William Colenso's Māori-English Lexicon

by

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Abstract

William Colenso, one of Victorian New Zealand's most accomplished polymaths, is remembered best as a printer, a defrocked missionary, botanist, and politician. Up till now, his role as a lexicographer has been largely neglected. His major biographies touch only briefly on his attempt to compile a Māori-English dictionary while Colenso himself spent 30 years on this project. His *Lexicon*, published the year before his death, is only the incomplete letter A of Māori to English and a handful of pages of English to Māori. The neglect by Colenso's biographers is a surprising omission given the length of time Colenso spent on his *Lexicon*, the amount of extant material that relates to it, and the richness of the *Lexicon* itself as a resource. This thesis asks what William Colenso's *Maori-English Lexicon* contribute to our understanding of Colenso's life, and about the history of language in New Zealand?

In chapter one, a brief outline of Colenso's roles as a missionary, a botanist, a school inspector and a politician establish important biographical context for considering his attempt to compile a *Lexicon*. The main resource drawn upon is the 30 years' worth of correspondence between Colenso and the New Zealand government relating to the *Lexicon*, which affords an overview of the project. The *Lexicon* itself is a rich resource. In chapter two, I have drawn on a methodology suggested by Ogilvie and Coleman in their paper Forensic Lexicography in order to interrogate the *Lexicon*. Lastly, in chapter three, themes and discourses found in the archive are considered.

Examining the *Lexicon* demonstrates how rich of a resource it is. The findings establish the wealth of information that the *Lexicon* can contribute to historical lexicography, and the history of linguistics in New Zealand. Colenso is revealed a 'splitter' in his lexicography, just as he was in his botany. He overwhelmingly drew on printed sources as citations when compiling his *Lexicon*, which raises questions about what 'authority' means when recording a language with an oral tradition.

Te reo Māori was a means for Colenso to access many aspects of te ao Māori. The *Lexicon* also reveals Colenso as a life-long language learner. The archive reveals Colenso as man deeply anxious about his professional standing. His insistence on what he referred to as fair and reasonable remuneration is an insistence on the worth of his knowledge.

This thesis argues that Colenso's *Lexicon* is a product of language contact and cultural exchange. And it is a window into Colenso's life as a man who learnt another language.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini

To Sydney Shep; who gave me this opportunity, and supported me throughout.

To Lydia Wevers; who guided me, and was very patient.

To Jessica La, Chelsea Torrance and Ethan McKenzie; who can commiserate.

To Mum and Dad; who are very proud.

And to my loving husband, Gareth; who made me think I could in the first place.

A different language is a different vision of life

Fredrico Fellini

I have found the work I undertook to execute to be far more difficult and tedious than I have anticipated

William Colenso

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A

MAORI-ENGLISH LEXICON:

BEING A

COMPREHENSIVE DICTIONARY

OF THE

NEW ZEALAND TONGUE;

INCLUDING

MYTHICAL, MYTHOLOGICAL, "TABOO" OR SACRED, GENEALOGICAL, PROVERBIAL, POETICAL, TROPOLOGICAL, SACERDOTAL, INCANTATORY, NATURAL-HISTORY, IDIOMATICAL, ABBREVIATED, TRIBAL, AND OTHER NAMES AND TERMS OF AND ALLUSIONS TO PERSONS, THINGS, ACTS, AND PLACES IN ANCIENT TIMES;

ALSO,

SHOWING THEIR AFFINITIES WITH COGNATE POLYNESIAN DIALECTS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES; WITH COPIOUS PURE MAORI EXAMPLES.

PART I.—MAORI-ENGLISH.

BY THE

Rev. W. COLENSO, F.R.S., and F.L.S.;

Member of Wellington Philosophical Society; Honorary Member and President, Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute (New Zealand Institute); of Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society; of Australasian Association for Advancement of Science; Honorary Member of Natural History Society, Santa Barbara, Cal.; &c., &c.

WELLINGTON.

BY AUTHORITY: JOHN MACKAY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

1898.

Introduction

In Richard Trench's *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*, a paper delivered to the London Philological Society in 1857, he writes that 'A Dictionary is a historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view...' (Trench 1860 p6). Dictionaries and grammars are distinctive texts because of their modes of organisation and content, and the ways in which they function to create language as an object of knowledge. They might make for dry reading but they arise from complex and dynamic situations.

Mr Colenso's A Maori-English Lexicon: being a comprehensive dictionary of the New Zealand tongue (1898) is an incomplete Māori-English dictionary by William Colenso (1811-1899), one of the most accomplished polymaths of Victorian New Zealand. The incomplete letter *A* is all that was published of the dictionary that was first proposed in 1861. In the preface, Colenso notes that his work has been independent from other te reo Māori dictionaries (ix).

If you are to look up 'dictionary' on maoridictionary.com you are given the following glosses

- Papakupu
- Tikinare
- Te Wiremu

(Moorfield 2015)

The Williams' Māori dictionary is an institution, synonymous with 'dictionary'. Unlike Colenso, Herbert W. Williams acknowledges many sources. However, in the preface to the 5th edition, Williams observes of Colenso's *Lexicon* that in spite 'the author lacked many of the qualities requisite for success as a lexicographer' (H. W. Williams 1957 ix).

In his obituary for William Colenso, Robert Coupland Harding, a friend and fellow-printer, remembers the *Lexicon* as 'His great work, and the great disappointment of his life.' (Evening Post 1899). Bagnall and Petersen's biography of William Colenso, *William Colenso His Life and Journeys*, describes Colenso as a printer, missionary, naturalist, explorer and politician. The biography runs to 448 pages of narrative but only 10 pages are devoted to Colenso as a lexicographer. Wells' biography of Colenso, *The Hungry Heart*, devotes only 2 pages to it. Colenso himself devoted 30 years of his life to the project of the *Māori Lexicon*.

Te reo Māori is the indigenous language of Aotearoa and belongs to the Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian languages which covers a large geographical area spreading from Madagascar in the West to Rapanui in the East, and from Hawai'i in the North to New Zealand in the South. Māori is most closely related to the languages of the Cook Islands and of the Society Islands (Harlow 2007). Before the arrival of Europeans in Aotearoa, printed or manuscript texts did not exist. Māori had a highly-developed and thriving oral culture which encompassed extensive corpora of genealogical, historical and mythological oral literature. The spoken word was kōrero tuku iho, a symbol of thought and the means by which 'reliable information and knowledge were expressed' (Haami 2004 15). While meaningful inscribed symbols were known to Māori in forms such as moko, the Kai Tahu cave drawings, and pictograms (Haami 2004), Māori encountered the written word with the first European ships to arrive in Aotearoa (Jones and Jenkins 2011). Those Europeans who encountered te reo Māori before 1815 and who tried to transcribe what they heard had to rely on their own interpretations. Word lists and vocabularies circulated in manuscript and in print (Smyth 1946 14-26). Small communities of European settlers spoke English amongst themselves, but were obliged to learn te reo Māori.

This thesis primarily draws on the archived correspondence held at Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga and the 1898 printed version of the *Lexicon*; the most complete in print. Colenso began work his dictionary in 1864. He worked at the project until the first volume, the incomplete letter A, was published in 1898. He died in 1899. Colenso's *A Maori-English Lexicon: Being a Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand Tongue Part 1 A* is a slim volume. Its modest size is a surprising contrast when compared with the 30 years' worth of extant correspondence which relates to it.

Colenso was a missionary-printer for the Church Missionary Society. Christian missionaries the world over, of all denominations, were responsible for describing and recording myriad languages, using those to translate the Bible and to proselytize the Christian faith. Colenso was an active member of New Zealand's scientific community with a keen drive to record what he encountered. He was also a School Inspector and wished to encourage Māori to learn the English language. For some of his career, he was a politician. He understood that governing two distinct language communities required translation, interpretation and tools which would enable this.

There is a wealth of writing which demonstrates how lexicography and linguistic descriptions were tied to the goals of imperialism. Mackenzie (1990) defined imperialism as 'a complex ideology which had widespread, cultural, intellectual and technical expressions' (vii). Papers such as *Death God and*

Linguistics, *Colonizing Language?* and *Missions and the Colonization of African Languages* demonstrate how linguistic description and lexicography were an intellectual expression of the imperial ideology.

Colenso was both a man of god and a man of science. He was an evangelical Anglican missionary, and passionate amateur naturalist who weighed in on ethnological debates. He worked as a missionary-printer until he was defrocked, after which he increasingly turned to scientific writing. In her paper *Death, God and Linguistics* (2009) Carey argues that linguistic sources compiled by missionaries provide 'important evidence' and 'a unique insight' (p161) into the cultural exchanges that occurred between missionaries and indigenous cultures during the nineteenth century. Carey demonstrates the ways in which the history of Christian missions is 'inextricably bound up with the history of linguistics' (p163). Although Carey focuses her paper on linguistic texts whose purpose was evangelisation, she recognises the debate about the extent to which missionary linguistics specifically for scientific purposes 'facilitated the hegemonic establishment of the dominant European languages' (p164). She describes how Lancelot Threkeld, of the London Missionary Society, 'saw his linguistic work as both a religious duty and a contribution to science' (p166) and how when James Günther, an Anglican clergyman, 'like other missionaries faced with disappointing results from their evangelical work' compensated for this by 'concentrating more and more on his language writing … which included the preparation of a Grammar' (p172).

Jim Endersby's *Imperial Nature* (2008) outlines the developing world of nineteenth century British science. Through a biography of J.D. Hooker, Endersby explores the relationship of the metropolis to the periphery, of Britain to British colonies, and its impact on science. He shows how science was transformed from passionate amateurs to professionals paid by governments. In *The Science of Empire* (1996) Barber explores the relationship between scientific knowledge and colonial rule in India. He describes how the efforts of those on the periphery of Empire fuelled scientific progress in the metropolis. In *Missions and the Colonization of African Languages* (1983), Fabian observes the relations between 'imperialist expansion, Christian evangelization, and the development of modern linguistics and anthropology' (p169).

Judith T. Irvine (1993) in her paper *Mastering African Languages* observes how by the end of the nineteenth century 'European scholars had acquired a firm belief in the scientific basis of linguistics'. She outlines how in the nineteenth century ideas about language were linked to ideas about human history. The nineteenth century also saw the 'emergence of linguistics and anthropology as academic disciplines' (p27). She analyses the Wolof grammar produced by Jean Dard. Dard's grammar was intended to

mediate between Europeans and Africans; 'it teaches Europeans to speak Wolof ; it is an aid for teaching French to Wolof-speakers; and, especially, it is a tool for teaching Wolof literacy to Wolof-speakers, as well as encouraging an awareness of the logical organization of their own language' (p32). Dard's grammar relied on classification and borrowed directly from French grammars (p 34). Grammars from colonial outposts circulated back to the metropolis. Irvine describes how from the mid 1800's scholars in the metropolis turned increasingly towards a conception of language 'as an organic system, reflecting the particular history of a people' (p36). Irvine describes how linguistic texts were being 'produced published and read in two public arenas –metropolitan and colonial' (p39). Missionary texts circulated within the colony while those ''scientific' texts speak to a metropolitan audience' (p40). How a language such as Wolof was represented depended on, amongst other things 'the relationship to metropolitan concerns … and the structure of social networks in which the work's writer and audience participated' (p41).

William Colenso was a politician for a colonial administration governing two distinct language communities. In *Colonizing Language?* (1997), Petersen reads two Gikuyu dictionaries, a language spoken in central Kenya, as historic texts (p257). He outlines the ways that 'missionaries' dictionaries were colonial texts, and as such embodied and represented the cultural and political power of British imperialism' (p258). Petersen describes how lexicography was intimately bound up in 'the political and social process' of Gikuyuland and facilitated the 'government's efforts to legitimate and systematize its rule in the region' (p261).

The *Lexicon* draws on Western academic traditions which prioritises print over the spoken word. When these traditions encounter a language which is part of a complex oral tradition, the question of authority inevitably arises. In *Death of the Author, The Birth of the Lexicographer*, Baider outlines how dictionaries 'construct, perpetuate and legitimate authority' (69) through the 'sanctification of some authors and the relegation to near oblivion of others' (67). Baider asks 'who is an authority' (76), and notes how 'citation patterns' contribute to the 'construction and perpetuation of who is an authority' (79).

I have drawn heavily on the biography of Colenso by A. G. Bagnall and G. C. Petersen, published in 1948. It provides a thorough account of Colenso's life and provides many passages from Colenso's diaries and letters. In the introduction to the re-issued volume, Ian St George observes that while a new biography might be in order, it would take a massive scholarly undertaking to replace Bagnall and Petersen However, Bagnall and Petersen do not spend much time on Colenso's *Lexicon*; A choice which seems

unusual given the large volume of extant material that relates to it. I have also drawn on Peter Wells' *The Hungry Heart* which Morris Matthews (2014) notes 'critically revisited Colenso's life and work'.

This thesis asks what William Colenso's *Maori-English Lexicon* contributes to our understanding of Colenso's life, and about the history of language in New Zealand. The lack of critical studies on linguistic description or the compilation of dictionaries of te reo Māori, and the comparative under-representation of this period of Colenso's life has drawn me to explore his *Lexicon*.

Chapter One outlines a number of pertinent facets of Colenso's life, and the archive and provides relevant context. The archive is described, offering an impression of the project which spanned 30 years.

Chapter Two then turns to the content of *Lexicon* itself. Using a methodology suggested by Coleman and Ogilvie in their paper *Forensic Dictionary Analysis* (2009), chapter two identifies salient, countable features and produces a statistical reading of Colenso's *Lexicon*.

In Chapter Three distinct themes are identified and discussed. These are the preservation of te reo Māori, linguistic purity, the colour perception debate, the formal study of te reo Māori, Colenso's professional standing, and remuneration, Colenso's network and his personal connection to te reo Māori. Colenso saw the *Lexicon* as a means of preserving a dying language for scientific posterity and was also concerned with the purity of the language that he so admired. He thought that, through contact with the English language, te reo Māori had become contaminated and was degraded. Colenso wanted to preserve te reo Māori, and his knowledge of it allowed him to make academic arguments. He notably, weighed in on the 'colour perception debate'. Colenso drew on te reo Māori as evidence for ethnological debate, and recognised the importance of language for theorising about human history. The archival record reveals the *Lexicon* as a part of the history of formal study of Māori language and culture. By undertaking the *Lexicon* would Colenso hoped to find professional standing in the scientific community. Colenso's negotiations over payment reveal his anxieties about the worth of his work. Colenso's professional network shaped the outcome of the *Lexicon*. Throughout the archival record, and indeed, throughout many of his writings, Colenso's regard for te reo Māori is apparent. He described the language as being remarkable for its 'euphony, simplicity, brevity, clearness, and copiousness' and its 'great beauty and power of expression' (Colenso 1868 p45).

Chapter One; Colenso and the Archive

Biographical Detail

There are several facets of Colenso's life that are important to consider in relation to the *Lexicon*. He was employed by the Church Missionary Society as a missionary-printer and later as a deacon. He printed translations of religious texts and the beginning of William Williams' *Dictionary and Grammar* (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 52). Colenso was a naturalist. He involved himself in New Zealand's scientific community and had an affection for 'formal knowledge' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 395). He wrote papers on botany, history and ethnography (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 421). He was appointed Provincial Inspector of Schools (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 409), and encouraged Māori children to learn the English language (Morris Matthews 2014 237) (Colenso 17 Dec 1862). Colenso was a politician, albeit, not a successful one (Mackay 2010). He nevertheless recognised that there was a lack of skilled translators working in the government (Moon 2016 184).

Image 1; William Colenso

(Unknown Photographer 1860)

Colenso the Missionary Printer

In 1803, Thomas Astle wrote that 'The noblest acquisition of mankind is SPEECH, and the most useful art is WRITING. The first, eminently distinguishes MAN from the brute creation; the second, from uncivilised savages' (Astle 1803 1). His statement reflects the cultural status that writing held for Europeans in the nineteenth century (Moon 2016 39-40). In the nineteenth century, many linguists were missionaries and as Errington (2008) observes, 'missionaries count as the group which has produced the single largest body of knowledge about linguistic diversity around the world' (13). European missionaries the world over did not learn, record and describe the languages that they encountered simply because they had encountered them. Rather, they did so because these practices were deeply embedded in a broader goal of religious conversion and imperial expansion (Fabian 1983 169; Gilmour 2006 146; Lineham 1992). Literacy and linguistics were inextricably bound to 'textual traditions which lent legitimacy to colonialism' (Errington 2008 12). Religion was the tool for the civilising mission, and 'civilising' indigenous cultures was the pretext for imperial expansion. The first te reo Māori grammars and dictionaries were produced by Pākehā missionaries and clergy with Māori sometimes acting as advisors (Maslen, Griffith, and Harvey 1997 21; Moon 2016 p73; Ballara 2010; Binney 2017).

A number of Māori dictionaries and grammars were already in existence at the time that Colenso proposed compiling the *Māori-English Lexicon* in 1862. A number of others were published during the period in which Colenso was working on the *Lexicon*. Notable amongst these are

1815	A Korao no New ZealandT	T. Kendall
1820	A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand	S. Lee & T. Kendall
1837	Maori Grammar	W. Williams
1844	A Dictionary of the Maori Language	W. Williams
1842	A Grammar of the English Language	R. Maunsell
1849	Petite Collection de Mots Maoris	J. Pompallier
1862	First Lessons in the Maori Language: with a Short Vocabulary	W L Williams
1870	Maori and English Dictionary	R. Taylor
1872	Willie's First English Book	W. Colenso
1882	Mr Colenso's Maori-English Lexicon (Specimen of.)	W. Colenso

1885	New and Complete Manual of Maori Conversation	SS. Aubert
1891	The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary	E. Tregear
1898	Mr Colenso's Maori-English Lexicon; specimen of ('A')	W. Colenso

It was important to early missionaries in New Zealand that the scriptures be available to Māori in their own language. As Lachy Paterson (2014) has noted, 'if Māori were able to read the bible in their own language, then it would be easier to convert them to Christianity' (1). Missionaries first had to learn the language, and then develop a system for writing it down. This then made it possible to teach Māori to read, and to translate and print the scriptures.

William Colenso had trained as a printer from the age of 15. From a young age he had a 'decided interest in religious matters' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 17). From 1833 William Colenso began work for Richard Watts and Son in London. Richard Watts and Son were the printers for both the Foreign Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) (Mackay 2010). The Church Missionary Society is an evangelical organisation. Their first missionaries arrived in New Zealand in 1814. Missionaries urged the CMS to set up a printing press in New Zealand. There was a great demand for missionary literature translated by those who were already acquainted with te reo Māori (Lineham 2017). The dual-position of missionary-printer was offered to Colenso. He accepted the role as a chance to ply his trade in service to his God (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 26). His dual-position as missionary-printer was explicitly tied to the production of translated texts for the purpose of conversion in te reo Māori. Colenso arrived in Paihia, New Zealand in December 1834 and immediately took up his role as printer for the Church Missionary Society (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 39; Mackay 2010).

Missionaries who wished to evangelise needed first to learn te reo Māori. Although he had the opportunity to do so Colenso did not start studying te reo Māori on the voyage over. He instead began learning the language after arriving in New Zealand in 1834 at the age of 23. He wrote in 1835, 5 months after his arrival 'I am here,—learning language' (Colenso 1 April 1835), and 'This week employed as usual, endeavouring to gain the Language, &c. Oh! my unfitness!' (Colenso 11 April 1835). Gaining fluency in te reo was one of Colenso's 'greatest desires' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 45). Within 6 months Colenso found he could communicate 'competently' (46) in te reo and over the course of his lifetime he would become highly proficient (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 46).

The main goal of establishing a press in New Zealand was to print the New Testament in Māori. From his earliest days in New Zealand, Colenso printed religious texts translated into te reo Māori by CMS

missionaries. A 16 page translation by William Williams of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, *Ko nga Pukapuka o Paora te Apotoro ki te Hunga o Epeha, o Piripai*, was printed on the 17 February 1835 and was the first pamphlet printed in New Zealand (H. W. Williams 2012 5). In December that same year a thousand copies of the Gospel of St Luke, *Ko te Rongo Pai i tuhituhia e Ruka*, were printed (H. W. Williams 2012 5). The translation was done by William Williams and was used for the Māori New Testament (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 44). *Ko te Kawenata Hou*, the New Testament, was printed in 1837 and was translated by the Rev. Williams, W. G. Puckey and J. Shepherd (H. W. Williams 2012 6). During the same year, Colenso printed what was the beginning of Williams' *Grammar and Dictionary* (H. W. Williams 2012 7).

Literacy and language learning was an important aspect of missionary work. Missionaries, more so than any other group of settlers in New Zealand were instrumental in developing an orthography for te reo Māori (Lineham 1992). Lineham argues that 'translation lies at the heart of their purposes' (Lineham 1992 169). Thus, proselytising was entirely dependent on language learning. For early missionaries, the printed word was essential for bringing Christianity to Māori (Haami 2004 p17). The spread of literacy was synonymous with the spread of Christianity. In light of the central importance of translation to the CMS, language learning aids and reference works such as dictionaries and grammars were in all likelihood almost as important as their sacred texts.

