

**A PRELIMINARY DICTIONARY OF**  
**MAORI GAINWORDS COMPILED ON**  
**HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES**

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**This thesis is dedicated to my late father,  
Frederick Charles Duval (1901-1980), who set great  
store by formal qualifications.**

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis is a preliminary dictionary of Maori gainwords compiled on historical principles. It will serve as the starting point for a fully fledged historical dictionary of Maori gainwords. The sources are a selection of all those Maori language publications printed between the dates 1815 and 1899. A large number of source items were photocopied from other institutions, and the binding and subsequent availability of these was not always in the order wished for. The research therefore has its limitations (clearly indicated by the use of the word 'preliminary' in the thesis title). Full coverage of all printed Maori publications between 1815 and 1899 has not been possible. Despite this, this preliminary dictionary offers a good indication of the extent of new gainword vocabulary introduced within the time frame.

This thesis suggests that the terms loanword and borrowing should be replaced by the new term gainword or gain, and that the process by which new items of vocabulary enter a language should be known as gaining. 'Gaining' is a positive process, and the word 'gainword' is normally devoid of any negative connotations or implications of cultural imperialism.

This thesis is the first extended scholarly research into Maori gainword lexicography. Although 'preliminary', the dictionary is the first devoted solely to Maori gainwords - previous dictionaries of

Maori have had gainwords as appendices, or have listed small numbers of gainwords in their general corpus. This dictionary builds on those earlier dictionaries by giving gainwords their own dictionary.

This thesis will indicate that nearly all new items of vocabulary introduced into Maori language during the period researched were introduced by English-speaking Pakeha. English-speaking (and some few French-speaking) Pakeha controlled the printed word for some considerable time - up until the first Maori-controlled publication, *Te Hokioi* in 1861, in fact. Most gainwords were therefore imposed. The frequency count for Maori-driven gains done for this thesis will give only some slight indication of Maori use and acceptance of gains between 1815 and 1899.

# INTRODUCTION

"It is the fate of those who toil at the lower employments of life, to be rather driven by the fear of evil, than attracted by the prospect of good; to be exposed to censure, without hope of praise; to be disgraced by miscarriage, or punished for neglect, where success would have been without applause, and diligence without reward.

Among these unhappy mortals is the writer of dictionaries; whom mankind have considered, not as the pupil but the slave of science, the pioneer of literature, doomed only to remove rubbish and clear obstructions from the paths of Learning and Genius, who press forward to conquest and glory, without bestowing a smile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progress. Every other author may aspire to praise; the lexicographer can only hope to escape reproach, and even this negative recompence has been yet granted to very few."<sup>1</sup>

The words of Richard Trench, Dean of Westminster, given in two papers he presented to the Philological Society of England in 1857, are as pertinent today as they were then. Trench stated that a dictionary is "an inventory of the language." The lexicographer "is an historian of...[the language] not a critic." "A Dictionary," he says, "is an historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view."<sup>2</sup>

A Preliminary Dictionary of Maori Gainwords is 'an historical monument', a diachronic dictionary that presents the language as it is found in the documents that have survived the passage of time.

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Samuel Johnson, Preface to A Dictionary Of The English Language, 1755.

<sup>2</sup> Landau, Sidney I., Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989, pp.67-8.



"The role of the lexicographer as a recorder of actual usage - *all actual usage* - is clearly and unequivocally delineated."<sup>3</sup>

This thesis presents over 2500 items of Maori vocabulary which have their origin in foreign languages. These items are termed gainwords. The dictionary, compiled on historical principles, provides the meanings of those words, as well as providing such further information - date of first use, etymology, source citations, variants, compounds - as are usually to be found in historical dictionaries. The gainwords collected in this preliminary dictionary represent the essence of five years research of over 300 printed Maori publications, beginning with a date of 1815 and concluding with a date of 1899. The research has not been strictly chronological, and all publications within the above time period have not been covered.

This thesis looks forward to a more complete and chronologically thorough survey of all Maori language publications from 1815 up to the present.

The starting date, 1815, marks the date of the first printed publication in the Maori language,<sup>4</sup> the first item listed in Herbert W. Williams's A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900. Kendall's A Korao no New Zealand is the first book written specifically for

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<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p.68.

<sup>4</sup> Kendall, Thomas, 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, London, 1815.

Maori<sup>5</sup>, using Maori language as a shared medium of instruction (English being, of course, the other language), itself acknowledging this fact in the subtitle The New Zealander's First Book.

The craft of lexicography in New Zealand is almost 175 years old if one counts from the date of the publication of the first attempt at a published dictionary, Lee and Kendall's grammar and vocabulary of 1820. Yet one could also argue that it is older; that those early explorers and adventurers who compiled their short lists of words and meanings could in fact lay claim to the title of first glossator.

The end point of the research was initially decided upon as 1930. In the event, researching over a century of written Maori proved rather too ambitious. As research progressed, and the methodology adapted and altered, it became increasingly obvious that there was little hope of completing the original research proposal (covering printed Maori language material from 1815 up to 1930).

This preliminary dictionary probably comprises no more than ten percent of the research that is required to complete a full historical dictionary of Maori gainwords. By this is meant that only ten percent of all printed Maori publications from 1815 up until the 1990s have been researched for this preliminary dictionary. As the number of sources consulted for this dictionary has been about 300, the estimated total of all printed Maori sources needed to be

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<sup>5</sup> Kendall, Thomas, letter of July 6 1815 to Samuel Marsden, in Reed, A. W., The Maori and His First Printed Books, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1936, p.10. "I have prepared a First Book for the instruction of the natives, which I transmit to you for examination. There are undoubtedly many defects in it, but *it is good to make a beginning*. I wish to have it printed with a large type and on good paper". (my italics).

researched for a full historical dictionary of Maori gainwords may be about 3000 items.

This preliminary dictionary will serve as a worthwhile introduction to the study of Maori gainwords in themselves. Gainwords are a neglected area of study, and this thesis aims to direct attention to an area of linguistics deserving of more attention.

I hope this thesis will engender some interest in the reader into the antecedents of many modern Maori words, and lead to enquiry into the history of the Maori words used in everyday speech or writing. From that interest, and those enquiries, will hopefully come a greater respect for language.

The ultimate aim of this work is to provide a companion volume to Williams's A Dictionary of the Maori Language, to cover eventually both the traditional language and the language modified by the gains it has made over time.

# **1: A SURVEY OF GAINWORDS IN MAORI DICTIONARIES & CONCORDANCES 1844 - 1993**

## **1.1 Why a dictionary of Maori gainwords?**

This dictionary had its origins in two research papers: one a translation of part of an 1877 minute book belonging to Henare Tomoana, in connection with the Maori Parliament movement, and the other, the cataloguing of the Taiaroa Papers held in the Canterbury Museum Archives. This latter project required the inclusion of a small appendix of transliterations so that the meanings of some of the words in these papers would be clear.<sup>1</sup>

That small glossary raises the question as to why such a glossary should be necessary. The simple answer is that no adequate dictionary of words taken into Maori from foreign sources exists. Those who work with Maori language material, published or manuscript, very often come across words which have come into Maori from foreign sources and which present a problem as to their meaning. The great majority of these words are not to be found in any of the dictionaries of Maori currently available.

## **1.2 Antecedents**

There are five main works Maori language scholars are able to consult in attempting to gloss vocabulary gained by Maori from other

languages:

(1) A Dictionary Of The Maori Language by Herbert W. Williams.<sup>2</sup>

This classic work has gone through many reprints from the first edition, compiled by William Williams in 1844, and printed at Paihia.<sup>3</sup> The transliterations (as Williams calls them) in this 1975 edition of the dictionary are contained in an appendix of seven pages. There are approximately 664 of them. They are the most comprehensive of the gainword references currently available, though the methodology employed in their collection is not as rigorous as that used for the indigenous words. For instance, the appendix lists Rahoroi = Hatarei, *Saturday*, when Rahoroi is not a transliteration, but rather a compound Maori word, being made up of ra *day* and horoi *wash*, thus *washday*. Maramataka *almanac* is also listed as a transliteration, though this is another Maori compound: marama *month* and taka *to come round*, as a date or period of time. Therefore, while most of the entries in this appendix are correct in a broad sense, there are some flaws.

In the first (1844) edition of his dictionary, Williams includes a few gainwords in the main body of his entries. There is no indication that these words are of foreign origin. They are poaka *pig/pork*, riwai *potato*, ngeru *cat*, poti *cat* and pukapuka *book/letter/paper*. It is interesting to note that Williams uses gains such as hu *shoe*, poti *boat*, hoiho *horse*, ture *law*, and paukena *pumpkin* in sentences to illustrate his entries, when these words are not listed as headwords in the main corpus. The selection of colloquial sentences at the end of the dictionary also uses many gainwords not found in the main

dictionary entries, such as kura school, mihanere missionary, paraikete blanket, hopi soap, tupeka tobacco, and kau cow. Williams has a total of 55 gainwords scattered throughout this first dictionary. Included in this total are personal names, place names and compound gains: Hemi James, Hura Ikariote Judas Iscariot, Poahakena Port Jackson (Sydney), Poneke Port Nicholson (Wellington), kai paipa to smoke and kai tupeka to smoke. Perhaps he regarded these gains as already current in Maori vocabulary and therefore not requiring a dictionary entry.

In the 1871 edition of the dictionary, Williams allows gainwords some identity of their own. They are still listed in the main dictionary corpus, but an indication is given that these words in the dictionary are different from traditional Maori words.<sup>4</sup> The number of gains included is also expanded to a total of 131: additions include ture law, turu stool/seat, tupeka tobacco, piki fig, pine pin, hahi church, haika anchor and haka jug, as well as many others.

The 1915 edition follows the 1871 edition in style and format regarding gains, and a note to that effect is placed in the Advertisement prior to the introduction to this volume.<sup>5</sup> The gainwords in this edition total 254. Three traditional Maori words are listed as gainwords: oumu oven, pouaka box and rata doctor.

The 1917 edition abandons the incorporation of gainwords into the main dictionary corpus. An appendix of 'some of the more important words adoped from non-Polynesian sources' is added, totalling 394 entries. Williams also offers the following reflection about the

influx of gains into Maori in his preface:

"In previous editions a certain number of words were included which had been adopted from non-Polynesian sources, their foreign origin being indicated by the use of different type. It has been thought better to omit all of these. A number of the more important of these recent adoptions is given in an appendix, but no claim is made for the completeness of this list. Completeness is, in fact, impossible; for, while we deplore the readiness with which the young Maori abandons a genuine word in his native tongue for some barbarous transliteration of its English equivalent, we realize that linguistic needs continue to arise, and must be met. At the same time the fact must be recognized that the occurrence of these words cannot be regarded as a symptom of linguistic decay. On the contrary, the power of enriching the language by the assimilation of exotic material is evidence of continued vitality. It is only when a language is dead that its vocabulary becomes absolutely fixed".<sup>6</sup>

The 1921 edition of the dictionary<sup>7</sup> simply reprints the 1917 appendix unaltered, that is, with no additional gainwords. The opinions expressed by Williams in his 1917 preface are also reprinted unaltered.

(2) The Revised Dictionary Of Modern Maori by P.M. Ryan.<sup>8</sup> This is a work aimed at schools, and is used to complement Ryan's course book on learning Maori language.<sup>9</sup> Gainwords are listed in the main text of this dictionary along with traditional Maori words without any indication that they are of foreign origin. Mareia Malaysia, for

example, is listed without any note that it is a gain from the English. The phonologically attuned reader is left to surmise that *Mareia* is a gainword from its phonological similarity to the English *Malaysia*. Ryan does have some useful gainword sections appended to the main body of his dictionary, however; these include months of the year, continent names, names of countries, place names and Christian names. Again, the charge may be laid that these sections have been gathered haphazardly and without any motivated methodology, that is, the gains listed are not comprehensive. They are useful but incomplete.

(3) The Complete English-Maori Dictionary by Bruce Biggs.<sup>10</sup> Biggs's dictionary is a computer-generated work. The source of Biggs's dictionary (all the Maori headwords and their English meanings) is the sixth edition of Williams's dictionary<sup>11</sup>. The computer-entered Maori corpus has been 'flicked over' to its alter language, and run off. As a quick reference word-list, it serves a very useful purpose. There are approximately 617 gainwords listed.

Although the editing of this dictionary was extensive, as is mentioned in its introduction, it was selective in regard to gainwords. Some examples may serve to illustrate this. Not all gains in Williams's appendix of transliterations<sup>12</sup> have been transferred to Biggs's work, and not all gains found in Biggs are to be found in Williams. Why Biggs left some out yet included others cannot be explained except by instancing it as illustrative of the less serious treatment accorded gainwords generally in comparison with indigenous vocabulary. Biggs lists *wedge* for example, as



weeti, but omits to list the two other meanings for wēti, *weight* and *weigh*, which Williams lists. (Biggs uses the double vowel in the above cases where Williams, in recent editions, uses the macron.) Williams has the gains for *varnish* wānihi and *whip* wēpu in his appendix, yet these are not listed in Biggs's dictionary. Biggs lists aihikiriimi *ice-cream* but this is not to be found in Williams's appendix. Biggs's is a selective dictionary, as almost all dictionaries are perforce; its gainwords seem to have been selected without any clear or explicit methodology.

Gainwords listed in Biggs are usually marked 'Eng.' *Dish*, for example, is given as paepae, a traditional Maori word, as well as riihi, a word which has been gained from English, and thus marked (Eng.) immediately following the word. However, there are problems with the methodology. Biggs lists riho as *iron*, and indicates that this has been gained from English, whereas I follow Williams in suggesting that riho meaning *iron* is an extension of the traditional Maori word riho. Williams's dictionary lists three meanings for riho as a noun. Both traditional Maori meanings indicate a sense of 'twisting' in one form or another. In the first meaning, riho is a twisted cord of two or more strands, more strands of course implying greater strength in the cord or rope. In the second traditional meaning, riho is a large variety of eel. We can assume that this eel twisted and turned when caught and was therefore difficult to handle; its size may also have been likened to a rope of similar size. Williams's dictionary then lists riho as *iron* immediately followed by (mod.), indicating a modern usage (the

1917 edition is the first to add the (mod.) qualifier to the sub-entry). If ring were a gainword, then it does not seem to follow the usual patterns of gaining; for example, I have a citation for *iron*, the metal, from 1843, whose Maori gain is haeana; the latter, or something similar, would be what one would expect phonologically if the English word *iron* were to be transliterated.

All three of the above references are valuable to the extent that they provide the reader of Maori with the meanings of a limited number of gainwords. It is significant that the majority of gainwords in the published lists itemised above are gainwords that have achieved some currency in Maori language generally. That is, they are well-known and recognised, and their usage is reasonably common in modern oral Maori. Such a policy on the part of a lexicographer is a normal part of creating a useable (and saleable) work.

(4) An English-Maori Dictionary<sup>13</sup> by H. M. Ngata, is the most scholarly contribution to the craft of Maori dictionary-making this century, with its use of bilingual citations. It has a number of other notable properties. Some citations have been drawn from published sources, others have been composed by Ngata. No distinction is made between sourced citations and composed citations and sources of the quoted examples are not provided. No dates of usage are provided. The dictionary also has no parts of speech labels.

