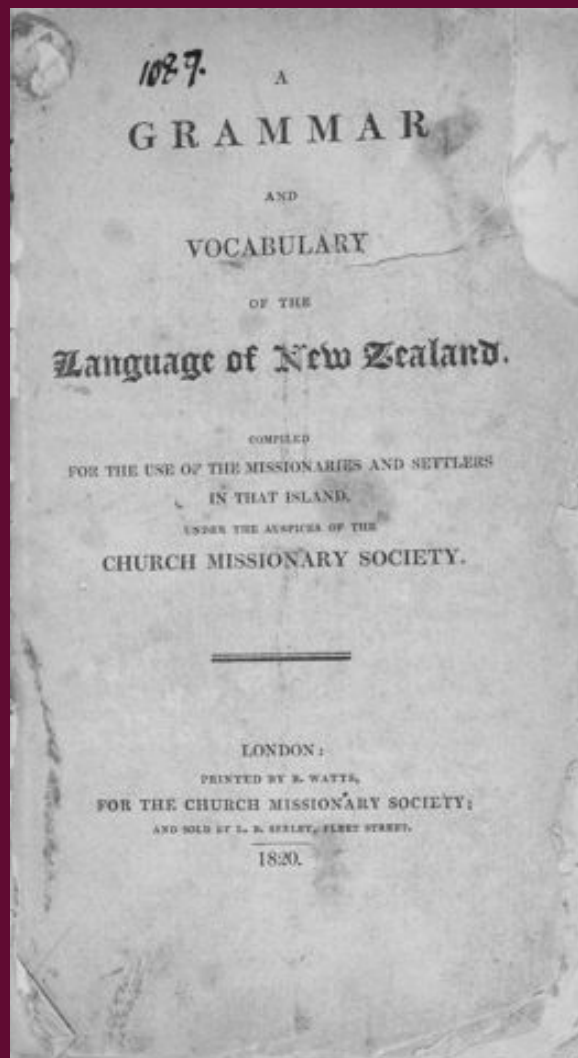




The Māori Grammars and Vocabularies of Thomas Kendall and John Gare Butler

Phil Parkinson



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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 Maori language. This volume brings together Kendall's work on the Maori 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 Maori, the volume gives insights into early encounters with the language and the tensions within the Mission.



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

Phil Parkinson

A-PL 26



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Cover image: Title page from the proof copy of Kendall's *Grammar* (1820), Alexander Turnbull Library MSX-5213.

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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 Maori to 1900* (1924 and supplement. 1928), herein referred to as 'Williams'.¹ 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

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).

³ C. J. Parr, ‘A missionary library; printed efforts to instruct the Maori, 1815–1845’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* v. 70 (1961): 429–450; C. J. Parr, ‘Maori literacy 1843–1867’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* v. 72 (1963): 211–234; M. D. Jackson, ‘Literacy, communication and social change: a study of the meaning and effect of literacy in early nineteenth century Maori society.’ (pp. 27–54) in H. Kawharu, (ed.) *Conflict and compromise essays on the Maori since colonisation*. (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1985). 219 pp.; J. McRae, ‘From Maori oral traditions to print’ in *Book and print in New Zealand: a guide to print culture in Aotearoa* ed. P. A. Griffith et al. (1997) pp. 17–40,

⁴ J. Binney, *The legacy of guilt, a life of Thomas Kendall*. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1968), and the revised reprint of that work by Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2005, 264 pp., her 1986 essay “‘At every bend a taniwha’ Thomas Kendall and Maori carving.” *New Zealand Journal of History* v. 20 no. 2 (November 1986): 132–146; her “The lost drawing of Nukutawhiti.” *New Zealand Journal of History* v. 14 no. 1 (April 1980): 3–24; and her “Nukutawhiti: Thomas Kendall’s drawing” *Turnbull Library Record* v. 13 no. 1 (May 1980): 33–38.

- 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.

1 *The rotten branches, 1814–1823*

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

¹ Thomas Kendall to Josiah Pratt, 21 December 1818, Hocken Library, University of Otago, hereinafter DUHO MS-56/122.

² T. Kendall, *A korao no New Zealand, or the New Zealander's first book, being an attempt to compose some lessons for the instruction of the natives*. (Sydney: Printed by G. Howe, 1815) [ii] 54 pp. (*Books in Maori* = BiM 1) and T. Kendall, *A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand* (London: Printed by R. Watts, 1820) (BiM 2–5).

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, *Duperrey'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 ā 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).⁶ 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 1840.⁷ A first dictionary of the Māori language was not published until 1844.⁸ 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.⁹

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

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 . . .* (Paihia: 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 1810.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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.¹²

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.¹³ It lacks a date but it was probably an enclosure in his letter dated 15 June 1814.¹⁴ 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."¹⁵ 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:

¹⁰ See A. Salmond, *Between worlds* (1997) map p. 328 and chapter 13 'Whaling voyages and Maori explorers'.

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).

¹³ See Binney, *The legacy of guilt* (1968) p. 24, pp. 49–50 and Appendix II pp. 177–185.

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.

Hunníppoo Sand [ōnepū]
 Hukeppo Skin [ūpoko = head]
 Hanghángaha Skull [angiangi]
 Kiáтта Breakfast [kai ata = morning meal]
 Kiawátta Dinner [kai awatea = mid-day meal]
 Kiaíá Supper [kai ?]
 Kipookay Ship [kaipuke = tall ship]
 Koomoo Fundament [kumu]
 Keeko Flesh [kiko]
 Keeouree Rat or mouse [kiore = properly *Rattus exulans*]
 Kahkénno A seal fish [kekeno = fur seal]
 Lóweematt Tears [roimata]
 Lōrō Brains [roro]
 Lárrah Rib [rara]
 Looloo Owl [ruru]
 Marámmah Moon [marama]
 Madóoah tahne Father [matua tāne]
 Madóoah Whyeenee Mother [matua wahine]
 Mahténghee Head [matenga]
 Mōotōo Lips [ngutu?]
 Mánghi Mouth [māngai]
 Matteecoocoo Fingernails [matikuku]
 Marree Cough [mare]
 Mahríppee Knife [maripi]
 Moara Light [?]
 Mooca Flax [muka = twine]
 Manōo Bird [manu]
 Mattóu Fish Hook [matau]

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-teedo’ (*A korao* p. 45) and ‘Connohee’ (manuscript) becomes ‘Kónnohe’ (*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-teedo’ and ‘Kónnohe’ 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 Dakkahōu – 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.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.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 Tooī 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."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 *Earliest New Zealand* (1927).

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 thesis¹⁹), but his principal objective was to seek linguistic guidance so as to further the publication of his *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

¹⁶ Kendall to Marsden, 6 March 1818, in DUHO MS-0056, letter 73. The work was not reprinted.

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 "Tooī" i.e. Tuai, 26 June 1818, ATL MS-Papers-0288).

¹⁸ Samuel Lee, preface to Kendall, *A Grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand* (1820) p. [v]

¹⁹ P. Parkinson, 'Our infant state': the Māori language, the mission presses, the British Crown and the Māori, 1814-1838 (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2003). 3 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.²⁰ 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.”²¹

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.²²

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).

²² Unpublished proof copy, Williams: 4; Bagnall: 3114. Now at Alexander Turnbull Library, ATL MSX-5213 (formerly Printed Collections Acc. no. 19344). H. W. Williams recorded the proof copy but treated it as a separate edition.

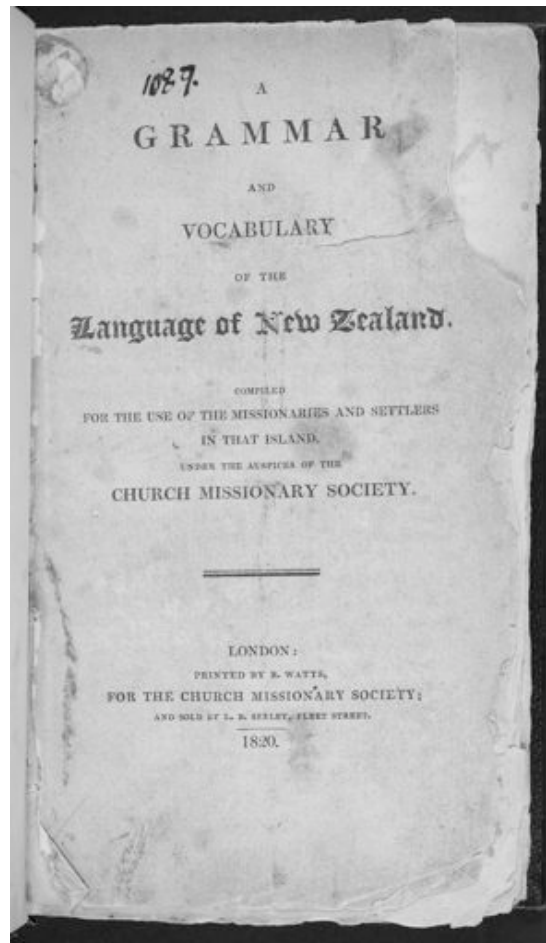


Figure 1: Title page from the proof copy of Kendall's *Grammar* (1820), Alexander Turnbull Library MSX-5213

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.²³ 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*.

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”.

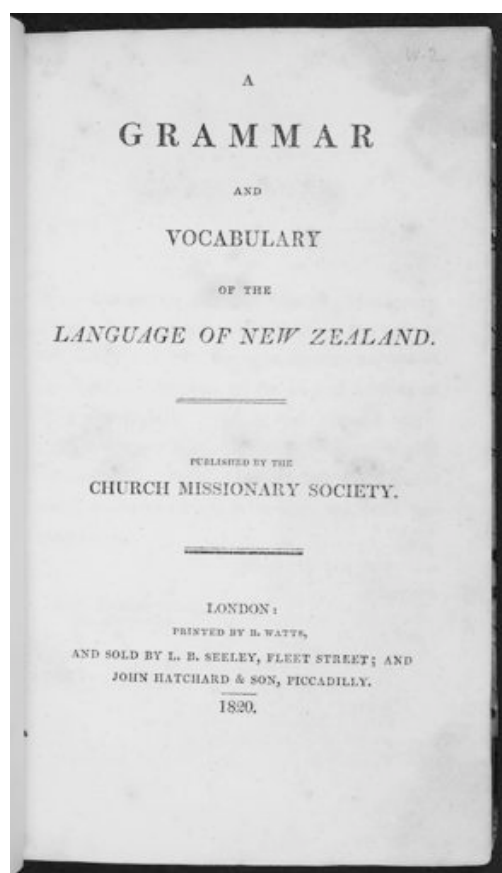


Figure 2: Title page from the published Kendall *Grammar* (1820) BiM 2, Alexander Turnbull Library.

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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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 *mākutū*:

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)).

²⁵ P. Parkinson & P. Griffith, *Books in Māori 1815-1900, ngā tānga reo Māori an annotated bibliography* [. . .] compiled in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Auckland: Reed, 2004) 1013 pp. See entries *BiM* 2 to 5, with illustration of text of *BiM* 5 and the title page of Kendall’s earlier 1815 work (*BiM* 1).

Mákutu, *s. a. v. n. ad.*—*s.* Witchcraft. *a.* Enchanting; as, “E tângata mákutu; a wizard.” *v.n.* Bewitching; as, “E mákutu ána te tângata; The man bewitches.” *ad.* Enchantingly; as, “E títiro mákutu ána ra óki koe; Thou art looking enchantingly.”²⁶

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

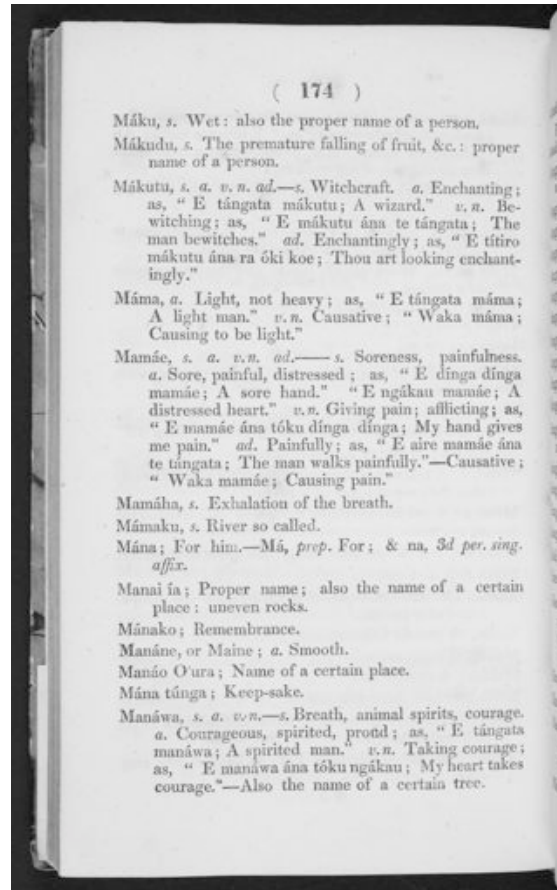


Figure 3: Page 174 of the published Kendall *Grammar* (1820) to show use of accents to indicate long vowels.

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)²⁷ 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.²⁸

²⁶ Example from Kendall and Lee, *Grammar* (1820) p. 174.

²⁷ Compare the re-set coarse paper printing, *BiM* 3, Williams: 3 (i).

²⁸ Auckland City Libraries. Central City Library, Grey New Zealand Maori collections: GNZM12a.

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

²⁹ At a meeting of the Methodist Missionary Society held on 6 December 1820: “The Revd Thomas Kendall & Shungee & Whycato 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 setts of Cards, to aid them in carrying their object into effect.” (ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-02, CMS Archives MC v. 5 p. 89).

³⁰ J. G. Butler, *Earliest New Zealand; the journals and correspondence of the Rev. John Butler*. Compiled by R. J. Barton. (Masterton, N.Z.: Printed by Palamountain & Petherick, General Printers, 1927) p. 430 (the reference to page 490 is an error).

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."³¹ 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.³²

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. Tumuaakee (Tumuaki) "Crown of the head", Huruhuru "Hair [of head]", Hupoko (Ūpoko) "Head", Martinga (Mātenga) "Head", Angangah (Angiangi) "Skull", Padihedehee (Pārihirihi) "Internal part of the skull bone" (apparently referring to the meninges³³), Roro "Brains" etc., and ending with Watteangah (whatānga) "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. An example of Butler's script of 1821 to compare with Kendall's is illustrated in the article from the *Turnbull Library Record*.³⁴ The list of parts of the body in the 1821-1822 manuscript invites comparison with the 1814 list and one of 1824/25 with an established Butler provenance and date to be described in the second chapter.

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], wyeheene (wahine) [woman], koroaike or koroaikey (koroheke) 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], tahnekahha (tānekaha), toterrah (tōtara), kikahtaah (kāhikatea) and diemu (rimu). Spellings such as these and dinga dinga (ringaringa), koromatuah (koromatua), wyeahwye (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

³¹ J. G. Butler, *Earliest New Zealand* (1927) p. 430.

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 *pārihirihi* is given as a synonym for "skull" but refers to the contents of the skull.

³⁴ P. Parkinson, 'The grammars and vocabularies of Thomas Kendall and John Gare Butler Part 1' *Turnbull Library Record* v. 33 (2000) p. 43.

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.

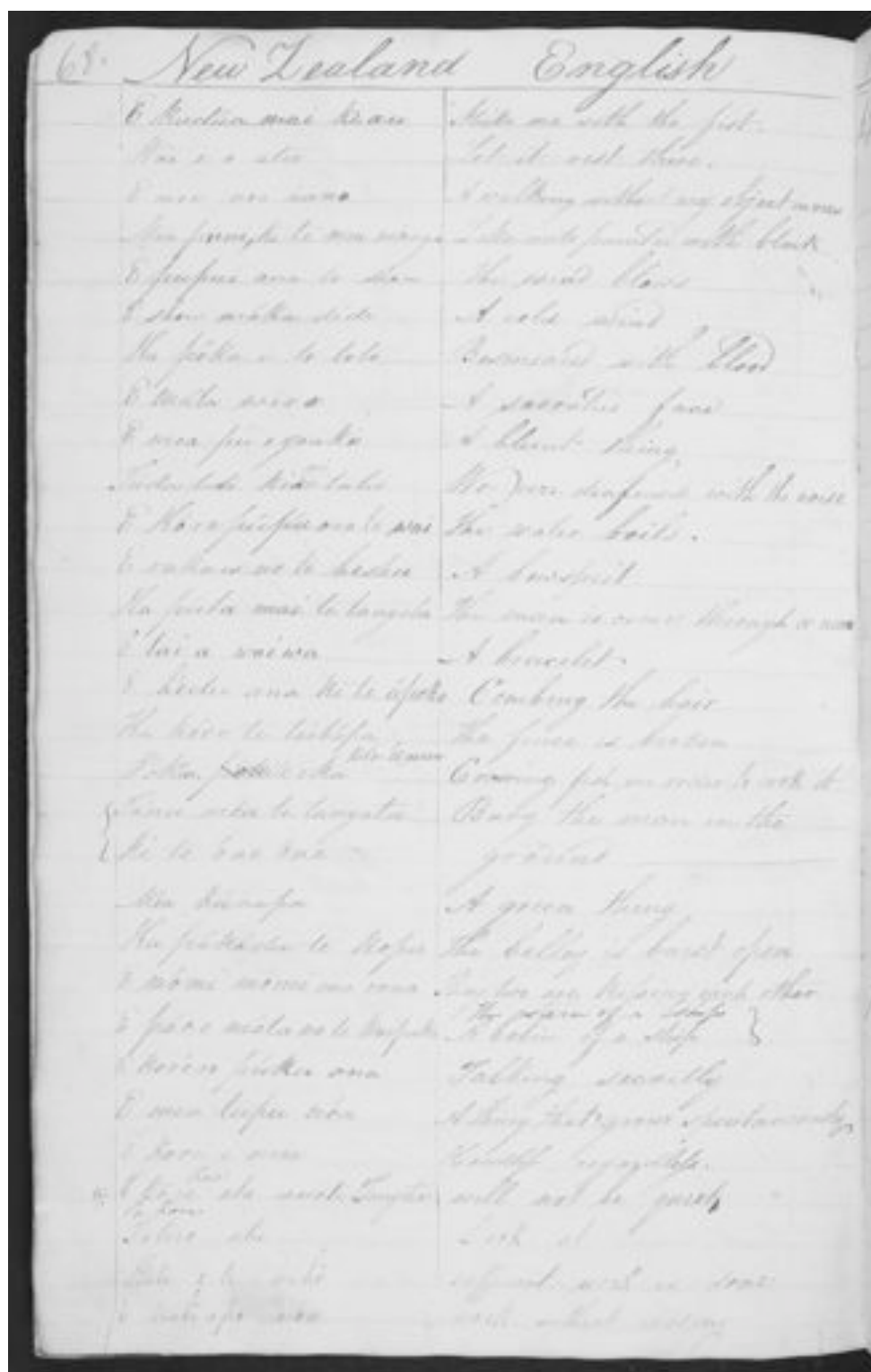


Figure 4: An extract, p. 68. from the 1821-1822 J. G. Butler manuscript, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0358, showing sentences with translations.

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

³⁵ ‘Note book on Maori Grammar – ML DOC. 921’ June Starke to Miss Humphries, Manuscripts Section Mitchell Library, 23 December 1970, Alexander Turnbull Library file TL 3/1, copied in ATL MS–Papers–0756, with a photocopy of the holograph (nine pages).

³⁶ William Williams, *A dictionary of the New-Zealand language, and a concise grammar, to which have been added a selection of colloquial sentences*, by William Williams [. . .] Paihia: Printed at the Press of the C. M. Society, [1844] xli, =1] 195 [1] pp. (*BiM* 217).

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 paddle [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 oki 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 oki 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 oki 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 Potatoes³⁸

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."³⁹ 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), Wharemokiki, (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.

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 noatia . . .’, 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!

⁴⁵ List in Butler to Marsden, quoted in R. J. Barton, *Earliest New Zealand* (1927) pp. 295–296.

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.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.”⁵³

⁵² See J. Binney, *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’).

⁵³ Lesson in Sharpe, *Duperrey’s visit to New Zealand* (1971) p. 97.

2 “We have condemned the Grammar ...” 1824–1826

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.”¹ 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.²

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.³

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 wri[ting] 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

¹ H. Williams, ‘Extracts from the letters of the Rev. Henry Williams and his wife [. . .]’ p. 228, ATL MS–2409.

² H. Williams to E. G. Marsh, 4 February 1824, quoted in H. Carleton, *Life of Henry Williams* (1874) p. 37.

³ J. King and W. Hall in ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 3 pp. 169–170.

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

⁴ Ibidem pp. 169–170.

⁵ John Davies, *A Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect of the Polynesian Language*. (Tahiti: Printed at the Mission Press Burder's Point, 1823). 43 pp.

⁶ J. Davies, *ibidem* p. 7.

⁷ Extract of minutes in ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-04, CMS Archives MC vol. 7. p. 176.

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.”⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.”¹¹

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.¹²

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.”¹³

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.

¹¹ Minutes of Committee of Correspondence, 23 September 1824, ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-04, CMS Archives. MC vol. 7 pp. 217–218.

¹² T. Kendall to Secretaries, 23 & 24 July 1824, ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 3 p. 328.

¹³ James Shepherd to J. Pratt, 17 December 1824, ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-58, CMS Archives CN/O 76a.

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.”¹⁴

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.”¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ When William Williams (Henry’s more academic brother) arrived at the Bay of Islands he revisited the orthographic controversy and

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.

¹⁸ J. Shepherd to E. Bickersteth, 31 January 1826, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–58, CMS Archives CN/O 76a.

the first translations to be printed for the mission at New South Wales were produced in August 1827.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

Another previously unknown and unattributed 'Kendall' manuscript has recently been identified in the Alexander Turnbull Library although it is not in Kendall's hand.²¹ 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.²²

The removal of John Gare Butler, 1824-25

On 13 January 1824 Marsden had suspended Butler from all connection with the Church Missionary Society.²³ 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.

²² 'Note book on Maori Grammar – ML DOC. 921' June Starke to Miss Humphries, Manuscripts Section Mitchell Library, 23 December 1970, Alexander Turnbull Library file TL 3/1, copied in ATL MS-Papers-0756, with a photocopy of the holograph (nine pages).

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.²⁴ 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”.²⁵ 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.²⁶

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.²⁷ 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.²⁸

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.”²⁹ The

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.

²⁹ Thomas Brisbane to CMS, ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-29 CMS Archives CN/M vol. 3 p. 196.

translation is bizarre, using the ‘more chaste’ orthography mandated by Marsden a few months earlier.

New South Wales

E Korero,

I. Nā tōna Excelenei iā Sir Thomasa Brisa- | bane, ko te Captani, ko te tino Rāngatira | wāka shau; o tēnei kāinga, o New South | Wales, me ōna tīne motu atu ōki, &c. &c. &c |

[*Preamble begins:*] II. Na te mea, e máha ngā páshua tanga o ngā Mōtu, kí te Moana Pocifica; a kí te Moana tudiana, e | nga tångata kīno: á ko ugá tångata shóko ká máte iá rátou ; me ngā tångata maori, e áta nóho ana ká máte, me ngā tångata | átu ōki. ’A e páshua tía áua ōki kí te e Moana, kí ngā kāinga, | átu ōki, ko nga Ademirala, te Rāngatira wakashan o rída.

[*three further paragraphs*]

[*Testamentum clause:*] 6. Kua óti nei te o átu i tóku nei | Ringa ringa me tóku Seala i Sydny, 17 May, 1824. | E tononá tona Exceleny | Ko F. Goulburn, To kónei | kai túhi túhi. | Má te Atua e wāka 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 Rāngatira wakashan o rída’ (the admirals, the chiefs of sailing-ships). The use of consonants not used in Māori is also noteworthy: b, c, d, l, s, x. Fortunately, this experiment seems to have been 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 Réhúa – 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 Sháka – a dance’ in ‘Ko Shoa – a friend’ and ‘Ko Shongi hika – 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 *hong*i (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 Áruhe 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 Hihí o tote [at] Te Kídi kídí” (i.e. Hihi 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

dunga ke te rangee . . .”. The Creed and the ‘Questions’ (a catechism) from the 1820 work are not included in this manuscript.

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 Hihí o tote (Ko Heehee-o-Tottay) Ko Hinau (Ko Heenau) Ko Hívi (Ko Heevee) 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.”³¹ 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 1825.³² This also uses the

³¹ R. J. Barton, *Earliest New Zealand* (1927) p. 358.

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

³³ A controversy arose when White wanted to use D when the Wesleyans' press arrived in 1836 – see Nathaniel Turner Letterbook 1836–1849, ATL qMS–2065 p. 26 (Original in Mitchell Library, Sydney, A 1835-38 / 867).

³⁴ William Williams, 'Journal vol. 1, 1825–1831' ATL qMS–2248.

³⁵ George Clarke to the Secretaries, 2 January 1826, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 4 p. 59.

letter which they have sent you is in diction and orthography entirely their own; and I do indulge the hope that these two boys will be made great blessings to their countrymen.³⁶

The letter was received by the secretaries in June 1826. It is from “Shunghee (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. ‘oki’ 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 aire 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 kite au Ko tapi ra hi o ku tau, akea o mai ai te tahi utu mo maua ko taku ehoea pai taku Kia rongo mai koutau kei rapu i te taku ingoa Ko Shongi te ingoa o te tangata i tuhi tuhi ai

The “Translation of Shunghee’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 Farewell³⁷

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*.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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

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 Taiwanga [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 Watikini 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 1835.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴²

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*.⁴³ 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,⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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*

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.

⁴¹ In W. Yate, *An Account of New Zealand* (1835) pp. 252–253, 266–267.

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.

⁴⁶ T. Kendall to S. Lee, 7 January 1825, ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04–29, CMS Archives CN/M vol. 4 pp. 34–35.

3 *Kendall's revised Grammar, 1827–1832*

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.”¹

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

¹ J. Binney, *The legacy of guilt* (2005) ‘Introduction’ p. 16.

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.² 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.³ 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.

³ See P. Parkinson, 'Our infant State' (Ph.D thesis) chapter 7 pp. 138–143.

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."⁴ 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.⁵ 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."⁶ 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.⁷

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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.

⁶ 'Advertisement' for the 1827 edition, p. [1] of DUHO ms. 72/3.

⁷ Binney, *Legacy of guilt* (1968) p. 183.

⁸ *BiM* 9 'Bible. Māori. Selections. 1827' with caption title 'Kenehihi' i.e. Genesis.

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.¹⁰

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 1831.¹¹ On 12 December he started a subscription list for a second edition of his *Grammar*, to be printed by the *Sydney Herald*.¹² 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.¹³

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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ Signed by Kendall, partly

¹⁰ MS note added to the “Advertisement” p. [1] of 8 pp. In DUHO ms. 72 p. 3.

¹¹ J. Binney, “‘At every bend a taniwha’” *New Zealand Journal of History* v. 20 (2) (1986) pp. 133–137.

¹² Binney, *Legacy of guilt* (1968) p. 183.

¹³ *Sydney Herald* vol. 1 no. 35 on Monday 12 December 1831.

¹⁴ Binney, *Legacy of guilt*, p. 184.

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 holograph, 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 1832.¹⁶ 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-Cook¹⁷) 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).¹⁸ 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."¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.

document is at Kendall, T. 'Photocopy of draft for unpublished second edition of the Grammar of the New Zealand language' [1827–1832] 1999. (photocopy of MSZ–0871) fMS–Papers–6666.

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.

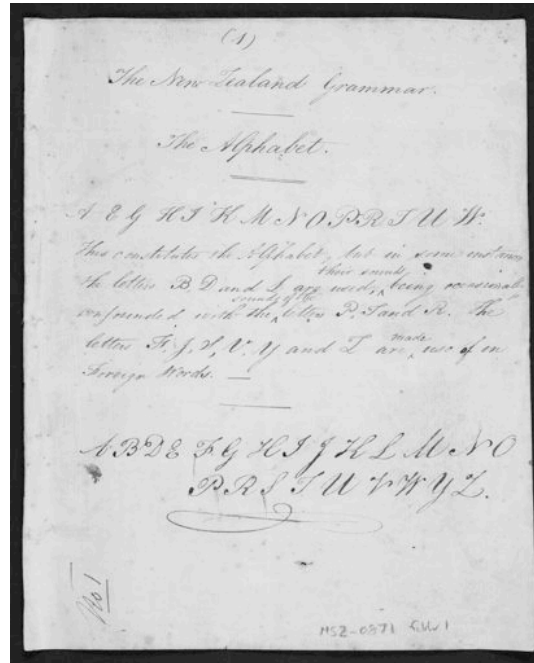


Figure 5: The first page of the 1827 revision of the *Grammar*, MSZ-0871, showing the Alphabet page, with Kendall's corrections: "AEGHIKMNOPRTUW. This constitutes the Alphabet but in some instances the letters B D & L are used, their sounds being occasionally confounded with the sounds of the letters P T and R. The letters FJSVY and L are made use of in Foreign words."