Colenso was ordained as a deacon in 1844. He was 'convinced that he was specially fitted to perform the work of a travelling missionary' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 139). It was an ambition that had been 'long deferred but still hoped for' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 178). Yet, Colenso 'despaired' (180) of ever being admitted into the priestly orders. It had been made clear to Colenso that those who were unable to meet the same qualifications in Hebrew, Latin and Greek needed for priestly orders in England were ineligible to be admitted in New Zealand. Colenso did not believe that such qualifications were necessary in New Zealand; 'firmly convinced' that ministers who did not know reo Māori were 'useless' (180). His conviction that clergy should be fluent in te reo Māori demonstrates the centrality of language to his religious beliefs and practices.

Colenso the Naturalist

Bagnall and Petersen note that within a few years of his arrival in New Zealand, Colenso was increasingly unfulfilled by his role as printer for the Church Missionary Society (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 59). He was increasingly interested in and busied by his natural history work (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 75). In Cornwall, although he was unlikely to have had any formal scientific training, Colenso had been a member of the local Natural History Society. In 1838, Colenso sent an orchid specimen to Alan Cunningham (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 74); the first recorded discovery by Colenso. In 1842 Colenso's first scientific paper was published; *An account of some enormous fossil bones, of an unknown species of the Class Aves, lately discovered in New Zealand* printed in the Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science (Colenso 1846; Thode 2009 232). His paper on the moa was narrowly beaten to the post by Sir Richard Owen (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 143). He published 75 articles in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute between 1877 and 1899 ('Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961' 2017). At the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute he arranged meetings, gave lectures, and donated specimens (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 418).

Colenso and his peers lacked many of the resources available to those living in the metropolitan centres of Britain and Europe (Endersby 2008 79), nonetheless, colonial naturalists managed to exploit their 'advantage of position' and access to rare specimens (Thode 2009 226). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012 64) highlights the centrality of competitive collecting which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Imperialism underpinned and facilitated a search for new knowledge. Colenso and his peers 'discovered' and collected natural resources such as flora and fauna. They also collected other resources such as indigenous knowledge. Colenso's collecting extended beyond the botanical to kupu Māori. These were presented as 'new discoveries' made by, and contributing to, Western science, and their own professional status. Colenso proposed the *Lexicon* within a context that exploited mātauranga Māori, commoditising it and representing it as belonging to the body of scientific and cultural knowledge of the West (Smith 2012 64; Brockway 1979). Colenso's contributions had already been acknowledged as an important part of scientific debate in New Zealand and, undoubtedly, the *Lexicon* would have been viewed as another important project that would have benefitted the scientific community at large.

Colenso the School Inspector

William Colenso served as Inspector of Schools in 1861-2, and then again in 1872 to 1877. Colenso took 'seriously' (Morris Matthews 2014 237) his role as Inspector of Schools, stressing the need for an 'adequate supply of proper books and School materials' (Colenso 1873) to all schools. Morris Matthews's analysis of *Willie's First English Book* (1872), one of New Zealand's first textbooks, concludes that it was written specifically to promote English literacy amongst Māori (Morris Matthews 2014 237). It was at the end of his first term as Inspector of Schools that Colenso first proposed the *Lexicon*.

By the 1830s there was British Government support for mission schools. The 1847 Education Ordinance introduced by Governor George Grey affirmed the English language as the language of instruction (Moon 2016 127; Calman 2012). The latter half of the nineteenth century saw te reo Māori being actively marginalised through the state-funded schools. The 1867 Native Schools Act established a national system of primary schools in Māori communities where English was the only medium of instruction. The language policy was taken to the extreme with children punished for speaking te reo Māori within the schools. After the abolition of Provincial Governments in 1875, the Central Government established a system of state funded schools in 1877 where once again, the English language was prioritised through being the language of instruction (King 2003 234; Moon 2016 161; Calman 2012).

With the English language becoming firmly embedded as the language of education in New Zealand and te reo Māori being actively marginalised, there was a demand for bilingual texts to facilitate Māori children learning English. Text books such as *A spelling book for the use of Maori children: with easy and familiar reading lessons in the English language* (Wellington, Printed by R. Stokes, at the 'Spectator' Office, 1852) and Colenso's *Willie's First English Book: written by order of the government* (Wellington : Government Printer, 1872) met this demand (McGeorge 1966 1-7). Colenso acknowledged the 'great desirability (by the government) of the young Maories speedily attaining to the correct knowledge of the English tongue' (Colenso 17 Dec 1862) and put forward his proposal for a Māori-English dictionary (and a text book that would become *Willie's First English Book*) in order to encourage this.

Colenso the Politician

Colenso was suspended as a Deacon in 1852. After Colenso's suspension, he apparently made his living from trading and land sales before accepting a nomination for a seat in Parliament in 1861 (Mackay 2010). He was, however, a failure as a politician; he lacked tact and his 'bland self-righteousness' and feelings of 'personal injury and quick temper' led him to make 'pseudo-moral judgements' about his peers (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 358) and the stands he took were 'often unclear to all but himself' (Mackay 2010). Nevertheless, Colenso was certainly aware of the significance of providing linguistic knowledge to colonial administrators (Moon 2016 148).

As Moon (2016) illustrates, Colenso recognized a lack of skilled translators working for the government which resulted in their reo Māori documents containing ungrammatical constructions, unfamiliar loan words and 'convoluted legal phrases in English translated more or less literally with no attention to their meaning in te reo' (184). Translation was important to communicating with Māori communities whose main or only language was te reo Māori, however, as Moon (2016) identifies, the often uncoordinated and poor efforts on the part of the Government to translate select papers into te reo Māori 'in no way amounted to support of the language' (184). Nevertheless, translation was essential and consequently bilingual reference works were valuable tools to the administration.

From 1840 both te reo Māori and the English language were used by the Government in communicating with Māori communities. As New Zealand's demographics shifted the proportionate role and need for the reo Māori in governing diminished. The Government enacted policies that undermined te reo Māori, prioritised the English language, and weakened New Zealand's status as a bilingual country. They nonetheless still employed translators to ensure that monolingual Māori speakers were able to understand and be understood. Language in New Zealand was never politically neutral (Moon 2016 167). Despite its efforts to consolidate the English language as the language of the state, te reo Māori was employed by the state to further its causes amongst Māori. *The Maori Messenger – Te Karere Maori*, the Government sponsored bilingual newspaper, was one of the most substantial translation initiatives by the Government in 1860's, then, after years of a somewhat ad hoc approach to translation, the Government addressed the need for consistency in its translation policy. In 1894, a standing order required that

> Speeches addressed to the House by His Excellency the Governor, and Bills introduced into the House specially affecting the Maoris, are translated and printed in the Maori tongue for the information of Her Majesty's subjects of that race. …Mr. Speaker will make a selection of such

> sessional papers as may appear to him of the greatest interest to the Native race generally, and have them translated and printed. ... When the Government lays papers on the Table of the House such of them as may be considered of most interest to the Maoris should, unless inconvenient delay result, be accompanied by a translation in the Native language.
>
> ('AJHR 1894 Session I H-11' 1894 17)

Since the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand, English and Māori interpreters and translators were highly regarded. The use of te reo Māori in Parliament had been a contested issue since the 1840's. Even though no legislation had been printed in Māori until 1858 interpreters and translators were in demand in government offices (Derby 2014). By 1880, the Government employed three interpreter-translators who interpreted the speeches of Māori MPs and translated government documents in to te reo. The *Lexicon* could have served the needs of a colonial administration governing two distinct language communities.

The Archive

The State of the Archive

This thesis focuses primarily on as the papers held by Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga relating to the *Lexicon.* The dates range from 1862 to 1904. The correspondence is made up largely of letters from Colenso to various people in their capacity as Native Minister including; William Fox, Walter Mantell, William Rolleston, Donald McLean, John Balance, and Richard Seddon. There are many letters from Colenso to the long serving Undersecretary to the Native Thomas W Lewis as well as internal memos, and drafts of letters to Colenso. The archive also includes letters from others such as Arthur Atkinson and John Davies Ormond.

Image 2; 30 years' worth of correspondence (St George 2016)

The records held at Archives New Zealand are a rich source of information about Colenso's *Lexicon*. They provide insight into how Colenso presented the project to the Government, and how he dealt with deadlines, criticism, delays, and requests. The archive, although rich in some respects, is lacking in others. Although Colenso often wrote heatedly (1885 30 May) his personal account of the project is

lacking. Similarly lacking is an account of his working practices. The archive contains virtually no mention of Colenso's methods of working.

The *Lexicon* exists in several states of completion and in several formats. Colenso's *Lexicon* appears as both manuscript and printed texts.

- ca.1836 – 1886 MSS (photocopies) Word lists, language notes, manuscript of *Willie's first English book : written for young Maoris who can read their own Maori tongue, and who wish to learn the English language,* the originals are held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney
- 1880 *Mr Colenso's English-Maori Lexicon (Specimen of.) Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency. A Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand Tongue*, 3 pages, printed by George Didsbury, issued in the Appendices to the Journals of House of Representatives
- 1882 *Mr Colenso's Maori-English Lexicon (Specimen of.) Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency. A Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand Tongue*, 20 pages, printed by George Didsbury, issued in the Appendices to the Journals of House of Representatives, containing entries for the letter A, and a small number of entries for the letters W, U and T
- 1882, Manuscript, *New Zealand. Mr Colenso's Māori-English Lexicon (specimen of)*, held at MTG Hawkes Bay, 250 pages, from 'A' to 'Angutu'
- 1880, 1882, Printer's proofs held at National Library
- 1898 *A Maori-English Lexicon being a Comprehensive of the New Zealand Tongue Part I, 111 pages and including 11 pages of An English-Maori Lexicon being a Comprehensive of the New Zealand Tongue Part II, printed by John Mackay*, the only part of Colenso's dictionary commissioned in 1865 to be published, containing entries for letter A (Maori-English) and a few examples of English-Maori.

The manuscript photocopies held at the National Library Te Puna Mātauranga o New Zealand were photocopied in 1970 from the originals held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. They consist of approximately 100 pages of language notes, drafts of *Willie's first English book*, and a copy of the 1882 *Specimen of Work by way of prospectus; A Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand tongue*.

The language notes contain a number of word lists with the headwords underlined and their meanings and examples of usage listed beside. Some are lists of kupu Māori and others of English words. There is

a list of the maramataka (months), and of the Māori and scientific names of different birds. The wordlists are the closest indication available of Colenso's working methods.

The 1882 *Lexicon (Specimen of.)* is notable for *not* using breve or tohutō. This version instead uses the double vowel, e.g.

> 'He whakatakariri noku, moona, I haere tona ingoa mohio, a tukua ana e ia tona kaha ki raro'
>
> 1882, 4

> 'He whakatariri nōku, mōna, i haere tōna ingoa mohio, a tukua ana e ia tōna kaha ki raro'
>
> 1898, 2

The 1898 *Maori-English Lexicon* is the most complete, and has the most descriptive information. For example, in the list of 'grammatical features' listed at the start of the *Lexicon* the 1898 Mackay version includes passive verbs, while the 1882 Didsbury specimen does not. Similarly. The 1898 Mackay includes a list of abbreviations used throughout the work which include 'Intens; Intensitive, Emph; Emphatic & Euph: Euphemisim' which are not used in the 1882 Didsbury specimen

Summary of the Archive

In his obituary for Colenso, R. Coupland Harding, called the *Lexicon* 'His great work, and the great disappointment of his life.' (*Evening Post* 1899). The great work, and ultimately the great disappointment of Colenso's life was first noted in a resolution by the House of Representatives in 1861 which stated that when the finances of the Colony would permit it, a sum of money should be devoted to the compiling of a 'standard library dictionary or lexicon of the Māori language' (Legislative Council and House of Representatives 1886 578). Colenso raised the point again in 1862 asking that the resolution be acted upon, Colenso expressed his belief that the House 'should do something to save a record of the Polynesian language – of the New Zealand dialect – while it could be saved' and he asked what else could 'lead on the aspiring Maori student seeking to become acquainted with the English language – than a good Maori-English Lexicon?'. He further noted that such a text would act as a 'most efficient auxiliary in Sir George Grey's scheme of Native Policy' and informed the Colonial Treasurer that he 'would very gladly offer him his ideas on the subject' (Legislative Council and House of Representatives 1886 578).

Colenso, who was working as Provincial Inspector of Schools (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 409), wrote to Dillon Bell, Native Minister from 1861 to 1862 (Dalziel 1990) to offer his opinion that what 'is wanting – or absolutely necessary – in order to ensure a useful knowledge of the English language' for Māori was 'proper Elementary Books' (Colenso 17 Dec 1862).

The next year William Fox had taken up the position of Native Minister (Sinclair and Dalziel 1990), and Colenso wrote again on the subject of the *Māori Lexicon* and submitted for consideration that he 'be appointed forthwith to execute this work'. Colenso believed that 'health, habit, freedom from occupation, previous study, some acquaintance with the dialects of New Zealand and also with the cognate Polynesian Dialects, and a hearty desire for the work' were essential qualities. And that 'All these qualifications, I trust, I, in some degree, possess...' It was a project that Colenso had 'had in view for several years' and would be 'truly an opus magnum' (Colenso 17 December 1863).

At the start of 1864, Charles Knight was asked to be as good as to 'reduce the substance of Mr Colenso's letter ... into an official arrangement, to prepare a dictionary of limited character & elementary school books?' (Fox January 1864). Charles Knight was a respected public servant and, like Colenso, a long-time correspondent of J D Hooker's (Galloway 1990). Knight successfully ushered a resolution through the House of Representatives a resolution that resulted in a grant for £500 for the publication of what would

become the *Handbook of the New Zealand Flora* by J.D. Hooker (Galloway 1998 31). Knight wrote to Colenso to inform him that

> that the government request him to undertake the work of preparing for the press a Vocabulary of the Maori Language in two parts – 'Maori English' and 'English Maori' and also three progressive English-Maori Lesson Books for Maori children the whole is to be completed by the first of January 1866 for which the government undertake to pay him £300 on the satisfactory completion of the works
>
> (Knight 11 Jan 1864).

Colenso agreed to have the work satisfactorily completed by the 1st of January 1866 (Colenso 26 January 1864).

By April 1865, confusion had arisen as to the nature of the work that Colenso was engaged on. Colenso had received a letter from Walter Mantell in January of 1865 informing him that he Government wished him to continue with the *Lexicon* 'as previously sanctioned' (Mantell 11 Jan 1865). After a conversation with William Fitzherbert, the colonial treasurer in the Weld ministry (Hamer 1990), Colenso wrote that in regard to Mantell's letter he 'could not but understand it as referring to *the* Maori Lexicon - the greater work' and that 'the term 'vocabulary' is very far from being synonymous with 'dictionary' or 'lexicon''(Colenso 27 April 1865). The 'vocabulary' was cast off so that Colenso could pursue his 'opus magnum'. Colenso did very much believe that he was engaged on 'the greater work', he wrote of how he had

> remitted £50 to England to purchase some 18 or 20 suitable books, ruled paper etc but I also informed my English relations and friends who had been long expecting my return, that the die was cast and I was a New Zr. probably for life - through my having obtained this appointment of preparing the Maori library Lex., - on which my heart had been (as several of them knew, and Dr Hooker especially) long set. I also wrote everywhere I could throughout all Polynesia to get every local published thing of the many P. dialects: - and now!!
>
> (Colenso 28 April 1865).

Having established that Colenso believed he was engaged on the 'greater work', not a 'mere vocabulary', a memo in the archive dated 19 June 1865 asked that Colenso be requested to 'forward a

plan or prospectus of the work proposed' (memo 19 June 1865). Colenso laid out a vague plan for a large project;

> The plan or prospectus is simply a Maori=English and English=Maori Library Lexicon to contain every known word in the Maori tongue with clear unquestionable examples of pure Maori usage, and with copious references (as far as known) to the principal Polynesian Dialects to be completed in say two volumes ... the 'time' required for the whole work - to do it satisfactorily - cannot well be estimated at less than 7 years
>
> (Colenso 05 Jul 1865).

The *Lexicon* was not Colenso's only occupation. During this time Colenso was also engaged on work as a Commissioner for the Dunedin Exhibition, and contributed two essays, one on botany, and the other titled *On Maori Races of New Zealand* (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 397-400).

Colenso's plan raised doubts. An unsigned letter dated 18 August 1865 wondered if

> the services of our own best Maori scholars could be united? Could not Archdeacon Maunsell, W Puckey and others undertake parts of the work and their joint labours be compiled by W Colenso?

Another letter dated 24 October 1865 pointed out that 'Archdeacon L Williams of Poverty Bay is ... Engaged in compiling a Dictionary without being paid for it. Wm Colenso has been receiving at the rate of £120 per annum for some time past'. An opinion piece anonymously penned under the nom de plume 'Z.' in the *Hawkes Bay Herald* on the 31st October 1865, which Bagnall and Petersen attribute to J.D Ormond (1948 391) also expressed doubts, stating that

> there is little doubt, if such a work be required, to record a language which in a few years will be extinct, the work might be quite as well (better?) performed for a tenth of the part of the sum voted, merely by inducing one of the leading missionaries and maori [sic] scholars, such as Bishop Williams or Archdeacon Maunsell, to compile the work ...
>
> (Z. 1865).

Colenso's plan did find some support, however. Arthur Atkinson, who had also attempted to compile a dictionary of the reo Māori (Porter 2017), wrote that 'National duties are somewhat intangible and

difficult to define and it might be said that it is the duty of the colony to preserve as full and accurate record of the Maori language as possible - now while it may still be done' (Atkinson 23 Aug 1865).

The government accepted Colenso's plan and a resolution of the house in 1865 stated that 'the Maori English Lexicon be forthwith commenced' (Legislative Council and House of Representatives 1884). Colenso wrote that the first part of his more ambitious work, a Māori-English dictionary of the more 'common and useful' kupu would be ready by the 31st of December 1868, with its reverse, the English-Māori, ready by the 31st of December 1870. The second part of his work, both the Māori-English and English-Māori, would contain 'the peculiar, local, half-obsolete and less used words' and would be ready for publication in 1872 or 'thereabouts' (Colenso 29 Jan 1866)

Having missed his initial deadline of the first of January 1866 as set out in the arrangement by Knight, Colenso was called upon to 'at once to furnish an explanation' (Russell 24 Mar 1866). Colenso claimed that he had received an extension to the time allowed him and that his deadline was in fact *June* of 1866 (Colenso 28 Mar 1866). James Richmond, Minister of Native Affairs from August 1866 to June 1869 (Porter and Oliver 1990), informed Colenso that there was no record of any such agreement being made (Richmond April 1866). In June 1866, Colenso sent through two progressive English Māori lesson books. This was not what was agreed to in 1864. Colenso agreed (Colenso 26 Jan 1864) to complete three lesson books and a vocabulary in two parts (Knight 11 Jan 1864). W. Gilbert Puckey, a missionary and highly regarded Māori scholar (Scholefield 1940), wrote to William Rolleston, a politician and educationalist (Gardner 1990), and informed him that he had 'glanced through Mr Colenso's MSS and find a good many inaccuracies in them.' Rolleston, in turn, was instructed to write to Colenso and inform him that

> The Government … cannot be otherwise than disappointed and dissatisfied with the delay which has taken place in carrying out the agreement as originally stated.
>
> (Rolleston 31 Jul 1866)

Colenso had missed his deadline substantially, and what he had produced was of a poorer quality than was expected. In reply, Colenso sent along a certified note from his doctor to confirm he had 'been suffering from an abscess on his forefinger and thus unable to work' (Hutchings 14 Aug 1866).

The government was, however, clear that Colenso had 'violated' the agreement and that the quality of the manuscripts was disappointing (Richmond 22 Mar 1867). An internal memo shows that instructions were issued to not fill Colenso's claim for £150 (29 Mar 1867). Undeterred, Colenso apparently wrote to

Sir George Grey who responded that he would write 'expressing a strong wish to have the pleasure of seeing the Maori-English Lexicon completed' (Grey 15 Feb 1868). It is unclear whether intercession had any effect (Bagnall and Petersen 1948). Colenso later requested that he be 'allowed and encouraged' (Colenso 08 May 1867) to finish the work. But before agreeing to 'allow and encourage' Colenso to continue, Richmond wrote to John Davies Ormond stating that the government were 'desirous of obtaining a report upon the progress of the Maori Dictionary' (1867). Ormond's report noted that he believed '… the whole heart of Wm Colenso is in the work' (Ormond 13 May 1868). A further report from Edward William Stafford noted that he had visited Colenso and had

> seen his work which is clear and methodical but is on a scale and plan exceeding and in some respects besides the practical wants of the Colony whilst it falls short of the idea of a Lexicon.
>
> (Stafford 29 Jun 1868)

Having received reports on Colenso's progress, Richmond proposed that Colenso continue to work but suggested that the work did not need excessive examples nor secondary meanings and should have immediate and practical use. He suggested that

> the full collection of Maori words should be prepared as fast as possible for the press so that leaving to philologists at some future time to deal with the material thus preserved.
>
> (Richmond 09 Jul 1868)

Richmond proposed that Colenso be paid £500 over 18 months at the end of which time the work should be ready for the press, and a further £200 will be paid (Richmond 09 Jul 1868). Colenso agreed once again, and new deadline of the 1st of April 1870 was set (Colenso 22 Jul 1868, 25 Aug 1868; Richmond 13 Aug 1868).