The treatment of gainwords in Ngata's dictionary does not differ much from its predecessors. Gainwords are included in the main

text, and, like Biggs's work, are marked (Eng.). Ngata provides citations for his gainwords. It is refreshing to find compound gains provided also, such as kaipeita painter. Although other works (such as Williams's), provide the odd compound gain, Ngata offers a greater selection. Compound gains are hybrids - that is, the marrying of traditional Maori words with gainwords. They indicate a stage in the progressive acceptance of gains into general Maori. Instead of the English word *painter* being gained solely as peita, the Maori occupational prefix kai- has been incorporated into a compound gain that includes the gainword peita. Ngata has included a great many more gainwords in the general corpus of his dictionary than previous dictionaries.

(5) Cleve Barlow's He Pukapuka Whakataki Kupu o te Paipera Tapu (A Concordance of the Holy Bible)<sup>14</sup> appeared in 1990. This work is the first concordance of the Bible in Maori. As a work of a specialised kind it has the following properties: no gloss for the lexical items is provided, personal names are undifferentiated in the general text, which means that unless one is aware that hamuera means *Samuel*, the meaning of hamuera remains obscure. (Personal names are not distinguished with an initial capital letter in Barlow's work). The concordance is based solely upon the 1952 edition of the Bible in Maori. This means that no account has been taken of earlier translations of the Bible. Finally, this work is a concordance, not a dictionary. A concordance is an alphabetical list of the principal words contained in a book with citations of the passages in which they occur.

The dictionary which follows here is neither a word-list nor a concordance. It goes further than both of those kinds of work. It aims to provide citations for all the words of foreign origin in printed Maori language texts and to include in each citation the date of first usage and full (although not of course complete) source citations. The methodology of its construction will be found in the next section of this preamble.

Why should such a dictionary as this be worth compiling? That depends on the use one has for dictionaries. Every dictionary is compiled with certain users and uses in mind. The works surveyed above presuppose that those who use a Maori dictionary have a primary need to look up lexical items of indigenous origin. The fact that these dictionaries are in common use show that this presupposition is not wrong. There are, however, readers of Maori who have a need for a dictionary which includes lexical items from non-indigenous sources. These users are those who deal with the corpus of texts in written Maori both in print and manuscript. Most words in such a corpus antedate contact with speakers of languages other than Maori since these speakers introduced writing to speakers of Maori. The corpus not surprisingly, contains gainwords from very earliest writings. For someone who reads material in Maori and comes across such a word, there is the chance that current dictionaries will not list the item. That alone is sufficient reason for the compilation of a dictionary of Maori gainwords.

There are further reasons. Such a dictionary offers both the dictionary user and a scholar of early written Maori a window into the linguistic past, namely an insight into historical gainword usage. Once the dictionary is complete it will be possible to use the gainwords in it to examine the ways in which the cultural contact between Maori and Pakeha influenced the kinds of words which were taken into written Maori and in turn to conjecture as to the sociocultural factors which led to the particular items and sets of related items being taken into Maori.

Since there seems ample reason for the compilation of a dictionary of Maori gainwords the question arises as to what kind of form such a dictionary should take. The most satisfactory form for the purposes of scholars of written Maori would be a dictionary on historical principles modelled on the Oxford English Dictionary. The reason for this is that such a dictionary contains full documentation of each cited word in terms of a range of quotations from published sources and citations of representative quotations from the whole of the word's history in the written sources from which the dictionary is drawn. In the case of the Maori language, the most ambitious project would cover all the printed sources from the earliest texts to the present day. Given the number of texts in written Maori this is not an impossible task but it would require a moderately sized team of contributors working over a number of years. Putting such a team together is not impossible but, for the present, a more modest undertaking is under way.

### **1.3 The historical setting**

To put the current undertaking in perspective it is necessary to place it within an historical setting for Maori lexicography as well as the more practical setting sketched above.

Kendall's A Korao no New Zealand<sup>15</sup> justifies its position of importance simply because it was the first book printed in Maori. Primarily a primer and vocabulary, Kendall's book, 54 pages in all, is an admirable attempt at defining the language. As befitted a missionary, his sentence examples are religious in nature. There was no attempt to gain words; some items could well be classed as pidgin English such as Booka Booka for book.<sup>16</sup> English words usually remain unchanged when used in Maori sentences.

Kendall later (1820) used his knowledge of Maori language to provide Samuel Lee (1783-1852), Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University at the time, and a noted authority on Semitic and various other old and modern languages of the Near East, with information from which Lee compiled A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand<sup>17</sup>. Lee never visited this country. From Kendall's information, however, and with the help of two Maori informants, Tooi and Teeterree (Lee's spelling), Lee composed a Maori alphabet. It contained 22 of the English alphabet's 26 letters. This alphabet was subsequently reduced to 15 letters, a, e, h, i, k, m, n, o, p, r, t, u, w, as well as the diphthongs ng and wh.

Lee's Grammar and Vocabulary was primarily for the benefit of Maori, but was also intended as an aid for the missionaries and settlers. Lee apparently based his alphabet on that of Sanskrit, a language in which he was an acknowledged authority, and aimed for simplicity as well as comprehensiveness.<sup>18</sup>

At the conclusion of his preface, Lee suggests that the missionaries begin translating parts of the Scriptures into Maori, and this was one aspect that was subsequently taken up with a great deal of energy and dedication. Its effects on Maori and the language were far-reaching and lasting. In the next thirty years, for example, of the 241 items printed in Maori, 165 were sacred texts, church literature, or had some significant Christian content.

The huge importance of William Williams's A Dictionary of the Maori Language,<sup>19</sup> the first complete work published as a dictionary, cannot be underestimated in the history of the lexicography of Maori. First published in 1844, it was the first wholly Maori-English dictionary, and, after many reprints and revisions, it remains an essential tool for students and scholars alike. Williams's work has remained the standard for over a century.

William Williams's dictionary appeared at a time when Maori language publishing in New Zealand had begun to come into its own. The decade of the 1830s saw approximately 42 items printed in Maori; the following decade four times that number, approximately 174 items, were published. The early 1840s (early 1842 to be precise) was also the time when the first Maori language newspaper,

Te Karere o Nui Tireni, a government publication, became available.

Williams had actually compiled his dictionary some years previous to its publication date of 1844, in 1838 in fact,<sup>20</sup> and he was able to observe the change in Pakeha attitude to the learning of Maori as a language. In the Preface to the dictionary, he comments on that change as well as confirming that the work was written with a Pakeha readership in mind: "At that period [1838] the study of the New-Zealand language was a matter of little interest to our countrymen, because their intercourse with the Native Race was too limited to pay for the labour of acquiring it. But now, the circumstances of the country are wholly changed; the two Races are brought into frequent communication; and, it is found by experience that, when we are able to speak upon equal terms with the Native Inhabitants, not only is there the satisfaction of expressing what we wish, and of knowing that which is said in reply, but many causes of misunderstanding are prevented, which otherwise might lead to serious results."<sup>21</sup>

Further in the Preface, he reiterates that position and hints that the delay in the publication of his dictionary was perhaps a calculated one. "While, therefore, every encouragement should be given to the Natives to learn English, it will not be the less necessary for those, whose position brings them into frequent communication with this people, to learn their language; and, it is interesting to know that many are ready to make use of every help which may be afforded them."<sup>22</sup>



The importance of Williams's dictionary lies in the fact that it provided Pakeha with an authoritative base of written Maori from which to study and learn the language. The written authority of Williams's dictionary must have been especially helpful, for example, to those Pakeha involved in producing Maori language texts, - books, newspapers and government statutes. While Williams's dictionary may have been a kind of 'final arbiter' on written Maori for Pakeha, it was probably not so for Maori, who comprised, after all, the vast majority of the speakers and writers of the language at that time.

The second edition of Williams's dictionary appeared in 1852.<sup>23</sup> It contained a significant change: the 'w' of the first edition had now been altered to wh, an indication that this particular phonetic problem had been sorted out and standardised.

In the years following publication of Williams's dictionary, there were many other attempts at extending a Maori vocabulary. In 1848, both Henry Tacy Kemp and Richard Taylor brought out books covering the language. While Kemp's was a short miscellany,<sup>24</sup> Taylor's was a quite comprehensive work which listed vocabulary beneath a variety of headings, such as animals, trees, houses, war etc. This work, entitled A Leaf from the Natural History of New Zealand,<sup>25</sup> was subsequently reissued in a revised and updated version in 1870 with the new title of Maori and English Dictionary.<sup>26</sup> Taylor's work has just eleven gainwords: riwai and taewa for *potato*, hipi *sheep*, hoiho *horse*, kaihe *ass*, nanenane (*nanny*) *goat*, poti for *cat*, poaka for

*pig, reme for lamb and heu for razor.*

In 1849, the French Catholic Mission published its own contribution, with Bishop Pompallier producing a grammar together with a 'Petite Collection de Mots Maoris', a limited vocabulary of 441 words. This was the only Maori-French vocabulary to be published in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Pompallier's list has the following gains: ahere *angel*, hiwera *silver*, koti *coat*, pereti *plate*, apotoro *apostle*, piperia/pukapuka tapu *bible*, witi *wheat*, kanga *corn*, poti *boat*, Kerito *Christ*, Keritiano *Christian*, ture *law*, Katorika *Catholic*, katekita *catechist*, kapitana *captain*, hate *shirt*, torohio *drawers*, inkiha *tie* and many others.

Various spelling books, primers, and the like were printed as well which provided Maori-English vocabularies, alphabets, useful sentences and phrases, and the ever-present potted grammars. The difference in these items was that they were printed specifically for Maori, specifically for Maori schoolchildren, and their aim was the teaching of English. They made no claim to be dictionaries. Gainwords such as mira *mill*, raihi *rice*, hate *shirt* and paraikete *blanket* figured prominently in the vocabulary lists of these publications, and were used in sentence examples.

A Maori Phrase Book intended for New-Comers,<sup>28</sup> supposedly by C. O. Davis, appeared in 1857, another short work designed to provide a handy reference for Pakeha wishing to learn Maori. Davis included in this work previously published gainwords, such as riwai *potato*, witi *wheat*, and hoiho *horse*, and added others such as hikipene *sixpence*,

~~tarapene threepence and patene farthing.~~

This was followed some five years later, in 1862, by W. L. Williams's First Lessons in the Maori Language with a Short Vocabulary (of 744 words).<sup>29</sup> This vocabulary is English-Maori only. The only gainwords listed in this vocabulary are peeke bag, ture law, pukapuka book/letter, kaanga maize, marena/marenatia marry, poaka pig, kai eke hoiho (horse-) rider, tote salt, and pauna/paunatia weigh. Of interest is the first listings of compound gains, three of which are given above, marenatia, kai eke hoiho and paunatia. Why Williams chose these particular gainwords and not other, more well-known ones, such as witi wheat, hipi sheep and minita minister is a mystery. It is also strange that he lists the compound gain kai eke hoiho (horse-) rider but does not have a listing for hoiho horse.

These kinds of books continued to be published at sporadic intervals in the years that followed. Most went into second and third editions which indicates that they were satisfying a genuine desire amongst Pakeha to at least try and master the rudiments of Maori language, and were no doubt also used in Maori schools to help in the teaching of English. Williams's dictionary continued as the mainstay of the traditional language. The chronology of its editions and reprints serves as a reminder of its steady authority, built on and buttressed over the years: 1844, 1852, 1871, 1892, 1915, 1917, 1921, 1932, 1957, 1971, 1975.<sup>30</sup>

William Colenso was the author of the only other major lexicographical work in the 19th century. His Maori-English

Lexicon,<sup>31</sup> begun in the 1830s and published in 1878, was in fact incomplete, but it nevertheless serves as an interesting counterpoint to the works of Williams and Taylor, Kendall and Lee. It is perhaps significant that only Williams's work has survived as a viable dictionary, though in Colenso's defense, some of the material he collected was subsequently incorporated into later editions of Williams's dictionary.<sup>32</sup> The survival of Williams's dictionary lies in its comprehensiveness. It is still the only work that can claim that attribute. Taylor's work lacks the citations to back up his entries. Kendall and Lee's work is a first effort in the field, and exhibits that rawness. Colenso's work was of course never finished.

Colenso had an axe to grind in the matter of orthography. He had long held the view that the wh should be written as v, along the lines of other Polynesian languages (Samoan, for example). In 1842, for example, he had written a long letter to the Church Missionary Society outlining his objections to the use of wh and the reasons why v should be used instead.<sup>33</sup> His argument against the use of wh is basically that the use of wh breaches the generally acknowledged rule of Polynesian languages that no two consonants can occur without a vowel dividing them. Williams's dictionary, for example, used w in its 1844 edition but subsequent editions employed the wh.

It can be seen that in the early history of Maori lexicography there can be found worthy precedents for anyone undertaking a new dictionary. It is also clear from the summary of both these early works and the other dictionaries mentioned earlier that there is still a gap for a dictionary on historical principles of either native

or gained vocabulary.

## **2: SOURCES OF THE DICTIONARY OF MAORI GAINWORDS**

Constructing a dictionary of any language on historical principles requires a survey of the printed material on which the dictionary is to be based and then a judicious selection of texts from which to draw lexical items. In the case of printed Maori the task of surveying the printed sources is made easy in regard to nineteenth century materials by the existence of Williams's A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900. However its successor dealing with twentieth century printed work in Maori does not yet exist. Consequently it is impossible to estimate the total number of Maori language publications printed this century, though a survey has been carried out on Maori language newspapers which includes those published post-1900.<sup>34</sup>

The place to begin the dictionary is therefore obvious. The works from Williams's bibliography which have been surveyed have yielded over two thousand five hundred headwords for the dictionary so far. With their corresponding supporting citations, they present a sizeable corpus with which to work.

The criteria for listing gainwords was simple: any item to be included must have appeared at least once in a printed publication in

Maori. Such an approach needs justification. The major one for this work is that this dictionary is for the use of scholars working with early Maori printed (or written) materials. Should such a scholar happen upon an unknown gainword, such a scholar has a right to expect that that word will be listed in a dictionary which aims to make such words easier to understand. A gainword that has appeared only once in print and in a work which may have been written by a Pakeha writer may not have established its credentials as a regular item of Maori vocabulary. But it is not possible now to establish this one way or the other. The fact of a single appearance of a word is sufficient for that word to require a dated quotation for the purposes for which this dictionary is being constructed.<sup>35</sup>

In view of the comparative youthfulness of written Maori, the volume and variety of its extant corpus now available as a field of research and inquiry is impressive. For example, over one thousand items of printed Maori had been published by 1900, ranging from single page governmental proclamations to the 800+ pages of the Maori translation of the Book of Mormon. The Bible, a huge translation in any language, was a major landmark in Maori language publishing. Maori newspapers constitute another large area of publication. The first Maori language newspaper appeared in 1842, and there are over 58 different runs up to 1960.<sup>36</sup> While some newspapers did not last very long, some expiring after only a few issues, others continued for many years, often on a weekly basis. Newspapers alone constitute an enormous research project. They are also invaluable sources for gainwords, since they are, in a sense,

time capsules of current usage, more so than many books which have a longer 'shelf-life', so to speak.

