




NEW ZEALAND
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW ZEALAND



This document is made available by The New Zealand Archaeological Association under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

To view a copy of this license, visit
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>.



NGĀ KUPU MĀORI MO NGĀ WĀHI TŪPUNA, WĀHI TAPU ME NGĀ WĀHI TAONGA: MAORI TERMINOLOGY FOR PLACES OF SIGNIFICANCE

ANTOINE NELSON COFFIN
NO NGAITERANGI, NGATI
RANGINUI, NGATI RAUKAWA

Dedicated to my good friend Te Aue Davis.

Ka rere atu nga awa o Kaimai, ki te whakakotahi o te awa rongonui o Wairoa toku kainga, Wairoa toku turanga, Wairoa toku ukaipo, Wairoa toku moemoea. Ka tukuna atu nga mihi ki te runga rawa, ki te tokotoru tapu me nga anahera pono me te mangai. Kei roto i tera, te hunga wairua kua wheturangitia, haere, haere, haere atu ra. Ka hoki nga whakaaro te hunga ora, ka piki te ora, tena koutou katoa.

Ko te pepa nei, enei o nga rarangi kupu mo nga wahi tupuna, wahi tapu me nga wahi taonga o te Maori. Ko tenei mahi he whakaaro aroha ki nga tauira Maori i mahi ana i roto i nga take whenua, take moana. Kei te hiahia-tanga o tenei kaupapa, hei whakamaori, hei whakamana i nga wahi.

Na ratou ma, nga kororua o nehera te tini o nga kupu, i korerotia nga whakatauki, nga pepeha me nga waiata ki a Elsdon Best, Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Apirana Ngata, Te Rangihiroa me a ratou rangatira.

No reira, e rau rangatira ma, korerotia, tuhituhia nga kupu Maori i nga wa katoa. Ko enei kupu, nga taonga o nga tupuna mo nga tamariki kei te haere mai.

During my travels around the North Island I have had the privilege of working with people who have dedicated their lives to the preservation of the history and traditions of our ancestors. In many cases the kupu that describe these places may have been lost but the eternal strand that binds us with our ancestors has not broken. To you I humbly offer this small collection of kupu as a koha in your work. This paper is a collection of nouns used to describe, categorise or define a range of sites and areas of traditional and historical

value to Maori. For those who work regularly in archaeology this list may assist or indeed make your job much harder. While there are many translations available there are equally terms that do not translate well in one or two words and also many different terms for one type of site. There are also dialectal and tribal variations to consider. Where noted I have added macrons to denote long vowel sounds. I have often been asked what the Maori word is for a particular type of place or feature. To answer this question one must understand the history of an area, the traditions of the people of the land, have a good grasp of Te Reo Maori and be aware of tribal dialects and variations. In that regard I am still a student, with the hope that I may one day have enough wisdom to advise others of this question with some authority. In the meantime here is an initial fragment of the vast body of Maori knowledge and understanding.

Naku iti nei, Antoine.

A

<i>Āhau</i>	temporary windbreak for crops (Williams 1992: 2), frail breakwind, screen, light fence used in cultivation grounds (Best 1976: 39)
<i>Ahi kāroa</i>	sites associated with claiming of title
<i>Ahu</i>	sacred mound used in certain rites (Williams 1992: 3)
<i>Ahu otaota</i>	midden (Ngata 1995: 309)
<i>Ahurewa</i>	sacred place for the performance of mystic ceremonies (Williams 1992: 4), an elevated platform in a pā, occupied by a watchman (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Ahuriri</i>	a low pig-proof fence (Best 1976: 39), a low barrier across entrance to a pā, over which person stepped when passing through the gateway (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Amonga waka</i>	portage (Ngata 1995: 387)
<i>Ana</i>	cave (Williams 1992: 9), (Davis 1990: 38)
<i>Aparua</i>	the two outer defences of a pā, comprising an upright stockade and an outer elevated screen, latter sometimes oblique (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Ara</i>	pathway