On 1st of April 1870, Colenso wrote that he had 'the honour to inform you, that I have been unable to finish the said Work'. Once again, Colenso cited his health, specifically two 'severe attacks of Rheumatism' (Colenso 01 April 1870). However, by June of 1870, Colenso had telegrammed to say that the work would be in the hands of the printer by the end of the year (Colenso 24 Jun 1870). Unfortunately, this did not come to pass and by 1873, it was suggested that Colenso

> forward to this office not only such portions as might be completed but all the material he has collected with a view to placing the whole with in the hands of some competent persons for arrangement and publication.
>
> (Clarke 05 Aug 1873)

Colenso apparently did not wish to give up his work and suggested that he

> proceed at once to do all that I can to get a portion of the work though incomplete ready for the press (say, from A onwards) the first parcel to be forwarded to you in all January next - the same (if possible) followed by other portions throughout the summer
>
> (Colenso 30 Aug 1873).

Colenso's proposal was accepted and

> in order further to facilitate the progress of the work ... The services of a competent man from the Armed Constabulary Force will be allowed you as copying clerk
>
> (Clarke 11 Sept 1873)

With suitable aid offered, a new deadline of January 1874 was thus set.

In August 1874, Colenso wrote to inform the government that that once again, he 'could not carry that proposal out' (Colenso 19 Aug 1874). During this time Colenso was also working as a Provincial School Inspector. However, he must not have relinquished his hopes of moving forward with his 'opus magnum' because the next year in 1875, Colenso wrote again offering his account of what had happened, and offering four possible solutions to move forward. In Colenso's account, he had worked extremely hard at it; he told how had given the project

> the whole of my time. Many days have I shut myself up for from 12 to 14 to even 16 hours a-day ... My only wish was to see the noble NZ Dialect of the great Polynesian language conserved
>
> (Colenso 20 Jul 1875)

And how his project had received support from his eminent friends

> whom I may mention, in England, Dr Hooker, and others - and in New Zealand Sir G Grey, Drs Hector and Haast, Professor Kirk etc etc.

(Colenso 20 Jul 1875)

Colenso was clear that 'On a calm impartial review of the whole, it, I believe be found that the Government broke faith with me'. He cast himself as somewhat long suffering but eager to find resolution claiming that

> As things have turned out it has been my great misfortune even to have had anything to do with this work! … I have borne with them, ever believing that my countrymen and colony would (some day) do a poor scholar justice.
>
> (Colenso 20 Jul 1875)

In order to find resolution, he put forward several possible solutions. Firstly, that he 'hand over all my Maori Mss to the Government; and on doing so receive £200', secondly, that he 'pay the Government the sum of £500… and that I obtain from them a full acquaintance', he thirdly suggests that he continue on with the original agreement but allowed a time of 3 or 4 years, and that lastly he continue on quietly working at the *Lexicon* and if he should 'die before I finish it, my executors are to hand over the MS of like work to the Govt and receive from them the (poor!) stipulated sum of £100' (Colenso 20 Jul 1875). Colenso included, in a separate packet, 38 pages of manuscript of his *Lexicon* (Colenso 21 Jul 1875)

Colenso's letter was printed in the *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* ('G-11 COMPILATION OF MAORI LEXICON BY MR. COLENSO, (LETTERS RELATIVE TO).' 1875). Bagnall and Petersen assert that the 'the result of these proposals was not clear' (1948 410). A letter from the archive, however, illuminates an outcome. Colenso received a letter in which he was informed that his proposals and the specimen pages were presented to the House, and that 'The Government decided to submit to the acceptance of the first proposal in your letter ... This agreement was agreed to by the House' (Native Office 13 Nov 1875). The House of Representatives accepted Colenso's proposal to hand over his manuscripts for a sum of £200. Colenso was thanked for 'the care and labour' (Native Office 13 Nov 1875) he had taken over the work.

Colenso had been employed as Provincial Inspector of Schools from 1872 (Morris Matthews 2014 237). However, in 1876, with forthcoming changes to the education system, Colenso's future was uncertain (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 410). And he had changed his mind. He wrote that he could no longer give up his manuscript, and if he were to do so he would have been just laying himself open 'to the charge of having easily abandoned the work - which I have never desired to do ...' He proposed to work at the *Lexicon* over the coming winter by making a clean copy of what he had amassed, acknowledging that it

would be ‘at least, a step in the right direction’ (Colenso 16 Feb 1876). His new proposal was not warmly received. Henry Tacy Clarke, the undersecretary to the Native Minister Donald McLean, wrote

> All that I can make of Mr Colenso's special pleading is that as he is contemplating giving up his present office of Provincial Inspector of Schools he regrets having made the proposal which was accepted by the house.
>
> (Clarke 07 Mar 1876)

McLean’s death in 1877 had left the *Lexicon* in the air. Colenso was 60 in 1878 and had retired from his administrative and political offices. He had begun to concentrate his energies on scientific and historic writing (Bagnall and Petersen 1948). In 1879, a specimen of Colenso’s *Lexicon* was finally to be put into type (Lewis 13 Dec 1879). In the House of Representatives, J.D. Ormond suggested that pages of the *Lexicon* be printed ‘so that the House might judge of the character and value of the work, on which a great deal of public money had been expended.’ John Bryce, Native Minister from 1879 to 1881, said that he ‘understood that the attempt to complete the work had been definitely abandoned ... However, it was only a question of a small expenditure ... he did not see any objection to the publication’ (Legislative Council and House of Representatives 1879). Colenso, reading in the Parliamentary Debates that the *Lexicon* had been ‘definitely abandoned’ and recalling how he had ‘been urged both from Europe and here in the Colony to publish what I have collected and put together’ requested the return of his manuscript so that he could make ‘such use of the MSS as I may think best - perhaps to publish the Work as it is at my own expense and risk’ (Colenso 19 Apr 1880). Given that Colenso had proposed to give up his manuscript previously only to default on that arrangement, and that he had ‘received altogether the sum of £1180 on account of his Lexicon’ it was asked ‘what will the Colony get for £1180’ (Lewis 24 April 1880). A letter sent on behalf of John Bryce to Colenso asked if ‘in asking this permission you intend to refund the sum paid by the Government to date on account of the work, amounting in all to £1180. Should this be so he has no objection at all to the arrangement’ (Lewis April 1880). Bryce’s presumption that Colenso would refund the monies paid to him clearly left Colenso aghast; he was ‘surprised at both the tone and the tenor’ of the letter he received. He had not intended to refund any sum and claimed that as ‘the Government having so signally set themselves against it and, so far, injured it, they should now do all in their power to remedy that injustice and assist me in bringing it out’ (Colenso 03 Jun 1880). Nevertheless, in 1880, *Mr Colenso’s English-Maori Lexicon (SPECIMEN OF.)* was presented to both Houses of the General Assembly. Bagnall and Petersen note that ‘carpers’ well might

claim it was a ‘meagre offering for a thousand pounds and seventeen years’ but that any words which a ‘purist’ might look twice at were supported by a wealth of examples from ‘Maori texts’ (1948 422).

The next year, William Rolleston, an educationalist and politician, briefly assumed the role of Native Minister. Colenso wrote to him, asserting a shared identity and, using flattery, appealed to him saying that he felt ‘more inclined to ask this of you - from the fact of you being a scholar, and therefore can feel for the illiberal treatment of another in such a matter’ if he would help him to get more pages of the *Lexicon* printed at the Government Printer. Colenso again recalled how was urged by ‘scholars, both at home and on the Continent and also in America as well as here in New Zealand’ who ‘sympathised with me, and greatly wished to see more of the work.’ (Colenso 18 May 1881). Samuel Locke, the Officer in charge of Native Affairs on the East Coast (Scholefield 1940), wrote privately to Rolleston as well. He informed Rolleston that Colenso was ‘very anxious to get some specimen papers printed of Lexicon laid on table of house hope this can be done if possible’ (Locke 23 May 1881).

Locke’s intercession must have been effective. In June, the Government Printer was given pages of the *Lexicon* specimen and requested to get them printed as soon as he could take the work in hand (Native Minister 16 Jun 1881) but despite good intentions the specimen pages were not put in hand in time for the last session of the year (Didsbury 05 Dec 1881). Colenso remained eager to get his work printed and in the New Year wrote again to Rolleston to remind him of his promise, and recalling ‘the number of foreign (as well as Colonial) letters I have received, and am still receiving, respecting those specimen pages’ (Colenso 11 Feb 1882). In September 1882 another specimen of Colenso’s *Maori-English Lexicon* was presented to the House of Representatives (‘Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives' 1882).

In September 1884, Mr Oliver Samuel, a Member of Parliament, asked whether there was any ‘probability of the work being published’, and why it was that the Government had not ‘sooner enforced the performance of the agreement’? John Ballance, Native Minister between 1884 and 1887, responded by giving an account of the transactions and proposed to asking Colenso what he intended to do in the future (Legislative Council and House of Representatives 1884). An unfavourable review of Colenso’s work appeared in October in the New Zealand Time which stated that ‘Mr Colenso has altogether mistaken his vocation’ and that ‘error and confusion abound on every page’, the author accuses Colenso of ‘confused blundering … a parade of copiousness which is altogether misleading’ and calls for the specimens to be ‘submitted to Maori scholars of repute’ (*New Zealand Times* 1884).

Internally, Lewis suggested a further report on the work, forwarding the review from the *New Zealand Times* to Ballance (Lewis 21 October 1884, 29 Dec 1884). The notion to publish the *Lexicon* in parts was put forward to Colenso in December 1884 with Lewis writing that

> Mr Ballance is anxious that the work which has cost you so much trouble and the colony a considerable sum should not be lost to the public and is of the opinion that probably the most satisfactory way of bringing it out will be to publish it in parts ... the whole to be published before the end of 1889
>
> (Lewis 29 Dec 1884)

Colenso initially refused. He was, he said, too old. He claimed that 'had the Government agreed to any of my repeated and may different proposals ... no doubt the said work would have been long ago published' (Colenso 05 Jan 1885). Colenso had clearly forgotten the proposal he made in 1875 which was agreed to. Nevertheless, he offered to 'willingly aid in doing what little still remains in my power towards rendering it more useful ... and that without any fixed pay or salary' (Colenso 05 Jan 1885). The government were anxious that the *Lexicon* be published. As Lewis noted

> the position appears to Mr Ballance to be that the sum of £1180 has been paid and except the specimen pages forwarded to by you some time ago the Government are [sic] not in possession of anything to represent the expenditure
>
> (Lewis 26 May 1885).

It was suggested that the best course of action would be for Colenso to forward his manuscripts on to their office. Colenso again refused. He again claimed that the Government had not responded to his 'various reasonable proposals' and it was he who had 'long been and still am the real sufferer and not the government' (Colenso 30 May 1885). He now suggested that the first part would be ready (if his health permitted) by January 1886, and the second part ready by May 1866 (Colenso 30 May 1885).

Colenso asked that a circular be issued to request assistance from the public and

> a further sum of £50 (fifty pounds) per annum be allowed me wherewith to pay or reward any Maori or Maoris who may assist me in making distant enquiries etc as now-a-days Maoris will not work without some pay or reward.
>
> (Colenso 15 Jun 1885).

Ballance acceded to Colenso's requests (Lewis 06 Jul 1885). In January 1886, almost as Colenso projected in 1885, he sent notice that 'by dint of hard and continuous labour I have been enabled to get the first part (a portion) of it nearly ready' (Colenso 05 Jan 1886). However, by February 1866, Colenso reported that he

> could not possibly accomplish my task within the time I originally mentioned; and I have only now been able to finish it by working at it continuously and extra, night and day ... I must now beg leave to inform you that I cannot possibly execute any more of it in a similar way - this is utterly impossible being far beyond my present limited powers
>
> (Colenso 23 February 1886)

The government remained anxious to publish 'so valuable a work' and Colenso was requested 'to definitely state in what way you consider the work can be carried on and bought to a completion' (Lewis 13 May 1886). Colenso stated that he would not bind himself to 'any fixed time' but that, all going well, 'such might be got ready by the end of the year or summer'. Colenso was clear that he would 'expect a fair and reasonable remuneration for the same, and so for each portion when sent in'. The Government accepted Colenso's offer recognizing that at his age, 76, it was not possible for him 'to push on the work with rapidity' (Lewis 04 Jun 1886). Colenso suggested that £300 for 'each portion in rough draft' would constitute fair and reasonable remuneration (Colenso 30 Jun 1886). It was an amount that caused some consternation, with the undersecretary, Lewis, recording in a memo that 'I confess I cannot understand Mr Colenso's reasoning ... He makes what he calls a 'free proposal' which winds up with stating that ... £300 'or some such amount would be satisfactory ... How many such portions at £300?' (Lewis 08 Jul 1886). Colenso was informed that the 'Government regret that it cannot entertain a proposal which would impose upon the colony any indefinite liability' (Lewis 29 Jul 1886). Colenso, responding to the letter was much 'surprised at both its tone and tenor' and decided that he would 'not do any more work - actively in getting ready any portions of the said lexicon for the speedier publication of it in parts - until all past and unpaid work is paid for and settled (Colenso 16 Aug 1886). The negotiations appear to have caused some frustration, especially Colenso's claim that 'all past and unpaid work' be settled. An internal letter between Lewis and Ballance concluded that 'the summing up of the ludicrous correspondence appears to be that Mr Colenso considers that he has an unsatisfied claim against the Government for work done.' (Lewis 24 Aug 1886). Ballance was however unwillingly to alter his offer which remained open for Colenso to accept (Lewis 01 Sept 1886). Colenso declined 'noticing the ungenerous remarks made' (Colenso 08 Sept 1886).

Colenso wrote that he felt he had 'no other alternative left than to carry out quietly and steadily to the best of my abilities' his work on the *Lexicon* (Colenso 08 Sept 1886). After two years, he wrote to J D Ormond and informed him that he was not only willing to continue working at the *Lexicon* but was prepared to publish the work at his 'own sole cost', though he would 'greatly prefer it being printed etc at their [the Government Printer] office'. Colenso asked that he be returned the manuscript he had forwarded in 1886, and that in this way the Government would relinquish 'all claim to the work; and I on my part also foregoing all monetary claim on them' (Colenso 16 May 1888). The government were conscious that there had been 'paid a considerable sum on account of the Lexicon' but compromised, agreeing that if

> the printing and publication of the work is completed by you the Government agree to forego the present claim of the Colony upon the MSS and will regard the work as your private property. But, should you decide to discontinue the publication the Government consider that the unpublished MSS will belong to the Colony.
>
> (Lewis 10 October 1888)

The next year, the Government once again wrote to negotiate the terms by which the *Lexicon* could be published. Bagnall and Petersen (1948) observe that 1889 had brought a fresh spurt of activity which would see the *Lexicon* through to the threshold of publication in 1891. Colenso was told that the Government would allow a reasonable sum for time and labour and asked him to name his price should there be profit enough to allow it. Colenso named the 'low sum of £150 per part' (Colenso 30 Mar 1889). He further suggested 'a more agreeable proposal', namely that he be paid his demand for work already done, as well as his 'outlay to Maoris ' and that going forward all remuneration for his time and labour should be paid in a lump sum to him on completion (Colenso 30 Mar 1889). Colenso's negotiations this time received a response from the Premier Harry Atkinson. Atkinson informed him that the Government would bear all costs of publication with the copyright becoming its 'absolute property' (Atkinson April 1889). Colenso wrote to Captain Russell, seeking his intercession in helping to get the *Lexicon* published, characterising his work as being 'unwillingly undertook …at the express wishes of the Government of the day and at the personal urging of the Premier' (Colenso 12 May 1889). Bagnall and Petersen (1948) observe Colenso's 'studied official indifference' (432).

Although in 1891, George Disbury, the Government Printer, was asked to 'set up in type' Colenso's *Lexicon* (Lewis 14 Jan 1891), the Printing Office was 'consistently overdrawn' (Didsbury 26 Jan 1891),

and Cabinet had decided 'not to proceed further with the printing' of the *Lexicon*. During this time William Williams' fourth edition of his *Dictionary* was published (1892), and Edward Tregear published his *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (1891); Events which must have further 'stressed' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 432) the delay in the publication of the *Lexicon*. Colenso's manuscript was returned to him in August (Colenso 25 Aug 1891)

In June of 1892, Colenso appealed to the Native Minister of the time, Alfred Cadman, to once again get the *Lexicon* published. He claimed that his 'chief reason' for again pressing this request arose from 'the many applications' he had received from

> several prominent literary men and learned societies at Home (in England) and on the continent, also from America respecting this Maori Lexicon - they greatly wishing to see it or a part of it
>
> (Colenso15 Jun 1892)

He observed that at his 'extreme age (81)' he naturally wished to see a 'portion of the fruit of my long and heavy labours published'. Cadman summarily informed Colenso that 'that owing to the present financial condition of the colony he regrets that the Government can hold onto no hope at present of printing the work in question' (Lewis 17 Jun 1892).

Captain Russell wrote to Richard Seddon in 1895 to intercede on Colenso's behalf. He wrote that he believed that

> that Mr W Colenso has had unexampled opportunity for the acquisition of idiomatic Maori and has during years of diligence committed his knowledge to writing. … The cost to the country of printing that portion would be insignificant. I venture therefore to ask that the Printing Department may be instructed to proceed forthwith to print the portion in the keeping of the Native Dept
>
> (Russell 01 Aug 1895).

The proofs for the first portion of the *Lexicon*, the letter *A*, were received in May 1896, and in February 1898 Colenso received a fair copy of his 'little book' (Colenso 21 Feb 1898). In his response, Colenso enclosed a possible dedication page for *Lexicon* dedicating the work to Governor George Grey. He notes that if Grey should die before the publication the printer was to include the phrase 'in memoriam' (Colenso 21 Feb 1898).

Richard Seddon wrote to Frank Waldegrave, Chief Clerk in the Department of Justice, that they had 'better print and send him [Colenso] five hundred copies after that he gives us the right to do as we like with it' (Seddon 31 Mar 1898). Colenso wrote out a list of institutions to which a presentation copy should be sent, and in June was informed that the Government Printer had sent him '217 copies of the Lexicon, and that 83 copies have been posted to the addresses given in your list' (Waldegrave 22 Jun 1898). Colenso's *Maori-English Lexicon Being a Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand Tongue*, with a dedication to the memory of Sir George Grey, and a copy of the letter Colenso submitted to the General Assembly in 1875 was published. Colenso was 87, and Bagnall and Petersen conclude that the Government's decision to print was 'a consolatory gesture to the frustrated industry of a man whose death would release it from further obligation' (436). Waldegrave wrote to enquire what terms Colenso would continue to work under, and Colenso wrote to Seddon 'I have waited in hope of hearing from you - just one word - 'go on'' (28 Jul 1898). Waldegrave noted that, as expected, Colenso did not wish to continue with the work under the terms which A was printed, suggested that Seddon ask Colenso to indicate his terms (Waldegrave 07 Sept 1889). Seddon did this, and told Colenso that although he was

> desirous that the lexicon should be proceeded with … before undertaking any liability on behalf of the government, it is necessary that I should have some indication of the extent of such responsibility.
>
> (Seddon 17 Sept 1898).

Waldegrave wrote to Colenso in November to inform him that if he would 'supply the manuscript of the letters E and H, the Government will undertake the printing' (Waldegrave 10 Nov 1898). For the rest of the year, Colenso and the Government corresponded about finances (Colenso 14 Dec 1898). Colenso still owed the Government money for the printing he had offered to pay for (Waldegrave 29 Dec 1898).

William Colenso's *A Maori-English Lexicon: being a Comprehensive Dictionary of the New Zealand Tongue* was published in 1898. In June, Colenso was told that the Government Printer had sent him '217 copies of the Lexicon', and that '83 copies have been posted to the addresses given in your list. These last mentioned copies were sent out as coming from you' (Waldegrave 22 Jun 1898).

The reception of the *Lexicon* was not terribly favourable. Percy Smith wrote to Henry Stowell for an opinion of the work. Stowell announced that there were the most apparent and serious errors. He criticised some of the pronunciations and Colenso's practice of merging words into a single unit; 'on page 19 we find Ahunukutaimaroro viz Ahu nuku tai maroro, a mixture of four verbs and nouns melted

into a *one word*' (Stowell 05 Nov 1898). This was a practice which Bagnall and Petersen note was criticised by others too (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 437). In the preface to the Maori Dictionary by Herbert Williams he acknowledges that the Cabinet had placed at his disposal William Colenso's the manuscript of the *Lexicon*. He found its chief value in the large number of examples and their citations but that 'Mr Colenso's personal contributions are meagre and disappointing' (H. W. Williams 1971 xxv).

Colenso died on the 10 February 1899. Bagnall and Petersen (1948), quoting Henry Hill, note that at his funeral service a man 'full of years and honours was borne to his last resting place. Yet no wife, no child, no relative was there to mourn his passing' (447). Shortly before his death, J B Fielding, the executor of Colenso's will, informed the Government that a codicil had been added which bequeathed the *Lexicon* manuscripts on receipt of £300 (Fielding 02 Feb 1899).

Before accepting the bequest, the Government asserted that the manuscripts 'must be critically examined before any estimation of their value can be ascertained' (20 Feb 1899). Stephenson Percy Smith, one of the founders of the Polynesian Society, was commissioned to examine the manuscripts which he did in September of that year. He wrote that

> Whilst it of course contains a very large number of the words found in other dictionaries (perhaps all of them) it also contains a very numerous class of words not given in any dictionary ... The price at which Mr Colenso, in his will, offers it to the Government is £300 ... In my opinion it is worth it.
>
> (Smith 22 Sep 1899)

Percy Smith was due to retire on a pension and the Government planned to entrust the completion to him (*New Zealand Times* 1899).