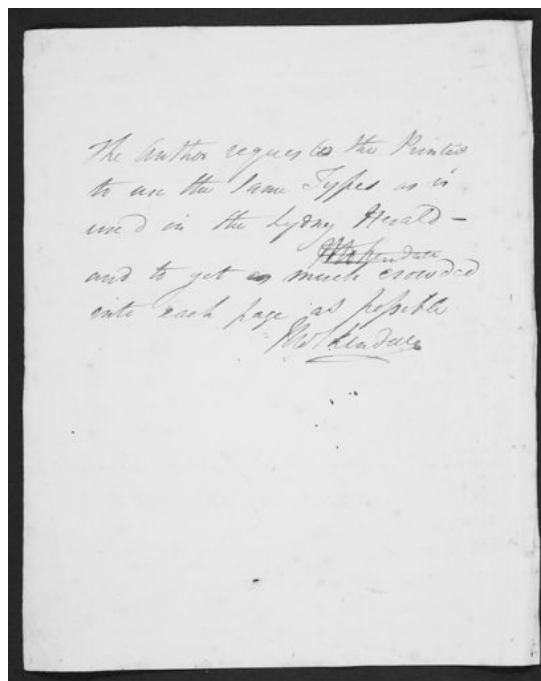


Figure 6: Verso of the Alphabet page, showing Kendall's MS note to the printer: "The author requests the printers to use the same types as is used in the Sydney Herald and to get as much crowded into each page as possible. [signed] Thos. Kendall" MSZ-0871

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

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.

²³ Binney in *Legacy of guilt* (1968) page 184 note 33. Now AR Oceanic Languages Coll. (formerly Reserve PL 6465 K3) purchased from the estate of H. R. S. Taylor through the Vaile Fund, 9 May 1952.

²⁴ See Binney *Legacy of guilt* (2005) p. 17 and her footnote 38.

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).

²⁷ “Advertisement” p. [1] of 8pp. DUHO ms. 72/3.

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].²⁹

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.³⁰ 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.”³¹ 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*.³² 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

²⁹ T. Kendall, ‘Draft for unpublished second edition of the Grammar of the New Zealand language’ [1827–1832]. (holograph) MSZ–0871 page 4.

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.

³¹ T. Kendall to Secretaries, 8 September 1820, in T. Kendall, ‘Correspondence’ 1808–1824, ATL Micro–MS–0313.

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.”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:

“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”.

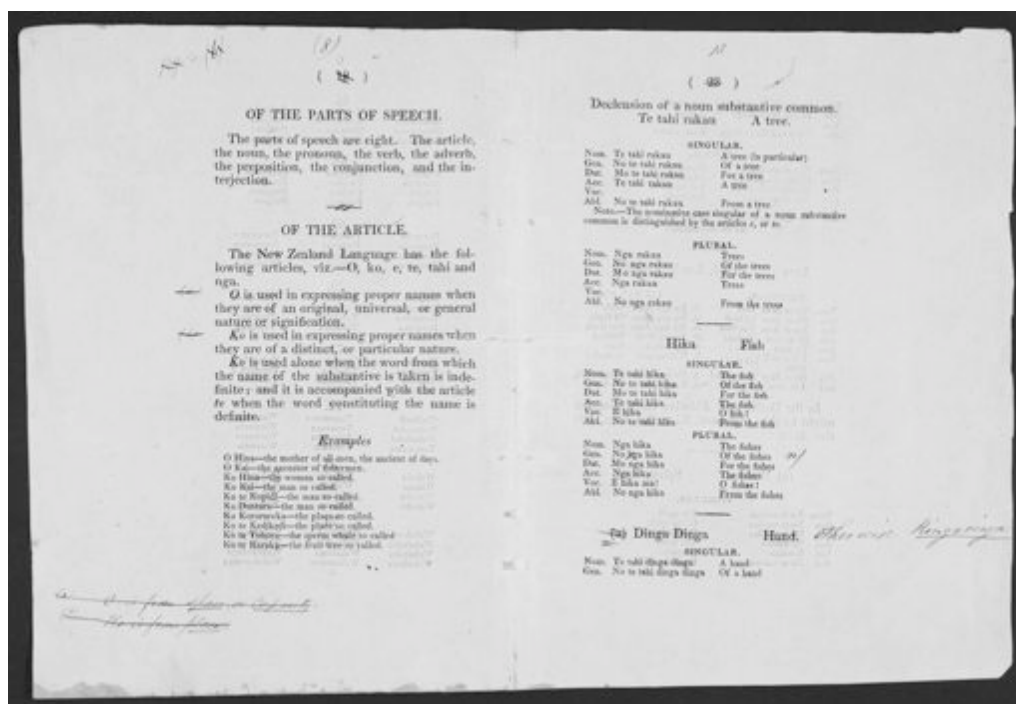


Figure 7: A sheet from the printed part of the 1827 revision, MSZ-0871, showing pages 8 and 13 ‘of the parts of speech’

³³ T. Kendall, ‘Draft for unpublished second edition of the Grammar of the New Zealand language’ [1827–1832]. (holograph) MSZ-0871 p. 4.

“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 “aere” [i.e. *haere*] becomes “aerenga” [*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*”³⁴ 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

³⁴ For an account of the death of Te Hinaki, slain by Hongi at Mokoia, Panmure Basin, see R. D. Crosby, *Musket wars* (1999) pp. 101–104.

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 (Hihí o tote, Hinau, Hívi, Henge, Huduroa, Kíra, Kúkúpa, Kaihu, Kainga dua etc.) down to chief 48 (Waidua of Mataudi (i.e. Wairua of Matauri). Wairua is followed by Te Áhi, Te Áhi tu, Te Hei, Te Húdi o kúna, down to Te Tódú, Te Tutai, Te Wáha, Te Ware óne óne, Te Wáre kúmu, Te Ware núi, Te Ware papa, Te Wata, Te Wera, Te Wairo.³⁶ ‘Te Todu’ is Te Toru, the chief depicted as ‘Tetoro,

³⁵ See *Turnbull Library Record* v. 33 (2000) pp. 54–55.

³⁶ I have disregarded the particle ‘Ko’ in all cases but have retained the accented vowel marks.

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, Kahi Tahia (i.e. Kaitaia with chief Kahi), Motu Hunga, Didiwa, Wangaroa, (i.e. Whangaroa, with its chiefs "Te Pui" i.e. Te Puhi 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 (Taiaimai), to Kororareka (district 56) and then on to the tribes "Na ti Pawa" (Ngāti Paoa), Na ti Watua (Ngāti Whatua), 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, Ahi, Ahinga, Ahi tangata, Aho, Aku or Shaku, Amu, Anga rau, Ara, Arahi te Udu, Te Adu, Te Ahi, Te Ahinga, Te Aho etc.), and Butler's of 1824 (six names only: Adí, Áha rau, Áho, Áki, Ánga rau, Ára) 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.

³⁷ The portrait forms the frontispiece to Richard Cruise's *Journal of ten months residence in New Zealand* (London: Longmans, 1823). The portrait print is in the Alexander Turnbull Library (A-114-036) and is reproduced in P. Parkinson, 'Tuku: gifts for a king and the panoplies of Titore and Patuone' *Tuhinga* 23:53–68, p. 55.

- 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 Tuwahine * 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 kéke * an uncle or aunt
- E Madua kéke tane * an uncle
- E Madua kéke 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 táne * 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 hous[e]keeper 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.
 Kauga 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 kóre óti koe e pai kía túa e táhi rákau móku? (Art thou not willing to fell some wood for me?) E pai ána ra óki ’au. E’aha te útu’? (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 Lhotsky 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'.⁴¹ Prior to that, a note appeared in the proceedings of the society to explain that: The secretary read a notice, by Dr Lhotsky, 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 Lhotsky 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."⁴² 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."⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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

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.”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.

⁴⁵ Binney, *Legacy of guilt* (2005) p. 17.

4 *Butler's 'New Zealandic Vocabulary', 1839–1841*

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 alarm 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, koia matou ka inoi ai kia meinga koe hei hoa mo matou hei kai tiaki e enei motu kei tata mai te wakato i o nga tau iwi, kei haere mai nga tangata ke kit 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.”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.”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 Cook’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.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.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.”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

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.”

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.

⁴ See P. Temple, *A sort of conscience* (2002) pp. 192–194; P. Adams, *Fatal necessity* (1977) p. 94; and D. Coates and J. Beecham, *Christianity the means of civilisation* (1839).

⁵ See H. Riddiford *A Blighted fame, George S. Evans, 1802-1868 a life* (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2014) xxi, 503 pp.

⁶ ‘Remarks of Subcommittee on Parent committee’s letter of Aug.9, 1838’, in ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-33 (CMS Archives CN/M v. 11 pp. 215–219).

and reflected on the ‘fatal necessity’ that, when “a nation begins to colonise it is led step by step over the whole globe.”⁷

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.”⁸ 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.⁹ 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,)¹⁰ 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.”¹¹ 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.

⁷ P. Adams, *Fatal necessity* (1977) pp. 82, 100, and Melbourne to Howick, 16 December 1837, Grey papers, Melbourne 115/1, cited in P. Adams, *Fatal necessity* (1977) p. 101.

⁸ P. Adams, *Fatal necessity* (1977) p. 123.

⁹ E. J. Tapp, *Early New Zealand, 1788-1841* (1958) p. 110.

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.

¹¹ N. Broughton to Henry Williams, no date, ca. November 1839, in ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04-33 (CMS Archives CN/M v. 12 pp. 324-325).

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.¹²

On the 14th 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 24th day of July in the year of Our Lord 1819.¹³

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.¹⁴

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 is 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 that *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.

¹⁸ A. D. W. Best, ('Ensign Best') quoted in P. Burns, *Fatal success* (Wellington: Heinemann-Reed, 1989), p. 156. See also A. D. W. Best, *The Journal of Ensign Best, 1838–1843* (Wellington: Govt. Print, 1966) pp. 224–225. Samuel Revans, who travelled with Evans, called him: "ignorant of *man*, tho' he has had much to do with *boy* [referring to his work at the Mill Hill School] — and the one and the other equally, but particularly united, disqualify him from the position he now fills." (S. Revans to H. S. Chapman, 21 December 1839, quoted in *Journal of Ensign Best*, p. 224, footnote 114).

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.

¹⁹ Burns, *Fatal success* pp. 90–91. Ngaiti gave evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Lords on 10 April 1838 (see GBPP 1838 (680) pp. 113–116 and referred, in a confused way, to literacy, but it is apparent that he was not fluent in English. A portrait of ‘Nayti’ appears in *The Saturday Magazine* December 1837 p. 264. He is described in J. Ward, *The British Colonization of New Zealand* (London: Parker, 1837) pp. 190–191.

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.

²² A. Caughey, *The interpreter, the biography of Richard ‘Dicky’ Barrett* (Albany: David Bateman, 1998). 296 pp.

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.”²⁵

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 1839.²⁶ 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.”²⁷ It is not improbable that Evans may have brought the manuscript with him to New Zealand, with a view to having it printed by Revans on arrival. The Evans holograph was eventually rediscovered in Wales and was donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library by Prof. G. B. Kerferd of the University of Wales at Swansea in September 1963; it is now located at qMS-0688.

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

²⁵ Caughey, *The interpreter* pp. 146–147.

²⁶ J. Ward, *Information relative to New Zealand*. (London: Parker, 1839)

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.

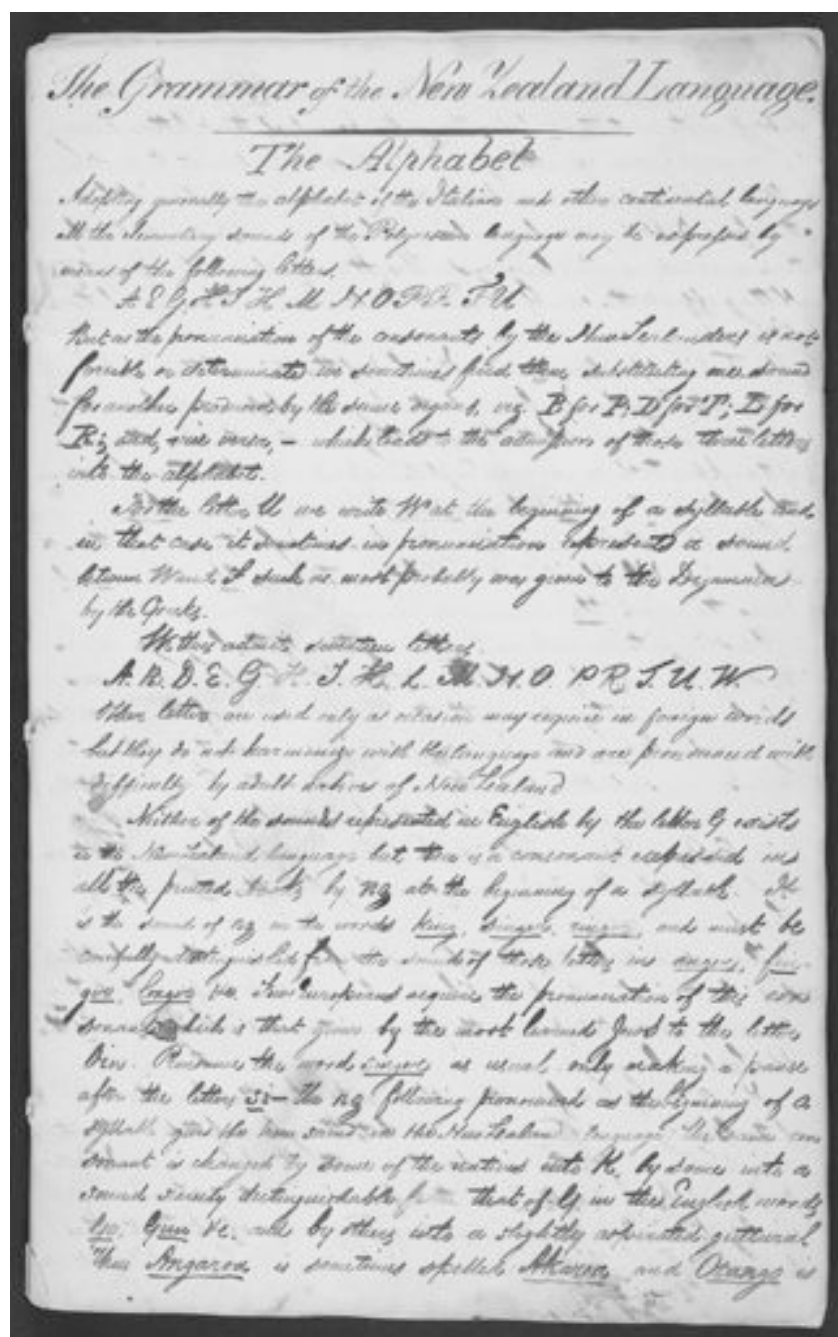


Figure 8: The first page of the manuscript of George Samuel Evans, 1839, plagiarised and adapted from the stolen MS of Kendall, but never published, and now in the Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0688.

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.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 lexicon²⁹, in consequence of which, with the introduction of many European words they have invented a jargon unintelligible to the natives beyond their own establishments."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.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:

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.

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.

³⁰ Evans, in ATL qMS-0688 pages [3–4].

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 24th, 1820" (clearly a typographical error for '1840') and signed at the foot "Britannia, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1840." The imprint given by

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.”³⁶ 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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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.”³⁹ 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).⁴⁰ 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.

³⁷ *New Zealand Journal* no. 26 (16 January 1841) p. 21.

³⁸ It is not quite the same list as the “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 to 136 in Kendall’s 1827–32 manuscript, ATL MSZ–0871).

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 Mokoia, 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

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’s 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 Hird's Chart [i.e. Herd's Chart⁴⁶] 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 Ihe / 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."⁴⁷ The office of the Land Claims Commission duly issued a notice of hearing.⁴⁸ 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 Sepr 8th 1843.⁴⁹

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

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

⁴⁸ H. H. Turton, *Maori deeds of old private land claims* (Wellington: Govt. Print., 1882) p. 617.

⁴⁹ OLC 636. Transcripts of some letters are in Alexander Turnbull Library MS-Papers-0075-113.

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'.⁵⁰ 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. Aianeī – 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. Arahi – 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.⁵¹ 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 Ingarani, 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

New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, a thing translated from the Greek). This work of 356 pages was issued in 5,000 copies, but most of it was not issued as a volume but rather as smaller collections of chapters e.g. Mark and Luke (pp. 47–120) or John to Romans (pp. 121–220) and they were probably used mostly to reach reading and writing. For the printing history of the Book of Common Prayer, the most widely used text, see P. Parkinson, ‘A language peculiar to the word of God; the Anglican liturgy in the Maori language’ *Publishing History* v. 54 (2003): 19–66.

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.

⁵³ C. J. Parr, ‘Maori literacy 1843–1867’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 72 (1963) pp. 214–215.

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).⁵⁴ The announced Catholic grammar of October 1841 was probably the direct stimulus for Maunsell's Protestant competitor.⁵⁵ Maunsell's *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.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.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 *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.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

⁵⁴ *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 (*BiM* 522).

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).

⁵⁶ *BiM* 130, 131 R. Maunsell, *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, *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 *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* (Berlin, 1846) pp. 187-209. This work, however, like several of its predecessors, remained unpublished.

⁵⁷ Maunsell, *Grammar* dedication (unnumbered leaf).

⁵⁸ R. Salmond, *Government Printing in New Zealand, 1840 to 1843* (Wellington: Elibank Press, 1995) pp. 19-27.

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 Ngāpuhi dialect, no alteration, excepting the occasional introduction of the *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 Ngāpuhi 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 *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 *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.”⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ Some of these works were reissued until World War I. Suzanne Aubert’s popular *New and Complete Manual of Maori 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 Maori Language.”⁶⁶ A common popular modern grammar of *te reo Māori* in English is John Foster’s *Ngā kupu whakamārama, Māori grammar* (1997).⁶⁷ It was not until 2008 that a comprehensive dictionary of the Māori language *in that language* was been 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.⁶⁸

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*

⁶⁴ Maunsell, *Grammar*, 3d ed. (1882) p. [v].

⁶⁵ BiM 363: H. T. Kemp’s *First step to Maori 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). Kemp’s *Korero Maori* (“by a Pakeha-Maori”) 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 Maori* (Auckland: Upton, 1883) BiM 1095.

⁶⁶ A new edition was published in 1901 as *Complete Manual of Maori Grammar and Conversation with vocabulary. Revised and enlarged edition Edited by A. T. Ngata, M. A. Llb., Barrister at Law*, but without any acknowledgement to Aubert. It contains only twenty pages of grammar. Alexander Turnbull commented, in an annotation on the preliminaries of his own copy, “I understand Ngata had very little to do with this work.”

⁶⁷ J. Foster, *Ngā kupu whakamārama Māori Grammar* (Auckland: Reed, 1997) 141 pp.

⁶⁸ C. J. Parr, ‘Maori literacy 1843–1867’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 72 (1963) p. 215

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 Selwyn's "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.

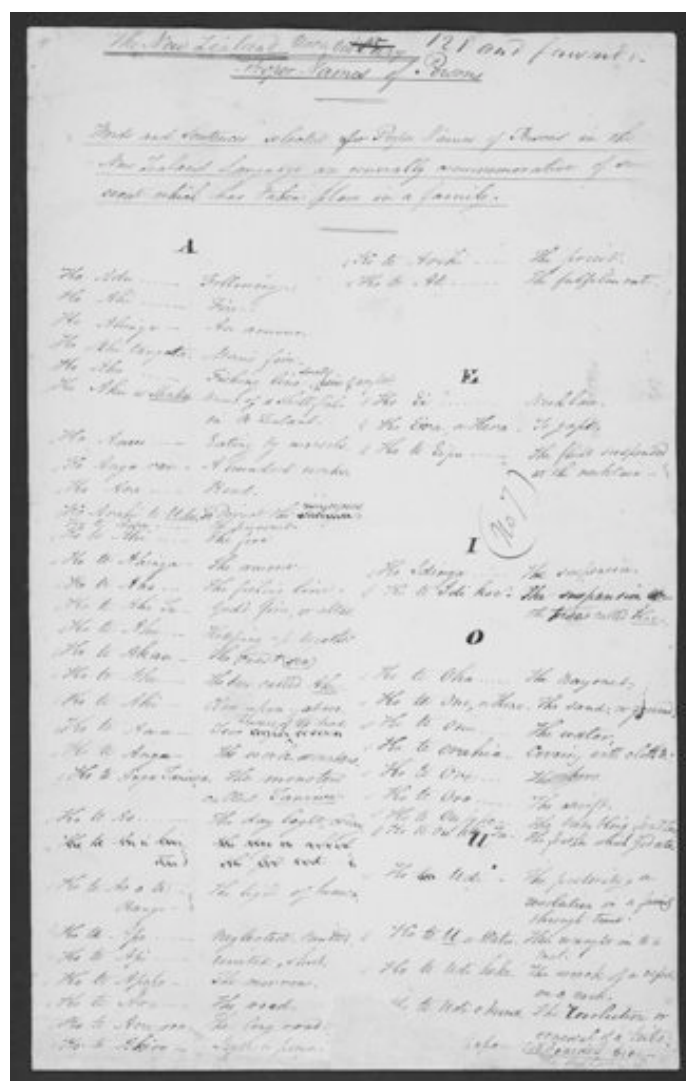


Figure 9: The first sheet, page 121 of part 'No. 7' in 'The New Zealand Vocabulary' in Kendall's MSZ-0871, the whole of which is transcribed below.

This two-part vocabulary is not a replacement for that contained in the 1820 *Grammar*¹, with which it 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 mía 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.² 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 Adu"

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.³ 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.⁴

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 importance 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

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 has Kaikatea), Rimu (Kendall has Dimu, but only as a name for a seaweed, = *limulimu* in Hawaii, referring to an edible species of *Caulerpa brownii* (C.Agardh) Endl.), Mairi (Kendall has Maidi, now as Maire) Torairi (now as Taraire), Tawa (Kendall has both Tawa and Taua), Puriri, Rewarewa, Kawaka, Miro, Towai, Pohutukaua (now as Pohutukawa), Aki (Kendall has Aki, now Akeake), Kahikatoa (now more usually as Manuka), Kohekohe, Mahoe (Kendall has Mahoehoe), Hinau, Matai, and Rata. Kendall mentions only ten trees or shrubs.

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 1837.⁵ As for the birds, Yate lists no less than thirty-three by species – the Tūi, Koukou (better known as the morepork or Ruru), Pōwhaitere (Kākāriki, parakeet), Kākā, Kokorimako (better known as the Korimako or bellbird), ‘Tataiata’ (tātāeko, the whitehead), ‘Tiaki or Purourou’ (Tīeke, the saddleback), Ngirungiru (tomtit), ‘Toutouwai’ (or tōtōwai, the New Zealand robin), Piripiri (rifleman), Pāpera or wild duck, Pīwakawaka (fantail), Riroriro (grey warbler), Pīhoihoi (New Zealand groundlark), Kiwi, Mātātā (fernbird), ‘Kauaua’ (kārearea or falcon), Kāhu (hawk), Tatariki (apparently a duplication of the whitehead entry), Huia, Pūkeko, Kūkupa (or Kererū, wood pigeon), Kōtihe (stitchbird), Kōkako, ‘Pipīwaraua’ (Pipīwharaua, shining cuckoo), ‘Kohaperoa’ (also kawekaweā, long-tailed cuckoo), ‘Tuturiwatu’ (Tūturiwhatu, New Zealand dotterel), Tākahikahi (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’ia’ in 1820), Kivi (Kiwi), Koekoeā (or Kawekaweā), Kōtuku, Miromoro, Pīhoihoi, Pūtoto, Tūi, Tūturiwhatu, Tākapu, Kōkako, and several with uncertain names (Kaha which possibly may be Kākā or Kāhu); Reko, Ohi, Kio, are all unidentified.⁶

Some important terms, with which Kendall ought to have been familiar, seem not appear at all. Aruhe (fernroot) is “Adúe” in 1820 (p. 132), but the term seemingly omitted in the 1831 MS, appears in the form “Nga dúe; 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 filed 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 dūe; Roots of fern” (for ngā aruhe) and “Ngānga; 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 Adu	Following	1820 “A’du, <i>v.n.</i> Following, pursuing, driving” p. 132. [W1971 = Aru <i>v.t.</i> <i>Follow, pursue.</i> p. 17]
Ko Ahi	Fire	1820 “Ahi, <i>s.a and v.n.</i> – 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) <i>n.</i> <i>Fire.</i> 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 <i>ahi</i> is applied to a large class of <i>karakia</i> .”
Ko Aho	Fishing line, small line of any sort	1820 “A’ho, <i>s.</i> A fishing line, any line” * p. 133. [W1971 = Aho (i) <i>n.</i> 1. <i>String, line.</i> 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 <i>haku</i> (<i>Seriola grandis</i> [‘kingfish’ or ‘yellowtail kingfish’])
Ko Amu	Eating by morsels	1820 “eating by morsels” * p. 134. [W1971 p. 33 Hamu <i>v. t.</i> <i>Gather things that are thinly scattered.</i>]
Ko Anga rau	A hundred works	1820 “A’nga ... a party engaged in work” * p. 134 [W1971 p. 10] Probably the verb <i>anga</i> ‘Turn to, set about doing anything, followed by <i>ki</i> or <i>ka</i> ’ with <i>rau</i> = a hundred, hence a work party of 100.
Ko Ara	Road	1820 “A line of direction, a road” * p. 135. [W1971 p. 13 Ara (i) 1. <i>Way, path.</i>]
Ko Arahi te Udu	To direct the rising[?] waves [word deleted]	1820 “Name of a certain place” p. 136 [Perhaps <i>arahi te uru</i> 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]

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 Ahu	Heaping up together	[Te Ahu] 1820 * p. 133. [W1971 p. 3 Ahu, (i) n. <i>Heap, mound</i> . 2. <i>Sacred mound used in certain rites.</i>]
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. <i>Shore, coast, especially rocky coast</i>]
Ko te Ake	The tree called <u>Ake</u>	[Te Ake] 1820 "name of a certain tree" * p. 133. [W1971 p. 6 Ake, Akeake (i) n. <i>Dodonea viscosa</i> Jacquin, 1760, Sapindaceae]
Ko te Aki	Close upon, above	[Te Aki] 1820 "Close to, against, above, ..." * [Cf W1971 p. 7 Āki (4) <i>Abut on</i>]
Ko te Ama	Two corpse-bearers bearers of the dead	[Te Ama] 1820 "bearers of the dead" * p. 134. [W1971 p. 8 Ama (i) n. 1. <i>Outrigger</i> , 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 <i>Company of persons, people (throng)</i>]
Ko te Anga Taniwa	The monster called <u>Taniwa</u>	[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 &c" * p. 135 [W1971 p. 11 Ao (i) 1. n. <i>Daytime</i> , 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 Tú; 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.
Ko te Ao o te rangi	The light of heaven	[Te Ao o te Rangi] 1820 "The light of heaven" * p. 135 from Ao = daytime and rangi = sky. Cf. W1971 p. 11 Ao (i) 1. n. <i>Daytime</i> , as opposed to night]
Ko te Ape	neglected, omitted	[Te Ape] 1820 "Proper name of a person" p. 135 [W1971 p. 12: Āpiti 1. v.t. <i>Put together</i> , 2. <i>Supplement</i> anything deficient]
Ko te Api	united, shut	[Te Api] 1820 ditto mark signifying "Proper name of a person" p. 135 [Perhaps W1971 p. 36 Hapi n. <i>Native oven</i> or cooking pit = Hāngi; but Cf W1971 p. 12 "Apiapi. 2. Confined, constricted."