There is no single library in New Zealand which holds every item of printed Maori. Most major libraries hold some form of collection of printed Maori, but the level of their holdings varies considerably. In many cases, there is a degree of duplication from institution to institution, and a multiplication of individual copies of items. No institution has yet produced a catalogue of its total holdings of printed Maori - a catalogue that would be of great value to scholars of printed Maori. The resource base of printed Maori publications in this country may therefore be said to be extensive but fragmented, and its accessibility hindered by there being no single, authoritative guide to all holdings. This provides a serious obstacle to further research.

With the geographical spread of holdings of printed Maori language material throughout New Zealand, it becomes difficult to obtain the sources necessary for considered research such as is required to compile this dictionary.

The compilation of the dictionary had therefore to face inevitable limitations of time and money which had to be partly overcome if the project was to succeed. The first priority was to check which items in Williams's Bibliography were held in the University of Canterbury Library. Those items the Library did not hold were then sought in the holdings of other institutions. Letters were written to these institutions requesting photocopies of the material required,

but because of the large quantity involved, nearly all requests were answered in the negative. Some institutions have a policy of refusing to photocopy even small amounts of material because of the fragility of the original item.

Discussions with the MacMillan Brown Librarian at the University of Canterbury Library, Mr Max Broadbent, led to a scheme being put in place which involved the Hocken Library at the University of Otago, Dunedin. The Hocken Library was chosen because its holdings of pre-1900 printed Maori material were large. The University of Canterbury hired a photocopier which was set up in the Hocken Library. The Hocken allowed access to its holdings of pre-1900 Maori language material, which held much of the material that was required to fill in the gaps in Canterbury's holdings. I travelled to Dunedin and photocopied the material needed. In fact, three copies of each item were copied. One copy went into the MacMillan Brown Library at Canterbury, the second copy onto the open shelves; and the third copy went to Auckland University Library in exchange for other Maori language material that Canterbury required. This scheme allowed for a much greater volume of source material to be consulted without leaving Christchurch. The University of Canterbury Library also gained a considerable body of early Maori language texts which doubled or tripled its current holdings in that field.

A total of 180 hours was spent photocopying material from the Hocken Library in Dunedin and also the Dixson Library in Sydney. Arrangements were also made to have a large number of items



photocopied from the Mitchell Library in Sydney, and forwarded to the University of Canterbury Library. The total number of accessions from all libraries numbers around 600 items - a significant addition to the holdings of the University of Canterbury Library. The Dixson and Mitchell Libraries have important holdings of pre-1900 Maori language material.<sup>37</sup> A grant from the MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies at Canterbury University enabled me to travel to Australia, consult the collections, and arrange the photocopying. After the Australian trip I produced a catalogue of the Dixson material.<sup>38</sup> The 22 pages of this publication detail four boxes of previously unlisted Maori language material held by the Dixson Library.

## **2.1 Research into Sources**

Complete coverage of all known sources of printed Maori language within the years sourced and listed for this preliminary dictionary was not possible. Firstly, there was insufficient time. Secondly, although I desired to research sources on a strictly chronological basis, this was not possible in regard to items I myself had photocopied or had arranged to be photocopied. The reason for this was that initially I had no say as to what items were to be bound by the University of Canterbury Library or in what order. Consequently it was a case of waiting for items to be bound in order to proceed chronologically, or take what was available, and therefore continue research. I chose the latter option in order to save time. At a later

stage I was able to indicate what items I wished to be bound, thanks to the efforts of Max Broadbent.

Researching sources in a strict chronological order would have saved me a significant amount of time, particularly so in the process of checking whether one had an earlier date of first usage or not. Working through sources chronologically one establishes a sort of mental pattern of gained words within a particular time-frame; jumping from, say, a source dated 1845, to a source dated 1888, can jumble that mental pattern, and thus more time and effort has to be expended on checking the card files. In my own experience, the familiarity with gainwords found in sources is a direct correlation of their frequency in the sourced texts, and therefore researching chronologically seems the more preferable option.

Some subjective selection of sources to be researched did take place. In 1991 I was asked to contribute a chapter on the French influence on the Maori language for a book entitled The French and The Maori,<sup>39</sup> edited by John Dunmore. In order to extend my cover of gains made from the French language, I made an effort to research as many French-derived Maori language publications as possible within a period of about six months. The resulting article can be found as an appendix at the end of Volume 1 of this thesis.

## 2.2 The Pakeha origin of the sources

Pakeha control of the medium of printed Maori language was almost complete during the whole of the nineteenth century, with the notable exception of Maori-run newspapers such as Te Hokioi<sup>40</sup> (1860s) and Te Wananga<sup>41</sup> (1870s). Pakeha formulated the written language, and imposed an orthography upon an oral language. Pakeha brought the first books into New Zealand, set up the first presses and printed and distributed the first locally-produced publications. Consequentially Pakeha decided what Maori were to read, and in the early days this was understandably almost without exception religious material.<sup>42</sup>

Pakeha backed up their biblical publication programme with a variety of secular texts. Many of these were produced for the schools that they had set up for Maori, schools wherein secular and religious instruction was intermixed. One of the first works of English literature/fiction to be translated into Maori was Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress<sup>43</sup> in 1854, a work rich in moral symbolism. As well, Pakeha wrote and translated prayer books, hymn books and catechisms.

Pakeha had first begun to exert some form of political power through print about 1833, when an address of the British Resident, James Busby, to Maori chiefs, was published in Sydney, together with a letter from Viscount Goderich.<sup>44</sup> Two proclamations were printed by order of the British Resident in 1835,<sup>45</sup> and then there was a gap of five years before the printing of the Treaty of Waitangi

in 1840.<sup>46</sup> That year, and the Treaty, marks the validation, in Pakeha eyes, of their power, perceived and real. From then on, political power was reinforced by means of print.

This has consequences for the words found in this dictionary. In the case of any given gainword, it is not possible say with any certainty what currency the word had in contemporary Maori, either that spoken by Pakeha or that spoken by Maori. All that can be said with certainty is that a given Pakeha writer of Maori considered that the gain was worth using in a Maori text. What contemporary Maori readers thought of the word remains a mystery, and whether they used it themselves in writing or speech is a matter for speculation only. There is a considerable corpus of manuscript material written by Maori and this will in future allow some check to be made as to the currency of the words in this dictionary.

### **3: METHODOLOGY**

A dictionary's authority is validated by the extent and quality of its citation file. Sidney Landau, in his excellent work on lexicography,<sup>47</sup> provided me with a basic checklist for citation files. Landau says that it is important that:

- (1) Citations have revealing context;
- (2) They should indicate any change in meaning;

- (3) The context should illuminate usage;
- (4) They should be as brief as possible;
- (5) They should include an entire sentence;
- (6) There should be at least two citations per item.<sup>48</sup>

The importance of a gain is enhanced by the number and diversity of its sources, and by the period of time covered by those sources. This enables us to be reasonably sure that a particular gainword has become part of general printed vocabulary, which in turn might suggest some sort of general acceptance.

The methodological basis of this preliminary dictionary has evolved largely from practical experience - that is, it has been tailored to meet the needs of the dictionary and its potential users. This has been done by scrutinising each aspect of the dictionary and asking, hypothetically, 'Does it answer a user's question?', 'Does it provide the information a user might require?'

The results of this line of questioning have resulted in the format for each entry given below.

### **3.1 The Headword or Maori Gainword.**

This is a word identified as being part of Maori vocabulary (by virtue of a single inclusion in a printed Maori text), but foreign-sourced (that is, its source can be traced to a word of similar or related

meaning in a language other than Maori). It is given as found in the source material. Variations in orthography warrant their own dictionary entry; they are regarded as distinct words in themselves. This will enable one to establish which gained variant achieved acceptability (in print) over the course of time. It will also give the dictionary corpus more precision. This practice of treating each variant as a distinct gain is not standard lexicographical procedure. For example, the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1990)<sup>49</sup> offers users the choice of *flavour* or *flavor*, while Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1976)<sup>50</sup> has headwords for both words, although indicating that the former is a British variant. Variation in orthography also covers accent marks and marks to indicate vowel length, although the majority of the early sources I have covered do not indicate the latter. The headword is reproduced exactly as found in the source, because I am not trying to indicate how the gain should be written. For example, teepu is treated as a separate headword from tēpu in the dictionary. If tēpu had been found in the sources then that would have also had its own entry. Again the major reason for this decision to include variant spellings as distinct entries is to allow the user who comes upon this spelling to look the word up without having to know that it is a variant spelling.

### **3.2 Part of Speech of the Maori Gainword.**

Most Maori gainwords are nouns, with some adjectives (or rather nouns used adjectivally), and verbs both transitive and intransitive.

For the purpose of uniformity, parts of speech abbreviations used in this work are the same as those used in Williams's dictionary.

### **3.3 The Gloss or Foreign Source Word.**

The origin of the Maori Gaiword. Accuracy in glossing the original source word is important. The gloss may sometimes be the original source in a language other than English. However, most glosses are English. A note, and/or an alternative English gloss, may provide further explanation where necessary. For example, tupara is glossed as 'two barrel', with a note remarking that *shotgun* is the preferred gloss these days. Hirihi is glossed as *Fr. cilice*, with a note remarking that its English gloss is *hair-shirt*.

### **3.4 Earliest Printed Reference**

The earliest printed reference found in the research to date is given as a date within brackets, such as [1844].

### **3.5 Explanatory Note/Etymology**

An explanatory note is sometimes necessary. This may include possible variant etymology, alternative gloss, explanation of the gloss, or various other information and comment.

### **3.6 The Abbreviated Source Reference.**

The information contained in the abbreviation includes name of publication, date of publication, and page number. The source reference is abbreviated for practical reasons to save space and time. (A key to abbreviations used can be found in Volume 2 of the thesis, immediately preceding the main dictionary corpus).

### **3.7 Frequency of Gainword.**

Where the source citation is verifiable as being of Maori origin, as in direct speech quoted in print, for example, or Maori letters to the editor of newspapers, total frequency of Maori-sourced gainword occurrence has been counted.

Maori-sourced citations are marked in the dictionary by an asterisk \* immediately preceding the abbreviated source reference. The total Maori-sourced frequency of occurrence of particular gains is indicated by the abbreviation **mf** (Maori Frequency) together with a number (indicating total occurrence) at the foot of each headword block of text or subtext entry where the gain is a run-on from the main headword entry, for example thus, **mf:12**.



## **4: IDENTIFICATION OF MAORI GAINWORDS**

The principal object of this dictionary is to provide a list of Maori gainwords together with the foreign equivalent from which they have been sourced. Therefore it follows that the identification of the target headword, the Maori gainword, is the major objective of this dictionary. A Maori gainword can only be a Maori gainword if its source word can be discovered and verified. Identification of that source provided much of the problem-solving content of compiling the dictionary; it was at times frustrating, but the resolution of those problematic words, on the other hand, provided the highlights of the research. In this category one can put such words as hirihī (*hairshirt*) from French *cilice*, huaro (*sparrow*) from French *oiseau*, and taperu (*doubloon*). Many of these cases arise when the word came from a source other than English or words which have become obsolete and obscure in English, such as those associated with horse-drawn transport, older styles of dress, outdated mechanical implements and the like.

The words themselves were identified in the following manner. Words found in the source material which were unknown to me were first checked against Williams's Dictionary of the Maori Language.<sup>51</sup> If that dictionary listed a word with the same spelling, the context of the word in the source material was checked against the meanings given in Williams. This was to ensure that no ambiguity existed. If the traditional Maori meanings did not 'fit' the context, or if Williams's dictionary did not contain the source word under

investigation, the word was considered to be a potential gainword.

As already stated, context plays an important part in determining meaning. It is even more so when the gainword is orthographically identical with a traditional Maori word. Gains which proved difficult to 'crack' were nonetheless still entered onto the card-filing system I employed, and returned to at various, later stages, usually with some success. It is clearly not a good use of time to spend inordinately large amounts of time on one word, especially in the light of the huge mass of material still awaiting investigation. Words whose meanings are currently still not deciphered are still, however, listed in the dictionary. Since the current dictionary is only a portion of the total dictionary of Maori gains, the future may bring further examples of the same word in other texts which will make the elucidation of the outstanding cruxes easier.

The gains collected from particular publications were entered as they were obtained into a school exercise book, broken up into sections for each item of source material. They were entered along with their relevant accompanying data such as page number, quotation illustrative of the word, and any notes that were felt to be useful. Sufficient source text was collected for the quotation to provide necessary explanation of the meaning of the word, and its uses if there were more than one. However, my rule of thumb was to try and keep the quotations as brief as possible without losing any explanatory aspect. In some cases, the illustrative quotation is very brief or even non-existent. That is because the source text may have been a straight word-list, or perhaps the gain was found in a title,

or was used with very little accompanying text. In all cases, the gainword is fully referenced and open to verification.

The exercise books that served as the initial repositories of the gainwords as they were collected acted as a rough filter and holding bay. They allowed the gains to be assessed before they moved on to the next stage.

The next stage entailed transferring the gainwords from the exercise books to large file cards.<sup>52</sup> During this exercise the gainwords were again subjected to assessment and review. Each source item researched for a particular gainword warranted a paragraph of its own on the file cards, its entry preceded by an abbreviated form of the source text. An x indicated the number of times a gain had appeared on a particular page. An asterisk \* preceding the abbreviated source text indicated that the gain had been used by Maori. The heading listed the gain found, indicated its part of speech, and was followed by its source equivalent. A typical file card looked something like this:

**Fig.1. Sample File Card, General Database**

<b>parairi, n.</b>	<b>bridle</b>
<p><b>*Syd.7 1833,p.51.x.Ka puritia taku mangai ano ki te parairi.</b></p> <p><b>{other source items may follow}</b></p>	

The file cards were then stored alphabetically in file boxes.

As the number of file cards built up, it became necessary to check potential gainwords against the cardfile as well as Williams's dictionary. The reason for checking the file cards was to ensure that the sourced gainword did not have an earlier date than those references already collected; that its meaning or meanings did not differ from those already collected; and that its part of speech did not differ from those already collected. As well, and this was a later development, it seemed wiser to have a 'spread' of quotations over the course of time, though this was not always possible. This was in order to provide the kind of history of use which the OED also provides. My main concern was to identify the earliest printed use of a particular gain, to fix it in history so to speak, and therefore to provide a dated indication of when that particular gainword entered the vocabulary of printed Maori.

## **5: PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES AND MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS**

The great number of proper nouns and adjectives, and a few other miscellaneous items, have been treated more simply. No illustrative quotations are used, the main additional information besides gloss being earliest date of printed usage, together with an abbreviated source reference. These include placenames, baptismal or personal

names both first (given) and familiar (surnames), including biblical names of both kinds. A particularly interesting gainword may be enlightened by a note, where a person's name, for example, was a gain from, not another name, but from a habit, or some peculiarity of that person. An example would be the use of Kapetana *Captain* for McDonnell, obviously derived from that person's military title. Miscellaneous gainwords include those for names of ships, streets, businesses, newspapers, racehorses, banks and the like. Biblical gainwords are those which have been found in parts of the Bible translated into Maori. While the first complete Bible in Maori, published in 1868, has not been researched yet, most of the Bible has been researched from a selection of its various printed parts prior to 1868. Biblical coverage is therefore incomplete.

