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A MORIORI TALE: KO TAHOPUNI RAUU KO PAONGA

JOHN MIDDLETON

Waipapa Taumata Rau | The University of Auckland

ABSTRACT: The Moriori language has no native speakers, so any historical data from the language is invaluable. This paper presents an unpublished Moriori manuscript, with a new morpheme-for-morpheme gloss. The manuscript, *Ko Tahopuni rauu Ko Paonga*, is an eight-page handwritten document detailing the story of Tahopuni and his son Paonga, who invade the land of the monster Tchurawhateitei and eventually kill her. The manuscript was seemingly intended for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, where Shand's other narratives were published (1894–1898), but it was not included among those. Unlike the original, this paper unites the Moriori and English translations so that it may be read line for line. This paper therefore presents historical Moriori language data in a modern arrangement.

Keywords: Moriori, Moriori language, legend, myth, Polynesian narratives Alexander Shand, MS-Papers-1187-139

This paper presents a previously unpublished Moriori narrative from the nineteenth century, “Ko Tahopuni rauu Ko Paonga”, together with a linguistic gloss. Moriori is the native language of Rēkohu (Chatham Islands), Aotearoa New Zealand.

Very little original Moriori language data exists, after the last native speaker died in the early twentieth century (King 2017). However, there are at least five well-known documents with original Moriori data: the 1862 petition (Grey 1862) sent by the Moriori to Governor Grey, which contains mostly a list of genealogies but does also have some Moriori prose; Deighton's (1889) wordlist, which only includes a lexicon but no grammatical information; Shand's (1911) book, a compilation of 15 articles published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, between 1894 and 1898; the NZMS-717 manuscript in Auckland Council Libraries, a handwritten copy by John White of a now-lost Shand manuscript, which is said to be partly in Moriori, though it may have been mixed with Māori when being transcribed (Richards 2008); and the Davis papers (MS-Group-0184), which include family records and census data, and are held by the Alexander Turnbull Library (National Library of New Zealand) under restricted access.

Therefore, the existence of another piece of data, *Ko Tahopuni rauu Ko Paonga* (Shand n.d.), is significant for the cultural and linguistic knowledge of the language. This paper publishes the manuscript for the first time, along with a morpheme-to-morpheme gloss. It is hoped that this will be a valuable addition to the larger corpus of Moriori knowledge.

Origin of the Text

The manuscript discussed in this paper, known as MS-Papers-1187-139, can be found in the Alexander Turnbull Library archives, in the Polynesian Society Records (MS-Group-0677), which includes manuscripts of ethnological material relating to the Society from 1814 to 1920. The transcription that appears here has been made using a scanned version of this manuscript, given to me by the Alexander Turnbull Library.

The manuscript is eight pages: the first three are the story in Moriori, the next three have an English translation, and the last two contain notes. The manuscript contains just over 1,500 Moriori words, spread over 89 lines and three sheets of paper. Shand includes 13 notes explaining various idioms and unusual words.

The manuscript has “(Shand, A)” at the top of the first page, indicating the authorship. It is clearly Alexander Shand’s handwriting—this was checked by comparing the manuscript to Shand’s letters (Shand, 1869–1910). It is likely that the story comes from Hirawanu Tapu, Shand’s primary Moriori consultant, although this cannot be confirmed. It can be assumed several Moriori people were consulted, since in note 8, the plural *Morioris* is used when Shand writes about asking people about the meaning of a particular word. The date for this manuscript is not known. The Alexander Turnbull Library records it as “18--”, and we can estimate that it was written in the 1890s, since this is when the majority of Shand’s work on Moriori was originally published.

There is no obvious explanation for why this piece did not get published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* when the other Shand articles were. The Alexander Turnbull Library records note it was “possibly intended for publication with his ‘Moriori people of the Chatham Islands’, but not included”. It appears very complete, as if ready for publication, with the story in full and a complete translation and additional notes explaining interesting points. It seems only fitting for this to be published in *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, even if it is over 120 years late.

Presentation of the Text

Rather than separating the Moriori and the English translation as Shand did, this paper adopts a traditional linguistic three-line gloss, with each clause/sentence having both a morpheme-for-morpheme translation and a full English translation. The Moriori and third-line English translations are transcribed from the manuscript, while the second-line gloss has been added by me, with help from other Moriori narratives (Shand 1911), the *Te Aka* Māori dictionary (Moorfield 2011) and a Māori language expert (the latter two due to Moriori's close similarity with Māori). The notes are the original ones written by Shand and have not been significantly edited.

