Porzana tabuensis)]
Ko Putoitoi

Grass in a bundle

[Pū toetoe] 1820 “Pu to tō tō; A bundle of grass called Toi toi” p. 198 [W1971 p. 300 “Pū (2) Bunch, bundle, anything growing in a bunch” but W1971 p. 429 “Toetoe 2 n. Grass, sedge etc., of various species particularly Arundo kakao (conspicua) which was known as toetoe kākaho” is partly incorrect. There are five indigenous species of Cortaderia and two similar foreign species (pampas-grass, C. selloana). Toetoe grass was used for thatch and wall linings. Cortaderia toetoe, C. splendens etc.]

Ko te Pahu

The drum

[Te Pahu] 1820 “Pāhu, s. A drum, bell, &c; any thing which by beating makes a sound” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 248 Pahū 2. n. Alarum, made of stone or wood and beaten like a gong; formerly used in time of war]

Ko te Pahi

The ship


Ko te Pai

The good


Ko te Paipai

The finery


Ko te Pare

The head ornament, crown

[Te Pare] 1820 “proper name of a person” * p. 190 [W1971 p. 266 Pare (i) n. Band for the hair, fillet, wreath]

Ko te Papa

Lizard called Papa

[Te Papa] 1820 “Papa, s. A reptile so called; also the name of a person” * p. 189 [W1971 p. 244 Pā (vi) pāpā 2. Hoplodactylus pacificus brown gecko = moko-pāpā. Currently Dactylocnemis pacificus, Pacific gecko]

Ko te Pekapeka

Game so called


Ko te Po

The night


Ko te Poshoi

Ear ornament made of feathers

Ko te Poutu  
The parting asunder  
[Te Pōuto] 1820 “Pōtu ... Proper name” p. 195  
[W1971 p. 299 Pōuto (i) n. Float for a net. Pōuto (ii) v.i. Cut off, decapitate pōutoa te kaki, cut off the head]

Ko te Pou tudi  
Deaf  
[Te Pou turi] 1820 “Pōutūdi, s. Deafness. Proper name” * p. 195  
[W1971 p. 459 Turi (ii) a. (1) Deaf]

Ko te Poupou  
Boils on the flesh so called  
[Te Poupou] 1820 “Pou pou; Boils on the skin or flesh. Name of a person” * p. 195  
[Poss. Transliteration of bubo, not in W1971; poupou 7. Frequentative of pou o hawaiki = Norway rat (Rattus norvegicus)]

Ko te Pui  
The ornamented stem post of a canoe  
[Te Puhī] 1820 “Pūi, The ornamented stem post of a canoe. Proper name” * p. 196  
[W1971 p. 304 Puhī (i) 2. Bunch of feathers etc., as an ornament, especially the plumes decorating a canoe]

Ko te Punga  
The anchor. Odd one  
[Te Punga] 1820 “Pūnga, s. An odd one; the anchor of a ship, a canoe &c. Name of a person” * p. 197  
[W1971 p. 310 Punga 3. Anchor, generally a stone, or a basket of stones; 5. Odd number]

Ko te Pukeko  
The water hen  
[Te Pukeko] 1820 “Pu kēko; A flute made from the bird Kēko. Name of a person” p. 196  
[A confusion of W1971 p. 300 Pū to blow and pūn. pipe, tube, flute with the bird pūkeko [W1971 p. 307 pūkeko (Porphyrio porphyrio, purple swamp hen)]

Ko te Puta [?]  
Illegible words, perhaps because the word was considered 'indelicate' = 1820 “Pute, s. A bag” p. 198  

R  
Ko Ra  
Sun  
[Ra] 1820 “Ra, s. The sun ... Health, strength ... also the proper name of a person” p. 198  
[W1971 p. 319 Rā (i) n. 1. Sun 2. Day. Ra, rā (ii) is the intensive particle used in forms of farewell: haere rā etc., from which Kendall may have taken the idea of health, strength etc.]

Ko Rae  
Forehead  
[Rae] 1820 “Rāe, s. The forehead; a point of land” p. 199  
[W1971 p. 320 Rae (i) n. 1. Forehead, temple. 2. Promontory, headland]

Ko Raewera  
A scorched forehead  
[Raewera] 1820 “Rāe wera; A burnt forehead; also the proper name of a person” * p. 199  
[Probably a personal name]
| Ko Rakemaire | Spear so called | Rakau maire | 1820 “Rāke maide; a spear made of the wood called Maide; proper name” | * p. 199 [W1971 p. 321 Rake (i) n. Clump, tuft, bush probably with rākau n. 1. Tree, 2. Wood, timber, 3. Stick, spar, mast and maire the plant (Syzygium maire, swamp maire)] |
| Ko Raku | Scratching | Rāku | 1820 “Rāku, s. A scratch; also a proper name” | * p. 199 [W1971 p. 322 Raku, raraku, rakuraku v.t. Scratch, scrape] |
| Ko Ranga | Working at a basket | Rānga | 1820 “Rānga, s. Making up, as a basket … name of a person” | * p. 199 [W1971 p. 322 Ranga (i) 1 v.t. Raise, cast up but raranga p. 323 v.t. (pass. Rangaa and rānga) Weave, plait mats, baskets etc.] |
| Ko Rangatira | Gentleman | Rānga tīra | 1820 “Rānga tira; A gentleman or lady. Proper name” | * p. 200 [W1971 p. 323 Rangatira 1. n. Chief, male or female, 3. Person of good breeding, 4 a. well born, noble; rangatiratanga n. evidence of breeding and greatness; but tino rangatiratanga used (from 1825) only of British high officials e.g. governors, not of Māori] |
| Ko Rangi tu ki waho | Waiting in suspense at a distance | Rāngi tu ki waho | 1820 “Rāngi tu ki waho; Standing outside, excluded; name of a person” | * p. 200 [W1971 p. 391 tatari 1. V.i. Wait, tāringa n. circumstance etc., of waiting, but this seems contrived. Rangitikiwaho was a prominent chief at Ngunguru, Tutukaka] |
| Ko Rangi tu noa | Waiting without cause | Rāngi tu noa | 1820 “Rāngi tu noa; Being without employment” | * p. 200 [Meaning obscure] |
| Ko Rangi hudu | The upper region of the sky | Rāngi udu | 1820 “Rāngi udu: The upper part of the atmosphere or heavens” | * p. 200 [Perhaps W1971 p. 324 Rangiuru n. Red wood of totara, compared with the red sky] |
| Ko Rare | Funnel | Korere | 1820 “Rare, s. Sort of grass. Name of a person” | * p. 201 [W1971 p. 326 Kōrere n. 1. Gutter, tap, funnel or anything to guide the passage of liquids. Particularly used of carved funnels used when a chief was under tapu and could not eat] |
Ko Rau  
Leaf on top of a tree  
[Korau] 1820 “Rau, … The top bush, or branches of a tree; a leaf; grass so called” * p. 201 [W1971 p. 140 Kōrau n. 1. *C*yathea medullaris*, a large tree fern; 2. Young shoots of fern = kōrau p. 147 Koru (i) 1. a Folded, coiled, looped 3. A bulbed motif in carving and scroll painting]

Ko Rau Mati  
Summer  

Ko Rau wahine  
A female slave  

Ko Rawa  
A remnant  
[Rawa] 1820 “Rawa, s. A remainder” * p. 201 [W1971 p. 331 Rawa (i) n. 1. Goods, property; ‘Remnant (people)’ is usually mōrehu or toenga from W1971 p. 429 Toe (i) v.i. Be left, as a remnant & toenga n. remnant, toenga kai or toenga kainga, a contemptuous expression for one saved when the rest of the tribe was eaten, = slave etc., hence the modern application of toenga to ‘things’]

Ko Reko  
Bird called Reko  
[Reko] 1820 “Reko, s. Bird so called” * p. 201 [Probably intended for W1971, p. 335 Reko 1. a. White, of hair, feathers etc. “He kākā reko, a parrot of light plumage” i.e. albino ]

Ko Repa  
Garment called Repa  

Ko Roa  
Long  

Ko Rodi  
Gathering of cockles out of the sand  

Ko Roi  
Fern root  

Ko Roke  
Hard or dried dung  

Ko Rona  
The man in the moon called Rona  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko Rukuruku</th>
<th>Basket of victuals loosely tied up, a small quantity</th>
<th>[Rukuruku] 1820 “Rúku rúku A basket loosely tied up” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 351 Ruku (ii) v.t. Gather together; rukutanga n. Collecting together; rukuruku 1. v.t. Gather together into a small compass 3. n. Small basket (as for tubers, kumara etc.)]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rae</td>
<td>The forehead, foreland</td>
<td>[Te Rae] Another repetition see rae, above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rakau</td>
<td>The tree</td>
<td>[Te Rakau] 1820 “Rákau, s. A tree… also a proper name” p. 199 [W1971 p. 321 Rakau 1. n. Tree]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rangi A-tea</td>
<td>The noon day, the clear atmosphere</td>
<td>[Te Rangiatea] 1820 “Rángi a téa; A clear atmosphere; name of a person” p. 200 “Rangiātea is an ancient name that is strongly associated with Hawaiki. Like Hawaiki, Rangiātea is seen as both a physical place and a spiritual realm – the fount of wisdom about the nature of existence.” (Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rashui</td>
<td>The prohibition</td>
<td>[Te Rahui] Not in 1820 – Rahui W1971 p. 321 “Rāhui (i) n. A mark to warn people against trespassing; used in the case of tapu for some temporary protection of fruit, birds or fish etc.”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rangi o</td>
<td>The falling heavens, the downfall</td>
<td>[Te Rangi-o-morere] The expression is obscure but W1971 p. 210 “Morere n. Swing, a sort of giant stride” must be related.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rangi tupe</td>
<td>The time of ensnaring anything</td>
<td>[Te Rangitupe] 1820 “Rángi túpe; The place where anyone is taken or ensnared”* p. 200 [The expression is obscure. W1971 Rangi (i) 4. Day, period of time; p. 456 Tupe (1) n. A receptacle for game]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Rangi wati</td>
<td>The day of ??</td>
<td>[Te Rangiwahititi] The day of (Illegible and unintelligible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ramaroa</td>
<td>The mountain called Ramaroa</td>
<td>[Te Ramaroa] 1820 “Rámá róa; A mountain so called” * p. 199 [Ramaroa means ‘long torch’ According to traditional histories: “Te Ramaroa (the eternal flame) is the mountain that guided the great navigator Kupe into Hokianga Harbour.” (Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ra raku</td>
<td>The day of scratching</td>
<td>[Te Ra raku] 1820 “Ra raku; The day of scratching” * p. 200 [Cf W1971 p. 322 Raku, raraku, rakuraku v.t. Scratch, scrape. Rakuraku n. Implement to scratch with (nothing to do with ‘ra’ = day]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko te Ra rau  The plant called Rarau  [Te Rarau] 1820 “Rarau, s. A plant so called”  * p. 201 [Perhaps another name for Rarauhe, bracken]

Ko te Ra piro  The stinking day  [Te Ra Piro] This is probably another concocted word.