Below is a sample file-card entry for a personal/given name gainword.

**Fig.2. Sample File-Card, Personal Name Database**

<b>Nikorahi</b>	<b>Nicholas</b>
<b>MM2 1:1 1855, p.17.x.</b>	

The verification of these subsidiary gainwords, especially personal names, is very dependent upon a bilingual source text. Some early Maori language newspapers provided a column of English text to complement the Maori text. Where that was so, it was of great help.

## **6: TERMINOLOGY**

Like many other specialised fields, linguistics and lexicography have their own jargon, much of which may be unintelligible to the outsider. This dictionary contains what are usually termed 'loans' and 'borrowings'. Neither the word 'loan' nor the word 'borrowing' accurately describe both the process taking place when an item of vocabulary passes from one language to another, nor the end result of that process, when that item of vocabulary has entered the recipient language. The metaphor has unfortunate additional implications since both terms imply that what is lent or borrowed must at some stage be returned, and this does not occur.

The attitude that loaning or borrowing items of vocabulary from another language is a sign of weakness in the recipient language remains common to many people. That attitude is reinforced by the terminology used, that is, 'loan' and 'borrowing'. It can also be offensive to language speakers in the recipient language, specifically where the linguistic processes are historically

associated with colonial rule. "Such offence has a long history. It rests on the assumption that taking a word into the vocabulary of one language from another involves a form of cultural imperialism".<sup>53</sup>

This negativity can be addressed by coining a new and positive term to describe the process of the transfer of items from one language to another, as well as the end state of that process. The term I have used is **Gainword**. The term **Gain** is a shorter, alternative form with the same meaning, and the whole process is described as **Gaining**. It is a term that can be used easily, and it can be used to speak of new imports into any language. Gainword is a positive term - gaining is a positive process. The vocabulary of the recipient language benefits and is enhanced by the process, by the addition of a new item of language into its store. The donor language does not 'lose' an item of language - it passes the shape of a particular item across to the recipient language, which latter then creates the substance of a new item for its own language. All languages need additions to their vocabularies in order to deal with changing circumstances. While some languages are able to fulfil that need by the coining of new words from within their own language stock, such as *Corriedale* (English), *wakatō tugboat* (Maori), literally, craft that pulls, drags, other languages need both to do that and to import items of new vocabulary, such as *tokena stocking*, *whaira file*, and *pata butter*. Last century, both Pakeha and Maori imported new items of vocabulary into printed Maori. Because Pakeha controlled the print media to a great extent then, they did most of the

importing.

The vast majority of Maori gainwords were introduced to the Maori language by English immigrants. The use of the term 'gainword' does not alter historical fact; 'gaining' is simply a better term to describe this particular linguistic transaction, and gainword a better term to describe the end result. As Kuiper states, "gainwords...gets away from the idea that one owes anything to the source from which one gained the vocabulary items".<sup>54</sup> And later, "We should try to do what Duval has tried to do. We should change the technical vocabulary".<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary has come up with its own term for so-called 'loanwords'. It calls them denizens, followed by the explanation 'naturalized foreigners' in parentheses. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary states that "*Denizens* are borrowings from foreign languages which have acquired full English citizenship."<sup>56</sup>

Denizens is, however, a little more arcane as a technical term and is not as transparent in its meaning as Gainword.

## **7: THE PROVENANCE OF MAORI GAINWORDS**

Most gainwords have entered Maori from English, but there is a



significant proportion that have their ultimate source in other languages. French, Latin, Hebrew and Greek have also contributed to the expansion of Maori vocabulary in varying degrees. Many of these gains from foreign sources have not withstood the test of time and usage, and few have reached the status of common or frequent use today.

Early translations of the Bible into Maori provided a vehicle for the introduction of words other than English. Missionary translators, especially those such as Maunsell who had had a Classical education, were familiar with both the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek. Maunsell, for example, spoke fluent Hebrew and Greek, using the Old and New Testaments in those languages respectively, and that linguistic facility meant that some gains, though not many, were sourced from these languages.

Some gains can be traced to more esoteric languages such as Aramaic or Syriac. Anatema Maranata *Anathema Maran-atha*, meaning 'Our Lord has/will come', from Aramaic/Syriac. Apa *Father*, from Aramaic. Rama hapakatani lama sabachthani, meaning 'why hast thou forsaken me?', from Aramaic. Raponi rabboni, meaning 'my Rabbi/master', from Aramaic, and Tarita kumai Talitha cumi, meaning 'Damsel, arise', from Syriac.

Phonological similarities between source word and gainword have been used as a guide to pin down a gainword's etymology. In the majority of cases, the gainword will have been derived from a source word that is most historically recent, which means that it

will have been derived from the mother tongue of the translator. Thus, English missionaries will have coined gains direct from English in most cases, but will have coined gains from Hebrew and Greek where they have been using the Hebrew and Greek Testaments as source material, and where they had been unable to coin a gain using an English equivalent as a sort of secondary source. (Though Maunsell, for example, preferred to translate direct from the Hebrew, as he believed that language had an affinity in its constructions with Maori). This led to the early missionary translators of the Bible gaining horokauta *holocaust* from English, meaning 'whole burnt offering', rather than providing an expression in Maori meaning 'sacred offering', such as patunga tapu, which was used later on. This may perhaps be seen as an example of growing confidence in the use of Maori by missionaries, where early translating into Maori from English and other languages of difficult concepts is gradually replaced by the use of the Maori language word stock to describe those concepts.

Of significant impact, however, is the influence of the French language upon Maori, together with its closely related language, Latin. Gainwords of French and Latin origin were, for the most part, introduced by the French Catholic missionaries, and in particular, Bishop Pompallier, who was the translator, and driving force behind the Catholic Mission's publishing programme. While Pompallier's mother tongue no doubt provided the source of some gains into Maori, Latin, the language of the Church, and of the Mass, would have also figured prominently as a source. A more detailed discussion of

French influence on Maori vocabulary can be found in Appendix 2 in this volume.

**\*Note:**

The gainword miere is mentioned in Appendix 2 but is not to be found in the dictionary proper. This is because I have not found it in any of the sources consulted. However, it is mentioned and discussed in Appendix 2 for the simple reason that most scholars of Maori are familiar with it, would expect to see some mention of it, (as they would also Pakate and Wiji), and therefore it is included. I hope to come across it in future sources soon!

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- 3 William Williams' dictionary went through four editions up to 1892, as well as a portion being reprinted in 1915. The fifth edition is the first attributed to Herbert Williams.
- 4 Williams, William, A Dictionary of the Maori Language; to which is added a Selection of Colloquial Sentences, 3rd ed., Williams and Norgate, London, 1871. Gainwords in this edition are in fact printed in plain caps rather than in bold lower case as are the Maori entries.
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- 8 Ryan, P. M., The Revised Dictionary of Modern Maori, 3rd ed., Heinemann Education, Auckland, 1989.
- 9 Ryan, P. M., Modern Maori, Book 1, Heinemann Educational Books, Auckland, 1978.
- 10 Biggs, Bruce, The Complete English-Maori Dictionary, Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1981.
- 11 Williams, Herbert W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, 6th ed., Government Printer, Wellington, 1957.
- 12 *ibid.*
- 13 Ngata, H. M., English-Maori Dictionary, Ministry of Education/Learning Media Ltd., Wellington, 1993.
- 14 Barlow, Cleve, He Pukapuka Whakataki Kupu o te Paipera Tapu (A Concordance of the Holy Bible), Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Auckland, 1990.
- 15 Kendall, Thomas, 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, 1815.
- 16 Booka Booka later became pukapuka. Pukapuka has been classed as a gainword in my dictionary. Williams in the appendix to his dictionary (1975) calls it a 'partial adoption', and puka 3, in his dictionary corpus has a note to the effect that it is 'probably partly from similarity of sound, partly with the underlying idea of a flat surface'. I am inclined to think that pukapuka arose out of a happy coincidence of meaning.
- 17 Kendall, Thomas, and Lee, Samuel, A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand, Church Missionary Society, London, 1820.
- 18 *ibid.*, Preface. "With respect to the New Zealanders, care has been taken to represent their language in a manner as simple and unembarrassed as the nature of the subject and materials would admit. In doing this, the first point aimed at, was, to make the Alphabet as simple and comprehensive as possible, by giving the vowels and consonants such names and powers as were not likely to be burthensome to the memory or perplexing to the understanding".

- 19 Williams, William, A Dictionary of the New-Zealand Language, and a Concise Grammar; to which are added a Selection of Colloquial Sentences, 1st ed., Church Missionary Society, Paihia, 1844.
- 20 *ibid.*, p.v. "The following Compilation was prepared for the press six years ago, but, for reasons which it is not necessary to enter into, the publication has been delayed".
- 21 *ibid.*, p.v.
- 22 *ibid.*, p.vi.
- 23 Williams, William, A Dictionary of the New-Zealand Language, and a Concise Grammar; to which are added a Selection of Colloquial Sentences, 2nd. ed., Williams and Norgate, London, 1852.
- 24 Kemp, H. T., The First Step to Maori Conversation, being a Collection of some of the most Useful Nouns, Adjectives and Verbs, with a Series of Useful Phrases, and Elementary Sentences, Alphabetically arranged, in two Parts, intended for the Use of the Colonists, Office of the 'Independent', Wellington, 1848.
- 25 Taylor, Richard, A Leaf from the Natural History of New Zealand; or, A Vocabulary of its Different Productions, &c., with their native names, Robert Stokes, Wellington, 1848.
- 26 Taylor, Richard, Maori and English Dictionary, George T. Chapman, Auckland, 1870.
- 27 Pompallier, Jean Baptiste, Notes Grammaticales sur la Langue Maorie ou Néo-Zélandaise, Lyon, 1849.
- 28 Davis, C. O. B., A Maori Phrase Book intended for New-comers, being Words and Sentences in Maori, with their Significations in English, Philip B. Chadfield, Auckland, 1857.
- 29 Williams, W. L., First Lessons in the Maori Language with a Short Vocabulary, Trubner & Co., London, 1862.
- 30 The 1852, 1871 and 1892 editions all contained an English-Maori section, these editions being basically amended reprints of the 1844 (first) edition. The 1915 edition continues with inclusion of an English-Maori section. The 1917 edition has no English-Maori section, nor do subsequent editions.
- 31 Colenso, William, A Maori-English Lexicon: being a Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand Tongue, Government Printer, Wellington, 1898.
- 32 Williams, H. W., A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900, Government Printer, Wellington, 1975.
- 33 Colenso, William, Fifty Years Ago in New Zealand, R. C. Harding, Napier, 1888.
- 34 Dallimore, Keirawhiti, He Kohikohinga o nga Pepa a te Maori (A Collection of Maori Newspapers), unpublished research essay, Department of Library Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985.
- 35 Linguists would call a gainword that has appeared only once in print a 'nonce-word', that is, a word coined for a special occasion.
- 36 Dallimore, Keirawhiti, *op. cit.*
- 37 Some of this material is not available in New Zealand libraries. Photocopying of those items now makes them more accessible.
- 38 Duval, Terry P., A Catalogue of Maori Language Publications held in the Dixson Library, Sydney, self-published, Christchurch, 1990.
- 39 Dunmore, John, (ed.), The French & the Maori, Fédération des Alliances Françaises de Nouvelle-Zélande/The Heritage Press Ltd., Waikanae, 1992.

40 Edited by Patara Te Tuhi, cousin of King Matutaera Potatau, Te Hokioi was an organ of the Maori King Movement. Publication only lasted a few years, between 1861 and 1863.

41 Te Wananga was published by Henare Tomoana, a prominent member of the Maori Parliament movement, and ran from 1874 through to 1878 on a somewhat irregular basis. It was published to counter the government's views as propounded through Te Waka Maori newspaper.

42 The abundance of Maori manuscript sources offers a rich counterpoint to the seemingly overwhelming number of Pakeha-produced Maori language publications. An investigation into gainwords used (if any) in this material would provide a more balanced view of gainword use by Maori than that offered by this dictionary.

43 Its full Maori title was He Moemoea. Otira, ko nga korero o te huarahi, e haere atu nei te tangata i tenei ao, a, tapoko noa ano ki tera ao atu; He kupu whakarite, na Hoani Paniana, R. Stokes, Wellington, 1854. It was translated by H. T. Kemp, the son of a missionary.

44 Letter of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich, and Address of James Busby, Esq., British Resident, to the Chiefs of New Zealand, Gazette Office, Sydney, 1833. Both letter and address were bilingual.

45 A total of 125 circulars in Maori were printed in April and July 1835 by William Colenso on the order of the British Resident. Refer Williams's Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900, Item 17a, p.6.

46 The Treaty of Waitangi was executed on February 6 1840, and Colenso printed 200 copies at Paihia on February 17 1840.

47 Landau, S. I., Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989.

48 *ibid.*, pp.151-173.

49 Onions, C. T., (ed.), The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles, 2 Vols., 3rd ed., revised and reprinted, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

50 Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Massachusetts, USA, 1976.

51 Williams, Herbert W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, 7th ed., reprinted, Government Printer, Wellington, 1975.

52 I felt safer having a 'hard copy' data-base in the form of file-cards as well as the corpus on computer. I found it easier to search for items this way than using the computer's search function, which did not differentiate between the targeted headword and the same items used in the citation files.

53 Kuiper, Koenraad, Neither a borrower nor a lender be: what to call borrowings and loan words, in Of Pavlova, Poetry and Paradigms (Essays in Honour of Harry Orsman), Laurie Bauer and Christine Franzen, (eds.), Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1993, p.226.

54 *ibid.*, p.228.

55 *ibid.*, p.228.

56 Onions, C. T., *op. cit.*, p.ix.

# **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX 1: A Gainword Chronology**

This is a list of collected gainwords ordered by their year of first printed usage. Numbers in superscript indicate different meanings and parts of speech for a particular gainword. For example, karahi<sup>2</sup> (1837) indicates that in the year 1837 two meanings have been cited for karahi - *class* and *glass*.

## **APPENDIX 2: The French Contribution to the Maori Language**

The above-titled article appeared in The French & the Maori, John Dunmore (ed.), The Heritage Press Ltd./Fédération des Alliances Françaises de Nouvelle-Zélande, 1993, pp.132-138.