For one bit of the text, Shand does not provide an English translation, clearly due to the sensitivities of the era. The manuscript line reads as “Tchurawhateitei went out * * * Paonga and party laughed”, but translating the Moriori text, we can glean that Tchurawhateitei went out and urinated in the water vessel, but Paonga and his party recognised the smell of the urine, which caused the subsequent laughter. This had been added to the translation in (49).

Moriōri's phoneme inventory consists of five vowels (/i e a o u/) and ten consonants (/p t k f h m n ŋ r w/) (Clark 2000). The orthography used by Shand (and in this paper) follows Māori in writing /f/ as <wh> and /ŋ/ as <ng>.

One sound, the palatal affricate, is unique to Moriori (among East Polynesian languages), and is written variously as <tch> or <tc>. Clark (2000) notes that palatalised and unpalatalised versions of the same word are found throughout Shand's work (e.g., *korerotii* and *korerotchi* (told of)), which indicates there may be no phonemic contrast between them.

Vowels can be long (with a macron or double letters) or short (without a macron). Word final vowels are often clipped, so they are “hardly pronounced at all” (Shand 1911: 1). This has been represented orthographically by an apostrophe, as in *rangat'* (people), or parentheses, as in *t'whenū(a)* (the land).

The transcript also includes breves over some vowels. A large majority of breves occur on word-final vowels, which suggests a relation to the “hardly pronounced” vowels mentioned above. Shand states that a breve on the last letter of a word means the vowel is “either scarcely or not heard”, in a letter to Percy Smith dated 23 April 1894 (Shand 1869–1910: 14). However, the use of breves on non-final vowels is unexplained (Clark 2000: 25; Middleton 2023: 118). It is noted that the breve is also used in Māori words by Shand, such as in *mātū* (flesh with fat) in note 13.

Shand's handwriting often makes <h> and <k> indistinguishable, and similarly <u> and <n>. Shand himself notes this in the letter to Percy Smith mentioned above, saying “I am afraid that by careless writing I have got into an indistinct way of writing u and n which may be confusing” (Shand 1869–1910: 115). Mistakes of this nature may occur in the transcript following.

KO TAHOPUNI RAUU KO PAONGA
(TAHOPUNI AND PAONGA)

- (1) **I tena hokotipuranga, i tena hokotipuranga k'hērē**
 in DEM generation in DEM generation TA.go
tonu ka waka o ta imi o Tahopuni ma ki
 CONT DEF.PL canoe GEN DEF people GEN Tahopuni and.co to
t'whenū(a) a Tchurawhateitei a, kaare i ora mai
 DEF.land GEN Tchurawhateitei CONJ NEG TA live DIR
itehi, ngaro, ngaro atu ka waka me ka rangat', ka
 one lost lost DIR DEF.PL canoe CONJ DEF.PL people TA
ikī enehī ikī.
 disappear then disappear

“From one generation to another, the canoes of the people of Tahopuni and others went to the land of Tchurawhateitei and none returned (alive). The canoes were lost and the people (crews) likewise they disappeared, disappeared utterly.”

- (2) **Tche rere ra ko'e te me' etehi.**
 NEG escape DIST NEG DEF thing one

“Not a single one of them of them escaped.”

- (3) **Na ka tupū akē ko Tahopuni rauu ko tō'**
 CONJ TA grow DIR FOC Tahopuni 3DU-and FOC his
tamā ko Paonga, ka oti to rauu waka ka
 son FOC Paonga TA finish DEF.GEN 3DU canoe TA
roro rauu k'hokotau i t'whenū a Tchurawhateitei
 go 3DU TA.CAUS.arrive LOC DEF.land GEN Tchurawhateitei
 — **wahine ko Tchurawhateitei.**
 — woman FOC Tchurawhateitei

“Now Tahopuni grew and his son Paonga and when the canoe was finished they went to attempt this land of Tchurawhateitei¹ (Tchurawhateitei was a woman).”

- (4) **Ka tae ki t'whenū o tchia toroēhō nei ka**
 TA arrive to DEF.land GEN DEM monster now TA
puta mai ko Tchurawhateitei ki tch ahangā,
 appear DIR FOC Tchurawhateitei to DEF landing.place

“When they arrived at the land of that monster,² Tchurawhateitei appeared at the landing place,³”

- (5) **karang' ki a ratau, tawhiri mai ki a ratau**
 call to PERS 3PL beckon DIR to PERS 3PL
ka mē mai,
 TA say DIR

“called to them and beckoned to them saying,”

- (6) **“Mangana-a ma tch awa e to tā manino.”**
 by-there by DEF water in inside DEF smooth

“Come in there—by the smooth water channel.”