<i>Ara kutoro</i>	a subterranean passage under a rampart (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Ara piwai</i>	small minor entrances of a pā (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Ara takahanga</i>	pathways connecting tribal areas and resource sites
<i>Ara purahourua</i>	sacred pathways for messengers
<i>Ara whakatarā</i>	a zigzag, lane-like entrance passage of a pā (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Aukati</i>	boundary between iwi or hapu (Coffin 2006)
<i>Awa</i>	River
<i>Awaawa</i>	river valley (Coffin 2006)
<i>Awaiti</i>	stream
<i>Awakari = Awakeri</i>	the generic term for a trench or ditch of a pā (Best 1995: 52), ditch (Williams 1992: 23)
<i>Awamate</i>	a fosse outside a line of defence (Best 1995: 52)
<i>Awarua</i>	ditch, central passage in a house; whakaawarua – ditch inside the palisading of a pā
<i>Awhikiri</i>	third palisade of a fortified pā (Ngata 1995: 358), third or inner wooden palisade of a fort, synonym or variant form of kiritangata (Williams 1992: 25), innermost stockade of a pā (Best 1995: 435)

H

<i>Hāngi</i>	earth oven, consisting of a circular hole in the ground in which the food was cooked by heated stones (Williams 1992: 34)
<i>Hāpua</i>	valley (Davis 1990: 41)
<i>Hika = kaurimarima</i>	pointed rubbing stick for making fire (Reed 2002: 66)
<i>Himu</i>	stockade posts
<i>Hīnaki</i>	net for fishing (Coffin 2006)
<i>Hiwi</i>	hill, ridge (Coffin 2006), hill (Davis 1990: 41)
<i>Hoanga</i>	sandstone, sandstone grinding stone (Coffin 1999)

<i>Hoka = pahoka = pahokahoka = tihokahoka</i>	a breakwind formed by sticking the butts of branches in the earth used in cultivation grounds (Best 1976: 39)
<i>Huahua = huapae, paehua, roau</i>	terrace palisade (Ngata 1995: 358), rails of a stockade (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Hukahuka</i>	second palisade of a fortified pā (Ngata 1995: 358), the second palisading of a fort (Williams 1992: 67)
<i>Hūīnga moutere</i>	group of islands

K

<i>Kahui maunga</i>	mountain peaks
<i>Kahekoheko</i>	a stage projecting outward over a stockade, slanting upward (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Kahia</i>	human figure carved on stockade posts (Best 1995: 435)
<i>Kāinga</i>	settlement
<i>Kainga</i>	settlement (Coffin 2006), refuse of a meal, as cockle shells, etc. (Williams 1992: 86)
<i>Kātua</i>	main stockade of palisading (Reed 2002: 137)
<i>Kaunoti</i>	flatboard for making fire (Reed 2002: 66)
<i>Kawa</i>	reef
<i>Kārapī</i>	fence, consisting of horizontal poles confined by vertical stakes (Williams 1992: 99)
<i>Kīri</i>	gravel
<i>Kirikiri</i>	shingle (Ngata 1995: 474)
<i>Kiritai</i>	sand spit, thin strip of beach between two bodies of water (Coffin 2006)
<i>Kēti</i>	gate (English transliteration)
<i>Kiritangata</i>	inner palisade of a fortified pā (Ngata 1995: 358), innermost row of palisades of a pā (Williams 1992: 120)
<i>Kōiwi</i>	Human bone of the deceased, corpse (Williams:1992:129)
<i>Kokoru</i>	bay

<i>Kōhatu = pōhatu</i>	stone (Ngata 1995: 507)
<i>Kōhatu whakamaumahara</i>	memorial, memorial stone (Coffin 2006)
<i>Kokowai</i>	red ochre and shark oil mixture used as a paint or dye (Coffin 2006), earth from which red ochre is procured by burning red ochre (Williams:1992:131)
<i>Koukou</i>	the citadel or highest part of a fortified village (Best 1995: 436)
<i>Kūrae</i>	promontory
<i>Kūwaha = kūaha</i>	door, entrance (Coffin 2006)
M	
<i>Mahe</i>	stone sinker used in fishing, sinker or weight along base of net (Coffin 1999)
<i>Mahi huakanga</i>	opening up, disinterment (Williams 1992: 65), archaeology
<i>Mahinga kai</i>	food harvesting or gathering area (Coffin 1997: 38)
<i>Maio</i>	earthworks, wall and fosse for fortification, pit for catching rats (Williams 1992: 167), embankment, fortifications (Ngata 1995: 137, 183), earthen rampart or wall, fosse or trench (Best 1995: 51)
<i>Maio maru</i>	lower wall of a rampart inside a pā Māori (Best 1995: 51)
<i>Maio pekerangi</i>	higher wall of a rampart inside a pā Māori (Best 1995: 51)
<i>Manga</i>	ditch, drain (of a field or paddock) (Ngata 1995: 119,125), small stream or creek (Coffin 2007), river, stream, stretch of water or watercourse (Davis 1990: 29)
<i>Māra = māarakai</i>	garden, plot of ground under cultivation, farm (Coffin 1998)
<i>Marae</i>	ceremonial center of a Maori community, usually with a whareniui, wharekai and ancilliary facilities.
<i>Mata = matā = mātara</i>	obsidian (Coffin 2006), (Ngata 1995: 339)