In 1903, a tin box containing the manuscripts of Colenso's *Lexicon* was forwarded to Herbert William Williams, son of William Leonard Williams and grandson of William Williams. Herbert Williams was a linguist and lexicographer, and was lent the manuscripts to aid him 'in the compilation of the new Maori Dictionary' (Waldegrave 23 Sept 1903) which he was then engaged on.

Chapter Two; Lexicon Analysis

This thesis has so far focussed on a contextual and historical reading of the archival material that surrounds the *Lexicon*. This section will now take a statistical view of the *Lexicon* itself. In their paper *Forensic Lexicography: Principles and Practice* (2009), Coleman and Ogilvie outline a methodology by which a researcher can 'examine, understand and reconstruct lexicographic practices' (1). They demonstrate how through identifying countable features, evidence which is contained within the body of the dictionary itself can be used to supplement contextual analysis. I have applied this methodology to Colenso's 1898 *A Maori-English Lexicon being a Comprehensive of the New Zealand Tongue Part I*.

By combining statistical and contextual analysis a researcher is able to achieve a more complete understanding of the making of a dictionary. Every dictionary is inevitably the product of its material, and cultural circumstances and is best understood as a result of its historical context and textual tradition. Prefatory and archival material is likely to be partial and oftentimes is incomplete. Of course, numerical statistical results can be overly convincing; although statistical analysis can identify trends or inconsistencies it cannot explain them. Thus it is important to supplement any statistical analysis with a good understanding of the historical context and textual tradition, and vice versa, whereby the understanding of the historical context and textual traditions is shored up by statistical analysis (Coleman and Ogilvie 2009 1,2,3). By combining both methods a fuller picture can be revealed.

In selecting a sample, I chose 500 entries from 40 pages out of a total of 1553 entries and 111 pages. The sample size represents nearly a third of all entries and was a manageable size given the time restraints, and allowed an exceptionally close reading. I created a database, and recorded whether or not each of the features I examined was present and in what number. In determining the parameters of the analysis, I chose five countable features. These are:

- **Part of speech**; is the word a noun, adjective or verb?
  I investigated the 'parts of speech' in order to see how Colenso divided and classified te reo Māori. In a study of bilingual dictionaries parts of speech were examined in order to establish a 'style' (i.e. a dictionary with a higher number of nouns were referred to as having a nominal style) (Fuertes-Olivera and Arribas-Bano 2008 16).

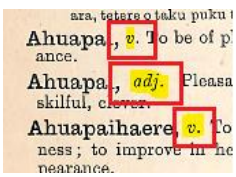

ara, tetere o taku puku
Ahuapa, *v.* To be of p
ance.
Ahuapa, *adj.* Pleasa
skilful, clever.
Ahuapaihaere, *v.* To
ness; to improve in ne
pearance.

Image 3; entries with the part of speech highlighted (Colenso 1898 18)

- **Number of senses** (the set of meanings identified for a given head word); how many senses are included for each headword

  I examined the 'number of senses' for each headword in order to see the overall completeness of the work, and to examine how much detail was provided by Colenso. The level of detail provided may, in turn, offer an insight into who Colenso expected his audience to be. As Mugglestone (2011) explains, 'defining styles … can vary markedly between different forms of the 'the dictionary''(6). How much information the readers need, or are assumed to need, reveals information about who was intended as an audience.

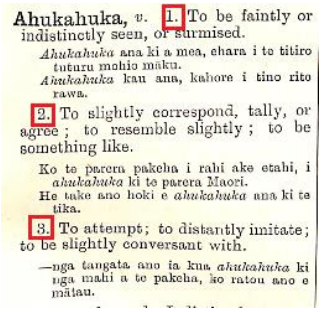

Ahukahuka, v. 1. To be faintly or indistinctly seen, or surmised.
Ahukahuka ana ki a mea, ehara i te titiro tuturu mohio māku.
Ahukahuka kau ana, kahore i tino rite rawa.
2. To slightly correspond, tally, or agree; to resemble slightly; to be something like.
Ko te parera pakeha i rahi ake etahi, i *ahukahuka* ki te parera Maori.
He take ano hoki e *ahukahuka* ana ki te tika.
3. To attempt; to distantly imitate; to be slightly conversant with.
—nga tangata ano ia kua *ahukahuka* ki nga mahi a te pakeha, ko ratou ano e māiau.

Image 4; an entry with three senses provided (Colenso 1898 19)

- **Examples of use, and their attributions**; how many examples of the headword in a sentence are provided? Are these examples cited?

  I surveyed the examples of use, and their attributions to provide insight into the authorities which, through being named and cited, are legitimated. A study of the presence and absence of authors in French historical dictionaries draws attention to the ways that dictionary citations can be used to construct and legitimate authority (Baider 2007 67).

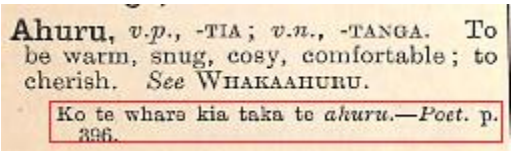
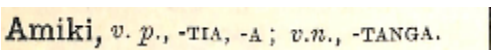

Ahuru, *v.p.*, -TIA; *v.n.*, -TANGA. To be warm, snug, cosy, comfortable; to cherish. *See* WHAKAAHURU.
Ko te whare kia taka te *ahuru*.—*Poet.* p. 396.

Image 5; an entry with an example of use attributed to Grey's Maori Poetry 1853 (Colenso 1898 20)

- **Appearance in Other Dictionaries;** whether the head word appears in the contemporaneous dictionary 1852 Williams dictionary.

  I wanted to ground Colenso's *Lexicon* in the nineteenth century and so undertook a comparative analysis between William Williams' and William Colenso's work.


Amiki, *v. p.*, -TIA, -A; *v.n.*, -TANGA.

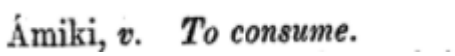

Ámiki, *v.* *To consume.*

Image 6 & 7; 'Amiki' (Colenso 1898 36), 'Amiki' (Williams 1852 4)

- **Special Characters**; does the word include diacritics?

  I also noted the use of special characters used throughout. This showcases the way Colenso used written te reo Māori.

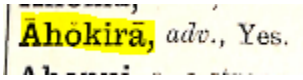

Āhōkirā, *adv.*, Yes.

Image 8; an entry which uses both tohutō and breve (Colenso 1898 14)

Findings

Parts of Speech

Examining the parts of speech used in Colenso's *Lexicon* shows that the *Lexicon* is, unsurprisingly, mostly 'substatives'. Substatives make up 51% of the sample. Verbs make up the next largest category with 18% of entries be categorized as verbs. Adverbs are the third largest category used by Colenso with 10.60%. 7.20% of entries have not been assigned any part of speech. See appendix for complete figures.

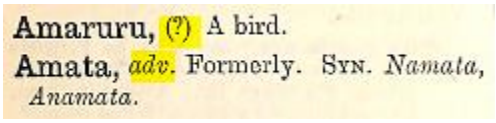

Amaruru, (?) A bird.
Amata, *adv.* Formerly. Syn. *Namata, Anamata.*

Image 9; an entry with no part of speech assigned and an entry labelled as 'adv.' (Colenso 1898 36)

When Colenso uses the word 'substative' he is referring to nouns. Three types of nouns can be distinguished in te reo Māori; common nouns, with the vast majority of nouns belonging to this class. Locative nouns make up another class of nouns in te reo. This class of nouns contains the names of the places, mountains, marae etc. The last class of nouns are personal nouns. This class of nouns includes names of people, of iwi and hapū, of waka, of marama, the question word 'wai', and personal pronouns (Harlow 2001 17-18; Bauer 1997 9-10).

The *Lexicon* can be described as having a nominal style (Fuertes-Olivera and Arribas-Bano 2008 16). That is, nouns feature heavily. Colenso's *Lexicon* suggests the salience of nouns, and echoes the early wordlists made by Europeans. A manuscript from 1769-70 compiled by Joseph Banks is almost entirely nouns (Jones and Jenkins 2011 12,13).

Examining the categories of speech used by Colenso highlights changing terminology and traditions. When Colenso uses the word *substative* he is referring to words that would be classified today as *nouns*. He was not the only one to *not* use the word *noun*. William Williams' *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language, and a Concise Grammar* (1852) states that the parts of speech in Māori are 'The Article,

Substantive, Adjective, Pronoun, Verb, Adverb, Preposition, Conjunction and Interjection' (10). Further on in his *Dictionary*, Williams does refer to *substantives* as *nouns* (11). In contrast, a 1864 edition of Webster's *New Illustrated Edition of Dr. Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* only uses the term *noun* (Webster 1864 22).

Today, *Te Aka*, classifies most Māori kupu as either bases or particles. Within the class of base there are both nouns and statives with nouns being defined as 'words that are not normally used as verbs … typically label things, people and ideas'. Statives are defined as being

> neuter verbs and adjectives: Words which can be used as verbs but not with passive endings … Statives do not normally have passive endings, but some can also be used as nouns
>
> (Moorfield 2015)

The category of stative used by Moorfield is very different from the category of substative used by Colenso who is clearly drawing on a tradition of classification taken from European grammars (Harlow 2001 96). This observation raises the question of whether the categories used in *Lexicon* are appropriate to te reo Māori. As Harlow notes,

> It is essentially correct in that early accounts of … Māori grammar rely heavily and largely uncritically on the parts of speech, and the criteria for assignment of words to them, familiar from traditional European grammars.
>
> (Harlow 2001 96)

The reo Māori shares many grammatical features with other languages and so it is appropriate to use some of those terms traditionally used in the description of European languages , however, only those terms which can be shown to be relevant on the basis of patterns observed in Māori (Bauer 1997 xxii). Lacking any documentary evidence of Colenso's reasoning or working it is impossible to know how or why he used the parts of speech that he did but a close reading of the categories he used raises tantalising questions about the traditions he was drawing on, and provides a fuller picture of mātauranga wetereo Māori in the nineteenth century.

Number of Senses

Senses are the set of meanings or definitions given for each headword or entry. The majority of entries in the *Lexicon* have one sense per entry. 70.20% of entries have one sense; a total of 351 of the 500 sampled have a single sense. Entries with over 5 senses make up 4.40% of the total. Many of those with over 5 senses are particles or function words, that is, those words without much lexical meaning whose purpose is primarily to provide grammatical information. Particles 'are those words which occupy the peripheries of phrases and fulfil such functions as case marking, tense/aspect marking, directionality, deixis, and so on' (Harlow 2001 97; Bauer 1997). For examples, the kupu 'ake' and 'ano', both particles, have 35 and 22 senses respectively. Entries that do not have any senses listed make up 7% of the total sample. See appendix for complete figures.

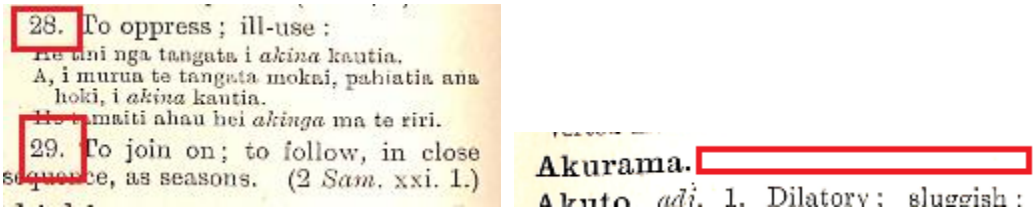

28. To oppress; ill-use:
A, i murua te tangata mokai, pahiatia ana
hoki, i *akina* kautia.
29. To join on; to follow, in close
ce, as seasons. (2 *Sam.* xxi. 1.)
Akurama.
adj. 1. Dilatory; sluggish;

Image 10; an entry with 29 senses provided, and an entry with no senses given (Colenso 1898 32, 35)

The number of senses for each headword shows the state of completion of the *Lexicon*. It also raises questions about Colenso's working practices. Did he intend to fill them in later? The number of senses per entry also raises questions about who Colenso believed his audience to be. Did Colenso believe he had an audience which would appreciate shades of meaning and nuance of connotation? Or one which needed simple and straightforward definitions?

When negotiating the scope of the work, Richmond noted that the *Lexicon* did not demand 'an exhaustive amount of secondary meanings along with each word' (Richmond 09 Jul 1868). In her discussion on the architecture of a dictionary, Mugglestone (2011) observes that dictionary compilers can incline to being either 'lumpers' or 'splitters' (44); that is, those who would incline towards packaging senses all together, or those who would incline towards 'unpicking them in fine – perhaps over-fine – detail' (p45). Endersby (2009) identified Colenso as being a 'splitter' (1498) in reference to his botanical taxonomy, and it appears as though Colenso inclined towards being a 'splitter' in his lexicography as well.

Dictionaries at their most basic consist of a list of words and their meanings. How the list of words is arrived at, and their subsequent analysis and organisation is another matter. We can see that Colenso

used wordlists extensively; both as a tool for language learning and as an integral feature of his lexicography.

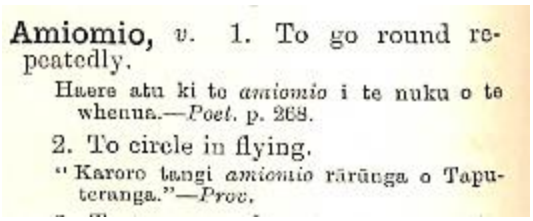
In the Preface to the *Lexicon* published in 1898, Colenso wrote of how he made extensive wordlists when he was acquiring te reo and continued this practice afterwards. He writes how found Māori public meetings were especially good places to learn new kupu with orators using 'proverbial and ancient pet words and sayings' (viii) but that often he could not ascertain the 'true meaning' of some of these words. Similarly, he notes that some of the entries do not have their English definitions due to Colenso's 'not sufficiently knowing them' (vii) (Colenso 1898). Outwardly, it appears that Colenso's process involved the wordlists that he utilised as a language learner, and that he maintained this practice, perhaps deliberately seeking out new kupu and their meanings.

Papers held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney Australia reinforce the concept of the wordlist as a significant part of Colenso's process. The papers include 15 pages of Māori kupu (not in alphabetical order), some with an English definition and an example of the word used in a Māori phrase, others simply the word. Other papers show kupu listed in alphabetical order and for those that do not have a definition written in English have a space left next to them as if they were going to be filled in at a later time. Of those definitions some are expressed uncertainly eg.

> Mataitai Preserved food, I think this embraces the ordinary preserved native food, not necessarily salt
>
> Colenso 1837

Examples of use, and their attributions

In the *Lexicon*, Colenso provides an example of the headword being used in a sentence. However, this is not done consistently. 43.80% of entries do not have any example sentence at all. That is 219 of 500 entries have no example of the word in use. 30.40% have 1 example sentence provided, 10.20% have two examples of use, 5% have three examples of use, 2% have four examples of use, and 8.60% have 5 or more examples of use. Of the examples provided, 65% of them are unattributed to any acknowledged source, while 35% are attributed a named authority. See appendix for complete figures.



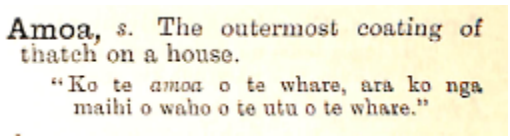
Amiomio, *v.* 1. To go round repeatedly.

Haere atu ki to *amiomio* i te nuku o te whenua.—*Poet.* p. 268.

2. To circle in flying.

"Karoro tangi *amiomio* rārūnga o Taputeranga."—*Prov.*

Image 11; entry with examples attributed to Grey's Maori Poetry, and 'proverb' (Colenso 1898 36)



Amoa, *s.* The outermost coating of thatch on a house.

"Ko te *amoa* o te whare, ara ko nga maihi o waho o te utu o te whare."

Image 12; entry with an unattributed example (Colenso 1898 37)

The following table displays the authorities cited, and how often they occur within the sample.

Table 1. Named Authorities

Named Authorities	**Count of Named Authority**	**Count of Named Authority as percentage**
Ancient Dirge	1	0.45%
Bible	46	20.54%
Canoe Song	1	0.45%
Fable; Battle of Birds	1	0.45%
Fable; eel to codfish	1	0.45%
Grey - Myth	46	20.54%
Grey - Poet	84	37.50%
Grey - Prov	8	3.57%
Haka, song	2	0.89%
Hon. Sir W. Fox	1	0.45%
Legend of Wahieroa	1	0.45%
Maori Cheifs	1	0.45%
Maui's spell	1	0.45%
Meiha Ropata	2	0.89%
MS Maori History	1	0.45%

N.Z. Trans Inst	1	0.45%
Old Charm	1	0.45%
Old Kumara Song	1	0.45%
Old Legend	1	0.45%
Old Legend of Kumara	1	0.45%
Old Song	11	4.91%
Proverb	4	1.79%
Song	2	0.89%
Song	1	0.45%
Te Tirarau	1	0.45%
Trans. N.Z. Inst.	2	0.89%
Tui's song MS	1	0.45%
Grand Total	*224*	*100.00%*

In the frontismatter of the *Lexicon* Sir G Grey's volume of *Maori Poetry* (1853), *Polynesian Mythology* (1854), *Proverbial and Popular Sayings* (1857) and the *Bible* (no year or edition given) are listed as sources for the examples used in the *Lexicon*. As demonstrated above Colenso clearly used many more sources than the ones listed at the start of the *Lexicon*; however, the listed ones do account for a significant portion of the named authorities. Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* is cited 46 times, Grey's *Maori Poetry* is cited 84 times, and *Proverbial and Popular Sayings* is cited 8 times. The *Bible* is cited 46 times.

It is well established that dictionaries 'construct, perpetuate and legitimate authority because of their power to name and authorise' (Baider 2007 69). Drawing on Foucault (2012), Smith describes a 'cultural archive' by which ideas and texts are drawn on, and rules of practice for the ways in which knowledge is classified and represented are revealed (46). With this in mind, through examination of the citations used in the *Lexicon*, we might ask, not just which documents have been used, but if these documents are valid sources, and by what right they might claim to be. As Mugglestone (2011) outlines, during the nineteenth century descriptivism challenged the earlier prescriptivism that pervaded philology and lexicography. She describes the 'radical rethinking of what dictionaries might be said to do' (35) as emphasis shifted to engaging with facts and raw material, and verification through construction of extensive and accurate citations which changed the course of lexicography. Examining the citations used

by Colenso in his *Lexicon* raises questions about subjective selection practices, and who is ascribed authority.

Colenso draws on a tradition of Western academic rules of practice which prioritises the printed word as consistent, cohesive and correct. A commonality between the texts that are heavily represented within the *Lexicon* is that they are *texts*. The *Lexicon* is grounded in print. It prioritises the printed word as a source of authority. Colenso's *Lexicon* uses citations, predominantly those from printed texts, to verify and authorize usage of kupu. In a letter from 1886, Colenso describes the many hours he had spent 'looking up and verifying the many Maori quotations from Maori books and old letters' (Colenso 23 Feb 1886). He also describes how his 'early plan' was to record 'every new word' that he heard during his 'extensive travelling among the Maoris …and my many visits to their villages; and more particularly, at their public meetings' but he found that he could often 'only barely note down *one word* used, and of these … their true meanings were never ascertained' (Colenso 1898). Authority is ascribed to the printed word but there is little to suggest the authority of the spoken word. Colenso was aware that te reo Māori was a part of an oral tradition, but in compiling the *Lexicon* he focussed primarily upon printed authorities.

Although Herbert Williams (1971) ultimately found Colenso's contributions to be 'meagre and disappointing' he acknowledged that the chief value of Colenso's manuscripts was the 'large number of examples illustrating the use of words of all kinds' (xxv). Colenso was clear in his plan that he intended to provide 'clear unquestionable examples of pure Maori usage' (Colenso 05 Jul 1865). It is worth noting, that aside from the *Bible*, the majority of citations are attributed to Sir George Grey. However, Grey cannot truly be said to be the 'author' of the kōrero in his books. Grey collected and curated the material he presented in his books, and he worked closely with informants, such as Te Rangikaheke, a prolific writer. Together they worked closely and collaboratively to produce a very large body of work which encompassed language, whakapapa, legends and commentary on contemporary historical and political issues. Nonetheless, it is Grey who is named, and given authority. The representation of the kōrero as being 'authored' by Grey is an instance in which indigenous knowledge is recast in a Western academic framework as a 'discovery' (Smith 2012 62) while Colenso's use of Grey demonstrates the role of the lexicographer as sanctifying the authority of some authors and perpetuating the exclusion of others (Baider 2007 67).