- (7) **Taupu tā waka o Tahopuni rauu ko**
 rest.at.anchor DEF canoe GEN Tahopuni 3DU-and FOC
tō' tamā hokāro marī, mi ahā tohū.
 DEF.GEN.3SG son consider calmly should do.what ?

“Tahopuni and his son kept their canoe floating and considered carefully, what they should do.”

- (8) **Ka hokorene enehī ku rung' i pohatu ka ek' ki uta.**
 TA let.go then to top LOC rock TA land to shore

“They let her go, (landed) on the rocks and got ashore.”

- (9) **Ka tchiro makutu mai tchia toroēhō na ki**
 TA look evilly DIR DEM monster DEM to
a ratau, kupukupu mai i a ratau ka me,
 PERS 3PL speak-RED DIR OBJ PERS 3PL TA say

“The monster looked evilly at them, and cursed them saying,”

- (10) “**Ka po au e ka kei ka ora marī**
 TA destroyed 1SG by DEF.PL eat TA live INT
ka kai hika.”
 DEF.PL food for.anything

“‘I am beaten by these people to be eaten (for food). These food of the many⁴ have escaped alive.’”

- (11) **Tahuri mai i tchurā o Tchurawhateitei kae hiok’ i kaing’.**
 turn DIR DEF back GEN Tchurawhateitei CONJ return LOC home
 “Tchurawhateitei turned her back and returned to her dwelling.”

- (12) “**Heru tē maru kokopu i rung’ tchura—**
 comb DEF article/clothing raised LOC top back
poporoki ingana.”
 ? there

“‘Heru te maru kokopu,⁵ a moment (behold), the huge protuberances of her back.’”

- (13) **Hokohunaungā ki a ratau ka me,**
 CAUS-family-NMLZ to PERS 3PL TA say

“She addressed them there claiming relationships and said,”

- (14) “**Kunei kotau ko a tauu hunau potiki na,**
 here 2PL FOC GEN IDU.INCL family younger DEM
e me ra ko ro ak’(i) i kaing’.”
 but IMP go.PL DIR LOC home

“‘Stay here and our younger children. Come to the dwellings.’”

- (15) **Korero ko Tahopuni ki tona kiato ka me**
 say FOC Tahopuni to DEF.GEN.3SG people TA say
“Ke tōhū ke tōhū.”
 IMP beware IMP beware

“Tahopuni said to his people, ‘Beware, beware.’”

- (16) **K'kahiroro i kaing' ko Paonga imū,**
 TA-climb-go.PL to dwelling FOC Paonga in.front
muri mai ko ta imi i murī rāwā ko Tahopuni.
 behind DIR FOC DEF people LOC behind INT FOC Tahopuni

“They went to the dwellings Paonga leading, after him the people and after all Tahopuni.”

- (17) **Ka tāe i kaing' o Tchurawhateitei ka kite**
 TA arrive LOC dwelling GEN Tchurawhateitei TA find
ratau i o ratau hunaungā e iri ana i rung' i
 3PL OBJ GEN 3PL relative TA hang TA LOC top LOC
pauhēre, i rung' i tchukuaru.
 wooden.hook LOC top LOC DEF-poles

“When they arrived at the dwellings of Tchurawhateitei they found their relatives hanging on the wood hooks⁶ and on the suspended horizontal poles = Whata.”

- (18) **Ka mīhi ratau i roto i a ratau ke meharā**
 TA sigh 3PL LOC inside LOC GEN 3PL COMP think
ki a ratau.
 to GEN 3PL

“They sighed amongst themselves and thought of themselves.”

- (19) **Ku mouu mai ko ru kei a Tchurawhateitei ma**
 TA cook DIR FOC DEF food GEN Tchurawhateitei and
ratau i roto rourou, kuwai, kuwai tchia kei na, tchutē i
 3PL LOC inside basket plenty plenty DEM food DEM hung LOC
raro, rung' akī kumar(a) mutchū tchupapaku, runga rawā
 below above DIR kumara fat dead.body above INT
ake huruhuru parē(a).
 DIR feather pigeon

“Tchurawhateitei’s food was cooked and brought to them in baskets, an immense quantity of food, hung below, above Kumara and dead men’s fat, above that pigeon’s feathers.”

- (20) **Ka kai ratau i a ratau kai akē o to**
 TA eat 3PL OBJ GEN 3PL food DIR GEN DEF.GEN
ratau kainga mai, ko ru kei a Tchurawhateitei ka
 3PL home DIR FOC DEF food GEN Tchurawhateitei TA
tanutanu e ratau.
 bury-PASS by 3PL

“They ate their own food brought from their homes, but they buried Tchurawhateitei’s food.”