<i>Matarae</i>	promontory or peninsula of land in water
<i>Maunga</i>	mountain (Davis 1990: 28)
<i>Maungatapu</i>	sacred mountain
<i>Māra kai</i>	food cultivation
<i>Matā</i>	obsidian (Ngata 1995: 339)
<i>Mataitai</i>	seafood gathering areas
<i>Mātārae</i>	peninsula
<i>Moana</i>	lake or sea (Davis 1990: 40), sea, ocean (Coffin 2006)
<i>Moana ripo</i>	whirlpool in the ocean
<i>Motu</i>	island
<i>Motutere</i>	island
<i>Moutere</i>	island
<i>Mutukākā</i>	carved perch for snaring kākā

N

<i>Ngaere</i>	bog (Davis 1990: 43)
<i>Ngahere</i>	forest, bush (Coffin 2006)
<i>Ngawha</i>	hot spring, hot pool
<i>Ngutu</i>	entrance, narrow entrance passage, often outside gateway and formed by erecting a stockade or rampart parallel with the outer defence of pā (Best 1995: 439)
<i>Ngutuawa</i>	headwaters of rivers
<i>Ngutuihe</i>	small minor entrances to pā (Best 1995: 439)
<i>Ngerengere</i>	stockaded flanking angle of pā, with sometimes an elevated platform (Best 1995: 439)
<i>Nohoanga = nohanga</i>	temporary settlement (Coffin 2006)

O

<i>Oneone = one = oneroa</i>	sandy beach (Davis 1990: 39)
<i>Onewa</i>	basalt

P

<i>Pā</i>	stockade, fortified place, anything used to block an open space (Williams 1992: 243), a fortified village (Best:1974:xi), as a verb means to obstruct, to block up, as a noun fortified place, stockade, barricade, screen (Best 1995: 18)
<i>Pā huri</i>	a barricade of felled trees (Best 1995: 437)
<i>Pā kokori = Pā korikori</i>	these terms were applied to any defences of an inferior nature, such as a few huts surrounded by an ordinary type of palisaded barrier. Such places were often constructed at cultivation grounds away from the fortified village, and at fishing camps on the coast (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pae</i>	ritual altar (Coffin 1997:40), horizon, ridge or hill (Davis 1990: 40)
<i>Pae maunga</i>	mountain range (Coffin 2006)
<i>Pāhauhau/pāhao</i>	wind screen for crops (Williams 1992: 247), frail breakwind, screen, light fence used in cultivation grounds (Best 1976: 39)
<i>Pākorō</i>	small fenced enclosure, store
<i>pākorokoro</i>	a fence formed by stacking rails between pairs of upright posts (Williams 1992: 255)
<i>Pā Māori</i>	native fort, any fortified hamlet is included in this term (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pā maioro</i>	earthworks both rampart and fosse are termed maioro. Hence a pa maioro is a fortified place the defences of which are earthworks (stockades being an additional defence) (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Papa</i>	flat ground (Davis 1990: 32)
<i>Papakainga</i>	settlement, village (Coffin 2006)
<i>Paparua</i>	terrace palisade (Ngata 1995: 358)
<i>Papawai = hāroto</i>	rock pool (Ngata 1995: 447)
<i>Pā punanga = punanga</i>	a term applied by some clans of Wairarapa, etc. to retreats or places of refuge provided for non-combatants in war time. These places were often situated in the depths of the forest. It would appear