Ko te Rau  The leaf  [Te Rau] 1820 * p. 201 [W1971 p. 328 Rau (i) n. Leaf]

Ko te Renga  The grass so called  [Te Renga] 1820 “Renga, s. The excrements of the eye” and “Renga rénga; A plant so called” p. 202 [W1971 p. 336 from Renga (i) v.i. 1. Overflow, be full (sleep of the eye) and Rengarenaga, Arthropodium cirratum, Asparagaceae, neither a grass nor a lily]


Ko te Rongo  The informer  [Te Rongo] 1820 * p. 203 [W1971 p. 346 “Rongo 1. v.t. (pass. Rangona and rongona) Apprehend by the senses, except sight (a) hear (b) feel (c) smell (d) taste” whakarongo v.t. 1. Cause to hear, inform, 2. Listen, 3. Attend to, obey]


Insert S here (see 10 page [Kendall’s MS direction])  [There appear a few words under Sh– filed under H, there being no S in Māori, on sheet 122, but a larger collection appears, after W at sheet 30, all under S (Sh), before the section with proper names of persons]

T


Ko Taere  A snare for catching birds  [Taere] 1820 “Tá ere; A snare for catching sea-fowls; proper name” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 356 Taere n. A square net baited with cockles crabs etc., used for taking seabirds]

Ko Taengodu  Bones broken within while the flesh and skin are whole  [Tangoru] 1820 “Tá ngódu; A whole skin, the bones being broken: proper name of a person” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 235 Ngoru 1. a. Loose, slack, hanging in loops; whakangoru v.t. Loosen, slacken; ngarungoru a. Soft, yielding, with “tā (xi) prefix, having apparently a causative force similar to that of whaka” (p. 355)]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māori Grammars and Vocabularies</th>
<th>123</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taha A side of anything</td>
<td>[Taha] 1820 “Tahā, s. The side of anything; proper name” p. 204 [W1971 p. 357 Taha l. n. Side, margin, edge often used merely to indicate proximity]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tahawai Side of the water</td>
<td>[Taha wai] 1820 “Tāhā wai The watery side or part of any place; name of a person” * p. 204 [Not used in W1971, = waterside of tahatai = seaside]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tahi kawa A privy</td>
<td>[Tahi kawa] 1820 “Tāhi kaua; Stinking dung; name of a person” p. 204 [Obscure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tahi ngutu One lip</td>
<td>[Tahi ngutu] 1820 “Tāhi ngūtū; One lip; name of a person” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 359 Tahi (i) 1 num. One; ngutu p. 236 Ngutu n. 1. Lip]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tao A long spear</td>
<td>[The expression is crossed out]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tai A name for mother, the sea, a deity called Tai</td>
<td>[Tai] 1820 “Tai, s. A woman bearing children, an affectionate name for ‘mother’: the sea” p. 205, [W1971 p. 361 Tai (i) 1 n. The sea, generally antithetical to uta; Tai tamatane the sea on the west coast; tai tamawahine, the sea on the east coast, the latter more sheltered]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taiki Snare so called</td>
<td>[Taeke] 1820 “Taiki rau kūra; Proper name” * p. 205 [cf W1971 p. 356 Taeke 1. n. Snare; raukura n. Feather, plume (p. 329); perhaps a snare marked with a feather]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taipa River called Taipa</td>
<td>[Taipa] 1820 “Taipa, s. River so called; name of a person” p. 205 [A river entering Doubtless Bay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>English Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taka</td>
<td>Falling down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taka mudi</td>
<td>After fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Takii</td>
<td>Taking out of a boiling pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taka shorea</td>
<td>Fall causing skin to come off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Takangaroa</td>
<td>Long fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ta ki e riki</td>
<td>Taking up the cover of a boiling pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taku</td>
<td>A square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Takoto</td>
<td>Lying down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tangi hika</td>
<td>Crying for fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tangi kura</td>
<td>Bloody lamentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tangi wadu</td>
<td>Crying for the hair to be cut off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tangi ware</td>
<td>The house lamentation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Tao  
Spear  
[Tao] 1820 “Táo, s. A long spear” * p. 207  
[W1971 p. 380 Tao (i) n. Spear, about 6 ft long; tao-roa, long spear, 12 ft to 18 ft in length, used for spearing pigeons etc.]

Ko Tao ke  
A different spear  

Ko Tao puta  
Spear passing through a person  
[Tao puta] 1820 “Táo pūta; A spear passed through anything” * p. 207 tao + puta  
[W1971 p. 315 Puta (i) 1. n. Opening, hole, perforation]

Ko Tapa-ou  
(Indelicate)  
[Tapa hou] 1820 “Tāpa ou; The new Tapa” * p. 208, after “Tāpa, s. Thin cloth made of the bark of leaves of trees” [Uncertain, but ‘indelicate’ suggests a sexual connotation]

Ko Tapa-tahi  
(Ditto)  
[Tapa tahii] 1820 “Tāpa tāhi; The first Tāpa” * p. 208 [Uncertain]

Ko Tara  
Gannet  
[Tara] 1820 “Tāra, s. A gannet” p. 208  
[Actually any white-feathered seabird such as a gull, mollymawk, gannet or albatross cf W1971 pp. 386–387 Tara (iii) where epithets are noted]

Ko Tara shape  
Crooked spear  
[Tara hape] 1820 “Tāra e āpe; A missing spear, that has missed the mark” p. 208 [Cf W1971 p. 36 from Hape a. 1. Crooked]

Ko Taratara  
Rough, barbed  

Ko Ta Ra wete  
Still voice of the gannet  
[Tara wete] 1820 “Tāra wēete; A whispering gannet” * p. 208 [Fanciful, probably referring to the cries of seabirds in general (tara), perhaps from whakaweti v.t. Threaten]

Ko Taoranga  
Landing place, wharf place  
[Tauranga] 1820 “Tauranga; A landing-place, a wharf” * p. 210 [W1971 p. 396 Tau (v) v.i. 1. Alight, come to rest. 3. Come to anchor, lie to, ride at anchor, hence tauranga, taunga n. Resting place, anchorage for canoes, fishing ground]

Ko Taoraposho  
Ornament on the halberd  
[Tao rapo?] 1820 “Tao ra po e ā; A spear or halberd dressed with feathers” p. 208  
[Obscure but probably the tewhatewha, which had a distracting bunch of feathers]

Ko Taopainga  
The goodness of the spear  
[?Nonsense] 1820 derived from tao (spear) and pai-nga (goodness)]

Ko Taorau  
A hundred spears  
[? Tao (spear) + rau (hundred)]

Ko Tau dua  
Second year  
[Tau rua] 1820 “Tau dúa; The second year” * p. 210 [Cf W1971 p. 403 Taurua (ii) a. Long, of an indefinite time, but with other possible meanings e.g. rua = two]
Ko Tau matangi  The groaning year  [Another fanciful ‘explanation’ from W1971 Matangi n. Wind, breeze]

Ko Tau ngahudu  The tenth year  [Tau ngahuru] 1820 “Tau nga údu; The tenth year” * p. 210 [W1971 p. 227 “Ngahuru 1. Num. Ten This is the old word which occurs in nearly every Polynesian dialect, but has now under European influence has been superseded by tekau]

Ko Tau tadi  Surrounded with wicker work  [Tautari] 1820 “Tau tádi; A tomb surrounded with wicker work” * p. 210 [W1971 p. 403 Tautari n. 1. Upright in the wall of a native house, supporting the small battens to which the reeds of the tukutuku lattice are fastened]

Ko Tau wehe  The year gone  [Tau wehe] 1820 “Tau wehé; The past year” * p. 210 [W1971 p. 481 from Wehe a. Deficient in food; in the expression he tau wehe a year when fruit is scarce on the trees; also he tau kotipū a year with an early winter]

Ko Tahuduhudu  Taking out the hair  [Ta huruhuru] [From W1971 p. 72 Huruhuru n. 1. Coarse hair, bristles (used og various ferns and feathers]

Ko Tawa  Tree so called, also a battle, a meeting of two parties  [W1971 p. 405 Tawa n. Beilschmiedia tawa, a tree; also the fruit of the same; the other word is properly ‘tau’a’ at 1820 “Tava, s. A meeting, and army, a battle, … a tree so called” * p. 209]


Ko Tawa mahue  The deserted battle  [ Taua mahue] 1820 “Tava mahúe; The deserted fight” * p. 209 [W1971 p. 397 Taua (as above) + Mahue p. 165 (i) 2. Forsaken, deserted, given up etc.]

