

EDITORIAL

An emphasis in NZWords 15 is on national identity, and a glimpse of how this will be conveyed in a lexical case study of significant New Zealand pioneer missionary printer, explorer, politician, and botanist William Colenso (1811–99). Jenna Tinkle, summer graduate student research assistant at the Centre, began the initial analysis of some of Colenso's prolific early writings, both public and private, which will contribute to a paper to be presented at the William Colenso Bicentenary Conference on 10–11 November 2011. Jenna's article on her initial findings is included here.

Musing over a twenty-first century identity, research assistant Jan Bunting examines the pervasiveness of **Kiwification** and how little the term **Kiwi** has to do with our five threatened members of the *Apterygidae* family.

Katherine Quigley, a former PhD Fellow at the Centre, summarises some of her methodological approaches and findings in her study of public service reform within various ministries between 1984 and 1994.

Nigel Prickett, a keen collector of New Zealand English terms and in particular the slang of the 1960s and 1970s, tells us what interests him and what motivated him as an anthropologist to record words and usages.

In 'From the Centre' I look at some of the terms that have been used most commonly in relation to the 22 February Christchurch earthquake, and there is a light-hearted look at some terms for modern institutions in Dunedin.

Thank you to all readers who have written to the Centre with questions, with comments, and with terms and citations which contribute to our database. We appreciate your letters and emails, and your interest in words.

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William Colenso, early missionary printer: A significant lexical case study

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Situated as we are here in New Zealand—in Maori-land, what have we done to conserve their language? or to preserve those fast fleeting relics of the past?

William Colenso, Hawke's Bay
Philosophical Institute:

William Colenso, F.R.S., F.L.S., ETC. 1888

In the nineteenth century, New Zealand English (NZE) was developing as its own distinct variety. Maori words were adopted by European colonists, flora and fauna were named or renamed, and words such as **province**, **Home**, **district**, and **bush** took on new meanings. William Colenso, influential botanist, missionary, printer, politician, and speaker and advocate of te reo Maori, was one of the earliest users of spoken and written NZE. Significantly, his usage is well recorded. From the time he arrived in New Zealand from Cornwall in 1834 to his death in 1899, Colenso was dedicated to publishing scholarly essays about his wide-ranging interest areas. He was also an enthusiastic letter writer, communicating regularly with friends and acquaintances, and often feeling the need to express his opinion to the editors of various newspapers, particularly the *Hawke's Bay Herald*. Consequently, he left behind numerous published and unpublished works as storehouses of New Zealandisms. As part of the Victoria University 'Summer Scholar Scheme', I worked with Dr Dianne Bardsley in the New Zealand Dictionary Centre and carried out a lexical study of these storehouses.

Over the past three months, I have read Colenso's works and searched for New Zealandisms, entering them into a database along with the source, date, and a citation that gives sufficient evidence of meaning and/or usage. I have designed the database so that each term is put into one of six categories, some relating to Colenso's interests: 'Maori', 'Botany', 'Insect/Animal', 'Mission/Print', 'Abbreviations/Acronyms/Initialisms' and 'Other'. This database is not only an invaluable collection of early citations of New Zealandisms, but also a tool that can be used to investigate Colenso's use of NZE and his contribution to our lexis.

A prominent NZE feature apparent in Colenso's works is his frequent use of te reo Maori. Clearly, he was extremely

proficient in what he calls the **Maori tongue**. Moreover, he was willing to integrate te reo into his own English and encourage his readers and correspondents to become familiar with the **Native Language** and use it correctly.

His use of Maori words in his personal letters is particularly significant, as he rarely provides a glossed definition in English. For instance, he does not define or explain the meaning of such terms as **ope**, **taua**, **hui**, **kai**, **pa**, **utu**, **mana**, **ka pai**, **runanga**, **tapu**, and **waipuke**. Evidently, Colenso expected his correspondents to understand these words. This was a reasonable expectation in nineteenth-century New Zealand, when learning te reo was seemingly advantageous for communication with 'the natives'. The occurrence of non-glossed Maori in private letters between two English-speaking colonists, such as Colenso and Scotsman Donald McLean, reveals not only their knowledge of te reo, but also their readiness to adopt Maori terms into their own NZE.

In one particular citation, assimilation of te reo into NZE is apparent with Colenso using a Maori term for comedic purposes: 'The day you left a taua of ducks – 11 in number – gobbled up all the remaining gooseberries!'¹ The comedy of this sentence relies on McLean understanding the meaning of taua to be hostile: Colenso seems to be joking about a 'war party' of ducks launching an attack on his garden.

Elsewhere, the assimilation of te reo into English is demonstrated by Colenso's use of Maori words as if they were English participles or phrasal verbs, and infinitives: '... while he & the Chief were tangiing over Puhara's death, Tareha & party took away the canoe up into the pa ...'² Notably, the earliest citation for tangiing in Harry Osman's 1997 Dictionary of New Zealand English (DNZE) is 1866; Colenso's use antedates it by eight years. Colenso also uses panaing and to pana, neither of which are in the DNZE:

You will not then be surprised in hearing that, when **the great men** were here, the Natives (having repeatedly heard that the Bishop and the Governor were coming to '**pana**' me,) were all against me! - all loud for '**panaing**'.³

William Colenso, early missionary printer: A significant lexical case study

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Integration of te reo into NZE is also shown by Colenso's coinage of Maori-English compounds. For example, in his personal letters, I found two examples of the term **runanga-fashion**. In both instances, Colenso feels the need to define the compound, despite consistently using **runanga** in his letters without glossing. Interestingly enough, he even explains the compound in Maori: 'All matters done **'Runanga'-fashion** (*i te aroaro o te tokomaha*) have ever been considered binding.'⁴ Defining and elaborating Maori with Maori suggests Colenso is not concerned about McLean understanding the meaning of the Maori component, but rather wishes him to understand the conceptual referent attached to the compound.

Similarly, in his public letters to the editor of the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Colenso uses certain Maori words without glossing, such as **hauhau**, **pa/pah**, **runanga**, **tapu**, **tapu'd**, **tohunga**, and **whare**. However, whereas in his personal letters glossing is almost non-existent, in his public letters he does often define these common Maori words. For example, he describes a **pa** as a 'fenced village of the Maoris'⁵ and a **runanga** as a 'Native Parliament, "Wittenagemote," Council, or Inquisition.'⁶ Alternatively, he sometimes glosses the Maori word after the English description; for example, 'native ornamented weapon (*taiaha*)'.⁷ Elsewhere, he avoids te reo altogether and will use terms like **Maori village** (instead of **pa**) or **canoe** (instead of **waka**).

In his publications, Colenso's primary usage of te reo differs from his letters. Rather than integrating Maori into his English, he mostly uses te reo for the purpose of explaining what specific Maori terms or phrases mean or for describing native referents, cultural practices, traditions, and customs. This type of usage means the frequency of glossed Maori terms outweighs the frequency of non-glossed terms. For example, Colenso defines a **hongī** as 'nose-rubbing'; a **haangi** as an 'earth-oven', 'Maori-oven' or 'ground-oven'; **ariki** as a 'head of the tribe'; **atua** as a 'demon'; and **hanis** as 'carved-headed staffs'. **Hanis** is also an example of Colenso's regular usage of the English plural 's' on Maori words.

On the other hand, non-glossed Maori words, though rare, do occur in Colenso's publications. For instance, he writes of a 'quaintly carved greenstone **heitiki** ... and the greenstone **mere**'⁸ and of young women playing a 'dexterous game of **poi**'.⁹ He also uses the term **poi-ball**, another example of a Maori-English compound: 'Old men often amused themselves with looking on and encouraging the younger ones, and especially with kite-flying, and in playing with the **poi-ball**'¹⁰.