- (21) **Ka puta akē ko ro kupu hokowai a Paonga,**
 TA come.out DIR FOC DEF word saying GEN Paonga

“Paonga then made use of this saying,”

- (22) **“Mo Pupaonga nan’ eneti taua kei homai i tchū’(a).”**
 ? Pupaonga by.him again DEF.3SG.GEN food bring LOC afar

“‘For Pupaonga⁷ who himself brought his food from afar.’”

- (23) **Ka whai mai ko Tchurawhateitei, “I ā’ i ā’?”**
 TA follow DIR FOC Tchurawhateitei INDF what INDF what

“Tchurawhateitei enquired (thereupon), ‘What, What?’”

- (24) **Ka me ētū ko Paonga,**
 TA say DIR FOC Paonga

“Paonga replied,”

- (25) **“Kaare, a te mihi ki te hau o ro mae wahnē.”**
 NEG PST.CONT admire to DEF essence GEN DEF ? woman

“‘Oh nothing, I am (only) admiring the vigour of women’s deeds.’⁸”

- (26) **E rū hokotchuranga o Paonga i tona**
 TA two CAUS-speak-NMLZ GEN Paonga about DEF.3SG.GEN
kupu hokowai mo tana kei homai i tchū’(a).
 word saying about DEF.3SG.GEN food bring LOC afar

“Twice Paonga repeated his saying regarding his food brought from afar.”

- (27) **Khia poro ko ro t'whare imū(a) potēhī ētū**
 COMP go to in DEF.house before discover DIR
ki ka mehēkī a Tchurawhateitei ki anā
 OBJ DEF.PL weapon GEN Tchurawhateitei OBJ 3SG.GEN
rakau pat'(u) tangat'(a), e kata mai tena me,
 wood kill man TA appear DIR DEM thing
e kata mai tena me.
 TA appear DIR DEM thing

“When they went first in to the house they found Tchurawhateitei’s things, her man slaying weapons, this thing appearing,⁹ that thing appearing.”

- (28) **Ka tae ratau ko roto ka tangihī' e ratau ka**
 TA arrive 3PL to inside TA seize-PASS by 3PL DEF.PL
rakau patū tangat' a Tchurawhateitei ka rirō i
 wood kill man GEN Tchurawhateitei TA take by
a ratau waih'(o) ingana ko tch ahū(a) o tena
 PERS 3PL leave there FOC DEF appearance GEN DEM
mē o tena mē(a).
 and GEN DEM thing

“When they got inside they seized Tchurawhateitei’s man slaying weapons and took them leaving there a representation only of this thing and that.”

- (29) **Ko ro me nui rawā i roto ko ro Kuruwhatū.**
 FOC DEF thing great INT LOC inside FOC DEF Kuruwhatu

“The greatest thing (weapon) was the Kuruwhatu.¹⁰”

- (30) **Hhia moe hokehewāhewā ratau, ko Tahopuni i rung'**
 TA sleep CAUS-pretend 3PL FOC Tahopuni LOC top
i tchurongō, ko Paonga i to roro, ko
 LOC end.of.house FOC Paonga at DEF entrance FOC
to rauu kiato i waenganui.
 DEF.GEN 3DU people LOC middle

“Tahopuni made a pretence of sleeping at the end of the house Paonga at the entrance and their people in the middle.”

- (31) **A, ka po ka tomo mai ko Tchurawhateitei ma**
 CONJ TA night TA enter DIR FOC Tchurawhateitei and.co
ko ro tē whare.
 to in DEF house

“When it was night Tchurawhateitei and others came into the house.”

- (32) **Ka tchiro a Tchurawhateitei i ona mē ka me,**
 TA look PERS Tchurawhateitei OBJ 3SG.GEN thing TA say

“Tchurawhateitei looked at her things and said,”

- (33) **“Ka topā, ka topā ke meheau akū me e**
 TA fall TA knock.down COMP scatter DIR thing by
ka kei.”
 DEF.PL eat

“‘My things are knocked down and scattered by these people to be eaten (or kai).’”

- (34) **E huri ake anā a Paonga ma.**
 TA listen DIR TA PERS Paonga and.co

“Paonga and people listened.”

- (35) **K’hokorongō a Tchurawhateitei i ka purungaihu**
 TA-CAUS-sound PERS Tchurawhateitei OBJ DEF.PL nose
o Paonga ma.
 GEN Paonga and.co

“Tchurawhateitei listened to their snoring.”

- (36) **Ka hana ka me Tchurawhateitei, tena a te moe,**
 TA go TA say Tchurawhateitei DEM GEN DEF asleep
kaiore— tena e, a t’hokotoroehō akē.
 NEG DEM VOC GEN DEF-trick DIR

“Tchurawhateitei began to say (think) that they were sleeping (but) no they were playing a trick.”