# APPENDIX I

## A GAINWORD CHRONOLOGY

1820	baibel pákati pórka <sup>2</sup> skúl	kaptan paradise pouder tía	katípa paréte puróku whiti	kí porka <sup>2</sup> skúl Yuropi
1827	a'hi haura Ihurai katipa Mi'haia papatai'ho piki <sup>2</sup> Raowai teriona	amine himene ita kerupima naka'hi papataiho poropiti rapi tote <sup>2</sup>	'hapati <sup>2</sup> hu ká e ó kororia <sup>2</sup> okiha Parihai pu'hera reme ture	harirua I'haràira Karaipi koura onika Pari'hai raka rewera
1830	ahi hapa hipi honore karaipitura katikihama keneturio kororiatanga mari <sup>3</sup> mehua <sup>2</sup> mihanere oati <sup>2</sup> peara puhera rewena <sup>2</sup> riparatanga ritene tuari witi wakakingitia wakawainatia	aka(boat) hapati hiriwa Hurai karaipiture kawana kingi kororiatia meha mehuatia moni paipera pere pupirikana reweratia ripeneta <sup>3</sup> temepara wahina wokiha wakakororiatia	apotoro Harukai hoia kamera karepe kawanatanga korenete maira Mehaia merekara mora pararutiki <sup>2</sup> piriniha raiana ripara ripenetanga tepara waina wuruwi wakaporopiti	hahi herupima honi  Kariki kawanatia kororia maki mehatia Mihaia nakahi patene poaka rewara  ripona torona weta
1831				
1832				
1833	ake Anatima Maranata apotoro ata Hamaritai Haruki Hiparu hoari honorekoretia Itaraki	akiha anihi apotorotanga Epikureana hapa hauta <sup>2</sup> Hiperu <sup>2</sup> hoia Hune kamira	anatematia Apa Areopakati hakarameta hapati hawe hipi hoiho <sup>2</sup> Hurai kamura	apona aroa  hariata hepara hiriwa  ihopa kanga



	kapa	karaiti	Karaitiana	Kararini
	karauna	kari	Kariki	katempa
	kau	kawana	kawanata	
	kawenata <sup>2</sup>	Keina	kihi <sup>2</sup>	kingi
	Kiriki	koati	komiti	komiti
	koroni	koti	kowa	kuini
	kumine	Mai	maira	makete
	mana	Mareau	marena <sup>4</sup>	
	marenatanga <sup>2</sup>	marenatia	marina	meneti
	merakara	minita <sup>3</sup>	minitatanga	mira
	mira	miriana	nakaki	neke
	nira	Ohana	okana	oriwa <sup>2</sup>
	paikinarā	pairakere	parahi	parairi
	pararutikitia	paraua	pare	Parihi
	paronga	pauna	pehane	pene
	pereti	Petakoha	Petekoha	Petikoha
	pihopa	porohiraiti	poropiti <sup>2</sup>	
	poropititanga	poti	pukapuka	raiti
	rama hapakatanai	raponi	rawena	
	Repere-Aina	reta	rewena	rewenatia
	rewera	rihena	rihi	ripera
	rota	ruma	ta	taima
	taranata	tauera	temapara	teneti
	tepera	tepu	tina	titaraki
	toa	Toika	tuari	
	tuaritanga	unaka	waikauta	waina <sup>3</sup>
	waipara	wakiha	wiki	winika
	wuruhi	Hahi o Ingarani	hauta weta	
	kai tiaki hipi	kai wangi hipi	kai mahi hiriwa	
	wakahonore	wakahonoretia	wakahurai	
	wakakaraitianatia	kai ngaki kari	wakakingi	
	wakakororia	wakamarena	kai mahi merekara	
	wakaminita <sup>2</sup>	nota weta	wakaoati	
	wakaporopititanga	wakaporopititia	kai hanga rihi	
	wakaunaka			
1834				
1835	anahera	haora	hapa	hikamaina
	hikamora	Kararini	karepi	kopiona
	meneta	nota	ngira	papura
	pararaiha	parau	paruma	pauna
	peni	perehi	pokiha	poropititia
	puruma	rapere	repara <sup>2</sup>	reta
	rinena	ru	wahinatanga	wati
	witi	wakiha pi		
1836	Hohaiati	Metoriti	Tihema	Weteriana
1837	aka(religious)	ametihita	Anatema Maranata	
	anatikaraiti	apahinitia <sup>2</sup>	aporona	
	apotorotia	arapa	Areopaka	arepa
	emerara	epata	hahapa <sup>2</sup>	Haitiana
	Hamaritana	hapaira	hararina	harariu
	hararonika	heneha	hepeta	herupima
	hihopa	himipora	hinamona	hiri <sup>2</sup>
	hirika	hiritia	honore	ioka
	kaihe	kamera	kara	karahi <sup>2</sup>
	karakeroni	Kararinai	karaunatia	

	karihoparaha	karihorita	kerā	ki
	kingi	kingitanga	koati	koroka
	koropana	koura	kuata	kura
	mapara	minitātia	miniti	muhika
	nara	Nikoraitai	Oketopa	omeka
	papura	parahi	parairi	
	parairitia	parakihe	paraoa	parau
	pare	pata	pea	pehana
	peke	pene	pepa	Periara
	perira	Piritoriuma	poroka	puru
	raiona <sup>2</sup>	rama hapakatani	rehirenete	reopara
	reparatanga	repera	reta	rihiona
	rinena	Riperetinai	ruri	
	tapenakara	tarakona	Tarita kumai	topaha
	toronaihi	tuina	uakinitina	wahina
	wika	wikitoria	kai wakatangi	hapa
	hawe haora	hawe taima	honikoma	
	wakahonoretanga	kai kawenata	wakakingi	
	kai hohoko moni	kai tuku moni	kai hoko papura	
	kai mahi parahi	kai parau	wakarewena	
1838	kai tiaki temepara			
	amene	enemi	hekera	itaneti
	karahi	karaihe	kerehi	monite
	pararaihi	paunatia		
1839	kororiatanga	Nowema	ritani	
1840	aata	Ahi Wenerei	ahipi	Akuhata
	amona	Amoni	Amoraite	Amoraiti
	Amori	Anakimi	anatema <sup>2</sup>	anatemata
	Aperira	anatematanga	anateropi	aneterope
	Apipi	awhiha	Awimi	Emimi
	epa	Epipani	Epirira	Etipiana
	H.	Aha	haina	Haiwaite
	hakupata	Hakarene	hama	Hamahumi
	Hanuere	haratere	harika	hata
	Hatarei	hatere	hawhe	hea
	hekere	Hepetema	Hepuhaite	Hepuruni
	hera	Heremonaiti	herupa	heu <sup>2</sup>
	Hiha	Hikaiona	hikera	hira
	Hiriana	Hitaite	Hiti	hitimi
	Hitoniana	Hiwi	homa	honete
	honi	honore	honorekoretanga	
	horanete	Hori	Horimi	horohauta
	horokauta	horonete	Hunamaite	hunipa
	Hurae	Huria	Iharaite	
	Ihimearaiti	Ihipiana	ita	iwore
	kaanga	kahia	kaho	Kanani
	Kapatorimi	kapitene	kara	
	Karaitiana	Karariana	Kari	kawena
	kawhena	Kekahaite	keke	Kenanaite
	Kerekehini	keti	kihitia	Kirekahi
	kone	Korehi	korianara	koronete
	kowha	kuaira	Maehe	Manahi
	Manei	Mei	Mirianaiti	Moapi
	mota	muera	mure	nanenane
	nata	oatitanga	oatitia	orakara
	orakera	owhiha	pama	
	pamekaranete	paraire	Parairei	parau

	parautanga	parautia	parekimete	paro
	parotiri	pata	peihana	peki
	Pepuere	Perehaite	perehirenite	
	pereki	Perihaite	Perihi	pi
	piha	pihi	pikareka	
	Pirihitaine	Pirihitini	pita	poakini
	rai	rapeti	rema	reme
	Reneti	repara	reparatia	Reupeni
	rewiatana	rihi	ripenenetanga	
	ripenetatia	Riwaite	Riwaiti	rohimere
	ruritia	Tahera	Taitei	Tarahi
	taraka	taraute	tauwa	temera
	teniti	tepera	Tepuhi	Tihipaite
	timipera	toa	tote	Tumimi
	Turaka	Turei	туру	unikanga
	Urimi	wakona	wati	Wenerei
	wihona	wini	wira	
	womawori	wakaanatema	wakaanatematanga	
	kai wakapai hiriwa	hoia eke hoiho	wakahonore	
	wakahonorekoretia	wakakarauna	wakakawenata	
	wakakororia	wakaminitatanga	ware tango moni	
	wakanakahi	wakanakahitia	wakatenota	
	kai oati teka	wakaparahi	piri hipi	
	kai hoatu ture			
1841	Anapapitiha	ekara	Hoaieti	Makapi
	Miha	pakatori	paronema	harakoha
	Perahiana	tepara	Hahi o Roma	
1842	ahere	ahina	aikiha	Akuha
	Amerikana	apotorika <sup>2</sup>	apotorotanga	
	Eketema Ukehio	Epikopariana	epikopo	eukaritia
	haiana <sup>2</sup>	haianatia	hakerameta	hakimana
	hamanu	Hanuera	Hanueri	Hararei
	haro	hata	hate	hato
	Hepitema	hera	hereni	hikipene
	hirehu	hiti <sup>2</sup>	ho	Hohaieti
	hopi	horo	hota	Huna
	Hurai	inihi	Itepetena	iweri
	kaketu	kaone	kapena	kapene
	kapitana	karaihi	karaune	kareko
	katekihama	katorika	keratia	kereheneti
	Keritiano	kiepa	komiti <sup>2</sup>	
	komititanga	komititia	konihiria	kowehore
	kowiremahio	kuihi	kuki	Maha
	Mahi	Mane	marara	maretire
	mata	meiha	mihinere <sup>2</sup>	mita
	natura	nawi	Noema	nuipepa
	okihetari	Okotopa	oretinahio	orihinare
	paea	paipa	paipera	Pakate
	paraihe	paraikete	paraikimite	paraikite
	Paraire	paruma	Pateriake	paterono
	paura	peke	Pepara	Pepueri
	pere	Perepiteriana	Peritihi	
	Perotehana	pia	Piperia	pipipi
	pire	piriki	poreni	poroka
	porowete	puruma	raihi	raka
	rama	ratari	ripenehari	
	ripenetatanga	riwai	ritania	rohario

	roiara	Romana	Taite	Taiti
	taone	tapura	tara	
	teratihiona <sup>2</sup>	Terinita	ti	tingara
	tiriti	tu	tuaritia	Tuite
	Tuiti	tupeka	tupera	Weneri
	Weteriana	wikariatu	Wiwi <sup>2</sup>	
	Hahi Apotorika	Hahi Katorika	Hahi Katorika Romana	
	Hahi o Ingarangi	Hahi Perotehana	Hahi Weteriana	
	Katorika Romana	wakakeritiano	wakakomiti	
	kai tiaki moni	ware tiaki moni	Roiara Nawi	
	kai ta nuipepa	kai tuhituhi nuipepa	wakaoatitia	
	whare paraikimite	pene rakau	wakapoaka	
1843	kai ruri whenua			
	Akatopa	aparona	Aukuta	Epehiana
	haapa	haeana	haika	Hakoni
	Hapiana	hariru	hawepene	hira
	Huhaite	huka	Huni	iwore
	kanara	kapa	karaehe	karaka
	kari	kerepi	kiki	korara
	mihinare	momeniti	Neamataite	otoriki
	paare	paoka	papara-kaihe	paraihe
	paraihi	paraire	Parairi	paraite
	parete	paunatanga	pehemota	pene
	penete	Pepuera	peti	pihi kaone
	pikoka	poaka	poraka	Puhaite
	puka	puru	putu	Rani
	rewaiatana	rupi	ruri	tana
	tanapu	tarau	tera	ti
	Timanaite	tira	tonapi	
	toronaihitia	Tuihe	Urokaraiona	wirao
	whera	whika		
	Hahi Weteriana o Ingarani		whakahonoretia	
	whare kura	Mihinare Hohaiite	korero pukapuka	
	korero pukapuka	kai ruri wenua	ruri wenua	
	kai wakariterite ture		kai whakarite ture	
1844	Ahaperi	Aharieri	ahipare	hawini
	Ahirami	Ahiriana	ahitikena	akete
	Amarami	Amareki	amira	aniana
	aramona	Arari	Areri	aroe
	Arori	eka	ekoea	epora
	Erani	Eri	Eroni	hakete
	Haki	haki	Hamuri	haniana
	Hanoki	haona	hapira	Harahi
	Hareti	Hatirei	hau mati	Hauri
	hawhana	hawhe	heara	Hekemi
	Hemiri	Heperi	Heperoni	Herani
	Hereki	heroni	Heteroni	heua
	Hewheri	Himeoni	Himi	Himironi
	hine	hini	hiraka	Hiremi
	hita <sup>2</sup>	hopa	hota	Huhami
	humeke	Huni	Hupami	hurahu
	Hutari	Huwhani	Iahateeri	Iahupi
	Iakini	Iamini	Ieeteeri	Ingarihi
	inihi	iokatia	Itehari	kaata
	kamereona	Kanaani	kapakara	Karami
	karamuha	karapanuma	karepe	karepo
	karika	kata	katamauhe	kau

Keni	Keniti	keru	Kerehoni
kereti	kerewata	kerupi	kia-ekara
Kireari	Kohati	Korati	Kuhi
kuinitanga	kukama	kuko	Kuni
kura	Mahari	mairo	Makiri
manuao	Marakieri	Mariao	mati
Merari	merengi	mereni	merini
mihonare	Miriani <sup>2</sup>	moata	monita
more	Muhi	Naami	nane
Natari	nawera	Nemueri	okiha
oneka	Otoni	paata	Pakari
paraekete	paraipanatia	parakuihi	parei <sup>2</sup>
Pareti	Parui	pateri	patura
paukena	pauna	pea	pehi
peita	pekaha	peneti	pera
Perai	perete	Perii	perikana
pi	pihi	piki	pinipoa
piri	pititi	pomana	
pomanatanga	pomekaranete	poti	Puni
raimona	rapere	rapiwingi	rewenatia
Rewi	rikena	riki	rikuri
Ripini	roera	rohi	rokuta
rowhi	ruri <sup>2</sup>	ruritanga	ruritia
taewa	Tahani	Tahareeri	taiawa
Taihe	takete	takuta	taramu
tarau	tatiha	tawera	Tehui
Teponi	teriuma	Teteri	tikera
Timini	tine	tokina	Torai
tu	Umimi	unihaona	Utieri
wani	waro	wehikete	weketi
Wetereana	Weteriona	Wetiriana	wineka
wirou	witere	wherete	
Hahi Epekoperiana	Hahi o Wetereana	Hahi Perehipiteriana	
Hahi Wetereana	whakahapati	wakahiri	
whakahonore	hu-putu	kai komiti kaainga	
whakakororia <sup>2</sup>	moni pukapuka	whare huinga moni	
whakaoati <sup>2</sup>	kai paipa	whakaparahi	
pauna-taimaha	pu paura	kai ruri	kai tupeka
kai wakatakoto ture			
1845	Aharori	anaheratia	Aparira
Aarawari	Araki	Aturami	Awi
apiha	Ekeroni	Emime	Epera
Ehekaroni	Hakonai	Hamati	hatera
Eromi	Heperu	heramana	heriwhi
Henuera	hewani	Hini	hiraka
hetenati	hiriwi	Hironi	hiti
Hiriani	Ihimeeri <sup>2</sup>	itanati	itaniti
Hori	Kanaani	kapata	karaihe <sup>2</sup>
Kahati	karaone	Karari	karari
Karamoni	Kehuri	Keniti	keriti
kawenatatanga	Kipiri	Kiti	komiti
kiia	koroku	Maakati	Mahe
kopera	manitareki	manuao	manuwa
Maihe	Marekena <sup>2</sup>	Marikena <sup>2</sup>	mihanare
manuwao <sup>2</sup>	nupepa	oka	pahikete
naiti	pami	papirara	papu
paihe			