It seems that the more formal the publication, the more likely Colenso is to provide definitions for Maori terms. Of course, certain factors have to be considered along with this generalisation. In regard to his personal letters, most citations are taken from his correspondence with Donald McLean, who, like Colenso, was very proficient in te reo. However, in his public letters, Colenso had to cater for a wider audience, taking into account readers who lacked his and McLean's fluency. In his publications, the high level of glossing and explanation of Maori words is appropriate, as these are scholarly essays, written by Colenso for informative purposes.

It is worth noting that Colenso's usage of te reo is not limited to common, high frequency words such as **tapu**, **iwi**, **hangi** and **pounamu**; in both his published and unpublished works he uses several Maori words that are not in the *DNZE* and which can be considered low frequency, for example **arero rua**, **aronui**, **hangareka**, **hauhakenga**, **korirangi**, **maminga**, **pokanoa**, **reka**, **rewharewha**, and **tupapaku**. By and large, Colenso's works and letters demonstrate that right from the early days of colonisation, Maori was an integral part of NZE.

One of Colenso's significant pastimes was to go on bush expeditions, collecting specimens and making note of the wildlife he encountered. In particular, he writes of his journeys to the **40 mile Bush** and the **70 mile Bush**. He uses several 'Bush' compound terms which are already cited in the *DNZE*, such as **Bush District**, **Bush License** and **Bush-travelling**. I also discovered three antedatings of New Zealand bush terms in Colenso's works. He uses the term **bush-felling** in 1890 in the *Bush Advocate*, 20 years earlier than *DNZE*'s first citation. In the

Hawke's Bay Herald in 1878, he uses **bush settlement**, compared to the *DNZE*'s earliest citation from 1892. Most significantly, in an edition of the *Hawke's Bay Herald* from 1884, he uses the term **Bush hotel**. The *DNZE*'s earliest citation is from 1947-48; thus, Colenso's usage antedates this by 63-4 years.

Colenso's passion for the bush, botany, and all things natural and scientific means that his works contain thousands of citations for names of New Zealand's flora and fauna. In regard to plants, across all of his works, Colenso uses Maori terms with and without their English counterparts. For instance, sometimes Maori plant names, such as **nikau**, **toi**, **aute**, and **kahikatea**, stand alone, and other times they are accompanied by their English equivalent: **N.Z. palm**, **cabbage tree**, **paper mulberry**, and **white pine**. What is more, in his scholarly publications especially, Colenso will often provide descriptions of plants, and their Maori, English, and Latin names:

But the use of these in modern times, or during the last 40-50 years, was commonly superseded by that of the extremely useful and favourite plant—the "**Maori cabbage**," (*Brassica oleracea*), introduced by Cook (**nanii**, of the Maoris at the north; and **rearea** at the south), of which they carefully sowed the seeds.¹¹

In places, Colenso only uses English names for plants. For instance, he often uses 'New Zealand' as a modifier in special combinations, such as the **New Zealand daisy**, the **New Zealand flax**, the **New Zealand lily**, and the **New Zealand bluebell**. He mentions several ferns: **black tree-fern**, **brown fern**, **common fern**, **silver-tree-fern**, **tree-fern**, and the **white-fronded fern-tree**. He provides us with early citations for the **black-birch**, **sand-grass**, **supplejack**, **Californian thistle**, **mangrove**, **red-parrot's bill**, and the **Chatham Island lily**, which on one occasion, in a personal letter to Luff, he even abbreviates: 'Thanks for the **C. Is. "Lily"** seeds—hope they may do well; you are right as to proper soil, situation, &c.'¹²

I observed similar trends in Colenso's usage of names for species of New Zealand animals and insects.

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Sometimes he feels it sufficient to call birds by their Maori name only: **kotaretare**, **tui**, **weka**, and **pukeko**. Other times, he feels it necessary to give an English counterpart: **kingfisher**, **parson-bird**, **wood-hen**, and **swamp-bird**. As with endemic plants, Colenso will often use New Zealand as a modifier. For instance, he writes of the **New Zealand bat**, **New Zealand dolphin**, **New Zealand parrot**, and the **New Zealand owl**. For certain animals, he also makes combinations with **Maori** and **native**, which when the Maori name is included, provides him with up to four synonyms to choose from: the **New Zealand dog** is also called the **native dog**, **Maori dog**, and **kuri**; and the **New Zealand rat** is also the **Maori rat** and the **kiore**.

When he wasn't involved in exploration in New Zealand's bush, Colenso was closely involved with the **Mission**, **Church Mission**, or **Christian Mission**, defined in the *DNZE* as 'the 19th century Christian (usu. Protestant) evangelistic missions to Maori'. Colenso, the **missionary**, provides several examples of New Zealandisms which fall into the 'Mission' category of the database. One particular trend of interest in this category is Colenso's use of **mission** in special combinations. He frequently uses **mission house** and **mission station**, both of which are cited in the *DNZE*. In one of his personal letters, which abound with shorthand and ellipsis, he even shortens **mission station** to a hypocoristic:

If you could *see* that little glen (which Mrs Colenso has seen) & purchase it for me—10 acres of it, as a **Missy. Station**—& the remr.—no large qy.—I would *purchase* immediately of the Government.¹³

Moreover, Colenso uses combinations not in the *DNZE*, such as **mission boat**, **mission chapel**, **mission cutter**, **mission store**, **mission body**, and the **mission press**. **Mission press** is particularly interesting because it encompasses an important aspect of the **mission**, and of Colenso's career: in 1834, he set up the first printing press in New Zealand, at Paihia in the Bay of Islands. Colenso was thus what he calls a **missionary printer**; his press churned out over 70,000 books, including Maori editions of parts of the Old and New Testaments

and the Book of Common Prayer. Presumably, these books were for the **Christian Maori** to read, or for the **missionaries** and **Christian Maori teachers** to use as they attempted to influence the **heathen Maori**. Also, the printing aspect of the **mission** led to Colenso using Maori in special combinations like **Maori New Testament**, **Maori translation**, **Maori version** and **Maori Bible**.

Certain trends occur across all of Colenso's publications and letters in his use of the word Maori. He regularly uses the term Maori as a modifier, to form special collocations. For instance, he uses the well-cited (according to the *DNZE*) **Maori canoe**, **Maori chief**, **Maori house**, **Maori king**, **Maori school**, **Maori track**, **Maori village**, **Maori war**, and **Maori-land**. Yet he also uses **Maori club** (a clubhouse, presumably a marae), **Maori domestics** (domestic servants), **Maori fashion** (as in custom or behaviour), **Maori meeting** (presumably a hui), **Maori rower** (rowers of a whaleboat), **Maori teacher**, **Maori tongue** and **Maori travelling party**. In an interesting citation about a bush expedition he uses the term **Maori plan**:

During this long day's march I subsisted on a *raw* potato, which I kept nibbling, and a few *Gaultheria* berries; in addition thereto following out the Maori plan of 'hauling in the slack,' in nautical language, or, in other words, of tightening up my travelling-belt ...¹⁴

Another trend is Colenso's use of place modifiers when referring to Maori people; for example, **East Cape Maoris**, **East Coast Maoris**, **Eastern-Maori**, **North Island Maoris** and **West-Coast Maoris**. Once again, these examples show his use of the English plural 's'. Colenso also forms compound adjectives with the word Maori, such as **Anglo-Maori**, **Maorilike** and **pseudo-Maori**. The latter two examples are not cited in the *DNZE* and are apparently Colenso's own idiosyncrasies. Similarly, Colenso provides us with early examples of the participle adjectives **Maoricized** and **Maorified**:

Again, in my two editions of the Maori Bible (one in 12mo. and one in 8vo.), the passage in Esther i. 6, contains the word *pounamu*

for green colour, and not that "**Maoricized**" abomination—*karini*—which Mr. Stack quotes.¹⁵

... [our little owl] distinguished himself by acting as a brave herald-trumpeter ... joining in the pursuit with his insulting discordant note of ironical derision—*toä koë! toä koë!*—thou (art) brave! thou (art) victor! These words are ludicrously **Maorified** from the owls' common note of *koü koü! koü koü!* by a kind of onomatopœia...¹⁶

William Colenso is one of New Zealand's most important historical figures. He collected and nurtured New Zealandisms, the way a botanist collects and nurtures plants. He promulgated our distinct variety of English, the way a missionary promulgates his faith. In his numerous published and unpublished works, he provided us with a record of nineteenth-century New Zealand English, the way a printer provides records with books. As a proficient speaker of te reo, he demonstrated to his fellow colonists the delight and benefit of speaking in the native tongue. As I read hundreds of Colenso's scholarly essays, public and personal letters, I discovered that his works are more than just storehouses for New Zealandisms: they are treasure troves. Situated as he was in New Zealand – in **Maori-land** – Colenso did much to develop, nurture and 'conserve' New Zealand English, and recorded and 'preserved' for us New Zealandisms from the nineteenth century, 'the relics of our past'.

1. Personal letter to McLean, date unknown.
2. Personal Letter to McLean, 2 January 1858.
3. Personal Letter to McLean, 1858.
4. Personal Letter to McLean, 27 August 1859.
5. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 16 January 1894.
6. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 October 1859.
7. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 October 1858.
8. *TfNZI I.*, 1868: 21.
9. *TfNZI XIII.*, 1880: 59.
10. *TfNZI I.*, 1868: 28.
11. *TfNZI XIII.*, 1880: 31.
12. 13 December 1883.
13. Personal letter to McLean, date unknown.
14. *TfNZI XXIV.*, 1891: 495
15. *TfNZI XIV.*, 1881: 482
16. *TfNZI XXI.*, 1888: 205



Is it a bird? Kiwi, not only flightless but also birdless.

JAN BUNTING

New Zealanders have long been dubbed **Kiwis** with reference to the extraordinary bird whose nocturnal and elusive habits ensure that many of us never see the little ratite in real life but only its ubiquitous imagery on our coins, stamps, sausage packages, shoe cleaner, and in the triple **kiwi** marketing logo that graces sports gear all over the world, if no longer that of the All Blacks.

The New Zealand Air Force uses a symbol similar to that of Britain's Royal Air Force, but with the addition of a red **kiwi** silhouette in the central circle of white. The irony of a flightless bird appearing on aeroplanes is diluted by the realisation that the bird is a metonym for the people, who do fly, more than most other people on the globe, on account of our landscape, geography, and demographic history. These three elements of landform, the distance from other countries, and anthropologically recent arrival from somewhere else are also elemental to the constitution of a **Kiwi**, the person. A **Kiwi** may be Pakeha or Maori, Chinese or Indian, even born in Denmark, but never a tourist or a student on gap year. One can become a **Kiwi** but it takes a bit longer than that. The term is exclusive of outsiders but comfortably inclusive of our at-home population.

Two national institutions wear a relatively new **kiwi** label. **KiwiRail** marketing uses a fern leaf stylised to look like a railway track leading into the distance and, coincidentally, towards an understanding of a birdless use of the word **kiwi**. Nor does **Kiwibank's** signage include a **kiwi** bird. Its logo is green and square, no bad thing in a bank, while one version of the label adds the words 'it's ours'. This leads, in a non-birdlike fashion, to a sense of **kiwi** meaning us, the people of New Zealand.

In 2011 the typical flight of **Kiwis** from their home shores will be balanced, if not overtaken, by an influx of rugby fans from such places as South Africa, Australia, the 'home' countries of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, along with their French neighbours, and surely some Argentinians. This written in 2010:

With the Rugby World Cup due to storm our shores next year, we need to be ready

to greet all the visitors and show them true professional **Kiwi hospitality**. ... And we know it's important that we do, to ensure **Kiwi hospitality** remains second-to-none.¹

In that very spirit of **kiwi hospitality** I imagined that I could demonstrate the way that the term **kiwi** has assumed household usage by taking my reader, in a purely literary way, on a tiki-tour of my home where, having travelled from town past children playing **kiwi cricket**² and past numerous other well-known gems of **kiwiana** like two Four Squares and a few ponga trees by the steps, we could note in each room the items for which the names are prefixed **kiwi** ... Well, on reflection, there aren't any, beyond a couple of overripe **kiwifruit** and the tin of **Kiwi** brand shoe polish which most **Kiwis** call nugget! We won't actually have seen the young **Kiwis** playing **kiwi cricket** either, as we are having good **kiwi weather** at the moment with fog, wind, and boggy grass. It seems that the **kiwi** word is used for behaviours and items beyond the home, for the activities and icons of society at large, and that the use of **kiwi** as an attribution tends, like any adjective, to express comparison or exclusivity.

We are proud that our new Governor-General is a 'good **Kiwi bloke**'. His small-town beginnings coupled with his outstanding military record fit the bill perfectly. So too does his sunny-faced wife and the fact that he consulted her about taking up office.

A good **Kiwi bloke**: Jerry Mateparae consulted his wife, Janine, before accepting his new role, though she says 'it was a very easy decision'.

We consider **Kiwi blokes** to be home-grown and a bit outdoorsy, as opposed to being pale and precious like a poorly imagined stereotypical Englishman perhaps. It seems that **kiwiness** is defined to some extent by what it is not. Notably, it is measured less and less by the English standard that was the colonial benchmark in the days of European settlement here. This leads to the evolution of increasingly positive acceptance of **kiwiness** in our society, as Nick Bollinger notes:

And there is an ease about his **Kiwiness** that allows him

to slip in mentions of rapper Savage, veteran rockers Hello Sailor and the Desert Road, without appearing self-conscious.³

Savage, Hello Sailor, and Desert Road, by the way, are all **kiwi**. By oblique observation Greg O'Brien refers to lessening anxiety about **kiwi character**:

'They're not hugely known, which is where this project is so good,' says O'Brien. Many of them are pictures of **Kiwis** 'in crazy settings, in Europe and in history, also ones that say something about New Zealand and **Kiwi** character, not too solemnly'.⁴

Is the idea of **Kiwis** in crazy settings a clue to perceived national character? 'In Europe and in history'? In Europe perhaps as part of the ubiquitous OE, and historically there is the craziness of being far-flung from our various origins.

'Crazy settings' presents a more vibrant image of **kiwi character** than the terms John Robinson of Island Bay uses and accuses with, addressing the editor of the Dominion Post. He 'accuses' Chris Trotter of wanting 'only **ordinary Kiwis**' to join New Labour in 1989. In his final sentence the dulling suggestion is that

The demand for conformity to a prescribed ideology, set down by our leaders, is ubiquitous in present day New Zealand.

Political details aside, Mr Robinson's utterly fair words provoke the repeated ponder about just what does constitute an **ordinary Kiwi**. Is it all gumboots and rugby, dull ideology, and general lack of imagination? No way. Of course not. But it is easier again to say what **kiwiness** is not than to describe what it is. But in true **kiwi style** let us continue to improvise from what we do know, no number 8 wire required.

The **kiwi bach** is a phenomenon born of the kind of country we live in - the **kiwi landscape** - as much as it is a product of the **kiwi spirit** that has grown from a pioneering heritage. These are very similar to the reasons we fly a lot but to get to the **kiwi bach** it is mostly a long drive in the car, surrounded by supplies for anticipated relaxation activities

Is it a bird? Kiwi, not only flightless but also birdless.