Ko Tawi  Wave succeeding wave by the seaside  [Tawe] 1820 “Tawi; Succession of wave upon wave, as at the sea-shore” p. 211 [W1971 p. 407 Tawe n. Noise (probably)]

Ko Tawai  Fish called Tawai  [Tawai] 1820 “Tá wai, s. A fish so called” * p. 211 [not identified, but possibly the common kahawai W1971 p. 83 Kahawai n. Arripis trutta, which Kendall does not list otherwise]

Ko Ta’Wiro  Stroke of the God Wiro  [Ta Whiro] 1820 “Tawiro; The stroke of the God Wiro” * p. 211 [From Ta (i) 3. Strike, beat with a stick etc., and Whiro (god of evil and the underworld) Here Tawhiro is an eminent chief]

Ko Tawahiti  The little fight  [Taua iti] 1820 “Tava iti: A skirmish” * p. 209 [W1971 p. 397 Taua (as above) + iti (small)]
<p>| Ko Tete | Canoe so called | [Tete] 1820 “Tête, s. A canoe so called” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 409 Tê (iv) têtê n. 1. Young shoot, frond of a plant or fern also 4. Figurehead of a canoe (without arms or legs); 5. Canoe adorned with such a figurehead] |
| Ko Ti | The root called Ti | [Ti] 1820 “Ti, s. The root called Tee, which, when baked, is very sweet” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 413 Ti (i) n. Cordyline of several species [. . .] The epithets awe, kāuka, kōuka, pua, rākau and whanake indicated Cordyline australis” the most usual species] |
| Ko Tia | Sticking feathers in the hair of the head | [Tia] 1820 “Tia (contracted for Te ia); Dressing the hair by putting a feather &amp;c into the hair” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 414 Tia (i) tiatia 1. v.i. Stick in, drive in pegs etc.; 2. Adorn by sticking in feathers] |
| Ko Tietie | Long grass called Tietie | [Tietie] 1820 “Tie tie; A species of grass: name of a person” * p. 212 [Not identified, unless it is kiekie a climbing plant of the Pandanaceae the leaves of which were used for thatch: Freycinetia banksi] |
| Ko Tidi | Drawing the seine line | [Tiri] 1820 “Tidi; Proper name for a person” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 423 “Tiri (i) 1. v.t. Throw or place one by one. 2. Plant root crops. 3. Throw a present before one etc.” Precise meaning uncertain, perhaps allusive] |
| Ko Tiro | Female (young), daughter | [Kotiro] W1971 p. 149 Kōtiro n. Girl In 1820 “Tiro, s. Looking” * p. 214, is an error |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko Tisho</th>
<th>Dance so called, to sneeze</th>
<th>[Uncertain]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Toenga</td>
<td>Remaining, remnant</td>
<td>[Toenga] 1820 “Toenga, s. The act of importuning” p. 215 [Cf W1971 p. 429 Toe (i) v.i. Be left, as a remnant, toenga n. Remnant]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Toi e Riki</td>
<td>Cleansing the ariki, or priest</td>
<td>[? Toh Ariki] 1820 “Tó Ariki; A ceremony or prayer of the Ariki. A person’s name” * p. 215 [Uncertain. Perhaps from tohi (ii) 2. v.t. Boil by means of hot stones. Ariki is problematic as it originally referred to priestly experts (tohunga = seers) and Kendall probably conceived it in a Levitical sense, but with the rise of Christianity Te Ariki was appropriated for the name of The Lord, Ihu = Jesus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tomokia</td>
<td>Entering into</td>
<td>[Tomo] 1820 “Tómo kia, or Tomo ki ia; Enter it” p. 216 [W1971 p. 435 Tomo (i) v.i. Be filled, Tomo (ii) 1. v.i. Pass on, enter, tomokanga n. 1. Entrance, gateway; Tomoa n. Abyss, modern use for a cave (ana)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tore tuna</td>
<td>Roasted gut (of Do)</td>
<td>Not in 1820 Uncertain meaning, perhaps obscene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ko Tu Standing erect [Tu] 1820 “Tu, s. Abbreviation for Atúa, the Supreme Being; … also the number Two … Name of a person” * p. 217 [Nonsense. Tū, here is the war god Tūmatuenga ‘Tū of the angry face’ but also W1971 p. 443 Tu (iii) v.i. 1. Stand, be erect]

Ko Tui Bird called Tui [Tui] 1820 “Tui, s. A bird so called. v.n. Writing, sewing, marking &c; as, “E tūi āna ki ’au ki tāku būka būka; I am writing in my book” * p. 218 [using ‘tui’ for ‘tuhi’, originally used for painting but adopted to the practice of writing when literacy was introduced. The bird Tui is the honeyeater Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae ]

Ko Tua The other side [W1971 p. 444 Tua (i) 1. Back, 2. locative n. The farther side of a solid body; 3. with mai or nei this side; 4. The time past]


Ko Tuangai Feeding [Tuangai] 1820 “Tūangai; Eating in an erect posture” * p. 218 [Uncertain]


Ko Tukunga rau One hundred resting places [Rau = a hundred and Tuku (i) v.t. can have the meaning receive, entertain, present, or offer W1971 p. 451]

Ko Tukunga wadu The eighth resting place [The above with wadu = waru]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tuku wai</td>
<td>Resting near the water (Tukuwai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tua wai roa</td>
<td>The immortal God (Tuku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tukai te hudu</td>
<td>The God partaking of the incense (Tuku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tuma kere</td>
<td>Hair dishevelled by shaking the head (Tuma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu kou</td>
<td>Swimming corpse (Tutae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu horo</td>
<td>Corpse sliding down (Tutae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu pe</td>
<td>Snare for birds (Tupe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tutaki</td>
<td>Meeting together (Tutaki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu tere</td>
<td>Corpse adrift (Tutae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tutahi</td>
<td>Dung (Tutae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tutudi</td>
<td>Bird so called (Tuturi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu ware</td>
<td>House for heads of dead bodies (Tu whare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu waka riki</td>
<td>God causing priests (Tu Whakariki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tu Ra wera</td>
<td>Wounded place (Turawera)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Takupu</td>
<td>Bird called Takapu (Te Takapu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tuku has many meanings. Here Tuku (iii) n. 1. Side, edge etc.; 2. Shore, coast is probable

[Doubtful cf W1971 p. 451

Saving in the water” p. 219

The ‘unsubstantial image, shadow’ (cf W1971 p. 477); but not an indigenous concept

Another nonsense] 1820 “Tū kai te ūdu; The Atua feasting in glory; or eating the hair, which is the emblem of glory” * p. 218

[Probably Tūmatauenga the (origin of war and balance) with kai = food and huru (or uru, W1971 p. 469 hair of the head, in the plural]

[Tuma] 1820 “Tuma kere; Disheveling the hair” * p. 219


[Tuwhare n. Saliva = huwhare, from, Tiwha, tuha (ii) 1. Spit, expectorate]

[Obscure: wera is connected with heat and tura with warning]

[Te Takapu] 1820 “Tākapu, s. A bird so called” * p. 206
| Ko te Tao | The spear | [Te Tao] 1820 “Tao, s. A long spear” * p. 207 [W1971 p. 380 (i) n. Spear, about 6ft long, for birds] |
| Ko te Tao nui | The great spear | [Te Taonui] 1820 “Tao nui, A great spear” * p. 207 [Cf W1971 p. 380 (i) n. Tao-roa, long spear 12 ft to 18 ft in length] |
| Ko te Taonga | The property | [Te Taonga] 1820 “Taonga, Property procured by the spear” * p. 207 [W1971 p. 381 Taonga n. Property, anything highly prized. Not particularly associated with tao = spear, as taonga is a verbal noun] |
| Ko te Tatera | The trumpet | [Te Tatara] W1971 p. 300 Pūpū-tara, pūpū-tūtara, Charonia lampas capax a large Ranellid trumpet shell, or triton, also called pūtātara, pūtara etc.] |
| Ko te Taweta | Laying anything on a cross tree | [Te Taweta] 1820 “Tāweta; Hanging up anything on the ārārau or crossline” * p. 211 [?W1971 p. 408 Īwēhē 1. v.i. Writhe, flounder 2. Dangle] |
| Ko te Tiki | To see, or procure, to bring near | [Te Tiki] 1820 “Tiki, s. A particular mark on the face of females” * p. 213 [Presumably a form of facial moko] Also Tiki (i) v.t. 1. Fetch] |
| Ko te Todu | The third | [Te Toru] 1820 “Todu, a. Three; also a proper name” * p. 214 [W1971 p. 441 Toru (ii) num. Three, third] |
| Ko te Todu po | The third night | [Te Toru po] 1820 “Todu po; Three nights” * p. 215 [Probably an invented phrase] |
| Ko te Toki kai | Bringing food | [Tokikai] [Probably an invented phrase] |
| Ko te Tuidi | The suspended corpse | [Te Tuiri] [Probably an invented phrase] Incomplete |

**W**

W and WH, not distinguished until the 1840s, are filed together

Ko Waidua  Spirit  [Wairua] 1820 “Waidùa, s. A spirit” p. 222  
Unsubstantial image, shadow]

Ko Waikakadii  Water so called  [Wai kakari] 1820 “Wai kakadii; Name of a person” * p. 222  
[Probably a place name and 
may be Karikari Moana or Rangaunu Bay]

Ko Waikamama  Noisy water  [Wai kamama] 1820 “Wai kamama; Water 
overflowing” * p. 222  
[Perhaps a place name 
wai (water) and kama, (i) a. Eager, kakama a. 
Quick, nimble; kamakama a. Joyous etc.]

Ko Waikato  Productive water  [Waikato] 1820 “Waikato; A river so called: 
proper name” * p. 222  
[A place name wai (water) + W1971 p. 104 Kato (ii) a. Flowing, 
flood (of the tide only)]

Ko Waihou  New water  [Waihou] 1820 “Wai óu; The feathery water; 
a person so called” * p. 222  
[Waihou, name 
of several rivers, esp. That of the upper 
Hokianga Harbour]

Ko Waipu  Pond of water  [Waipu] 1820 “Wai pu; A pond. Proper 
name” * p. 222  
[Waipu, an area near 
Whangarei]

Ko Waikowow  Instruction by water, 
means of water  [Waikauau] 1820 “Waikauau; Water in a 
running state, as a stream” p. 222  
[Probably a place name]

Ko Wainga  Field, disputation  [Waenga] 1820 “Wáingga, s. The time or act 
of disputation” p. 222  
[W1971 p. 472 Wae, 
waawae v.t. 1. Divide, part, separate; waenga 
n. Circumstance, time or place of dividing]

Ko-Waingadudu  [Term deleted]

Ko Waka  Canoe  [Waka] 1820 “Wáka; A canoe” * p. 223  

Ko Waka ka  Causing a flame  [Whakakā] 1820 “Waka kā; Causing to burn” 
* p. 223  
[W1971 p. 81 Kā (i) v.i. Take fire, be 
lighted, burn, with causative prefix whaka-]

Ko Waka a Tu  Canoe of a corpse  [waka a Tū] 1820 “Wáka tū; A canoe for 
carrying the dead” * p. 223  
[uncertain but cf 
whakaatu v.t. 1. Point out, show]