Ko te Apopo	The morrow	[Te Apopo] 1820 “Tomorrow” * p. 135 [W1971 p. 13 Āpōpō n. 1. <i>Tomorrow</i> 2. At some future time]
Ko te Ara	The road	[Te Ara] 1820 “A line of direction, a road” p. 135; but also the name of a chief * [W1971 p. 13 (i) n. <i>Way</i> , path. Butler p. 278, 356: The chief of Whangaroa, involved in the <i>Boyd</i> incident of 1809, brother of Te Puhi.
Ko te Ara roa	The long road	[Te Araroa] Cf 1820 “A long road; also the proper name of a person” * p. 136
Ko te Akiro	Light, or powers	[Te Hakiro?] Possibly a person, term unknown, out of order.
Ko te Ariki	The priest	[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).
Ko te Atu	The fulfilment	[Te Atu] 1820 ‘Atu’ used as adjective only, pp. 136-137. The word is used as a correlative with <i>mai</i> in association with certain verbs, see W1971 p. 20.
E		
Ko Ei	Necklace	1820 “Hei, <i>s.</i> Necklace, bosom, keep-sake” * p. 153 [cf W1971 p. 44 Hei v. i. & n. (4) <i>An ornament for the neck</i> . Usually in the form of a humanoid figure ‘hei tiki’]
Ko Era, or Hera	To gape	1820 “Héra, <i>v.n.</i> Gaping” * p. 153 [W1971 term not used]
Ko te Eipu	The flute suspended on the necklace	1820 “Hei pu; A flute worn at the bosom for an ornament” * p. 153. [Cf W1971 p. 300 Pū (ii) 1. <i>V.i/</i> Blow gently; 2. n. <i>Pipe, tube, flute</i> , used in the names of wind instruments (e.g. <i>pūkaea</i>) made from shells (<i>pūpū</i>) page 300, worn as a neck ornament.
I		
Ko Idinga	The suspension	1820 “I’dinga, <i>s.</i> A hanging up, or putting into a place out of the way” * p. 138 [W1971 p. 79 Iri (i) v.i. 1. <i>Be elevated</i> on something; (3) <i>Hang</i> , be suspended]
Ko te Idi koe	The suspension on the tree called <u>Koe</u>	Probably nothing to do with a tree: 1820 p. 138 actually has “I’di, <i>v.n.</i> Hanging. “Idi koe” * [Possibly as in W1971 p. 122 koe (iv) = kore adv. <i>Not</i> i.e. not hanging]

O

Ko te Oka	The bayonet	[Te Oka] 1820 “O’ka, <i>s.</i> Sharp pointed instrument, a bayonet, a fork” * p. 141 [W1971 p. 238 Oka (2) <i>n.</i> Any sharp weapon used for stabbing or piercing]
Ko te One, or Hone	The sand or ground	[Te One] 1820 “O’ne, <i>s.</i> The sandy shore” * p. 142 [W1971 p. 239 One <i>n.</i> (2) <i>Sand, mud.</i> (3) In various names for different kinds of soil.]
Ko te Onu	The water	[Te Honu] 1820 “O’nu, <i>s.</i> Spring water” * p. 143 [W1971 p. 58 Honu (i) <i>hohonu</i> 1. <i>adj.</i> Deep, 2. <i>n.</i> Freshwater. Related to honuhonu <i>a. deep</i>]
Ko te Orahia	Covering with cloth	[Te Horahia] 1820 “O’ra ía; A covering over with cloth” * p. 143 [Cf W1971 p. 59 Hora, (i) 1. <i>v.t.</i> Scatter over a surface, spread out; not about ‘cloth’]
Ko te Ore	The bore	[Te Ore] 1820 “The boring of a hole, by turning the hand backwards and forwards” * p. 143 [W1971 p. 241 Ore (i) <i>v.t.</i> Bore]
Ko te Oro	The swift	[Te Horo] 1820 “Swiftness as in running” * p. 144 [W1971 p. 61 Horo (ii) 1. <i>v.i.</i> Run, flee, escape. (2) <i>adj.</i> Quick, = hohoro.]
Ko te Oupepe	The trembling feather	[Te Houpepe] 1820 “Ou Pépé; a trembling feather” *p. 150 [Cf W1971 p. 62 Hou (i) <i>n.</i> Feather (probably strictly tail feather), and Pepe (i) 1. <i>v.i.</i> Flutter p. 277]
Ko te Ou kai Tu	The feather which God ate	[Te Hou kai Tū] Not in 1820 text, a nonsense derivation; <i>hou</i> has many senses.

U

Ko te Udi	The posterity, a revolution in a family through time	[Uri] 1820 “U’di, <i>s.</i> Revolution, succession, posterity” * p. 145 [W1971 p. 469 Uri (i), <i>n.</i> 1. Offspring, descendant]
Ko te Ua Watu	Hair wrought into a mat	[Te Ua Whatu] “U’ a wátu; Hair wrought into a mat” * p. 145 [W1971 p. 492 Whatu (ii) <i>v. t.</i> 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 éke; the rolling or turning over upon a rock” * p. 145 and p. 153 “Héke <i>s.</i> A wreck, as of a ship; a slip, a change of place” [cf W1971 p. 71 Huri (i) 1. <i>v.t.</i> 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)] papa	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. <i>Hurihuri ika</i> 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. <i>Hair</i> and Huru (iii) 1. n. <i>Glow</i> .]
Ko te Uru roa	The long hair	[Te Ururoa] 1820 “U’du Róa; Cockles” * p. 146 [Cf W1971 p. 470 <i>Ururoa</i> n. 2. <i>Gari stangeri</i> , a bivalve mollusc = <i>kuharu</i> , <i>kuwharu</i> . (Purple sunset shell, Psammobiidae) Possibly also applied to other bivalves e.g. <i>Resania lanceolata</i> 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 [<i>Tara</i> is a term applies to various white breasted seabirds such as terns and gulls e.g. <i>tara punga</i> or <i>Larus scopulinus</i> (now <i>Chroicocephalus scopulinus</i>); the gannet (takapu, <i>Morus serrator</i> (G. R. Gray, 1843), or Australasian gannet is not a ‘tara’. Here <i>huru</i> 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. <i>Flint</i> & 3 v.i. <i>Chip</i> , split of in chips]
Ko Dimu	A seaweed called <u>kelp</u>	[Rimu] 1820 “Dimu, s. A certain fig tree” is not a ‘fig’ but a podocarp tree <i>Dacrydium cupressinum</i> Sol. ex Lamb. The resemblance of the foliage of the tree to that of the edible green seaweed <i>rimurimu</i> = <i>Caulerpa brownii</i> (C. Ag.) Endl. (which is not a ‘kelp’!) shows Kendall was a poor naturalist as well as a poor linguist. <i>Rimurapa</i> is the bull kelp <i>Durvillaea</i> used to make storage bags (<i>pōhā</i> for edible seabirds – <i>pōhā tītī</i> – muttonbirds, <i>Puffinus griseus</i>) 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 <i>Ringa, ringaringa</i> n. <i>hand</i>]
Ko Dipa	To roll or turn over a basket containing anything	[Ripa] 1820 “Dipa, s. The turning of bones or a skeleton out of a basket, without lifting it from the ground” * p. 150 [Probably associated with the <i>hahunga</i> ceremony Cf W1971 p. 30 Hahu v.t. 1. “ <i>Disinter</i> the bones of the dead before removing them to their final resting place.” And p. 341 <i>Ripa</i> 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 <i>rua</i> = two and <i>anga</i> W1971 p. 10 Anga 3. n. <i>Aspect</i> (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 (<i>Sphenodon</i>) are the only surviving members of their order Rhynchocephalia. The derivation of <i>tuatara</i> is given as ‘peaks on the back’ and refers to the soft crest of spines along the back.
Ko Duwahine	A housekeeper or watchwoman	[Ruawahine] 1820 “Dua wahine; a house-keeper” * p. 151 [From W1971 p. 349 Rua (ii) n. 1. <i>Pit, hole</i> , store for provisions and Ruahine, ruwahine 1. n. <i>Old woman</i>]
Ko Duawehea	Sepulchre emptied of its remains	[Ruawehea] 1820 “Dúa wehéa; Sepulchre robbed of its contents” * p. 151 ‘Rua’ is here (W1971 p. 349) <i>Rua</i> (ii), n. 1. <i>Pit, hole</i> . <i>Wehea</i> is from “ <i>Wehe</i> (i) 1 Detach, divide”) and seems to be associated with the <i>hahunga</i> ceremony.
Ko Dui	Leak or leakage of a vessel	Cf ‘Duinga’, below
Ko Dudea	To push at and plunder a person	[Rurea] 1820 p. 151 [W1971 p. 352 Rure v.t. 1. <i>Shake, dash upon</i> ; 2. Toss about, scatter; 3. Bandy words, wrangle. Normally W1971 p. 215 Muru, v.t. 5. <i>Plunder</i> ‘Ka murua te kainga’]
Ko Dudu	Close, bushy	[Ruru] 1820 “Close, hidden &c.” p. 151 [Cf W1971 p. 352 Ruru (ii) 1. v.t. <i>Tie, tie together</i> , and v.i. draw closer together, hence rūruru n. <i>bundle</i>]

Ko Duinga	a shaking out of anything contained in a vessel held in the hand	[Ruinga] 1820 “Dúinga; a shaking out of anything contained in a vessel held in the hand” * p. 152 [W1971 p. 350 Rui, v.t. 1. Shake, brandish, with addition of suffix <i>-nga</i> which turns the verb into the verbal noun = Rū. 1. v.t. Shake, agitate. Related to Rure, above]
[obscured]	An earthquake, a shrug of the shoulders	[Ru] 1820 “Du, <i>s.</i> A sudden shrug with the shoulders” * p. 151 [W1971 p. 349 Rū v.i. <i>Shake, agitate</i> 4. n. <i>Earthquake</i> , rūanga n. shaking, displacement]
Ko te Dua renga	The house made of the plant renga renga	[Te Ruarengarenga] 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 tāhuhu cf W1971 p. 349 Rua (ii) n. 2. Store for provisions. The plant <i>rengarenga</i> (<i>Arthropodium cirrhatum</i>) 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. <i>Tie together</i> , with addition of suffix <i>-nga</i> which turns the verb into the verbal noun = shelter.
H		
[obscured, Ko Hadi] or Shadi	A dancing	[Hari] 1820 “A’di, ... <i>s.</i> A dance, joy &c; also the proper name of a person” * p. 131 [W1971 p. 37 Hari (i) v.i. <i>Dance with joy</i> and 4 n. Dance]
[obscured, Ko Haki rau]	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, <i>s.</i> Rafter of a house” and “Heke, <i>s.</i> 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. <i>One who migrates</i> , party of emigrants, 8. <i>Rafter</i> , all from Heke 1. v.i. <i>Descend, migrate</i>]

Ko Hihi	Rays of the sun or moon &c	[Hihi] 1820 “Hīhi, <i>s.</i> Beams or rays of the sun &c” p. 154; hence W1971 p. 47 Hī (iii) 4. Rise and 5. Dawn. Also Hihi (i) 3. <i>Long plumes</i> ornamenting the bow of a war canoe (= puhi), and so p. 48 the name of a rare bird (stitchbird / hihi), the male having such features (<i>Notiomystis cincta</i>)
Ko Hihi o Salta	The sparkling of salt	[Hihi o tote] 1820 “Hihi o tote; Sparkling of salt” * p. 154 [this seems fanciful, but <i>tote</i> is a transliteration of ‘salt’]
Ko Hinau	Tree called the [Hināu] the bark of which is used in dying garments	[Hīnau] 1820 “I’nau, <i>s.</i> Name of a certain tree [and] The fruit of the inau” * p. 139 [W1971 p. 51 Hīnau, <i>n.</i> <i>Elaeocarpus dentatus</i>]
Ko Hika	Fish	[Ika] 1820 “I’ka, <i>s.</i> Fish” * p. 138 [W1971 p. 76 Ika (i) <i>n.</i> <i>Fish</i> , but with many figurative meanings also.
Ko Hike	Bruising or beating bark	[Ike] 1820 “I’ke, <i>v.n.</i> Bruising bark &c” * p. 138 [W1971 p. 76 Ike (ii) <i>v.t.</i> strike with a hammer or other heavy instrument = pāike]
Ko Hiku	The tail of a fish	[Hiku] 1820 “I’ku, <i>s.</i> Tail of a fish” * p. 139 [W1971 p. 50 Hiku (i) <i>n.</i> Tail of a fish or reptile]
Ko Hine o Madu	Daughter of Madu	[Hine o Maru] 1820 “I’ne a Madu, A bare headed woman” * p. 139 [Probably fanciful]
Ko Hine hono	The scolding woman	[Hine hono] 1820 “I’ne O’no; a scolding woman” * p. 139 [Cf W1971 p. 58 Honohonoā <i>v.i.</i> <i>Be vexed</i> , be annoyed, cf Hīnana <i>a.</i> staring angrily p. 51]
Ko Hi na te Shau	Beat by the wind	[Hi na te hau] 1820 “I’na te áu. The piercing of the wind” * p. 139 [? ‘Hī na te Hau’ in reference to the hissing of wind?]
Ko Hine Hudu	The <u>offered</u> girl	[Hine huru] 1820 “I’ne udu; proper name of a person” * p. 140 [Perhaps a personal name or else figurative ‘girl + hair’]
Ko Hine wai	The watery girl	[Hine wai] 1820 “I’ne Wai; Water-woman” * p. 140 [Probably a personal name]
Ko Hivi	a bone	[Iwi] 1820 “I’wi, <i>s.</i> A bone” * p. 140 [W1971 p. 80 Iwi, <i>n.</i> 1. Bone [. . .] 4. Nation, people, a collection of <i>hapū</i>]
Ko te Hana	The vault	[Te Ana] 1820 “A vault for the dead” * p. 152 [W1971 p. 9 Ana (i) <i>n.</i> <i>Cave</i>]
Ko te Hawa	The river	[Te Awa] 1820 “A’wa <i>s.</i> The river” * p. 137 [W1971 p. 23 Awa <i>n.</i> 2. <i>River</i>]
Ko te Hawe	The soot	[Te Awe] [W1971 p. 24 Awe (i) <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Soot</i> ; also 2. <i>Cloud</i> [. . .] 4. <i>White feathers</i> [plumes] from albatross or heron]
Ko te Hahwi	The gathering of anything together	[Te Awhe, hawhe, whawhe] [W1971 p. 24 Awhe 1. <i>v.t.</i> <i>Scoop up</i> , gather together as e.g. shellfish]

Ko te Hawa i <u>kou</u> hia	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 <i>Koia</i> ad. 1. Expressing assent. <i>It is so</i> [. . .] 4. For ko ia, <i>it is that</i> i.e. ‘ <i>That river</i> ’]
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. <i>A fish, likely a porpoise or dolphin</i>]
Ko te He	The error	[Te Hē] 1820 “An error, a mistake . . .” * p. 152 [W1971 p. 43 Hē (i) 1. <i>A Wrong</i>]
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. <i>How many?</i>]
Ko te Hiamoe	Sleepy-headed	[Te Hiamoe] 1820 “Hia moe, <i>a. Sleepy</i> ” * p. 153 [W1971 p. 48 Hiamoe. 1. a. <i>Drowsy, sleepy</i>]
Ko te Hika	The fish	[Te Ika] 1820 “I’ka, <i>s. Fish</i> ” * p. 138 [W1971 p. 76 Ika (i) n. <i>Fish</i>]
Ko te Hina	The aged person	[Te Hina] 1820 “I’na ... An old man” * p. 139 [Cf W1971 p. 50 Hina 4 a. <i>Grey-haired, grey, pale in colour</i>]
Ko to Hinu	The oil	[Te Hinu] 1820 “I’nu ... Oil” * p. 139 [W1971 p. 50 Hinu, n. 1. <i>Oil, fat</i>]
Ko te Hira	The mole on the skin	[Te Ira] 1820 “I’ra ... A mole on the skin” * p. 139 [W1971 p. Ira (i) iraira 1. n. <i>Freckle, mole or other natural mark on the skin</i>]
Ko te Hishu ponga	The nostril	[Te Ihu ponga] 1820 “Híhiu pángo; Black nose” * p. 151 [W1971 p. 75 Iho, n. <i>Nose</i> and p. 291 pongaponga, n. <i>nostril</i> = pongāihu]
Ko te Hishu rakau	The woody nose	[Te Ihu rakau] 1820 “Híhiu rákau; The woody nose” * p. 151 [Probably refers to the nostril tattoo <i>pōniania</i>]
Ko te Hua rahi	The road	[Te ua arahi] 1820 “U’arahi, <i>s. The road</i> ” * p. 145 [Cf W1971 Arahī. v.t. Pass. Arahina 1. <i>Lead, conduct</i> , with prefixed particle <i>Ūā</i>]
Ko te Hudu	The rays or glory surrounding the sun	[Te Huru] 1820 “U’du, <i>s. Life, light: the glory round a person’s head compared to the beams of the sun</i> ” * p. 145 [W1971 p. 72 Huru (i) <i>Hair</i> (of the head) and Huru (iii) 1. n. <i>Glow</i> (as in sunrise) hence halo, nimbus]
Ko te Hukahuka	The tassles of garments	[Te Hukahuka] 1820 “U’ka úka; Hair woven with the tassels of mats” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 67 Hukahuka 2. <i>Thrums or shreds on a cape, fringe</i>]

Ko te Huke renga	Taking away the plant called renga	[Te Hukerenga] 1820 “Uke rénga; Proper name” * p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 68 Hike v.t. 1. <i>Dig up</i> . Renga may refer to two plants, the edible <i>Tetragonia expansa</i> (= rengamutu) and the decorative <i>Arthropodium cirrhatum</i> (= rengarenga)
Ko te Humuroa	The long oven	[Te Umuroa] 1820 “U’mu róa; a long oven” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 467 Umu, imu n. <i>Earth oven</i> = hangi. “As fire was used in many mystic rites we find <i>umu</i> used in phrases referring to rites [. . .] nearly every rite having its distinctive <i>umu</i> .”
Ko te Huinga	The solicitation	[Te Uinga] 1820 “U’i, v.n. Soliciting ... (sometimes aspirated, hui)” * p. 146 [W1971 p. 466 Ui, v.t. 3 <i>Ask, enquire</i> with –nga as a verbal noun = Questioning]
Ko te Huitanga roa Ko te Huoro	The long solicitation The eel so called	[Deleted] [Te Huoro] 1820 “U’oro, s. A species of eel” * p. 147 [Possibly <i>puhikorokoro</i> , the lamprey <i>Geotria australis</i>]
Ko te Hunga	The appendage	[Te Unga] 1820 “Unga, s. An appendage” * p. 147 [W1971 Ū (ii) <i>Breast</i> of a female, udder, teat, with verbal noun form –nga]
Ko te Hue te wenua	The Pompkin &c growing on the surface of the earth	[Te Hue] 1820 “U’e, s. A melon, cucumber or anything that matures on the ground” p. 146 [W1971 Hue (i) n. 1. <i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i> , calabash gourd and a general name for all gourds] = <i>L. siceraria</i>]
Ko te Huwahuwa Ko Hudu or Huru	The arteries Hair or rays etc	[Te Huahua?] [Huruhuru] 1820 “U’du údu ; Hair of the head etc – See údu údu” p. 146 [There is extensive duplication here]
Ko Hudu roa	Long hair	[Ururoa] 1820 “U’du Róa; Cockles” * p. 146 [W1971 p. 470 Ururoa n. 2. <i>Gari stangeri</i> a bivalve mollusc; nothing to do with long hair]
Ko Huna	Hid	[Huna] 1820 “Una ... a concealment” * p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 69 Huna (i) 1. v.t. <i>Conceal</i>]
Ko Hura	Steam	[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. <i>Remove a covering</i>]
Ko Huta	The land (interior)	[Uta] 1820 “U’ta, s. A shore” * p. 147 [W1971 p. 470 Uta (i) n. 1. <i>The land</i> , as opposed to the sea or the water [. . .] the inland as opposed to the coast]
Ko Hunga	An appendage	[Unga] 1820 “U’nga, s. An appendage” * p. 147 [W1971 Ū (ii) <i>Breast of a female</i> , udder, teat, with verbal noun form –nga]

Ko Huia	Bird called <u>Huia</u>	[Huia] 1820 “U’ia, <i>s.</i> a certain bird, also the proper name of a person; and a certain shellfish” * p. 146 [Huia (<i>Heteralocha acutirostris</i>), extinct bird]
Ko Hukehumu	Drawing the oven	[Huke umu] 1820 “U’mu, <i>s.</i> An oven. “U’ke úmu; Draw the oven” p. 147 [Cf W1971 p. 68 Huke, <i>v.t.</i> 1. <i>Dig up</i> , expose by removing the earth in which it has been buried; of a <i>umu</i> = <i>hāngi</i>]
Ko Hui tangaroa	The long solicitation	[Uitanga roa] 1820 “U’i tanga roa; A long solicitation” * p. 146 [W1971 p. 466 Ui <i>v.t.</i> 3. <i>Ask enquire</i> , with the verbal noun ending –tanga and adjective roa = long]
Ko Hope	The abdomen	[Hope] 1820 “Ope, <i>s.</i> Abdomen of human body” * p. 143 [W1971 p. 59 Hope <i>n.</i> 1 <i>Loins, waist</i> 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 <i>n.</i> <i>Double canoe</i>]
K		
Ko Kadudu	It is close	[Ka ruru] 1820 “Kadúdu, <i>s.</i> A confined animation” * p. 154 [Cf W1971 p. 81 ka = verbal particle etc., with Ruru (ii) 1. <i>v.t.</i> <i>Tie, tie together</i> and 4 <i>v.i.</i> <i>Draw closer together</i>]
Ko Kahi	A comb made of bone	[Kahi] 1820 “Káhi <i>s.</i> A large comb made of the bone of a fish” * p. 155 [W1971 p. 83 Kahi (ii) <i>n.</i> 2 <i>A comb made of fish bones</i>]
Ko Kahia	A sacred mark	[Kāhia] Possibly from W1971 p. 83 Kāhia <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Tetrapathea tetrandra</i> , a plant = kōhia = 4 A pattern of ornamental scroll carving for wall slabs of a house. Derived from the curling tendrils of the plant.]
Ko Kahoe	It is sailing	[Hoe] 1820 “Kahói, <i>v.n.</i> “Ka hoi tatu; let us sail” * p. 155 [Cf W1971 ka = verbal particle etc., Hoe 1. <i>v.t.</i> , 2. <i>Paddle, row</i> , convey by canoe, hence transitively travel in a boat or canoe, make a voyage]
Ko Kahu	A garment	[Kahu] 1820 “Káhu, <i>s.</i> A garment” * p. 155 [W1971 p. 84 Kahu 2 <i>Garment</i>]
Ko Kahupai	The good garment	[Kahu + pai] 1820 “Káhu pai, A good garment” * p. 155 [W1971 p. 84 supplies named varieties]
Ko Kahupara	The unctuous garment	[Kahu] 1820 “Káhu pára, An unctuous garment” * p. 155 [A nonsense, but here para = greasy. <i>Para</i> is often used in a negative way for waste]

Ko Kahu rere	The flying garment	[Kahu rere] 1820 “Káhu rére, A flying garment” * p. 155 [Another nonsense, it really means the flight of a hawk = <i>kāhu</i> ; Káhurére is a personal name on p. 156]
Ko Kai	Food	[Kai] 1820 “Kai, s. Name of a certain sweet potatoe” * also “... Victuals, support” p. 156 [W1971 p. 85 Kai (i) 1. v.t. <i>Consume</i>]
Ko Kaihu	Sucking the breast	[Kaihu] 1820 “Kai hu; Name of a place. Also the proper name of a person” * p. 156 [W1971, possibly <i>kai ū</i> from ū (ii) n. <i>Breast</i> of a female, udder, teat. Kaihu is a forest between Hokianga and Kaipara]
Ko Kaihaho	Eating the line	[Kai aho] 1820 “Kai áho; Biting the fishing line, as a fish” * [presumably ‘kai aho’ but probably confusing <i>aho</i> (a fishing line) with the verb <i>Kai</i> (consume) and the prefix <i>Kai-</i> to transitive verbs to form nouns denoting an agent see W1971 p. 86]
Ko Kaihiki	Nurse	[Kaihiki] 1820 “Kai iki; The support of a nurse” * p. 156 [W1971 p. 49 Hiki. v.t. <i>Lift up, raise</i> and 2. <i>Carry in the arms</i> , nurse, with the prefix <i>Kai-</i> to transitive verbs to form nouns denoting an agent]
Ko Kainga	Meal, also table	[Kainga] 1820 “Kai ínga; Dining table” p. 156, but also “Káinga, s. A place of residence, a home &c’ and “Kainga, s. A meal. Proper name of a person” * p. 157 [W1971 p. 81 Kainga is a verbal noun from <i>kā</i> fire as <i>kānga</i> , <i>kāinga</i> place where fire has burned = village]
Ko Kai kamudi	Eating after others	[Kaika muri] 1820 “Kai ka múdi; Eating the last” * p. 156 [Nonsense: mudi = muri (i) 1. (b) of time = after with the preposition <i>ka</i> to form an adverbial phrase]
Ko Kai nanu	A quarrelsome meal	1820 “Kai Nánu; A jarring meal” * p. 157 [More nonsense, from Nanu (i) 1. a. Mixed, confused, incoherent; with the prefix <i>Kai-</i> to transitive verbs to form nouns denoting an agent]
Ko Kainga dua	The second meal	[Kaingarua] 1820 “Kainga dúa; The second meal” * p. 157 [More nonsense, from rua, = 2]
Ko Kaingaroa	The long meal	[Kaingaroa] 1820 “Kainga roa; The long meal” * p. 157 [From <i>ngaro</i> with the prefix <i>Kai-</i> to transitive verbs to form nouns denoting an agent. Probably a personal name of a chief. As with many other words the <i>Kai-</i> prefix is not about food, but about agency]
Ko Kaipo	Eating by night	[Kaipo] 1820 “Kai po, s. A nightly meal” * p. 157 [W1971 p. 285, from Pō (i) n. <i>Night</i>]

Ko Kai Pue	Eating the fish called Pue	[? Kaipue] 1820 “Kai pue; A meal of the intestines of a fish called <i>Púe</i> ” * p. 157 [Probably nonsense; no such fish has been identified. This may be a reference to Kendall’ <i>puikorokoro</i> (p. 196) or <i>piharau</i> or <i>kanakana</i> , the lamprey, <i>Geotria</i> . <i>Korokoro</i> = 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. <i>Quite, very</i>]
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. <i>Cry, weep</i>]
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) <i>Anything sharp</i> 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. <i>Near</i> , or place or time]
Ko Kaitoke	Food of worms	[Kaitoke] 1820 “Kai tóke; Food of worms” * p. 157 [Meaning obscure: toke (i) n. 1. <i>Earthworm</i> , but with other meanings also]
Ko Kaiwaka	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 <i>Whē</i> , n. <i>Caterpillar</i> , but also used for various insects. <i>Whē</i> is more properly the mummified caterpillar taken over by the fungus <i>Cordyceps robertsii</i> , which seeks out the larvae of one of six species of moth belonging to the genera <i>Dumbletonius</i> and <i>Aoraia</i> . Only the forest species are known to be attacked by <i>Cordyceps</i> .]
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. <i>Eye</i>]
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. <i>Ripple</i>]

Ko Karamaroa	A burning torch	[Ka ramaroa] Presumably from <i>kā</i> (i) v.i. Take fire, be lighted, burn, with <i>rama roa</i> , 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 Katupu	to grow up	[Ka tupu] 1820 “Ka túpu, <i>a</i> . Springing up, sprouting” * p. 161 [From W1971 p. 457 Tupu 1. v.i. <i>Grow, increase</i>]
Ko Karipi	To cut with as a knife	[Ka ripi] 1820 “Káripī, <i>s</i> . The cutting operation with a sharp weapon” * p. 160 [From W1971 p. 341 Ripi 1. v.i. <i>Cut, gash</i> and n. <i>Cutting implement, māripī</i> n. a [flint] knife]
Ko Kaua	Strong, bitter	[Kawa] 1820 “Kaua ... Bitter, strong, as spirits &c” * p. 161 [W1971 p. 109 Kawa (i) 1. a. <i>Unpleasant to the taste, bitter</i>]
Ko Kauakaua	very bitter	[Kawakawa] 1820 “Kaua kaua; A species of stone” * p. 161 [Kawakawa (<i>Macropiper excelsum</i>) has a bitter taste; a form of dark green jade of the same colour]
Ko Kawehou	A reptile so called	[Kaweau, kawekawau] 1820 “Káweou; A reptile so called” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 111 <i>Sphenodon</i> sp. = Tuatara but also used for a bird <i>Eudynamis taitensis</i> , a cuckoo]
Ko Kawadu	Eight	[Ka waru] 1820 “Ka wádu; Eight” * p. 161 [i.e. waru = 8]
Ko Ke	Different	[Kē] 1820 “Ké, <i>s</i> . The cry of a certain bird; also the proper name of a person” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 111 Kē (i) 1. a. <i>Different, of another kind</i>]
Ko Kedia	To dig the ground	[Keria] 1820 “Kedía, <i>v.n</i> . Dig (thou) up the ground” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 114, Keri = kari 1. v.i. <i>Dig</i>]
Ko Kedia	The second arm pit	[Kerua?] 1820 “Ke dúa; The proper name of a person” * p. 162 [A fanciful derivation, with ‘dua’ from <i>rua</i> = two and <i>kēkē</i> = 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 <i>Chatter, as the teeth with cold</i>]
Ko Kete	A basket	[Kete] 1820 “Kéte, <i>s</i> . A basket” * p. 162 [W1971 p. Kete n. 1. <i>Basket</i> made from strips of flax, etc.]
Ko Ketu	Displacing a corpse	[Ketu] 1820 “Kétu, <i>s</i> . The act of displacing a corpse” * p. 163 [W1971 p. 115, Ketu 1. v.t. <i>Remove earth etc., by pushing of digging with a blunt instrument</i>]