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such as swimming, reading, eating, and messing about. However, those who use **kiwi baches** don't refer to them as that. They go to the bach. It is not so much in everyday speech as in self-conscious descriptions that the prefix is used. Real estate advertisements for small beach homes on the Kapiti Coast have recently advertised '**kiwi bach**' and even a '**real kiwi bach**!' The concept of **kiwi** is being promoted as something to cherish, and worth paying for. This thought transfers from the real estate market through makers of sausages and shoe polish to a range of government agencies such as **Kiwibank**, **KiwiRail**, and **Kiwisaver**. The portrayal of these agencies is enhanced by the sense of cosy exclusivity inherent in the **kiwi** prefix. It is sound marketing. But the use of the prefix **kiwi** is not **kiwiness**. Going to the bach is.

Less familiar to most **Kiwis** is the **yard of kiwi**. Sausages by the yard? Surely by the metre? Or, envisage a small enclosure of brown chooky-looking critters pecking about in slightly smelly mud, and imagine the eggs! But sausages it is not, or a yard full of chooks: a **yard of kiwi** extrapolates from the nicknaming of our dollar as a **kiwi** – this more in the domain of business than in everyday life – and refers to a billion **kiwi** dollars, as purchased on the stock market.

... Morgan Stanley was rumoured to have bought 'a yard' of kiwi – the offhand term foreign exchange dealers use when they talk about \$1 billion.⁵

Most **Kiwis** do from time to time refer to their food as **kai**, but it is only rarely that we refer to our food as **kiwi kai**. Much as any **Kiwi** could list a few **kiwi** favourites from greasies to pavlova, from kina to kumara and the delights of a good **kiwi roast**, our use of **kiwi kai** will more often be found in material addressed to those who are not necessarily **Kiwis** (tourists) or presented to New Zealanders by agencies who want us to feel included and therefore likely to buy their product. TVNZ Best Media website's article '50 Years of TV Ads' contains this comment:

Even big international brands like McDonalds attempted to **Kiwi-fy** themselves by introducing the **Kiwiburger** and accompanying jingle

which squeezed in as many **Kiwiana** references as possible.⁶

So the marketing moguls of McDonalds have snuggled into our **kiwi nest**, **kiwi-fying** their American food, semantically if not in the burger, with the motive of persuading a few more **Kiwis** to purchase their wares. It appears the **kiwi** adjective is used most generally to describe **kiwi** culture to **non-Kiwis**, or to appeal to a **Kiwi** to spend.

For a tourist almost anywhere in the world, McDonald's is a familiar place where there are not too many surprises. So, in that spirit of trust, does a **non-Kiwi** in New Zealand imagine that a **kiwiburger** is made with minced **kiwi** meat? Equally, how does the visitor view the **kiwi roast**, which may be beef but is probably lamb and never, ever **kiwi**? It is not just in the domain of food that confusion beckons.

Politicians, especially when trying to gather votes, are very fond of talking, usually with a catch in their throats, about 'hard-working **Kiwis**', 'Kiwi battlers' or the nauseating cliché 'Kiwis of Main/Struggle Street'.⁷

We all know about working dogs, even the odd guide-pony, but **hard-working Kiwis**? While the capital letter should reassure a reader, a listener may still suppose that the **Kiwi battler** is a person who bludgeons **kiwis**. We would probably welcome the small nocturnal **kiwi** into our struggling streets but its poor eyesight could lead to a horrible new type of road kill. Or consider the possible confusion to a **non-Kiwi** on reading that over the long hot summer 'many **Kiwis** will be digging deep in the sand for pipi'.⁸ Again, the capital letter is of no help to the untutored listener, to say nothing of that imaginary **kiwi** on Lambton Quay or Queen Street or a misplaced bird poking its long beak into the sand. Ornithology and lexicology clash comically over a matter of capitalisation.

Kiwi was once just a remarkable bird, it has long been a fond name for New Zealanders, it has become an adjective which endows its noun with positive qualities of New Zealandness, it is becoming a selling point and it has become a brand. It is startling to realise that it is close

to becoming a verb as well! If, in our **Kiwi** fashion, we adapt something that was designed somewhere else in the world then we can say we have **Kiwified** it, and for those newcomers to **Kiwiland** there is a web page dedicated to one man's experience of **Kiwification**⁹. His web page covers a narrow range of such useful topics as why **Kiwis** like petrol lawn mowers, locking the car doors while driving (or not), and how David Young feels as a new New Zealander from South Africa. Above all he feels safer. Again, definition is found in what we are not. He wrote the blog before iPhones came to our antipodean shores but in anticipation of that delight he blesses us with some lovely language:

I don't have an iPhone (yet). When I do, you can bet I'll be heading to **KIWI-ISE**, a collection of tricks and mods to make your iPhone more "**kiwified**".¹⁰

Thank you David! What is delightful about this is the way the South African speaker is becoming **kiwified** and expressing a proper **Kiwi attitude** about his anticipated iPhone – improvise, adjust, alter, until it is **kiwi**. This man may be almost a **Kiwi** by now. The defining moment could be when he backs the All Blacks over the Springboks, or heads for the *bach* with the car windows down and some good **kiwi garage rock** blaring.

New Zealanders generally are proud of their **kiwitanga** and in turn ascribe that sense to those of whom they are proud.

Producer/Director Tainui Stephens who was one of the eight responsible for formulating the list, stated last night: 'Rutherford was clearly one of the greatest scientists ever and was proud of his **kiwitanga** right through to the end. He devised really simple experiments to answer really big questions. He opened a door to everything'.¹¹

The average **Kiwi's** growing interest in our **kiwi-ness**, **kiwiana**, or **kiwiosity**, is celebrated in a book by Gordon Ell. Originally it was named *New Zealand Traditions and Folklore*; now it is proudly *Kiwiosities: an A-Z of New Zealand Traditions and Folklore*¹². The renaming indicates



Is it a bird? Kiwi, not only flightless but also birdless.

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a progressive **kiwifying** of our culture and, even more, an evolving perception of that culture. **Kiwiosity** can refer to the whole sense of being **Kiwi**, comparable with **kiwiness**, or it can indicate a particular item within it, comparable with a 'curiosity'. When Gordon Ell refers to 'ideas that had been central to our national consciousness'¹³ he is referring to the concept **kiwiosity**. When his reviewer, Paul Smith, gives the examples of 'ladies, a plate' and 'Bushman's toilet paper' he is citing two individual **kiwiosities**.¹⁴ Smith directs attention to the need for preservation of a changing culture:

Among other things, Ell has done us a service because some of this history, mostly derived from life in the country, may well be lost in a society in which 86% of the people are city-dwellers. When you start reading this book you realise how much New Zealand has changed and how the symbols and characters of the past might be slipping into obscurity.

This sense of conservation is dear to our hearts here at the New Zealand Dictionary Centre. Recording the lexicographical changes in our shared history is an exciting and fundamental aspect of our work.

As **Kiwis** become more aware of the uniqueness of their shared history, they are becoming increasingly proud of it. The language we use reflects the change, even to the use of the word **kiwi** itself. This is apparent particularly when describing ourselves to others or in the domain of advertising. Thus, in its birdless form, the word **kiwi** is not so much a part of **kiwispeak** as a description of it. It occurs in situations of self-reflection.

In noun form **kiwi** is a bird or a New Zealander. In attribution it is homely and comfy if we read it from a **kiwi** viewpoint, or it is a touristic tag for visitors. It verbifies in **kiwify**, and flies in metonymic fashion, this last the epitome of **kiwi style** as we fly birdless to London, reversing the colonial migration of the nineteenth century with a stream of **Kiwis**

doing OE back home. It's all part of **kiwitanga**, our **kiwiosity**.