	that many of these places were not fortified in any way (Best 1995: 18). Punanga used in Tauranga to describe forest refuge (Coffin 2006)
<i>Parekura</i>	battlefield, place where persons have fallen in battle (Williams 1992: 266)
<i>Parenga</i>	river bank (Ngata 1995: 446)
<i>Parengarenga = taha awa</i>	riverside (Ngata 1995: 446)
<i>Paretao = matā paretao</i>	obsidian (Williams 1992: 267)
<i>Pari = paringa</i>	cliff (Coffin 2006), cliff or precipice (Davis 1990: 37)
<i>Pā tahora</i>	applied to a pa tuwatawata or any inferior type of defended position situated away from the main pa of the clan (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pātaka</i>	storehouse raised upon posts, elevated stage for storing food (Williams 1992: 270)
<i>Pātaka pu kiore</i>	one built with a flat slab on the top of each post to exclude rats (Williams 1992: 270)
<i>Pātakitaki</i>	a screen or breakwind of brush (Williams 1992: 270), frail breakwind, screen, light fence used in cultivation grounds (Best 1976: 39)
<i>Pā taua</i>	a generic term for a fortified place (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pātua</i>	basket made from bark, usually totara
<i>Pā tuna</i>	river dam for eel fishing
<i>Pā tuwatwata = Pā tiwatawata</i>	a fortified place having no earthworks, stockades being the form of defence employed (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pā ukiuki</i>	this expression denotes a permanently occupied fort (Best 1995: 18)
<i>Pā whakairo = Pā whakanoho</i>	these terms apply to a first class type of fortified village, defended by earthworks and stockades. Such pa had some of the stockade posts embellished with carvings. Hence the term whakairo. They were also protected by a mauri, a material symbol that served as a shrine for certain atua or spirit gods who were placated in order that they

	might act as guardians of the place (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pā whawhai</i>	pa, to obstruct, a fighting pa (Best 1995: 17)
<i>Pekerangi</i>	outer stockade, palisading (Reed 2002: 137)
<i>Pōhatu = kōhatu</i>	stone (Ngata 1995: 507)
<i>Pōito</i>	float for a net (Williams 1992: 288), net float made of purupuru or whau
<i>Poka</i>	hole, pit, well (Williams 1992: 288), pit (Ngata 1995: 309)
<i>Pounamu</i>	greenstone, nephrite
<i>Pourewa = pourangi</i>	an elevated platform attached to the stockade of the pā (Ngata 1995: 381)
<i>Puapua</i>	blow hole of the seacoast (Coffin 2006)
<i>Puia</i>	hot spring or geyser
<i>Puihi</i>	active volcano
<i>Puke</i>	peak, hill (Coffin 2006), small hill (Davis 1990: 34)
<i>Pukoro</i>	palisade (Ngata 1995: 358), a form of defensive work to cover entrance to a pā (Williams 1992: 308)
<i>Puna</i>	water spring (Coffin 1997:38)
<i>Punawai</i>	water spring
<i>Punga</i>	anchor stone, usually associated with waka (Coffin 1996)
<i>Purupuru</i>	pumice (Coffin 1999)
<i>Pūtahui</i>	screen in a kūmara plantation (Williams 1992: 316), frail breakwind, screen, light fence used in cultivation grounds (Best 1976: 39)
<i>Puwaha = Puaha</i>	mouth of a river (Coffin 1998)
R	
<i>Rae</i>	promontory or headland (Davis:1992:36)
<i>Rākau</i>	tree, stick
<i>Rauwiri</i>	fence interlaced with twigs (Williams 1992: 331), a wattled brush fence (Best 1976: 41)