- (37) **Te whawhatanga ona ko ru Kuruwhatu ka**
 DEF lay.hold.of-NMLZ GEN.3SG to DEF Kuruwhatu TA
hana ka me ko ro waihotāngā ene waih' e ii
 go to think FOC DEF leave-NMLZ again leave by 3SG
kaare ko tch ahū' e tena.
 NEG FOC DEF representation by DEM

“She laid hold of the Kuruwhatu thinking it was as left by her, no it was only a representation.”

- (38) **Ka rir' i tchunu o ro Kuruwhatu i a Paonga.**
 TA take DEF real GEN DEF Kuruwhatu by PERS Paonga

“The real Kuruwhatu had been taken by Paonga.”

- (39) **Ka oro enehi ko ro tch ěhī, Pa-a!**
 TA throw again to in DEF fire crack
Ka ki tchia pa-a!
 TA say DEM crack

“She threw it into the fire, pā-ā—the report sounded.”

- (40) **Na ka oho ko Paonga ka me ake i**
 then TA start.suddenly FOC Paonga TA say DIR about
tona kupu hokotauki,
 DEF.3SG.GEN word saying

“Then Paonga started and spoke his saying,”

- (41) **“E-e, whenū moemoeā tē whenū i Tapērihou.”**
e-e land dream DEF land in Tapērihou

““Oh a land of dreams in the land of Tapērihou.””

- (42) **Ka me ko Tchurawhateitei, “I ā, i ā?”**
 TA say FOC Tchurawhateitei INDF what INDF what

“Tchurawhateitei said, ‘What, What?’”

- (43) “**Kaau ko te pao o taku āhī.**”
 NEG FOC DEF smoke GEN DEF.1SG.GEN fire

“‘Nothing, it is (only) the smoke of my fire (that troubles one).’”

- (44) **E toru ka panganga o t’Wharekurā ku rung**
 TA three DEF.PL throw-NMLZ GEN DEF-Wharekura to top
i tch ehi, a toru hoki karangatangā o Paonga.
 LOC DEF fire CONJ three again call-NMLZ GEN Paonga

“Three times the Wharekura¹¹ was thrown on to the fire, (and) Paonga called out three times.”

- (45) **A, ka whano ka ao ka me ko Paonga,**
 CONJ TA go DEF dawn TA say FOC Paonga

“When the day began to break Paonga said,”

- (46) “**Ka mate au i ri wai.**”
 TA need 1SG OBJ DEF water

“‘I am thirsty.’”

- (47) **Ka ki ātū ko Tchurawhateitei,**
 TA say DIR FOC Tchurawhateitei

“Tchurawhateitei said,”

- (48) “**Taii, taii ke whano au ke tchiro i taku putoro.**”
 wait wait COMP go 1SG COMP look OBJ DEF.1SG.GEN water.vessel

“‘Wait, wait until I go to look at my putoro—water vessel.’”

- (49) **Ka puta ko waho ko Tchurawhateitei ka mimi ko**
 TA appear to outside FOC Tchurawhateitei TA urinate to
ro tē putoro, ka ki te hā o ro
 in DEF water.vessel TA recognise DEF smell GEN DEF
mimi, hhia kata huna ko Paonga ma.
 urinate TA laugh hide FOC Paonga and.co

“Tchurawhateitei went out [and urinated in the water vessel. (They) recognised the smell of the urine and] Paonga and party laughed.”

- (50) **Karanga mai ko Tchurawhateitei ki a Paonga,**
 call DIR FOC Tchurawhateitei to PERS Paonga

“Tchurawhateitei called out,”

- (51) **“Na haramai ki to wai.”**
 IMP come-DIR to DEF water

“Come for your water (or drink).”

- (52) **Ka tae ātū ko Paonga ka ki ētū ki**
 TA arrive DIR FOC Paonga TA say DIR to
a Tchurawhateitei,
 PERS Tchurawhateitei

“When Paonga went he said to Tchurawhateitei,”

- (53) **“Tchiei au makona i ri wai.”**
 NEG 1SG be.satisfied OBJ DEF water

“I did not have enough water (was not satisfied).”

- (54) **Ka me mai ei ki a Paonga,**
 TA say DIR ANP to PERS Paonga

“On which she said,”

- (55) **“Taii, taii ke whano au ke tchiro i taku puna**
 wait wait comp go 1SG COMP look OBJ DEF.GEN.1SG well
i taku puna e kore tē tā ihi o tā
 LOC DEF.1SG.GEN well TA NEG enter DEF beam GEN DEF
rā ko roto.”
 sun to inside

“Wait wait until I look at my well. My well into which the beams of the sun never enter.”