Western traditions of validating knowledge encounter mātauranga Māori in the *Lexicon*. Māori oral traditions did not record the definitions of words, nor describe parts of speech or its structure (Maslen,

Griffith, and Harvey 1997 21). Before the advent of writing, specialist knowledge and expertise were held by tohunga and regarded as tapu. Human knowledge originated with Ranginui and was brought from the heavens by Tāne in three kete (Swarbrick 2017). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the reo Māori was regarded as an entity that possessed mauri, and was 'he kōrero tuku iho'. Furthermore, some individual kupu had their own whakapapa (Moon 2016 18; Haami 2004 15). The kupu recorded in the *Lexicon* are, however, divorced from their whakapapa. They are an essential component of mātauranga Māori but are viewed through a Western, descriptivist lens. In his preface, Colenso acknowledges that, in his efforts to obtain 'the true meaning of a word' he found that those he asked about them would sometimes 'shrink' from certain words because of their tapu nature (Colenso 1898 pvii). He continues on to state that in regards to the style of the work he 'conformed to the usual plan of the dictionaries of our Western languages' (Colenso 1898 ix). Examining the citations inevitably raises questions about what authorship and authority mean. Prior to the introduction of alphabetic writing to New Zealand the reo Māori was a part of a wholly oral culture (McKenzie 1999 79; Haami 2012 164). As McRae notes

> authorship, an imperative for the book, is often unremarked in the oral tradition. Exceptional composers might become famous or authority be ascribed for learned dissertation, but the archetypal re-creation of a text for a new event reduces the chance of an original composer's name enduring.
>
> (Griffith, Hughes, and Loney 2000 4)

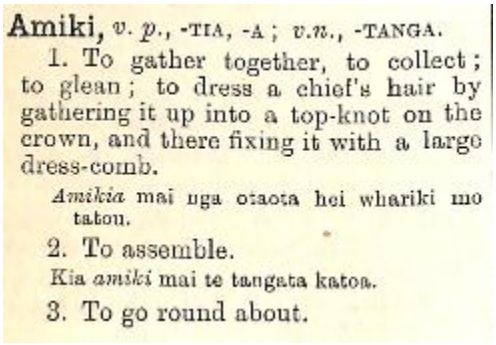
Colenso cites old charms, old songs, legends and proverbs which we might assume are drawn from his 'numerous Maori MSS.' (Colenso 1898 ix) but are not attributed to any named authority, individual or otherwise. The *Lexicon* asks us to consider what authority means when mātauranga Māori and Western cultural archive meet.

The significant lack of Māori authorities in the *Lexicon* also raises questions about Colenso's social networks. In the *Lexicon*, Colenso describes how during his 'extensive travelling among the Maoris ' he listened to 'impassioned orators' but that he could often only note down 'one word used, and of these … their true meanings were never afterwards fully ascertained' (Colenso 1898 viii).(*New Zealand Herald* 1885). Colenso provides citations which lack specificity; Colenso cites 'Maori Chiefs' but does not specify who these rangatira were, while citations such as 'Old Legend' and 'Old Charm' are divorced from their origins. From the sample, only two individual named authorities appear to be Māori; Te Tirarau, Te

Parawhau leader, and Meiha Ropata, Ngati Porou leader and politician (Oliver 1993, 2013). Altogether, Te Tirarau and Ropata account for only 3 attributions. When compared to the 138 examples attributed to George Grey, the relative lack of Māori cited in the *Lexicon* suggest that Colenso's Māori networks had, by the 1860's, become less robust.

Appearance in Other Dictionaries

Of the 500 entries sampled, 101 occur in both Colenso's *Lexicon* and in William Williams *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* (1852). There are 399 entries in the *Lexicon* that do not occur in Williams' *Dictionary*.


Amiki, *v. p.*, -TIA, -A; *v.n.*, -TANGA.

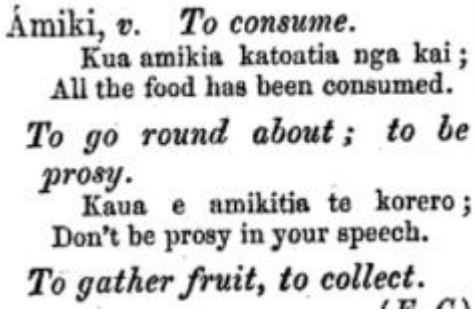
1. To gather together, to collect; to glean; to dress a chief's hair by gathering it up into a top-knot on the crown, and there fixing it with a large dress-comb.

Amikia mai nga otaota hei whariki mo tatou.

2. To assemble.

Kia *amiki* mai te tangata katoa.

3. To go round about.


Ámiki, *v.* *To consume.*

Kua amikia katoatia nga kai;
All the food has been consumed.

To go round about; to be prosy.

Kaua e amikitia te korero;
Don't be prosy in your speech.

To gather fruit, to collect.

Image 13 & 14; the entry for 'Amiki' from Colenso (1898 36) and Williams (1852 4)

Colenso, negotiating the time allowed him, wrote in 1863 that 'the time of 2 years will not suffice for the production of a vocabulary (larger than Williams!)' (Colenso 19 Dec 1863). Implicit in Colenso's statement is his ambition that his work be bigger than Williams', and that the size of the *Lexicon* specifically in comparison to Williams' was indeed a significant consideration of Colenso's. Why was Colenso so especially concerned that his *Lexicon* be bigger than Williams' *Dictionary*?

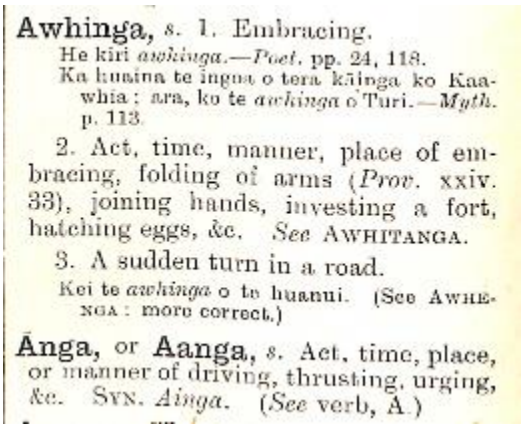
Comparing Colenso's *Lexicon* to a contemporaneous work, such as Williams' *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* (1852), grounds the work in the nineteenth century and encourages questions about process and content. Comparing the overlap between kupu in Williams' *Dictionary*, and Colenso's *Lexicon* cannot offer much insight, but rather acts as a prompt to question Māori lexicography in the nineteenth century. How closely do these works resemble each other? How do they differ? What underlying principles do they both follow? Are the kupu found in both indicative of common or frequent kupu?

As noted, of a sample of 500 words from the *Lexicon*, 101 are also in Williams' Dictionary, while 399 are not included in Williams' Dictionary. Of the 101 entries that occur in both, 12 kupu are not listed on *Te Aka's* online maoridictionary.com. John C. Moorfield, author of *Te Aka* has expressed an interest in such an analysis, and in Colenso's lexicography more generally (Moorfield 2017). This kind of comparison remains important to mātauranga wetereo Māori. Examining the *Lexicon*, of course, contributes to a body of historical knowledge but it can also contribute to ongoing lexicography.

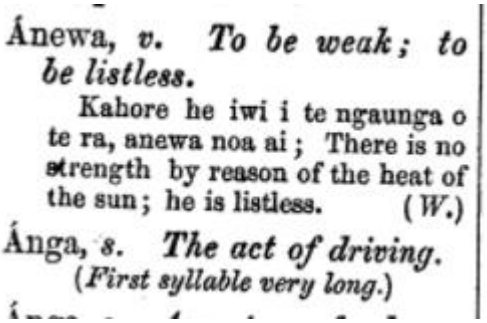
Special Characters

By the time that Colenso arrived in New Zealand, the orthography of Māori had largely been set by a committee of missionaries which included William Williams, William Yate and William G. Puckey (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 54). And yet, the orthography continued to be negotiated. Colenso, through his choices in the *Lexicon*, was a part of the ongoing discussion. The alphabet continued to be negotiated after Colenso had passed away. Examining the alphabet and the diacritics used in the *Lexicon* contributes to a richer understanding of the history of written Māori and Colenso's contributions to it.

By examining the *Lexicon* alongside Williams' *Dictionary* it is possible to see their different approaches to orthography. It also becomes apparent that the order of the alphabet differs between the two. In Williams' *Dictionary* 'Anga*'* follows 'Anewa'. However, in Colenso's *Lexicon* 'Anga' follows 'Awhinga'.



Awhinga, *s.* 1. Embracing.
He kiri *awhinga.*—*Poet.* pp. 24, 118.
Ka kumina te ingoa o tera kāinga ko Kaawhia: ara, ko te *awhinga* o Turi.—*Myth.* p. 113.
2. Act, time, manner, place of embracing, folding of arms (*Prov.* xxiv. 33), joining hands, investing a fort, hatching eggs, &c. *See* AWHITANGA.
3. A sudden turn in a road.
Kei te *awhinga* o te huanui. (See AWHENGA: more correct.)
Ānga, or **Aanga,** *s.* Act, time, place, or manner of driving, thrusting, urging, &c. SYN. *Ainga.* (*See* verb, A.)

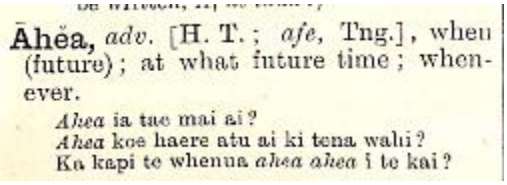


Ánewa, *v.* ***To be weak; to be listless.***
Kahore he iwi i te ngaunga o te ra, anewa noa ai; There is no strength by reason of the heat of the sun; he is listless. (*W.*)
Ánga, *s.* ***The act of driving.***
(*First syllable very long.*)

Image 15 & 16; the entry for 'Anga' follows 'Awhinga' (Colenso 1898 108), the entry for 'Anga' follows 'Anewa' (Williams 1852 5)

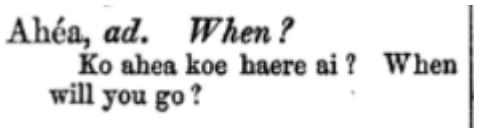
Colenso used both tohutō and breve (˘) in the *Lexicon*. Of the sample of 500 kupu 94% of the words did not make use of any diacritics. 30 kupu, 6%, used either breve, tohutō or both. Breve are used to mark short vowels, while long vowels are marked with a tohutō. Colenso has essentially discriminated three

different vowel qualities, namely, long, short, and unmarked. Williams' *Dictionary* uses an acute (´) to mark long vowels but does not use tohutō. See appendix for complete figures.



Āhĕa, *adv.* [H. T.; *afe*, Tng.], when (future); at what future time; whenever.

Ahea ia tae mai ai?
Ahea koe haere atu ai ki tena wahi?
Ka kapi te whenua *ahea ahea* i te kai?



Ahéa, *ad.* *When?*
Ko ahea koe haere ai? When will you go?

Image 17 & 18; entry for 'Ahea' uses tohutō and breve (Colenso 1898 11), and entry for 'Ahea' uses an acute (Williams 1852 2)

At the start of 1888, Colenso wrote that Government Printer, George Didsbury, had not yet received 'the necessary accented vowels' (Colenso 05 Jan 1888). However, by September of that year Didsbury wrote that he had 'obtained from England the special accents required' (24 Sept 1888), and Colenso noted that Mr Didsbury had ordered the 'accented and marked type expressly for this work' (Colenso 16 May 1888).

Information about the use of diacritics could be more closely examined in order to provide insight into changing spellings over time, and the phonetic differences in perceived vowel quality. Patrick Smyth's *Maori Pronunciation and The Evolution of Written Maori* (1946) does not mention Colenso's innovative use of two diacritics. The use of the breve and the tohutō raise a number of interesting questions around what Colenso was attempting to do. It is certainly evident that he was well aware of the importance of vowel quality (whether long or short) in the reo Māori, and wished to mark it visually. Today, the tohutō is a common sight but the breve now stands out as an unusual means of marking vowel length. Where did Colenso's awareness of the breve come from? Does his use of the breve show us that for him a binary distinction between short and long vowels was not nuanced enough, but required short, long, and unmarked?

It is interesting to note that Elsdon Best, who published his work *The Maori* in 1924 also used a breve. Best notes that 'All vowels have both long and short sounds' and gives the following example to demonstrate the importance of vowel quality; 'Kākā. Name of a bird; the brown parrot. Kăkă. Garment. 2 Fibre. 3 Ridge, etc. Kākă. A bird, the bittern. 2 Affected by tutu poison. Kăkā. Red hot' (Best 1924 18). It certainly raises a question about the influence that Colenso's use of the breve in the *Lexicon* might have had.

Chapter Three; Themes/Discourses in the Archival Record

Preservation of te Reo Māori

Colenso was a naturalist and Māori scholar who expressed his belief that the reo Māori needed to be preserved for scientific posterity. He believed in the genius of the language and wished to maintain its linguistic purity.

Smith (2012) explains how in the nineteenth century, social Darwinism influenced views of society and of the individual. It allowed for societies to be viewed as 'species' with particular 'traits' which enabled distinctions between fixed categories and reinforced, through contrasting categories, the supposed superiority of West. She explains how ''Primitive' societies were ranked according to these traits, predications were made about their survival and ideological justifications could be made about their treatment' (52). She further illustrates how racial views were legitimated by the 'scientific' views of social Darwinism. This led to a 'powerful belief that indigenous peoples were inherently weak and therefore, at some point, would die out' (65). These views strengthened existing ideas about 'fatal impact' whereby 'inferior' peoples passed away as a result of European contact. In New Zealand, the 'dying Māori' was frequently lamented (Belich 2011). As Moon (2016) describes, one of the most common metaphors applied to te reo was that of 'extinction'. It was increasingly believed that the language would inevitably pass away and would be, at best, a linguistic antiquity (9-10). King estimates that the population of New Zealand in the eighteenth century was around 100,000 to 110,000 (King 2003 90-91). However, in the nineteenth century, the Māori population declined largely due to disease and dispossession reaching a low of 42,113 in the 1896 census (King 1981 208). This decline was largely thought to herald an inevitable 'extinction' of Māori peoples and their language (Harlow 2007 192).

The wish to 'preserve' te reo Māori before it was too late is explicit throughout the archival record. In 1861, Colenso stated in the House of Representatives that he thought that something should be done to record the New Zealand dialect of the Polynesian language 'while it could be saved' and that 'if it was philologically desirable' to do so then New Zealand should do so (Legislative Council and House of Representatives 1886 579). In 1865, Colenso wrote that

> The Maori language is much like the Sybil's books - fast passing away. Every year of delay lessens both the possibility and the probability of doing the proposed work effectively which ere long cannot be done at all at any price. It is thought proper that the Polynesian language should be

> conserved by the Government of New Zealand ... If something is not speedily done in this matter our apathy and avarice will be seen to obtain anything but the praises of posterity
>
> (Colenso 05 Jul 1865).

In an essay for the New Zealand Institute, he opined that 'the New Zealand language is but a remnant of what it once was, and is fast going to decay' (Colenso 1868 45). In 1875, Colenso lamented that his 'only wish was to see the noble NZ Dialect of the great Polynesian language conserved' (Colenso 20 Jul 1875). He claimed that te reo Māori was 'once large and copious but now limited and in decadence' (Colenso 23 Feb 1886).

Colenso was not the only one who believed that te reo Māori was a 'dying language'. James Richmond wrote in 1868 that it was

> a duty of Government to aid to the utmost of its means in preserving before it is too late the fullest possible collection of pure Maori words with their primary meanings. This much as a civilised community we owe to science. … With the material thus preserved some immediate practical use may be made of the work before the Maori race and language have both passed away
>
> (Richmond 09 Jul 1868)

The undersecretary Lewis wrote of the *Lexicon* that it 'may be the last opportunity of gathering together words which were formerly current in the Maori language but are now through disuse becoming forgotten' (Lewis 10 Aug 1891). Captain Russell, writing on behalf of Colenso, asserted that 'In a comparatively few years the Maori language will have ceased to exist, as it is few of the younger Maories can speak the language used fifty years ago. It wold be a great pity that a record of the language should not exist' (Russell 01 Aug 1895).

Linguistic Purity

Related to his concern about the preservation to te reo Māori was a concern with its purity. Colenso, concerned with the quality of the reo Māori used by Government officials, wrote in 1868 that it was to be regretted that 'that not unfrequently the translations made for the Government of English documents into the New Zealand language, are more or less faulty' (Colenso 1882). As Moon (2016) explains, Colenso identified a lack of skilled translators working for the government (184). This resulted

in Roman numerals being used despite the letters (c, d, l, v, x.) not being a part of the Māori alphabet, and 'other strange letters of the English alphabet' (Colenso 1882) too. Colenso also noted how government employees translated documents 'line by line, or sentence by sentence' (1882 23) which resulted in grammatical structures which would be strikingly unusual in te reo Māori.

Words which are imported into one language from another are often a focus for purism. Mugglestone (2001) observes how in the 18th century a period of extensive borrowing from French into English provoked concerns about 'linguistic corruption and contamination' (73, 77-8). In New Zealand, Colenso bemoaned the 'many new words and phrases in broken-English' which were borrowed into te reo Māori 'as if they were proper Maori words' and the use of which was 'causing the sad deterioration of the noble Maori language'. Colenso called this mix of language between Māori and Pākehā a 'common colloquial patois' (Colenso 1883). He felt that 'common English terms, inevitably became fixed, and drove the pure Maori equivalents' out (Colenso 1881 69). He further claimed that if it were not for the missionaries who published books in 'pure Maori' and discouraged the use of 'such mis-shapen English' that te reo Māori 'would have completely deteriorated, and that very rapidly, becoming a wretched unmeaning and mixed patois.' (Colenso 1881 69). The frontismatter of the *Lexicon* notes that it includes 'copious pure Maori examples' (Colenso 1898), and in a letter noted that he intended to include examples of 'pure Maori usage'.

Formal Study of te Reo Māori

Formal study of te reo Māori and Māori culture was first undertaken by missionaries (Ranginui 2014). Settlers in New Zealand wrote about their experiences with the new flora, fauna, language and people that they were encountering and learned societies grew up in order to support their scholarly pursuits. The establishment of learned and scientific societies were important for the organisation and dissemination of secular scholarly research (Smith 2012 88-89). As Smith (2012) observes, the importance of these societies to indigenous peoples was not the reproduction of knowledge but the reproduction of a culture of 'elitism, the culture of patriarchy' (89). The New Zealand Institute was established 1867 in order to coordinate a number of regional research institutes ('Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961' 2017). Although predominantly scientific in tone, a report in 1891 show that articles in the transactions and proceedings of the New Zealand Institute were about 20% 'ethnography, agriculture, history and literature' ('Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961' 2017). With colonisation a primary

objective, nineteenth century science was increasingly interested in ethnographic descriptions of indigenous cultures and languages (Sorrenson 1992). Language was seen as a significant source of evidence for imagining human history and geographical relations (Robins 1997 189, 194). Colenso himself published ethnographic papers in the transactions and proceedings of the Royal Society papers such as *On the Ignorance of the Ancient New Zealander of the Use of Projectile Weapons* (Colenso 1878), and *Historical Incidents and Traditions of the Olden Times, pertaining to the Maoris of the North Island, (East Coast), New Zealand* (Colenso 1880).

The Polynesian Society was founded in 1892 in order to facilitate the study of Māori and Pasifika cultures. In 1888, Colenso delivered an address to the Hawkes Bay Philosophic Institute in which he stated that he

> had long been of the opinion that it would have been much better for the general welfare and advance of the Colony had a Maori (or better still, a Polynesian) Chair been created in the New Zealand University, rather than some others which have been established there.
>
> (Colenso 1888 29)

Colenso was not the only one who also wished to see a Māori Chair at the New Zealand University. Thomas Dawson Triphook was an engineer and surveyor who lived in Napier and Wellington. Triphook, like Colenso, was also involved with the scientific community and corresponded with Hochstetter ('Thomas Dawson Triphook's Letter to Hochstetter' 2017). In 1881, Triphook wrote to the Office of Native Affairs in relation to the *Lexicon* that in his opinion

> if an endowment for a professorship and scholarship in Maori in the NZ university were made conjoined with the conclusion of completing this work that it would be a benefit to both races and that while we have living men amongst us who have such an intimate knowledge of the natives, their language and customs as Mr Colenso and men of his education and experience.
>
> (Triphook 01 Sept 1881)

Triphook's suggestion was summarily dismissed. He was told that 'The suggestions made by you in the matter cannot be entertained by the Government' (Bryce 03 Jan 1882).

As Errington (2008 48) outlines, in the nineteenth century, language was a key tool in theorising human history. Studying linguistic elements licensed broader inferences about geographical and historical relations (55, 61). Colenso observed that

> The question has very often been asked—Whence came the people who were found inhabiting the islands of New Zealand? and this question has not yet been satisfactorily answered.
>
> (Colenso 1868)

He suggested that any evidence obtained from language would be 'very important' (Colenso 1868). Cognate kupu were evidence of geographical and historical relations. When putting forward a plan for the *Lexicon* Colenso specified that it would contain 'copious references (as far as known) to the principal Polynesian Dialects – e.g. those of the Sandwich Islands, Marquesas, Society, Hervey, Navigations, Friendly and Fiji Groups' and in 1886, Colenso noted how he had been 'searching out and studying the several Polynesian works' that he 'had previously noted in my quest after cognate words' (Colenso 23 Feb 1886).