Ko Kidi	The skin	[Kiri] 1820 “Kídi, <i>s.</i> The skin” * p. 163 [W1971 p. 119 Kiri, n. 1. <i>Skin, bark</i>]
Ko Kidi pero	The stinking skin	[Kiri piro] 1820 “Kídi píro; A stinking skin” * p. 163 [W1971 p. 119 Kiripiro 1. v.t. <i>Dislike</i> , 2. a. <i>Unsociable, bad-tempered</i>]
Ko Kidi shau	The skin stripped off	[Kiri hau] 1820 “Kídi e ’au; A naked skin; skin exposed to the wind” * p. 163 [Cf W1971 p. 119 “Kiri hau, a. A term applied to the oven used in connection with various rites and ceremonial feasts” i.e. <i>flay</i>]
Ko Kina nehe	A small sea egg	[Kina nehe] 1820 “Kína néhe; a small sea egg” * p. 164 [W1971 p. 118 Kina n. 1. <i>Evechinus chloroticus</i> [green sea urchin] or Kina kōrako ‘a small variety of same’ the meaning of <i>nehe</i> is obscure]
Ko Kina	a Sea egg	[Kina] 1820 “Kína, <i>s.</i> A sea egg” p. * 164 [W1971 p. 118 Kina n. 1. <i>Evechinus</i> <i>chloroticus</i> [green sea urchin]
Ko Kiore	A mouse	[Kiore] 1820 “Kí óre; A mouse, rat &c” * p. 164 [W1971 p. 119 Kiore n. 1 <i>Rat, mouse.</i> Esp. The Polynesian rat <i>Rattus exulans</i> , formerly used as food]
Ko Kira	A reptile so called	[Kira] 1820 * p. 164 [W1971 p. 119 Kira a. <i>Rough with sharp points</i> . Possibly a name for tuatara]
Ko Kivi	A bird so called The Emu	[Kiwi] 1820 “Kíwi, <i>s.</i> Name of a certain bird” * p. 164 [W1971 p. 120 “Kiwi, n. <i>Apteryx</i> of various species. Wingless birds.” It is very odd that Kendall confuses the <i>kiwi</i> and <i>emu</i>]
Ko Kivikivi	The Emu feathers	[Kiwikiwi] 1820 “Kíwi kíwi, <i>s.</i> Feather of the bird called <i>Kíwi</i> ” p. 164 [= kiwi, <i>Apteryx</i> <i>mantelli</i> is the species Kendall will probably have seen, but he may have seen the <i>emu</i> later in New South Wales]
Ko Kohu	Fog mist	[Kohu] 1820 “Kohu, <i>s.</i> A fog” * p. 165 [W1971 p. 126 Kohu (i) n. <i>Fog, mist</i>]
Ko Kou	Swimming	Not in 1820 [W1971 p. 150 Kou (i) n. 1. <i>Knob, end, stump</i> etc., but here in a middle or words to do with swimming but in which the particle <i>Ko</i> has been inserted]
Ko Koukou	Swimming	Not in 1820 but Kendall does have “Kóhu kóhu <i>s.</i> A certain bird; an owl” p. 165. [W1971 p.151 koukou 1 v.i. (onomatopoetic) Hoot, hence the name of the owl <i>Ninox</i> = ruru]
Ko Kongangi	[no definition]	Not in 1820 [Probably Ko angiangi from <i>angi</i> to float]
Ko Kopi te Hawa	Swimming in the river	Not in 1820 [‘Hawa’ = Awa, river]
Ko Kou te hawa dua	Swimming in the second river	Not in 1820 [‘hawa dua’ = awa rua]

Ko Ko Pipi	To dig up cockles	[Ko pipi] 1820 “Kópipi, s. A gathering of cockles; also a sort of cockle” * p. 167 [W1971 p. 120 <i>Kō</i> (i) 1 n. <i>A wooden implement for digging or planting</i> [. . .] 2. v.t. <i>Dig or plant</i> with a <i>kō</i> , hence dig up <i>pipi</i> (bivalves then called <i>Amphidesma austral</i> , now <i>Semele australis</i>)]
Ko Koro koro	The throat	[Korokoro] 1820 “Kóro kóro; The throat” p. 168 [W1971 p. 143 korokoro n. 1. <i>Throat</i>]
Ko Koti	To dig <u>tea</u> root	[Kō and Tī] 1820 “Kó Ti; A digging up of Tee root” * p. 169 [A confusion of the particle <i>ko</i> with <i>kō</i> the digging stick and <i>tī</i> a plant <i>Cordyline</i> spp. ‘cabbage trees’ with various epithets e.g. <i>tī kōuka</i>]
Ko Kota	Cockle so called	[Kota] 1820 “Kóta, s. A plane-iron; a shell to scrape with” p. 168 [W1971 p. 147 Kota, n. 1. <i>Cockle shell</i> , 2. Anything to scrape with hence ‘scraper’]
Ko Koroputa	Through a hole a bottle-neck	[Koroputa] 1820 “Kóro púta; The interior of the neck of a bottle” * p. 168 [W1971 p. 145 Koroputa n. <i>Hole or full of holes</i> koroputaputa = pockmarked]
Ko Kowai	Red ochre	[Kokowai] 1820 “Ko wai; Proper name of a place” * p. 169 [W1971 p. 131 Kōkōwai, n. <i>Earth from which red ochre is procured by burning</i>]
Ko Kue	A complaint common to females	[Kue] 1820 * p. 170 [Not explained, not in W1971]
Ko Kukupa	A pigeon	[Kukupa] 1820 “Kukúpa, s. Pigeon” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 114 <i>Kererū</i> n. <i>Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae</i> , wood pigeon = <i>kūkū</i> , <i>kūkupa</i> ,
Ko Kurutau	Bloody year, also a birds tail of red feathers	[Kurutou] 1820 “Kúra tau; A year in which there is much battle, or blood shed” * p. 171 [Cf W1971 p. 160 Kurutou, n. <i>Tail of a bird, tail feathers</i> and p. 157, <i>Kura</i> (i) 1. a. <i>Red, glowing</i> , 4. v.t. <i>red</i> , 5. n. <i>red feathers</i> used as an ornament, with <i>tau</i> (i) n. 1 <i>Season, year</i> , p. 395]
Ko Kurutonghia	Taking in the fish [?]	[Kuru Tongia] 1820 “Kúru tóngia; A thin soil” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 159 Kuru (i) 1 v.t. <i>strike with the fist, pound</i> etc. ? meaning obscure]
Ko Kuwou	A young male beast	[Kūwao] 1820 “Kuóu, s. A young male beast, a pig &c” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 160 Kūwao, a. <i>Wild, of the woods</i> . Pigs were introduced in 1769]

Ko Kutu	A louse	1820 “Kúta, <i>s.</i> A louse. Kútu ; Ditto: also the proper name of a person” * p. 171 [W1971 p. 160 Kutu n. 1. <i>Louse, or vermin of any kind infesting humans</i>]
Ko te Kadehu	The broke breaking of flint	[Te kā rehu] [W1971 Rehu (iii) 1. n. <i>Flint</i> 3. v. t. <i>Chip, split off in chips</i> with particle <i>Ka</i> inserted]
Ko te Kadu	The head	[Te Karu] 1820 “Kádu, <i>s.</i> The head of a brute, as a fish, beast &c” * p. 154 Cf W1971 p. 102 Karu (i) 1 n. <i>Eye</i> 2. <i>Head</i> v.i. <i>Eye, to look at</i>]
Ko te Kahewahewa	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 (<i>Eudynamis taitensis</i>)]
Ko te Kahi	Trampling on	[Takahi] 1820 “Káhi, <i>s.</i> An act of trampling with the feet” * p. 155 [W1971 p. 367 Takahi 1. v.t. <i>Trample, stamp</i> etc.]
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. <i>Garment</i> (with a dubious epithet)]
Ko te Kahu aute	The garment made of the cloth called <u>Aute</u>	[Te Kahu aute] 1820 “Káhu aute; A garment made of Otaheitan cloth called <i>A’ute</i> ” * p. 155 [Aute = cf W1971 p. 23 Aute n. 1. <i>Broussonnetia papyrifera</i> , paper mulberry, almost extinct by 1820]
Ko te Kahu ma	The clean garment	[= Te Kahu ma] [W1971 p. 161 Mā (i) a. 1. <i>White</i> ; 3. <i>Clean</i>]
Ko te Kahu Shoa	The bier	[Te Kahuhua] 1820 “Kahu e óa; Bier for the dead” * p. 155 [Sense obscure]
Ko te Kai Atua	The God’s food	[Te Kaiatua] 1820 “Kai Atúa; Victuals for the Atua” * p. 156 [W1971 p. 20 Atua 1. n. <i>God, demon, supernatural being, ghost.</i> etc., and Kai (i) 1 v.t. <i>Consume, eat</i> , 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. <i>Strong, able</i> ; 2. n. <i>Strength</i>]
Ko te Kai kumu	The food of the Anus or breech	[Te Kaikumu] 1820 “Kai kúmu; Eating the arms of an enemy” * p. 156 [‘rump’ was probably intended, but herhaps 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 Mátá; [Name of a certain place]; also raw food”, and “Kainga matá; Eating a ball, or shot” * p. 157 [Kai (food) nga mata (raw) cf W1971 p. 88 Kaimata a. 1. <i>Unripe</i> , 2. <i>Uncooked</i> from Mata W1971 p. 185 Mata (ii) a. 1. <i>Raw, uncooked</i> , 2. <i>Unripe</i> , of fruit]
Ko te Kake	The ascension, to ascend	[Te Kake] 1820 “Kahe. v.n. Ascending” * p. 158 [W1971 p. 92 Kake (i) 1. v.i. <i>Ascend</i>]
Ko te Kai ora	The uncooked meat eating alive	[Te Kaiaora] 1820 “Kai óra; Wholesome victuals” * p. 157 [Ora (i) 1. a. <i>Alive</i> 2. <i>Well</i> , in health]
Ko te Kanae	The mullet fish	[Te Kanae] 1820 “Kanáe, s. The mullet fish” * p. 158 [W1971 p. 93 Kanae 1. n. <i>Mugil cephalus</i> , grey mullet, found worldwide]
Ko te Kanawa	The motion of the eye	[Te Kanawa] 1820 “Kánawa, 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 Karatete	Provocation – also a reptile so called	[Te Karatete] 1820 “Kára tête, a. Proud, rising up in anger” * p. 160 [W1971 p. 99 Karatete, a. <i>Proud, angry</i>]
Ko te Kaweka	The easy line of ascent up a hill	[Te Kaweka] 1820 “Káweka; A ridge on the ascent of a hill” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 111 Kaweka 1. <i>Ridge of a hill</i>]
Ko te Kawa	The strong, or bitter or disagreeable in taste	[Te Kawa] 1820 “Kaua, a.v.n.ad.– a. Bitter, strong as spirits &c” * p. 161 [W1971 p. 109 Kawa (i) 1. <i>Unpleasant to the taste, bitter</i>]
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 <i>Macropiper excelsum</i>]
Ko te Ke	Cry of the bird <u>Kaha</u>	[Te Ke] 1820 “Ké, s. The cry of a certain bird” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 82 Kaha, n. <i>Podiceps cristatus</i> , crested grebe, otherwise called <i>puteketeke</i> but as the species does not occur in the North Island this seems dubious, moreover <i>kēkē</i> 1. v.i. Is ‘quack’ as a duck p. 112, and is obviously onomatopoetic]
Ko te Keha	The turnip	[Te Keha] 1820 “Kéha, s. A turnip (exotic)” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 112 Keha 1. 2. <i>Brassica campestris</i> , turnip (mod.)]

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: <i>Keke</i> can be armpit (see above) or the sound made by a duck (quackquack) and ‘Ao’ is daytime W1971 p. 11 Ao (i) n. <i>Daytime</i> as opposed to night. Also W1971 p. 113 <i>Kēkēao</i> 1. n. <i>Dark cloud</i> and 2 a. <i>Overcast</i> . The expression is an allusion to shafts of light shining through clouds]
Ko te Keko	The squint	[Te Keko] 1820 “Proper name of a person” * p. 162 [W1971 p. 113, Keko v. <i>Squinting, wink</i>]
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. <i>Shut the eyes, wink</i> [to cut off light]
Ko te Koikoi	The lance	[Te Koikoi] 1820 “Kói kói; Lance at the top of a spear, a bayonet, &c” * p. 166 [W1971 p. 127 Koi (i) 1. a. <i>Sharp</i> , also <i>koikoi</i> 1 a. <i>Somewhat sharp</i> , 2. <i>Prickly</i> , 3. n. <i>Spear</i> , 6 ft to 8 ft long, pointed at both ends [for spearing birds]
Ko te Koihuru	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? <i>Huru</i> = 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. <i>Caterpillar</i>]
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. <i>Angle</i> , corner; (3) ad. <i>Bent at an angle</i> and (ii) 1. v.i. 2 <i>Limp</i>]
Ko te Kopidi	Lame of one leg	[Te Kopiri] 1820 “Kópidi, s. Lameness of the feet” * p. 167 [W1971 p. 137 Kōpiri 1. a. <i>Contracted, shrivelled up</i> ; 3. <i>Crippled, lame</i>]
Ko te Kopiro	The play so called	[Te Kopiro] 1820 “Kópiro, s. A falling into the water in play” * p. 167 [W1971 p. 137 Kopiro (i) 1. v.t. <i>Duck, put another persons head under water</i> , 2. <i>Steep in water, drench</i>]
Ko te Korakora	The sparks of fire	[Te Korakora] 1820 “Kóra kóra, A spark of fire” * p. 167 [W1971 p. 139 Kora n. <i>Small fragment, speck</i> 2. <i>Spark</i> ; korakora 1. n. <i>Particle, anything small</i> , 2 v.i. <i>Burn, glisten, gleam</i>]

Ko te Kone	The sliding on the breech	[Te Kone] 1820 “Kóne, s. Proper name of a person” * and “A slip with the buttocks” p. 167 [W1971 p. 133 Kona (i) n. <i>Lower part of the abdomen</i> cf konakona 1 v.i. <i>Smell, give out odour</i>]
Ko te Konake	The slip with the foot	[Te Konake] 1820 “Konáke, s. Proper name of a person” * and “A slip with the foot” p. 167 [Obscure, probably <i>kona kē</i> from <i>kē</i> = <i>different</i>]
Ko te Korokoro	The throat	[Te Korokoro] 1820 “Kóro kóro; The throat” * p. 168 [W1971 p. 143 Korokoro n. 1. <i>Throat</i>]
Ko te Korau	The plant called <u>Korau</u>	[Te Kōrau] 1820 “Kórau, s. A glutinous plant so called” * p. 168 [W1971 p. 140 Kōrau n. 1. <i>Cyathea medullaris</i> , a large tree-fern, = <i>mamaku</i> , which produces gum]
Ko te Kotuku	The bird called <u>Kotuku</u>	[Te Kotuku] 1820 “Kotúku, 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. <i>Egretta alba</i> , white heron, also its feathers, <i>awe</i>]
Ko te Kowow	The lesson of instruction	[Te Kowao] 1820 “Ko wao; A hole” p. 170 [W1971 p. 152 Kōwao 1 n. <i>Plot of fern land in a wood</i> 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. <i>A game = tī</i> or <i>tī rākau</i> , 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. <i>Dog</i> (introduced from Polynesia, now extinct, but formerly eaten)]
Ko te Kuwou	The young male beast	[Te Kuwao] 1820 “Kuóu, s. A young male beast” p. 171 [W1971 p. 160 ‘Kūwao a. <i>Wild</i> , of the woods’ probably referring to the native dog]
M		
Ko Madu madu	A shade from the rays of the sun	[Marumaru] 1820 “Mádu mádu; A shade” * p. 172 [W1971 p. 184 Marumaru 1. a. <i>Shaded, sheltered</i> 2. v.i. <i>Loom large</i> , with a sense of shelter, protect, cf Taumaru a. 1. <i>Shaded</i> , 2. <i>Overshadowing</i> , p. 399]
Ko Mahi	Working	[Mahi] 1820 “Máhi, s. ... Work; also the proper name of a person” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 163 Mahi 1. v.t. <i>Work, work at, do, perform</i> etc.]
Ko Mahi wawe	working hastily	[Mahi wawe] 1820 “Máhi wáwe; Work quickly done” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 481 Wawe 1. ad. <i>Soon, quickly</i> 4. v.i. <i>Be quick, be too soon</i> etc.]

Ko Maiki	nursing a child	[?Maiki] 1820 “Maiki, <i>s.</i> A manner of nursing, a pressing to the breast” * p. 173 [not W1971 p. 167 1. Maiki <i>v.i.</i> <i>Remove, depart</i>]
Ko Maihore	Flay [‘flea’, in error] off the skin	[Hora?] 1820 “Mai eóre, <i>v.n.</i> Skinning, a pulling off of the skin” p. 173 [Cf W1971 p. 59 Hora (i) 2. <i>Spread out, display</i>]
Ko Maki	a wise person	[Maki] 1820 “Máki; The last survivor of a tribe” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 170 Maki (1) <i>n. Invalid, sick person</i>]
Ko Makadihi	a repelling	[Makarihi] 1820 “Máka dii, <i>v.n.</i> Repelling” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 169 Makarihi 1. <i>n. Frost, cold</i> 2. <i>Winter</i>]
Ko Makohia	The fish so called	[Mako hia] 1820 “Makóia; A certain fish” p. 173 [Evidently <i>mako</i> shark, Cf W1971 p. 170 Mako (i) <i>n. Isurus glaucus</i> , mako shark; 2. Tooth of the same worn as an ear ornament. Now <i>Isurus oxyrinchus</i>]
Ko Manaihia	Hill so called	[Manaia] 1820 “Manai ía ; 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 “Manáwa pa; An overflowing spirit, envious” * p. 175 [Cf W1971 p. 174 <i>Manawa n. 1. Belly, bowels</i> [. . .] <i>Manawa-pā</i> (a) <i>Grudging</i> , parsimonious etc., with other expressions about mental states (Manawa = <i>mind, spirit</i>)]
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 <i>n. Branch of a tree</i> , also of rivers etc., common on place names]
Ko Mangu	Black	[Mangu] 1820 “Mángu, <i>a.</i> Black” * p. 175 [W1971 p. 178 Mangu, māmangu, mangumangu <i>a. Black</i>]
Ko Manu	Bird	[Manu] 1820 “Mánu, <i>s.</i> A bird” * p. 175 [W1971 p. 176 Manu (i) <i>n. Bird</i> (also used figuratively)]
Ko Manu waka hounga	Bird crying <u>hounga</u>	[?Manu whaka hounga] 1820 “Manu waka óunga; Name of a certain bird, which, in its cry mimics the word <i>óunga</i> . Proper name of a person” p. 175 [Not identified]
Ko Mapuna	Anything secreted or placed in a nook	[Mapuna] 1820 “Mapúna, <i>s.</i> (A thing) inclosed in stone” * p. 176 [Cf W1971 p. 180 Mapuna (i) 1. <i>a. Prized, precious</i> , perhaps a jade ornament]
Ko Mara tea	Farm or garden empty	[Mara atea] 1820 “Mara téa; A certain fish” * p. 176 [Cf W1971 p. 180 Mara <i>n. Plot of ground under cultivation</i> , farm, garden + <i>ātea</i> = clear, free from obstruction p. 19]

Ko Mataka	A hill called <u>mataka</u>	[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. <i>A sacred plot set aside in a kūmara field</i>]
Ko Matakidi	The eyelid	[Mata kiri] 1820 “Matakídi ; Eye-lids” * p. 177 [From <i>mata</i> eye and <i>kiri</i> skin, Not in Williams 1971 modern <i>kama</i> , <i>rewha</i>]
Ko Matanawe	The scar or mark of an ulcer	[Mata nawe] 1820 “Matanáwe ; The scar or mark of an ulcer” * p. 177 [W1971 p. 219 <i>Nawe</i> n. scar]
Ko Matangi	Awaking in the bowels	[Matangi] 1820 “Matángi ; The air: working of the bowels after death” * p. 177 [W1971 p. 189 Matangi n. <i>Wind, breeze</i> (suggesting a posthumus fart)]
Ko Matapiko	Hanging down the head	[Matapiko] 1820 “Mátapíko ... Hiding the face by hanging down the head” p. 177 [W1971 p. 180 Matapiko a. <i>Stingy</i>]
Ko Mate Ahia	A slight	[Mate Ahia] 1820 “Máte A’ia, s. A slight” * p. 178 [Meaning uncertain]
Ko Mate hika	The first who falls in battle	[Mate ika] 1820 “Máte íka ; Illness from eating fish” * p. 178 [<i>Mate ika</i> , first who falls in battle is correct, cf W1971 p. 76 Ika (ii) n. <i>Fighting man, warrior</i> , especially of one slain in battle; <i>Ika i te ati</i> = <i>mātāika</i> etc.]
Ko Mate Tu hahu	A place called <u>Mate Tu Hahu</u>	[Mate Tūahu] 1820 “Máte tú áhu ; Name of a place” * p. 178 [from <i>Tūāhu</i> W1971 p. 444 “Tūāhu n. <i>Sacred place consisting of a mound</i> 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 “Maráe, s. A courtyard” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 180 Marae 1. n. <i>Enclosed space in front of a house, courtyard, village common</i>]
Ko Mau	Securing	[Mau] Probably from <i>Mau</i> W1971 p. 196 Mau (iii) (participle) with the sense of being fixed, constrained or established]
Ko Maua	Cooked. Ripe	[Maua] 1820 “Maua, a. Ripe cooked” * p. 179 [cf W1971 p. 196 Mau (i) n. <i>Food products</i>]
Ko Maunga dudu	The close or confined sheltered mountain	[Maunga ruru] 1820 “Maunga dúdu ; 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” p. 179 [W1971 p. 198 Mawete a. <i>Untied, loosened</i>]

Ko Mea Ko Mawi	Any person or thing Name of the New Zealander's grandsire	See four entries below [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 <u>Mawi</u>	[Māui] 1820 "Māwi mua ; The first Māwi, or man" p. 179 [W1971 p. 213 Mua 2. n. <i>Elder child</i>]
Ko Mawi potiki	The last <u>Mawi</u>	[Māui] 1820 "Māwi potiki ; Māwi's youngest brother" p. 179 [W1971 p. 297 Pōtiki n. 1. <i>Youngest child</i>]
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. <i>Thing</i>]
Ko Mene	The sweeping together of rubbish	[Mene] 1820 "Méne, s. Sweepings of rubbish &c" * p. 180 [W1971 p. 200 Mene (i) v.i. 1. <i>Be assembled</i>]
Ko Mere	A club called <u>Mere</u> used in battle	[Mere] 1820 "Mére, s. A war-club" p. 180 [W1971 p. 201 Mere (i) n. <i>A short flat weapon of stone</i> for hand to-hand fighting. Sometimes called <i>meremere</i> . Those made of jade are called <i>mere pounamu</i>]
Ko Mihi	A sigh	[Mihi] 1820 "Mihi, s. A sigh" * p. 180 [W1971 p. 201 Mihi 1. v.t. <i>Sigh for, lament</i> , 2. <i>Greet</i> , 3. <i>Acknowledge an obligation</i> , etc.]
Ko Mio	An intercession after death	[Mio?] 1820 "Mío, s. A prayer after death" * p. 181 [Uncertain]
Ko Mire	Minced meat	[Miri] 1820 "Mire, s. Minced meat" * p. 181 [Cf W1971 p. 203 Miri (i) v.t. <i>Rub, stroke, wipe</i> , 2. <i>Smear</i>]
Ko Miru	The bird called <u>Miru</u>	[Miru] 1820, s. A gentle stream of water; a bubble. Name of a person" * p. 181 [W1971 p. 203 5. Miro = <i>Petroica toitoi</i> (now <i>Miromiro</i> , tomtit, <i>Petroica longipes</i> and <i>P. macrocephala</i>) = mirumiru]

Ko Moa	Coals	[Moa] 1820 “Móa, <i>s.</i> A stone” * p. 181 [W1971 p. 204 “Moa 2. <i>A stone</i> 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 <i>moamoa</i> . 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.”]
Ko Modunga	Anything suspended at the top of a pole	[Mōrunga] 1820 “Módunga, <i>s.</i> A head on the top of a pole” * p. 181 [W1971 p. Mōrunga a. <i>On high, lifted up</i>]
Ko Moe	Sleep	[Moe] 1820 “Móe, ... <i>s.</i> Sleep” * p. 181 [W1971 p. 204 Moe 1. <i>v.i.</i> <i>Sleep, repose</i> etc., incl. <i>Dream</i>]
Ko Moe koroha	Sleeping in the bush	[Moe] 1820 “Móe kóroha, Asleep in the bush” * p. 181 [Doubtful; <i>moe</i> is associated with visions and dreams. <i>Koraha</i> = shallow, so <i>moe koraha</i> is probably a light sleep]
Ko Moenga roa	The long bed	[Moengaroa] 1820 “Moenga roa ; A long sleep” * p. 181 [Actually a euphemism for death]
Ko Moe ti	Resting on the <u>Ti</u> tree	[Moe Tī] 1820 “Móe Tí’ Sleeping on the Tee-tree” * p. 181 [Very doubtful!]
Ko Moidishau	Exposed naked to the wind	[Moere hau] 1820 “Móidi e áu ; A corpse exposed to the wind” * p. 182 [W1971 p. Maero (i) 1. <i>n.</i> <i>A fabulous monster</i> . Also Maero (ii) 2. <i>v.i.</i> <i>Float, drift</i> , and Maeroero <i>v.i.</i> <i>Drift about</i> , 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]
Ko Moehanga	Twins	[Māhanga] [W1971 p. 162 Māhanga (i) <i>n.</i> <i>Twins</i>]
Ko Moe tutudu	Resting on the pegs or the web of the mat while at work	[Moe tuturu] 1820 “Moe tutúdu, <i>v.n.</i> 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 <i>moe tuturu</i> , associated with <i>tūturu</i> <i>n.</i> 1. <i>An upright post of a weaving frame</i> but also 2. “Stage on which a corpse was laid out” W1971 p. 460]

Ko Moka	A shroud	[Moka] 1820 “Moka, <i>s.</i> A shroud” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 206 Moka n. 2. <i>A leaf-tying caterpillar</i> i.e. the bag moth <i>Liothula omnivora</i>]
Ko Mokaikai	A cured head	[Mōkaikai = mokamokai] 1820 “Mokai kai; The heads of enemies preserved to look at” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 207 Mōkaikai 2. <i>Dried human head</i> traded 1820s-1830s]
Ko Mokinui	A large fish so called	[Moki] 1820 “Mōki nui; A large fish so called” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 207 Moki (<i>Latridopsis ciliaris</i>), blue moki, a species of trumpeter, Latridae]
Ko Moti	The last survivor	[Mōtītī] 1820 “Moti, <i>s.</i> Last survivor of a family” p. 182 [W1971 p. 211 Mōtītī a. <i>Extirpated</i>]
Ko Motu	Island	[Motu] 1820 “Mōtu, <i>s.</i> A low island” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 211, Motu (i) 1. a. <i>Severed</i> [. . .] 7. <i>Island</i>]
Ko Motoe	Chagrined with neglect	[Motoi] 1820 “Motōi, <i>s.</i> A person neglected at meals” * p. 182 [W1971 p. 211 Motoi (ii) v.i. 2. <i>Beg</i> i.e. a beggar]
Ko Muanga	Ancestry	[Muanga] 1820 “Mú ánga ; Working at the extremity of anything” * p. 183 [W1971 p. 213 Muanga 1. a. <i>First-born, elder</i> 2. n. <i>Elder child</i>]
Ko Mudiwai	The after water	[Muriwai] 1820 “Múdi wai ; The water at the extremity of any place” * p. 183 [W1971 p. 214 Muri (i) 1. l. n. (a) <i>of place</i> , the rear, the hind part, but also Muri (iii) n. <i>North</i> hence Muriwai = northern water; but also W1971 p. 215 Muriwai (i) n. 1. <i>Backwater, lagoon</i> at the mouth of a river, and a junction of streams]
Ko Mudi wenua	The after land	[Muriwhenua] 1820 “Múdi wenúa ; The land at the extreme point” * p. 183 [Northern land, used of the lands North of Mangonui]
<u>Ko Mudi waka roto</u> Ko Mudu painga	Indelicate Burying place stripped of its remains	? [Muriwhakaroto] [Obscure] [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]
Ko Muheke	Descending in fear	[Muheke] 1820 “Muéke, <i>a.</i> A person fearful of falling down any place” * p. 184 [Implausible]; also W1971 p. 213 Muheke n. <i>Argonauta tuberculata</i> , paper nautilus, a kind of octopus = <i>Argonauta nodosa</i>]
Ko Muna	The ringworm	[Muna] 1820 “Múna; Ringworm, a circular scar or mark on the skin &c” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 214 Muna (ii) n. <i>Ringworm</i>]

Ko Mure	Fish called <u>Mure</u> snapper	[Tamure] 1820 “Múre ; A fish so called” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 377 Tāmure, n. <i>Pagrosomus auratus</i> , snapper, now <i>Chrysophrys auratus</i>]
Ko te Maha	The many	[Te Maha] 1820 Máha, a. Much, many” * p. 172 [W1971 p. 162 Maha (i) 1 a. <i>Many</i>]
Ko te Maidi	The tree called <u>Maidi</u>	[Te Maire] 1820 “Maide; Name of a certain tree” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 167 “Maire (ii) 1. n. <i>Olea cunninghamii</i> and other species of <i>Olea</i> ” later in <i>Gymnelea</i> , now in <i>Nestegis</i> ; <i>N. cunninghamii</i> = black maire; <i>N. lanceolata</i> = white maire’ in Oleaceae; also Maire tawake (swamp maire, now <i>Syzygium maire</i> , formerly <i>Eugenia maire</i> , Myrtaceae]
Ko te Maki	The wise person	[Te Maki] 1820 “Máki; The last survivor of a tribe” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 170 Maki (i) n. <i>Invalid, sick person</i> , 2 v.t. <i>makimaki afflict</i> , of an illness]
Ko te Makoi	The extraction	[Te Makoi] 1820 “Mákoi; Proper name” * p. 173 [W1971 p. 170 Makoi (ii) n. <i>Cockle shells</i> ; (iii) <i>Barbed point</i> of a bird spear; (iv) n. <i>Comb</i>]
Ko te Maku	The wet	[Te Maku] 1820 “Máku, s. Wet” * p. 174 [W1971 p. 171 Maku 1. a. <i>Wet, moist</i> 2 n. <i>Wetness, moisture</i>]
Ko te Maode or Maore	The native	[Te Maori] 1820 “Máodi, a. Indigenous, native; as, “E tangata maodi; A native man” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 179 “Māori (i) 1. <i>Normal, usual, ordinary</i> 2. Native or belonging to New Zealand (a comparatively modern use)” 3. n. <i>Person of the native race, New Zealander</i> , Maori “This use began about 1850” apparently among Maori themselves. [Te Maninga] 1820 “Mángina, s. A war-club” * p. 175 [Uncertain, perhaps obsolete. W1971 p. 178 has Māngina = mōngina a. <i>Floating, fleeting</i> 2. <i>Unreliable</i>]
Ko te Mangina	The club called <u>Mangina</u>	[Te Maninga] 1820 “Mángina, s. A war-club” * p. 175 [Uncertain, perhaps obsolete. W1971 p. 178 has Māngina = mōngina a. <i>Floating, fleeting</i> 2. <i>Unreliable</i>]
Ko te Makudu	Falling down unripe	[Te Makuru] 1820 “Mákudu, s. The premature falling of fruit &c” * p. 174 [W1971 p. 171 Makuru (i) a. <i>Abundant, abounding</i> , 2. <i>Fruitful</i>]
Ko te Mangaiti	The little branch	[Te Manga iti] 1820 “Mángaiti, s. A small branch” * p. 175 [W1971 p. 177 Manga n. 1 <i>Branch of a tree</i> + iti = small]
Ko te Manu kura	The red bird	[Te Manukura] 1820 * p. 175 [W1971 p. 176 Manu (i) n. 1. <i>Bird</i> [. . .] 2. Fig. <i>Person held in high esteem</i> hence Manu-kura, chief, leader in council (red being a chiefly colour); also 3. <i>Kite</i> , for flying]