1. <http://www.hsi.co.nz/forum10>
2. The next step up is Kiwi Cricket for 6-7 year olds. They also use soft balls but play a structured game each Saturday - 16 overs per innings. Teams consist of eight players. The best thing about Kiwi Cricket is everyone gets to face the same number of balls, bowl the same number of balls and field in all the different positions. <http://www.sumnercricket.co.nz/junior/junior.html>
3. *NZ Listener*, 16 October 2010: 44
4. *Dominion Post*, 10 February 2011, Arts and Entertainment p. 13 in reference to works by illustrator Graham Percy.
5. *NZ Herald*, 16 June 2007.
6. <http://tvnz.co.nz/the-ad-show/50-years-tv-ads-3556314>
7. *Dominion Post*, 16 February 2011: B4.
8. *Wairarapa Midweek*, 15 February 2011: 13.
9. <http://www.kiwification.info/>
10. *ibid.*
11. <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/CU0511/S00100.htm> 11 November 2005.
12. Ell, Gordon (2008). *Kiwiosities: an A-Z of New Zealand Traditions and Folklore*. New Holland Publishers (NZ) Ltd.
13. http://www.kiwiboomers.co.nz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2572&Itemid=58
14. Paul Smith on [kiwiboomers.co.nz](http://www.kiwiboomers.co.nz)

Mining the lexis of New Zealand's Public Sector

KATHERINE QUIGLEY

The doctoral study in lexicography entitled 'The Lexicon of Public Sector Reform in New Zealand 1984-1994' was funded by a Research Fellowship from the New Zealand Dictionary Centre.

Introduction

This was a study which aimed to identify and collect the words specific to New Zealand English that were used in the documents of New Zealand's public sector during the decade of 1984-1994. These years constituted a period of radical socio-economic reform under the fourth Labour Government, and the hypothesis of the thesis was that such a time of rapid legal and economic change would be reflected in the language.

Lexical domains of the study

As the whole of the public sector produces a vast amount of documentation every year, it was necessary to limit the scope of the

study. Accordingly, it was decided to focus on the Treasury as a main driver of public policy at the time, and on the departments (as they then were) of Health, Education, and Social Welfare, which as the 'spending ministries' form a natural triad and are often grouped together.

Data sources

New Zealand's government sector puts out many different document types, so again limits had to be drawn. The annual *Corporate Plans*, the *Annual Reports*, and the triennial *Briefings to Incoming Governments* were selected to form the dataset for this lexical study. In lexicography it is a strength to have a variety of document types, and these were chosen because one looked forward in time to the year to come, one looked back on the year that had passed, and the third document type formed a snapshot of the current state of affairs at election time in each department, so as to provide the newly elected Minister with an overview of the issues he or she was about to face.

The other advantage of forming a corpus from these three document types was that they were all required by statute to be produced, so they appeared at regular intervals across all departments and were published and thus readily accessible to the public (and to researchers). Having said that, the timeframe of this study pre-dated electronic media, meaning that these documents were not available online and had to be located and read onsite in the archives of the various ministries, usually in windowless basements where they repose in the form of yellowing pages typed on manual typewriters and are stored in ringbinder folders which cannot be borrowed.

In this way, i.e. by examining one triennial and two annual documents from each of four ministries over a ten-year period, a corpus of approximately five million words of written New Zealand English was formed. All of this material was read in its hard copy format, and notes of potential New Zealand-specific words were taken by hand

on traditional lexicographer's 4" x 6" cards, ready to be taken back to the NZ Dictionary Centre for checking on computer.

Methodological issues

Recognising potential words for inclusion, and then checking these on Google and in the OED online to identify which were and which were not unique to New Zealand, was the first and most important task – one which often proved extremely time-consuming. Days could be spent on a single word, trying to ascertain where it has been used before and, if it is an international word used elsewhere, whether the citation at hand constituted a new meaning or a new sense of the word which might be specific to this country.

Another major issue which arose during the course of the research was that of multiword units (for example **customary rights, invalids benefit**) and how to treat these. Where to draw the boundary between collocations and compounds, and which criteria to use when including these types of lexemes in the glossary of New Zealand words, was a thorny challenge which exercised the mind for many months. More minor issues which also needed principled and consistent decisions to be made were how to treat proper nouns

(for example, names which are not usually included in a dictionary, such as **Access (programme), Free Kindergarten Association**), how to treat the very many abbreviations (**ACC, CRI**) and acronyms (**CROC, NAFMAC**) which occurred in the government documents, and how to treat words from te reo (**kaiairahi reo, nga toi**).

Once identified, checked and found to be specific to New Zealand English, the words had to be defined and their entries constructed for inclusion in the glossary. Pronunciation and etymology were not included, as this was beyond the scope of the 100,000-word limit on a doctoral thesis. However, alternative forms of the headword, and the part of speech, were included in each entry.

Following the style of the OED, citations were arranged in chronological order. The aim was to find three written citations for each word wherever possible. Usually there were more citations available for each word than was needed, so a set of nine criteria was devised and applied in order to select the three which would be used – the rest of the citations were discarded. The most useful citations included those which best illustrated the meaning of the word in context. Other considerations were to provide

citations from a range of document types and a range of ministries.

Findings

The most significant results of this study are listed below in summarised form.

Approximately 260 words specific to New Zealand English were found in this dataset. Of these 260 NZE words:

- 95% were nouns
- 58% were compounds
- 35% were of Maori origin
- two-thirds do not currently appear in any dictionary of English, either New Zealand or international

From the second bullet point above we can draw the conclusion that the lexical change of the period consisted mostly of innovating via multiword units. That is to say, in this dataset the compounding process proved to be highly productive and by far the most common of the word formation processes found. Of the 58% of the vocabulary specific to New Zealand English that were compound words, the vast majority were nominal; that is, strings of nouns used to modify other nouns. This tells us something about the nature of lexical innovation in a time of rapid social change.

Slang and me

NIGEL PRICKETT

I was asked to write a few words on 'how I became interested in words' because of a 1960s word list I sent to the editor of *NZWords* last year. This was a record of words and phrases I remember as a student and young man at pubs and parties and out and about at that time. For all I know they are still part of young people's language. It was as a university student of history and anthropology that I became interested in cultural difference and change, where language is so important.

Slang can be direct, descriptive, rude and sometimes very funny. The 1811 *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* has 23 'orders' in a crew or gang, including **rufflers, jarkmen** and **swadders** among men, and, among women, **doxies, delles** and **autem morts**. In Eugene Landy's 1971 *Underground*

Dictionary of Los Angeles youth and drug culture are **cotton head, hot and cold** and **hum job** – look them up. My word list too is from a particular sub-culture. Only recently I read a newspaper piece referring to a 'black hole' of words not found in dictionaries. The web's *Urban Dictionary* fills a gap, but doesn't bring together words and phrases of particular social groups to tell of social history.

David McGill's books on New Zealand slang have many great words and phrases, but not all on my list. Orsman's 1997 *Oxford Dictionary of New Zealand English* relies on citations and so excludes words not written down, which applies to lots of slang. My list from 1960s Wellington and early 1970s Dunedin was first put together 20 years ago. Since then I have checked it against slang

dictionaries until I found my two test words and more in Jonathon Green's 2008 *Slang Dictionary*, to make me look at the list again.