- (56) **I muri i a Tchurawhateitei ka ki ake**
 after OBJ PERS Tchurawhateitei TA say DIR
a Paonga i tana kupu,
 PERS Paonga OBJ DEF.3SG.GEN word

“When Tchurawhateitei had gone Paonga said,”

- (57) “**Mo Pupaonga inumia e ko tē puna na.**”
 ? Pupaonga drink.up-PASS by 2SG DEF well there

“‘Pupaonga drink up that well.’”

- (58) **Ka mimite tchia puna.**
 TA dry.up DEM well

“The well dried up.”

- (59) **Ka me a Tchurawhateitei,**
 TA say PERS Tchurawhateitei

“Tchurawhateitei said,”

- (60) “**A-a, ka mātē. Taii, taii, taii ke whano au**
a-a TA dead wait wait wait COMP go 1SG
ke tchiro i taku awa— i taku awa—
 COMP look OBJ DEF.1SG.GEN stream OBJ DEF.1SG.GEN stream
e kore e tu ta ihi o tā ra ko roto.”
 TA NEG TA stop DEF beam GEN DEF sun to inside

“‘It is dead (dried up). But, wait, wait till I go and look at my stream—at my stream in which the beams of the sun never shine.’”

- (61) **K’hokotchu enehi ko Paonga i tana kupu,**
 TA-CAUS-speak again FOC Paonga OBJ DEF.3SG.GEN word

“Paonga again put forth (set-up) his word,”

- (62) “**Mo Pupaonga inumia ko tch awa.**”
 ? Pupaonga drink.up-PASS FOC DEF stream

“‘Pupaonga drink up the stream.’”

- (63) **A, ka matē ko tch awa.**
 CONJ TA die FOC DEF stream

“The stream died (dried up).”

- (64) **Ka me ko Tchurawhateitei,**
 TA say FOC Tchurawhateitei

“Tchurawhateitei said,”

- (65) **“A ka mātē, a, taii, taii, taii ke whano au**
 CONJ TA dead CONJ wait wait wait COMP go 1SG
ke tchiro i taku roto, i taku rōto,
 COMP look OBJ DEF.1SG.GEN pond OBJ DEF.1SG.GEN pond
e kore e tu tā ihi o tā ra ko roto.”
 TA NEG TA stop DEF beam GEN DEF sun to inside

“It is dried up. But wait, wait, wait till [I] go and look at my lake (or pond), my pond into which the beams of the sun never shine.”

- (66) **A, ka hhiokemei ko Paonga ta’(e) mai ki**
 CONJ TA return.DIR FOC Paonga rejoin DIR to
tona kiato ka me atu,
 DEF.3SG.GEN party TA say DIR

“Then Paonga returned when he rejoined his party he said,”

- (67) **“Kohikohi, kohikohi te hangă.”**
 hasten hasten DEF work

“Be speedy be speedy.”

- (68) **Ka tahuna ka whare i tch ěhi.**
 TA set.fire.to DEF.PL house LOC DEF fire

“They set fire to the houses.”

- (69) **Ka pau ka whare i tch ěhĩ me**
 TA destroyed DEF.PL house LOC DEF fire with
ka aitu, me tc hung’ a Tchurawhateitei.
 DEF.PL god with DEF people GEN Tchurawhateitei

“The houses with the Gods were burnt up and they killed Tchurawhateitei’s people.”

- (70) **Ka patu' e ratau, ka tahuna e ratau i**
 TA kill-PASS by 3PL TA set.fire.to-PASS by 3PL OBJ
tohoro ko ro tchi ěhī, ka mutu
 outside.places to in DEF fire TA ended
ka ro i to ratau waka ka utaina ratau.
 TA drag OBJ DEF.GEN 3PL canoe TA load-PASS 3PL

“They set fire to the outside places (=tahora in Maori), which done they dragged their canoe to the sea and got on board.”

- (71) **A, ka pa hē rē'(o) o Paonga ka me**
 CONJ TA call INDF voice GEN Paonga TA say
i tona hokotauki mo Tchurawhateitei,
 OBJ DEF.3SG.GEN proverb about Tchurawhateitei

“When Paonga’s voice was heard to exclaim, using his proverb concerning Tchurawhateitei,”

- (72) **“Tuhia, tuhia tch au ku rung' i a Tchurawhateitei**
 direct direct DEF smoke to top OBJ PERS Tchurawhateitei
no Tchurawhateitei ki 'auga māi, tuhia.”
 COMP Tchurawhateitei TA turn DIR direct

“Direct, direct the smoke on to Tchurawhateitei in order that Tchurawhateitei may turn hither, direct it.”