Ko te Mara	The garden	[Te Mara] 1820 “Mára, <i>s.</i> A place exposed to the warmth of the sun; a farm” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 180 Mara n. <i>Plot of land under cultivation, farm</i>]
Ko te Maunga	The mountain	[Te Maunga] 1820 * p. 179 [W1971 p. 197 Maunga (ii) n. <i>Mountain</i>]
Ko te Mashau	The verandah	[Te Mahau] 1820 “Má e áu; A verandah” * p. 172 [W1971 p. 163 Mahau n. <i>Porch, verandah of a dwelling</i>]
Ko te Mata	The flint or ball	[Te Matā] 1820 “Matá, <i>s.</i> Musket-ball, shot &c; gun-flint ... <i>a.</i> Raw uncooked” * p. 176 [W1971 p. 185 “Mata n. 1. <i>Flint, quartz or obsidian</i> , used for cutting. 2. <i>Lead, bullet (Mod.)</i> ”]
Ko te Mate huna	The concealed death	[Te Matehuna] 1820 “Máte úna; Concealed affliction” * p. 178 [Unidentified]
Ko te Mahuta	The land walk	[Te Mahuta] 1820 “Ma úta, <i>a.</i> Touching the shore” * p. 179 [W1971 p. 165 Mahuta v.i. 1. <i>Jump</i> , 2. <i>Land from a boat</i> etc. 3. <i>Rise</i>]
Ko te Mihinga	The sigh	[Te Mihinga] 1820 “Mihinga, <i>s.</i> A moaning, whining” * p. 180 [Cf Mihi, the verbal noun form]
Ko te Moki	The fish so called	[Te Moki] 1820 “Móki, <i>s.</i> A fish so called” p. 182 [Cf above (<i>Latridopsis ciliaris</i>)]
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 <i>Oligosoma</i> , <i>Cyclodina</i> and <i>Leiopisma spp.</i> , currently in some taxonomic confusion; the geckos are in <i>Naultinus</i> and <i>Hoplodactylus</i> , 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. <i>Pestle or club</i> 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) <i>Island & iti a. small</i>]
Ko te Mutu	The ending	[Te Mutu] 1820 “Mútu, <i>s.</i> The end” p.184 [W1971 p. 215 Mutu 1. <i>a. Brought to an end, left off</i> etc., cropped, completed, v.t. <i>cut short</i>]
N		
Ko Na	Behold	[Na] 1820 “Na, An affixed particle ... Proper name” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 216 Na (ii) ad. <i>Used at the beginning of a narrative [. . .] to call attention etc.</i>]

Ko Nadi	Pleased with anything	[Nā] 1820 “Nádi, s. Proper name” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 216 Nā (i) a. <i>Satisfied, content; whakanā</i> 1. v.t. <i>Satisfy, refresh</i>]
Ko Naho	Potatoe called Naho	[Nao?] 1820 “Náho, s. A species of the potatoe” * p. 184 [Uncertain, possibly nahonaho 1. a. <i>Small, diminutive</i> ; ?= 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. <i>Edible fern root</i> being the root of <i>Pteridium aquilinum</i> var. <i>esculentum</i> ” [bracken] cf. 1820 “Nga due; Roots of fern” * p. 228 The rhizomes were called <i>aruhe</i> , but <i>rarauhe</i> 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 híhi; 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 [= hihi (figurative usage)]
Ko Nga Kohu	Fogs	[Ko ngā kohu – see Kohu] 1820 “Nga kóhu; Fogs” * p. 229
Ko Nga Mata	Wise persons	[Ko ngā Mata – see Mata]
Ko Nga Huhia	Birds called <u>Huhia</u> , 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 (<i>Heteralocha acutirostris</i>) now extinct]
Ko Nga Hura	Indelicate	Words deleted in source; probably: W1971 Ure n. 1. <i>Membrum virile</i> [penis]]
Ko Nga Manu	Birds	[Ko ngā manu – see Manu]
Ko Nga Motu	Islands	[Ko ngā motu – see Motu]
Ko Nga Taro	Roots called <u>Taro</u>	[Ko ngā taro – see Taro] 1820 “Táro, s. A root so called; bread” p. 209 and “Nga táro; Roots of Táro” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 391 “Taro (i) n. 1 <i>Colocasia antiquorum</i> a plant cultivated for food” now <i>C. esculenta</i>]
Ko Nga Ti	Roots called <u>Ti</u>	[Ko ngā tī – see Tī] 1820 “Tí, s. The root called Tee, when, when baked, is very sweet” * p. 212, [W1971 p. p. 413 Tī (i) n. <i>Cordyline</i> of several species e.g. Tī kāuka etc., esp. <i>C. australis</i> = ‘cabbage tree’ of New Zealand; also “Nga tí; Cry of a certain bird; name of a person” * p. 229 [the latter = Ngāti]

Ko Nga Tihi	The top summit of hills	[Ko ngā tihi – see Tihi] 1820 Nga tíi; The top summits of hills: name of a person” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 416 Tihi (i) n. <i>Summit, top, peak, point</i>]
Ko Ngau	A bite	[Ngau] 1820 “Ngáu, s. A bite” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 231 Ngau (i) v.t. 1. <i>Bite, gnaw</i>]
Ko Nga Wai	Waters	[Wai] 1820 “Nga wai; Waters” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 474 Wai (ii) n. 1. <i>Water</i>]
Ko Nga Wai mate	Bad waters	[Waimate] 1820 “Nga wai máte; Bad waters” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 476 “Waimate 1. a. Suffering from hereditary disease 2. n. Dread, apprehension from wai = water and mate a. 3. Sick, ill, injured, suffering, overcome with emotion]
Ko Nga Wai Hudi	Rolling waters	[Waihuri] 1820 “Nga wai údi; Rolling waters” * p. 229 [Cf Huri (i) 3. Overflow, overwhelm as in surf ‘rollers’]
Ko Nga Waka	Canoes	[Waka] 1820 “Nga wáka; Canoes” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 478 Waka n. 1. <i>Canoe in general</i> , different forms being distinguished by epithets or distinct names e.g. waka taua (war canoe)]
Ko Nga Wao	Nails	[Whao] 1820 “Ko nga wáo; Nails” * p. 229 [W1971 p. 488 Whao (i) 2. n. <i>Chisel</i> ; 3. <i>Iron tool, nail</i> (mod.) (because iron nails were fashioned into chisels for wood carving]
Ko Nene	Two places of interment	[Ngene] 1820 “Néne; Slipping easily, &c.’ a proper name” * p. 185 [W1971 p. 221 Nene (ii) = ngene, ngenge 2. n. <i>Fat, grease</i>]
Ko Ngoi	An old woman	[Ngoi] 1820 * p. 230 [W1971 p. 234 Ngoi (ii) ngoingoi v.i. <i>Creep, crawl</i> ; ngoingoi n. <i>Old woman</i> ‘E Ngoi’ a form of address to an old woman]
Ko Ngutu tahi	One lip	[Ngutu] 1820 “Ngútu, s. The lip” * p. 230 [W1971 p. 236 Ngutu n. 1. <i>Lip</i> 2. <i>Beak</i> of a bird etc., (usually in plural form)]
Ko Niwha	A New Zealand female deity	[Niwha] [W1971 p. 222 Niwha n. 3. <i>Barb</i> of a fishhook or bird spear]
Ko Nuku Tawiti	Vulcan	[Nukutawhiti] This (as ‘Vulcan’) should have been <i>Ruaumoko</i> the chthonic power of earthquakes, but according to Binney Nukutawhiti was the founding canoe ancestor of the Hokianga people and drowned in the Hokianga River (see Binney <i>Legacy of Guilt</i> (2005) pp. 11–14); ancestral figures and Gods (<i>atua</i>) were confused]
Ko Noke	Stepping forward a pace	[Ngōki] 1820 “Nóke; Walking to a distance; change of situation” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 223 Ngōki v.i. <i>Creep, crawl</i> cf ngoi, ngaoki]

Ko Nuku	To draw near unto	[Nuku] 1820 “Nuku; Squeezing, or pressing sideways” p. 186 [W1971 p. 225 Nuku v v.i. and v.t. <i>Move, extend</i>]
Ko te Nana	The restlessness of a dying person	[Te Ngāngā] 1820 “Nana, s. Dying groans” * p. 184 [W1971 p. 225 “Ngāngā v.i. 1. <i>Breath heavily or with difficulty</i> ; 2. <i>Make a hoarse, harsh noise, screech as a bird</i> ” i.e. death-rattle]
Ko te Nga wi	Rushes	[Wī or Wīwī] 1820 “Wiwi; Rushes, also the being entangled in the rushes” p. 228 [W1971 p. 483 “Wī n. <i>Poa caespitosa</i> , tussock grass [. . .] 3. <i>Juncus polyanthemos</i> and other species of rushes.” Silver tussock (now <i>Poa cita</i>) and Edgar’s rush (<i>Juncus edgariae</i>) are the current names]
Ko te Nganga	The skull	[Angaanga] 1820 “Angānga, s. A man’s skull” p. 134 [W1971 p. 10 Angaanga n. 1. <i>Head</i> , but ‘Te Papa o te Angaanga’, the skull]
Ko te Ngau <u>kadihi</u>	Biting the weights of a seine	[Ngā Ū kaharoa] [W1971 p. 83 Kaha (ii) n. 1. <i>Rope, especially one on the edge of a seine</i> . With Ū (iii) v.t. <i>Bite, gnaw</i> p. 464 and Ua n. 3 <i>Thick twisted or plaited hem on the collar of a cloak</i>]
Ko te Ngere	Lazy	[Te Ngere] 1820 “Ngere, a. Lazy” * p. 230 [W1971 p. 233 Ngere a. 1. <i>Passed over, not served</i>]
Ko te Nohu	The sickening pain	[Te Nohu] 1820 “Nóhu ; A sinking with pain” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 223 Nohu (ii) n. <i>Sinking pain</i> ; nohunohu a. <i>Unpalatable, nauseous</i>]
Ko te Nope	A pain	[Te Nope] 1820 “Nópe; A gnawing pain” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 224 Nope a. <i>Constricted</i> ; nonope v.t. <i>Oppress, distress</i>]
Ko te Ngungu	Stooping low when walking	[Te Ngungu] 1820 “Ngungu, s. Walking in a sitting posture” * p. 230 [W1971 p. 236 Ngunu (i) 1. v.i. <i>Bend, crouch, stoop</i>]
P		
Ko Pa	Father	[Pa] 1820 “Pá, s. An elevated village; an affectionate name for parent; a place for residence” p. 186 [W1971 p. 244 Pā (v) n. <i>A term of address to a male elder or superior</i> ; Also Pa (ii) 4 n. <i>Stockade, fortified place etc.</i>]
Ko Padi	Cliff, or steep rock	[Pari] 1820 “Pádi; A steep rock, a precipitous shore” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 267 Pari (i) paripari 1. n. <i>Cliff, precipice</i>]
Ko Padi shoro	A falling down part of a cliff	[Parihoru] 1820 “Pádi e óro; Falling down a steep rock, or shore” p. 186 [Pari = cliff & horo (W1971 p. 60) Horo (i) 1. v.i. <i>Fall in fragments, crumble, slip, as land</i>]

Ko Padii	Throwing a person down a rock	[Paru] 1820 “Pádu, <i>s.</i> Dirt” p. 186 [W1971 p. 267 Pari (i) paripari 1. <i>n.</i> <i>Cliff, precipice</i>]
Ko Pahia	Bruising the bones	[Pāhia] 1820 “Páhia; A bruise. <i>v.n.</i> Brusing; “Páhia tia te iwi; Bruise the bones” p. 186 [W1971 p. 247 Pāhia (ii) <i>n.</i> <i>A preparation of mashed food</i>]
Ko Pai	Good	[Pai] 1820 “Pai, <i>s.</i> ... Good” and “Pai ; Name of a person” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 249 Pai (i) (Pl. Papai) 1. <i>a.</i> <i>Good, excellent, suitable, satisfactory</i>]
Ko Pai a Huka	Frothy, gaudiness	[Pai a huka] 1820 “Pai a úka; Gaudiness, finery” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 67 Huka (i) <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Foam, froth</i> probably ‘good froth’]
Ko Pai Ou	Beard	[Paihau] 1820 “Pai e áu; A beard” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 249 Paihau <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Beard</i> = Pāhau]
Ko Pai rau	Many kindnesses	[Paerau] 1820 “Proper name of a person” * p. 187 [Uncertain, perhaps <i>pae</i> a transverse bean with <i>rau</i> = a hundred]
Ko Paka	Garment called <u>Paka</u> , parched with the Sun	[Paka] 1820 “Páka, <i>s.</i> A garment so called, anything dried by the sun” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 250 Paka (i) 2. Dried provisions = <i>pakapaka</i> . The cloak is <i>Pākē</i> <i>n.</i> A rough cape made from undressed leaves of <i>kiekie</i> or flax]
Ko Pakau	Wing of a bird	[Pakau] 1820 “Pákau, <i>s.</i> Wing of a bird” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 252 Pākau, pākaukau <i>n.</i> <i>Wing of a bird, of an army or building</i>]
Ko Pakeke	Hard, stiff, difficult	[Pakeke] 1820 “Pakéke, <i>a.</i> Hard, difficult” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 252 Pakeke 1. <i>a.</i> <i>Hard, stiff, difficult, obstinate</i>]
Ko Pa kai wawe	The village quickly eaten	[Implausible explanation poss. from <i>Wawe</i> ad. Soon, quickly. <i>Pakai</i> <i>n.</i> Bulwark, shield? A person named Pakaewawe signed mission deeds in 1837]
Ko Pakia	Mat for the waist, breeches	[Pakia] 1820 “Pakia, <i>s.</i> A covering for a man’s back”, also “Pakii, <i>s.</i> A garment for a man’s breeches” * p. 188 [W1971 p. 253 Paki (iii) pāpaki <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Kilt, apron; 2. Clothing</i> etc.]
Ko Pakiku	The mat held up	[Pakikau]? [W1971 p. 254 Pakikau <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Garment</i>]
Ko Pakii kura	The red <i>fern</i> soil	[Pakihi kura] 1820 “Pakii kúra; Red land where fern root has been collected” * p. 188 [Cf W1971 p. 253 Pakihi 1. <i>v.i.</i> <i>Dig for fern root</i> 2. <i>n.</i> <i>Place where fern root has been dug</i>]
Ko Paku hishu	The nose excrement	[Paku hūpēpe] 1820 “Páku Híhiu; Name of a person” * p. 188 [W1971 p. 255 Paku 1, <i>a.</i> <i>Dried, pāpaku, v.i.</i> <i>Congeal</i> = snot. ‘Hishu’ is the sound of a sneeze]

Ko Pana	Fillipping with the finger	[Pana] 1820 “Pána, <i>s.</i> A fillip with the finger” * p. 188 [W1971 p. 256 Pana (i) 4. n. Fillip = <i>toropana</i>]
Ko Pakira	Bald head	[Pakira] 1820 “Pákira, <i>s.</i> A bald head” * p. 188 [Pākira a. <i>Bald-headed</i>]
Ko Pana nehe	Gently fillipping	[Pana nehe] 1820 “Pána nehe, <i>s.</i> A gentle fillip” * p. 188 [W1971 p. 256 Pana (i) 4. n. Fillip = <i>toropana</i>]
Ko Pani	The god Pan	[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.”]
Ko Pani	An orphan	[Pani] 1820 “Pani, <i>s.</i> An orphan” p. 188 [W1971 p. 257 Pani (i) n. <i>Persons bereaved</i> ; generally orphan, sometimes widow]
Ko Pani	Painting, or paying a ship &c	[Pani] 1820 “Pani, <i>v.n.</i> Besmearing, painting” p. 188 [W1971 p. 257 Pani (ii) v.t. 1. <i>Paint, besmear</i>].
Ko Papa	Board, also a persons breech	[Papa] 1820 “Papa, <i>s.</i> A thin board; the buttocks” * p. 189 [W1971 p. 250 Papa (i) 1. n. <i>Anything broad, flat, and hard</i> ; Papa (iii) n. <i>Breech, buttock</i>]
Ko Papangadua	The second half	[Papanga rua] [Cf W1971 p. 260 Papanga (i) a. <i>Partly filled</i> , as of a lake]
Ko Papaware	The houseboard	[Papa whare] 1820 “Papa ware; The house boards” * p. 189 [Probably an invented term <i>Papa</i> (board) of a <i>whare</i> (house)]
Ko Para kore	Without unction	[Para] Cf 1820 “Pára, <i>s.</i> A fish so called ... a. unctuous” p. 189 ‘Para’ has several usages [W1971 p. 261–261 e.g. Pāra n. 1. <i>Lepidopus caudatus</i> , frostfish, also p. 262 Para (iii) n. <i>Bravery spirit</i> , cf <i>Para kore</i> disheartened, crestfallen, etc.]
Ko Para roi	The juice of fern root	[Para aruhe] 1820 * p. 189 [cf W1971 Para (ii) 1. n. <i>Tuber</i> of various orchids and 2 tuber / corm of the edible king fern <i>Ptisana salicina</i> (formerly <i>Marattia salicina</i>) Marattiaceae p. 262; p. 17 Aruhe n. <i>Edible fern root</i> . ‘Wai aruhe’ is “a term applied to one whose death has not been avenged, so Kendall probably muddled the ideas]
Ko Para hiku	The juicy tail of a fish	[Also a reference to the <i>Pāra</i> (frostfish, scabbard-fish) which has a long thin form. [W1971 p. 50 Hiku (i) 1. <i>Tail</i> of a fish or reptile etc; (ii) n. <i>Lepidopus caudatus</i> , frost-fish = <i>pāra</i>]

Ko Parawa	Sperm whale, also the white bone of a sperm whale	[Parāoa] 1820 “Parawa, <i>s.</i> A sperm whale, also the jaw bone of the whale” p. 190 [W1971 p. 264 Parāoa, 1. <i>Physeter macrocephalus</i> , sperm whale]
Ko Pare	Head ribbon, crown, wreath of flowers	[Pare] 1820 “Pare, <i>s.</i> An head ribbon; the top knot of a bird ...” * p. 190 [W1971 p. 266 Pare (i) n. 1. <i>Band for the hair, fillet, wreath.</i> 2. <i>Ornament</i> for the head]
Ko Pare waka taha	Head ribbon with a knot an ornamental knot at one side	[Pare whakataha, presumably; <i>Pare koukou</i> is another style with a plumed bunch of hair as a topknot]
Ko Parode	Fish called <u>Parode</u>	[Pārore] 1820 “Paróre, <i>s.</i> A fish so called” p. 190 [W1971 p. 268 Pārore, <i>Girella tricuspidata</i> , Black bream or luderick]
Ko Patu	Beating or killing	[Patu] 1820 “Patu, <i>s.</i> A war instrument; also the act of beating or clashing together. <i>v.n.</i> Killing ...” * p. 191 [W1971 p. 272 Patu 1. <i>v.t. Strike, beat, club</i> 3. <i>Kill with a club</i> 4. <i>Pound</i> fern root etc.]
Ko Patu hone	Killing on the ground	[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]
Ko Pehi	Forcing on	[Pehi] 1820 “Pehi, <i>s.</i> A ship” * p. 191 [W1971 p. 274 Pehi 1. <i>v.t. Press, weigh down, oppress, trouble, repress</i>]
Ko Pero	Dog	[Pero] 1820 “Pero, <i>s.</i> A dog” * p. 192 [W1971 p. 278 Pero, peropero n. <i>Dog</i> . Used also as a term of contempt]
Ko Pihi odi	Bird called <u>Pihi odi</u>	[Pihoihoi] 1820 “Pii ódi ; The cry of a certain bird” * p. 192 [W1971 p. 280 Pihoihoi n. <i>Anthus novaeseelandiae</i> groundlark, with several subspecies]
Ko Pihe	Funeral ode	[Pihe] 1820 “Pihe, <i>s.</i> The womb. A funeral ode so called” p. 192 [W1971 p. 280 “Pihe (i) n. <i>Dirge, accompanied by waving of arms in token of grief</i> ”]
Ko Pikinga	Climbing	[Piki] 1820 “Pikinga ; The act of adhesion: climbing, as upon a tree” * p. 192 [W1971 p. 280 Piki (i) <i>v.t.</i> 1. <i>Climb, ascend</i> hence pikinga, pikitanga n. <i>ascent</i> of a hill etc.]
Ko Pikirangi	Climbing up to heaven	[Pikirangi] 1820 “Piki rángi; A climbing up to heaven” * p. 192 [W1971 p. 281 Pikirangi n. <i>Elytranthe tetrapetala</i> , a semiparasitic plant = pirirangi, now <i>Peraxilla tetrapetala</i> , Loranthaceae, red mistletoe, an arboreal parasite of beech (<i>Nothofagus</i>)]
Ko Pine	Scowling	[Pine] 1820 * p. 193 [W1971 p. 281 Pine, pipine a. <i>Close together</i>]

Ko Pipi	Turkey Cockle	[Pipi] 1820 “Pipi, <i>s.</i> Cockle” * p. 193 [W1971 p. 282 Pipi n. 1. <i>Cockle</i> , in general particularly applied to <i>Chione stutchburyi</i> and <i>Amphidesma australe</i> (now <i>Austrovenus stutchburyi</i> and <i>Semele australis</i>) more particularly the latter]
Ko Pitau	Particular mark on a woman’s face	[Pitau] 1820 “Pitau, <i>s.</i> The tattooed face of a woman” * p. 193 [W1971 p. 284 “Pitau (i) n. <i>Young succulent shoot</i> of a plant, especially circinate frond of a fern” here applied to a form of tattoo]
Ko Pito Rehu	A flute made of the navel string	[Pito] 1820 p. 193 [W1971 p. 284 Pito (i) n. 1. <i>End extremity</i> 2. <i>Navel</i> . With Rehu (i) 1. n. <i>Haze. Mist spray</i> etc., Rehu (ii) 1. n. <i>Flute</i> . Pitorehu is the name of a hill north of the Kaipara Harbour. Kendall’s derivation is nonsense]
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. <i>Oscillate, move to and fro</i> , 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, <i>s.</i> The smoke evaporating from a skull during the time of dressing it, as is customary in New Zealand” * p. 194 [W1971 p. 286 Poa (ii) a. <i>Smouldering, smoking</i> . Poapoa n. <i>Stain, discoloration</i>]
Ko Ponga	Nostril, The elder tree	[Ponga] 1820 “Ponga, <i>s.</i> A pithy wood so called” * p. 194 [W1971 p. 291 <i>Ponga</i> 1. n. <i>Cyathea dealbata</i> , a tree-fern [silver-fern] The ‘elder tree’ reference is to the soft pith; the nostril reference is to pongaponga n. 1. <i>Nostril</i> , = 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. <i>Large sea-going canoe</i>]
Ko Po roa	The long night	[Pō roa] 1820 “Po róa; The long night” * p. 195 [W1971 p. 285 Pō (i) 1. <i>Night</i> ; ponga n. <i>Nightfall</i> , Pōroa probably = death]
Ko Puhu	A post	[Pou] 1820 “Póu, <i>s.</i> A post” * p. 195 [W1971 p. 297 Pou (i) 1. n. <i>Post, pole</i>]
Ko Pohuroto	A pillar	[Pou roto] 1820 “Póu róto, <i>s.</i> 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, <i>s.</i> A knot <i>v.n.</i> Making a knot; as “Póna hía; Make a knot” * p. 194 [W1971 p. 291 “Pona (i) <i>n.</i> <i>Knot</i> , Pona taniwha a single hitch kept from slipping by a knot on the cord”]
Ko Pou	Expended	[Pou] 1820 “Pó, <i>s.</i> A post” * p. 195 [W1971 p. 297 Pou (i) 1. <i>n.</i> <i>Post, pole</i>]
Ko Poutu	Parting, chopping into pieces	[Pōuto] 1820 “Póutu, <i>v.n.</i> Chopping” * p. 195 [W1971 p. 299: “Pōuto (ii) <i>v.t.</i> <i>Cut off</i> ”]
Ko Pui	The ornamented stem post of the war canoe called Pui	[Pui] 1820 “Púi; The ornamented stern-post of a canoe” p. 196 [W1971 p. 304 “Pui (2) <i>Bunch of feathers</i> , etc., as an ornament; especially the plumes decorating a canoe”]
Ko Pua hiti	Little sowthistle. One of the Magellan clouds	[Pūwhā = Pūhā] 1820 “Púa íti; The small sow thistle” * p. 196 [W1971 p. 318 Pūwhā, pūhā 1. <i>Sonchus oleraceus</i> the Māori epithet ‘iti’ means small]
Ko Puke tapu	The sacred hill	[Puketapu] 1820 “Púke tápu; The sacred hill” * p. 196 [W1971 p. 307 Puke (i) <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Hill</i> , and tapu p. 385 1. <i>n.</i> <i>Under religious or superstitious restriction</i> . A hill so named on the Northern Kaipara Harbour]
Ko Puke tawa	The hill of battle	[Puketaua] 1820 “Púke táwa” * p. 197 [W1971 p. 307 Puke (i) <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Hill</i> , and taua (p. 397) Taua (i) <i>n.</i> <i>Hostile expedition, army</i>]
Ko Puku	The stomach	[Puku] 1820 “Púku, <i>s.</i> The stomach ...” * p. 197 [W1971 p. 308 Puku (i) 1. <i>n.</i> <i>Swelling</i> , 2. <i>Abdomen</i> , 3. <i>Entrails</i>]
Ko Puku rau	A hundred stomachs	[Puku rau] 1820 “Púku rau, A hundred stomachs, &c. Name of a person” * p. 197 [W1971 p. 308 Puku (i) 2. <i>n.</i> <i>Stomach, entrails</i> with ‘rau’ – a hundred]
Ko Purepure	Spotted	[Purepure] 1820 “Púre púre, <i>a.</i> Spotted” * p. 198 [W1971 p. 313 Pure (ii) <i>v.t.</i> <i>Arrange in tufts or patches</i> ; purepure 1. <i>a.</i> <i>In tufts or patches</i>]
Ko Putedudu	The enclosed basket	[Pūtē ruru] 1820 “Púte dúdu; A close or tied-up bag or basket” * p. 198 [W1971 p. 317 Pūtē, pūtea, <i>n.</i> <i>Bag or basket</i> of fine woven flax for clothes etc. with ruru p. 352 Ruru (ii) 1. <i>v.t.</i> <i>Tie, tie together</i> , 2. <i>Enclose</i>]
Ko Putoto	Bird called <u>Putoto</u>	[Putoto] 1820 “Putóto, <i>s.</i> A bird so called, a partridge” p. 198 [W1971 p. 317 Pūtoto, pūweto or spotless crane, a swamp rail (<i>Porzana tabuensis</i>)]