<i>Repo</i>	wetland, swamp (Coffin 1998)
<i>Rerenga</i>	waterfall (Coffin 2006)
<i>Ripo</i>	whirlpool
<i>Rohe</i>	tribal district
<i>Roto</i>	lake (Davis 1990: 40)
<i>Rua</i>	pit, hole, store for provisions (Williams 1992: 349), trench (Ngata 1995: 557)
<i>Ruaahuri</i>	urupā (Williams 1992: 349)
<i>Rua kōauau</i>	store for kūmara (Williams 1992: 349)
<i>Rua koiwi</i>	burial cave or hole
<i>Rua patu</i>	pit for storing provisions (Williams 1992: 349)
<i>Rua tāhuhu</i>	roofed store for potatoes (Williams 1992: 349)
<i>Rua tōrino/rua iti</i>	pits in connection with the tūahu, the terms being sometimes used as synonymous with witchcraft (Williams 1992: 349)
<i>Rua haeroa</i>	a similar pit in connection with rites for the destruction of enemies (Williams 1992: 349)
T	
<i>Tahuna</i>	sand dune (Davis 1990: 42), water body such as inlet, harbour, enclosed bay (Coffin 2006),
<i>Tāhanga</i>	basalt from Tāhanga, Coromandel
<i>Taiapa/taiapa/tāepa</i>	fence, wall (Williams 1992: 363), a sturdy ring fence of stakes, split timber or sapling poles, in the earth in an upright position, lashed to a horizontal rail 3-4 feet from the ground (Best 1976: 39-40)
<i>Tai = takutai = takutaimoana</i>	tide, coast, foreshore
<i>Taiaroa</i>	palisade of a fortified pā (Ngata 1995: 358)
<i>Taka</i>	mountain, heap
<i>Takitaki</i>	palisade (Ngata 1995: 358), fence, palisading, screen (Williams 1992: 372)
<i>Takiwa</i>	district
<i>Tangiwai</i>	bowenite

<i>Tara</i>	pointed peak
<i>Tātākaitaua</i>	outer palisade of a fortified pā (Ngata 1995: 358), outer palisading of a pā (Williams 1992: 394)
<i>Tatau pounamu</i>	greenstone door, a place designated as a symbol of peace between tribes usually sanctified by marriage and exchange of gifts or placement of taonga in the whenua, a boundary between iwi or hapu (Coffin 2006)
<i>Taumata</i>	summit
<i>Taunga ika</i>	fishing grounds
<i>Tauranga waka = Taunga waka</i>	resting place, anchorage or landing place for canoes
<i>Tihi</i>	raised fortification or citadel within a pā (Williams 1992: 416), summit (Ngata 1995: 516)
<i>Tūtopa</i>	screen, breakwind (Williams 1992: 426), frail breakwind, screen, light fence used in cultivation grounds (Best 1976: 39)
<i>Tīwata/tīwatawata</i>	palisade (Ngata 1995: 358), fence, palisade, paling, upright pickets of a fence (Williams 1992: 427)
<i>Toka</i>	rock
<i>Toka tu moana</i>	rocky outcrops (sea)
<i>Tomo</i>	natural sink hole, often in limestone or entrance to a cave or hole in the ground
<i>Tomokanga = Tomotomokanga</i>	area and structure at entrance to marae (Coffin: 2006), entrance, gateway (Williams 1992: 435)
<i>Torere</i>	underground burial chamber
<i>Tūahu = Tūāhu</i>	a sacred place, consisting of an enclosure containing a mound and marked by erection of rods or poles, which was used for the purposes of divination and other mystic rites. It differed from the ahurewa in being out of doors, sometimes apart from the kāinga (Williams 1992: 444), I roto o Kaawhia, ka hangā e ia he tuuāhu ki Maketuu, ka tapā te ingoa ko Ahurei – At Kawhia harbour, at Maketu, he built an alter called Ahurei (Jones:1995:49), ritual altar (Coffin 1998:40)

<i>Tūāpapa</i>	terrace (Ngata 1995: 532)
<i>Tuhituhi nehera</i>	rock art, cave drawings
<i>Tuhua</i>	obsidian (<i>matā</i>) from Tuhua Island
<i>Tūwatawata</i>	palisading (Reed 2002: 137)

U

<i>Umu</i>	fire pit, ground oven
<i>Umu kai tangata</i>	oven for cannibal feast
<i>Umu Pātaka</i>	a ceremonial oven in connection with the hahu ceremony (Williams 1992: 270)
<i>Uku</i>	clay
<i>Ūnga waka</i>	canoe shelter, waka portage
<i>Upanepane</i>	terraces of a scarped hill (Best 1995: 439)
<i>Ūrunga</i>	canoe landing place (Davis 1990: 42)
<i>Ūrunga waka</i>	canoe shelter
<i>Urupā</i>	fence round a grave, burying place (Williams 1992: 470)