- (73) **Ko tc hinganga o tch au o tchī ěhī ka**
 FOC DEF fall-NMLZ GEN DEF smoke GEN DEF fire TA
ngaro ko Tchurawhateitei i tch au kupukupu mai
 lost FOC Tchurawhateitei OBJ DEF smoke curse DIR
i a Paonga ma ka mē(a),
 OBJ PERS Paonga and.co TA say

“When the smoke of the fire fell Tchurawhateitei was covered with the smoke and cursed Paonga and party saying,”

- (74) **“Mo pupu tchi ate mak’ kotau e ka kei.**
 ? ? DEF liver for.me 2PL VOC DEF food
Ka po i au e ka kei.”
 TA darken OBJ 1SG by DEF food

“‘Mo pupu tchi ate¹² I will eat you oh you people to be eaten (kai). I am troubled with these people to be eaten.’”

- (75) **A, ta’(e) mai a Tchurawhateitei ki ri waka o**
 CONJ arrive DIR PERS Tchurawhateitei to DEF canoe GEN
Tahopuni karangā mai,
 Tahopuni call DIR

“Then Tchurawhateitei arrived at the canoe and called out,”

- (76) **“Taii ra e whāno moku itche hunū(a) o to**
 wait DIST TA go for.me one place GEN DEF.GEN
kotau waka.”
 2PL canoe

“‘Wait a little before leaving. Let me have a place in your canoe.’”

- (77) **Ka me ātū ko Paonga,**
 TA say DIR FOC Paonga

“Paonga answered,”

- (78) **“E kau mai ra, e kau mai ra.”**
 IMP swim DIR DIST IMP swim DIR DIST

“‘Swim hither then, swim hither.’”

- (79) **Ta’(e) mai ki ri waka ka mou ko Paonga i**
 arrive DIR to DEF canoe TA lay.hold.of FOC Paonga OBJ
ana ne’ mē mo te riri.
 3SG.GEN ? weapons for DEF war

“When she got to the canoe Paonga laid hold of his weapons of war.”

- (80) **Ka ingo tenei, ko tō whatu makariri, ko tō**
 TA name DEM FOC DEF stone cold FOC DEF
whatu werewere, ko tō whatu i a Rongomaiwhiti.
 stone hot FOC DEF stone from PERS Rongomaiwhiti

“The names were the cold Whatu, the hot Whatu, and Rongomaiwhiti’s Whatu.”

- (81) **Ka me ki a Tchurawhateitei,**
 TA say to PERS Tchurawhateitei

“He said to Tchurawhateitei,”

- (82) **“Titoko ra te waha.”**
 open DIST DEF mouth

““Open your mouth then.””

- (83) **Na titoko tā waha o Tchurawhateitei.**
 TA open DEF mouth GEN Tchurawhateitei

“Tchurawhateitei’s mouth was opened.”

- (84) **Ka oro ene ko Paonga imū’ ko tō whatu-makariri,**
 TA throw again FOC Paonga before FOC DEF stone-cold
makariri, makariri, muri mai ko tō whatu-werewere,
 cold cold after DIR FOC DEF stone-hot
werewere, werewere, muri mai ko tō whatu
 hot hot after DIR FOC DEF stone
i a Rongomaiwhiti. Pā-ā. Nghāhā i takapū
 from PERS Rongomaiwhiti crack burst DEF stomach
a Tchurawhateitei.
 GEN Tchurawhateitei

“Paonga first threw the cold Whatu, cold, cold, after that the hot Whatu, hot, hot, after that Rongomaiwhiti’s Whatu pā-ā it burst Tchurawhateitei’s stomach.”

- (85) **Nunei kumē’ mei i a Tchurawhateitei ku rung’**
 then drag DIR OBJ PERS Tchurawhateitei to top
i pahii, kotikoti e rauu tū mutū.
 OBJ canoe cut.up by 3DU DEF flesh

“Then they dragged her in to the canoe and cut up her flesh.¹³”

- (86) **Ka put’ akē hoki ko Tchurawhateitei o ro**
 TA come.up DIR return FOC Tchurawhateitei GEN in
te wai k’hhiamai ka kai i to ratau pahii.
 DEF sea TA-come TA eat OBJ DEF.GEN 3PL canoe

“Then Tchurawhateitei of the sea came up to devour their canoe.”