Ko Wakarau  Gathering slaves  [whakarau] 1820 “Waka rau; Collecting a 
number together, as slaves, prisoners &c” * p. 
224  
[Causative prefix with rau = 100]

223  
[W1971 p. 27, 45 with causative prefix whaka- 
as whakaeke (6) and whakaheke (6)]

Ko Wakarau  Gathering slaves  [whakarau] 1820 “Waka rau; Collecting a 
number together, as slaves, prisoners &c” * p. 
224  
[Causative prefix with rau = 100]

Ko Waka tere  Swift canoe  [Wh]aka tere] 1820 “Wāka tēre; Swift 
canoe” * p. 223  
[W1971 p. 412 Tere (i) l. v.i. 
Drift, float, swim etc., whakatere v.t. 1. Buoy 
up, steer, whakatere tere v.t. 1. Make to float]
Ko Wanga dudu  Bush or close seat  [Whangaruru] 1820 “Wānga dúdu; A closed seat”  
   * p. 224 [A place name from Whanga l n. Bay, bight, harbour e.g. Whangarei, 
   Whangaroa and Whangaruru a harbour south of Cape Brett; the real meaning would appear 
   to be sheltered harbour]

Ko Wanui  Breadth or broad part  [Whanui] 1820 “Wā nui; Large foundation”  

Ko Warakie  Healing a sore  [Wharaki] 1820 “Waraki; The act of healing”  

Ko Ware  House  [Whare] 1820 “Wāre, s. A house”  * p. 225 

Ko Ware madu  Shady house  [Whare maru] 1820 “Wāre Mádu; A shady house”  
   * p. 225 [Figurative usage from maru W1971 p. 184 Maru 2. Shadow 7 a. Shaded, 
   sheltered, (used of the declining sun) etc.]

Ko Ware mokaikai  House for cured heads  [Whare mōkaikai] 1820 “Wāre mo kaikai; A 
   house for cured heads”  * p. 225 [Cured heads (mōkaikai) were traded for goods to ships 
   during the period of the musket wars 1810–1830]

Ko Ware rau  A hundred houses  [Wharerau] 1820 “Ware rau; The hundredth house”  
   * p. 225 [An artificial term from whare (house) and rau (hundred)]

Ko Wata  Scaffold for victuals  [Whata] 1820 “Wata; A platform, or scaffold 
   for stores …”  * p. 226 [W1971 p. 490 Whata 1. n. Elevated stage for storing food and for 
   other purposes]

Ko Watarau  A hundred scaffolds  [Whatarau] [Dubious]

Ko Wawe  Hastily  [Wawe] 1820 “Wawe, ad. Shortly; name of a 

Ko We  Caterpillar called We  [Whē] 1820 “We, s. A caterpillar”  * p. 226 
   [W1971 p. 493 Whē n. 1. Caterpillar (not a specific kind, unless ergaps that of the 
   porina moth, parasitized by Cordyceps robertsi. Whe is also used of the endemic 
   giant stick insect Argosarchus horridus, Phasmatidae]

Ko Wedi  [Weri] 1820 “Wedi, s. A dead body placed 
   under a fall of water”  p. 226 [This was obviously nonsense and Kendall has crossed 
   the term out]

Ko Wedu  Garment called Wedu  [Weru] 1820 “Wedu, s. A garment so called. 
   Proper name”  * p. 227 [W1971 p. 482 Weru (i), weweru and weruweru n. Garment, used 
   of fine mats with broad decorative borders]
Ko Wei  Supposed line between the corpse on earth and the soul above  [Wehi] 1820 “Wéi; Afraid: proper name of a person”  * p. 227  [W1971 p. 481  Wehi 1. v.i. Be afraid, whakawehi v.i. Terrify]

Ko Weto  Person neglected at meals  [Wheto?] 1820 “Weto; A person neglected or unasked, at meals”  * p. 227  [Obscure]


Ko Witi  Appearing at a distance  [Whiti] 1820 “Witi, s. Appearing”  * p. 227  [W1971 p. 497 Whiti (i) 1. v.i. Cross over, reach the opposite side]


Ko Witinga  Appearance at a distance  [Whitinga] 1820 “Witinga; An appearance …”  * p. 228  Cf Whiti, above with verbal noun form

Ko Wiwia  Snare made of long rushes  [Wiwia] 1820 “Wiwia; A snare made of rushes, long grass &c”  * p. 228  [W1971 438 Wi n. 3 Juncus polyanthemos and other species of rushes; wiwī 1 Juncus spp., now Juncus edgariae Edgar’s rush]


Ko te Wahahika  Halbart [sic] War instrument  [Te Wahaika] 1820 “Waha ika; The spear having its top nearly in the form of a quadrant”  * p. 221  [W1971 p. 473 Wahaika n. A weapon of bone or wood (a) = tewhatewha or (b) a sort of mere. The business end is pointed, the other end decorative, with a bunch of feathers]


Ko te Wairo  The dogs hair of a dog  [Te Waero] 1820 “Wairo; Hair used in mats as an ornament”  * p. 222  [Cf W1971 p. 473 Waero n. Tail of an animal; (2) Hair of a dog’s tail; Kahu-waero a cloak covered with the hair of dogs tails]

Ko te Waitapu  The sacred water  [Te Waitapu] 1820 “Wai tapu; Sacred water”  * p. 223  [Or perhaps wāhi tapu, a sacred place; the expression is not used in W1971]

Ko te Waitoi  Baptismal water  [Te Waitoi] 1820 “Wai toi; Baptismal water”  p. 223  [Doubtfull]
| Ko te Wao    | The nail | [Whao] 1820 “Wao, s. A nail, chisel” * p. 225 [W1971 p. 488 Whao (i) 1. v.t. *Perforate, chisel out; 2. n. Chisel; Steel nails, used as chisels in woodcarving]  
| Ko te Waraupo | Place producing the reed Raupo | [Te Whāraupo] 1820 “Wa raupo; The place bearing or producing the reed or flag called Raupo” p. 225 [Cf W1971 p. 488 Wha (iii) 1. Leaf, particularly, if not exclusively applied to one with a sheathing base; Whara (i) n. A plant, possibly applied to any plant with ensiform leaves such as Typha [...] also a pad of raupō leaves lashed over the caulking of the rauawa of a canoe; raupō or bulrush Typha orientalis, Typhaceae]  
| Ko te Warehumu | The Bakehouse | [Whare umu] 1820 “Wāre umu, A house for baking victuals” * p. 115 [Probably fanciful; umu is an earth oven (= hāngi). Also the name of the Ngā Puhí chief killed in 1828]  
| Ko te Ware kuta | House in which grass grows | [Te Wharekuta] 1820 “Wāre kūta; A house in which the grass grows” * p. 225 [Another fanciful derivation’ from kūta (= kukuta, kutakuta) n. is the rush formerly called Scirpus lacustris, a sedge in the Cyperaceae but the one known to Kendall would probably have been the true kūta, now called Eleocharis sphacelata, with hollow stems. Confusingly also called kūta is another species Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani (previously Schoenoplectus validus or Scirpus lacustris)] with the Māori names kāpūngāwhā, paopao, papao, kutakuta, kōpūpū, kōpūngāwhā, kōpūngāwhā, kūta, kūkuta, wāwā, kūwāwā, ngāwāhā, pūwāwā The English names are ‘lake club-rush, soft-stem bulrush, true bulrush’. Both were used for weaving. The name given by Kendall just means ‘where the kūta grows’]  
| Ko te Ware nui | The large house | [Te Wharenui] 1820 “Wāre núi; The large house” 8 p. 225 [W1971 p. 489 Whare 1. n. *House, hut, shed, habitation, but more particularly a house for meetings (wharenui = meeting house), latterly elaborately carved, and so called whare whakairo from the ornamentation]  
| Ko te Ware papa | The boarded house | [Te Wharepapa] 1820 “Wāre pāpa; A house made of boards” * p. 226 [Probably a weather-boarded house, such as the missionaries imported from ca 1820]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Wata</td>
<td>The scaffold for provisions</td>
<td>[Te Whata] 1820 “Wata; A platform … proper name” * p. 226 [W1971 p. 490 Whata l. n. Elevated stage for storing food and for other purposes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Wata Poteto</td>
<td>The scaffold for Potatoes</td>
<td>[Te Whata Poteto] 1820 “Wāta parēte; Scaffold for potatoes: name of a person. This is perhaps a corruption of the word potatoo.” * p. 226 [An obvious case of a neologism, but riwai is the more general name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te We</td>
<td>The caterpillar</td>
<td>[Te Whē] 1820 “We, s. A caterpillar” * p. 226 [See above, under Ko We]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Werewere</td>
<td>The suspension</td>
<td>[Te Werewere] 1820 “Were were, v.n. Hanging upon any thing” p. 227 [W1971 p. 482 Were, werewere v.i. Hang, be suspended]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>There was no use of S in the 1820 edition of Kendall’ Grammar. At the end of the list in 1827–1831 a column with Sh for H is added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shaka</td>
<td>Dance called Shaka</td>
<td>[Haka] 1820 “A´ka, s. A war dance; also the proper name of a person” * p. 133 [W1971 p. 31 Haka (i) 1. v.i. Dance 2. n. Sing a song to be accompanied by a dance; 3. n. Dance]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shaku</td>
<td>Fish called Shaku</td>
<td>[Haku] 1820 “A´ku, s. Name of a certain shell-fish; also the proper name of a person” * p. 133 [species unknown, unless it is haku = Seriola grandis the yellow-tail kingfish cf W1971 p. 32]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shake</td>
<td>Wood for Wahahika [wahaika] or halberd</td>
<td>[Ake] 1820 “Ake, s. name of a certain tree; also the proper name of a person” * p. 133 [The tree is Ake or Akekake (Dodonea viscosa), but the term ‘halberd’ was probably intended for the tewhatewha, also called Wahaiika]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shange</td>
<td>Tree called Shange</td>
<td>[Hange] 1820 has “A´ngi; name of a certain tree” p. 134 but used the same term for “A´ngi [i.e. Hangi] a native oven”; the tree is probably the shrub Hangehange (Geniostoma ligustrifolium) cf W1971 p. 34, also called hengehenga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Sharo</td>
<td>To peel off the skin, to dress flax</td>
<td>[Haro] 1820 “Aro, s. A flaying or skinning of a person” p. 136 [W1971 p. 38, Haro. 1. v.t. Scrape clean]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shauraki</td>
<td>River Thames (NZ)</td>
<td>[Hauraki Gulf, where the later city of Auckland was to be sited]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shautodu</td>
<td>Stone to grind red ochre</td>
<td>[Hautoru?] 1820 “Au Tōdu; A stone for bruising red ochre” * p. 149 [Ochre was burned, crushed and mixed with oil to produce kōkōwai for rites]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shautakidi</td>
<td>Skinning alive</td>
<td>[Hau takiri?] 1820 “Au ta kidi; A scalped head” * p. 149 [Uncertain but hau = wind, and kiri = skin so to do with scalping]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shautukia</td>
<td>Beating and killing</td>
<td>[Hau tukia] 1820 “Au Tukia; Killed with the wind” * p. 149 [Obscure, perhaps meaning exposed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shua Making</td>
<td>[illegible]</td>
<td>[Hokari] 1820 “O’kahi, v.n. Stepping, or skipping, upon the ground” * p. 141 [Cf W1971 p. 56 Hokari v.i Stretch out one’s legs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shokai</td>
<td>Stepping a pace</td>
<td>[Horo] 1820 “O’ro, s. Gargling the throat” * p. 144 [Cf W1971 p. 61 hohoro a. Quick, speedy; whakahorohoro v.t. Hurry, hasten and Horo (iii) = horomi v.t. Swallow, and horohorore v.t. To eat greedily (gobble)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shoro</td>
<td>Swallowing quick</td>
<td>[Hōtete] 1820 “O’tete; A variegated worm like a caterpillar” * p. 144 [W1971 “Hōtete, n. A large caterpillar, larva of Sphinx convolvuli” p. 62 Also called awhato etc. now called Agrius convolvuli or Convolvulus Hawk Moth]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shua Making</td>
<td>base</td>
<td>[Hau] [Uncertain]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Shau</td>
<td>The wind</td>
<td>[Hau] [W1971 p. 38 Hau (i) n. 1. Wind, air]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Shaupa</td>
<td>The beating wind</td>
<td>[Hau pā] 1820 “Aupa, s. A beating wind” * p. 149 [W1971 p. 244 Pā (iv) v.i. Blow, as the wind]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko te Shauparo  The spreading wind  [Hau paro] 1820 “Au páro, s. A long beating wind” * p. 149 [Cf Paro (i) v.l. Stray, wander, perhaps blustery]