	parekete	pauna	pereke	Periti
	pihopatanga	Pikapo	Pikopo <sup>2</sup>	Popi
	porokanae	putu	Repaima	Repaimi
	reweni	Romana	taperete	Temari
	tima	Turuiti	Tutimi	unakatia
	wikario	kai whangai hipi	wakahoiatia	whakahoia
	whakakaraitianatia	whakakawana	Komiti Whakawa	
	whakakororiatia	merengi roka	whaka-te-nota	
	kai mahi nuipepa	kai tuhi nuipepa	whakaoatitia	
	piri nanenane	whare ta pukapuka	titiro pukapuka	
1846	kaipuke tima	kai riringi waina		
	kawenata	kawenatatia	tapenakera	
	whakakaraitiana	whakakingi		
1847	Ahenehio	Ahupehio	aihe	aketuare
	Anohiahio	aporuhio	arek.	
	arekahere	atihona	atorahio <sup>2</sup>	
	atorahiotia	Awe Maria	Aweneti	ep.
	Epiwhania	eremita	H. <sup>2</sup>	Ha.
	hakirehi	hakiriwhi	hami	hanarete
	hata	hatiwhahio	hato	
	hekeretare	hepene	herene	hikipeni
	hirikohio	hirikohiotia	hu	
	humirita <sup>3</sup>	hurameta <sup>2</sup>	iari	ikaranahio
	ipori	iturehia	k.	kaari
	kahitita	kaihe	kamura	kanera
	Karawini	karetari	karonu	katekita
	katera	Keritiano	ki.	Kipeoni
	kiri	ko.	kohepehio	komunio <sup>2</sup>
	kopahio	korona	koronatia	korone
	koterihio	kow.	kowhe.	kowhehio <sup>2</sup>
	kowhehio tanganga	kowhehore	kowhirimahio	kuati
	kura	m.	mar.	
	metitahio <sup>2</sup>	mihiteria	minitanga	miniti
	moni	moretare	nera	ngeru
	p.	paamu	paamutia	pahio
	pahirika	painiti	Papa	Papitiha
	papitiho	paratiho	Patere	paterono
	patomo	pauka	peke	penitenia <sup>2</sup>
	perehetahio	Petekote	pihetiri	poaka
	porohete	poropokatio	pune	
	purekatorio	puriwhikahio	puutu	Rani
	Ratina	Ratini	rehina	Remepi
	roha	ruri	taapu	taimona
	taonetia	tapera	tauere	
	tawhikurahio	tekorahio	tetikahio	tiaporo
	tima	ukaritia	Wangeriona	
	wangerionita	waputia	wata	weniare
	weperi	wihiria	wihitahio	wikario
	wikitoria	wiritute	whika	
	Hahi o Kotorana	Hahi o Morewia	Hahi Papitihi	
	hariota tima	whakahonore	whakakororia	
	kai whakaako kura	Mihanere Hohaieiti o	Ranana	
	ruri-whenua	kai maka whika	kai tuhi whika	
1848	honore	rerihia	Tairei	taraka
1849	aporo	Arapi	ehu	ekara
	ewaherio	Hairopenikia	Hapeani	Heroriana

	hiwera	ikiha	inkiha	iveri
	kareti	kariri	Katorika	kiki
	koma <sup>2</sup>	kuini <sup>2</sup>	maero	Makape
	manetareke	Meri	meringi	miriona
	nanenane	Pahi	Papuroni	parawa
	pi <sup>2</sup>	pini	poropitia	puna
	repera	rokaiti	tamioka	taona
	Terenita	wekete	woka	
1850	whakaporopiti	kai whakaako ture		
	a'wiha	herapima	himene	kapahu
	mahi	Mahometa	Meriteranea	
	mihaneretia	pena	perihirenite	perike
	piriti	Piritone	puramu	rikona
	Ruiti	tiihi	tina	torohio
	whakahonoretanga	whakahonoretia	kai hoko pukapuka	
1851	haone	paranene	pititi	ropi
	ruma	Sakona	tepera	tihi
	wira			
1852	aaka(boat)	amana	arihi	aunihi
	haka	hamarara	hapara	haramu
	hata	heipane	heremana	himene
	hipi	horo	hupa	huripara
	kama	kapa	kaputi	karaihe
	karaipiture	karana	karapu	kareti
	kata	katene	kau	keke
	kiapa	kiki	koata	kokonaiti
	kope	korona	koro-pa	korowa
	kuini	kuruera	maki	mamona
	mapera	matete	mehua	mete
	niupepa	okena	orani	oti
	pakete	pani keke	panikena	Paniora <sup>2</sup>
	papu	parai	paraihe <sup>2</sup>	paramu
	parona	patama	patara	pea
	pene	pepa	pepi	pia
	pihareina	pihikete	pikera	Pikopo
	pine	Potene	potini	puha
	punu	purini	purupiti	raeona
	remana	repora	rewena	ripine
	roia	ruri	taimona	take
	tamara	taore	taperu	taporena
	tapu	taraiti	tarapu	tarete
	tatoiho	teneti	tera	teretihiona
	tia	tiakete	tihi	timara
	timere	tini	tokena	totoiho
	tuhimete	waina	waiti	wapu
	wekoti	wiki	hoari poto	haere-hoia
	potae hoia	hoiho apiha	whare hoiho	huka hopi
	hu rahirahi	hu-rakau	kai tui hu	
	kai mahi huka	kai ngaki huka	kai tiaki kaari	
	kaho-iti	kai hanga kaho	kanara iti iti	
	kai tiaki kari	kai mahi kata	hinu kau	kowhao ki
	whare kingi	hoa whakaako kura	whakapa minita	
	kowhatu mira	whare miraka	kai mahi moni	
	kai huri paraoa	kai tunu paraoa	paraoa oti	
	kai peita	iringa pere	kai patu pere	
	pouaka pi	poaka tote	whakapiri pukapuka	
	korerotanga pukapuka		kai tuhi pukapuka	

	pukapuka-iti raka iti kai hanga tapu kai tuari	pukapuka moni kai rukauta kai patu taramu pa wini	puruma-manuka ruma iti komokomo tepa kai kotikoti witi	
1853				
1854	Harerei tawini	Kirihimete temepera	Mihi mihinare whakakororiatanga	
1855	ahirikona Arepa awhekaraune Eparatanga Ewhena hana Harahora hawhi heki heremeti Hohaiete huperitena <sup>2</sup> Irahu kanara <sup>2</sup> karaehe kariko kawhi Kiritimete korokoraira Mahometoima matira mereneuma mineti Nikoro oritiri paina paparakauhe Parana perehi Petetiuka pirinihi pokiha puta Riutena Ruhana Ta Taka tari tira Watenehi Witeriana Hahi Kiriki Hahi Paratitana kai titiro hoia hoiho to parau kaata tima Matua-Kuini mira paraoa whare tiaki moni	Akuhu awhe eamine Eparehi Ha hanareweti hararuta Heamana hekona Hetemana honoretanga Huritana Itariona <sup>2</sup> kapa Karakahini katene kemara kokonata kotene makimaki mauihi Merikena miritea ohipera Otomana pairata <sup>2</sup> Papua Paratitona perehitia pirihimana Piritaina porihi <sup>2</sup> renitia rongitari Ruihana taewa Tamura temapera toma Wenete Hahi Inipena Hahi o Katarangi kai whiu hariata hoiho parau huka-keni kai patu kau mira huri paraoa mitinare-kore kai korero nupepa	aniona awhe karaone Eara Eperehi Haini haori Harina Heamani Heperu Hihiriana horera Ihipiana iwari kapene karete kawana keto kokonata kuena mapera meneti Meritireniana mitinare Oranga Rirongo Otumana pamu paraehe paremata <sup>2</sup> pereki Pirimita piwhi Poura Reri Roratona ruketihi taika tane tere Tuaka wereweti <sup>2</sup> Hahi Iriiri Hahi o Katirangi hawhe haora hoiho to kata whaka-Ingarihi kai keru koura mira kani rakau whare-moni kaititiro nupepa	apeha Epara <sup>2</sup> erapanita hamu Hapani hatini <sup>2</sup> hei heramana Hipihi Ingarihi Kakaka <sup>2</sup> kara Karii kawhe kopora kuni mapi mera minete Mua Paiaroha paraki pehini perete piriniha Poatuke pukara rinana rori ruki taimona taora tikiri Wahu wini



	kai hanga poti	Pukapuka Karauna	putu Neporiana	
	putu Puruiha	putu Wereta	whakarikonatanga	
	whare peka rohi	ruri whenua	tima kaupuke	
	kai whakatakoto ture	Weteriana Metoha		
1856	Apokaripa	araruta	Hakihona	Hakiona <sup>2</sup>
	hamu	hanaraweiti	hanaraweti	hanereta
	hawhe kaihe	hepara	Hikoko	hipi
	hirake	hopa	kaatatia	karena
	kehe	kehi	kingitanga	kingitia
	korokoraria	kuinitanga	kune	marahihi
	matene	mira	Miri	Miria
	momenete	momeneti	nama <sup>2</sup>	Nohema
	Nomana	Nomane	oki	paka
	parahetia	paremata	parimaneta	parimata
	pekene	pereki	piramira	pirihi
	popara	puru	raima	raina
	raka	reihi	renetia	roari
	tahine	taria	Tene	tenete
	ti	wera	Werehi	wuru <sup>2</sup>
	moni koura	kai ngaki pamu	mea paraoa	
	pata pakeke	whare pukapuka	kohatu raima	
	whaka riwai			
1857	Ahutata	akirikona	ararutu	
	Atoni Henera	eka	haate	
	hanereweiti	hanereweti	Hanure	Haterei
	hekeretari	hera	heri	
	hipi hipi hurei	hiriwha <sup>2</sup>	hohipere	hooro
	huperitene	huuri	iari	Iniana
	kaata	Kamutana	kapa	kapehu
	kapetene	karaati	karaihe <sup>2</sup>	karaihi
	Katoriki	Kawha <sup>2</sup>	keki	
	koko-nata	kokonata	komiti	koroa <sup>2</sup>
	Korona	kupere	maaka	
	maketetanga	maketetia	mapi	marino
	mekaniki	Mene Mene etc.	miraka	miritia
	miuru	naita	ooti	orini
	oti	paaka	paamu	paere
	pamu	panana	paoro	paraire
	parairetia	paraki	paranatia	pati
	paukina	pauna	paura <sup>2</sup>	
	perekitina	perekitini	periki <sup>2</sup>	
	perikitina	pia	piihi <sup>2</sup>	piihitia
	pine	pirihimana	pirinihihi	pitara
	piti	puihi	purei	
	pureitanga	purutone	puutu	renete
	riki	ripene	Ririana	ropere
	rori	rota	ruri	Takouta
	tana	tanapi	tariti	tea
	tekihana	timini	tini	tiriti
	tokiari	tunipere <sup>2</sup>	tupeka	waapu
	wapu	weikena	Weterione	weti
	wititia	wuruwhi	whera poti	whika
	Whingo	whiti	hoia hoiho	
	whakahoiatanga	eke hoiho	whakahonore	
	Karauna Karaati	whakakingi	whaka Kingitanga	

	kai whakahaere kura	whare mapi	whare meera
	kai hari mera	kai waha mera	whare-mera
	kai hanga mira	kai mahi mira	kai titiro mira
	mira haro muka	kai tiaki peke	takotoranga moni
	whare takotoranga	moni	whare utu moni
	whakanakahitia	kai mahi paamu	kai ngaki paamu
	kai hoko paraoa	kai perehi	hoe poti
	poti weera	poti wera	wera poti
	kai hoko whai-pukapuka		hoa reihi
	tatau-a-reta	whakataone	keha tonapi
	kai ngaki witi	patu witi	kai ngaki whiti
	waki miere		
1858	akihana <sup>2</sup>	akihanatia	akihehori Haina <sup>2</sup>
	aki-pihopa	apatakihana	apiha
	apihatanga	arahona	ateha
	Awharikana	awhirei	eketohiana Ha
	haihana	hamene <sup>2</sup>	hamenetia
	Hamupake	hamupeke	hariota hatihi
	henera	heu	hiiri Hiniru <sup>2</sup>
	Hipo <sup>2</sup>	hitihena	hitihiona hiwhiri
	hohipera	honoretia	hupirimi
	hupiritene	hurei	huuri Ingirihi
	inihua <sup>3</sup>	inihuatanga	inihuatia
	iniraimene <sup>2</sup>	iniraiti <sup>3</sup>	kaari kahimia
	kamapauna <sup>2</sup>	kamatoa	kanapirahi kapitara
	karaehe	katere	katimauhe <sup>2</sup> katipa
	keeti	kepe	kirimina koini <sup>3</sup>
	komatoa	kooti	korara korona
	kororohama	kuaratini <sup>2</sup>	kuata <sup>2</sup>
	kuatamata	Maharata	mahini <sup>2</sup>
	Mahometana	meera	mera meratia
	Merikana <sup>2</sup>	mihipirihana	mihitimina mokere
	mokura	mokuru	nama <sup>2</sup> namanga
	nopera	nota	noti nuihana
	pairahi	pakarari	pana <sup>2</sup> Paramini
	parawhimi	pauni <sup>2</sup>	paura pehiara
	peira	penara	Perehiana pikami
	pikana	pira	pire piriki
	pirikitina	pirinihe	piuni poahere
	poi	poraka <sup>2</sup>	porohini
	porowhini	raheni	raiheni <sup>2</sup> raihenitia
	raima	raiota	raipere raiperetia
	ratanama	ratihi	rehiku <sup>2</sup> rehitia <sup>2</sup>
	rei	reipa	reti <sup>2</sup> retitia
	riiti	rini	roperi Taete
	taihana	tarautete	taruku tawhi
	tereti	tiinitia	tikete tirihana
	tokiari	tokiaritia	tooka waapu
	warati <sup>2</sup>	weera	weiti werewiti
	wira	wiwiri	whaine <sup>2</sup> whainetia
	wheroni	wheronitia	whika
	Apiha Kai-tiaki	Apiha Katimauhe	hamene kirimina
	kai whakawa hatihi	whakahoiatia	hoiho purei
	kai whakaako hoiho	mangumangu hu	kaipuke tunga kara