Among words once in common use but generally absent from dictionaries are 'moosh' for face and 'hurf' meaning throw. McGill's definition of **fuck-knuckle** in the 2003 *Reed Dictionary of New Zealand Slang* is excellent: 'idiot, but can be meant affectionately'. My list has: 'reference to another bloke, may have a sense of aggravation'. It could be shortened to **knuckle**. If you were there in those days you might also remember **bar-steward, cuse, donger, fan-belt, lare-up, mick, nungas, squire, ran-tan** and **yahoo**.

Anyone familiar with these words might have more to add from the time and place. Those sure were creative days.

Dunners: The city for institutional coinages with a difference

DIANNE BARDSLEY

Dunedin has an interesting lexical history, and within the pages of the comprehensive *Otago Witness* and other local 19th- and 20th-century rag-planter products can be found some of the earliest recorded local usages of terms ranging from **asht pies** (1878), **counter lunches** (1864), and **smallgoods** (1865) to **buzz bars**, **howdies** (midwives), and **Jaffa races**. A range of coinages which related to the 19th-century prohibition and suffrage movements was also recorded in the southern city. These days Dunedin is widely known as **Scarfierville** or blithely referred to by the likes of national television's Jim Hickey as **Dunners**.

It's obvious that **scarfie** (student) life has generated its own local lexis in the Edinburgh of the South and that, there, the term 'institution' is embracing of more than New Zealand's first university, established in 1869, and more than its Polytechnic and College of Education combined. While Dunedin is all about tradition, the student tradition is far from conservative. While the traditional schools of medicine, physiotherapy, law, and surveying still exist, the traditional student culture over 141 years has undergone significant change, and a range of separate institutions have evolved. Institutions for which there are specific terms include **couch-burning**, **couch fires**, **Gardies**, **scarfie bar**, **scarfie culture**, **scarfie fashion**, **Scarfie flats**, **scarfie life**, **scarfie meal deals**, **scarfie pub**, **Speights**, **Toga Parade**, and the **Undie 500**. Even the **Brook** and the **Callie** have had strong **scarfie** affiliations. It all seems very comfortable and amicable on the surface, but despite that, newspapers published outside of Dunedin have plenty to say about the city and its various student traditions:

Dunedin is magnificent for students – derelict but character-laden flats, student bars, scores of social events and a reasonably loose chain that over the years has seen the Dunedin student become somewhat of a cultural icon across the land. ... At the centre of this culture, particularly during the past 30 to 40 years, has been the Gardens Sports Tavern, affectingly known by most simply as **Gardies**,

the quintessential student watering hole.¹

There is no escaping that Dunedin is the nation's most significant university town, but how accepted are **Scarfies** in **Dunners**? According to the *Waikato Times*:

There is, of course, another important element that influences someone's choice of tertiary institution apart from cost and the standard of teaching. That is the quality of student life. Otago University has its **scarfie** tradition and Dunedin has embraced its student population in a way few others have.²

How general is this observation? Not at all general when the **Undie 500** and **Toga Parade** are in progress, it seems:

For the third consecutive year the **Undie 500** proved to be a catalyst for drunken rioting, with bottles hurled at police officers, trees uprooted and fires started ... Some might glamorise or romanticise the **scarfie** culture, but there is nothing glamorous or romantic about drinking to excess, then indulging in violence and other anti-social behaviour.³

The **Undie 500** is an iconic event – a pub crawl followed by a street party in the student stronghold, Castle St. There is wild and raucous behaviour from many, with the token **Scarfie couch fire** (which is an every weekend thing in North Dunedin).⁴

Sadly, yet another (First Day/Toga Parade) **Scarfie** event will have to bite the dust because of the boorish few who have never been taught respect or boundaries.⁵

About 2000 drunken participants and onlookers at the Otago University Students Association annual toga parade smashed windows and hurled rubbish bags in Dunedin's main street last night.⁶

Such reporting was recorded from Canterbury to Hawke's Bay. Although the infamous **scarfie Gardies** (Garden Bar) has recently been

closed (to the extensive nostalgia and collective consternation of former students around the nation), the institution of **couch-burning** and **couch fires** lives on.

Just before midnight, a couch was set on fire at one end of Castle Street – attracting a large crowd. Shortly after, the student pub **Gardies** – The Gardens Tavern – closed, disgorging hundreds of students on to Castle Street. Many found their route into the city blocked by those assembled for the **couch fire** and joined them.⁷

What is it with **couch fires** and **couch-burning**, another favourite topic for editorial columns and general news reports?

Students are supposed to be our best and brightest – the country's future doctors, dentists, teachers and leaders. Those who think they are smartest often have the most to learn. Despite the spin, the image of Dunedin's **scarfies** as "beer-guzzling, vomit-covered, **couch-burning**, law-breaking, spoil brats" is stronger than ever.⁸

Couch fires in Dunedin's Castle St led to two arrests last night. The Fire Service was called to three separate incidents between 5.50pm and 6.30pm, southern fire communications shift commander Riwai Grace said. Two female students, aged 19 and 20, were arrested for disorderly behaviour, Senior Sergeant Craig Brown said.⁹

Scarfies are undoubtedly the mainstay of many watering holes and cafés, they provide a living for retailers, and they provide landlords of properties of questionable quality with rent. In fact,

A new audit of 114 student flats by the Otago University Students' Association (OUSA) reveals problems are widespread. More than one in five had problems with vermin, and more than half were so damp they threatened students' health. That is arguably the quintessential **scarfie** experience but where students once paid peanuts

Dunners: The city for institutional coinages with a difference

CONTINUED...

for such squalor, they now pay top dollar and prices show no sign of easing.¹⁰

Scarfies swell the population by 25,000 during term time. They populate Castle Street and North Dunedin with colour and contention and as far as fashion attire goes,

There's no denying Dunedin's **scarfie** culture, and the city's designers wouldn't have it any other way.¹¹

But evidence of **scarfie** culture is found all over the city, not just in Castle Street and the northern precincts, but as more widely cited in the film *Scarfies* by Duncan Sarkies:

Sarkies sets them among the predictable **scarfie** motifs: frozen water pipes, baked beans from the can, heating the house with the oven, and an Otago-Auckland NPC final, which the locals naturally win, choice!¹²

It is clear that Scarfies have a national relevance:

On the National MPs' blog, the hot topics are news that a **scarfie** pub in Dunedin is about to close, solar panels and the Super 14.¹³

There has been a long rugby tradition amongst the student population in Dunedin – the cynical would say it has more to do with keeping warm than taking exercise. But could it be waning?

DUNEDIN'S dose of test fever was barely recognisable ahead of tonight's All Black Tri-Nations rugby test against South Africa. Despite a sunny **scarfie** afternoon, when swanning in bikinis and footie shorts outside flats was taking precedence over study, the lack of pre-game pandemonium was a major departure from previous years.¹⁴

Other centres could be encroaching on some of Dunedin's distinctive culture and distinctive lexis, for both Canterbury and Manawatu newspapers have shown usage of the term **scarfie** in their respective localities:

Christchurch is on a fast track to claim Dunedin's reputation as New Zealand's **scarfie** city. Canterbury University will soon boast the largest residential hall in the country, following a \$10 million building project at University Hall.¹⁵

JANELLE Cameron's soccer skills have landed her a fat cheque, but she insists she won't celebrate her good fortune in the traditional **scarfie** manner. A first-year student at Massey University, Cameron was recently awarded a Soccer Manawatu scholarship worth \$1000.¹⁶

Despite this, **scarfies** have had a long and very distinctive association with Dunedin, generating new institutions within what has been a very traditional environment.