Proper Names of Places

As with the “Proper names of Persons”, most of these place names are recorded in the 1820 vocabulary. The use of “*” in the following list should be taken as “Name of a certain place”. The derivations supplied by Kendall are often fanciful and repetitive, and many have already been listed above. There seemed little point in repeating them again here.

A
Ko Arahi te Hudu  Directing the swelling billows  [Arahi te uru] 1820 “Aráhi te údu, s. Name of a certain place” p. 136 In the Hokianga tradition, Araiteuru is one of the two Taniwha which guard the Harbour, the other being Niwa.

Ko te Ahuahu  The collection, gathering together  [Te Ahuahu] 1820 “Ahu ahu; Name of a certain place” p. 133 [A hill with a pā site near Lake Ōmapere]

Ko te Araroa  The long road  [Te Araroa] 1820 Ara roa; A long road; also the proper name of a person” p. 136, but not here identified as a place name. Not the same as the much-promoted modern commercial walkway.

D
Ko Dimu Rapa  A stone so called  [Rimurapa] 1820 “Dimu rápa; Name of a place” p. 150. Actually this is the name of a seaweed.

Ko Dipiro  The sea sand so called  [Ripiro] 1820 “Dipiro, s. A certain sandy coast on the western side of New Zealand” p. 150 [On the Kaipara Coast = Ripiro Beach 107km, from Pouto Peninsula to Maunganui Bluff]

Ko Duatara  Hill called Duatara  [Ruatara] 1820 “Dúa tára; House or tomb frequented by gannets; also the proper name of a person” p. 151, but not as a place-name. The word is Ruatara, from the chief of that name, at Rangihoua, d. 1815. ‘Gannet’ is Kendall’s name for most seabirds.

Ko Duangongoro  The snoring vault, or tomb  [Ruangongoro] 1820 “Dúa ngóngoro; The snoring house, also the name of a certain place” p. 151 [Unidentified]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko Dua Paheu</th>
<th>Wood called Dua Paheu</th>
<th>Ruapehu 1820 “Düa Pāheu; Name of a certain place” p. 151 Kendall would not have known of the large distant volcano of that name, far to the south.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Dua Tangata</td>
<td>The man’s tomb</td>
<td>Te Ruatangata 1820 “Dúa tāngata; A man’s sepulchre. Name of a certain place” p. 151 [Near Whangarei]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>The next four entries were added after K and are marked as an insertion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Hawa Marae</td>
<td>The river of the place of interment</td>
<td>Te Awa Marae 1820 “A’wa Márai; Name of a place” p. 137 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Hawa tuna</td>
<td>The river abounding in eels</td>
<td>Te Awa tuna 1820 “A’wa tuna; ditto [i.e. “Name of a place”] p. 137 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Hishu tahi</td>
<td>The one nostril</td>
<td>Te Ihu tahi 1820 “Híhiu táhi; Name of a certain place” p. 154 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Hi ano</td>
<td>Angling</td>
<td>Te Hiano 1820 “Hi ano; Name of a certain place” p. 154 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>K</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kohuduanake</td>
<td>Only sacrifice</td>
<td>The entry is out of order and is repeated below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kaduidui</td>
<td>A shag</td>
<td>Kāruhiruhu 1820 “Ka dúi dúi; Name of a certain bird. Also the proper name of a place” p. 154 [W1971 p. 102, the pied shag (Phalacrocorax varius), a variety of cormorant]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kahia</td>
<td>A sacred mark</td>
<td>Not in 1820 [W 1971 p. 83 Kāhia n. 1. Tetrapathea tetrandra, a plant = kōhia. 4. A pattern of ornamental scroll carving for wall slabs of a house. This refers to the tendrils of the native passionflower. The ‘sacred mark’ refers to a a tattoo figure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kahika te Tawa</td>
<td>The slaughter commenced</td>
<td>Not in 1820 [‘Tawa’ is tāua]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai hiki</td>
<td>A nurse</td>
<td>Kaihiki 1820 “Kai iki; The support of a nurse” * p. 156 [W1971 p. 49 Hiki 1. v.t. 2. Carry in the arms, nurse, hence Kaihiki, one who nurses. Other name appear implausible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai katea roa</td>
<td>The long line called Kaikatea</td>
<td>1820 “Kai ka tēa roa’ Name of a certain place” p. 156 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai Manu</td>
<td>Bird’s food</td>
<td>1820 “Kai Mānu; Name of a certain place; also food for birds” p. 157 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai Mata</td>
<td>Food of shot, raw food</td>
<td>1820 “Kai Mātau; ditto [i.e. Name of a certain place]; also raw food” p. 157 [‘mata’ here is the new term for gunshot; there is some confusion with ‘Kainga mata’ also p. 157]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Kai Ou</td>
<td>Feathered food</td>
<td>Kāhōu?] 1820 “Kai O’u, Name of a certain wood” p. 157 [Unidentified]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Kai Ra  The Sun’s heat  1820 “Kai ra, v.a. Name of a certain place” p. 157 [Dubious]
Ko Kai Para  Savoury meat  [Kaipara] 1820 “Kai pāra; Proper name of a place” p. 157 [Kaipara is traditionally associated with the edible root para (king fern, Ptisana salicina, formerly Marratia) and the derivation is wrong]
Ko Karangu  Tree so called  1820 “Karangū; Name of a certain tree” p. 160 [W1971 p. 98, Karangū or Karamū, (Coprosma robusta)]
Ko Kohuduanake  Only sacrifices or victims killed  [kōhuru anake] [Cf 1820 p. 165 “Kohudu, s. A person slain” here ‘slain without exception’ and anake ad. ‘Only’]
Ko Komadinginoa  Spilling on the ground without cause  [Maringi] 1820 “Komadingi noa; Name of a place” p. 166 [From W1971 p. 182 Maringi v.i. Be spilt, flow. Māringiringi v.i. Be spilt little by little. The particle has been duplicated. Place not identified]
Ko Kopako
Ko Kouairanga  An heap of chins  [Kauaeranga] 1820 “Kouai, s. The chin … and the name of a certain place” p. 169 [W1971 p. 105 Kauae, kauwai n. 1 Jaw. 2. Chin. Kauaeranga is a location in the Hauraki Gulf where spars were gathered. The vowel is incorrect]
Ko Korora reka  Sweet albatross  [Kororāreka] 1820 “Kōrora réka; The sweet penguin; also the name of a certain place” p. 168 [Kororareka now Russell, Bay of Islands. ‘reka’ here is ‘Sweet, palatable’ as of food]
Ko Kura  Red, bloody  [Kura] 1820 “Kura, s. … Redness” but not as a place name W1971 p. 157 Kura (i) 1. a. Red, glowing, cf ʻura, often in compound words]
Ko te Karaka  The fruit  [Karaka] 1820 “Karaka, s. A certain fruit tree” * p. 159 [W1971 p. 98 Karaka n. 1. Corynocarpus laevigatus, a tree and fruit of the same’ the drupe can be eaten but the kernel is toxic]
Ko te Kauakaua  The stone called kawakaua  [Kawakawa] 1820 “Kaua kaua; A species of stone: proper name of a person and place” p. 161 [Kawakawa is a variety of nephrite jade]
Ko te Kedikedi  The waterfall  [Kirikiri] 1820 “Kiri kiri; Gravel: the name of a place” p. 163 [W1971 p. 114 Kerikeri 1. v.t. Dig up repeatedly. Formerly a mission station, now a township, ‘Kerikeri’, where there is a waterfall called Waianiwaniwa (Rainbow fall)]

Ko te Kidikidi  The skin, the surface, also pebbles  Same as the last

Ko te Kok’wai  The red ochre  [Kōkōwai] 1820 “Koko,ai, s. Red ochre … name of a certain place” p. 166 [‘Koko,ai’ is a typographic error for ‘Koko’ai’. The ochre was mixed with oil and used for personal ornamentation]

Ko te Korotangi  The word is deleted but W1971 p. 146 says: Korotangi n. Pit for storing kumara etc.]