	Karauna Karaatitia	Whare Katimauhe	Katipa-Pehiara
	katipa pirihi mana	whakakatipa	whakakatipatia
	Kawana Henera	whare-ki	Kooti Ateha
	Kooti Hupirimi	Kooti Maori	Kooti Whakawa
	Kooti Whakawa Maori		moni nama noti peke
	kai ta nupepa	whakaoati	whakaoatitanga
	reihī kaupuke	tima haere uta	tima manuwao
1859	ture-iti	kaipuke patu weera	kaipuke weera
	Abinipoini	aketihana	amine
	awhe kaihe	haata	Hamupaka heko
	Hiriana	karaihe	karona
	Kirihimete	Koro	koroa kuiini
	makaniki	makatia	Matana mihinari
	Nomana	paare	panekena parahi
	parakuihi	parani	parihi parono
	pitara	purutone	rata reihī
	rewena	Rikari	ropi Taerei
	tepara	tereti	timera tina
	tipera	wakiha	wanata
	kaipuke kara	kai tiaki kau	kai waha meera
	whare pere	whare hoko pia	poti hera
1860	tima patu witi	kai mahi witi	kai whakatupu witi
	Ahiria <sup>2</sup>	Amarehita	Arapia Atiriana
	awhe	ekaeka	ekaekahia ekaekaiā
	ekaina	eki	enehehi erata
	erewhati	etenita	hakarameta hakirirehu
	hakiriwi	harepa	hawhe kaihe
	hawhe karaone	hea	hepara
	heparatanga	herehi	Hereripa heretiki
	hirihi	hirikohihiotia	hitoria hohio
	huaro	humeka	huparitene
	hupereteneti	huro	Iharaira Ingarihi
	kaana	kaari	kapetana karahie
	karani	karati	karauna
	karaunatia	karote	kata kaweneti
	kepa	Kereki	kiepa kimatiki
	kingi	kingitanga	kingitia kipitia
	kitini	komihana	koroko kota
	kuata	kuini	kuinitia kuna
	kurahi	kurupai	maati maka
	makete	marihia	Matianita merekera
	meroni	minitātia	naihe namatia
	nawa	nokuru	Ngapuritana otitanga
	pahinehia	paipera	Paoratanga parahie
	parakimeta	parani <sup>3</sup>	paranitia parata
	pariki	pateriaka	pera perapu
	Perehia	perehitanga	pereti
	perewahio	pihi	pihitia pihopa
	pikaka	pikopotanga	pirihi pirikitine
	piriti	poara <sup>3</sup>	poaratanga porowhete
	porowihia	poti	pumikini pura
	puruki	raiwhera	renetire reti
	retia	ringi	rini
	rongotaimatia	rukauta	tahea taketake
	tamana <sup>2</sup>	tamanatia	tanapa
	taperanaka	taraka	tarapene tareta
	tauere	tautini	tera teratanga

	terepene	tereti	tewara	tiakeni
	tiamā	tiami	tini <sup>2</sup>	tiruwahio
	torupene	tupara	ture	turea
	tureia	wiira	wohi	
	whare kuru	Wharihi	Whirihitini <sup>2</sup>	
	whorenahi	awhe haora	nohoanga hoiho	
	huri-whakauru	kara haki	Karauna Karati	
	Karauna Karatitia	Kawenata o Waitangi	kingi-takaro	
	whakakingitia	whakakuinitanga	whakuinitia	
	tunga makete	kaipuke manuwao	whakamarenatia	
	Meiha Henera	kai whakaako Mihinare		
	whakaminitatia	mira wai	whare tahu moni	
	pene-he-pene	whare perehi pukapuka		
	whare takotoranga	pukapuka	kai ta pukapuka	
	pukapuka tuku whenua		purei paoro	
	raina ruri	tango rongotaima	kai mahi rori	
	ruma moenga	ruri whenua	tima hari meera	
1861	hope	Kaika	kapu	oati
	Okitopa	Pingo	ripenetia	tuihana <sup>2</sup>
1862	aweteki	awheteki	Hainii	hamene
	hanehe	Hapanehe	hapera	Harapora
	hariru	hawekaehe	Hewio	
	hipopotama	honoretanga	huri	Inia
	Iniana	ka	kamura	karaati
	katikihema	katuaira	keneturio	ketitia
	koata	kuinitanga	kuinitia	kuranga
	Marai	Marei	meera	merino
	minita	naihi	ohipera	paihenete
	pakete	paraiti	paraka	
	parakimete	paranene	paraoa	pareki
	paremeta	pareti	pauna	peeke
	pehemoto	perana	perepoti	peti
	Piritohi	Poatuki	pooti	porowini
	poutapeta	pukapukatia	purei	raeora
	rehinata	rehita	Reihetea	remona
	retinga	rinene	ritimana	riwhi
	tapanakara	Tatei	Tatihi	tienara
	tiira	tikapa	tikini	timere
	tiroa	toro	waea	Wahu
	warena	wuruhi	whairu	hea hoiho
	kainga tiaki hipi	toi-whakahoia	hoiho wai	
	kai eke hoiho	haere-hoiho	huka kene	
	whakakawanatanga	whakakawenatatia	noho a-komiti	
	whaka-Marikena	moni penehana	kai nama	
	peeke meera	haere raina	kai noho taone	
	kai tupeka	kai tiaki ture	kai whakahaere ture	
	whare miari	kura mahi perehi	pure	
1863	ahipihopa	Angli	aputa	eaa
	Franki	Haitiana	hakarameta	hiniha
	hinota	horera	horu	Hou Pa
	Hunu	kamaroa	Karaitiana	karauna
	karaunatanga	Kariri	katatanga	katatia
	katikumena	kawanata	Kerehimete	kokoa
	Koti	makete	Mani	marini
	matira	Meranihia	mihanare	monaki <sup>2</sup>
	Nikero	parakimete	parangiki	Parani

	Patriaka	pihopa <sup>2</sup>	Popa	
	porihimana	repata	reta	Roma
	rongotaima	tera	tienera	tinipene
	Vandala	warena	weeti	
	hoia manuwao	kapa iti	kapa nui	
	Kawana Nui	whare parakimete	perehi ta	pukapuka
	whakapihopa	whakapihopatia	poti kata	
	whakarikonatia	kawhi	tianara	
1864	wa-apu tauranga poti			
	akitiwha	kàtā	kuihipere	mati
	pāka	parai-pane	pāraoa	pāre
	pihi	puihi	tāone	
	ruma-kainga	ti-ketera	ti-pata	
	whare-witi			
1865	paremete			
1866	pooti	rawai	Tiu	
1869	hapi	hararutu	hēki	hiiti
	Ipekakuana waina	kāho	kāri	karani
	kareko	kata-roira	mēhua <sup>2</sup>	pata
	pēpi	pīhi	pīwhi	piihi
	piiwhi	piwhi	rupapa <sup>2</sup>	tāone
	tāpu	tarami	tonape	totea
	tote pita	weiti	hawhe pune	huka pia
	pune iti	pune nui	waina Ipekakuana	
1872	hīri <sup>2</sup>	hīritia	komihana	kouti
	makete	tiwhiketi	Kouti Whenua	Maori
	kai reti	kai utu reti		
1874	Apahauhi	etita	haapu	Hanakiti
	heipene	heketeri	heti	hapu hoia
	purei hoiho	hupiriteneti	Ingarihi	Ingirihi <sup>2</sup>
	karaati	Karauna Karaati	karaatitia	kaunihera
	kaute	kawanatanga	kemu	kiingi
	kirikiti	kooti		
	Kooti Whakawa Whenua Maori	Kooti Whenua Maori	Kooti Whenua Maori	
	kootiria	kootitia	Koroni Hekeretere	
	Kura Kerema	Kura Maori	Kura Mihinare	
	Makuihi	mema	Pooti Mema	mokete <sup>2</sup>
	kai mokete	moketetia	moni utu reti	motini
	nama moni	no	kai tono nupepa	
	whakoatitanga	paraiweta	peeki	peeti
	peramata	pia	pire	pitihana
	Poohi Tapeta	pooro	pooti <sup>3</sup>	pootitanga
	pootitia	potane	utu reti	riihi
	riihitia	Roori	tāewa	tieti
	Ture Kooti Whenua Maori		Ture Kura Maori	
	Ture Whenua Maori	wepua	wikitoria	
1875	aehana	Airihi	akehanatia	akihana <sup>2</sup>
	arani	Arepa	Arepia	Arihia
	eihana	haahi	Haahi o Ingarani	
	haeana	Hahi Rooma	haira	hamupeina
	hanihi	hea	heeramana	heeti
	hekana	hekana	hiiri	hinatia
	katikati hipi	hoiho reihi	hoiho too kaata	
	hoiho too tarapu	hoiho tariona	hu hoiho	
	kai rongoa hoiho	reihī hoiho	kai hanga hu	hu <sup>2</sup>
	huari	huperetene	hupereteni	huperitēni

huperiteni	piringa kaata	piringi kaata	toki kaata
kahiti	kakii	kamupene	
kai mahi karaihe	Karaitera	kareti	
Katorika Romana	kai hoko kau	kaute	keeti toora
kereme	kiiki	whare nohoanga	kingi
kipa	kooti	kai hanga kooti	
kooti meera	whare hanga kooti	Kooti Hupirimi	
kootia	Kootimana	koriana	Kotiwera
kai ako kura	Kuru Teparā	maakatia	maaki
maina	kai makete	makitohi	
mapi whakaahua	whare	Marina	Marino
meera poohi	pahihi kawē meera	mihingare	mihini
mitara	mitora	moni pakete	moni reti
moni utu	moni wini	namaa	
whare ta nupepa	Ngatiringi	orupera	pa
paiheneti	paipa mihini	paki	
Pane Kuini Poohi	paparakauta	parana	parihi
patene	patiki	pauna	
kai tiaki pauna	paunatia	kai hoko paura	
whare takotoranga	paura	peeita	
peeke kakahu	peeke	kai peita whare	
peka	peke tera	pepa whare	
piha patu hipi	piia	pira	pire
pitihana	poni	pone <sup>2</sup>	poohi <sup>2</sup>
whare poohi	whare pooti	kai pooti	
tangata pooti	pooti	poroka	porowini
kai tiaki potapeta	potawhe	whare potawhe	
potitia	puruku	kai hanga puutu	
Rahita	raiti	rame	rana
Ratakia	Reeta	haka reihi	hoa reihi
reihi metini pereti	Reihi o Tapii	Reihi o Te Oka	
reihi peke taiepa	reihi	rerewe	
whare toa rerewe	rerewei <sup>2</sup>	whare rerewei	
kai tuhituhi reta	rete tuhituhi	rihitia	kai rihi
kai rihi whenua	riihi <sup>2</sup>	riiki	riiri
riiri hoko	riiri reti	Rikini	Rikona
rira	riti	rori	ruuri
kai ruuri	kai ruuri whenua	ruuritanga	ruuritia
taapi	taewa	taikiu	tani
Tari Maori	tariana	tariona <sup>2</sup>	
teepu tuhituhi	teihana	tekena	tepara
kai hanga tera	tera pikau taonga	terei	tereina
whare terekarawhe	terekarawhi	ti kapu	tiaki
tiati	Tiati Tumuaki	tika	tikaa
tikiti	tina	kai tiaki toa	tone
kai hoko tupeka	kai mahi ture	Ture Rahui Whenua	
Ture Whakawa Whenua Maori		waea	watataiti
kai hanga wati	Weneti	wepu	wiini <sup>2</sup>
wini	wiro	wuruheti	wuuru
etarana	hamana	Haniata	
hawhe kapa	hekana	hekaritari	herini
hoiho poni	hoiho to kaata	kahu hoiho	hupiritini
kape	kapea	kapene	
karaihe titiro kanohi	kareti ako kura	katimauihi	katirina
kati waiti	Kaunati Aki	Kaunati Kaunihera	
kooati	Hupirimi Kooti	kopa	koropa
kuru	maati	matinikera	mema

	Mihihi	paamu hipi	paraoa parani	
	Whare Paremata	paremata	parenga	
	pene rino tuhituhi	pine kakahu	pine mahunga wahine	
	pohi <sup>2</sup>	potitia		
	pukapuka korero Paremata		pukapuka pooti	
	putihana	raitihauhi	metini reihi	
	reihi hanikapu	reihi pekepeke	reihi poni	reihi hoiho
	rera	rihi	roiatanga	ruuri
	taapu	mahi takuta	tamana	tamanatia
	taraka	Tari Tauira Riiri	teepu	teika
	tiamana	tima kawe mera	tinitia	tireti
	tiwhikete	Ture Kooti Whenua Maori		
1879	Ture Rori Pooti	waana		
	aaka(religious)	Aperire	apotata	
	apotorikatanga	aramuka	areruia	awe
	Awe Meri	Etiopiana	hakarameta	Hamari
	Hapeana	hato	herapima	Heremani
	herengi	heretiki	heunga	Hirianai
	hoana	Hohana	honore-kore	horokota
	Iepuhi	Ieteeri	ihopo	Ihoriana
	Ikonakati	Ikonokati	Ingirihi	ioka
	kapiona	kapitari	Karatea	karauna
	Kariti	katekumeni	Katorikatanga	
	kawenatanga	kaweneta	kaweneti <sup>2</sup>	
	kawhenatia	Kereti	Kiriki	
	kirimini <sup>2</sup>	kiripi	komunio	korona <sup>2</sup>
	koronatanga	Kororia <sup>2</sup>	kowhirimahio	
	kowhirimahiotia	kupita	makarita	Mehia
	Meunimi	mihiteri	mira	mirekara
	Moapi	Monoterite	neratia	none
	Noromana	oretinahia	orinihare	Paniera
	papita	parairetia	pehato	Pereti
	pirihipati	popa	Pore	potapeta
	Potekoha	pupura	puuru	raweni
	reperatanga	reperere	reperetanga	rerewe
	Riperetini	teanara	teihana	tetaraki <sup>2</sup>
	tianara	Tihihi	tominahio	tuari
	tura	Wenihi	wepu	wiatika
	Wi-Wi <sup>2</sup>	wurihi	kai whiu hipi	
	whare hohipera	whaka-Kariki	whakakingi	
	kai huri mira	whakanakahi	whakaoati	
	rewena-kore	whakaripenetatia	whakawainatia	
1880				
1889	epitari	hapituare	Hekereta	himeporo
	humirita	Iteroiti	itur.	kahitita
	Karatuere	karihe	kerito	kohupetari
	koterihio	kowhehio	kowhehio	merekara
	metara	Momona	ohitia	Owhetario
	penetihio	perewhahio	porehete	Porohitani
	rehina	Roretana		
1893	apotata	aterihio	epitari	Ho.
	HHo.	hakarametaria	hatiwahio	heteri
	himatiki	hipokiriti	hiria	huperihio
	hupirikona	itorati	iupiri	karamini
	Katinara	Kerihimete	kohiria	kopetorio
	kowheio	materina	mera	metiha
	Minorati	monoterahio	motetia	oketawa

	papiterio	papitiho	paterino	Peato
	Pirimati	piwa	porohehio	retemihio
	rongahio	tameti	teperahia	
1894	terahupetahio	Tohurati	tora	
	aâta	apotata	Arani	Ariana
	aromata	emepara	erewhana	hâpara
	hâraki	heiana	hêramana	hûka
	Huni	Iperi	Itinia	Itiopiana
	kare	kâri	kâtipa	kûra
	mapere	Paihi	pâkete	pêa
	peniki	Perotehana	pêti	
	pirihitanga	Popatanga	poropitiria	purei <sup>2</sup>
	tangata purei	pureitia	putiputi	Raparama
	riwhitanga	riwhitia	rotaina	rotatia
	rûma	taika	tâkuta	tiata
	tiini	tûru	Wanara	Wihikoti
	wharera	whepu	whepua	
1899	whepuwhepungia	whira	kaiwhakatangi	hâpa
	atirikona	itareti	pariha	



## 9

# *The French Contribution to the Maori Language*

*Terry Duval*

THE MAORI LANGUAGE, in its written form, has from its earliest publishing history welcomed new words into its vocabulary, adapting them to suit its own phonological rules. In this, Maori follows the generally held linguistic principle which says that the language of a colonised people tends to import many items of vocabulary from the language of its coloniser. In the case of Maori, the colonising country was England, and therefore it is to be expected that most of the words gained by Maori are English.