Ko Putoitoi	Grass in a bundle	[Pū toetoe] 1820 “Pu tói tói; A bundle of grass called Toi toi” p. 198 [W1971 p. 300 “Pū (2) <i>Bunch, bundle, anything growing in a bunch</i> ” but W1971 p. 429 “Toetoe 2 n. <i>Grass, sedge</i> etc., of various species particularly <i>Arundo kakao (conspicua)</i> which was known as <i>toetoe kākaho</i> ” is partly incorrect. There are five indigenous species of <i>Cortaderia</i> and two similar foreign species (pampas-grass, <i>C. selloana</i>). Toetoe grass was used for thatch and wall linings. <i>Cortaderia toetoe, C. splendens</i> etc.]
Ko te Pahu	The drum	[Te Pahu] 1820 “Páhu, s. A drum, bell, &c; any thing which by beating makes a sound” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 248 Pahū 2. n. <i>Alarum</i> , made of stone or wood and beaten like a gong; formerly used in time of war]
Ko te Pahi	The ship	[Te Pahi] 1820 “Pahi, s. A ship: proper name of a person” * p. 186 [W1971 p. 247 Pahi (ii) n. 1. <i>Large sea-going canoe</i> ; hence ship; 2. <i>A company</i> of travellers, expedition]
Ko te Pai	The good	[Te Pai] 1820 “Pai ; Name of a person” * p. 187 [W1971 p. 249 Pai (i) pl. Papai 1. <i>Good, excellent</i> etc.]
Ko te Paipai	The finery	[Te Paipai] 1820 “Paipai, s. Finery. Causative ‘Waka paipai, causing finery’” p. 187 [W1971 p. 249 whakapaipai 1, v.i. <i>Adorn</i>]
Ko te Pare	The head ornament, crown	[Te Pare] 1820 “proper name of a person” * p. 190 [W1971 p. 266 Pare (i) n. <i>Band for the hair, fillet, wreath</i>]
Ko te Papa	Lizard called <u>Papa</u>	[Te Papa] 1820 “Papa, s. A reptile so called; also the name of a person” * p. 189 [W1971 p. 244 Pā (vi) pāpā 2. <i>Hoplodactylus pacificus</i> brown gecko = <i>moko-pāpā</i> . Currently <i>Dactylocnemis pacificus</i> , Pacific gecko]
Ko te Pekapeka	Game so called	[Te Pekapeka] 1820 “Péka péka; A game so called. Proper name of a person” * p. 19 [W1971 p. 275 Pekapeka n. 2. <i>A toy windmill made of a flax leaf</i>]
Ko te Po	The night	[Te Pō] 1820 “Po, s. Night; the region of darkness. Proper name” * p. 193 [W1971 p. 285 Pō (i) 1. n. Night]
Ko te Poshoi	Ear ornament made of feathers	[Te Pōhoi] 1820 “Po e ói, s. A tuft of feathers worn as an ornament in the ear. Proper name of a person” * p. 194 [W1971 p. 287 Pōhoi 1. n. <i>Bunch of [white] feathers worn in the ear for ornament</i>]

Ko te Poutu	The parting asunder	[Te Pōuto] 1820 “Póutu ... Proper name” p. 195 [W1971 p. 299 Pōuto (i) n. <i>Float</i> for a net. Pōuto (ii) v.i. <i>Cut off</i> , decapitate pōutoa te kaki, <i>cut off the head</i>]
Ko te Pou tudi	Deaf	[Te Pou turi] 1820 “Póutúdi, s. Deafness. Proper name” * p. 195 [W1971 p. 459 Turi (ii) a. (1) <i>Deaf</i>]
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 <i>pou o hawaiki</i> = Norway rat (<i>Rattus norvegicus</i>)]
Ko te Pui	The ornamented stem post of a canoe	[Te Puhi] 1820 “Púi, The ornamented stem post of a canoe. Proper name” * p. 196 [W1971 p. 304 Puhi (i) 2. <i>Bunch of feathers</i> etc., as an ornament, especially the plumes decorating a canoe]
Ko te Punga	The anchor. Odd one	[Te Punga] 1820 “Púnga, s. An odd one; the anchor of a ship, a canoe &c. Name of a person” * p. 197 [W1971 p. 310 Punga 3. <i>Anchor, generally a stone</i> , or a basket of stones; 5. <i>Odd number</i>]
Ko te Pukeko	The water hen	[Te Pukeko] 1820 “Pu kéko; A flute made from the bird Kéko. Name of a person” p. 196 [A confusion of W1971 p. 300 <i>Pū</i> to blow and <i>pū</i> n. pipe, tube, flute with the bird pūkeko [W1971 p. 307 <i>pūkeko</i> (<i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> , purple swamp hen)]
Ko te Puta [?]		[Te Puta?] Illegible words, perhaps because the word was considered ‘indelicate’ = 1820 “Pute, s. A bag” p. 198 Cf “Pute dudu”, above. Cf W1971 p. 315 Puta (i) 1 n. <i>Opening, hole, perforation</i> 2. <i>Vagina</i> . v.i 11. <i>Be born</i>]
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. <i>Sun</i> 2. <i>Day</i> . Ra, rā (ii) is the intensive particle used in forms of farewell: <i>haere rā</i> etc., from which Kendall may have taken the idea of health, strength etc.]
Ko Rae	Forehead	[Rae] 1820 “Ráe, s. The forehead; a point of land” p. 199 [W1971 p. 320 Rae (i) n. 1. <i>Forehead, temple</i> . 2. <i>Promontory, headland</i>]
Ko Raewera	A scorched forehead	[Raewera] 1820 “Ráe 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 “Ráke maide; a spear made of the wood called <i>Maide</i> ; proper name” * p. 199 [W1971 p. 321 Rake (i) n. <i>Clump, tuft, bush</i> probably with <i>rākau</i> n. 1. <i>Tree</i> , 2. <i>Wood, timber</i> , 3. <i>Stick, spar, mast</i> and <i>maire</i> the plant (<i>Syzygium maire</i> , swamp maire)]
Ko Raku	Scratching	[Raku] 1820 “Ráku, s. A scratch; also a proper name” p. 199 [W1971 p. 322 Raku, raraku, rakuraku v.t. <i>Scratch, scrape</i>]
Ko Ranga	Working at a basket	[Ranga] 1820 “Ránga, s. Making up, as a basket ... name of a person” * p. 199 [W1971 p. 322 Ranga (i) 1 v.t. <i>Raise, cast up</i> but raranga p. 323 v.t. (pass. Rangaa and rānga) <i>Weave, plait mats, baskets</i> etc.]
Ko Rangatira	Gentleman	[Rangatira] 1820 “Ránga tíra; A gentleman or lady. Proper name” * p. 200 [W1971 p. 323 Rangatira 1. n. <i>Chief, male or female</i> , 3. <i>Person of good breeding</i> , 4 a. <i>well born, noble</i> ; rangatiratanga n. <i>evidence of breeding and greatness</i> ; but <i>тино rangatiratanga</i> used (from 1825) only of British high officials e.g. governors, not of Māori]
Ko Rangi toto	Red sky	[Rangitoto] 1820 “Ránga toto; the red sky” * p. 200 [W1971 p. 323 Rangi (i) n. 1. <i>Sky</i> , with <i>toto</i> W1971 p. 442 <i>toto</i> 1. n. <i>Blood</i> . Also the name of a hill at Hokianga]
Ko Rangi tu ki waho	Waiting in suspense at a distance	[Rangitukiwaho] 1820 “Ránga tu ki wáho; Standing outside, excluded; name of a person” * p. 200 [W1971 p. 391 tatari 1. V.i. Wait, <i>tāringa</i> n. <i>circumstance</i> etc., of waiting, but this seems contrived. Rangitikiwaho was a prominent chief at Ngunguru, Tutukaka]
Ko Rangi tu noa	Waiting without cause	[Rangitunoa] 1820 “Ránga tu nóa; Being without employment” * p. 200 [Meaning obscure]
Ko Rangi hudu	The upper region of the sky	[Rangiuru] 1820 “Ránga údu: The upper part of the atmosphere or heavens” * p. 200 [?Perhaps W1971 p. 324 Rangiura 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. <i>Gutter, tap, funnel</i> 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. <i>Cyathea medullaris</i> , a large tree fern; 2. <i>Young shoots of fern</i> = koru p. 147 Koru (i) 1. a <i>Folded, coiled, looped</i> 3. A bulbed motif in carving and scroll painting]
Ko Rau Mati	Summer	[Raumati] 1820 Rau máti, s. Summer” * p. 201 [W1971 p. 330 Raumati n. <i>Summer</i>]
Ko Rau wahine	A female slave	[Rau wahine] 1820 “Rau wahine; A hundred women. Name of a person” * p. 201 [W1971 p. 328 Rau = a hundred, a multitude and Rau (iv) 4. n. <i>Captive</i> , (unrelated words)]
Ko Rawa	A remnant	[Rawa] 1820 “Rawa, s. A remainder” * p. 201 [W1971 p. 331 Rawa (i) n. 1. <i>Goods, property</i> ; ‘Remnant (people)’ is usually <i>mōrehu</i> or <i>toenga</i> from W1971 p. 429 <i>Toe</i> (i) v.i. <i>Be left</i> , as a remnant & <i>toenga</i> n. remnant, <i>toenga kai</i> or <i>toenga kainga</i> , a contemptuous expression for one saved when the rest of the tribe was eaten, = slave etc., hence the modern application of <i>toenga</i> to ‘things’]
Ko Reko	Bird called <u>Reko</u>	[Reko] 1820 “Reko, s. Bird so called” p. 201 [Probably intended for W1971, p. 335 Reko 1. a. <i>White, of hair, feathers</i> etc. “He kākā reko, a parrot of light plumage” i.e. albino]
Ko Repa	Garment called Repa	[Repa] 1820 “Repa, s. A garment so called” * p. 202 [W1971 p. 336 Repa 1. n. <i>Belly of a shark</i> 2. <i>A flax cloak</i> , probably so called from its being of pale dressed fibre]
Ko Roa	Long	[Roa] 1820 “Roa, a. Long. ... Also a proper name” * p. 203 [W1971 p. 344 Roa (i) pl. Roroa 1. a. <i>Long</i>]
Ko Rodi	Gathering of cockles out of the sand	[Rori] 1820 “Rodi, v. n. Scraping, gathering, as cockles out of sand ... Proper name” p. 203 [W1971 p. 347 Rōri 1. v.t. <i>Bind</i> , 2. <i>Scrape together</i> , 3. <i>Gather cockles</i>]
Ko Roi	Fern root	[Roi] 1820 “Roi, s. Fern root. Name of a person” p. 203 [W1971 p. 345 “Roi (i) n. <i>Fern Root</i> , rhizome of <i>Pteridium aquilinum</i> var. <i>esculentum</i> ” cf <i>Aruhe</i> a more correct spelling for the same word; bracken root]
Ko Roke	Hard or dried dung	[Roke] 1820 “Roke, s. Hard dung; name of a person” * p. 203 [W1971 p. 345 Roke n. <i>Excrement</i> = <i>tutae</i>]
Ko Rona	The man in the moon called <u>Rona</u>	[Rona] 1820 “Rona, s. The man in the moon” p. 203 [W1971 p. 346 Rona 1. v.t. <i>Bind</i> , confine with cords; 4. v.i. <i>Be caught in a snare</i> . For the associated legend see Wikipedia under Ngaio <i>Myoporum laetum</i>]

Ko Rukuruku	Basket of victuals loosely tied up, a small quantity	[Rukuruku] 1820 “Rúku rúku A basket loosely tied up” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 351 Ruku (ii) v.t. <i>Gather together</i> ; rukutanga n. <i>Collecting together</i> ; rukuruku 1. v.t. <i>Gather together</i> into a small compass 3. n. <i>Small basket</i> (as for tubers, kumara etc.)]
Ko te Rae	The forehead, foreland	[Te Rae] Another repetition see <i>rae</i> , above.
Ko te Rakau	The tree	[Te Rakau] 1820 “Rákau, s. A tree... also a proper name” p. 199 [W1971 p. 321 Rakau 1. n. <i>Tree</i>]
Ko te Rangi A-tea	The noon day, the clear atmosphere	[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)]
Ko te Rangai	Working a wicker basket	[Te Rangai] 1820 “Rangai, s. A crowd, a shoal, as of fishes; name of a person” * p. 200 [Error for Ranga p. 199] [W1971 p. 322 Ranga n. 8. <i>Shoal of fish</i> ’ confused with raranga v.t. <i>Weave, plait</i> , mats, baskets etc.]
Ko te Rashui	The prohibition	[Te Rahui] Not in 1820 – Rahui W1971 p. 321 “Rāhui (i) n. <i>A mark to warn people</i> against trespassing; used in the case of tapu for some temporary protection of fruit, birds or fish etc.”]
Ko te Rangi o morere	The falling heavens, the downfall	[Te Rangi-o-morere] The expression is obscure but W1971 p. 210 “Morere n. <i>Swing, a sort of giant stride</i> ” must be related.
Ko te Rangi tupe	The time of ensnaring anything	[Te Rangitupe] 1820 “Rángi túpe; The place where anyone is taken or ensnared” * p. 200 [The expression is obscure. W1971 Rangi (i) 4. <i>Day, period of time</i> ; p. 456 Tupe (1) n. <i>A receptacle for game</i>]
Ko te Rangi wati tidi	The day of ??	[Te Rangiwhatitiri] The day of (Illegible and unintelligible)
Ko te Ramaroa	The mountain called Ramaroa	[Te Ramaroa] 1820 “Ráma 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)]
Ko te Ra raku	The day of scratching	[Te Ra raku] 1820 “Ra raku; The day of scratching” * p. 200 [Cf W1971 p. 322 Raku, raraku, rakuraku v.t. <i>Scratch, scrape</i> . Rakuraku n. <i>Implement to scratch with</i> (nothing to do with ‘ra’ = day)]

Ko te Ra rau	The plant called <u>Rarau</u>	[Te Rarau] 1820 “Rarau, <i>s.</i> 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. <i>Leaf</i>]
Ko te Renga	The grass so called	[Te Renga] 1820 “Rénga, <i>s.</i> The excrements of the eye” and “Rénga rénga; A plant so called” p. 202 [W1971 p. 336 from Renga (i) v.i. 1. <i>Overflow, be full</i> (sleep of the eye) and Rengarenga, <i>Arthropodium cirratum</i> , Asparagaceae, neither a grass nor a lily]
Ko te Repo	The swamp	[Te Repo] 1820 “Répo, <i>s.</i> A swamp” * p. 202 [W1971 p. 336 Repo. n. <i>Swamp</i>]
Ko te Roke	The dry dung	[Te Roke] 1820 * p. 203 [W1971 p. 345 Roke n. <i>Excrement</i> , [turd] rokeroke a variety of potato]
Ko te Rongo	The informer	[Te Rongo] 1820 * p. 203 [W1971 p. 346 “Rongo 1. v.t. (pass. Rangona and rongona) <i>Apprehend by the senses, except sight</i> (a) <i>hear</i> (b) <i>feel</i> (c) <i>smell</i> (d) <i>taste</i> ” whakarongo v.t. 1. <i>Cause to hear, inform</i> , 2. <i>Listen</i> , 3. <i>Attend to, obey</i>]
Ko te Roro	The brains	[Te Roro] 1820, “Roro. <i>s.</i> The brain” p. 203 [W1971 p. 347 Roro (i) n. <i>Brains, marrow</i>]
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 Tadinga	Delay	[Taringa] 1820 “Tádinga, or Táringa, <i>s.</i> Delay. Proper name” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 391 Tari (iii) Tatari 1. v.i. <i>Wait</i> , 2. v.t. <i>Expect</i> ; taringa n. <i>Circumstance etc., of waiting</i>]
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. <i>A square net baited with cockles crabs etc., used for taking seabirds</i>]
Ko Taengodu	Bones broken within while the flesh and skin are whole	[Ta ngoru] 1820 “Tá e ngódu; A whole skin, the bones being broken: proper name of a person” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 235 Ngoru 1. a. <i>Loose, slack</i> , hanging in loops; whakangoru v.t. <i>Loosen, slacken</i> ; ngarungoru a. <i>Soft, yielding</i> , with “tā (xi) prefix, having apparently a causative force similar to that of whaka” (p. 355)]

Ko Taha	A side of anything	[Taha] 1820 “Tahá, <i>s.</i> The side of anything; proper name” p. 204 [W1971 p. 357 Taha 1. <i>n.</i> Side, margin, edge often used merely to indicate proximity]
Ko Tahawai	Side of the water	[Taha wai] 1820 “Táha wai The watery side or part of any place; name of a person” * p. 204 [Not used in W1971, = waterside cf tahatai = seaside]
Ko Taehaemure	Stealing Bream fish	[Tahae] 1820 “Tahae múre; The art of stealing a fish called Múre” * p. 205 Cf “Támure, <i>s.</i> Bream fish” p. 206 [W1971 p. 357 Tāhae 1. <i>v.t.</i> Steal; 2 <i>n.</i> Thief. Probably meant to be <i>tāhae tāmure</i>]
Ko Tahi kawa	A privy	[Tahi kawa] 1820 “Táhi kaua; Stinking dung: name of a person” p. 204 [Obscure]
Ko Tahi ngutu	One lip	[Tahi ngutu] 1820 “Táhi ngútu; One lip; name of a person” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 359 Tahi (i) 1 <i>num.</i> One; ngutu p. 236 Ngutu <i>n.</i> 1. Lip]
Ko Tao Ko Tahoho	A long spear Sobbing	[The expression is crossed out] [Tahoho] 1820 “Tá hóho; Sobbing or panting. Name of a person” * p. 204 [W1971 p. 359 Tahō <i>a.</i> Yeilding, weak = tihō, flaccid]
Ko Tahuhu	A joist	[Tahuhu] 1820 “Tá húhu; The joist of a floor” p. 205 [W1971 p. 360 Tāhū, tāhuhu, tāuhu 1. <i>n.</i> Ridge pole of a house and any similar stiffening device]
Ko Tai	A name for mother, the sea, a deity called <u>Tai</u>	[Tai] 1820 “Tai, <i>s.</i> A woman bearing children, an affectionate name for ‘mother’: the sea” p. 205 , [W1971 p. 361 Tai (i) 1 <i>n.</i> 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]
Ko Taiki	Snare so called	[Taeke] 1820 “Taiki rau kúra; Proper name” * p. 205 [cf W1971 p. 356 Taeke 1. <i>n.</i> Snare; raukura <i>n.</i> Feather, plume (p. 329); perhaps a snare marked with a feather]
Ko Taipa	River called <u>Taipa</u>	[Taipa] 1820 “Taipa, <i>s.</i> River so called; name of a person” p. 205 [A river entering Doubtless Bay]
Ko Tairake	Gentle stream of the sea	[Tairake] 1820 “Tairáki, A gentle stream of the sea” * p. 205 [More probably Tai rake = barren coast or Tai Raki = northern coast]
Ko Taitirohia	Looking at the sea	[Tai tirohia] 1820 “Tai tiróhia, <i>s.</i> An earnest look” * p. 205 [W1971 p. 424 Tiro, titiro 1. <i>v.i.</i> Look, titiro mākuu look hard and hence look covetously. Probably nothing to do with tai (sea)]

Ko Taka	Falling down	[Taka] 1820 “Taka, s. A fall” * p. 205 [W1971 p. 366 Taka (i) v.i. 1. <i>Fall off, fall away, desist, fail of fulfilment</i>]
Ko Taka mudi Ko Takii	After fall Taking out of a boiling pot	[Taka muri] Not in 1820 [Obscure] [Takii] 1820 “Tákii, The act of taking something out of the pot; name of a person” p. 206 [Cf W1971 p. 371 Tāki, tātāki v.t. 1. <i>Take to one side, take out of the way</i> 2. <i>Take food from the fire, take a basket from hot water</i>]
Ko Taka shorea	Fall causing skin to come off	[Taka horea] [Cf W1971 p. 60 Hore (ii) hohore 1. a. <i>Bald, bare, deficient</i> ; 3. v.t. <i>Peel, strip off</i> ; possibly whakahorea (?flay) from the same root, not to do with a fall]
Ko Takahi	Trampling upon	[Takahi] 1820 “Takáhi; Treading. Proper name” * p. 205 [W1971 p. 367 l. v.t. <i>Trample, stamp</i>]
Ko Takangaroa	Long fall	[Takanga] 1820 “Tákanga, s. The act or time of falling” * p. 206 [W1971 p. 366 Taka (i) v.i. 1. <i>Fall off, fall away, desist</i> with –anga as a verbal noun form ‘falling’ and roa = long; perhaps applied by Kendall to ‘The Fall’ in Genesis]
Ko Ta ki e riki	Taking up the cover of a boiling pot	[Takieriki] 1820 “Táki e ríki; Being long in the water, or covered” * p. 206 [Perhaps cf W1971 p. 367 Takai v.t. 1. <i>Wrap up, wrap round</i> , 3. n. <i>Wrapper, covering</i> with diminutive <i>riki</i>]
Ko Taku	A square	[W1971 p. 374 Taku (ii) 1. <i>Edge, border, rim</i> . Cf tapawhā, porowhā (mod.)= four-sided]
Ko Takoto	Lying down	[Takoto] 1820 “Tákoto, s. A place to deposit anything in, a cupboard ... Lying down to rest” * p. 206 [W1971 p. 374 Takoto 1. v.i. <i>Lie</i> 2. <i>Be in or take up</i> a position etc.]
Ko Tanihi	Blind of one eye	[Tanihi] 1820 “Taníi, a. Blind of one eye” * p. 297 [Uncertain]
Ko Tangi hika	Crying for fish	[Tangi ika] 1820 “Tángi íka; A lamentation, in which fish was eaten” * p. 207 [Uncertain; perhaps a form of lament in which the deceased is compared to a sacrifice cf W1971 p. 76 Ika (iii)]
Ko Tangi kura	Bloody lamentation	[Ika kura] 1820 “Tángi kúra; A bloody lamentation” * p. 207 [Uncertain]
Ko Tangi wadu	Crying for the hair to be cut off	[Tangi waru] 1820 “Tángi wádu; The eighth (month) lamentation” * p. 207 [Uncertain]
Ko Tangi ware	The house lamentation	[Tangi whare] 1820 “Tángi wáre; The house cry” * p. 207 [Uncertain]

Ko Tao	Spear	[Tao] 1820 “Táo, s. A long spear” * p. 207 [W1971 p. 380 Tao (i) n. <i>Spear, about 6 ft long; tao-roa, long spear, 12 ft to 18 ft in length, used for spearing pigeons etc.</i>]
Ko Tao ke	A different spear	[Tao + kē] 1820 * p. 207 [W1971 p. 380 Tao <i>spear + kē = different</i>]
Ko Tao puta	Spear passing through a person	[Tao puta] 1820 “Táo púta; A spear passed through any thing” * p. 207 tao + puta [W1971 p. 315 Puta (i) 1. n. <i>Opening, hole, perforation</i>]
Ko Tapa Ou	(Indelicate)	[Tapa hou] 1820 “Tápa ou; The new Tapa” * p. 208, after “Tápa, s. Thin cloth made of the bark of leaves of trees” [Uncertain, but ‘indelicate’ suggests a sexual connotation]
Ko Tapa tahi	(Ditto)	[Tapa tahi] 1820 “Tápa táhi; The first Tápa” * p. 208 [Uncertain]
Ko Tara	Gannet	[Tara] 1820 “Tára, 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 “Tára e ápe; A missing spear, that has missed the mark” p. 208 [Cf W1971 p. 36 from Hape a. 1. Crooked]
Ko Taratara	Rough, barbed	[Taratara] 1820 “Tára tára; The upright pales of a fence ...” * p. 208 [W1971 p. 386 Tararara 1. n. <i>Spine, spike</i> 3. <i>Stakes of a fence</i>]
Ko Ta Ra wete	Still voice of the gannet	[Tara wete] 1820 “Tára wéete; A whispering gannet” * p. 208 [Fanciful, probably referring to the cries of seabirds in general (<i>tara</i>), perhaps from whakaweti v.t. <i>Threaten</i>]
Ko Taoranga	Landing place, wharf place	[Tauranga] 1820 “Tauranga; A landing-place, a wharf” * p. 210 [W1971 p. 396 Tau (v) v.i. 1. <i>Alight, come to rest.</i> 3. <i>Come to anchor, lie to, ride at anchor, hence tauranga, taunga</i> n. <i>Resting place, anchorage for canoes, fishing ground</i>]
Ko Taoraposhō	Ornament on the halberd	[Tao rapo?] 1820 “Táo ra po e ó; A spear or halberd dressed with feathers” p. 208 [Obscure but probably the <i>tewhatewha</i> , 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. <i>Long, of an indefinite time</i> , 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. <i>Upright rod in the wall of a native house</i> , supporting the small battens to which the reeds of the <i>tukutuku</i> 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. <i>Deficient in food</i> ; in the expression <i>he tau wehe</i> a year when fruit is scarce on the trees; also <i>he tau kotipū</i> a year with an early winter]
Ko Tahuduhudu	Taking out the hair	[Ta huruhuru] [From W1971 p. 72 Huruhuru n. 1. <i>Coarse hair, bristles</i> (used of various ferns and feathers)]
Ko Tawa	Tree so called, also a battle, a meeting of two parties	[W1971 p. 405 Tawa n. <i>Beilschmiedia tawa</i> , a tree; also the fruit of the same; the other word is properly ‘taua’ at 1820 “Tauga, s. <i>A meeting</i> , and <i>army</i> , a battle, ... a tree so called” * p. 209]
Ko Tawa tahi	First battle	[Tauga tahi] 1820 “Tauga táhi; The first fight” * p. 210 [Cf W1971 p. 397 Tauga (i) n. <i>Hostile expedition, army</i> and Tahi = first]
Ko Tawa mahue	The deserted battle	[Tauga mahue] 1820 “Tauga mahúe; The deserted fight” * p. 209 [W1971 p. 397 Tauga (as above) + Mahue p. 165 (i) 2. <i>Forsaken, deserted, given up</i> 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 <u>Tawai</u>	[Tawai] 1820 “Tá wai, s. A fish so called” * p. 211 [not identified, but possibly the common <i>kahawai</i> W1971 p. 83 Kahawai n. <i>Arripis trutta</i> , which Kendall does not list otherwise]
Ko Ta’Wiro	Stroke of the God Wiro	[Ta Whiro] 1820 “Tawíro; The stroke of the God Wiro” * p. 211 [From Ta (i) 3. <i>Strike, beat</i> with a stick etc., and Whiro (god of evil and the underworld) Here Tawhiro is an eminent chief]
Ko Tawahiti	The little fight	[Tauga iti] 1820 “Tauga íti; A skirmish” * p. 209 [W1971 p. 397 Tauga (as above) + iti (small)]

Ko Tete	Canoe so called	[Tete] 1820 “Téte, <i>s.</i> A canoe so called” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 409 Tē (iv) tētē n. 1. <i>Young shoot, frond of a plant or fern</i> also 4. <i>Figurehead of a canoe</i> (without arms or legs); 5. <i>Canoe adorned with such a figurehead</i>]
Ko Ti	The root called <u>Ti</u>	[Ti] 1820 “Tí, <i>s.</i> The root called Tee, which, when baked, is very sweet” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 413 Ti (i) n. <i>Cordyline</i> of several species [. . .] The epithets <i>awe</i> , <i>kāuka</i> , <i>kōuka</i> , <i>pua</i> , <i>rākau</i> and <i>whanake</i> indicated <i>Cordyline australis</i> ” the most usual species]
Ko Tia	Sticking feathers in the hair of the head	[Tia] 1820 “Tia (contracted for Te ía); Dressing the hair by putting a feather &c into the hair” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 414 Tia (i) tiatia 1. v.i. <i>Stick in, drive in</i> pegs etc., 2. <i>Adorn by sticking in feathers</i>]
Ko Tietie	Long grass called <u>Tietie</u>	[Tietie] 1820 “Tíe tíe; A species of grass: name of a person” * p. 212 [Not identified, unless it is <i>kiekie</i> a climbing plant of the Pandanaceae the leaves of which were used for thatch: <i>Freycinetia banksi</i>]
Ko Tidi	Drawing the seine line	[Tiri] 1820 “Tidi; Proper name for a person” * p. 212 [W1971 p. 423 “Tiri (i) 1. v.t. <i>Throw or place one by one</i> . 2. <i>Plant root crops</i> . 3. <i>Throw a present</i> before one etc.” Precise meaning uncertain, perhaps allusive]
Ko Tidi pua	One of the Magellan clouds	[Tiripua] 1820 “Tidi pua; Name for one of the Magellan clouds” p. 212 [W1971 p. 424 “Tiripua, Tiritiripua n. One of the Magellan clouds” cf W1971 p. 270 “Pātari (ii) = Pāteri n. <i>The Magellan Clouds</i> generally ngā Pātari the larger is <i>Pātari-rangi</i> and the smaller <i>Pātari kaihau</i>]
Ko Tinana	Trunk of a man	[Tinana] 1820 “Tínana, <i>s.</i> The trunk of the human body” * p. 213 [W1971 p. 419 Tinana 1. n. <i>Body, trunk</i> , the main part of anything]
Ko Tinehia	To put out the light of a candle, to kill	[Tinei] W1971 p. 419 Tinei (i) v.t. 1. <i>Put out, quench, extinguish</i> . 2. <i>Destroy, kill</i> . Tinetine v.t. <i>Quench, extinguish</i>]
Ko Tira	Back fin of a fish	[Tira] 1820 “Tíra, <i>s.</i> The back fin of a fish ...” p. 213 [W1971 p. 422 Tira n. 1. <i>File of men, row</i> . 2. <i>Company</i> of travellers 3. <i>Fin of a fish</i> (allusion)]
Ko Tiro	Female (young), daughter	[Kotiro] W1971 p. 149 Kōtiro n. <i>Girl</i> In 1820 “Tiro, <i>s.</i> Looking” * p. 214, is an error
Ko Tisho	Dance so called, to sneeze	[Uncertain]