Ko te Kowai

M


Ko Machoro  An entrenchment, a fence or fortification  [Maero] 1820 “Má e óro; An entrenchment; a ditch” * p. 172 [W1971 p. 162 “Maero (ii) 1. n. Channel, race for water”]

Ko Manaihia  Craggy rocks  [Manaia] 1820 “Manai ia; Proper name, also the name of a certain place; uneven rocks” p. 174 [A rock formation (crater remnant) at Whangarei Harbour: ‘Mount Manaia’]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manawa tawi</td>
<td>Supposed exterior termination of the breath of life</td>
<td>[Manawatawhi] 1820 “Manáwa táwi; The rocks called the Three Kings” p. 175 [An island group to the north, named by Captain Cook]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manga Kahia</td>
<td>The sacred mark with the Manga</td>
<td>[Mangakahia] 1820 “Mánga káhia; A mountain so called” p. 175 [Manga = branch, kahia is a climbing plant but here it is Mangakahia, a range of hills and river near Whangarei]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manga Kauakaua</td>
<td>The branches of the tree called Kauakaua</td>
<td>[Maungakawakawawa] “Maunga kaua kaua; Place so called” p. 179 [A place (unidentified) from the plant Kawakawa (<em>Macropiper excelsum</em>)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manga Kidikidi</td>
<td>Term deleted</td>
<td>1820 “Mánga kídi kídi [Place so called]” p. 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manga Parapara</td>
<td>Fish so called</td>
<td>1820 “Mánga parapara, [Place so called]” p. 175 [Probably from W1971 p. 261 Pára <em>Lepidopus caudatus</em>, the frostfish, but probably confused with Mangā n. 1 <em>Thysites atun</em>, (barracouta, snoek or snake mackerel) which looks somewhat similar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manga Turoto</td>
<td>The branch with the corpse within</td>
<td>[Mangaturoto] 1820 “Mánga turoto [Place so called]” p. 175 [A nonsense: actually ‘Maungaturoto’ which means ‘mountain standing in a lake’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mango Nui</td>
<td>The great shark</td>
<td>[Mangonui] 1820 “Mángo, s. A shark” p. 175 [W1971 p. 178 Mangō n. Shark, dogfish, but according to Williams ‘Mangō-nui’ is an unidentified species]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Manu kau</td>
<td>All birds</td>
<td>[Manukau] 1820 “Manu kau; Name of a certain river” p. 175 [Actually of a large west coast harbour]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mapuna</td>
<td>An enclosure in a rock – petrifaction</td>
<td>[Mapuna] 1820 “Mapūna, s. (A thing) enclosed in stone” p. 176 [Apparently ‘fossil’ but not attested by Williams and there seems to be no Māori tradition concerning fossils]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Maunga Kauakaua</td>
<td>The mountain on which is the stone Kauakaua</td>
<td>[Maungakawakawawa] 1820 “Maunga kauakaua; Place so called” p. 179 [A place south of Kaikohe, probably referring to the plant (<em>Macropiper</em>), not the stone, a form of jade]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Maunga nui</td>
<td>The great mountain</td>
<td>[Maunganui] 1820 “Maunga núi; A hill so called” p. 179 [Refers to Maunganui Bluff, north of Dargaville, the site of the battle Moremonui, 1807]</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ko Maunga pare dua</td>
<td>The Mountain with</td>
<td>[Maungaparerua] 1820 “Maunga páre dúa: Name of a wood” p. 179 [a descriptive name of a hill near Kerikeri, with two peaks]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the crown over the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>door of the storehouse</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[with deleted text: The mountain on which are two hills or crowns]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[?] a fishhook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mataka</td>
<td>The flaming face of</td>
<td>1820 “Mataká; A certain high hill” p. 177 [W1971 p. 187 Matakā (i) matakakā, a. 1. Red but also]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the Hill. A mountain</td>
<td>(iii) n. A sacred plot set aside in a kumara field. Mataka Station is a property near Kerikeri, Northland]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conspicuous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motiti</td>
<td>The little island,</td>
<td>[Motiti] 1820 “Motiti; Name of a certain small island” p. 182 [Probably one of several such]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from Motu iti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu dua</td>
<td>The second island</td>
<td>[Moturua] 1820 “Mótu dua’ The second island” p. 183 [Moturua. An island in the Bay of Islands, near Motukiekie]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu hone</td>
<td>The sandy island</td>
<td>[Motuone] 1820 “[Mótu] óne; The sandy island” p. 183 [There is a small island with this name in the Te Puna Inlet]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu hunga</td>
<td>The adjoining island</td>
<td>[Motuhunga] 1820 “[Mótu] únga; The island so called” p. 183 [Not identified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu karaka</td>
<td>The fruit island</td>
<td>[Motukaraka] 1820 “[Mótu] karáka; The fruit island” p. 183 [Evidently a descriptive term for an Island with a cover of karaka trees (Corynocarpus laevigatus), but there is a island with this name in the Hokianga Harbour]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu kokako</td>
<td>The island of the bird called kokako</td>
<td>[Motukokako] 1820 “[Mótu] kókako; An island so called” p. 183 [Piercy Island or ‘the Hole in the Rock’, at the top of Cape Brett; Kōkako or wattled crow, (Callaeas cinerea)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu koudi</td>
<td>The island producing the pine Koudi</td>
<td>[Motukauri] 1820 “[Mótu] koudi; An island so called; or the island producing a species of pine called Koudi” p. 183 [There is such an island in Whangaroa Harbour, Motukauri]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu Orangi</td>
<td>The spreading island</td>
<td>[Motuorangi] 1820 “[Mótú] o rángi ́ the island of heaven” p. 183 [A small islet near Paihia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu roa</td>
<td>The long island</td>
<td>[Moturoa] 1820 “[Mótú] ráoa; The long island” p. 183 [Another island in the Bay of Islands, north of Paihia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu tapu</td>
<td>The sacred island</td>
<td>[Motutapu] 1820 “[Mótú] tápu; The sacred island” p. 183 [There are several with this name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu Takapu</td>
<td>Island of the bird called Takapu</td>
<td>[Motutakapu] 1820 “[Mótú] tákapu; The island of the birds called Tákapu” p. 183 [Takapu is the gannet, (Morus serrator), but Kendall seems confused; tara are terns of any kind]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu Tara</td>
<td>Gannet Island</td>
<td>[Motutara] 1820 “[Mótú] tára; The Island of gannets” p. 183 [See previous entry. Also the gannet, (Morus serrator); there is such a small island in the Bay of Islands]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu Tere</td>
<td>Swift Island</td>
<td>[Motutere] 1820 “[Mótú] tere; The swimming island” p. 183 [There may have been several islands of this name, but W1971 p. 212 has Motutere = moutere n. Island. Motu is a contraction of the word]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu Tui</td>
<td>Island of the bird called Tui</td>
<td>[Motutui] 1820 “[Mótú] túi; The island of the bird called Túi” p. 183 [There was an island of this name near Kendall’s station at Rangihoua]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Motu Taua</td>
<td>Island producing the tree called Taua</td>
<td>[Motutawa] 1820 “[Mótú] taua; The island of the tree called Taua” p. 183 [The island has not been identified: Tawa (Beilschmiedia tawa)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mudi Motu</td>
<td>The after island</td>
<td>[Murimotu] 1820 “Muri mátu; An island at the extremity of any country” * p. 183 [Actually an island off North Cape, at the extremity of New Zealand]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mudi wenua</td>
<td>The after land</td>
<td>[Muriwhenua] 1820 “Múdi wenua; the land at the extreme point” * p. 183 [Also Te Hiku o Te Ika = Tail of the Fish, a collective term for the six northernmost tribes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Manga heke</td>
<td>The cast away branch like a wreck</td>
<td>[Te Mangaheke] 1820 “Manga ēke; Place so called” p. 175 [Not identified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Manga Tu</td>
<td>The branch bearing a dead body</td>
<td>[Te Mangatū] 1820 “Manga tu; [Place so called]” p. 175 [A place south of Hokianga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Moa</td>
<td>The coal</td>
<td>[Te Moa] 1820 “Moa, s. A stone” * p. 181 [W1971 p. 204 Moa (i) 2. A stone found in spherical masses; some compound of iron. Also called moamoa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori Grammars and Vocabularies</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ko te Mokaikai**  
The cured head  
[Te Mokaikai] 1820 “Mokai kai; The heads of enemies preserved to look at” p. 182  
[W1971 p. 207 mokomoko n. 1. Head, cf mōkaikai 2. Dried human head. Such objects were traded]

**N**  
**Ko Niwa**  
A goddess called Niwa  
Not in 1820. In traditions Niwa was one of two *taniwha* who guarded the north and south heads of Hokianga Harbour; his counterpart was Āraiteuru at the South. A sort of Scylla and Charybdis myth, if Kendall had understood it properly.

**Ko Nga Dua wai**  
The watery storehouses  
[Ruawai?] 1820 “Dūa wai; The watery Dūa” p. 151  
[W1971 p. 350 a pit or hole or store for provisions; in poetry = abyss; hence Ruawai, v.t. Vomit liquid, (spew) used figuratively as a geyser, volcano etc.]

**O**  
At least some instances of these mames have a prefixed locative particle e.g. “Oma pere” is properly “Ōmapere” (the domain of Pere, a fire goddess, according to Stowell).