While English colonists did not achieve parity of population until the 1850s, the influence of the English language predates that decade, in a manner out of all proportion to the number of its speakers. The vehicle for this influence was, of course, the printed word—books, and in particular, books written in the Maori language—and these latter had been available to Maori, in limited numbers and mainly in the north where contact was concentrated, since the late 1820s.

These early publications consisted of parts of the Bible, the New Testament in particular. They were printed in Sydney, by order of the Church Missionary Society missionaries in New Zealand, and shipped over in various quantities. Their arrival was eagerly awaited, and the subsequent dispersal of these first productions showed that Maori were keen to have more. The demand was such that arrangements were soon set in hand to enable the missionaries to do the printing themselves, and the first printing press arrived on these shores on 3 January 1835. By 21 February that same year, the first books printed in this country were completed—twenty-five copies of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians.

Religion was the main catalyst for the introduction of words of foreign origin into Maori, and by 1835, the vocabulary of printed Maori could already claim such additions as *hahi* (church), *ahi* (ass), *amine* (amen), *hapa* (supper) and *hapati* (sabbath) among others. While these gainwords are English-sourced, there are others, in early translations of the New Testament, that have been gained from the Greek, for the translation of the New Testament was made from the New Testament in Greek.

*Paronema harakoha* (*phronema sarkos* = lust of the flesh) is one example. It may be noted that few Maori gainwords from languages other than English have survived the passage of time. The overwhelming volume of English language-sourced translation material made sure of this.

As the firstcomers in the field of missionary endeavour in New Zealand, the Anglicans and the Wesleyans enjoyed the luxury of little competition. They had nearly thirty years in which to establish a strong and broad base of conversion, consolidated by their publication programme and the establishment of schools. Coupled with that was the fact that the religion they preached was the religion of the Queen of England, the official religion of England, a religion of mana and authority. It was, to many Maori, a religion that merited respect.

The first Catholic Mission arrived in New Zealand on 10 January 1838, and consisted of Bishop Pompallier accompanied by Father Catherin Servant and Brother Michel. They were eager to capitalise on the groundwork in Maori literacy laid down by the Protestant missionaries, and within a few years had acquired a printing press. In October 1842 the first Catholic publication was printed at Kororareka, *Ako Marama o te Hahi Katorika Romana ko te Pou me te Unga o te Pono*. The fifty-six pages of this first effort included a pastoral by Bishop Pompallier, an introduction, a statement of Catholic doctrine and a catechism.

From the start, despite Pompallier's enthusiasm, the French mission faced a difficult task. Hampered by limited funds and a lack of personnel, they also had to try to make inroads into a Maori population that had been exposed for some time to the teachings of the English church. Eventually this forced them to seek out areas as yet untouched by Protestant missionaries, such as the Waikato and the Bay of Plenty, where they had some success. The Catholic faith offered a variety of Christianity that many Maori could relate to, in that it was rich in symbolism and pageantry, its history embroidered with martyrs and popes, virgins and miracles. But the priests' personal poverty did not always help their mana among the Maori, who were more impressed by the relative comfort of Protestant missionaries' families and farms. Maori shouting "Je suis episcopo!" (I am a Catholic) on the arrival of a Catholic priest at their pa did not always receive the presents they were hoping for. The priests' focus on spiritual things often contrasted with the practical skills and preoccupations of their Protestant counterparts.

The Catholic publications produced in the nineteenth century reveal a small but significant number of gainwords sourced from the French and the Latin languages. The greater proportion are from the Latin, which is not unexpected considering Latin was then the language of the Church, and the language particularly of the Mass. These gains, both Latin and French, are almost totally of a religious character; in fact, a brief scan of the publishing programme of the Catholics indicates that it is without exception a programme directed towards the souls of the Maori. The Church of England's publishing programme was more diverse. It also pursued its own religious goals, of course, but schoolbooks to serve the schools it had set up and publications of a more general and practical nature figured as well in that programme.

Figure 1 gives a sample list of some of the words Maori gained from the French

language during the nineteenth century. It is not exhaustive by any means, as all Catholic Maori language publications have not yet been fully researched. With the exception of *houpa* (platform, dais) and *Wiwi/Wi-Wi* (Frenchman, France), the words have been culled from publications solely religious in nature. The two exceptions appear in early Maori language newspapers, the first of which appeared, coincidentally, in 1842, the year that the French Mission began its publishing programme. *Houpa*, from French *haut pas*, was used to refer to the platform on which a throne or altar was placed. It was a technical word which was used in English in its French form (as well as in its anglicised forms: *halfpace* and *halpace*) and came to Maori via English. *Wiwi/Wi-Wi* (Frenchman, France) continues to enjoy currency in Maori, its origin being of course the French expression 'oui oui'. Interestingly, parallel gainwords emerged in later decades of the last century from the word *France*: *Parane*, *Parani*, *Paranahi* and *Paranihi*. *Parani* can also mean brandy, an association entirely appropriate!

Since my research has thus far been confined to nineteenth-century printed publications, Catholic works included, I cannot say with any authority which of the gainwords in Figure 1 are still being spoken or used in print. However, *Pakate* (Easter) is still current, although it alternates with the Maori word used for Easter, *Aranga*, which is literally "a rising up". The linguistic ideology that is held to be "politically correct" at this stage in the life of the Maori language is that, wherever possible, gainwords be replaced by traditional Maori words or expressions. This can be seen, for example, in the fostering of traditional Maori names for the months of the year over their gained counterparts. It seems that those gainwords which have had a long and stable usage in Maori, and which have been thoroughly assimilated into the language, have a much better chance of being retained—where no better Maori word or term can be found or invented. However, although gainwords for months of the year first appeared in 1840, and may be said to have time on their side and a history of extensive and common usage, it still does not guarantee their ultimate survival.

It may be noted that I have not used macrons and double vowels in this and the subsequent samples of Maori gainwords, for the simple reason that they were not so marked in the original source publications. In the very early days of the Maori language's written life, there was some degree of experimentation with marks to indicate accent, vowel length and aspiration. These early attempts at standardising the orthography of Maori were largely abandoned. One occasionally finds instances of double vowel use in the 1840s, but, at this stage of my research, it seems that the beginnings of macronisation are to be found in the following decade, the 1850s.

Sometimes the possible French and English sources are very similar (e.g., *encens*, *incense*), but because the word first appears in a French Catholic publication and because the concept is more Catholic than Protestant, it is likely that the source is French.

Many of these words have interesting histories which need to be explored. There is written evidence from the 1830s, for example, that the Maori in the far north of New Zealand were using the expression "*te iwi o Mareau/Mariao*" (the tribe or people of Marion) to refer to French people, as a result of the 1772 visit of the French explorer,

Figure 1

MAORI GAINWORD	FRENCH SOURCE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
enehehi	encens	incense
Haromona	Salomon	Solomon
himeporo	symbole	creed
hirihi	cilice	hair shirt
hou pa	haut pas	halpaca
huaro	oiseau	sparrow
humirita	humilité	humility
hura meta	serment	oath
konihihia	concile	council
kowehore	confesseur	confessor
kurahi	cuirasse	"cuirasse"
Mareau/Mariao	Marion [du Fresne]	Frenchman/ France
maretihi	martyre	martyr
miere	miel	honey
Moihi	Moïse	Moses
Pakate	Pâques	Easter
pihetiri	bissextile	leap year
remepi	limbes	limbo
rupi	loup	wolf
Wiwi/Wi-Wi	'oui oui'	French/France/ Frenchman

Marion du Fresne. When Marion and a number of his men were killed by the Maori in June that year, the French exacted a quick and overwhelming revenge. British settlers later took advantage of this expression to encourage the Maori to believe that the French were treacherous and belligerent.

*Miere* (honey) is a gain still being used today, at least in some tribal areas, alongside the gainword from English, *honi*. The earliest attempt to introduce honey bees into New Zealand seems to have been in 1839, when the aptly named Wesleyan missionary, Bumby, brought some to the Hokianga. The French Catholic missionaries did not lag far behind, however. In 1842, Father Petitjean was sent to Sydney to obtain money and supplies. He returned later the same year with a great variety of livestock and fowl—and some bees. So it is likely that the gain from the French *miel*, *miere*, made its appearance in New Zealand around 1842. Honey was a new concept in Polynesia. Gainwords for honey appear throughout the Pacific region, and they are remarkably similar. The word *meli*, or something very like it, is found in Hawaiian, Samoan, Tahitian, Rarotongan, Mangarevan and Tongan. Did the French Catholic missionaries, who were active throughout the Pacific from 1827 (the date of their arrival in Hawaii) onwards and who believed that instructing indigenous peoples in agriculture was advantageous to their spiritual work, have an important role in the

introduction of honey bees to Polynesia? The French word *miel* is similar to, and derives from, the Greek *meli*. It seems likely that, in translations from the Bible, Polynesian gainwords for *honey* generally came from the Greek, the language of the New Testament and a language known by the early missionary translators. *Meli* is found in Polynesian Bibles. But the Maori language is the exception. *Honi* is found in both Protestant and Catholic Maori Bibles in the nineteenth century. The spelling of *miere* (which appears in the 1871 edition of Williams's dictionary) indicates a French rather than a Greek origin. It must have come, therefore, from the bee-keeping of the French missionaries, not from their religious publications.

Gainwords sourced from Latin offer perhaps a slightly more fruitful field of enquiry than those from French alone, in that they are marginally more uniform in their common subject matter, i.e. religion and its attendant rules for living (and dying), *rites de passage*, social conventions and the like. This is understandable and expected given, as already pointed out, that the language of the Church, and more particularly of the Mass, was Latin. Here are some typical examples:

**Figure 2**

MAORI GAINWORD	LATIN SOURCE	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
ahere	angelus	angel
ahina	asinus	ass
awe	ave	hail
epikopo/pikopo	episcopus	bishop/Catholic
ewaherio/wangeriona	evangelium	gospel
hata/hato	sanctus	holy/saint
hereripa	scriba	scribe
keratia	gratia	grace
kohiria	collegium	college
korona	corona	crown (headpiece and rosary)
materina	matrina	godmother
miha	missa	mass
papa	papa	pope
patere	pater	Our Father
paterino	patrinus	godfather
Peato/Pehato	beatus	Blessed
perewahio	prefatio	preface
rehina	regina	queen
tiaporo	diabolus	devil
terinita	trinitas	trinity
upehe	vulpes	fox

From the beginning of their publication programme, the Catholics introduced their own versions of gainwords in distinct contrast to those introduced by the English missionaries. The Catholic missionaries' bilingualism in French and Latin ensured

that words from the religious texts they worked with and from were gained by the Maori language, even when they were fluent in English as well. This would seem to be the reason for French and Latin sourced gains, rather than a conscious intent to be different, or to set themselves and their religion apart from the English missionaries and their religion. The Catholics continued to use, for example, words like *hahi* (church), which the English had introduced.

One can safely assume that the Catholic missionaries used French as the medium of communication amongst themselves, and that their sermons were “thought” in French before being translated into Maori. A case may be made, therefore, that some gainwords regarded as having a Latin etymology may stem, in fact, from French. That case is strengthened by the close historical associations the two languages have, given that many French words stem from Latin and vary but slightly in their orthography. This throws an element of uncertainty into the task of assigning the source of some gainwords. However, research to date has tended to indicate that gainwords ending in *-io*, for example, have been gained from the Latin, mainly because of their more marked orthographic similarity. Further research may validate or invalidate this and other hypotheses, so the assignments of source given to gainwords in this chapter should be regarded as tentative and subject to further study.

While early translations of the Bible by English missionaries are sprinkled throughout with gains from the Greek and Hebrew, most of these have not survived

**Figure 3**

FRENCH/LATIN SOURCED	ENGLISH SOURCED	ENGLISH
ahina	ahi	ass
ahere	anahera	angel
epikopo/pikopo	pihopa	bishop
Haromona	Horomona	Solomon
Hehu Kerito	Ihu Karaiti	Jesus Christ
Heneriko	Henare/Henari/Henere	Henry
hereripa	karaipi	scribe
Himona	Haimona	Simon
kohiria	kareti	college
konihiria	kaunihera	council
korona	karauna	crown
Maria	Meri/Mere/Maraea	Mary
Moihi	Mohi	Moses
Papa	Popa	Pope
Petero	Pita	Peter
rehina	kuini	queen
rupi	wuruhi	wolf
tiaporo	rewera	devil
upehe	pokiha	fox

the passage of time, and have been replaced by Maori words and terms. Figure 3 gives a sample of some of the differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant gainwords which first appeared in print last century. Those gained from French and Latin were at a severe disadvantage, being in competition with words from the dominant colonising language, English.

The existence of two words for the same concept allowed each of them to take on its own connotations. So *pikopo*, originally referring to Bishop Pompallier, came to refer to all Catholic missionaries, distinguishing them from the people that the Maori had known as *mihinare* (missionaries), a term which now meant Church of England missionaries, while the Wesleyans were *Weteriana*. In fact, *pikopo* came to be applied to Catholic converts as well and so meant simply *Catholic*. A study of *tiaporo* and *rewera* (devil) might well turn up something similar.

A very interesting facet of some Catholic-sourced gainwords is the use of gender endings (which are not a feature of traditional Maori): *-o* for masculine, and *-a* for feminine. *Hato* (masculine) and *Hata* (feminine) both mean Saint, but the first was used with men's names and the second with women's. So one finds *Hato Petera* (Saint Peter) but *Hata Henowepa* (Saint Genevieve). As in French and Latin, the same word was used for *saint* and *holy*, giving, for instance, *Hata Maria Takakau* (Holy Virgin Mary) in Maori. These gender endings are also found in Christian names, *Werahiko* (Francis—masculine) contrasting with *Werahika* (Frances—feminine). In Figure 2, note also that the words for godfather and godmother, *paterino* and *materina* respectively, have these same gender endings.

This brief survey touches only lightly on but one small part of the fascinating and multi-tongued linguistic history of New Zealand. That story has yet to be told in full. However it can be seen that the story of language in this country owes, if not a lot, then something to French Catholic influence. That influence may now have melded gently into history, but we are nevertheless richer for it. So too is the Maori language.

### Note:

*Gainword* is a term I have coined to replace loan-word, borrowing and transliteration. A gainword is a word that has entered one language from another, foreign language, and has become part of that recipient language's vocabulary, for however brief a time. It normally undergoes orthographic and phonological changes in order to adapt to the requirements of the recipient language, the latter's vocabulary thereby *gaining* by the process.