1. *Southland Times*, 10 April 2010: A1.
2. *Waikato Times*, 11 September 2003: A6.
3. *Press*, 15 September 2009: B12.
4. *Press*, 18 September 2009: B12.
5. *Press*, 17 September 2009: B12.
6. *Hawkes Bay Today*, 25 February 2009: A5.
7. *Press*, 25 August 2008: A1.
8. *Nelson Mail*, 28 August 2007: B13.
9. *Timaru Herald*, 14 July 2010: A1.
10. *Sunday Star Times*, 11 September 2005: A5.
11. *DomPost*, 16 March 2006: B3.
12. *Press*, 7 August 1999: B39.
13. *DomPost*, 6 April 2010: B2.
14. *Press*, 15 September 2009: B12.
15. *Press*, 27 January 2000: B2.
16. *Evening Standard*, 18 June 2003: B18.

From the Centre

Since the publication of *NZWords* 14, a new PhD Fellow has begun work at the Centre. Ruth Graham, who works as a parliamentary librarian, is compiling and analysing a database of unparliamentary language in New Zealand since the 1850s. To date, Ruth has categorised items deemed unparliamentary within a range of 53 domains and topics which range from animals to racism, within a range of intents or purposes, and within a range of lexical elements. It's a fascinating study that demonstrates that some linguistic and lexical behaviour of politicians belies belief.

The Centre was fortunate to have Honours graduate Jenna Tinkle working as a student researcher for the second time over the summer break, and it is to be hoped that her work will continue with us on a very ad hoc basis with the receipt of further Colenso data to be recorded and analysed. Research assistants Jan

Bunting, Jane Dudley, and Amanda Holdaway spirit away part-time hours on data collection, data input, and quality control on the database antedating project, while a Faculty Research grant has enabled Cheryl McGettigan to complete her work on changes in the education domain.

Work on a number of publications has been a focus. Tony Deverson's *Oxford Dictionary of New Zealandisms* was published before Christmas, in an exciting and superior design, and to much acclaim. Dianne Bardsley's *New Zealand Oxford Junior Dictionary* followed soon after, and she has since worked on *The New Zealand Primary School Dictionary & Thesaurus*, to be published later this year. Her manuscript of a text on New Zealand English with Te Papa Press is with the publisher, and together with the work of Professors Laurie Bauer, Janet Holmes, and Paul Warren, her columns from the *DomPost* newspaper are ready for publication

as a text with Random House, to be available in August.

We have been happily involved with outstanding pre-tertiary students in the form of the Year 9 National Spelling Bee (with the winner travelling to Washington for the 2011 Scripps Spelling Bee) and the Oxford-sponsored prize for the best Year 12/Year 13 research project. This was won by Liza Bolton of Te Awamutu College.

The lexical response to the Christchurch earthquake has been distinctive, with **munted** and **muntage** being among the most frequently occurring adjectives and nouns, accompanied by phonological bedfellows **bung**, **buggered**, **dunger**, and **stuffed**. Mayor Bob Parker described **munted** as a technical term in this context, and on March 6 his coinage **megamunt** was recorded in the *Sunday Star-Times*. **Trashed**, it seems, is neither

adequately evocative nor descriptive. The people in the eastern suburbs, lacking power, water, and chemical toilets or portaloos, let alone any kind of sewerage system, were reported to have had a **gutsful**. The Mayor also told us that he was **guttled** that the World Cup would not be played in Christchurch. We have columnist and commentator Jane Bowron to thank for the quake's nickname, **Old Bucky**. It has been interesting to note that the term **liquefaction** is used for the product (silt) in addition to the process itself. The **Farmy Army** and the **SVA (Student Volunteer Army)** are two new terms that have left their mark on the lexis, along with **lunar looney**, the unfortunate reference to no-doubt-sincere Moon Man Ken Ring. It will be some time before these terms have left the daily discourse of Christchurch residents.

Mailbag

Leatherleaf

Some years ago I mentioned to Harry Orsman - we often talked about back country words - that when my father first took me to the Tararuas in 1946, he introduced my friend and me to leatherleaf. I was and still am virtually certain that he said leatherleaf and not the usual leatherwood; he particularly showed us the leathery nature of the leaves. Harry was for a moment or two taken with this, but then said, No, no, the standard pattern is to use -wood, as in pigeonwood and ribbonwood (and many examples from overseas: the pattern is not a New Zealand one). Well, I had no written examples. Now, though, I can give him chapter and verse, so I hope he's listening.

Leatherleaf is given as an alternative to leatherwood in the new Mark Pickering book, *Huts* (2010), p. 319.

And from 1930 (my father had known the Tararuas in the '20s, and had not been there again till 1946), this: '... light green patches of leatherleaf fringing the bush line.' S.G. M[acintosh], 'The Tararua Tramper', vol. 2, no. 4, 15 February 1930. I dare say the usage was never common - the standard -wood pattern put paid to any hopes it may have had - even though unlike other examples, it is precisely the leaf that is leathery.

All good wishes

John Thomson

Ed: We have other citations for **leatherleaf** which was particularly in use in the area of the Ruahines and Tararuas. Interestingly, there are various word forms for the plant, as there are referents. Forms include leather-leaf, leathern-leaf, leather leaf, and leather jacket. The name is given to both *Senecio rotundifolius* and *Senecio puffini*, the muttonbird scrub of Stewart Island. To the Maori, it is tupare. It also the name for *Olearia colensoi*, found on the Ruahine and Tararua scrublines. We have added citations from two of Mark Pickering's texts, which deal with this latter plant, along with the 1930 *Tararua Tramper* citation. Many thanks.

Buckley's chance

From Duke University, North Carolina

In case it's of interest, a message I sent to the American Dialect Society list:

Many publications present numerous proposed Australian origins of 'Buckley's chance.' The *Australian National Dictionary*, whose earliest quote is from 1895, offers: 'Buckley's ... In full Buckley's chance (choice, hope, show). A forlorn hope; no prospect whatever.' From searching databases available to me - others are invited to improve on this - the earliest available uses of 'Buckley's chance' appear, not in Australia, but in New Zealand. Also, some of the relatively early uses of Buckley's choice (1908), hope and show (1890), likewise, appear in NZ. Therefore, perhaps, one might consider the possibility of origin from a New Zealand Buckley.

Here are two 1892 N.Z. uses of 'Buckley's chance':

Papers Past — Observer — 10 September 1892 — DIAMOND CUT ... Observer - natlib.govt.nz - Sep 10, 1892 Of course, this meant that had the plaintiff not been a man of good principle his solicitor might have had what is called a 'Buckley's chance' of recovering his fees. This so incensed the plaintiff's solicitor ...

Papers Past — *Ashburton Guardian* — 5 November 1892 — [White Choker] [on boat racing] *Ashburton Guardian* - natlib.govt.nz - Nov 5, 1892 Vogengang Rosefeldt and Flinders to use a vulgar phrase cannot have Buckley's chance with St Hippo for whom I have a great liking

Here are two 1890 NZ uses of 'Buckley's show' (attested earlier than 'Buckley's chance'):

Papers Past — *West Coast Times* — 16 June 1890 — FOOTBALL NOTES ... *West Coast Times* - natlib.govt.nz - Jun 16, 1890 On Saturday some twenty Possibles had Buckley's show against the ten Probables and at the call of 'no side' the score stood 18 points to nil.

Papers Past — *Feilding Star* — 10 July 1890 — Sporting *Feilding Star* - natlib.govt.nz - Jul 10, 1890 ... of these Darnley and Gladius made such a display at Napier recently - baulking at nearly every jump - that I fancy they will have 'Buckley's show,' but if they ...

Perhaps one might consider a Buckley active (or insufficiently active) in NZ sports as a possibility. However, it appears that the Buckley most avidly and extensively discussed in contemporary newspapers was George Buckley, a former director of the New Zealand Bank. In October 1889 Buckley made a bold and public declaration that 'certain assets in the accounts of the Bank of New Zealand would prove to be about L354,000 to the bad.' His charges were avidly discussed, sometimes ridiculed, and officially utterly dismissed.