**Ko Oduodu**  
Close place  
Not in 1820 [W1971 p. 242 Ororu, n. Rough, broken water, from Oru (i) 2. Rough, of the sea]

**Ko Okai ou**  
Eating feathers  
[Ōkai hou] 1820 “O kai O’u, s. Name of a certain wood” p. 141  
[Probably the place Ōkaihau, near Kaikohe]

**Ko Okaka**  
River so called  
[Ōkākā] 1820 “Okāka, s. Name of a river” p. 141  
[Probably ‘place of kaka (parrots), near Kaikohe]

**Ko Okura**  
Red place  
[Ōkura] 1820 “O’kura; Name of a certain place” p. 142  
[A river near Kerikeri]

**Ko Okahu**  
Place of arrival  
[Ōkahu] 1820 “O’kahu, s. Name of a place” p. 141  
[Place of Kahu] or place of hawks (kāhu) or cloaks (kahu) etc. Bay of Islands]

**Ko Oma pere**  
Large lake  
[Ōmapere] 1820 “O’ma pere; Name of a certain lake” p. 142  
[A shallow lake near Kaikohe]

**Ko One roa**  
Long land  
[Oneroa] 1820 “O´ne roa; The long sand: also the name of a certain place” p. 142  
[Correctly Te Oneroa a Tohe = ‘Ninety-mile Beach’ near Kaitaia]

**Ko One wero**  
Red land  
[Onewhero] 1820 “O´ne wero’ The red sand: also the name of a certain place” p. 142  
[Near Moruroa Island, Kerikeri Inlet]

**Ko Ora ora**  
Very healthy  
[Oraora] 1820 “O’ra óra; Name of a certain place” p. 143  
[Perhaps Horahora near Whangarei, or Houhora on the Aupouri Peninsula ‘Mount Camel’]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Translation and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Oshi</td>
<td>Bird called Oshi [Ohi] 1820 “Ohii, s. Name of a certain place; also a certain bird” p. 141 [The bird is Hihi = stitchbird (<em>Notiomystis cincta</em>)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Onoke</td>
<td>A different splice [Hono kē] 1820 “Unōke; Name of a place” p. 147? But see 1820 “Ono, s. A joint or splice” p. 142 i.e. <em>Hono</em> cf W1971 p. 58 <em>Hono</em> (i) 1. v.t. Splice, join; with kē a. different]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ou ora</td>
<td>The good feather [Houhora] 1820 “Ou O’ra; A good feather” * p. 149 [Probably the place name Houhora as above]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ora nui</td>
<td>The great recovery [Te Oranui] 1820 “O’ra Nūi; Name of a certain place; as, “Ko te O’ra Nūi” p. 143 [Uncertain]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ou tore</td>
<td>The red bill’s feather [Te Houtore?] Perhaps a confusion. Cf W1971 p. 62 “Hou (i), n. Feather (probably strictly tail feather)” [Possibly the a reference to Amokura = red-tailed tropic bird (<em>Phaethon rubricauda</em>)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Ou Ounga</td>
<td>The Ounga’s feather [Te Houhounga?] Meaning obscure. Cf W1971 p. 63 Houanga an interval of time, definite or indefinite]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Many of these names have “pā” (fortified settlement) prefixed, (1820 “Pa, s. An elevated village” p. 186) but ‘pa’ is so common that the explanation of names seem forced and unlikely. Paetahi for instance is given in Williams, 1971 pp. 244 with no less than 21 usages, 11 as a noun, mostly relating to the idea of a border. ‘Paetahi’ might mean ‘first town’ but might mean something else, depending on the context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pae tahi</td>
<td>The first town [Pā etahi? Or Pae tahi?] 1820 “Pa e táhi; Name of a place” p. 186 [Meaning obscure]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pa kanae</td>
<td>The mullet fish town [Pā kanae] 1820 “Pakanāe, s. Name of a place” p. 187 [A village at Hokianga; <em>kanae</em> is the fish <em>Mugil cephalus</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pairoke</td>
<td>Dry dunged villages [Paeroke?] 1820 “Pairóke; Name of a certain place” p. 187 [Meaning obscure or mistaken, but roke = excrement]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Panananane-[]</td>
<td>Mountains so called [Pangaru] 1820 “Pangadu, s. A mountain so called” p. 188 [Pangaru Mountain at Hokianga, site of burial caves]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pangudu</td>
<td>Mountains so called [Pangaru] 1820 “Pangadu, s. A mountain so called” p. 188 [Pangaru Mountain at Hokianga, site of burial caves]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pa nikau</td>
<td>The town noted for the leaves called Nikau [Pā nikau] 1820 “Panikau; Name of a place” p. 189 [A fanciful derivation, perhaps from the thatching, or from Pani, (i) n. persons bereaved with suffix –kau?]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ko Pa kina</td>
<td>The town noted for sea-eggs [Pā kina] Not in 1820 [Kina is the sea urchin <em>Evechinus chloroticus</em>, a delicacy]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ko Para  Flat fish so called  [Para] 1820 “Para, s. A fish so called; name of a place” [Para – frostfish (*Lepidotus caudatus*), but this is not a flatfish, and ‘flatfish’ probably refers to pātiki or flounders, of which there are eight species]


Ko Paroa  The long town  [Paroa] 1820 “Paroa, s. Name of a place” p. 190 [Paroa Bay, in the Bay of Islands]

Ko Pata  The fighting town

Ko Pa toto  The bloody town  [Pā toto] 1820 “Pa toto, s. A place so called” p. 190 [Not identified]

Ko Patu nui  The large war club  [Patunui] 1820 “Pātu nui; A great war-club” p. 191 [Name of a place near Kendall’s station at Rangihoua]

Ko Pidi noa  Drawing near each other without cause  [Pirinoa] 1820 “Pidi noa’ The name of a place” p. 192 [Perhaps Pirinoa, a mistletoe cf W1971 p. 284 Pirinoa n. *Loranthus* and *Elytranthe* of various species]


Ko Po wehe Dua  The night the store house was deserted  [Po were rua] 1820 “Pō wédua; Name of a high hill” p. 196 [Another fanciful derivation, from Pō night, rua, storage pit and wehe, deficient]

Ko Puke kaikatoa  The Kaikatoa hill  [Puke kāhikatoa] 1820 “Pūke kaikatōa; The hill of the wood kāhikatoa” p. 196 [A location of Te Rarawa. Kāhikatoa was used for mānuka (*Leptospermum scoparium*) as well as for the unrelated kānuka (*Kunzea ericoide*es) both called ‘tea-trees’ as they were ised for infusions]

Ko Puke koukou  The swimming hill  1820 “Pūke koukou; name of a place” p. 196 [A prominent coastal rock north of Whangaroa harbour. Here *koukou* is a topknot hairstyle, as the rock has that shape, not the owl (*koukou*, *ruru*, so called from its cry, *Ninox novaezelandiae* cf W1971 pp. 150-151, and not the verb kau W1971 p. 104: Kau (ii) 1. Swim, wade. This is typical of the mistakes Kendall made]

Ko Puke nui  The great hill  [Pukenui] 1820 “Pūke nui; The great hill. Name of a place” p. 196 [There are several places with this name, but this is probably Mount Camel, Houhora]
Ko Puke Maide  The Maide hill [Pukemaire] Not in 1820 There are several places with this name, this one in Hokianga Harbour.

Ko Puke tawa  The tawa hill [Puketaua] 1820 “Pūke tawa; The hill of battle” p. 197 [Not identified, confusing ‘tawa’ (war) with ‘tawa’, the tree]

Ko Puke wao  The nail hill [Pukewhao?] 1820 “Pūke wao; A hill so called” p. 197 [Probably either a Hokianga hill, Pukewhao from whao a chisel, nails being used as such, or one at Kerikeri with whau a tree (Entelea arborescens, Malvaceae). Wao (forest) also seems unlikely]

Ko Puke pu  The entire hill Not in 1820 and meaning uncertain


Ko te Pani horo hivi  The cement for preserving the bones [Te Pani hora iwi] 1820 “Pāne óro iwi; Name of a place” p. 188 [Cf W1971 p. 257 Pani (ii) panipani v.t. 1. Paint, besmear, 2. Smear, spread anything on something else. Here used of ochre during the hāhunga exhumation ceremonies iwi = bones, hora 7. Display, expose]

Ko te Papa  The board [Te Papa] 1820 “Papa, s. A thin board … also the name of … a place” p. 189 [W1971 p. 259 Papa (i) 1. Anything broad, flat and hard]

Ko te Puna  The spring well [Te Puna] 1820 “Pūna, s. A small spring of water; name of a place” p. 197 [W1971 p. 309 Puna 1. n. Spring of water]

Ko te Puru  The cork, or stopper [Te Puru] 1820 “Pūru, s. A cork or stopper for a bottle etc” p. 198 [W1971 p. 314 Puru (ii) 1. n. Plug, cork, bung]

Ko te Puke Shau papa  The snowy hill [Te Pukehaupapa] 1820 “Pūke e āupapa; The snowy hill. Mount Egmont” p. 196 [Mount Egmont = Mount Taranaki, but according to traditions was first named Puke-haupapa (ice hill) then Puke-o-nake, then Rua-taranaki after the first person to have climbed it]

Ko te Puhia e wakadii  Blowing away the seine weights [Te Puhia a whakaari] 1820 “Puhia e wākadi; Name of a place” p. 196 [‘Plume of Whakaari’ White Island; this name is also given by Yate in 1835, and refers to the plume of steam of the active andesite strato-volcano off Whakatane]

R
Ko Ramaroa  Hill called Ramaroa  [Ramaroa] 1820 “Ráma róa; A mountain so called” p. 199 [In legend Te Ramaroa (the eternal flame) is the mountain that guided the navigator Kupe into Hokianga Harbour.