Ko Titadi	Strewing about	[Titari] 1820 “Títadii, <i>v.n.</i> Strewing about” p. 214 [W1971 p. 425 Títari, títaritari <i>v.t.</i> <i>Scatter about, disperse, distribute</i>]
Ko Tirohia	Looking earnestly	[Tirohia] 1820 “Tírohia; Look at (me). Name of a person” * p. 214 see also 1820 “Tiro, <i>s.</i> Looking” * p. 214 [W1971 p. 424 Tiro, titoro 1. <i>v.i.</i> <i>Look</i>]
Ko Toa	Brave, courageous	[Toa] 1820 “Toa, <i>s.</i> A bold courageous man” * p. 214 [W1971 p. 429 Toa 4. <i>n.</i> <i>Brave man, warrior</i>]
Ko Toenga	Remaining, remnant	[Toenga] 1820 “Toenga, <i>s.</i> The act of importuning” p. 215 [Cf W1971 p. 429 Toe (i) <i>v.i.</i> <i>Be left</i> , as a remnant, toenga <i>n.</i> <i>Remnant</i>]
Ko Toi e Riki	Cleansing the ariki, or priest	[? Tohi Ariki] 1820 “Tói Ariki; A ceremony or prayer of the Ariki. A person’s name” * p. 215 [Uncertain. Perhaps from tohi (ii) 2. <i>v.t.</i> <i>Boil by means of hot stones</i> . 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]
Ko Tohu	Entering into water &c	[Tohu] 1820 “Tóhu; Entering or sinking into the water” * p. 215 [W1971 p. 431 Tohu (i) 1. <i>n.</i> <i>Mark, sign, proof</i> hence tohunga <i>n.</i> <i>Skilled person</i> , 2. Wizard, priest]
Ko Tomokia	Entering into	[Tomo] 1820 “Tómo kía, or Tomo ki ía; Enter it” p. 216 [W1971 p. 435 Tomo (i) <i>v.i.</i> <i>Be filled</i> , Tomo (ii) 1. <i>v.i.</i> <i>Pass on</i> , enter, tomokanga <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Entrance, gateway</i> ; Tomoau <i>n.</i> <i>Abyss</i> , modern use for a cave (<i>ana</i>)]
Ko Torehohonu	Deep gut (of the anus)	[Tore hohonu] 1820 “Tóre hohónu; A deep passage” * p. 216 [W1971 p. 437 “Tora <i>v.i.</i> 1. Burn, blaze. ‘Ka tor ate ahi’ 2. Be erect (<i>sensu obsceno</i>). Used of showing warlike feelings, Tore (ii) 3. <i>Pudenda muliebria</i> ‘Ko wai te tore wahine i to tupuna?’ = From who are you descended in the female line; toretore 3. <i>Anus</i> (Kōtore <i>n.</i> 1. <i>Lower end</i> , 5. <i>Buttocks</i> , 6. <i>Anus</i>), the word also used for a red sea anemone suggestive of haemorrhoids (<i>Actinea tenebrosa</i> Waratah anemone). Honu, hōhonu, honuhonu W1971 p. 58 is <i>Deep</i>]
Ko Tore tunua	Roasted gut (of Do)	Not in 1820 Uncertain meaning, perhaps obscene

Ko Toungaro	(Ind.[elicate])	Not in 1820 [W1971 p. 442 Tou (i) n. <i>Anus, posteriors</i> . 2. <i>Lower end</i> of anything 3. <i>Tail of a bird</i> 4. <i>Actinia tenebrosa</i> , red sea anemone; with ngaro (i) a. <i>Hidden, disappeared</i> etc., ?]
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 Tūmataunga ‘Tū of the angry face’ but also W1971 p. 443 Tu (iii) v.i. 1. <i>Stand, be erect</i>]
Ko Tui	Bird called <u>Tui</u>	[Tui] 1820 “Tui, s. A bird so called. v.n. Writing, sewing, marking &c; as, “E tui ána ki ’au ki táku búka búka; I am writing in my book” * p. 218 [using ‘tui’ for ‘tuhī’, originally used for painting but adopted to the practice of writing when literacy was introduced. The bird Tui is the honeyeater <i>Prothemadera novaeseelandiae</i>]
Ko Tua	The other side	[W1971 p. 444 Tua (i) 1. Back, 2. locative n. <i>The farther side of a solid body</i> ; 3. with <i>mai</i> or <i>nei</i> this side; 4. <i>The time past</i>]
Ko Tua Tara	Lizard called so.	[Tuatara] 1820 “Túa tára; A species of lizard” * p. 218 [W1971 p. 447 Tuatara n. 1. <i>Sphenodon punctatus</i> a reptile like a large lizard]
Ko Tuai	Distributing	[Tuai] 1820 “Tuai, a. Distributed” * p. 217 [W1971 p. 445 has only Tuai a. <i>Thin, lean</i> cf Tuoi = <i>Thin lean</i> , 2. <i>Frail, weak</i>]
Ko Tuangai	Feeding	[Tuangai] 1820 “Túangai; Eating in an erect posture” * p. 218 [Uncertain]
Ko Tudi katuku	Moving of the knees	[Turi katuku] 1820 “Túdi katúku; Moving on the knees. Name of a woman” * p. 218 [W1971 p. 459 Turi (i) n. <i>Knee</i> ; tuturi 1. v.i. <i>Kneel, bend, draw up the knees</i>]
Ko Tuku	Pit of the stomach	[Tuku] 1820 “Tuku, s. The hollow pit of the stomach, the hollow occasioned by drawing in the belly” p. 219 [Dubious, cf W1971 p. 451 Tuku (iii) n. 1. <i>Side, edge, extremity</i> ; 2. <i>Shore, coast</i> ; 4. <i>Space</i> between the defences of a pā, terraces of a pā on a hill]
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]
Ko Tuma	Threatening	[Tuma] 1820 “Tuma, s. Threatening” * p. 219 [W1971 p. 452 Tuma 1. v.t. <i>Challenge</i> ; whakatuma n. <i>Defiance</i>]

Ko Tuku wai	Resting near the water	[Tukuwai] 1820 “Tuku wai; Saving in the water” p. 219 [Doubtful cf W1971 p. 451 Tuku has many meanings. Here Tuku (iii) n. 1. <i>Side, edge</i> etc.; 2. <i>Shore, coast</i> is probable]
Ko Tua wai roa	The immortal God	[Nonsense. Possibly some garbled reference to <i>Tū</i> and <i>wairua</i> n. <i>Spirit</i> , in the ‘unsubstantial image, shadow’ (cf W1971 p. 477); but not an indigenous concept]
Ko Tukai te hudu	The God partaking of the incense	[Another nonsense] 1820 “Tú kai te údu; The Atua feasting in glory; or eating the hair, which is the emblem of glory” * p. 218 [Probably Tūmatauaenga the (origin of war and balance) with <i>kai</i> = food and <i>huru</i> (or <i>uru</i> , W1971 p. 469 hair of the head, in the plural)]
Ko Tuma kere	Hair dishevelled by shaking the head	[Tuma] 1820 “Tuma kere; Dishevelled the hair” * p. 219 [Obscure]
Ko Tu kou	Swimming corpse	[Obscure]
Ko Tu horo	Corpse sliding down	[Obscure]
Ko Tu pe	Snare for birds	[Tupe] 1820 “Túpe, s. A snare for birds” * p. 219 [Cf W1971 p. 456 Tūpē (i) n. <i>A receptacle for game</i>]
Ko Tutaki	Meeting together	[Tutaki] [W1971 p. 462 Tutaki 1. v.t. <i>Meet</i> 4. n. <i>Junction, meeting</i>]
Ko Tu tere	Corpse adrift	[Obscure]
Ko Tutahi	Dung	[Tutae] W1971 p. 461 Tutae n. <i>Dung</i> . The word is often used in compounds e.g. Tutae-atua <i>Lycoperdon</i> sp. puffballs (fungi) = god turd]
Ko Tutudi	Bird so called	[Tuturi] 1820 “Tutudi: A bird so called” * p. 220 [W1971 p. 459 Tuturi or tuturi-pourewa white-headed stilt n. <i>Himantopus leucocephalus</i>]
Ko Tu ware	House for heads of dead bodies	[Tu whare] 1820 “Tu ware; A house for heads” * p. 221 This seems unlikely. W1971 p. 463 Tuwhare n. Saliva = huwhare, from, Tiwha, tuha (ii) 1. <i>Spit, expectorate</i>]
Ko Tu waka riki	God causing priests	[Tu Whakariki] 1820 “Tu waka riki; Struck by an army in reserve” * p. 221 [A nonsense cobbled together from Tū (name of a god) whaka (causative prefix) ariki (priestly experts / tohunga)]
Ko Tu Ra wera	Wounded place	[Turawera] 1820 “Túra wéra; A blow (as of a club)” * p. 220 [Obscure: <i>wera</i> is connected with heat and <i>tura</i> with warning]
Ko te Takupu	Bird called <u>Takupu</u>	[Te Takapu] 1820 “Tákapu, s. A bird so called” * p. 206 [W1971 p. 368 Tākapu n. 1. Gannet (<i>Morus serrator</i>)]

Ko te Tao	The spear	[Te Tao] 1820 “Tao, <i>s.</i> A long spear” * p. 207 [W1971 p. 380 (i) n. <i>Spear</i> , 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. <i>Property</i> , anything highly prized. Not particularly associated with <i>tao</i> = spear, as <i>taonga</i> is a verbal noun]
Ko te Tatera	The trumpet	[Te Tatera] W1971 p. 300 Pūpū-tara, pūpū-tūtara, <i>Charonia lampas capax</i> a large Ranellid trumpet shell, or triton, also called pūtātara, pūtara etc.]
Ko te Tawa	The battle	[Te Taua] 1820 “Taua, <i>s.</i> A meeting, and army ...” * p. 209 [W1971 p. 397 Taua (i) n. <i>Hostile expedition, army</i>]
Ko te Taweta	Laying anything on a cross tree	[Te Taweta] 1820 “Tāweta; Hanging up any thing on the <i>tārawa</i> or crossline” * p. 211 [?W1971 p. 408 Tāwheta 1. v.i. <i>Writhe, flounder</i> 2. <i>Dangle</i>]
Ko te Tiki	To see, or procure, to bring near	[Te Tiki] 1820 “Tiki, <i>s.</i> A particular mark on the face of females” * p. 213 [Presumably a form of facial moko] Also Tiki (i) v.t. 1. <i>Fetch</i>]
Ko te Toka	The rock	[Te Toka] 1820 “Toka, <i>s.</i> A rock” * p. 215 [W1971 p. 433 Toka (ii) 1. n. <i>Stone, rock. Particularly a submerged rocky reef</i> where fish gather]
Ko te Todu	The third	[Te Toru] 1820 “Todu, <i>a.</i> 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 Toti	To step forward	[Te Toti] 1820 “Toti; A mincing step” * p. 217 [W1971 p. 441 Toti, totitoti v.i. <i>Limp, halt</i>]
Ko te Tuidi	The suspended corpse	[Te Tuiri] [Probably an invented phrase]
Ko te		Incomplete
W	W and WH, not distinguished until the 1840s, are filed together	
Ko Wa	Four	[wha] 1820 “Wa, v.n. Supporting, carrying ... also the number Four” p. 221 [W1971 p. Whā (i) num. 1. <i>Four, fourth</i>]
Ko Wadi	Softly	[Wari] 1820 “Wādii; Soft ...” * p. 221 [W1971 p. 480 Wari a. <i>Watery</i> (applied to potatoes spoiled by frost)]

Ko Waidua	Spirit	[Wairua] 1820 “Waidúa, s. A spirit” p. 222 [W1971 p. 477 Wairua n. 1. <i>Spirit</i> 2. <i>Unsubstantial image</i> , 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. <i>Quick, nimble</i> ; kamakama a. <i>Joyous</i> 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. <i>Flowing, flood</i> (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 “Wáinga, s. The time or act of disputation” p. 222 [W1971 p. 472 Wae, wawae v.t. 1. <i>Divide, part, separate</i> ; waenga n. <i>Circumstance, time or place of dividing</i>]
Ko Waingadudu		[Term deleted]
Ko Waka	Canoe	[Waka] 1820 “Wáka; A canoe” * p. 223 [W1971 p. 478 Waka n. 1. <i>Canoe, in general</i>]
Ko Waka ka	Causing a flame	[Whakakā] 1820 “Waka ká; Causing to burn” * p. 223 [W1971 p. 81 Kā (i) v.i. <i>Take fire, be lighted, burn</i> , with causative prefix whaka-]
Ko Waka a Tu	Canoe of a corpse	[waka a Tū] 1820 “Wáka a tú; A canoe for carrying the dead” * p. 223 [uncertain but cf whakaatu v.t. 1. <i>Point out, show</i>]
Ko Wakaheke	A rope	[whakaheke] 1820 “Waka eke; A rope” p. 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	[W[h]aka tere] 1820 “Wáka tére; Swift canoe” * p. 223 [W1971 p. 412 Tere (i) 1. v.i. <i>Drift, float, swim</i> etc., whakatere v.t. 1. <i>Buoy up, steer</i> , whakateretere v.t. 1. <i>Make to float</i>]

Ko Wanga dudu	Bush or close seat	[Whangaruru] 1820 “Wánga dúdu; A closed seat” * p. 224 [A place name from Whanga 1 n. <i>Bay, bight, harbour</i> 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 “Wá nui; Large foundation” * p. 225 [W1971 p. 487 Whanui (i) a. <i>Broad, wide</i>]
Ko Warakie	Healing a sore	[Wharaki] 1820 “Warakii; The act of healing” * p. 225 [W1971 p. 489 Whāraki n. <i>Fester, sore</i>]
Ko Ware	House	[Whare] 1820 “Wáre, s. A house” * p. 225 [W1971 p. 489 Whare 1. <i>House, hut, shed, habitation</i>]
Ko Ware madu	Shady house	[Whare maru] 1820 “Wáre Mádu; A shady house” * p. 225 [Figurative usage from maru W1971 p. 184 Maru 2. <i>Shadow</i> 7 a. <i>Shaded, sheltered, (used of the declining sun) etc.</i>]
Ko Ware mokaikai	House for cured heads	[Whare mōkaikai] 1820 “Wáre 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. <i>Elevated stage for storing food and for other purposes</i>]
Ko Watarau	A hundred scaffolds	[Whatarau] [Dubious]
Ko Wawe	Hastily	[Wawe] 1820 “Wawe, ad. Shortly; name of a person” * p. 226 [W1971 p. 481 Wawe 1. ad. <i>Soon, quickly</i>]
Ko We	Caterpillar called <u>We</u>	[Whē] 1820 “We, s. A caterpillar” * p. 226 [W1971 p. 493 Whē n. 1. <i>Caterpillar</i> (not a specific kind, unless perhaps that of the porina moth, parasitized by <i>Cordyceps robertsi</i> . Whe is also used of the endemic giant stick insect <i>Argosarchus horridus</i> , 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 <u>Wedu</u>	[Weru] 1820 “Wedu, s. A garment so called. Proper name” * p. 227 [W1971 p. 482 Weru (i), weweru and weruweru n. <i>Garment, used of fine mats with broad decorative borders</i>]

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. <i>Be afraid</i> , whakawehi v.i. <i>Terrify</i>]
Ko Wetoī	Person neglected at meals	[Whetoi?] 1820 “Wetoi; A person neglected or unasked, at meals” * p. 227 [Obscure]
Ko Wita	Little	[Wita] 1820 “Wita, s. Light” * p. 227 [Cf W1971 p. 497 Whiti (ii) 1. v.i. <i>Shine</i> 2. v.t. <i>Shine upon</i> ; 3 n. <i>East</i>]
Ko Witi	Appearing at a distance	[Whiti] 1820 “Witi, s. Appearing” * p. 227 [W1971 p. 497 Whiti (i) 1. v.i. <i>Cross over, reach the opposite side</i>]
Ko Witi dua	Appearing a second time or at daybreak Break of day	[Whitirua] 1820 “Witi dua, The second appearance” * p. 227 [cf W1971 p. 498 Whitireia n. <i>New moon</i>]
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 Wī n. 3 <i>Juncus polyanthemus</i> and other species of rushes; wīwī 1 <i>Juncus</i> spp., now <i>Juncus edgariae</i> Edgar’s rush]
Ko te Waha	Mouth	[Te Waha] 1820 “Wāha, s. The mouth” p. 221 W1971 p. 473 Waha (i) 1. <i>Mouth, entrance</i>]
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 Wahi	Some, a part	[Te Wahi] 1820 “Wāhi, a. Some; a part, a spot or place to stand on” * p. 221 [W1971 p. 474 wāhi n. 1. <i>Part, portion</i> 2. <i>Place, locality</i>]
Ko te Wai	Water	[Te Wai] 1820 “Wai, s. Water” * p. 221 [W1971 p. 474 Wai (ii) n. 1. <i>Water</i>]
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. <i>Tail of an animal</i> ; (2) <i>Hair of a dog’s tail</i> ; 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 <i>wāhi tapu</i> , a sacred place; the expression is not used in W1971]
Ko te Waitoi	Baptismal water	[Te Waitoi] 1820 “Wai toi; Baptismal water” p. 223 [Doubtful]

Ko te Wango	Groaning to be heard	[Te Wango] 1820 “Wángo, s. A groan” p. 225 Whango W1971 p. 488 Whango a. <i>Hoarse, inarticulate, having a nasal sound</i>
Ko te Wao	The nail	[Whao] 1820 “Wao, s. A nail, chisel” * p. 225 [W1971 p. 488 Whao (i) 1. v.t. <i>Perforate, chisel out</i> ; 2. n. <i>Chisel; Steel nails, used as chisels in woodcarving</i>]
Ko te Waraupo	Place producing the reed <u>Raupo</u>	[Te Whāraupo] 1820 “Wa raupo; The place bearing or producing the reed or flag called Raupo” p. 225 [Cf W1971 p. 484 Wha (iii) 1. <i>Leaf</i> , particularly, if not exclusively applied to one with a sheathing base; Whara (i) n. <i>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</i>]
Ko te Warehumu	The Bakehouse	[Whare umu] 1820 “Wáre úmu, A house for baking victuals” * p. 115 [Probably fanciful; <i>umu</i> is an earth oven (= hāngi). Also the name of the Ngā Puhi chief killed in 1828]
Ko te Ware kuta	House in which grass grows	[Te Wharekuta] 1820 “Wáre kúta; A house in which the grass grows” * p. 225 [Another fanciful derivation’ from <i>kuta</i> (= <i>kukuta</i> , <i>kutakuta</i>) n. is the rush formerly called <i>Scirpus lacustris</i> , a sedge in the Cyperaceae but the one known to Kendall would probably have been the true <i>kuta</i> , now called <i>Eleocharis sphacelata</i> , with hollow stems. Confusingly also called <i>kuta</i> is another species <i>Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani</i> (previously <i>Schoenoplectus validus</i> or <i>Scirpus lacustris</i>)] with the Māori names <i>kāpūngāwhā</i> , <i>paopao</i> , <i>papao</i> , <i>kutakuta</i> , <i>kōpūpū</i> , <i>kōpūpūngāwhā</i> , <i>kōpūngāwhā</i> , <i>kuta</i> , <i>kūkuta</i> , <i>wāwā</i> , <i>kūwāwā</i> , <i>ngāwhā</i> , <i>pūwāwā</i> 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 <i>kuta</i> grows’]
Ko te Ware nui	The large house	[Te Wharenui] 1820 “Wáre núi; The large house” 8 p. 225 [W1971 p. 489 Whare 1. n. <i>House, hut, shed, habitation</i> , but more particularly a house for meetings (<i>wharenui</i> = meeting house), latterly elaborately carved, and so called <i>whare whakairo</i> from the ornamentation]
Ko te Ware papa	The boarded house	[Te Wharepapa] 1820 “Wáre pápa; A house made of boards” * p. 226 [Probably a weather-boarded house, such as the missionaries imported from ca 1820]

Ko te Wata	The scaffold for provisions	[Te Whata] 1820 “Wata; A platform ... proper name” * p. 226 [W1971 p. 490 Whata 1. n. <i>Elevated stage for storing food</i> and for other purposes]
Ko te Wata Poteto	The scaffold for Potatoes	[Te Whata Poteto] 1820 “Wáta paréte; Scaffold for potatoes: name of a person. This is perhaps a corruption of the word <i>potatoe</i> .” * p. 226 [An obvious case of a neologism, but <i>rīwai</i> is the more general name]
Ko te Wawahi	The dispute	[?Whāwhai] 1820 “Wawahi, v.n. Disputing, quarrelling” * p. 226 [Cf W1971 p. 485 whawhai v.i. <i>Fight</i>]
Ko te We	The caterpillar	[Te Whē] 1820 “We, s. A caterpillar” * p. 226 [See above, under Ko We]
Ko te Wera	The burnt or scorched person	[Te Wera] 1820 “Wera, a. Scalded, burnt &c” p. 227 [W1971 p. 482 Wera 1. a. Burnt]
Ko te Werewere	The suspension	[Te Werewere] 1820 “Were were, v.n. Hanging upon any thing” p. 227 [W1971 p. 482 Were, werewere v.i. <i>Hang, be suspended</i>]
Ko te Wetu	The star	[Te Whetu] 1820 “Wétu, s. A star” * p. 227 [W1971 p. 496 Whetū n. <i>Star</i>]
Ko te Wi	The rush	[Te Wī] 1820 “Wi, s. A small rush” * p. 227 [W1971 p. 483 Wiwi 1. <i>Rushes</i> the rushes of the genus <i>Juncus</i> , see above]
S		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
Ko Shaka	Dance called <u>Shaka</u>	[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. <i>Dance</i> 2. n. <i>Sing a song</i> to be accompanied by a dance; 3. n. <i>Dance</i>]
Ko Shaku	Fish called <u>Shaku</u>	[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 <i>haku</i> = <i>Seriola grandis</i> the yellow-tail kingfish cf W1971 p. 32]
Ko Shake	Wood for Wahahika [wahaika] or halberd	[Ake] 1820 “Ake, s. name of a certain tree; also the proper name of a person” * p. 133 [The tree is Ake or Akekake (<i>Dodonea viscosa</i>), but the term ‘halberd’ was probably intended for the tewhatewha, also called Wahaika]
Ko Shange	Tree called <u>Shange</u>	[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 (<i>Geniostoma ligustrifolium</i>) cf W1971 p. 34, also called <i>hengehenga</i>]

Ko Sharo	To peel off the skin, to dress flax	[Haro] 1820 “Aro, s. A flaying or skinning of a person” p. 136 [W1971 p. 38, Haro. 1. v.t. <i>Scrape clean</i>]
Ko Shauraki	River Thames (NZ)	[Hauraki Gulf, where the later city of Auckland was to be sited]
Ko Shautodu	Stone to grind red ochre	[Hautoru?] 1820 “Au Tódu; A stone for bruising red ochre” * p. 149 [Ochre was burned, crushed and mixed with oil to produce kōkōwai for rites]
Ko Shautoka	Winter	[Hotoke] 1820 “Au Tōka; A slaughter upon a rock” * perhaps mistaken for the next entry “Au Tōke’ Winter” p. 149 [W1971 p. 62 Hōtoke 1. a. <i>Cold</i> . 2. n. <i>Winter</i>]
Ko Shautakidi	Skinning alive	[Hau takiri?] 1820 “Au ta kidi; A scalped head” * p. 149 [Uncertain but hau = wind, and kiri = skin so to do with scalping]
Ko Shautukia	Beating and killing	[Hau tukia] 1820 “Au Tukia; Killed with the wind” * p. 149 [Obscure, perhaps meaning exposed]
Ko Shoa	Friend	[Hoa] 1820 “O’a, s. Friend, assistant” * p. 140 [W1971 p. 54 Hoa (i) n. 1. <i>Friend, mate, companion</i>]
Ko Shua Ko Shokai	Making [illegible] Stepping a pace	[Hokari] 1820 “O’kahi, v.n. Stepping, or skipping, upon the ground” * p. 141 [Cf W1971 p. 56 Hokari v.i. <i>Stretch out one’s legs</i>]
Ko Shoro	Swallowing quick	[Horo] 1820 “O’ro, s. Gargling the throat” * p. 144 [Cf W1971 p. 61 hohoro a. <i>Quick, speedy</i> ; whakahorohoro v.t. <i>Hurry, hasten</i> and Horo (iii) = horomi v.t. <i>Swallow</i> , and horohorore v.t. To eat greedily (gobble)]
Ko Shotete	Insect so called	[Hōtete] 1820 “O’tete; A variegated worm like a caterpillar” * p. 144 [W1971 “Hōtete, n. A large caterpillar, larva of <i>Sphinx convolvuli</i> ” p. 62 Also called awható etc. now called <i>Agrius convolvuli</i> or <i>Convolvulus Hawk Moth</i>]
Ko Shua	Making base	[Hua] [Uncertain]
Ko Shau	The wind	[Hau] [W1971 p. 38 Hau (i) n. 1. <i>Wind, air</i>]
Ko te Shau ko mingomingo	The wind proceeding round the horizon	[Te Haukomingomingo] 1820 “Au kómingo; A whirlpool” * p. 149 [Cf W1971 p. 202 Mingo a. Curled, curly, wrinkled mimingo a. Shrivelled up, mingomingo a. Crisped, frizzled]
Ko te Shaupa	The beating wind	[Hau pā] 1820 “Aupa, s. A beating wind” * p. 149 [W1971 p. 244 Pā (iv) v.i. <i>Blow</i> , as the wind]

Ko te Shauparo	The spreading wind	[Hau paro] 1820 “Au páro, <i>s.</i> A long beating wind” * p. 149 [Cf Paro (i) v.i. <i>Stray, wander</i> , perhaps blustery]
Ko te Shaushau	Chipping with an adze	[Hauhau] 1820 “Au e A’u, <i>v.n.</i> A chipping with an adze” * p. 148 [Cf W1971 39 Hau (vii) hahau, hauhau v.t. 1. <i>Strike, smite</i>]

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, <i>s.</i> 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 gathering] 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 “Dímu rápa; Name of a place” p. 150. Actually this is the name of a seaweed.
Ko Dipiro	The sea sand so called	[Ripiro] 1820 “Dipíro, <i>s.</i> 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 <u>Duatara</u>	[Ruatarā] 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 Ruatarā, 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	[Ruagongoro] 1820 “Dúa ngóngoro; The snoring house, also the name of a certain place” p. 151 [Unidentified]

Ko Dua Paheu	Wood called Dua Paheu	[Ruapehu] 1820 “Dúa Páheu; Name of a certain place” p. 151 Kendall would not have known of the large distant volcano of that name, far to the south.
Ko te Dua Tangata	The man’s tomb	[Te Ruatangata] 1820 “Dúa tángata; A man’s sepulchre. Name of a certain place” p. 151 [Near Whangarei]
H	The next four entries were added after K and are marked as an insertion.	
Ko te Hawa Marae	The river of the place of interment	[Te Awa Marae] 1820 “A’wa Márai; Name of a place” p. 137 [Unidentified]
Ko te Hawa tuna	The river abounding in eels	[Te Awa tuna] 1820 “A’wa tuna; ditto [i.e. “Name of a place”] p. 137 [Unidentified]
Ko te Hishu tahi	The one nostril	[Te Ihu tahi] 1820 “Híhiu táhi; Name of a certain place” p. 154 [Unidentified]
Ko te Hi ano	Angling	[Te Hiano] 1820 “Hi ano; Name of a certain place” p. 154 [Unidentified]
K		
Ko Kohuduanake	Only sacrifice	[The entry is out of order and is repeated below]
Ko Kaduidui	A shag	[Kāruhiruhi] 1820 “Ka dúi dúi; Name of a certain bird. Also the proper name of a place” p. 154 [W1971 p. 102, the pied shag (<i>Phalacrocorax varius</i>), a variety of cormorant]
Ko Kahia	A sacred mark	Not in 1820 [W 1971 p. 83 Kāhia n. 1. <i>Tetrapathea tetrandra</i> , 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]
Ko Kahika te Tawa	The slaughter commenced	Not in 1820 [‘Tawa’ is <i>taua</i>]
Ko Kai hiki	A nurse	[Kaihiki] 1820 “Kai íki; The support of a nurse” * p. 156 [W1971 p. 49 Hiki 1. v.t. 2. <i>Carry in the arms, nurse</i> , hence Kaihiki, one who nurses. Other name appear implausible]
Ko Kai katea roa	The long line called <u>Kaikatea</u>	1820 “Kai ka téa roa’ Name of a certain place” p. 156 [Unidentified]
Ko Kai Manu	Bird’s food	1820 “Kai Mánu; Name of a certain place; also food for birds” p. 157 [Unidentified]
Ko Kai Mata	Food of shot, raw food	1820 “Kai Mátau; 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]
Ko Kai Ou	Feathered food	[Kaihou?] 1820 “Kai O’u, Name of a certain wood” p. 157 [Unidentified]