- (87) **Ka tang’ eneti ko Paonga i tū whatu o**
 TA take again FOC Paonga OBJ DEF stone GEN
Rongomaiwhiti ka ora eneti ko ro te waha o
 Rongomaiwhiti TA throw again to in DEF mouth GEN
Tchurawhateitei i ro tc wai ra. Pā-ā.
 Tchurawhateitei GEN in DEF sea DIST crack

“Paonga took Rongomaiwhiti’s Whatu and pitched it into the mouth of Tchurawhateitei of the sea. Pā-ā.”

- (88) **Ngahā i tākūpū.**
 burst DEF stomach

“His stomach burst.”

- (89) **Ita ko t’whenū i Tapeirihou ka riro i**
 so FOC DEF.land GEN Tapeirihou TA take-PASS by
a Tahopuni ma.
 PERS Tahopuni and.co

“So the land of Tapēirihou was taken possession of by Tahopuni and people.”

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	INCL	inclusive
2	second person	INDF	indefinite
3	third person	INT	intensifier
ANP	anaphoric pronoun	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
COMP	complementiser	NMLZ	nominaliser
CONJ	conjunction	OBJ	object marker
CONT	continuous	PASS	passive
DEF	definite	PERS	person marker
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DIR	directional	PST	past
DIST	distal	RED	reduplicant
DU	dual	SG	singular
FOC	focus	TA	tense/aspect marker
GEN	genitive	VOC	vocative
IMP	imperative		

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NOTES

1. According to the Moriori account, Tchurawhateitei was a huge female monster, apparently of a very evil shape, whose business was the destruction of all who came to her land. Assisted by her people as well as having a counterpart of a similar name in the sea near the landing. As far as can be gathered, the name appears to be equal in Maori to Tuara Whakateitei—a huge back—which with her ungainly appearance was her prominent characteristic.

The story took place some time in the Komatangi-ao period and her dwelling was evidently in an island on a land called Tapeirihou which could only be reached by a sea voyage. This land of Tapeirihou also was Tinirau's residence, see Tohinga o Rangotukiwao.

2. Toroēhō = nanakia in Māori. When applied to persons, having the general meaning of—mischievous, maleficent and tricky.
3. Ahangā is also a bay and the expanse or level surface of the ocean.
4. Ka kai hika. There appears to be some uncertainty as to this word hika—the Maori equivalent given was Nga-kai-a-te-aha = food for anything, an insulting comparison symbolising that even animals or vermin might eat them.
5. Heru te maru kokopu i rung' tchurā—maru kokopu is evidently figurative in this case as it implied something protuberant or buncy and dependant from the back. In clothing, something not hanging in the ordinary manner but raised as with a bustle. What the something was does not appear, but that the maru kokopu waved on her back as she walked—hence the phrase used jestingly at anyone with his garments hunched up awkwardly on his back and overhanging. Heru tē maru kokōpū.
6. Pauhere. A wooden hook used to hang meat or fish up, with the hook being hung by a string from a limb of a tree or anything convenient to prevent the native rat getting at it.
7. Mo Pupaonga. Pupaonga was his name in full, the Mo here used in a curious idiom unknown in Maori.
8. The Morioris appeared unable to give any equivalent in Maori for mae nor so far could I discover its exact equivalent in English.
9. Kata—here has the meaning of to appear—literally laughing—peculiar to the Moriori.
10. Kuruwatu. What this was could not be explained. Literally it would mean a stone to thump or bruise with but possibly it was some weapon of flint which was also in a general way called whatu. Ka eke to' whatu a Tana ku rung' i to kiri (the flint knife of Tana cuts some skin) and this appears to be borne out by the mention of the Wharekura (a variety of flint). The difficulty however arises why was it thrown? As if a flint knife, it would be held in the hand, but the “bursting” appears to be suggested by one of their methods of getting flint knives or flakes by placing flint in a fire and causing it to explode and so getting what was suitable. Te whatu i a Rongomaiwhiti is evidently the flint knife of Rongomaiwhiti as the god of war. The flying Rongomai invoking his assistance. Whatu = an islet.
In a stray note I find Tchurawhateitei's land was said to be a great flint locality—apparently where they went to get it.
11. Wharekura. A red or pinkish coloured flint.
12. Mo pupu tchi ate. The old men could not give the meaning of mo pupu, merely saying it was a curse. The meaning appears [to] be your liver shall swell up = fizzle in the fire. Ka po—a peculiar idiom. Nearest equivalent rarea in Maori.
13. Mūchtū = Mātū in Maori. Has in this case, speaking of cutting up bodies, more the meaning of flesh with fat combined than fat alone as in the ordinary Maori acceptance.

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AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

John Middleton, The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142, New Zealand. john.middleton@auckland.ac.nz | <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0247-1207>