Ko Rangitoto  Bloody heavens  [Rangitoto] 1820 “Rángi tóto: The red sky” [Name of a place] p. 200 [The name is said to be the short form of name coming from the full phrase Ngā Rangi-i-totonga-a Tama-tekapua (“The days of the bleeding of Tama-tekapua”) and refers to the recent shield volcano at Auckland active to 550 years b.p.; alternatively it may refer to the glow of the lava]

Ko Raramata  Uncooked fish called Rara  [Rara] 1820 “Rara, s. A rib” p. 200 W1971 p. 326, Rara (i) 1. n. Rub, raramutu, short rib, 3. Shoal of fish, but the fish is unknown]

Ko Roimata  Tears  [Roimata] 1820 “Rói máta; A small island so called; tears” p. 203 [Island not identified; W1971 p. 345, Roimata n. 1. Tears]

Ko Rongomai Kio  The obedient bird called Kio  [Rongomai] 1820 “Róngo mai kio; name of a certain place” p. 203 [Kendall’s idea from rongo v.t. 2. Obey. Rongomai, in myth refers to several different entities. There is no such bird named, but kio may be its sound (i.e. cheep)]

Ko Roto Dua  The storehouse within the interior storehouse  [Rotorua] 1820 “Rótó dúa; A lake so called” p. 204 [Probably the lake of the present city of the same name; the sense is pit lake, as it is a volcanic caldera]

Ko te Rahanga  The working day  [Te Ra hanga] 1820 “Ra e ánga; Name of a place” p. 199 [From ra day and hanga: W1971 p. 34 Hanga 1. v.t. Make, build; the place not identified]

Ko te Ra’nake  Only sun  [Te Ra anake] 1820 “Ra náke; A day only; name of a place” p. 199 [Place name and sense obscure]

Ko te Rama roa  The long range  [Te Ramaroa] 1820 “Ráma róa; A mountain so called” p. 199 [See explanation under Ko Ramaroa, above]
Ko te Reinga  
The flight

[Te Reinga] 1820 “Réinga, s. The place of flight, a descent on the side of a rock near the North Cape, New Zealand, where it is supposed that the departed spirits of the natives take their flight” p. 202 [A place name, = ‘Cape Reinga’ from W1971 p. 334, rei (ii) v.i. Leap, and “reinga n. 1. Leap, rush, and 2. Place of leaping: so of the place hence spirits of the departed took their final leap; abode of departed spirits”]

Ko te Reinga Rawa Hina  
The flight of Hina’s River

[Te Reinga awa hina?] 1820 “Reinga a waina; Name of a certain place” p. 202 Probably the same thing but with ‘rawa’ as an error for awa (river) and hina a personification of the moon

Ko te Roto  
The inside, interior

[Te Roto] 1820 “Roto, ad. Within … Place so called” p. 204 [W1971 p. 348 Roto (ii) l. n. 1. The inside. 2. Used in combination with the prepositions ki, i, etc., to form compound prepositions e.g. Ki roto ki, into, in etc.]

T
Ko Tai karekare  
The sea reflecting the light

[Karikari] 1820 “Tai kāre kāre; The sea reflecting the light: name of a place’ p. 205 [Doubtless a reference to the Karikari Peninsula and the sea north of it, (Karikari Moana)]

Ko Tama hongi  
The man’s salutation

[Tamahongi] 1820 “Tama ōngi; Name of a certain place’ p. 206 [Meaning uncertain, used in proverbial expressions; Place not identified]

Ko Tapeka  
Expended

[Tapeka] 1820 “Tāpeka, s. A place so called” p. 208 [Tapeka Point is a headland north of Russell, Bay of Islands]

Ko Tapu ai dudu  
The close prohibition

[Tapuaeruru] 1820 “Tāpu ai dūdu; name of a place” p. 208 [A possible meaning is ‘footprint of the owl’ (ruru) but the place (in North Auckland) is not identified]

Ko Tapu e tahi  
The first prohibition

[Tapu etahi] 1820 “Tapu e tahī; [Name of a place]” p. 208 [tēahi is the plural of the definitive tēahi = Some, so ‘certain prohibitions’]

Ko Taua tawiti  
Distant battle


Ko Taonga dua  
The second property

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori Phrase</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taupidi</td>
<td>Rope of goat skin</td>
<td>[Taupiri] 1820 “Tau pidi; Name of a place” p. 210 [Taupiri, a sacred mountain in Waikato. Tau has various meanings, here a thong or rope; piri an error for kiri, skin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Taoranga</td>
<td>Place, rendezvous near the sea, a wharf</td>
<td>[Tauranga] 1820 “Tauranga; A landing place” [A generic place name] p. 210 [Not specific to the present city of that name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tiati</td>
<td>Small island so called</td>
<td>[Tiati] 1820 “Tiati; A place so called” p. 212 [Not identified]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Toka pa kidi kidi</td>
<td>Rock on which is a village with many pebble stones therein</td>
<td>[Toka pakirikiri] 1820 “Toka pa kidikidi; Name of a place” p. 215 [More probably used for a sunken rock (toka = reef) frequented by the common wrasse Pākirikiri (‘spotty’, Pseudolabrus celidotus)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tonga dido</td>
<td>A snowy mountain</td>
<td>[Tongariro] 1820 “Tonga diro; Snow; a hill so called” p. 216 [Actually the volcanic centre of Tongariro, Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe, now a World Heritage Site]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Totara ![?]</td>
<td>![?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tuhina ![?]</td>
<td>![?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tuku tere</td>
<td>The corpse gone adrift</td>
<td>Not in 1820 but “Tú papāku; A corpse” p. 219 and “Tutūre; A corpse placed in a canoe, and drifted away by the wind” p. 220 [Meaning and context uncertain]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tuna tahi</td>
<td>The first Eel</td>
<td>[Tuna] 1820 “Tuna tahi; The first eel” p. 219 [There is such a placename in the modern town of Dargaville. W1971 p. 454 Tuna n. Anguilla [freshwater eels] and their varieties. There are two species]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ture kura</td>
<td>The bloody order</td>
<td>[Turekura] 1820 “Tūre kūra; Name of a place” p. 220 [Place not identified. Ture (from Hebrew, torah) was adopted from Tahitian for law, and kura from school (a transliteration)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Tutai o Nuku Tawiti</td>
<td>See below</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Tarawa</td>
<td>The gallows</td>
<td>[Te Tarawa] “Tarawa; Name of a place; a joist or spar …” p. 208 [W1971 p. 389 Tārawa 1. v.t. Hang upon a line or rail. 2. n. Line or rail on which anything is hung]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Tauroa</td>
<td>The long ropes</td>
<td>[Te Taura] 1820 “Te Tau ra koia [Name of a place]” p. 210 [Tau has many meanings as has roa; here cf W1971 p. 402 Taura n. 1. Rope, cable, cord, with roa, = long]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ko te Tutai o Nuku Tawiti  The charcoal of Vulcan  [Te Tutae o Nuku Tawhiti] Properly the turds or dung (tutae) of Nuku Tawhiti, a deity (Cf W1971 p. 461) but the expression may refer to any sort of ephemeral fungus and is both poetical and scatological at the same time

W  Ko Wahapu  Entrance of a River  [Wahapu] 1820 “Wáha pu; The mouth of a bay or river” p. 221 [W1971 p. 473 Waha (i) 1. n. Mouth, entrance; pu = pipe, tube etc. Te Wahapu is a placename at the Bay of Islands]

Ko Waihawa  River water  [Waiawa] Not in 1820 [Wai = water. Awa = river, with an intrusive ‘h’]


Ko Wai Momoku  Wet or boggy water  [Waimamaku] 1820 “Wai mo máku; A place so called” p. 222 [Waimamaku, south of the Hokianga Harbour]

Ko Wai kato  River called Waikato  [Waikato] 1820 “Waikáto; A river so called” p. 222 [The river arising from Taupo, entering the Tasman Sea]

Ko Wai pa  River called Waipa  [Waipa] 1820 “Wai pa; A river so called” p. 222 [Another river, tributary to the Waikato]

Ko Wai pawa  Smoky water  [Waipoua] 1820 “Wai póua; A place so called” p. 222 [An area south of Hokianga]

Ko Wai roa  Extensive water  [Wairoa] 1820 “Wai róa; A mosquito; a river so called” p. 222, confusing ‘waeroa’ (mosquito) with ‘wairoa’ (long water)


Ko Wai kare  Reflecting water  [Waikare] 1820 “Waikáre; Water reflecting light by its rolling motion” p. 222 [Refers to Waikare Inlet, south of Paihia]

Ko Wai tata ra moa  Water near the Moa fish  [Waitataramoa] 1820 “Wai tata; Near water” * p. 223 [“Moa fish” is presumably an error but tātāraūmoa is the ‘bush lawyer’ vine (Rubus scissoides and other species)]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko Waka diu</th>
<th>Leaky canoe</th>
<th>[Waka riu] Not in 1820 [Cf Riu (i) n. Bilge of a canoe] In the following entries waka (canoe) is sometimes confused with the causative prefix whaka- to cause to do something.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko Waka poi</td>
<td>The child’s play ball</td>
<td>[whaka poi] 1820 “Wáka poi; Name of a place” p. 223. Cf 1820 “Poi, s. A round ball with which children play” p. 194. Here the causative prefix whaka- is added.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Waka nui</td>
<td>The large canoe</td>
<td>[Waka nui] 1820 “Wáka nui; A large canoe; a place so called” p. 223 [Location unknown]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Waka tere</td>
<td>The drifting or swift canoe</td>
<td>[Wakatere] 1820 “Wáka têre; Swift canoe; a place so called” p. 223 [Cf W1971 p. 412 Tere (i) 1. v.i. Drift, 2. Float etc., whakatere v.t. 1. Buoy up]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ware nga hairi</td>
<td>The forest house</td>
<td>[Whare ngahere] 1820 “Wáre nga aire; The house in the wood; name of a place” p. 225 [More likely used figuratively, but there is a bay of this name in the Kerikeri Inlet]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Ware taha</td>
<td>The house side</td>
<td>[Wharetaha] 1820 “Wáre tahá; Name of a place” p. 225 [Meaning uncertain]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Warau</td>
<td>The place of interment for the dead</td>
<td>[Te Wharau] 1820 “Wárau; A sepulchre; a stone’ p. 225 [W1971 p. 489 Wharau (i) v.i. Travel, particularly by water; wharaunga n. Voyage 2. Company of travellers; Wharau (ii) n. Temporary shed or booth made of the branches of trees; perhaps connected the the previous word]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Wakatoe</td>
<td>To make game of a person</td>
<td>[Te Whakatoi] Not in 1820 [W1971 p. 432 Toi (ii) toitoi 2. v.i. Encourage, incite and whakatoi, whakatoitoi v.t. 1. Annoy, tease, irritate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te Wi roa</td>
<td>The long rush</td>
<td>[Te Wī roa] Not in 1820 [Cf Wī n. a general term for rushes and grasses]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Grey Letters Collection (Auckland Libraries, Sir George Grey Special Collections). [Letter from S. Lee to Mr George (i.e. James George), GL15, letter 1]


*Auckland Museum Library.*

[Kendall, Thomas] [Printed fragment of the unpublished 1827 grammar] A copy of signatures C (starting on page 17) through signature F (starting on page 41 and ending on page 48). This fragment is inscribed by Kendall “Rev. Mr Hill with the Authors Compl.” AR Oceanic Languages Coll. Currently missing.

Dunedin, New Zealand

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*University of Birmingham*

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