W

<i>Waharoa</i>	entrance to a fortified pā; or, more strictly, the main walk or roadway in the pā (Williams 1992: 473)
<i>Waiora</i>	sources of healing water
<i>Wairere</i>	waterfall
<i>Waha ngutu</i>	narrow entrance into the waharoa, a long interior passage of a pā Māori (Best 1995: 46)
<i>Wāhi</i>	place, locality
<i>Wāhi hahunga</i>	burial preparation area associated with the scraping of flesh from bones of deceased
<i>Wāhi tapu</i>	a sacred place to Māori (in the Historic Places Act 1993), a place vested with tapu that can be either permanent or temporary, a place sanctioned by the tapu of ritual (Coffin 2006)
<i>Wai</i>	stream, creek (Coffin 1998:38)
<i>Waipara = para</i>	sediment (Ngata 1995: 465)

<i>Waka</i>	canoe
<i>Waka haumi</i>	memorial waka, placed upright in the ground
<i>Waonui</i>	large forest (Coffin 2006)
<i>Waro</i>	abode of the dead (Williams 1992: 480), quicksand or soft mud used as a place for burial
<i>Whakahua</i>	terrace (Williams 1992: 65)
<i>Whakaawarua</i>	a fosse inside a line of defence (Best 1995: 52)
<i>Whanga</i>	bay, harbour (Coffin 2006), bay, bight or a large river mouth (Davis 1990: 37)
<i>Whare</i>	house, shed, hut, habitation (Williams 1992: 489)
<i>Wharekura</i>	the building in which the tohunga imparted esoteric lore to his pupils. Applied sometimes to the common meeting house of the kāinga (Williams 1992: 490)
<i>Wharemaire</i>	a building for purposes similar to those of the wharekura, though the terms may not be quite synonymous; generally a house where sorcery was taught (Williams 1992: 490)
<i>Wharemoē</i>	house for sleeping
<i>Wharepuni</i>	a closely built house with three layers of raupō in the walls, such as those generally used for sleeping in. Sometimes the term is applied to the principal house of the kainga
<i>Wharerangi</i>	storehouse raised upon posts (Williams 1992: 490)
<i>Whare tūpuna = whare tūpuna</i>	ancestral house
<i>Whareumu</i>	cooking shed (Williams 1992: 490)
<i>Whata</i>	elevated stage for storing food or other purposes (Williams 1992: 490)
<i>Whatārangi = whārangi</i>	stage or platform elevated on posts (Williams 1992: 491)
<i>Whenua</i>	land, placenta

References

- Best, E. 1976 [1925]. *Maori Agriculture*. A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Best, E. 1974 [1916]. *Maori Storehouses and Kindred Structures*. A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Best, E. 1995 [1927]. *The Pa Maori*. A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Coffin, A. 1998. Evaluation of the Cultural Heritage Landscape – Wairoa River. Prepared for Ngati Kahu Resource Centre and Tauranga District Council.
- Coffin, A. 1999. Nga Taonga tuku iho, mai Nga Kuri a Whareki ki Maketu, Arapohatu ki Tuhua i waho. Prepared for Te Runanga o Ngaiterangi, Ngati Ranginui iwi Inc & Te Runanga o Ngati Pukenga.
- Coffin, A. 2007. Nga Wahi Tuturu – Mai Arapohatu ki te puwaha o Te Wairoa, Tauranga. Prepared for Te Runanga o Ngati Kahu and Boffa Miskell Ltd.
- Davis, Te A., T. O'Reagan and J. Wilson 1990. *Nga Tohu Pumahara: The Survey Pegs of the Past: Understanding Māori Placenames*. The New Zealand Geographic Board, Wellington.
- Jones, P. Te H. and B. Biggs 1995. *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People: Nga Korero Tuku Iho a Nga Tupuna*. Auckland University Press, Auckland.
- Ngata, H.M. 1995. *English–Maori Dictionary*, Pocket Edition. Learning Media, Wellington.
- Reed, A.W. 2002. *Taonga Tuku Iho: Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Māori Life*. New Holland, Auckland.
- Williams, H.W. 1992. *Dictionary of the Māori Language*. GP Books, Wellington.

Where no reference has been given they are provided by the author, however the informant is unclear or unrecorded. A number of references refer to Coffin 2006; these kupu were the result of a brainstorm as part of the development of this paper.