Colenso also used language to argue for extraordinary colour perception possessed by Māori. Colenso's paper echoes the linguistic Universalist theories of the mid-nineteenth century which proposed a 'universal evolutionary sequence in which color vocabulary evolves in tandem with an assumed biological evolution of the color sense' (Regier et al. 2010). Jane Samson argues that Colenso used his interest in language to contribute to the scientific debate about colour perception and challenged prevailing anthropological theories (Samson 2010 68). In 1879, the Rev. James W Stack read a paper before the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury on the colour sense of Māori. Stack approved of William Gladstone's evolutionary theory which held that vocabulary relating to colour was evidence of physical perception of colour. As Stack explained,

> The First stage attained is that at which the eye becomes able to distinguish between red and black. In the Second stage, the sense of colour becomes completely distinct from the sense of light; both red and yellow, with their shades, are clearly discerned. In the Third stage, green is discernible. In the Fourth and last stage an acquaintance with blue begins to emerge.
>
> (Stack 1879 154)

Stack concluded that Māori had 'reached the third stage of colour-sense development' before the 'arrival of Europeans revealed to them the entire scale of colours possessed by the highest races of mankind' (p158). Both Colenso and Stack considered themselves experts in te reo Māori (Samson 2010 68), but Colenso (1881) found 'no small amount of error' (49) in Stacks' work and argued instead for 'the surprisingly powerful natural faculties of the Maoris' (49). While Colenso certainly demanded respect for Māori and wished to 'do the old Maoris justice' (49). Samson (2010) identifies

> typical missionary sensitivities: resentment about claims concerning 'their' indigenous flock, and internecine conflicts among the missionaries themselves about whose translation work or lexicography was definitive .
>
> (71)

Colenso argued that the reference works that Stack used were inadequate and stated that

> There are hundreds, aye, thousands of Maori words that are not to be found in the works he mentions; and it was my certain knowledge of this fact which led me to undertake the heavy work of the Polynesian (or New Zealand) Lexicon.
>
> (Colenso 1881a)

In *Notes, Chiefly Historical, on the ancient dog of the New Zealanders* (1877) Colenso uses his language skills to contest Hector's understanding of the adjective 'Māori'. The paper discusses a text by Hector about the native kuri of New Zealand. Colenso disputes a claim made by Hector by asserting that he has misunderstood the phrase 'kuri māori'. Colenso believes that Hector has understood the adjective 'māori' as modifying the noun kuri to mean a native dog, rather than a common dog. Colenso's understanding of te reo Māori allows him to counter Hector's reading of a text, and to further his own arguments.

> Their meaning (when speaking of those skins as that of a kuri Maori) may be very different from what Dr. Hector supposes. As I take it, the meaning there of the adjective Maori is very likely to be common and not indigenous
>
> (Colenso 1877)

Professional Standing & Network

Endersby (2008) observed how 'Colenso aspired to scientific standing' (110) and Wells (2011) observed that Colenso's collecting extended beyond botanical specimens to 'information, words, memories' (350) and that he sent these 'trophies back to his original homeland for approval' (351). Scientific and intellectual thought circulated throughout the British Empire influencing both the centre and the periphery. As Wilson (2004) notes, the British Empire was a 'permeable web or network shaped by global and regional currents that impacted metropolitan as much as colonial culture' (14). New

Zealand's position on the periphery of Empire provided both advantages and disadvantages. Those in New Zealand often struggled to be recognised and lacked the access to many of the resources that those at the centre enjoyed. Nevertheless, scientific minds in New Zealand enjoyed access to a rich assortment of 'exotic' specimens, including te reo Māori. Missionaries were important contributors to scientific debate and antipodean intellectuals kept abreast of metropolitan debates and contributed to them as well, demonstrating that within imperial knowledge systems knowledge from the peripheries flowed back to the metropolis just as surely as information flowed from the metropolis to the periphery (Samson 2010 67, 76).

In 1875, Colenso wrote of how he had given up his favourite scientific pursuits and that this had displeased 'not a few of my old scientific friends, with whom I had always been in close and constant hearty correspondence, among whom I may mention, In England, Dr Hooker, and others - and in New Zealand Sir G Grey, Drs Hector and Haast, Professor Kirk etc etc' (Colenso 20 Jul 1875). In 1886 he wrote of his *Lexicon* as being 'of the highest importance to the scholar and philologist' (Colenso 1886 24 Apr), and he wrote of the 'scientific men and scholars at Home, and on the Continent and in America' (Colenso 1890 12 May), as well as the 'several prominent literary men and learned societies at Home (in England) and on the continent, also from America' (Colenso 1892 15 Jun) who were eager to see and had made enquires about his *Lexicon*. When Seddon agreed to have the *Lexicon* printed, Colenso wrote that he would need presentation copies in order to 'fulfil many promises and expectations in Europe' (Colenso 1883 3 Jan). He sent a list of 83 recipients to Seddon. These included, amongst others:

The following British Libraries and their respective Librarians

- Aberdeen; A.W Roberston
- Belfast; G H Elliot
- Bermondsey; John Frowde
- Birkenhead; William May
- Birmingham; J D Mullins
- Bolton; J. K. Wait
- Bournemout; Charles Riddle
- Bradsford; Butler Wood
- Cambridge; John Pink
- Cork; James Wilkinson

- Devonport; J.w. Hunt
- Exeter; James Dallas
- Inverness;S.F Donaldson
- Manchester; G W Sutton
- Plymouth; W. H. K. Wright
- Southampton, Hamps; O. T. Hopwood
- York; Arthur H Furnish

The following endowed libraries and Librarians with their letters noted where applicable

- Cambridge, St John's College
- Cambridge, Trinity College
- Cork, Queen's College
- Dublin, National Library of Ireland; Thomas W Lyster
- Edinburgh, Museum of Science and Art; C. N. B. Muston
- Glasgow, Mitchell Library; F T Barrett
- Kew, London, Royal Botanic Gardens, Library
- London, Bishopsgate Institute; R. W. Keaton
- London, Brit. Museum Library; Sir E Maunde Thompson, D.C.L., L.L.D
- London, South Kensington Museum
- Manchester, Owen's College Library
- Oxford, Bodleian Library; W.B. Nicholson, B.A

And the following 'Foreign US and Colonial Libraries'

- California; San Francisco, Free Public Library
- Illinois; Chicago Public Library
- Illinois; Chicago University Library

Colenso was informed that '83 copies have been posted to the addresses given in your list. These last mentioned copies were sent out as coming from you' (Waldegrave 1898 22 Jun). The long list of illustrious institutions appears to reflect what Wells (2011) referred to as Colenso's 'old sore: … recognition for a defrocked missionary' (368), and as Endersby (2008) observed, Colenso, as well as other antipodean intellectuals, 'hoped to see their names in print' (147).

Roy MacDonald observes how networks of individuals in Victorian England were able to shape or influence the course of scientific activity, and how these networks wielded scientific opinion in order to easily win political battles. Conversely, Colenso needed those who held political sway to exert their influence to get the *Lexicon* published. The archival record suggests that Colenso drew upon his political network in order to get the *Lexicon* published and that networks of individuals shaped or influenced the outcome of this project.

The archival record shows the support of J.D. Ormond, the intercession of Captain William Russell Russell, and the competition between Colenso and John White. Both Ormond and Russell wrote on behalf of Colenso in support of his work on the *Lexicon*. Colenso competed with White for access to resources. The archival record inevitably prompts questions about the role of personal and professional networks in this project.

In 1867 Ormond was asked to report on Colenso's progress, which he did in 1868. He notes that the scale was 'besides the practical wants of the colony' but that Colenso's work was clear and methodical, and having embarked on this project in good faith was entitled to consideration in the matter. He proposes that Colenso finish work on the collection of words he has, without any 'extreme elaboration of English equivalents' (Ormond 1868). In his official report he states that he doesn't feel that Colenso has had enough support in his undertaking. Ormond expresses his opinion that the section of Colenso's work that has the most value is that of the Māori-English section which would have 'scientific value', but he believed that the English-Māori section would not be of enough practical value. When in 1886 it was suggested that, owing to the fact that the *Lexicon* had still not been completed, steps be taken against Colenso for breach of contract, Ormond came to his defence saying that 'To his knowledge Mr. Colenso had broken no contract' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 427). Colenso wrote to Ormond of his willingness to 'to work at it and publish it myself at my own sole cost' (Colenso 16 May 1888). Ormond wrote of his support to Edwin Mitchelson saying that Colenso 'of course believes in the work he has spent the best part of his life upon' (Ormond 20 Sept 1888).

In 1889, Colenso wrote privately to Captain Russell with an appeal. Colenso wrote

> Now what I wish you to do for me and for the Colony (to say nothing of not a few scientific men and scholars at home, and on the continent and in America) is to let that part be printed and published!
>
> (Colenso 12 May 1889)

Captain Russell in 1893, sent Colenso a telegram to inform him that the Government had promised that first part would be published (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 433). Captain Russell continued to intercede on Colenso's behalf, and in 1895 wrote to Seddon to

> venture to ask your consideration of the case of the Rvd W Colenso FRS years ago requested to compile a Lexicon of the Maori language. ... I believe that Mr W Colenso has had unexampled opportunity for the acquisition of idiomatic Maori and has during years of diligence committed his knowledge to writing. Of this work a portion now in keeping of the Native Department. The cost to the country of printing that portion would be insignificant. I venture therefore to ask that the Printing Department may be instructed to proceed forthwith to print the portion in the keeping of the Native Department
>
> (Russell 01 Aug 1895).

Colenso had apparently previously written to Sir George Grey seeking his intervention, with Grey replying that he would

> write to Mr Stafford expressing a strong wish to have the pleasure of seeing the Maori-English Lexicon completed. Such a work will hereafter be of great historical interest. I will also speak to Mr Williamson. It would have given me very great pleasure to have seen how much of the work you have done and the plan on which you are carrying it out.
>
> (Grey 15th Feb 1868).

However, as Bagnall and Petersen (1948) observe 'it is uncertain whether the intercession had any effect' (403).

Colenso was a part of a network of those engaged by the government on scholarly projects, including John White, working on *The ancient history of the Māori, his mythology and traditions* (White 2007). Colenso, in 1872, responded to a telegram that he had received in which he was informed that 'An offer to Government has been made by Dr John White of the Native Department, to furnish a considerable number of words which he has collected for a consideration: I believe the number is 150 of an antiquated character' (Colenso 17 Feb 1872). The words were apparently gathered from manuscripts belonging to Sir George Grey, who had been White's employer, and had been deposited by Grey

> in the Library of the Wellington Athenaeum ... Until a J.B (or J) White, a Maori interpreter took away the said papers ... to Auckland, stating he had Sir George Grey's authority for doing so

(Colenso 17 Feb 1872)

Colenso wrote to 'beg of you in your procuring them from him, to send them to me as early as possible' (Colenso 17 Feb 1872). Eventually, the Vice President of the Wellington Athenaeum granted permission for Colenso to obtain Grey's manuscripts from White (Woodward 20 March 1872). These exchanges in the archival record provoke questions about the scarcity and competition for resources within Colenso's network. Engaged on scholarly, state funded projects Colenso and White both vied for access to valuable assets and aid.

The archival record shows that others expressed their interest in Colenso's *Lexicon* in order to share expertise. In 1865 Arthur Samuel Atkinson wrote to express his support for the commissioning of Colenso to write a Māori dictionary (Atkinson 23 Aug 1865). Atkinson was a journalist and lawyer as well as a philologist and his scholarship is acknowledged in the preface to the fifth edition of A Dictionary of the Maori Language (1917) by Herbert Williams. He was interested in te reo Māori, but was also interested in other Polynesian and Melanesian languages as well. Beginning in 1861, Atkinson worked as a translator in the Native Affairs Office where John White also worked. With White, Atkinson had also attempted to compile a dictionary of the Māori language. Their enterprise failed, however, when a dispute arose over editing. Atkinson too believed that Māori were a dying race who would be subsumed into European culture and because of this was anxious to 'record all that is as yet unrecorded of the Maoris, their history, life and language' (Porter 2017). In addition to voicing his support in 1865, Atkinson also offered advice on the compiling of the *Lexicon*. Atkinson suggested that each word and its meaning be written on separate slip of paper and in this way they could be easily compared and rearranged (Atkinson 23 Aug 1865). This approach of using individual slips, each with a dated and attributed quotation, was used by the editors of the Oxford English Dictionary (Mugglestone 2011 62). The archival record does not suggest that Colenso followed the advice that Atkinson shared with him, describing in 1886 'the present interlined abbreviated and crowded state of the old MSS ... Have already been twice interleaved ...' (Colenso 04 Jun 1886).

In 1866 Colenso drafted a circular calling for assistance with the compiling for the *Lexicon*. He stated that

> the officers whom I would more particularly indicate as those to whom a copy of the Circular should be sent are all Civil Commissioners, Judges of the Native Lands Court, Resident Magistrates in Native Districts, and all interpreters ... And also, that a short announcement to

> Natives in the Maori tongue informing them of such a work having been commenced and calling on them to lend their aid should be printed in the Kahiti or Maori Government Gazette?
>
> (Colenso 27 Jan 1866)

In the circular Colenso declared that 'such valuable co-operation has been always by me considered as necessary to a better and early accomplishment of the Lexicon' (Colenso 1866). He outlined the ways in which 'such efficient aid may be rendered' thus;

> 1. Any memoranda (however small or rough) which they may have already made of any local or strange Maori words or phrases, or of any peculiar usage of common words.
>
> 2. Or of any songs, proverbs, sayings or recitations: especially of those that are old, local, or little known, or which may contain strange words or phrases (such as can very well be written by any intelligent native).
>
> 3. By sending me from time to time, any words or expressions which may appear to them to be local or strange, or of peculiar use among the natives of their respective districts.
>
> 4. By pointing out to me those Maoris of their districts whom they consider to be well qualified to become correspondents to assist me in my linguistic inquiries.
>
> 5. And by stirring up and encouraging those Maoris to reply fully and promptly to all such inquiries when made by me.
>
> (Colenso 1866)

He further noted that it was 'proposed when the Lexicon is published, to give due individual acknowledgment to all who shall have assisted in its preparation.' (Colenso 1866). Colenso had previously noted that 'such a circular being heartily responded to would materially aid the execution of the work' (Colenso Dec 12 1865). It was however to become a sticking point for Colenso. When the *Lexicon* was finally printed in in 1898, it did not contain many individual acknowledgements. Additionally, the addendum, a reproduction of a 1875 letter from Colenso presented to the General Assembly, tells, contradictorily, of how 'not from one European did I ever receive any answer, save from my lamented friend the superintendent of Auckland, J Williamson, Esq.' but that 'subsequently, however, two European gentlemen filling official situations (S. Locke, Esq., RM., and Mr James Grindell) have assisted me; also the present Colonial Secretary, G.S. Cooper, Esq.' (Colenso 1898).

In 1873, Colenso claimed he had expected, but had not received 'Efficient aid and hearty co-operation' (Colenso 30 Aug 1873). When listing the conditions on which he would agree to complete the *Lexicon* Colenso called for 'some suitable instruction forthwith issued by the Government to their chief Officers residing in Maori districts to assist me', and appended his 1866 circular which he claimed 'was never acted on or replied to owing to the lukewarm way in which it was brought out by the Government (or Native Minister) of that time' (Colenso 15 Jun 1885). Shortly after this, Lewis sent out a letter to: R. S. Bush, Captain George Augustus Preece, James Booth, Samuel Deighton, James S Clendon, Captain Herbert W. Brabant, Major David Scannell, S von Sturmer, George Thomas Wilkinson, Robert Maunsell and others to request their assistance (Lewis 01 Jul 1886). The archive shows responses all of which express a willingness to help (Clendon 14 1885, Ward 17 Jul 1885, Bush 20 Jul 1885, Milroy 03 Aug 1885, Preece 10 Aug 1885).

Although the archive is resoundingly made up of Pākehā voices, there are a handful of Māori voices too. These are the only correspondence written in te reo Māori, and from Māori men. They include Hone Mohi Tawhai, politician and Nga Puhi leader (Walker 1993), Te Keepa Te Rangi-puawhe, Tuhourangi leader (Oliver 1990), Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake of Ngati Kura and Ngati Mutunga descent, primarily associated with Te Ati Awa and considered a prominent Ati Awa leader (Parsonson 1990), Rawiri te Rangikaurua, a member of the Native Affairs committee ('NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (REPORTS OF). NGA KUPU A TE KOMITI O TE RUNANGA MO NGA MEA MAORI' 1879), and Paori Kuramate, the chairman of the Whanganui Native Committee (Ward 1997). Their letters were addressed to the Native Minister, but were being forwarded to Colenso (Colenso 1885 10 November).

Rangikaurua provided some discussion regarding the word Arikitapairu, elucidating thus, 'We, the Maoris in speaking of such a one as the Queen, or of the supreme Chiefs and their descendants, if of the senior line of ancestry, would use the term 'Ariki Tapairu' (Rangikaurua 28 Jul 1885, from the translated version). Rangikaurua is quoted in the entry which reads

> ***Arikitapairu**. s. A chief, male or female, in regular lineal descent from eldest lineal ancestor, eldest throughout in unbroken continuity; the highest form of genealogical descent*
>
> *'I whakahuatia ano e Wahanui tenei ingoa te Arikitapairu i tana whai korero ki te Paramete; he kupu he whakanui tena i a te Kuini.'*[1] *– (Rawiri te Rangikaurua, in lit. to the Government)*

[1] Wahanui used the word 'Ariki Tapairu before the General Assembly last year. This was used as a name of honour for the Queen

(Colenso 1898)

Tawhai, an assessor to the Native Land Court, a Member of the House of Representatives for Northern Māori, and an advocate for Māori rights, corresponded with Stephenson Percy Smith, the ethnologist, about, amongst other things, the descent lines of Nga Puhi from Tumutumuwhenua and Nukutawhiti despite his reservations about Pākehā writing Māori history (Walker 2017). Tawhai wrote asking; 'Will you let me know the title of Mr Colenso's book, the one that he is now engaged upon. When informed of its title I shall then know what Maori words to forward' (Tawhai 18 Aug 1885, from the translated version). While Te Rangi-puwhe enquired 'What are the words? How are we to understand the nature of the information he wishes to be supplied with?' (Rangi-puwhe 16 Sept 1885, from the translated version).

Colenso was also in contact with a man named Hamuera who does not appear as a named authority in the sample taken but nonetheless, in 1866 Colenso wrote that he had received little support for his undertaking

> Save from one useful aged Maori whom I have long known named Hamuera living at Pourerere on the outer East Coast ... paying all his expenses and also allowing him a small sum
>
> (Colenso 23 Feb 1886)

Colenso's late diaries (from 1889 onwards) mention Hamuera 11 times. Entries include; 'Sent Hamuera, a fresh lot of words' (28 February 1891), and 'Wrote to Hamuera, enclosing £1., advance' (13 May 1890). There is no other record of payments to those who may have helped Colenso with his *Lexicon*.

Colenso had previously implied that the failure to get the *Lexicon* out was partly due to the lack of support that Colenso had received (Colenso 30 Aug 1873, 20 Jul 1875). And despite inviting assistance, Colenso found it a hardship. He described how the Government could not be cognisant of the 'the execution it had cost - including tedious and frequent correspondence with Maoris and others' (Colenso 30 Jun 1886). He wrote in 1889 of how 'For a long time I have been very desirous of obtaining some aid from several Maoris whose names you sent me, and from others whose names have been also forwarded to me …' but that he '... could scarcely see how I was to communicate with them, situated as I am with no skilled clerical assistant and spending my whole time in working at the Maori Lexicon' (Colenso 16 Oct 1889). All in all, Colenso, in negotiating his payment claimed in 1889, that 'all my outlay to Maoris' had cost him '... altogether about £50' (Colenso 30 Mar 1889).

Remuneration

Colenso's negotiations over his remuneration are revealing of his professional anxieties. His insistence on what he considered to be fair remuneration is an insistence that his efforts and expertise had worth, and would also elevate his work from that of a passionate amateur to that of a professional. The *Lexicon* was a state funded project. Colenso first proposed the work in his role as School Inspector, although Bagnall and Petersen (1948) suggest that Colenso had been entertaining the idea of such a work before his election to Parliament (395), and it was Walter Mantell as Native Minister, but 'predominantly of scientific turn of mind' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 396), who asked that Colenso put forward a plan for his ambitious project (Mantell 19 Jun 1865).

A dictionary, as a reference work, is undoubtedly a useful tool which facilitates both the effective governing of two distinct language communities, as well as assisting scholarly publishing. Dictionaries and grammars were pragmatic vehicles that enabled communication but they also allowed mātauranga Māori to be converted into European objects of knowledge. As Cohn (1996) describes, they were instruments by which commands could be issued and which would assist in the ever increasing collection of information (21). He illustrates how dictionaries held a dual function: 'at one and the same time there was a scholarly curiosity to unlock the mysterious knowledge of the ancients, and an immediate practical necessity … for better government' (26). The state in New Zealand has always been a major publisher. Its Parliamentary publications kept citizenry informed, while government departments became 'exemplary publishers' in their individual fields (Ringer 1997 122). The Government Printing Office, established in 1864, was an important publisher of scientific monographs, such as the Flora of New Zealand series (Jasperse 1997 127). Knowledge of te reo Māori was the means of acquiring further knowledge of te ao Māori (Cohn 1996). New Zealand's government funded a number of scholarly works. One such publication was the 'problematic' (Caffin 2014) *The ancient history of the Maori, his mythology and traditions* by John White first published between 1887 and 1890 (Reilly 1990; White 2007). White had, with Arthur Atkinson, previously also attempted to compile a dictionary (Porter 2017). White had worked with Sir George Grey as a translator, and as interpreter for travelling officials. By the mid-1870's White had gained a reputation as an ethnographer, and in 1879 was appointed to compile and write an official Māori history. The task took over 10 years and the work was published in six volumes between 1887 and 1890. In 1880, it was suggested that the *Lexicon* might 'be put through the Press by Mr John White' (Lewis 24 Apr 1880). Colenso was very much aware that both he and White were both engaged on scholarly projects for the state and this was something of a sore

point for Colenso. Having been told that the government could not take on the 'indefinite liability' (Lewis 29 Jul 1886) of seeing the *Lexicon* through to completion Colenso wrote that

> in my judgement, a far less important matter viz 'Whites Maori History' ... all this heavy and long expenditure of public money being made without a disapproving remark! ...
>
> (Colenso 16 Aug 1886)

Colenso's interpretation that White's project was without any 'disapproving remarks' was incorrect. White faced the same difficulties as Colenso did with cost-cutting and rigid completion dates very nearly thwarting the project a number of times (Reilly 1990). Colenso, once again on the subject of money, wrote in 1889 of how 'John White was, and is, being paid!' (Colenso 12 May 1889). White's project would be 'curtailed' in 1890 in a move 'widely regarded as short sighted' (Reilly 1990).