Ko Kai Ra	The Sun's heat	1820 "Kai ra, <i>v.a.</i> Name of a certain place" p. 157 [Dubious]
Ko Kai Para	Savoury meat	[Kaipara] 1820 "Kai pára; Proper name of a place" p. 157 [Kaipara is traditionally associated with the edible root <i>para</i> (king fern, <i>Ptisana salicina</i> , formerly <i>Marratia</i>) and the derivation is wrong]
Ko Karangu	Tree so called	1820 "Karangu; Name of a certain tree" p. 160 [W1971 p. 98, Karangū or Karamū, (<i>Coprosma robusta</i>)]
Ko Kohuduanake	Only sacrifices or victims killed	[kōhuru anake] [Cf 1820 p. 165 "Kohudu, <i>s.</i> A person slain" here 'slain without exception' and <i>anake</i> 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 <i>v.i.</i> Be spilt, flow. Māringiringi <i>v.i.</i> Be spilt little by little. The particle has been duplicated. Place not identified]
Ko Kopake Ko Kopidi	Crippled, lamed	[Kōpiri] 1820 "Kópidi, <i>s.</i> Lameness of the feet" * p. 167 [W1971 p. 137 Kōpiri 1. <i>a.</i> Contracted, shrivelled up; 3. Crippled, lame.]
Ko Kouairanga	An heap of <u>chins</u>	[Kauaeranga] 1820 "Kouai, <i>s.</i> 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 "Kórora 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, <i>s.</i> ... Redness" but not as a place name W1971 p. 157 Kura (i) 1. <i>a.</i> Red, glowing, cf <i>ura</i> , often in compound words]
Ko te Kanae	The mullet fish	[Kanae] 1820 "Kanae, <i>s.</i> The mullet fish" * p. 158 [W1971 p. 93 Kanae 1. <i>n.</i> <i>Mugil cephalus</i> , grey mullet]
Ko te Karaka	The fruit	[Karaka] 1820 "Karaka, <i>s.</i> A certain fruit tree" * p. 159 [W1971 p. 98 Karaka n. 1. <i>Corynocarpus laevigatus</i> , a tree and fruit of the same' the drupe can be eaten but the kernel is toxic]
Ko te Kauakaua	The stone called <u>kawakaua</u>	[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 Waianiwanīwa (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		[Korotangi] The word is deleted but W1971 p. 146 says: Korotangi n. Pit for storing kumara etc.]
Ko te Kopua	The deep part of a river	[Kopua] 1820 “Kopua, s. The bed or deepest part of a river” * p. 167 [W1971 p. 138 Kopua 1. a. Deep, of water; 4. n. Deep pool]
Ko te Koudi	The pine called <u>Koudi</u>	[Kauri] 1820 “Kaudi, s. A species of the fir tree; resin” * p. 161 [W1971 p. 108 Kauri n. 1. <i>Agathis australis</i> , a forest tree (Araucariaceae) which produced abundant resin ‘kauri gum’]
Ko te Kowai		
M		
Ko Madu Ouhia	Feathery shade	[Maru Houhia?] 1820 “Madu Ouia: Name of a certain place” p. 172 [From W1971 p. 184 Maru (i) n. 2. Shadow, shelter and Hou p. 62 Hou (i) n. Feather (probably strictly tail feather). Place not identified]
Ko Mahoehoe	Tree called <u>mahoehoe</u>	[Mahoe] 1820 “Má e óe: Name of a certain tree” and “Má e óe óe: Name of a certain place” p. 172 [W1971 p. 164 Māhoe, (i) <i>Melicytus ramiflorus</i> a tree, whiteywood, Violaceae]
Ko Maehoro	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 ía; Proper name, also the name of a certain place; uneven rocks” p. 174 [A rock formation (crater remnant) at Whangarei Harbour: ‘Mount Manaia’]
Ko Manawa ora	The healthy constitution	[Manawa ora] 1820 “Manáo O’ura; Name of a certain place” p. 174 [W1971 p. 174 Manawa n. 1. Belly, bowels etc., but also state of mind, hence with <i>Ora</i> (i) a. alive, 2. Well, healthy, safe]

Ko Manawa tawi	Supposed exterior termination of the breath of life	[Manawatawhi] 1820 “Manáwa táwi; The rocks called the Three Kings” p. 175 [An island group to the north, named by Captain Cook]
Ko Manga Kahia	The sacred mark with the Manga	[Mangakahia] 1820 “Mánga káhía; 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]
Ko Manga Kauakaua	The branches of the tree called Kauakaua	[Maungakawakawa] “Maunga kaua kaua; Place so called” p. 179 [A place (unidentified) from the plant Kawakawa (<i>Macropiper excelsum</i>)]
Ko Manga Kidikidi		[Term deleted] 1820 “Mánga kidi kidi [Place so called]” p. 175
Ko Manga Parapara	Fish so called	1820 “Mánga parapara, [Place so called]” p. 175 [Probably from W1971 p. 261 Pāra <i>Lepidopus caudatus</i> , the frostfish, but probably confused with <i>Mangā</i> n. 1 <i>Thyrstites atun</i> , (barracouta, snoek or snake mackerel) which looks somewhat similar]
Ko Manga Turoto	The branch with the corpse within	[Mangaturoto] 1820 “Mánga turúto [Place so called] p. 175 [A nonsense: actually ‘Maungaturoto’ which means ‘mountain standing in a lake’]
Ko Mango Nui	The great shark	[Mangonui] 1820 “Mángo, <i>s.</i> A shark” p. 175 [W1971 p. 178 Mangō n. Shark, dogfish, but according to Williams ‘Mangō-nui’ is an unidentified species]
Ko Manu kau	All birds	[Manukau] 1820 “Manu kau; Name of a certain river” p. 175 [Actually of a large west coast harbour]
Ko Mapuna	An enclosure in a rock – petrification	[Mapuna] 1820 “Mapúna, <i>s.</i> (A thing) enclosed in stone” p. 176 [Apparently ‘fossil’ but not attested by Williams and there seems to be no Māori tradition concerning fossils]
Ko Marae kaua	A place of interment, unpleasant	[Marae kawa] 1820 “Marae kaua; Place so called” p. 176 [W1971 p. 180 Marae 1. n. Enclosed space in front of a house [with] kawa p. 109 a. Unpleasant to the taste, bitter but the meaning seems forced. Place not identified]
Ko Maunga Kauakaua	The mountain on which is the stone <u>Kauakaua</u>	[Maungakawakawa] 1820 “Maunga kauakaua; Place so called” p. 179 [A place south of Kaikohe, probably referring to the plant (<i>Macropiper</i>), not the stone, a form of jade]

Ko Maunga nui	The great mountain	[Maunganui] 1820 “Maunga nui; A hill so called” p. 179 [Refers to Maunganui Bluff, north of Dargaville, the site of the battle Moremonui, 1807]
Ko Maunga pare dua	The Mountain with the crown over the door of the storehouse [with deleted text: The mountain on which are two hills or crowns]	[Maungaparerua] 1820 “Maunga páre dú: Name of a wood” p. 179 [a descriptive name of a hill near Kerikeri, with two peaks]
Ko Mataw	The crooked place [?] a fishhook	[Matau] 1820 “Matau, s. A fish-hook” p. 177 [W1971 p. 192 Matau (i) n. 1. Hook i.e. fishhook]
Ko Mataka	The flaming face of the Hill. A mountain conspicuous	1820 “Mataká; A certain high hill” p. 177 [W1971 p. 187 Matakā (i) matakakā, a. 1. Red but also (iii) n. A sacred plot set aside in a kumara field. Mataka Station is a property near Kerikeri, Northland]
Ko Mahunu	Bait for a fish	[Mahunu] 1820 “Maunu, s. ... Bait for a fish-hook” * p. 179 [W1971 p. 165 Mahunu a. Burnt, but probably used figuratively]
Ko Motiti	The little island, from Motu iti	[Motiti] 1820 “Motiti; Name of a certain small island” p. 182 [Probably one of several such]
Ko Motu dua	The second island	[Moturua] 1820 “Mótu dua’ The second island” p. 183 [Moturua. An island in the Bay of Islands, near Motukiekie]
Ko Motu hone	The sandy island	[Motuone] 1820 “[Mótu] óne; The sandy island” p. 183 [There is a small island with this name in the Te Puna Inlet]
Ko Motu hunga	The adjoining island	[Motuhunga] 1820 “[Mótu] únga; The island so called” p. 183 [Not identified]
Ko Motu karaka	The fruit island	[Motukaraka] 1820 “[Mótu] karáka; The fruit island” p. 183 [Evidently a descriptive term for an Island with a cover of karaka trees (<i>Corynocarpus laevigatus</i>), but there is a island with this name in the Hokianga Harbour]
Ko Motu kokako	The island of the bird called <u>kokako</u>	[Motukokako] 1820 “[Mótu] kóka; An island so called” p. 183 [Piercy Island or ‘the Hole in the Rock’, at the top of Cape Brett; Kōkako or wattled crow, (<i>Callaeas cinerea</i>)]
Ko Motu koudi	The island producing the pine Koudi	[Motukauri] 1820 “[Mótu] koudi; An island so called; or the island producing a species of pine called <i>Koudi</i> ” p. 183 [There is such an island in Whangaroa Harbour, Motukauri]

Ko Motu Orangi	The spreading island	[Motuorangi] 1820 “[Mótu] o rángi’ the island of heaven” p. 183 [A small islet near Paihia]
Ko Motu roa	The long island	[Moturoa] 1820 “[Mótu] róa; The long island” p. 183 [Another island in the Bay of Islands, north of Paihia]
Ko Motu tapu	The sacred island	[Motutapu] 1820 “[Mótu] tápu; The sacred island” p. 183 [There are several with this name]
Ko Motu Takapu	Island of the bird called <u>Takapu</u>	[Motutakapu] 1820 “[Mótu] tákapu; The island of the birds called Tákapu” p. 183 [Takapu is the gannet, (<i>Morus serrator</i>), but Kendall seems confused; <i>tara</i> are terns of any kind]
Ko Motu Tara	Gannet Island	[Motutara] 1820 “[Mótu] tára; The Island of gannets” p. 183 [See previous entry. Also the gannet, (<i>Morus serrator</i>); there is such a small island in the Bay of Islands]
Ko Motu Tere	Swift Island	[Motutere] 1820 “[Mótu] tére; 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]
Ko Motu Tui	Island of the bird called <u>Tui</u>	[Motutui] 1820 “[Mótu] túi; The island of the bird called Túi” p. 183 [There was an island of this name near Kendall’s station at Rangihoua]
Ko Motu Taua	Island producing the tree called Taua	[Motutawa] 1820 “[Mótu] taua; The island of the tree called Taua” p. 183 [The island has not been identified: Tawa (<i>Beilschmiedia tawa</i>)]
Ko Mudi Motu	The after island	[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]
Ko Mudi wenua	The after land	[Muriwhenua] 1820 “Múdi wenúa; 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]
Ko te Manga heke	The cast away branch like a wreck	[Te Mangaheke] 1820 “Manga éke; Place so called” p. 175 [Not identified]
Ko te Manga Tu	The branch bearing a dead body	[Te Mangatū] 1820 “Manga tu; [Place so called]” p. 175 [A place south of Hokianga]
Ko te Mata Pihi	The window	[Te Matapihi] “Matapii; A window” p. 177 [W1971 p. 189 Matapihi n. Window]
Ko te Moa	The coal	[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]

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 <u>Niwa</u>	Not in 1820. In traditions Niwa was one of two <i>taniwha</i> 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 “Dúa wai; The watery Dúa” p. 151 [W1971 p. 350 a pit or hole or store for provisions; in poetry = abyss; hence Ruāwai, 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 Oruru, 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 Ōkaihou, near Kaikohe]
Ko Okaka	River so called	[Ōkāka] 1820 “Okáka, 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 pére; 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’]

Ko Oshi	Bird called Oshi	[Ohi] 1820 “Ohii, s. Name of a certain place; also a certain bird” p. 141 [The bird is Hihi = stitchbird (<i>Notiomystis cincta</i>)]
Ko Onoke	A different splice	[Hono kē] 1820 “Unóke; Name of a place” p. 147? But see 1820 “Ono, s. A joint or splice” p. 142 i.e. <i>Hono</i> cf W1971 p. 58 Hono (i) 1. v.t. Splice, join; with <i>kē</i> a. different]
Ko Ou ora	The good feather	[Houhora] 1820 “Ou O’ra; A good feather” * p. 149 [Probably the place name Houhora as above]
Ko te Ora nui	The great recovery	[Te Oranui] 1820 “O’ra Núi; Name of a certain place; as, “Ko te O’ra Núi” p. 143 [Uncertain]
Ko te Ou tore	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 (<i>Phaethon rubricauda</i>)]
Ko te Ou Ounga	The Ounga’s feather	[Te Houhounga?] Meaning obscure. Cf W1971 p. 63 Houanga an interval of time, definite or indefinite]
P	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.	
Ko Pae tahi	The first town	[Pā etahi? Or Pae tahi?] 1820 “Pa e tāhi; Name of a place” p. 186 [Meaning obscure]
Ko Pa kanae	The mullet fish town	[Pā kanae] 1820 “Pakanāe, s. Name of a place” p. 187 [A village at Hokianga; <i>kanae</i> is the fish <i>Mugil cephalus</i>]
Ko Pairoke	Dry dunged villages	[Paeroke?] 1820 “Pairóke; Name of a certain place” p. 187 [Meaning obscure or mistaken, but <i>roke</i> = excrement]
Ko Panananane [?]		
Ko Pangudu	Mountains so called	[Pangaru] 1820 “Pangadu, s. A mountain so called” p. 188 [Pangaru Mountain at Hokianga, site of burial caves]
Ko Pa nikau	The town noted for the leaves called <u>Nikau</u>	[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?]
Ko Pa kina	The town noted for sea-eggs	[Pā kina] Not in 1820 [<i>Kina</i> is the sea urchin <i>Evechinus chloroticus</i> , a delicacy]

Ko Para	Flat fish so called	[Para] 1820 “Para, <i>s.</i> A fish so called; name of a place” [Para – frostfish (<i>Lepidotus caudatus</i>), but this is not a flatfish, and ‘flatfish’ probably refers to pātiki or flounders, of which there are eight species]
Ko Papata	Cockroach	[Papata] 1820 “Pápata, <i>s.</i> A cock-roach; a place so called” p. 189 [W1971 p. 269 Papata 2. Cockroach]
Ko Paroa	The long town	[Paroa] 1820 “Paróa, <i>s.</i> Name of a place” p. 190 [Paroa Bay, in the Bay of Islands]
Ko Pa tana	The fighting town	[Obscure]
Ko Pa toto	The bloody town	[Pā toto] 1820 “Pa tóto, <i>s.</i> A place so called” p. 190 [Not identified]
Ko Patu nui	The large war club	[Patunui] 1820 “Pátu 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. <i>Loranthus</i> and <i>Elytranthe</i> of various species]
Ko Porae nui	A large fish called <u>Porae</u>	[Porae] 1820 “Porae, <i>s.</i> A fish so called [and] Porae nui; Name of a certain place” p. 195 [W1971 p. 293 Porae 3. <i>Cheilodactylus douglasi</i> = blue morwong]
Ko Po wehe Dua	The night the store house was deserted	[Po were rua] 1820 “Pó wédua; Name of a high hill” p. 196 [Another fanciful derivation, from <i>Pō</i> night, <i>rua</i> , storage pit and <i>wehe</i> , deficient]
Ko Puke kaikatoa	The <u>Kaikatoa</u> hill	[Puke kahikatoa] 1820 “Púke kaikatóa; The hill of the wood kaikatoa” p. 196 [A location of Te Rarawa. <i>Kāhikatoa</i> was used for <i>mānuka</i> (<i>Leptospermum scoparium</i>) as well as for the unrelated <i>kānuka</i> (<i>Kunzea ericoides</i>) both called ‘tea-trees’ as they were used for infusions]
Ko Puke koukou	The swimming hill	1820 “Púke koukou; name of a place” p. 196 [A prominent coastal rock north of Whangaroa harbour. Here <i>koukou</i> is a topknot hairstyle, as the rock has that shape, not the owl (<i>koukou</i> , <i>ruru</i> , so called from its cry, <i>Ninox novaeseelandiae</i> cf W1971 pp. 150-151, and not the verb <i>kau</i> W1971 p. 104: <i>Kau</i> (ii) 1. Swim, wade. This is typical of the mistakes Kendall made]
Ko Puke nui	The great hill	[Pukenui] 1820 “Púke 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 <u>Maide</u> hill	[Pukemaire] Not in 1820 There are several places with this name, this one in Hokianga Harbour.
Ko Puke tawa	The <u>tawa</u> hill	[Puketaua] 1820 “Púke tawa; The hill of battle” p. 197 [Not identified, confusing ‘taua’ (war) with ‘tawa’, the tree]
Ko Puke wao	The nail hill	[Pukewhau?] 1820 “Púke wao; A hill so called” p. 197 [Probably either a Hokianga hill, Pukewhao from <i>whao</i> a chisel, nails being used as such, or one at Kerikeri with <i>whau</i> a tree (<i>Entelea arborescens</i> , Malvaceae). Wao (forest) also seems unlikely]
Ko Puke pu	The entire hill	Not in 1820 and meaning uncertain
Ko Puke mau	Close, confined, sultry	Not in 1820 and meaning uncertain [perhaps from W1971 p. 196 Mau (iii) Pt. 1. Fixed, 2. Continuing, lasting, 8. Confined, constrained]
Ko Puku	The stomach	[Puku] 1820 “Púku, s. The stomach” * p. 197 [W1971 p. 308 Puku (i) n. Swelling, 2. Abdomen, stomach]
Ko te Pani horo hivi	The cement for preserving the bones	[Te Pani hora iwi] 1820 “Páne óro íwi; 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 <i>hāhunga</i> exhumation ceremonies <i>iwi</i> = bones, <i>hora</i> 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 “Púna, 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 “Púru, 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 “Púke e áupapa; 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 Puhi a whakaari] 1820 “Puhía e wákadi; 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]

Ko te Pikinga	The ascent	[Te Pikinga] 1820 “Pīkinga; The act of adhesion” * p. 192 [Cf W1971 p. 280 Piki (i) v.t. 1. Climb, ascend, pikinga, pikitanga n. Ascent of a hill etc.]
R		
Ko Ramaroa	Hill called <u>Ramaroa</u>	[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 <i>Ngā Rangi-i-totongia-a Tama-te-kapua</i> (‘The days of the bleeding of Tama-te-kapua’) 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 <u>Rara</u>	[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 <u>Kio</u>	[Rongomai] 1820 “Róngo mai kío; 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 “Róto 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, <i>s.</i> 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, <i>rei</i> (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 wai na; Name of a certain place” p. 202 Probably the same thing but with ‘rawa’ as an error for <i>awa</i> (river) and <i>hina</i> a personification of the moon]
Ko te Roto	The inside, interior	[Te Roto] 1820 “Roto, <i>ad.</i> Within ... Place so called” p. 204 [W1971 p. 348 Roto (ii) l. n. 1. The inside. 2. Used in combination with the prepositions <i>ki</i> , <i>i</i> , etc., to form compound prepositions e.g. <i>Ki roto ki</i> , into, in etc.]
T		
Ko Tai karekare	The sea reflecting the light	[Karikari] 1820 “Tai káre káre; 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 hongī	The man’s salutation	[Tamahongī] 1820 “Tama óngi; Name of a certain place’ p. 206 [Meaning uncertain, used in proverbial expressions; Place not identified]
Ko Tapeka	Expended	[Tapeka] 1820 “Tápeka, <i>s.</i> 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 “Tápu ai dúdu; name of a place” p. 208 [A possible meaning is ‘footprint of the owl’ (<i>ruru</i>) but the place (in North Auckland) is not identified]
Ko Tapu e tahi	The first prohibition	[Tapu etahi] 1820 “Tapu e tahi; [Name of a place]” p. 208 [<i>ētahi</i> is the plural of the definitive <i>tētahi</i> = Some, so ‘certain prohibitions’]
Ko Taua tawiti	Distant battle	[Taua tawhiti] 1820 “Taua tawíti; name of a place” p. 210 [taua = war party; tawhiti, tahiti W1971 p. 409 l. a. Distant, widely separated, 2. From abroad, foreign]
Ko Taonga dua	The second property	[Taonga rua] 1820 “Taunga dúá; Name of a place” p. 210 [W1971 p. 381 Taonga n. Property, anything highly prized’ and rua = two]

Ko Taupidi	Rope of goat skin	[Taupiri] 1820 “Tau pídi; 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]
Ko Taoranga	Place, rendezvous near the sea, a wharf	[Tauranga] 1820 “Tauranga; A landing place” [A generic place name] p. 210 [Not specific to the present city of that name]
Ko Tiaiti	Small island so called	[Tiaiti] 1820 “Tiaiti; A place so called” p. 212 [Not identified]
Ko Tikanga	Straight in a line direct	[Tikanga] 1820 “Tikanga, s. Name of a place” p. 213 [W1971 p. 416 Tika a. 1. Straight, direct, <i>tikanga</i> 1. n. Rule, plan, method]
Ko Toka pa kidi kidi	Rock on which is a village with many pebble stones therein [A literal interpretation by Kendall; probably quite wrong]	[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’, <i>Pseudolabrus celidotus</i>)]
Ko Tonga dido	A snowy mountain	[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]
Ko Totara [?] Ko Tuhina [?] Ko Tuku tere	The corpse gone adrift	Not in 1820 but “Tú papáku; A corpse” p. 219 and “Tutúre; A corpse placed in a canoe, and drifted away by the wind” p. 220 [Meaning and context uncertain]
Ko Tuna tahi	The first Eel	[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. <i>Anguilla</i> [freshwater eels] and their varieties. There are two species]
Ko Ture kura	The bloody order	[Turekura] 1820 “Túre kúra; Name of a place” p. 220 [Place not identified. <i>Ture</i> (from Hebrew, <i>torah</i>) was adopted from Tahitian for law, and <i>kura</i> from school (a transliteration)]
Ko Tutai o Nuku Tawiti Ko te Tarawa	The gallows	See below [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]
Ko te Tauroa	The long ropes	[Te Taura] 1820 “Te Tau ra koia [Name of a place]” p. 210 [<i>Tau</i> has many meanings as has <i>roa</i> ; here cf W1971 p. 402 Taura n. 1. Rope, cable, cord, with <i>roa</i> , = long]

Ko te Tikitiki Ra	To look on anything	[Te Tikitiki] 1820 “Tikitiki; The act of seeing” p. 213 [W1971 p. 417 Tikitiki 1. n. Girdle. 2. Topknot of hair]
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 hu	Milk	[Wai ū] 1820 “Wai hu; Milk” * p. 222 [Cf W1971 p. 464 Ū (ii) n. Breast of a female, udder, teat, Wai-ū, milk]
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 <u>Waikato</u>	[Waikato] 1820 “Waikáto; A river so called” p. 222 [The river arising from Taupo, entering the Tasman Sea]
Ko Wai pa	River called <u>Waipa</u>	[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 tangi	Noisy water, waterfall	[Waitangi] 1820 “Wai tángi; Noisy water; a river so called” p. 223 [Sometimes translated poetically as ‘waters of sorrow’, referring to <i>tangi</i> as mourning and lamentation. But W1971 p. 379 Tangi 1. v.i. Sound, give forth a sound, cry, to 8. n. Sound, 9. Lamentation]
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 <u>Moa</u> fish	[Waitataramoa] 1820 “Wai tata; Near water” * p. 223 [“Moa fish” is presumably an error but <i>tātarāmoa</i> is the ‘bush lawyer’ vine (<i>Rubus scissoides</i> and other species)]

Ko Waka diu	Leaky canoe	[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.
Ko Waka poi	The child's play ball	[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.
Ko Waka nui	The large canoe	[Waka nui] 1820 "Wáka nui; A large canoe; a place so called" p. 223 [Location unknown]
Ko Waka tere	The drifting or swift canoe	[Wakatere] 1820 "Wáka tére; 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]
Ko Ware nga hairi	The forest house	[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]
Ko Ware taha	The house side	[Wharetaha] 1820 "Wáre tahá; Name of a place" p. 225 [Meaning uncertain]
Ko te Warau	The place of interment for the dead	[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]
Ko te Wai wana riki	Sulphureous water	[Te Wai whānāriki] 1820 "Wai wawariki; [A place so called]" p. 223, "Wanariki; Brimstone" p. 224 [W1971 p. 487 Whānāriki, n. Brimstone – ngāwhāriki n. Boiling spring]
Ko te Wakatoe	To make game of a person	[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]
Ko te Wi roa	The long rush	[Te Wī roa] Not in 1820 [Cf Wī n. a general term for rushes and grasses]

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Norris, Edwin [Grammar of the New Zealand language] Unpublished printed fragment of a grammar, called "Unicum 1842. Neu Seeland no. 2", bound as "Unicum" 14, 12 pp. Given by the author on September 30, 1842 to Prof. A. Hoefer, who gave it to Sir George Grey. Acc. No. GNZM 90. Location: GNZM 83, Sir George Grey Special Collections

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

Hocken Library, University of Otago.

Records from the Church Missionary Society. Explanatory note: Citation of original letters and journals obtained from the Church Missionary Society by Dr. T. M. Hocken in 1903 is problematic. After Hocken's death in 1911 the manuscripts were bound into thematic guard books by Librarian W. T. Trimble (see his *Catalogue of the Hocken Library* (1912) who numbered the individual letters and journals in chronological sequences but destroyed the associations of provenance in the process, removing most outsize documents and printed specimens, many of which were placed in the 'Variae' and 'Flotsam and Jetsam' scrapbooks. Citations here follow the online catalogue 'Hakana' rather than that of Trimble. Most of the Butler documents are in Butler, J. G. 'Letters and journals' DUHO MS-0058 [which was the basis for R. Barton's *Earliest New Zealand* (1927). Other Butler letters and Kendall letters are in Marsden, S. 'Correspondence &c 1813-1838' 4 vols. DUHO MS-0054 to MS-0057. Also note Church Missionary Society, London. Records relating to the New Zealand Mission. DUHO MS-0498.

Kendall, Thomas [Correspondence] Kendall to D. Coates, 16 September 1825, and T. Kendall to E. Bickersteth, 24 May 1827, both in DUHO MS-71 (Binney, (1968) as ms. 71)

Kendall, Thomas [Printed fragment of the proposed 1827 grammar] This is unnumbered signature [A]. The first extant pages of the 1827 printing. DUHO MS-72/3.

Marsden, Samuel 'Rev. Samuel Marsden's journal from July 2 to Nov 1, 1823' DUHO MS-0177D-2 [originally held by Church Missionary Society, London.] Prior to recataloguing this was usually cited as 'Marsden IV Journal', DUHO ms. 177D and is a transcript of the holograph at DUHO MS-0177D-1 (see J. Binney, *The legacy of guilt* (1968) p. 201).

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King, John, 'Letters and journals, 1819-1853' DUHO MS-0073, (copy at Alexander Turnbull Library, at ATL qMS-1111).

Birmingham

University of Birmingham

Archives of the Church Missionary Society.

The CMS documents at Birmingham are available on microfilm in Alexander Turnbull Library, as Church Missionary Society. 'Archives relating to the Australian and New Zealand Missions 1808-1884' ATL Micro-MS-Coll-04.

London

Public Record Office.

Colonial Office papers. CO 201/221, CO 209/2

Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Kendall, Thomas [Fragment of the 1827 Grammar] A duplicate of signatures D, E and F (pp. 25-48) survives in the Mitchell Library (as described by Binney p. 184).

Wellington, New Zealand

Archives New Zealand. Head office.

New Zealand Company papers NZC 3/1

New Zealand Company papers NZC 102/1

Old Land Claims files OLC 636

Alexander Turnbull Library

The CMS documents at Birmingham are available on microfilm in Alexander Turnbull Library, as Church Missionary Society. 'Archives relating to the Australian and New Zealand Missions 1808–1884' ATL Micro–MS–Coll–04.

Bagnall, A. G. 'Further papers' [1940–1986], ATL 89–249.

Buller, James 'James Buller's Maori English Lexicon' ATL MSX–9261

Butler, John Gare. ['Maori vocabulary'] Untitled 1821–1822 manuscript attributed to John Butler] ATL qMS–0358

Butler, John Gare. 'Copy of letters from Hannah Butler and Rev John G Butler to Sir George Gipps.' In John White papers, ATL MS–Papers–0075–113.

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Kendall, Thomas. 'Correspondence' 1808–1824, ATL Micro–MS–0313. (Microfilm of materials ex K.A. Webster coll., and which he had stolen from the CMS, see note under Webster. Present location or originals unknown.)

Lee, Samuel. 'Papers' [1813–1825], ex CMS, stolen by K. A. Webster, and purchased from his estate, ATL qMS–1148

Macquarie, Lachlan [Governor of New South Wales] 'Notarial copy by Henry Cornford Cheeswright of the writ of dedimus potestatem for Rev. John Gare Butler JP issued by the Governor of New South Wales' [24 July 1819] ATL MS–Papers–3425, presented to the Library by Archives New Zealand in 1962.

Tuai. 'Correspondence' 1818–1819. (Formerly at CMS, provenance allegedly G. C. Petersen, perhaps via Webster collection) ATL MS–Papers–0288

Tuai. 'Copies of letters in English composed by Tuai and Titere during their visit to England in 1818' fMS-Papers-7339-1 [in Parkinson, P. G. Further papers (MS-Papers-7339)] Note on provenance: Most of these letters were removed from the Church Missionary Society Archives by Dr T M Hocken in 1903 during a visit to London and placed in his own collection in Dunedin, Hocken as MS 0056. Those which remained were apparently later removed by K. A. Webster for his own collection and these are now in the Alexander Turnbull Library at MS-Papers-0288, purchased from Webster's estate. Location of originals: Hocken Library MS-0056 letters 96, 97, 99, 116, 111, 112, 126, 127, 176, 179 later renumbered ("The original volume (bound by Dr Hocken) containing correspondence from 1814-1820 was divided into several folders [MS-0056/001 to /022] for preservation reasons" (DUHO). ATL holographs: MS-Papers-0288, as in the listing above.

Turner, Nathaniel. 'Letterbook 1836-1849', ATL qMS-2065 p. 26 (Original in Mitchell Library, Sydney, A 1835-38 / 867).

Webster, Kenneth Athol. 'K. A. Webster collection', ATL MS-Papers-1009 [This collection is of material accumulated by Kenneth Athol Webster and purchased from his estate. Some of it is now known to have been stolen from the CMS archives at Birmingham (see Binney, *Legacy of guilt*, (2005) p. 11).

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