I first noticed the George Buckley case in the following NZ newspaper, which happens to have the collocation 'Buckley's chance' - though not yet in idiomatic usage. One might dismiss this as irrelevant; on the other hand, one might see it as attesting that the idiomatic sense may not yet have developed, but surely soon after did.

Papers Past — *Star* — 22 July 1890 — Mr Buckley.

Star - natlib.govt.nz - Jul 22, 1890

... The promptitude of the success which has attended the Directors plans has effectually destroyed all Mr Buckley's chance of a hearing ...

Stephen Goranson

Ed: **Buckley's chance** is interesting. Certainly the use of the term in New Zealand and Australian sporting circles has been common. More research needs to be carried out in political contexts in New Zealand where the phrase has also been prominent. In the 1860s a Canterbury Provincial Council candidate

became well-known for standing for nomination and/or election in different electorates or catchments and being defeated. In the 1890s, prohibition was said to have had Buckley's chance. And a citation from 1910 (*Marlborough Express* 18 May: 2) reads "'The other party has not a Buckley's hope of getting into office," said the Prime Minister at Hokitika, and that popular Buckley phrase was cheered ...' So more research is to be done here.

Miscellany

Expressions of disbelief

Some are endemic, others imported, but most Kiwi expressions of disbelief carry or carried with them the sense of a linguistic blank look. In the 1960s, **Fair go?** and **Full on?** were common responses to statements which surprised us, or stretched credibility, replacing the **baloney**, **bollocks**, **bunkum**, **You're pulling my leg**, and **Blow me down** which were common post-Second World War. The polysyllabic **balderdash**, **codswallop**, **hogwash**, **humbug**, **poppycock**, **tommyrot**, and **twaddle** are also showing signs of advanced old age. **True dinks?** was another of those 1960s expressions, especially among teenagers. Among adults we have had **For crying out loud**, **That will be the frosty Friday!**, the emphatic **Get off the grass!**, **Rhubarb!**, and **You're having me on!** Much scepticism is expressed in **Pigs might fly!** And where does **bugger that fit?** More recent responses are the mild **Yeah right** and **Whatever**, but we would like to know of more expressions of disbelief that readers hear used these days.

In 1863 New Zealand Samuel Butler commented 'When we should say in England "Certainly not", it is here "no fear", or "Don't you believe it".' More recent expressions for emphatic negative responses are welcome, too.

In the media

What are politicians doing?

Mr Faafoi was leafleting outside Porirua supermarkets yesterday, trying to encourage voters to turn out. (*DomPost* 19 November 2010: A1)

Gerry Brownlie, Earthquake Recovery Minister, incited much derision and contempt for referring

to damaged heritage building as old dungers, ready for demolition.

On the Net

rofflenui:

a blended New Zealand English-Maori word that means 'rolling on the floor laughing a lot' (American Dialect Society web page americandialect.org/index 2008)

Some items of interest from our early newspaper antedating project:

foggy-dyke:

a mossy mound.

Daily Southern Cross 22 February 1861: 5: One summer morning our 'Knight of the Tawse' was required to preach in a church a few miles distant from his usual residence, and the weather being very hot, he took off his shoes and stockings, - whether for economical reasons, or for the purpose of keeping his toes cool, we wot not, but thus he started on his journey, - his vest unbuttoned, his coat hanging over the one arm, his shoes and stockings on the other, away he marched with his bare feet, carefully stepping over the small stones until within a few hundred yards of the church, when he espied a temptingly soft foggy-dyke; and selecting a spot beneath the welcome shadow of a large tree, he gladly sat down to rest his wearied limbs, and cover the nakedness of his extremities.

doodle-em-buck:

a marble pitching game.

Grey River Argus 28 December 1871: 2: The various sports, under the superintendence of the committee, according to the programme, consisted of target shooting, target shooting with shot, quoit matches, wrestling, three-legged racing, vaulting with pole, putting the stone, egg racing, running flat leaps, standing high leaps, 300 yards handicap racing, pigeon shooting, hurdle racing, boys' racing, and hop, step, and jump; and last - though not least - 'Doodle'em Buck' and the wheel-of-fortune.

Timaru Herald 25 April 1891: 1: [Advert] Shooting Gallery, Doodlum Buck.

Otago Witness 5 April 1905: 38: [Illustration caption] THE SKILFUL GAME OF DOODLUM BUCK: A POPULAR FIGURE AT ALL RACE MEETINGS AND SPORTS.

Taihoa:

1. a nickname given by impatient citizens to Governors Gore Brown and Onslow:

Colonist 28 September 1860: 3: Already he has obtained both from natives and Europeans the sobriquet of 'Governor Wait-a-bit;' or, as the Maori has it, he is the 'Taihoa Kawana.'

Bay of Plenty Times 17 December 1890: 2: It is said that the discovery of the most suitable name has been made by the lady who, before all others has the right to choose a name for the infant son of the Governor of N.Z. Her shrewdness and pleasant wit are applauded on all sides. The name is to be 'Taihoa,' 'wait a bit' Onslow.

2. the verb to deliberate or move slowly:

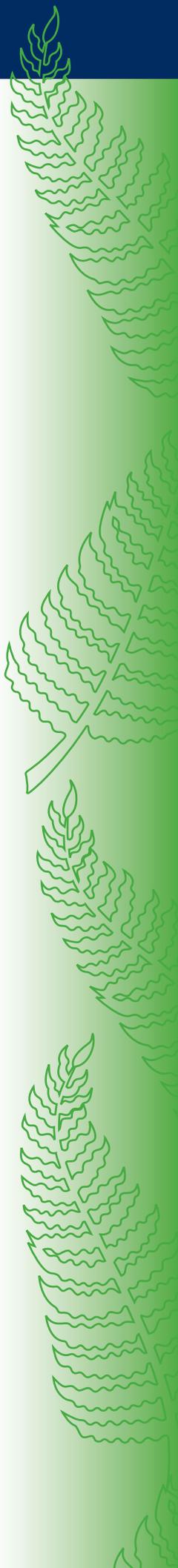
Marlborough Express 5 January 1912: 5: 'Taihoa' does not mean 'careful consideration, prudent and wise advancement, careful deliberation, putting on the brake, chewing things over,' although it may be used for these reasons. Englished, this word just corresponds to our own adverb 'by-and-by' - postponing indefinitely for any reason or no reason at all what may be said or done at once. It has always meant this, and can never mean anything else, whether applied to the occasional or habitual procrastinations of a pakeha, Maori chief, or honorable Parliamentarian grievously pestered by urgent petitions of insatiate constituents.

3. the creeper we know as **bush lawyer**:

REED *Gumdigger* (1948) 53: The stringy tendrils of the aptly named *taihoa*, or 'wait-a-while' native creeper, tough enough to trap and hold a horse.

4. the verb **to out-taihoa** is to move more slowly than another, to procrastinate in the extreme:

Otautau Std & Wallace County Chronicle 14 June 1932: 3: The pakeha this time had out-taihoa'd the Maori.

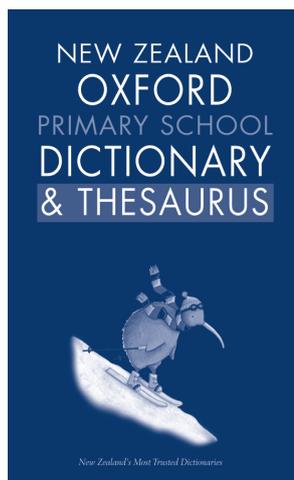


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