The very first agreement between Colenso and the Government laid out the following conditions;

> a Vocabulary of the Maori Language in two parts … and also three progressive English-Maori Lesson Books for Maori children the whole is to be completed by the first of January 1866 for which the government undertake to pay him £300 on the satisfactory completion of the works.
>
> (Knight 11 Jan 1864)

Colenso wrote in 1865 that he had spent £50 of his own money on supplies from England (Colenso 28 Apr 1865) and calculated 'The maximum total expenses ... may be reckoned at £300 per annum: - thus £200 per annum to the editor and an allowance not exceeding £100 per annum for actual travelling' (Colenso 05 Jul 1865).

The payment that Colenso was to receive did not pass without comment. An unsigned memo observes that

> Archdeacon L Williams of Poverty Bay is ... Engaged in compiling a Dictionary without being paid for it. Wm Colenso has been receiving at the rate of £120 per annum for some time past
>
> (24 Oct 1865)

In 1866, having missed his initial deadline, and not having communicated any grounds for delay to the Government 'though the sum of £30 per quarter has been drawn' Colenso was called upon to provide an explanation. Colenso claimed that were it the case that he would 'have by this time have drawn about £270 - but I may inform you that I have not wholly availed myself of that permission having only

drawn £150 ...' (Colenso 28 Mar 1866). An unsigned memo advises 'Do not pay Wm Colenso's claim for £150 till further advised' (29 Mar 1866). Colenso wrote that he had not set 'any specific sum as due' and that this was 'purposely left open for the government to supply' (Colenso 10 Dec 1866). While waiting on a report from J.D. Ormond as to his progress, Colenso's total payment was tallied up.

> The total amount paid to Mr Colenso; 1863-4; £60.00, 1864-5; £90.00, 1865-6; £80.00, 1866-7; £150.00, 1867-8; £100 = £480
>
> (Stafford 23 Dec 1867)

James Richmond, when trying to move forward with the *Lexicon*, proposed that Colenso be paid £500 over eighteen months at the end of which time the work should be ready for the press, and Colenso would receive a lump sum of £200 (Richmond 09 Jul 1868). In addition to these payments Colenso also petitioned for and was granted 'an additional allowance for postage say £10.' (Richmond 1868). Colenso further wrote that

> with reference to payment - I feel constrained under all the circumstances to say a word (lest some few, knowing little of the drudgery of such an undertaking - may suppose that I am too well paid, and that I wish to keep the Government to the literal performance of a hard bargain.

When Colenso missed his second deadline of 1st April 1870 he wrote that he 'it is not my intention to seek or to claim from the government any further pay ... other than the stipulated sum of £100 on the completion of the said Work' (Colenso 01 Apr 1870). Another tally of payments to Colenso was made

> memo of payments to Wm Colenso on account of Maori Lexicon 1864-5 £230; 1866-7 £150; 1867-8 £400; 1868-9 £238.6.8; 1869-70 £66.13.4; £100; Total £1180
>
> (internal memo 23 Jul 1873).

Colenso would claim that he did not 'know *total* sum' and had 'received no pay since March 1870 all my working at it since then gratuitous' (Colenso 24 Jul 1870).

Colenso wrote to Donald McLean claiming that if he had the means he would 'hand back to the Government every farthing I have ever received (including expenses and outlay)'. Colenso, recalling his negotiations with Richmond stated that

> In 1868 … Mr Richmond forced upon me his official determination:… that no more money should be paid to me … From my appointment to this work in 1866 down to March 1870 … I only received from the Government about £980
>
> (Colenso 20 Jul 1875)

A considerably different sum that the £1180 Government stated it spent. Colenso proposed that he

> forthwith hand over all my Maori Mss to the Government; and on doing so receive £200 viz. £100 (as last stipulated) remaining due on the work; and £100, long overdue, for writing certain elementary English-Maori Books (Willies first English Book etc)
>
> (Colenso 20 Jul 1875)

The proposal was subsequently accepted by the Government and withdrawn by Colenso.

In 1880, 'The question may be asked - what will the Colony get for £1180' (Lewis 24 Apr 1880). Colenso attempted to get his manuscripts back from the Government who responded that if Colenso was to 'refund the sum paid by the Government to date on account of the work, amounting in all to £1180' then there would be 'no objection at all to the arrangement' (Lewis 1880).

Colenso later stated that he would 'never more consent to take any fixed pay or salary from a Government who so unceremoniously and thoughtlessly broke their original contract with me' (Colenso 30 May 1885) but that he would continue to work to get the *Lexicon* published. He did request however

> A further sum of £50 (fifty pounds) per annum be allowed me wherewith to pay or reward any Maori or Maoris who may assist me in making distant enquiries etc. as now-a-days Maoris will not work without some pay or reward.
>
> (Colenso 15 Jun 1885)

Colenso was given an allowance of £50 for paying his Māori informants.

Although he had previously stated that he would 'never more consent to take any fixed pay or salary' from the Government, he stated a year later that he 'would expect a fair and reasonable remuneration for the same, and so for each portion when sent in' (Colenso 04 Jun 1886). He suggested that '£300 ... That some such similar sum for each like portion in rough draft might be deemed a fair and reasonable remuneration'. It was an about-turn that caused some confusion. Lewis wrote that he 'cannot understand Mr Colenso's reasoning ... He makes what he calls a 'free proposal' which winds up with

Colenso stating that ... £300 'or some such amount would be satisfactory' (Lewis 08 Jul 1886). Colenso was told that the Government were not able to 'entertain a proposal which would impose upon the colony any indefinite liability' (Lewis 29 Jul 1886). In response Colenso maintained that he would do no more work to get the *Lexicon* ready until 'until all past and unpaid work is paid for and settled' (Colenso 16 Aug 1886). Colenso was duly informed that 'in the opinion of the Government you have been paid a large sum of public money, without the receipt by the Colony of any equivalent return' (Lewis 01 Sept 1886). The sum of money paid on account of the *Lexicon* was criticized in article in the Evening Post entitled 'Another Source of Extravagance' and asked whether Mr Colenso had

> designs upon his long-suffering country for compensation' and concluded that 'care must be taken to prevent in future the printing of useless returns and books, which should be published by private enterprise, or not at all
>
> (*Evening Post* 1887)

By 1888, Colenso was offering to 'publish it myself at my own sole cost … I paying every charge for the same' (Colenso 16 May 1888). The government agreed that if the printing and publishing of the work was completed by Colenso then they would 'agree to forego the present claim of the Colony upon the MSS and will regard the work as your private property', however, if Colenso should 'discontinue the publication the Government consider that the unpublished MSS will belong to the Colony' (Lewis 10 Oct 1888). The Native Minister of the day, Harry Atkinson, agreed that if Colenso were to be forced to discontinue the publishing of the *Lexicon* (Colenso was 78 at this point) the 'the Government, in claiming the MSS for the Colony, should pay you or your executors all actual additional outlay' (Lewis 07 Nov 1888). Colenso, having been informed that the Government was prepared to allow a reasonable sum for his time and labour named 'the low sum of £150 per part' (Colenso 30 Mar 1889). He further requested that the government pay him for

> work done ... including also all my outlay to Maoris ... altogether about £50 ... and viz £300. And that all remuneration to me hence forth ... be left until the completion of the work by me (Colenso 30 Mar 1889).

When in 1892 Colenso wrote to Alfred Cadman, the Native Minister of the day, he expressed his concern about being seen to have taken money for a work he had not completed saying

> I may also add another motive affecting my character, owing to the many false and painful statements that have long been in circulation respecting both me and my Work, (and, I fear, too

> often believed) viz. that I have been continually receiving Government pay for the Work, and at the same time have been doing nothing!! Whereas I have never received a penny for it from the Government since March 1870
>
> (Colenso 1892 15 Jun)

Unfortunately, Cadman was unmoved and Colenso was told that 'owing to the present financial condition of the Colony … the Government can hold onto no hope at present of printing the work in question' (Cadman 17 Jun 1892). In 1895, Captain Russell wrote to Richard Seddon, who was then Native Minister, to intercede on behalf of Colenso. Russell informed Seddon that Colenso was willing to pay for half the cost of printing and publishing (Russell 13 Aug 1895). In 1898, Colenso wrote that he had received at last a fair copy of the *Lexicon* and was waiting for the 'Bill of Costs' (Colenso 21 Feb 1898). He owed £26 (Waldegrave 29 Dec 1898)

Colenso died in 1899. He had bequeathed his *Lexicon* manuscripts to the Government for £300. Before agreeing to the terms of Colenso's will the Government commissioned a report on the manuscripts (Waldegrave 02 May 1899). Percy Smith wrote that 'The price at which Mr Colenso, in his will, offers it to the Government is £300 ... In my opinion it is worth it' (Smith 22 Sept 1899).

It appears that Colenso was paid £1180 by Government, and owed them £26, leaving £1154. Colenso's estate was then paid £300 bringing the total monies paid to Colenso to £1454. This does not take into account the allowance allowed Colenso for paying Māori informants nor the privilege of franking mail (Colenso 15 Jun 1885, Postmaster General 24 Jun 1885) nor supplies such as the '2 reams of ruled foolscap paper, 100 envelopes official size and 100 envelopes common letter size' that were requested in 1889 (Colenso 04 Mar, Seddon 26 Mar 1889), and nor the 'services of a competent man from the Armed Constabulary Force' (Clarke 11 Sep 1873) who was allowed Colenso to act as copying clerk. Colenso himself claimed that he was only paid £980 but that he ought to have been paid as 'originally stipulated – seven years at £300 = £2100' (Colenso 20 Jul 1875).

Bagnall and Petersen note that 'Scientific workers to-day owe a debt of gratitude to Colenso for his insistence on receiving adequate remuneration for his work' (1948 p398). While Endersby (2008) emphasises how Colenso never asked Hooker for payment, believing rather in the ideal of practising science for love rather than money (97). These contrasting views echo the conflicting views expressed by Colenso himself in regards to his *Lexicon*. He both demanded 'fair and reasonable remuneration' (04 Jun 1886), and declaimed that he would never 'consent to take any fixed pay or salary from a Government'

(Colenso 30 May 1885) who had mistreated him. In 1863, Colenso stated that 'A mere Vocabulary alone I should not care to work at: had I wished to do so I might have done it long ago, and have made money by it, having been often importuned by Printers to get out such work.'(Colenso 19 Dec 1863).

The above summary suggests that Colenso's personal sense of his professional value was at play in his negotiations over his payment. His sense of his own worth raises questions about what he felt the worth of mātauranga Māori to be. Colenso commoditized mātauranga Māori. Barber (1996) discusses the ways in which 'linguistic skills proved to be immensely useful for investigating the indigenous mores of scientific knowledge and classificatory systems' (155). Cohn (1996) identified the intricate relationship between linguistic competences and the exercise of colonial power observing how languages could be objectified and defined as 'discoveries' (16-56).

Personal Connection to te Reo Māori

Although Colenso clearly expressed a belief that the reo Māori was 'passing away' he also expressed a genuine affection for the reo. Colenso claimed that there were three things in this life of which he could say he knew a little. These included botany, the Sabbath, and 'the Polynesian language' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 434). In their biography, Bagnall and Petersen (1948) note that Colenso was an 'earnest' (55) student of te reo but that his mastering of te reo was hampered by his 'nervous stammering' (45-46). Colenso was able to overcome his stammer and he then made rapid progress in learning the reo. Their placing together of these two facts intimates that learning te reo Māori was somehow connected to his overcoming a stammer. Ian St George claimed that Colenso was 'a stutterer who found that he did not stutter in Maori' (St George 2016). Whether or not learning a second language helped Colenso overcome his stammer, it acts as an apt metaphor for the importance that te reo Māori held in Colenso's life. He praised the language for its 'euphony, simplicity, brevity, clearness, and copiousness' and its 'great beauty and power of expression' (Colenso 1868 45). When Colenso translated te reo Māori to the English language he used the 'archaic but poetic' English language of the King James Bible (St George 2018 2). Indeed, Bagnall and Petersen (1948) further note that te reo Māori was the only language spoken by Colenso and his wife and children at home (334).

In an essay titled *On the Maori Races of New Zealand* (1868) Colenso noted that although 'several Europeans' spoke 'the New Zealand language' few of them ever 'thought, or cared to think, in Maori' (49). Rewi (2012) observes that from 1840 onwards, translation and interpretation became increasingly

refined with Māori gaining a greater understanding of how Europeans thought, and vice versa (82). After three years in New Zealand, Colenso 'knew Maori fairly well' (Bagnall and Petersen 1948 73), he joined in conversations with Māori as he travelled and in this way he learnt about 'their ways of thought' (67). In an essay titled *On Nomenclature* Colenso demonstrates an appreciation for the nuance of Māori place names, and stated that

> the study of ancient Maori names of places, plants, and animals … is deeply interesting, and philologically useful; but it is a difficult one, and should only be prosecuted by a person very well skilled in the general Maori language, ... and who, also, CAN THINK IN MAORI [sic]
>
> (Colenso 1883 15)

The paper is Colenso's own study of 'Maori names of places, plants and animals' which suggests that he perhaps believed that not only could he speak te reo Māori, but could 'think in Maori' too.

Colenso's connection to te reo Māori is apparent in the *Lexicon* just as it is apparent in his paper *Ancient Tide Lore and Tales of the Sea, from the two Ends of the World* in which Colenso considers 'what the Maoris believed to be the origin and cause of the tides' (419). He turns to language in order to consider this. Parata is a taniwha who causes the ebb and flow of the tide. Colenso observes how the name Parata can be use figuratively and proverbially and how 'this word or name of Parata was also of great and ancient usage among the Maoris', it was 'also found in the ancient prayer'.

In a paper presented to the New Zealand Institute in 1881 called *On the Fine Perception of Colours Possessed by the Ancient Māori* (1881) Colenso uses colour names to argue for the extraordinary colour perception possessed by Māori. In the paper's appendix Colenso lists many variations and modifications of the word 'whero' demonstrating the nuance of the language and his own language skills. In a footnote Colenso posits that he could write an entire philological paper on the word 'kikorangi';

> Still, their very expressive proper name for the intense blue sky—kikorangi (on which and its correlatives a chapter of interesting philological exegesis might be written) …. (I believe that I was the first who discovered, or unearthed, and brought into early notice this term.)
>
> (Colenso 1881)

He had a great respect for the importance of names; of persons, places and things, and he took pride in using te reo names in his botanical work (Endersby 2008 206). He wrote a paper, *On Nomenclature* (Colenso 1883), on the significance of te reo Māori names. He demonstrates his understanding of the

shades of meaning and nuance that names could hold. In the paper he expresses the relationship between the world around him and the words used to name it, saying ‘Language adheres to the soil, when the lips which spoke it are resolved into dust’ (Colenso 1883).

Conclusion

William Colenso's *Māori-English Lexicon* is a slim volume situated in a number of overlapping contexts. The *Lexicon* had a dual purpose; at one and the same time it was a scholarly, pragmatic project which would secure Colenso's professional standing. And it was also a key which allowed him to unlock te ao Māori. The archive reveals Colenso as a man who was anxious about his professional standing. His longing to be validated as a professional scholar was demonstrated by his dogged determination to get the work published and to have been paid justly for it.

Colenso believed that providing practical linguistic knowledge through his *Lexicon* would be significant on a number of fronts. It would be useful to missionaries who sought to convert Māori to Christianity in their own language; to teachers who wished to use te reo Māori to teach Māori children the English language; to politicians who used te reo Māori to govern two distinct language communities; to those scholars in the budding fields of linguistics and anthropology. And it would be useful to Colenso himself; validating his experience and securing his professional standing.

Colenso sought to have his expertise recognised by academics and intellectuals. He inserted himself into networks of professional scholars. He cited Dr Hooker, George Grey, Dr Hector, Dr Haast, and Professor Kirk as being keenly interested in his work (Colenso 20 Jul 1875). There are also the unnamed scholars, philologists, scientific men in Europe and in America, prominent literary men and learned societies whom he claimed were concerned with his work (Colenso 24 Apr 1886, 12 May 1890, 15 Jun 1892). He sent presentation copies to prestigious libraries and colleges in Britain and America (Colenso 03 Jan 1883). Colenso was a man who aspired to professional scientific standing and longed to see his name in print (Endersby 2008 110 147).

Colenso's anxieties over his professional standing are most clearly revealed in his negotiations about payment. The *Lexicon* was partly funded by the Government of New Zealand who by 1873 had paid Colenso £1180. Endersby (2008) asserted that Colenso worked for the love of science and not for money. Colenso himself claimed that, feeling so mistreated, he would never accept a salary from the government (Colenso 30 May 1885). Nevertheless, he insisted on 'fair and reasonable' remuneration (04 Jun 1886). His insistence on fair remuneration is an insistence that his work and his knowledge had worth. Colenso did not consider his work to simply be that of an amateur enthusiast. He wished to be treated and paid as a professional. He was anxious that the *Lexicon* be published so that he might make a claim to professional scholarship, and he insists on his work being paid for so that his scholarship

might be considered that of a professional. Colenso was so determined that the *Lexicon* be published that ultimately he offered to pay for the publishing costs himself (Colenso 16 May 1888).

The archival record shows us the competitive nature of scholarly work in Victorian New Zealand. Colenso was clear that his project was to be larger than that of William Williams (Colenso 19 Dec 1863), and he compared what he had received to what he believed that other scholars received (Colenso 30 Aug 1873). He found himself competing for resources; vying with John White for access to valuable assets and aid. The competition with John White further underscores Colenso's anxieties about being paid, about being validated, and about being a scholar.

There is a surprising lack of detail regarding Colenso's working practices as a lexicographer. In thirty years' worth of correspondence he never discusses how exactly he planned on going about recording 'every known word in the Maori tongue' (Colenso 05 Jul 1865). As a naturalist Colenso was a sloppy collector; with samples stored incorrectly, and an over-enthusiastic splitter (Wells 2011 345-347, 363, 366). The same appears true of his lexicography. He worked with a manuscript he described as crowded, interlined, abbreviated and twice interleaved (Colenso 04 Jun 1886); and was preoccupied with the perhaps overly fine detail he packed into the definitions for words.

Colenso's competitive collecting is revealing of the colonial imperative. The intellectual work of compiling a work fed into the broader ideological work of presenting te reo Māori as a 'discovery'. Collection was at the heart of his botany and of his *Lexicon*. Colenso's *Lexicon* commoditised mātauranga Māori. In New Zealand, the scientifically minded enjoyed access to a rich assortment of 'exotic' specimens, and collected 'trophies' which could be sent back to metropolitan centres. When compiling the *Lexicon*, Colenso drew on historic principles for citations and privileged the written word over the spoken, despite te reo Māori's oral traditions. He conformed to the conventions of 'dictionaries of our Western languages' (Colenso 1898 ix) despite te reo Māori being an Austronesian language. Colenso drew mostly on the bible and texts by George Grey. Māori sources are only vaguely cited, divorced from their origins and whakapapa. The *Lexicon* prompts its reader to ask what authority means when mātauranga Māori and the Western cultural archive meet. Kupu were collected, classified and presented back to the West as 'discoveries' likely to earn their discoverers money and mana.

On a personal level, Colenso's *Lexicon* appears as a metaphysical exploration of the language. The *Lexicon* is a record of his lifelong encounter with another language, and another culture. The *Lexicon* was a deeply personal project through which Colenso sought to understand the country and culture he

had made his home. A complex knowledge of te reo Māori was a means of gaining a more complex knowledge of Māori culture. Throughout his lifetime Colenso would use the language to think in Māori. As Wells (2011) observes, 'his Maori Lexicon was an attempt to physicalize the intangible, shadowy soul of Maoriness itself' (383). Colenso's *Lexicon* is not just a record of his linguistic competence but of his cultural competence. Learning to speak te reo Māori inserted Colenso into the Māori experience.

The choices we make about which language, or which variety, to use is a symbol of affinity and inclusion. It has been argued that there are two main types of motivations for second language learners. An instrumental motivation has a focus on language learning for a particular purpose. An integrative motivation is when a learner does not just learn a language to get by or for a particular purpose, but rather learns a language in order to identify with the speakers of that language, and understand their cultural values (Bauer, Holmes, and Warren 2006 217). Colenso learnt te reo Māori at first to get by, but ultimately his motivations were integrative. In te reo, Colenso found a fluency that he lacked in his mother tongue. He expressed a respect for the language which acknowledged its mauri. He wrote movingly of it saying, 'The Language is remarkable for its euphony, simplicity, brevity, clearness, and copiousness' (Colenso 1868 45).

The work was close to Colenso's heart; it should have been the culmination of a lifetime spent learning a language, and the pinnacle of his professional aspirations. Colenso acknowledged how much there was he did not know, and the *Lexicon* is filled with gaps. In this way, it exists as one man's attempt to record all that he *did* know of a language, and reveals how much he did *not* know. Colenso's failure to complete the *Lexicon* was a great disappointment to him.

> I have found the work I undertook to execute to be far more difficult and tedious than I have anticipated
>
> (Colenso 28 Mar 1866)

In this thesis I examined the *Lexicon* itself. I drew on a methodology developed by Coleman and Ogilvie (2009) who proposed that statistical information drawn from countable features of a dictionary can complementary insights to historic research.

The analysis showed that the *Lexicon* was overwhelmingly made up of nouns. It raised questions about whether the categories that Colenso used were appropriate to te reo Māori, and highlighted how grammatical classifications have changed over time. The number of senses reveal Colenso as a splitter rather than a lumper in his lexicography; just as he was in his botany. The gaps where no definition was

given emphasise how Colenso was a lifelong language learner who was still searching for meaning. In order to ground Colenso's *Lexicon* in the 19th century I compared it to William Williams' contemporaneous *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*. This comparison raised a number of interesting questions about what a more in-depth analysis could contribute to our understanding of New Zealand's history, and to ongoing lexicography. Looking at the orthography Colenso used reveals his contribution to the ongoing negotiations about the visual character of written te reo Māori, and his use of the breve suggests that Colenso discerned a three-way distinction in vowel quality. By far the most compelling of the categories that I examined was the 'examples of use and their attributions'. Dictionaries 'construct, perpetuate and legitimate authority because of their power to name and authorise' (Baider 2007 69). The *Lexicon* is a meeting of mātauranga Māori and the Western cultural archive and it prompts us to consider what authority means in this context. The analysis revealed Colenso's subjective selection practices; and the way he ascribed authority to the printed word over the spoken, and viewed te reo Māori through a Western descriptivist lens.

Colenso believed that te reo Māori was passing away, and it needed to be preserved and protected. He believed that te reo Māori was contaminated by contact with the English language. Colenso called the language contact between te reo Māori and the English language a 'common colloquial patois' (Colenso 1883), and he was clear that the *Lexicon* would be predicated on 'pure' Māori (Colenso 05 Jul 1865, 1898), and would preserve the language for posterity.

The *Lexicon* can be considered in relation to the formal study of te reo Māori. Language was a key part of theorising about human history and geography. Colenso's interest in language allowed him to challenge prevailing anthropological theories and to argue for his own theories. He drew upon language as evidence for a number of his Royal Society papers. An enquiry suggested that the completion of the *Lexicon* be an opportunity for the establishment of a professorship of Māori studies at the New Zealand University (Triphook 01 Sept 1881). A proposal that echoed Colenso's own opinions (Colenso 1888 29)

The archival record inevitably raises questions about Colenso's professional and personal networks. Colenso implied that the failure to get the *Lexicon* out was partly due to the lack of support that Colenso had received (Colenso 30 Aug 1873, 20 Jul 1875). Colenso's network did in fact shape the outcome of the *Lexicon*. Colenso drew on his political networks for intercession and support. He was a part of a network of people engaged on scholarly works, and with whom he viewed himself in competition with. Colenso's work on the *Lexicon* extended beyond his own network, calling as he did on 'Civil

Commissioners, Judges of the Native Lands Court, Resident Magistrates in Native Districts, and all interpreters' (Colenso 27 Jan 1866).

The *Lexicon* is a much neglected facet of Colenso's life, and a neglected resource itself. This thesis has only just begun to scrape the surface. In Bagnall and Petersen's biography, there are only a handful of pages dedicated to this fascinating facet of Colenso's life. Both the archival record, and the *Lexicon* itself are rich sources of insight into Colenso's own life, and lexicography in New Zealand.

Comparing Colenso's *Lexicon* to other contemporaneous Māori-English dictionaries could reveal facts about te reo Māori itself, as well as dictionary-making, and the complex relationships between te reo Māori and the English language. A more thorough comparison of dictionaries from this time could contribute to historical lexicography, socio-linguistics, socio-pragmatics, dialect studies, and more.

Cultural knowledge is encoded in language. The *Lexicon*, like other dictionaries from this time, "embodies and sharply reflects New Zealand's very identity; socially, culturally, and environmentally" (Deverson 2000; p.25). Nineteenth century te reo Māori dictionaries are records of language as it was then, and are also records of those who compiled them and the context in which they were compiled. There is a significant body of work which explores the relationships between lexicography, indigenous languages and colonialism. A more in-depth examination of the *Lexicon* could situate New Zealand within this wider context.

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Appendix

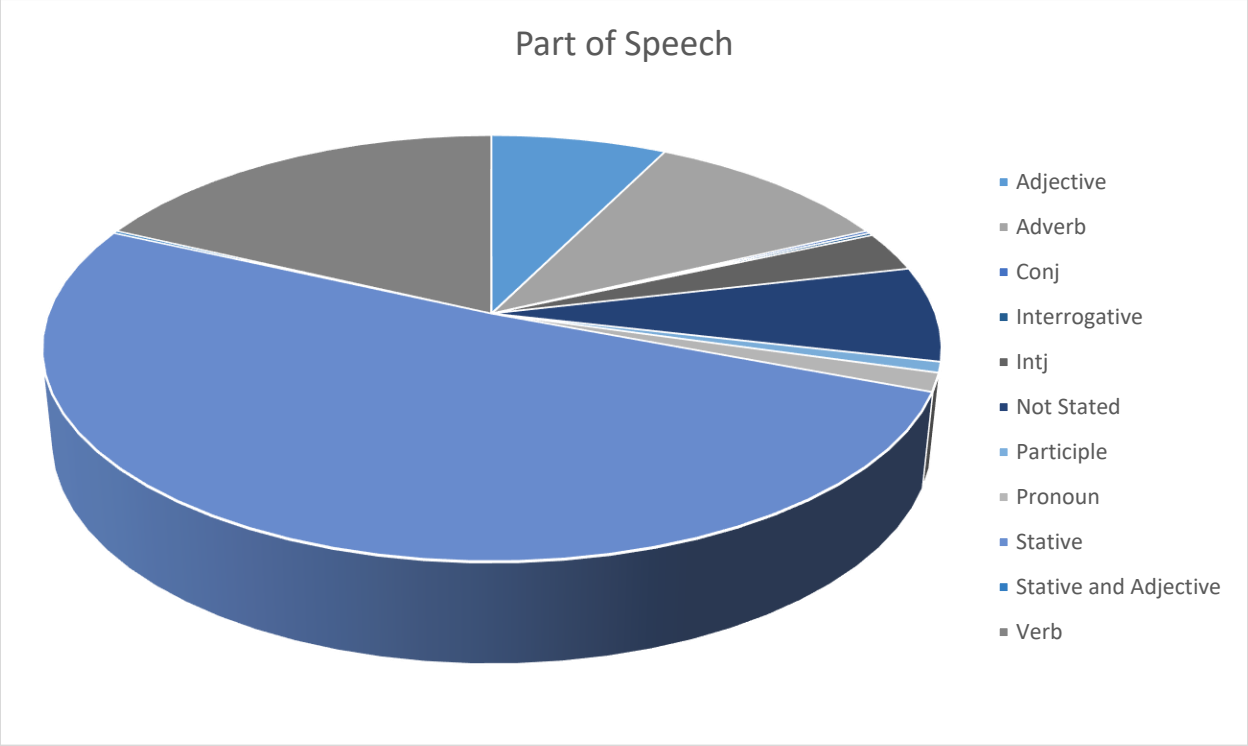
Parts of Speech

Table 1 describes the parts of speech used by Colenso in his *Lexicon*. It provides a raw count of the different classifications used by Colenso within the sample, and also expresses them as a percentage.

Table 1. Grammatical Classifications

Part of Speech	Count of Part of Speech	Count of Part of Speech as percentage
Adjective	37	7.40%
Adverb	53	10.60%
Conj	1	0.20%
Interrogative	1	0.20%
Intj	15	3.00%
Not Stated	36	7.20%
Participle	4	0.80%
Pronoun	7	1.40%
Stative	255	51.00%
Stative and Adjective	1	0.20%
Verb	90	18.00%
Grand Total	500	100.00%

Chart 1. Part of Speech



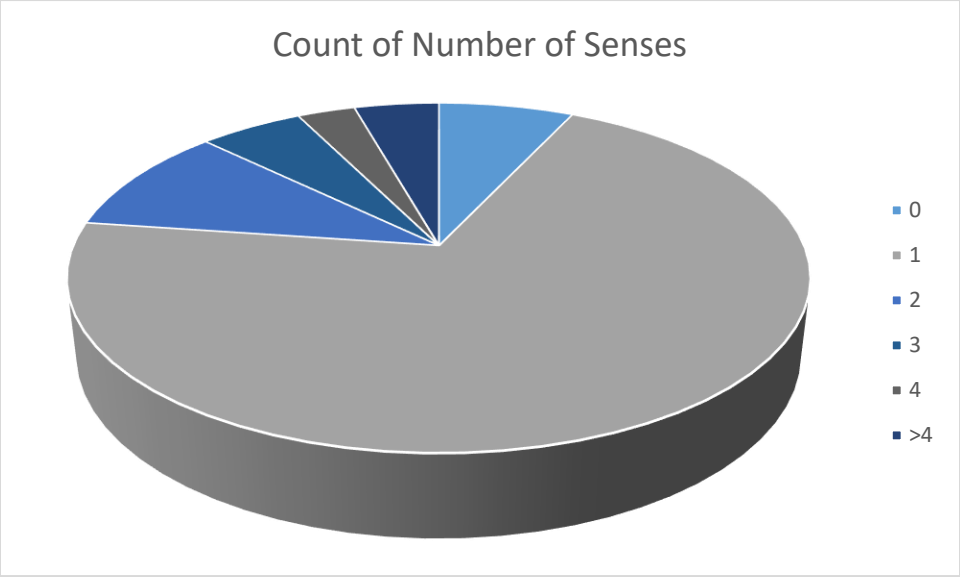
Number of Senses

Table 2 describes the number of senses (the set of meanings identified for a given head word) that Colenso provides for each headword. It provides a count of the different classifications used by Colenso within the sample, and also expresses them as a percentage.

Table 2. Number of Senses

Number of Senses	Count of No# of Senses	Count of No# of Senses as Percentage
0	35	7.00%
1	351	70.20%
2	50	10.00%
3	27	5.40%
4	15	3.00%
>4	22	4.40%
Grand Total	500	100.00%

Chart 2. Number of Senses



Examples of use

Table 3 illustrates how many examples of the headword in a sentence are provided.

Table 3

Number of Examples of Use per Entry	Count of Number of examples of use	Count of Number of examples of use2
0	219	43.80%
1	152	30.40%
2	51	10.20%
3	25	5.00%
4	10	2.00%
>4	43	8.60%
Grand Total	500	100.00%

Chart 3

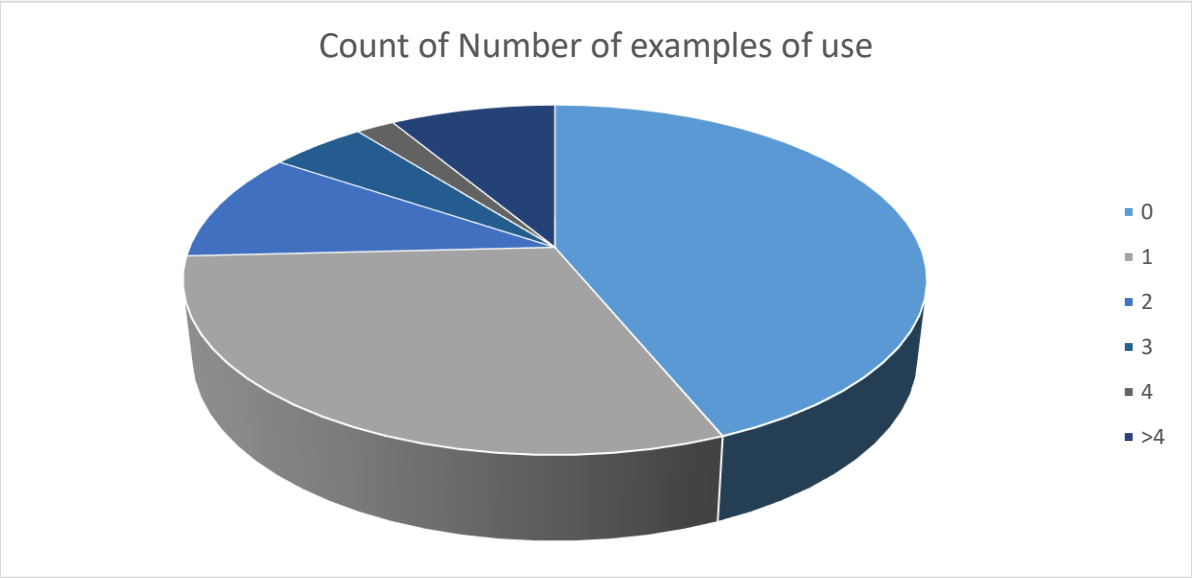


Table 3.A illustrates the number examples of use that are attributed to a named authority within the sample, and the number of examples of use that are unattributed.

Table 3.A

Number of Attributed Examples	364	35%
Number of Unattributed Examples	675	65%
Total	1039	100%

Table 3.B illustrates the authorities named, and how often they occur within the sample.

Table 3.B

Named Authorities	**Count of Named Authority**	**Count of Named Authority as percentage**
Ancient Dirge	1	0.45%
Bible	46	20.54%
Canoe Song	1	0.45%
Fable; Battle of	1	0.45%

Birds		
Fable; eel to codfish	1	0.45%
Grey - Myth	46	20.54%
Grey - Poet	84	37.50%
Grey - Prov	8	3.57%
Haka, song	2	0.89%
Hon. Sir W. Fox	1	0.45%
Legend of Wahieroa	1	0.45%
Maori Cheifs	1	0.45%
Maui's spell	1	0.45%
Meiha Ropata	2	0.89%
MS Maori History	1	0.45%
N.Z. Trans Inst	1	0.45%
Old Charm	1	0.45%
Old Kumara Song	1	0.45%
Old Legend	1	0.45%
Old Legend of Kumara	1	0.45%
Old Song	11	4.91%
Proverb	4	1.79%
Song	2	0.89%
Song	1	0.45%
Te Tirarau	1	0.45%
Trans. N.Z. Inst.	2	0.89%
Tui's song MS	1	0.45%
Grand Total	**224**	**100.00%**

Appearance in other Dictionaries

Table 4 illustrates the number of entries within the sample that are also included in William Williams' 1852 *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*.

Table 4

Inclusion in Williams 1852	**Count of Inclusion in Williams 1852**	**Count of Inclusion in Williams 1852 as %**
No	399	79.80%
Yes	101	20.20%
Grand Total	**500**	**100.00%**

Chart 4

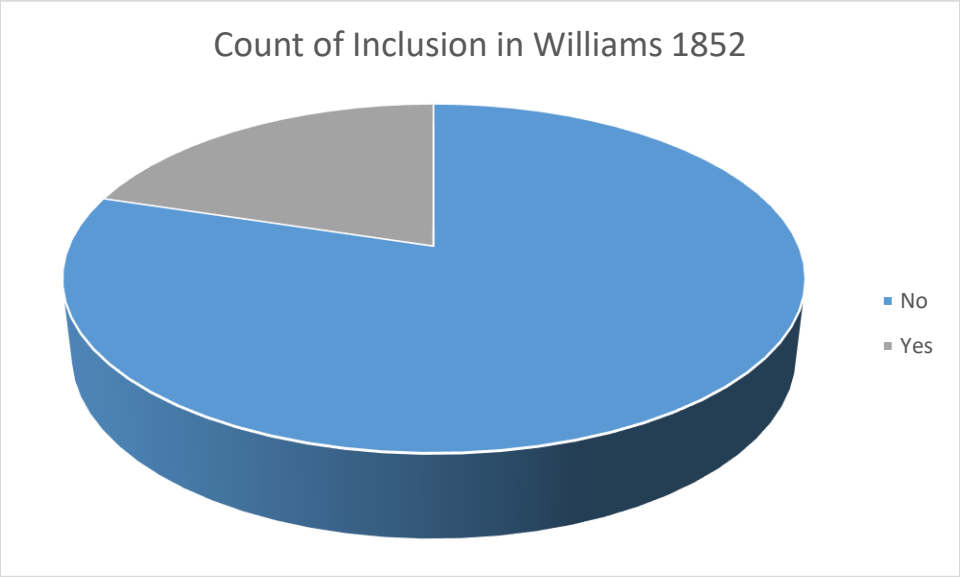


Table 4.A illustrates the number of entries within the sample that are also included in John C. Moorfield's online Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary (maoridictionary.co.nz).

Table 4.A

Inclusion in Te Aka	Count of Inclusion in Te Aka	Count of Inclusion in Te Aka as %
No	297	59.40%
Yes	203	40.60%
Grand Total	**500**	**100.00%**

Chart 4.B

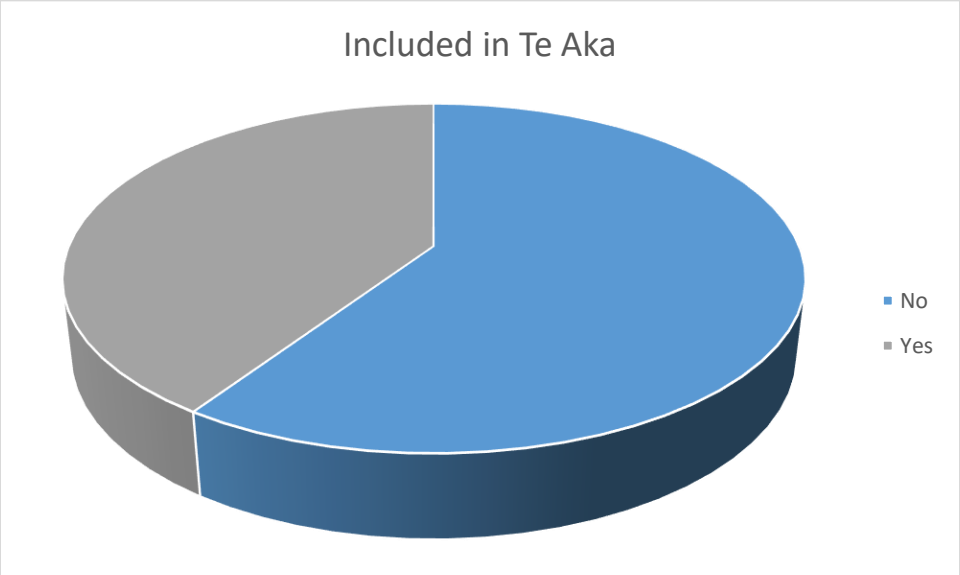


Table 4.C illustrates how many of those entries that occur in Williams 1852 are also included in Te Aka

Table 4.C

Entries in Williams 1852 also included in Te Aka	Count of Entries in Williams 1852 also included in Te Aka	Count of Entries in Williams 1852 also included in Te Aka as %
No	12	11.88%
Yes	89	88.12%
Grand Total	**101**	**100.00%**

Special Characters

Table 5 illustrates the number of head words within the sample that use special characters

Table 5

Row Labels	Count of Special Characters	Count of Special Characters as %
No	470	94.00%
Yes	30	6.00%
Grand Total	**500**	**100.00%**

Chart 5

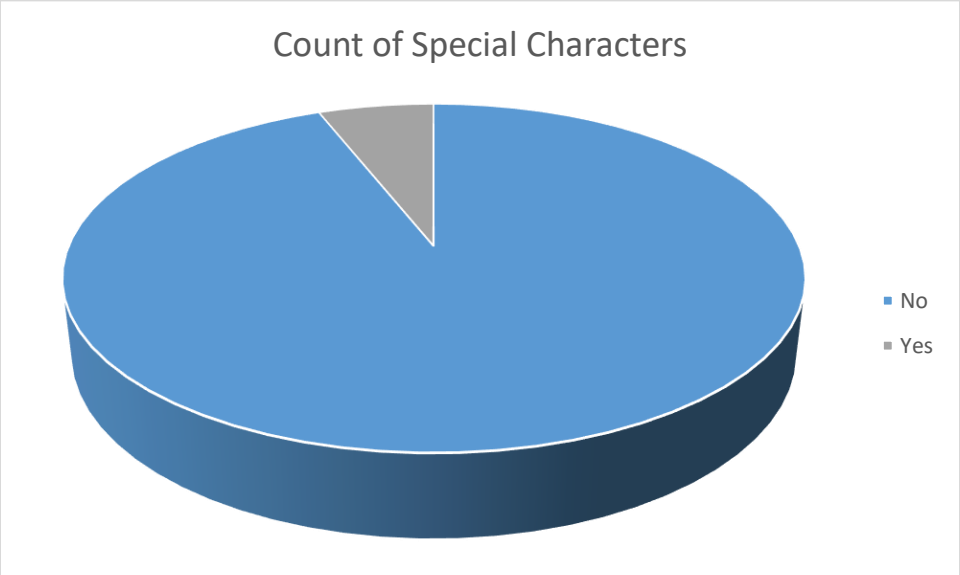


Table 5.A illustrates the number of words that are included in both the sample and Williams' 1852 Dictionary that use special characters.

Table 5.A

Row Labels	**Count of Special Characters**	**Count of Special Characters as %**
No	406	81.20%
Yes	94	18.80%
Grand Total	**500**	**100.00%**

"In magnis et voluisse sat est."
"Est quoddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra."