

ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

by

Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole
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abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-tipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovmaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*larā*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayū* bush or *kotawā* fern may also be used for the *larā* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takā-pai*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovmaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yavake, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yavake name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

children by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *kiko kakara* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngage, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iri, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoo* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

Molungi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*wia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterized as being *wia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *wia eia*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molungi classes as *wia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *wia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*huna*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakawae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Inter-marriage Between Paternal Lineages¹¹

	NGAKE		LOTO		YATO	
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	iTua	Yalongo	Yaya-unga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1
iTua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4
Yaya, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1

¹¹ Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which exist within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

Of the 34 marriages shown in table 8, 18 are inter-marriages between the two Ngake lineages. Of the 31 Yato marriages, 10 are inter-marriages between members of Yato lineages, 21 are between members of Yato lineages and members of lineages in other villages. As the amount of intra-lineage marriage is influenced by the size of the lineage and consequent relative closeness of blood relationship of members, there is a relatively large amount of marriage between members of the large lineage of Matanga.

Some informants believed that an adopted child, not a close blood relative of the adopting family, might marry his adopted sibling, the blood child of one or both of his adoptive parents. But as they could furnish no specific instance of this, it is very doubtful whether it actually occurred, for cultural theory plainly holds that an adopted child assumes all kinship obligations and marriage restrictions of a blood child.

Like the groupings of paternal lineages, the maternal lineages (*wua*) are neither endogamous nor exogamic. But the constituent sub-lineages (*keimauke*) within each *wua* are exogamic. Approximately half the marriages

Table 9. Inter-marriages Between Maternal Lineages*

	Wua Lulu						Wua Kati					
	Mango	Lakawanga	Yelu	Kava	Yetae	Lokie	Kiolo	Pukapuka	Kenakena	Lawala	Kati	Tawola
KENANGA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mango	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lakawanga	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Yelu	—	—	2	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	—	—
Kava	—	3	2	2	1	—	1	—	3	—	—	—
Yetae	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lokie	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kiolo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pukapuka	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kenakena	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lawala	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kati	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tawola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The upper left and the lower right boxes indicate the intra-lineage marriages, the lower left and the upper right boxes indicate the inter-lineage marriages.

recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable age, 30 are at present unmarried. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widowers, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

RESTRICTIONS

Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers, termed *wawine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*itewai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

PERSONAL CHOICE OF MATE

Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish freckle marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

WEDDING

Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*tawakounga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be blamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight out until one or the other decides to give in.

The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*vaikimua*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *vakamatalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *koukou*, gifts of *avaa loloi* (a talo dish), *fulaka loloi* (a *putaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kanaka*, *ma'au*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, semit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *wakawalo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all these relatives of the girl, the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *wakawalo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *wakawalo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *wakawalo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

ADULTERY

The concept of adultery (*wakaipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

If a married woman went from her house to sleep with another man and remained with him until daylight, she had committed adultery and belonged henceforth to her lover, for her act, called *puhi teina*, was tantamount to divorce. If the woman returned to her husband's house before dawn, her behavior might also be considered adultery; but it was not generally condemned, even though her husband was at liberty to whip her. A woman might obtain her husband's permission to sleep with another man, and no punishment befell her as long as she returned home before daylight. Similarly, if before going off with another woman a man told his wife where he proposed to go, and if he returned before dawn, there was no cause for divorce on grounds of adultery. If the relatives of an erring young wife liked her husband and did not wish him to drive her from his house because of her infidelity, they intimidated her with thrashings until she returned permanently to him. He might be only too glad to have her return, and so would not dare to punish her himself. There is no suggestion that payment or recompense was ever exacted by the injured party from the co-respondents in any adultery case. The group of stories (1) in which adultery is the motif illustrate the variety of individual and social reactions. Today the attitude to adultery is confused through the operation of the Cook Islands' Act, under which the resident agent governs the island. This act punishes adultery defined in terms of western concepts. Much of the present-day so-called adultery on Pukapuka is committed by day by married women with single young men. Court punishment for the offense does not necessarily lead to divorce as long as the unfaithful spouse returns to her mate.

DIVORCE

Divorce (*maka*, to throw away) was easily procured in the native culture on grounds of incompatibility, specifically for adultery, cruelty, or personality conflict. A man might drive his wife from the house, or she might leave of her own accord and return to her relatives. The amount of provocation necessary for divorce depended entirely on the married couple concerned: where one might condone adultery in a spouse, another might consider this cause for divorce. Three married couples were separated during our stay on the atoll; two separations were due to alleged promiscuous behavior of the wife, the third was due to adultery on the part of the husband. Formerly, separations were equivalent to divorce, but today they are only the first steps in a tedious and (to the Pukapukan) expensive process leading to a legal divorce. One informant stated that Pukapuka is an island where women freely leave husbands (*e wenua maka taue*) and so initiate divorce. Close analysis of the records suggests that there is large measure of truth in this generalization.

Of 128 marriages of which there is record, 60 have been terminated by divorce or death: 18 of the 60 were ended by divorce; 42 by the death of one mate. Of the 18 marriages broken by divorce, 11 were childless; 7 were fecund. Though the presence of children is no bar to divorce, nevertheless it is established that the greater number of divorces occur among childless couples. Both of these conclusions are well grounded in the patterns of the society. With the extended family and the prevalence of adoption, it is an easy matter to take care of children rendered homeless by the divorce of the parents. With a premium on children to carry on the lineage, there is ground for divorce if the marriage is barren.

DISPOSITION OF CHILDREN

No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remarries. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

MOURNING

Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*mate*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*chape*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and since kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of tentlike enclosure called *ta* by sewing four pandanus mats (*kie*) together. They place the tent on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a *malo mate*, if a male—a short pandanus malo only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a *yana* necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *titi ai* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the tent and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the tent is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before if it is obvious that death is imminent.

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the dressed corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tu'uta* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*vaie mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*vakatuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*vaie atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *vakava'ava'ava*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*va'itonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells¹² (*yougi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or talo, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

¹² A literal translation: The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *wakaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*yua*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanunga*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*lua* or *tulumā*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Waialeale, it would seem

more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the cere-monies is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *niri wakarale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Under-world happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *tanpo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale iuu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muhiwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Under-world were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyepu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wakalelei*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puya wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*tauipo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*tutukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitau*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*wale kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fatigued for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

DEATH OF A CHIEF

Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-ue, bathed, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death malo made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*tau-awau*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *taite* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *huahua* wood called *te awi o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*yongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*aloea*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bunched in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*sati*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it about

their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yoki yoki
Iyau matalangi
Tia, tia
Tia ulu ei, ulu ulu ei
Ngahue, ngahue,
Tia ale
U!

Carry above the head (?)
Wet (against the) face of the sky
To one side, to one (the other) side,
Up and down, up and down,
Undulate, undulate,
Stand back (?)
Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "U!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the cmen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*karava*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some men for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*ihuhua*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 103).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *laukava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*nii wakarata*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aiki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*awanga*) of the old men's group (*tupete*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamayei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli tamii*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called *Taikele* (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food tapus or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses. There is no record that a seclusion (*kaitau*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

ACCIDENTAL DEATH

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yifi*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yianga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

PRESENT-DAY PRACTICE

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*taupo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

CULTURAL ATTITUDE TOWARD DEATH

It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to talo beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight. But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips intensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

to be *mata kiviikiwi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kiviikiwi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava polo* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka*; one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *waitoki*, *winaki*, and *matanua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *waitoki*; a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *waitoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *veru-veru tutuua*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakanyu*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *taigata kakuige*; a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko*; a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi*; a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae*; a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau*; a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau*; one who steals food is *toyeyeu*; one who is generous at giving away food is *kai kai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *vaitiki*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma*: a crippled person has a *luma*; a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *awai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *awai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e yeawai veia* (one who does not make enemies) or *e yeawai veia* (one who does not select people).

Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of super-normal life and helps to reinforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reinforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tutikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti wakaititi tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.

Atua punupunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshipped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (*awanga ya*).

Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.

Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (*yinga*) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (*watu maui ola*).

Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names—*punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *fiu* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kibo*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

PRINCIPAL GOD

Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Tauga nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Tauga stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

GODS OF PATERNAL LINEAGES

Tauga, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Tauga* (birds of Tauga). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Tauga would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Tauga was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god. Tauga prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Tāua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*pa vau*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua pūnūpūnū*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*wakarae*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tūa, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukara* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

Taumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua pūnūpūnū* of Yamaunga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a talo swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshippers.

Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshippers.

DEPARTMENTAL GODS

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alonga and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

Te Alonga and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "La ngona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu*; they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

shippers and of *pua takave* for his female worshippers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupo to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tuikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *newu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

ANCESTOR GODS

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

Malangatale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest, the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*payua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamaia asked a priest of Yamaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

UNCLASSIFIED GODS

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga kokoti te waulua" and "Wakaoli io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu wangota* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te vayi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

ATTENDANT GODS

A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *newu* or *tikitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungatu, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoo, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

RESERVE

Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).

ATTENDANTS

Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Maungatu.
Na Tualiki.
Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taa and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i'Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Muitayakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule kaina e!

Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!

Te matangi manino

(Make) the wind calm

Toka te vanga!

Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *awanga*, *wale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Leweke, the god of clams, was

described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the container thus made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke e, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi meke, te pipi waula ula; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

The god house (*vaie atua*), the sacred enclosure (*avanga ya*), and the cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*karua*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wakawae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yiouga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*potu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was tapu. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga vello*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, T'aua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 385).

The sacred enclosure (*avanga ya*) corresponds to the religious marac of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*tau*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *piunga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngaita*; the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*taute*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbing. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshipping structures are called *neruu*, not *avanga*. These are *te neruu o Tulikalo* and *te neruu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *neruu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *neruu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *neruu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *neruu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yiouga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yiouga taigata mate* to distinguish them from the *yiouga ola* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

VILLAGE	LINEAGE	SACRED ENCLOSURE	SACRED CLEARING
Ngake			Malangataiale Yakayala Kui-manuilla
	Muliwuttu	Tumuliwaka ma Muilla Te Vayi	
	Matanga	Yawenga Te Matakiate ma Maloki- telangi ma Tumaliangi Te Alongaao Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui Te Atua-ngutu-uli Poiva ma Taakava Wakakewiti
	i Tua	Mataliki ma Tamayei Te Ulu-takapau Tupele Taa Kui	
Yato			i Te Unutuile i Lowia i Kailia
	Yamaunga	Te Maungatu Taaumalanga Tawitonga Te Mangamanga	
	Yalongo		

MATERIAL REPRESENTATION OF GODS

The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of uncut stone (*umu*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Taa; this is a big block of *punga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, semit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of punice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the punice was known as Ko-te-toka-mama (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of punice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

PRIESTS

A priest was generally called a *wata*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *taingata wai atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*po*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*tuakayawinga*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no mean requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*wakayawinga*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai taingata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*wakayawinga*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tu'ua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupite*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *wakaito te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakaito te vac*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakaito te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r . . . r . . . r . . . sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god. The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kikikitia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*awawaga tenga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga wati*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*taketi*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus malo or bands of *welo* bark (*wati welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaita*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yole*.

After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to notice the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernormal power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but bands of *tuile* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure. When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *life* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *wakatouloulu*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Y'ayake. The suppliant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tuloulou te mea . . ." (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

PEOPLE AND GODS

Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamaye'i, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Taa'u, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

THE SOUL

The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mauli*) leaves the material body and wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual awakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataiiki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders about in the night. Medicine men (*langata wotui*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

THE COSMOS

The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tarua o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lato*, and *te po likilikitu*. No limit to these levels is known.

THE UNDERWORLD

Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these brothers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supplemented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is as follows:

One day the two brothers came to the outer beach of Ngahe village to bathe and swim in the sea at the place known as Te Ava-o-Te-Palo. They hung up their coconut-leaf malos on a banana tree and entered the water. They swam out to the reef shelf and were disporting themselves there in the breakers, when all at once, they saw a huge wave rise up. It opened out and uncovered a big hole, The-entrance-to-the-Po, into which the two men stepped. The wave closed over them again, and they found themselves in darkness. There was a path running down, but it was very dark, very steep, and very slippery. This was the path to the Po. A guiding thread of sennit ran downward along the angle of the inclined path. Te Yoa did not wish to venture down the road, but Wotoa, more courageous, was determined to go, and persuaded his brother to come with him. He told Te Yoa to walk closely behind him. When Wotoa lifted one foot, Te Yoa was to slip his own foot into the foot print; and when Wotoa lifted his other foot, Te Yoa was to advance his second foot to the vacant place. In this way, Te Yoa would be able to walk with safety: Wotoa, going first, would take all the risks.

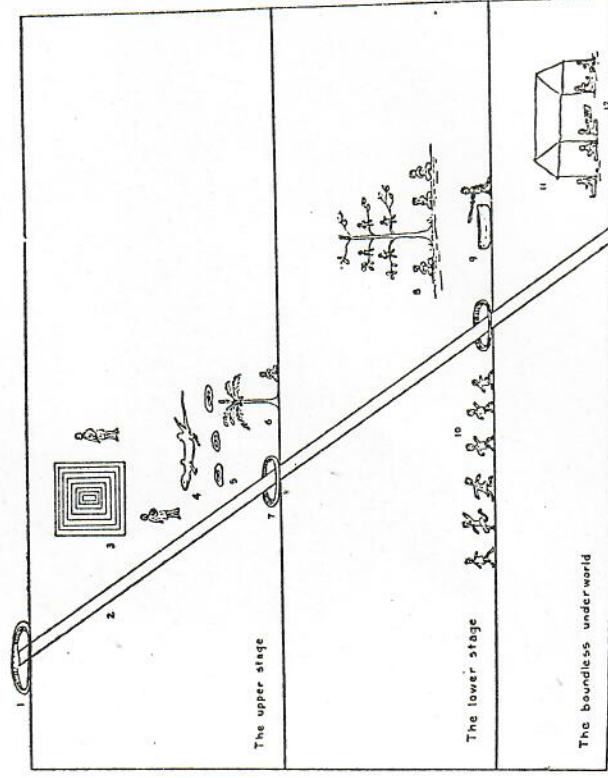


FIGURE 54.—Pukapukan Underworld (Po), from a drawing by Talainga. 1, entrance to first stage of Underworld (*te kapi lunga*); 2, road to Underworld; 3, eight-walled structure of the god Te Vayi (*te pa a Te Vayi*); 4, lizard (*moko*) and its guardian god Loke; 5, fresh water springs (*na vai no te po*); 6, coconut tree of Malu and its guardian god Malu; 7, entrance to lower stage (*te kapi lato*); 8, *puka* tree of god Tangi, women who have borne children sitting in branches, childless women sitting around below; 9, musician god Tuikalo playing his gong (*harua*); 10, group of gods dancing to music; 11, house of many posts of goddess Leva (*te wale pou tinitini o Leva*); 12, goddess Leva plaiting her mat while other gods rest against house posts awaiting coming of spirits of deceased Pukapukans to Underworld. Talainga has omitted banana tree of god Mulua, oscillating stone of Yokamani, talo gardens, coconut groves, and ocean that surround house of Leva in the boundless Underworld (*te Po likilikitu*).

After stumbling along this path, the two came out on a flat space where they saw a giant lizard (*moako woto*). Te Yoa cried out in fear at this apparition. Both men prayed to their god to help them, and when Wotoa lifted his foot to scare the lizard, it closed its gaping mouth, and the two men walked quickly and safely past it. They came to the banana tree of the god Muluu, then passed on to the pools of fresh water (*te vai no te Po*), where they washed themselves. Going farther, they came to a coconut tree (*te niu a Malu*) cared for by the god Malu. A number of gods were sitting round this tree, and the two brothers were pleased to be able to pick out the gods they were accustomed to worship on earth. The gods inquired about the visitors and were surprised to hear they were mortals and not souls. Wotoa said he was thirsty, so a god climbed the tree and threw down nuts which the god Te Awauwu husked for them, and which the god Ngaliyeyeu opened and apportioned between the two mortals. The gods joined them in drinking a nut and then left to go elsewhere. They had been picnicking in the shade of the coconut tree.

Passing on, the brothers came to the stone of Yokamani, which is just by the opening to the lower level of the Po (*te pu ki te kapi lalo*). A spirit rested on this stone which Yokamani oscillated, so that the spirit lost balance and fell into the *kapi lalo*.

The brothers passed down to the *kapi lalo* and saw the *puka* tree planted by Tangi, guarded by the god Loke. On this tree were the souls of recently deceased Pukapukas. Children were sitting in the branches of the tree, mothers were sitting on the ground, and other souls were hanging strangled in the nooses (*matafifi*) that hung from the branches. Still other souls were hunting about the ground for lizards to give the gods to eat.

Going farther, the brothers came to a place where there were many more gods all wearing their hair nicely plaited on the top of their heads. From this Wotoa and Te Yoa got the idea of making hats of plaited pandanus, and that was the origin of hat making in Pukapuka. [Plaited hat making was not introduced into Pukapuka until after white contact.] The gods were all dancing, chanting, and playing games. Tui-kalo, the musician god, was playing on the wooden gongs. The brothers listened and watched and were thus able to introduce to Pukapuka the dances, games, and musical rhythms they heard and saw.

Wotoa and Te Yoa passed on until they came to the Po likuliku, where they saw a big round house with many thousands of wall posts (*te wale pou tinitini*), one post for each member of the population of the Po to rest his back against when he wished. This was the house of the goddess Leva. Round the house stretched groves and groves of coconut trees and huge beds of talo, called *Te Ui-o-Lepitu*. A little way off was the ocean (Te moana-o-Tupepe) where the gods and spirits fished and sailed canoes. Inside her house Leva sat plaiting a mat. The brothers learned how souls often get caught in this mat. [On the basis of their report, qualified by the account in the story of Milimili, some say that Leva ensnared souls in the mat which meant that they lived in the Underworld forever; others say that the gods insisted that Leva incorporate in the mat elements all the souls that they smelled out, but that Leva sought to hide the souls under the mat until lineage gods had an opportunity to crawl under the mat, abstract the souls, and return them to the upper world.]

The brothers stayed for a long time in the Underworld, looking at all the wonders. At last, however, they began to long for the familiar delights of the upper world. They went to Ngaliyeyeu and asked him to help them return. Ngaliyeyeu agreed and went before them to guide them past the perils of the road. They climbed up the path, and when they reached the top a wave opened up. They stepped onto the reef and waded ashore onto Wale.

The people meantime thought they had been drowned. They had found their malow hanging from the banana tree by the beach; when the two did not come back from their swim, it was reported that they had been carried out to sea by a big wave. So all the people were mourning them as dead. When they stepped onto the beach, the

people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lingo*, presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Underworld represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tuikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as the gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. He came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tuikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tuikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshippers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *are* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vactuarua endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuviyuauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo* however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinata to put together again the tree chopped down by

Lata (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matapiti*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaera" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAERUA,¹³ or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.

The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAERUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAERUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to inhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.

In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the mare, it was inferred that he would recover.

I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls—some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *yale vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

¹³ Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

more correct name would be *yele maui*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4, b), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake
Wakawiwi ake te maui, koa mate, koa
elo
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a
Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini . . .
You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap),
died, stank,
We were both thrown to the foot of the
puka tree of Tangi,
Entered the house of a thousand posts
(the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults excrete anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rats

and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshippers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te wavenga o te atua ki talo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea wakaliaia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wanerane, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nimo*, anything tangled; *taua*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, béche de mer; *kalamea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *katou*, eel; *wake*, octopus; *aitiyiua*, sea porcupine; *utuyele*, variety of star fish; *unakoa*, univalve shell; *kamu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupu-kava*, a rank seaweed; *pikipiki*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipera*, a crab; *kaveu*, a robber crab; *kalani*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *malokau*, millipede; *weli*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, snap, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yiyayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yiyayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *mana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sickness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *wale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *turunga*¹⁴ *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more frequently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

¹⁴ The Pukapukan word *turunga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective meaning skillful, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

sounding (*lupe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was given by Pau:

A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.

Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and dismembered him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yua*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutukoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutukoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutukoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutukoa* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

In case of severe illness where neither treatment nor consultation with the gods seemed to help, the medicine man might recommend holding a general confessional over the sick person. He might also recommend in a case of difficult childbirth that the parturient mother confess. (See p. 273.) The object of the general confessional was to bring to light concealed sins among the patient's relatives, sins which might be retarding recovery, or for which the sick person might be suffering. The confessional survives today. We were present at one held over a sick child, an only son, aged ten months, in a family of girls:

In the evening at about seven o'clock all the relatives, both close and distant, gathered in the small house of the parents. Outside were grouped all the people of the village, together with many people from the other two villages. Many brought mats with them, upon which they lay; others lay on the bare ground. All age groups were represented, as well as both sexes. The mother sat in the middle of the group inside the house, with the closer relatives grouped around her. She held the sick child on her lap, but did not participate in the "confession". Above her head a lamp burned, and by the lamp hung the old *semit malo* that the child would receive should it live to maturity. The "confession", conducted by the principal males present, consisted in reiterated pleas and challenges directed by each man in turn to the other men and to the mother, urging them to confess what they had of evil in their hearts; suggesting that the child was sick because relatives had bad hearts (*ngakau kino*) and he could only get well when, and if, all the evil was confessed away from their hearts. No one actually confessed his sins aloud before the assembled community, but presumably each did so in the secret recesses of his heart. When one man stopped his urgings, another took up the plaint, and the arguments were bandied about the group without cessation. The crowd outside the house just listened, for the most part silently; some carried on conversations in low voices, and the inevitable flirting went on between the young men and women on the outskirts of the group. The "confession" was kept up all night, though the spectators drifted away at a late hour, leaving only the relatives to carry on.

All was in vain, however. The baby died early the following morning; and the death was attributed in part to the fact that some among the relatives had not cleared their hearts as fully as was desirable.

PHYSICAL THERAPY

Though dependent upon the suggestions of the god for confirmation of diagnosis and ideas of treatment, the Pukapukan medical practitioner had, and still has, at his command a number of effective empirical techniques. My information is from Pau, today the foremost medicine man in Pukapuka. His treatments in general seem to follow native patterns, but he has probably borrowed (how much it is hard to tell) some of his rationalizations and practices from European knowledge. The practice of *lomilomi* (deep pressure) is the outstanding method of physical therapy:

Pau's theory is that pressure on a vein (*uaua*) close to the seat of pain, in *lomilomi* cuts off the blood vessels from the source of irritation, and thus prevents bad blood from flowing along the vein to the affected part. Formerly it was believed also to cut off the disease object from the seat of pain so that it could be removed.

The two movements of *lomilomi* are: *yoka* (deep pressure) or *uaava* (gentle pressure), pressing with one finger on the affected vein; and *awakatele* (to travel), placing

the thumb on the vein and then with deep pressure, moving it slowly along the vein outward. Both movements are applied in all types of sickness, on all parts of the body, for every type of pain. Even in inflammation of the breast in a nursing mother, *lomilomi* is applied to relieve congestion or allay pain. Only the inexperienced person indulges in general rubbing movements over the whole body and on places remote from the source of pain. Massage, in the conventional sense, is never used by the expert medicine man, who concentrates on deep pressure over the seat of pain. There is no use of chanting either to assist the rhythm of pressure or magically to increase the efficacy of the technique.

Deep pressure and thumb movement are further applied for the relief of pain as follows:

Strains and sprains. The limb is explored with the fingers to determine the part of greatest swelling; deep pressure is then applied to this spot while the patient moves the limb at frequent intervals.

Pain in the middle of the forearm. Deep pressure is applied to the blood vessel in the upper arm; then the thumb is pressed along the main artery in the forearm, from the proximal to the distal portion of the limb, thus rubbing the sickness to the fingers, and ultimately from the fingers into the air. An added treatment is the application of a suitable medicine to the wrist and then pressing toward the wrist in such a way that the sickness is conveyed to the wrist and there absorbed by the medicinal application.

Short breath (*ao potopoto*). Shortness of breath resulting from overwork is diagnosed as due to violent pounding of the heart. Deep pressure is applied to the right top and left top of the abdominal cavity. This is believed to relieve breath tension, but no effect on the blood flow is recognized.

Headache (*tinga te utu*). Deep pressure is applied to the nape of the neck (the effect being presumably to paralyze the nerve centers in this part of the body).

Constipation (*tutai pakapaka*) and diarrhea (*tatafi*). Deep pressure is applied to the colon (in the one case to relieve strangulation, in the other to assist the process of adjustment).

Stomach pain (*tinga te manava*) including mild appendicitis. Deep pressure is applied to the part of the abdomen affected.

Filarial swellings (*maki kinokino*). For swellings of the foreleg, for example, deep pressure is applied to the thigh and is followed by thumb *wakatele*.

Formerly, a medicine man might perform the pigeon-sounding ritual (*lupe*) before beginning the *lomilomi* and at frequent intervals during the course of the treatment, with the idea of introducing the power of the god into his fingers and of retaining it during the treatment. This method was not common; its use depended on the personal choice of the medicine man and on the severity of the sickness. When he did this, bystanders would say: "Ka yopukia e te atua i te lima" (The god will seize the hand).

Broken and dislocated bones are treated by empirical means, supported formerly by communication with the god if complications set in. A fractured bone is *ivi wati*; to set a fracture is *wakatau*. The technique was illustrated by Pau only for a broken forearm, a dislocated elbow, and a dislocated jaw, though undoubtedly he has a reasonably good technique for dealing with every type of limb dislocation or breakage:

The medicine man grasps the broken limb with his two hands, the two thumbs on opposite sides of the upper part of the limb, the fingers of both hands holding the limb

below the fracture. The fingers pull apart the lower part of the bone, firmly and surely, while the two thumbs press (*yoka*) the two broken sections so that they fit firmly together. Then the downward pressure is relaxed and the broken sections pushed together. A cooling medicine (*vat lakau*) is applied to the broken section, coconut sheaths are placed on both sides of the limb to act as a splint (*takau wakarayako*, stick to make straight), and the whole bound up with sennit. To prevent movement, the arm is slung in a simple sling (*awa*) made of a piece of pandanus mat, an old malo, or a line of sennit which is passed under the arm and fastened over the shoulder. For sleeping, the arm is removed from the splint and rested on a pile of mats at the patient's side. Every two or three days fresh medicine and new splints are applied to the fracture. There was no disease object to be removed from such an injury, though the god was believed to have caused the slip which resulted in the fracture. Native doctors are expert at setting fractures; the limb apparently always knits well.

For an injury to the elbow (presumably a dislocation), termed *wononga teka* (section out of position), the arm is straightened out, the forearm pulled steadily in a distal direction, the joint pushed in with a steady pressure of the two thumbs and guided back into place. For a similar injury to the jaw, the thumb is pressed in on the angle of the jaw. The mouth of the patient is opened wide until the knuckles of the jaw joint are close in position. Then with a firm pressure of the thumb, the bones are snapped back.

The three cooling medicines used are: drinking nut liquid; *lolo* cream wrung from raw or baked coconut scrapings; and the juice of pounded ripe bananas. The theory in the use of this medicine is that it purifies the blood round the injured part, keeps the fracture cool, allays inflammation, and thus promotes healing. A cooling medicine is applied only if there is much inflammation or pain. *Lomilomi* may be applied later if stiffness is apparent.

Besides *lomilomi*, other physical therapy techniques include sweating, sun and water treatment, and lancing. Forced sweating is used for fever only. Fever is *mahi awukele*; sweat is *ta*; to sweat, *pupu te ta*. In cases of fever, the source of pain is treated with *lomilomi*. Drinking nuts are heated near a fire, and the patient is given the hot liquid to drink. He is also covered with several layers of mats to promote sweating. There is no known use of a sweat or steam bath to promote excessive perspiration.

General debility marked by pronounced weakness of the stomach and heaviness in the arms and legs was called *maki taenawa* (heavy sickness). It was treated with frequent cold, fresh or salt water baths, the external application of hot coconut liquid, or occasional sun bathing. The god might recommend a cold bath for one patient and a hot bath for another; hence it was impossible to establish general uses of these agents. To heat water the tops of green drinking nuts are split, the coconut liquid poured off, and the nuts filled with cold water are placed on hot coals. When the water is hot, it is poured into a wooden bowl. It is then laved over the patient with cupped hands.

Pukapukan surgery seems to have been backward in its development. The only record or knowledge of post mortem examination is in the stories of Watu-manava-nui and Uyo. The dead bodies of these two supermen were opened up after death in order to find out the cause of their exceptional physical abilities. The gods seem not to have suggested to the medicine men

any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papata*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Caution was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the hand. Toothache (*inga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matakehelele*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na maigananga lima*).

The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

1. Tamau was a Muihwutu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

ghosts. These were their properties, talo, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers. Tamau was a priest of Te Laupapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lenga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taira*, the *rete*, the *manini*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Waiieu. Waiieu was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malauila*, the *eye*, the *teiti karaa*, the *reo*, the *kaloma*, the *atule*: when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *taunakomako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*rurauru*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow it remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *taunakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking-nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*maki tutule*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of constipation.

tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and *laae-ae*. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or semit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nouu* plant and tied with semit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lolo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*maki ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taeyinu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taeyinu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*tiua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*oige moe*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao oyo*) are believed to result if a child loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

Adults and children wash (*palupahu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takete*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yimu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

Body hair (*wuluwulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuwalu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuwalu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tanetane*) on the skin resulting from *tinca* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mini*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

sea water. To defecate is *wakapeyi*. The lower Cook Islands word *titiko* is today more commonly employed by both adults and children. The attitude toward the act of evacuating is highly matter-of-fact. No need for privacy is felt. Persons going along paths to the beach are greeted by the phrase, "Ka wo kotou titiko?" (Are you going to defecate?). They answer, "Eke, ka wo matou titiko" (Yes, we are going to defecate). A special word, *taeyi*, is applied to loose movements resulting from eating large quantities of fat.

TIDES

The Pukapukan has empirical knowledge of tidal movements of the sea. He knows that the ebb and flow of the tide is associated with the moon, and that a rising moon causes the tide to rise, though he has no reason, mythological or other, to explain this coincidence. The movements of the tide are described in eleven stages:

Tai wengi: dry reef.

Koa manava te tai: the sea swells.

Koa pupu te tai: the tide floods over the reef and into the lagoon.

Koa oko te tai ki ngauta: the tide ripples on the beach.

Koa wowonu te tai: the tide rises higher on the beach.

Koa tu te tai: the tide is steady and high.

Koa payeke te tai: the tide turns to the ebb.

Koa yeke ki te ula: the tide runs out to a dry reef.

Koa wakaulaula te tai: the tide leaves the reef rocks dry.

Koa wakiki te tai: the tide is completely out (literally, the sea is completely full).

High tide is commonly referred to as *tai tala*, low tide as *tai kibi*.

TIME

A day is *ayo*; today is *te ayo nei*; tomorrow, *te taeyao*; the day after tomorrow, *te toe ayo*. Yesterday is simply *te ayo* or *te ayo i mua*; the day before yesterday, *te toe ayo la mua*.

Times of the day are descriptively named, but events are adequately timed by the use of the following terms:

Te ulu o te ata matua: the darkness before dawn.

Te ata maoa: first streaks of light appear in the sky.

Te ata kena: gray dawn.

Te ulanga ata: yellow dawn or red dawn.

Te kakaonga o te tupua: the sun crawls out of a hole like a crab (tupua). (The rising

Te witinga o te tupua: sun is termed tupua, the risen sun la.)

Pula te la: the sun rises higher.

Koa tutu mai te la: the sun stands above.

Koa tutonu mai te la: the sun is overhead.

Koa tutonu makeke: the sun is directly overhead.

Koa angalae te la: the sun starts moving down.

Koa tatawa te la: the sun is to the side.

Koa taupale te la: the sun is lower.
 Koa to te la: the sun falls.
 Koa ngoto te la: the sun sinks.
 Koa mamalu te po: dusk.
 Koa yeyengi te po: the night begins to darken.
 Te pouli: complete darkness.
 Te pouli kelekele: black night.
 Te pouli mata newi: dark when stars are dim.
 Koa vaclua te po: the night is divided into two.
 Koa vave te po: the night is finishing.
 Koa vave ki ao: dawn quickens.
 Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Koa wenake te ulu ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
 Koa wenake te ata kena: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
 Koa wenake te ata maoa: there is more light in the sky.
 Koa kitea te kili o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
 Koa wenake te ata kula: there is red light in the sky, red dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te taeyao* (morning), *te tutonunga la* (midday), *te tauhapenga la* (afternoon), *te awiawi* (evening or dusk), *te po* (night).

Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Marau*, *no te vaia o Lotanga*, *no te vaia o Uibili*, *no te vaia o te taiwaka*. The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-month periods (*takalanga*) have been discussed (p. 24).

Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of moons throughout the year. Pau states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 moons, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some untranslatable words in old chants may

be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po pula: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tutu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa itu wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa tu mai loa ki lunga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngaluc te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa monona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa maliko te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengte te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te uluaki kau pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatai: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngaluc ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa wala loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa kauiliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatai wenake ma te ulu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatai wenake ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenake ma te ata kena: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
31. Koa wakatai wenake ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

The following information on stars was obtained from a number of informants. Robert Dean Frisbie assisted in the identification of the star names and also prepared a chart of the Pukapukan heavens from which the accompanying chart (fig. 55) has been adapted.

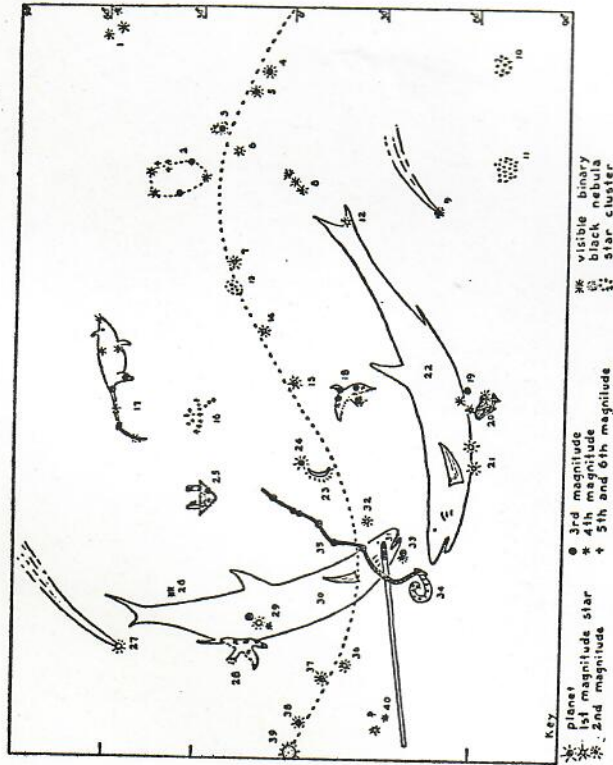


FIGURE 55.—Chart of Pukapukan heavens: 1, Na Taki-tu-tolu-a-Mataliki α , β , γ Cassiopeiae; 2, Te Wale-o-Tutakaiolo (α , β , θ , ι Aurigae, β Tauri); 3, Mataliki (the Pleiades); 4, Takupu-tea (Venus); 5, Tulalupe (Jupiter); 6, Mata-kula (Aldebaran); 7, Mata-kula (Mars); 8, Te Tolunga-Maui (ξ , ϵ , δ Orionis); 9, Mata-lele (shooting star); 10, Mau-tokelau (Lesser Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 11, Matonga (Greater Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 12, Tapao (Sirius); 13, Pa-ngolengole-a-Kiliwelo (Praesepe cluster); 14, Mata-tea (Saturn); 15, Tokiva (Jupiter); 16, Te Yiku-o-te-kiolo (Coma Berenices); 17, Te Yiku-o-te-kiolo (Ursa Major, second identification); 18, Te Manu (Corvus); 19, Na Mata-o-te-paniwi (Crux); 20, Te Paniiwi-o-Taewa ("The Coal Sack"); 21, Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Wua-ma-Velo (α and β Centauri, includes also other stars of same declination); 22, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 23, Te Maina (the Moon); 24, Te Mata-yoa-ki-te-maina (companion star to the moon); 25, Te Wale-o-Awitu (Corona Borealis); 26, Na Pongaponga-iyu-o-te-kake 4 ϵ and 5 Lyrae); 27, Mata-wai-kave (comet); 28, Te Toloa (Delphinus); 29, Te (α , β , γ Aquilae); 30, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 31, Te Tao-o-Maui (black nebula near Scorpio); 32, Melemele (Antares); 33, Lua-tama-lelei (λ , ν Scorpionis); 34, Te Kau-o-Maui (star cluster in Sagittarius); 35, Te Wao-a-Maui (θ , η , ξ , δ Orphichii and α Serpentis); 36, Takupu-tea (Venus); 37, Tapao (Jupiter); 38, Te Mata-yoa-ki-te-la (Mercury); 39, La (Sun); 40, Taki-piki-tolu (Piscis Australis). Dotted line represents sun's ecliptic.

The named planets are:

PLANET	NATIVE NAME	REMARKS
Mercury	Forgotten	Called te mata pili loa ki te la (the star very close to the sun).
Mars	Mata-kula (Red-star) a name given to Aldebaran or other conspicuous star	That Mars changes its right ascension and declination is not known.
Venus	Takupu-tea (White-booby-bird)	Known to be the same star when observed in morning or evening; its morning appearance confused by some with morning rising of Jupiter. No native belief as to why Venus rises only part way to observer's meridian.
Saturn	Mata-tea (White-star)	When visible to east in morning.
Jupiter	Tapao	When visible to west in evening.
	Tulalupe	When visible overhead.
Sirius	Tokiva	Confused with Jupiter, whose three names are applied to Sirius when latter is in position to warrant their use.
Sun	La	Rationalizations for eclipses of sun and moon given in story of Lingutaimoa (1).
Moon	Maina	Face of moon pictures the woman Yina pounding pandanus key to extract its nut.

The ecliptic of the sun is termed Te Ala-o-te-la (The Path-of-the-sun). The half of the ecliptic to the north (Te Lua-poto, The Short-hole) is the season of fine weather and pleasure-making. The half of the sun's ecliptic to the south (Te Lua-loa, The Long-hole) is the time of bad weather and tapu activities. Informants say that Te Ala-o-te-la goes into the *lua poto* or the *lua loa*. This may mean that the sun in its passage through the sky passes through a hole (*lua*) or cave in the sky. *Poto* and *loa* refer to the short days when the sun is to the north, and the long days when it is to the south.

The named nebulae and the star clusters are:

NEBULA OR STAR (CLUSTER)	NATIVE NAME	REMARKS
Black nebula near Crux "The Coal Sack"	Te Paniwi-o-Taewa	Taewa named this nebula for its imagined resemblance to the paniwi fish.
Triangular black nebula near Scorpio (45° south declination, 18 hours right ascension)	Te Tao-o-Maui (Spear-of-Maui)	The spear that Maui thrust into his shark and hurled into the sky.
Milky Way	Te Mango (Shark)	The shark hurled by Maui. Pukapukans not aware they are observing different halves of the Milky Way during winter solstice (when shark's head is to south) and during summer solstice (when head is to north).

Greater Magellanic Cloud¹⁵ Mau-tonga

Lesser Magellanic Cloud¹⁵ Mau-tokelau

Pracsepe cluster (18-19° north declination, 8^h 25^m 30^{min} right ascension) Panguolengole-a-Kiliwelo

Said to be a woman because it comes from the cold south (tonga).

Said to be a man because it comes from the warm north (tokelau).

Also generalized name for star cluster or visible nebula such as Great Nebula of Andromeda as opposed to star clusters with named individual stars.

As distinguished from a star (*mata*), a shooting star or meteor is *matalilele* (running-star); a comet, *mata-wai-kavee* (star-with-a-tail). The word *kaveinga* means a star constellation in general, but more particularly, a group of stars which have the same declination.

Named stars are:

Mata-kula (Aldebaran), often confused with Mars.

Tolu (three) or Taki-piki-tolu (α , β , and γ Aquilae). Morning rising of α Aquilae (Altair) is sign of commencement of rock grouper season: talao, wapuku, ulupunga, and tiwitiwi fish plentiful.

Melemele (Antares). Morning rising sign for rock grouper season.

Te Wale-o-Tutakaio, House-of-Tutakaio, (α , β , γ and δ Aurigae, β Tauri).

Na Taki-tolu-a-Mataliki or Na Taki-tu-tolu-a-Mataliki, Three-of-Mataliki (α , β , and γ Cassiopeiae). Rising slightly before the Pleiades (Mataliki), these stars and Mataliki are signs of approach of flying-fish season.

Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Stars-of-the-pair, (stars of same declination: α , β Centauri, η , θ , ι , ϵ Argonnis, Canopus, Achenar, α Doradi, α and β Orac, α and β Crucis). Morning rising of α and β Centauri is believed to herald period of good lagoon fishing. These two stars often called Na Lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo, and are used as star course to Niue. Informants' belief that any star of same declination as α and β Centauri is included in Stars-of-the-pair is interesting in relation to this star course: The more stars of the same declination the navigator steered by, the easier it was to keep a straight course.

Te Yiku-o-te-kirole, Tail-of-the-Rat (Coma Berenices). Pau believed that this name refers rather to Ursa Major, of which α , β , γ , and δ form the body of the rat, and stars ϵ , η , and ζ form the tail. Both identifications appear on chart.

Te Wale-o-Awitu, House-of-Awitu (Corona Borealis).

Te Manu, Bird (Corvus). Morning rising is sign of rock grouper fishing season.

Na Mata-o-te-paniwi, Stars-of-the-"Coal-Sack" (Cruce). Morning rising is sign for rock grouper. The name Tautolu for Cruce is said to be a modern importation. Pau believes that Na Mata-o-te-paniwi is also modern. It is possible that Cruce was unnamed by Pukapukans of former days.

Te Toloa, Duck (four 4th magnitude stars in Delphinus). First rain after their rising, a sign of the approach of the rainy season, is referred to as te toloa yua (duck water).

¹⁵ At times only one cloud is visible, because Mau-tokelau moves over to Mau-tonga, via the woman's cold, unemotional nature and then embraces her in sexual intercourse, so that the two clouds become one, with Mau-tokelau superimposed on Mau-tonga. Informants insist that sometimes there are two clouds, sometimes one; they do not find at all reasonable the suggestion that perhaps one of the clouds has set or has not yet risen, or that moonlight has obscured the lesser cloud when the greater cloud is still visible.

Na Pongaponga-yiu-o-te-kirole, Nostrils-of-the-rat (visible binary, 4 ϵ Lyrae and 5 Lyrae). Some confusion over identification of the name. Likely that almost any visible binary may be correctly called by this name, in same way that Jupiter and Sirius may both be correctly called Tapao.

Te Tolunga-Maui, Three-Maui-Brothers (ζ , ϵ , and δ Orionis). Veti alone included Orion's sword as well as his belt in this constellation. Used as star course from Pukapuka to Olosenga and return.

Te Wao-a-Maui, Fishline-of-Maui (θ , η , δ , ϵ , and δ Ophiuchi and α Serpentis). Most informants agreed on including these stars as the main ones in the Fishline, in reality a group of stars strung out north along the Milky Way from Scorpio. An unimportant constellation, figuring neither as star-course guide nor as fishing sign.

Taki-piki-tolu (group of stars in Piscis Australis). Veti and Pau maintain this identification, and refer Tolu alone to α , β , and γ Aquilae. Possibly this distinction is old. Mataliki (Pleiades). Morning rising marks change of wind to southeast, heralds flying fish, reef fish, and bigger deep-sea fish (then full of roe) seasons. Hence the saying, "Tena te kau ika o Mataliki ka yau" (Here are all the fish of Mataliki coming). Formerly morning rising introduced the six-moon period of pleasuring. Mataliki directly overhead in the sky is a sign of turtles coming to lay eggs on the outer beaches.

Te Kau-o-Maui, Fishhook-of-Maui (cluster of 4th, 5th, and 6th magnitude stars in Sagittarius). Often confused with the tail of Scorpio, though it lies southeast from the southernmost stars in the tail.

Lua-tama-lelei, Two-beautiful-children or Lua-pulotu-koki, Two-beauties-close-together (λ and ν Scorpionis). Their modern name, Pipili-ma, is said to be Tahitian.

Taumakomako (γ , α , and σ Scorpionis). Some informants do not recognize this constellation. Identification is doubtful, as it includes Antares, definitely named Melemele.

Te Ala-kaveinga-o-te-ika, Star-sign-of-fish (Ursa Major). Descriptive name only because this constellation is known by all as sign for reef fish. Pau's identification given above.

Te Mumu-o-ngana. Group of small stars known to some, could not be identified.

STAR COURSES

The value of Pukapukan star courses from the viewpoint of modern navigation has been worked out by Robert Dean Frisbie, whose notes follow. The accuracy of the star courses to the west and from Samoa to Pukapuka is noteworthy. Informants knew of no star courses which would help a navigator sailing eastward from Pukapuka, an indication perhaps of the predominating contact of Pukapuka with western islands.

The course from Pukapuka to Niue was equal to the bearing of α and β Centauri (Na Mata-o-te-tokalua) when low in the sky to west of south. Informants emphasized that the stars must be low in the sky; evidently the old navigators were aware of the Centauri's rapid change of bearing when at a higher altitude (no such emphasis was laid on the Antares, or the ϵ Orionis, star course). Informants were not aware of the stars being in their lower transit when observed low in the sky; but a navigator sailing as far south as Niue, lat. 19° 10' S., would undoubtedly observe this.

The true course from Pukapuka to Niue, calculated by Mercator sailing, is 204°. The course that would be steered by a canoe headed toward α Centauri, at 5° altitude, would be equal to that star's bearing, which is, in the latitude of Pukapuka, 209°. This is computed by the formula: $1/2 Z = V \cos. s, \cos. (s-p), \sec. L, \sec. h$. (In this $s = 1/2 h + L + p$; Z is bearing; L , latitude; h , altitude; p , polar distances.)

The course arrived at by the above altitude azimuth calculation is $4^{\circ} 22'$ to westward of the true course, and, if only one bearing was taken at the beginning of the course, it would take a canoe to a point approximately 39 miles to the westward of the south point on Niue. At this distance a native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction. He would, however, arrive at a point somewhat closer to the land, for as the canoe sailed south, α Centauri's bearing when low in the sky would shift to the south, due to the star's being in its lower transit. Thus the navigator, by degrees imperceptible to himself, would shift his course more and more to the south, as follows:

At Pukapuka the true course would be roughly 205° while the bearing of α Centauri is 209° .

After sailing 200 miles the true course would be 203.5° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 208.5° .

After sailing another 200 miles the true course would be 197° while the bearing of α Centauri would give a course of 207.5° .

Another 100 miles and the true course would be 178° while by steering by α Centauri the navigator would be making a course 207° .

Finally, after following the last course for 65 miles, the navigator would fetch up at a point 31 miles to the west of Niue.

Steering by a course equal to α Centauri's bearing when lower in the sky would bring the navigator closer to Niue; while if the bearing of α Centauri was taken when it was high in the sky there would be little appreciable difference until the star was above 15° , when it would go into its upper transit. This rule, however, would not hold true when the canoe had made considerable southing, but the variation in the course made good would be slight.

If, as some of the Pukapukans claim, Nassau was used by the old navigators as a point of departure, then a canoe headed for Niue would fetch up within 12 miles of the land. It is perhaps within reason that a navigator would stop at an uninhabited island, such as Nassau, where an abundance of food could be gathered for the voyage.

An interesting detail in relation to the α Centauri course lies in the fact that during July, August, and September, when the star sets during the early part of the night and thus is in a position to be used as a bearing, the normal winds in this part of the Pacific are favorable for the voyage to Niue, blowing steadily from the east to northeast.

Informants state that the old navigators steered a course to Upolu which was equal to the bearing of Antares (Melemele) when low in the sky to westward. As it is improbable that this star would be visible, over a period of nights, when below 15° altitude, that altitude has been used in calculating the true course that such a bearing would give. The results follow:

True course to Apia by Traverse Tables.....	243°
Course by Antares at 15° altitude.....	245°
Course by Antares (at setting. Amp. tab.).....	243°

Antares is last seen to westward during the latter part of October, and thus it is in the western sky during the trade-wind months when the weather is favorable for the above voyage. Also, being a conspicuous red star, in a line with and between γ and ϵ Scorpionis, it is easy to pick out on a cloudy night.

Informants gave Orion's Belt (Te Tolunga-Mau) as the star course for the voyage from Pukapuka to Olosenga. Taking it at 15° altitude, the course equal to its bearing is 271.5° . As the true course is 264.5° , the star course is in error 7° , and this error would fetch the canoe to a point 31.5 miles to the north of Olosenga. Due to many kinds of sea birds nesting on Olosenga and flying far to sea to feed, the native voyager would be aware of the proximity of land as well as its direction well beyond a 31.5 mile radius. Also, it is probable that, after the first few voyages, navigators learned to sail a little to the left of Orion's Belt. Orion sets to westward during the early part of the trade-wind season, when the weather is favorable for the voyage. If, as one suggests,

the voyagers made their departure from Nassau Island, they would fetch up within sight of Olosenga.

In sailing to the Gilbert-Ellice Islands, informants state that the navigators used Altair (Tolu). Sailing from Pukapuka, almost any course between 277° and 300° would take a canoe to a point close to one of the islands in the Ellice or the Gilbert groups. A course by Altair at setting is equal to 279° . As it rises higher in the sky its bearing swings to the north. It is visible at setting during the latter half of the trade-wind season when the weather is favorable for the voyage.

In voyaging from Samoa to Pukapuka, the Pukapukan navigators sailed from Upolu to Olosenga; then sailed on to Pukapuka using ϵ , ϵ , and δ Orionis (Te Tolunga-Mau) as their star course. These stars would give a course of 88° , while the true course is 84° , and by taking from Traverse Tables under 4° (the difference between the true and the star course), and with the distance at 259 miles, one finds that the star course would put a canoe 18 miles to the south of Pukapuka. This is approximately at Tima Reef, which place would give a new point of departure for the canoe for the rest of the voyage. In case the canoe missed Tima Reef, due to bad steering or cloudy weather, it would still be likely to come within sight of Nassau or Pukapuka; and even if it missed all three landfalls, it could scarcely fail to come within a point 30 miles to the north or south of one of the islands, which point would be within sea-flight of the white terns—the sign of land. Hence, in sailing from Olosenga to Pukapuka, a distance of 259 miles, the navigator has a cross section of ocean, lying at 45° angle to his course, 110 miles long, in which to make his landfall.

Stress is laid on this point, for, to a casual observer, it seems little short of miraculous for a canoe to pick up a tiny atoll in mid-ocean. As a matter of fact, in the above case, it would be remarkable if the voyagers missed one of the two islands or Tima Reef.

Finally, the Orion's Belt course from Olosenga to Pukapuka is peculiarly advantageous as these stars are visible to eastward during the early part of the hurricane season when the winds are favorable for the return voyage. Later in the hurricane season—February and March—the winds are also westerly, but it is doubtful if a canoe would attempt the return voyage during these stormy months and, moreover, Orion's Belt would be too high in the sky to be used as a bearing. It is most likely that the return voyage would be made in December, when the winds are light from the west and Orion's Belt is low in the sky to eastward at sunset.

COUNTS AND MEASURES

The Pukapukan system of counting follows the general Polynesian system. It shows a high development of number prefixes used when counting different classes of objects. The list of numerals is:

1. Tayi	20. Lau lua
2. Lua	30. Lau tolu
3. Tolu	100. Lau
4. Wa	101. Lau ma tayi
5. Lima	111. Lau ma laungaulu ma tayi
6. Ono	200. Lau lua
7. Witu	300. Tolunga lau
8. Valu	400. Wanga lau
9. Iva	1000. Mano
10. Katoa or laungaulu	2000. Lua mano
11. Laungaulu ma tayi	10,000(?). Tini
12. Laungaulu ma lua	100,000(?). Ngaulu tini

The word *katoa* is used for ten in simple enumeration. It is never used in conjunction with the name of the object enumerated, but in its place *laungaulu* is used. Where the special counting prefixes are used, these are added to the suffix *ngaulu* to indicate 10 objects of whatever class.

Numbers higher than *ngaulu tini* in progression of numerical greatness are: *manomano nuamua*, *matinitini*, *makekele*, and *ye*, which is an expression that corresponds to infinity. The number of terms that the Pukapukan uses to indicate high numbers is interesting though it is a little hard to see the function of high numerical concepts in an atoll culture.

It was a favorite jest among informants that the Pukapukan could count to a higher power than we could; proof of this they argued was not only the presence of words indicating progressions to infinity, but also the ability of the culture hero Maui to find Pukapukan words which enabled him completely to enumerate the stars in the sky, the fish in the sea, the sands on the beach, and so forth. It is likely, however, that such words as *tinu ngaulu tini*, *manomano nuamua* indicate not so much a definite number as a progression of increasing greatness that is more sensed or felt than definitely apprehended.

To indicate "more than" or "plus" to even numerals, *tu ma* is suffixed to the numeral; some 70 people (*tinowitu tu ma*). To form numerical nouns my three (*na maua toku tolungawa*). Each is *taki*; one person or object each: *takitayi*. The prefix *tokitaki tu* is used of things to indicate "one by one", "one at a time", and so forth: *tokitaki tu tavi*, *tokitaki tu lua*; of people the prefix *tabitau* is used: *takitau tokalua*, by twos, or, for each pair.

To count is *kau* or *wakatau*. A special set of terms is used to count coconuts by pairs (*oaniu*). One pair of drinking or mature nuts is *tayi oaniu*. From this on the counting runs:

Lua: 4 nuts.	Iva: 18 nuts.
Tolu: 6 nuts.	Yaea: 20 nuts.
Wa: 8 nuts.	Tolu: 30 nuts.
Yepulupulu: 10 nuts.	Wa: 40 nuts.
Ono: 12 nuts.	Lima: 50 nuts.
Witu: 14 nuts.	Lau: 100 nuts.
Valu: 16 nuts.	

The development of counting prefixes is indicated by the following list. To count people, the prefixes are:

Toka, counting people from 1 to 10; e tokatolu tatou, we are three.
Tino, counting people from 10 upward: tinongaulu, 10; tinowelau, 100 people.
Matino, used solely for counting the priest members of a god house (*wakalua*)
matinotolu, three priests; matinowitu, 7 priests.

Inanimate objects or creatures other than human beings are counted with the following prefixes:

Ipu, coconut shells: ipungaulu, 10; ipulua, 20; ipuwelau, 100; ipuluangalau, 200.
kai, fishhooks, used when counting the number of hooks on a composite fishing apparatus (taunakomako): kailima, 5 hooks. The number of fish caught with this apparatus is also counted with the prefix kai, as kailima ika, 5 fish.

Kau, oven stones, fishline sinkers, leaves of prepared pandanus for plaiting: kaulua, 20; kauwelau, 100; kautolungalau, 300.

Kau, fishhooks stored in the special tulumu receptacle, or hooks on a bonito trolling rod: kaitolu, 3 bonito hooks.

Kupu, plaited objects such as mats, hats: kupungaulu, 10; kupulua, 20; kupuwelau, 100.

Lau, fish caught by ordinary methods, or live fish: laungaulu, 10; lau lua, 20; lau, 100.
Manga, branches, livers (internal organs), bananas, or fingers: mangangaulu, 10.

Mata, talo, or pulaka: matangaulu, 10 tubers; matalua, 20; matawelau, 100 tubers.
Mata, meshes in a net: matalungalau, 200 meshes.

Tua, crayfish or crabs: tuangaulu, 10 crayfish; tualua, 20; tuawelau, 100.

Ua, shellfish: uangaulu, 10 clams; ualua, 20.

Ulu, victories in a progressive game: ulutolu, 3 wins in disc-throwing game (*tupe*).
Yeke, canoe seats: yekeono, 6-seater canoe.

These counting prefixes are also used in questions inquiring the number counted, as: *E tinowea te tangata?* How many people? *E matawaea te awawa?* How many talo corms? *E yekewea te waka?* How big is the canoe? The answer uses the prefixes as given above.

Measurements of length are commonly used for fishlines, or in craft activities. Those in common usage are:

Watinga mangamanga lima: length of one finger joint, tip of finger to first joint.

Lua watinga mangamanga lima: two finger joints.

Tolu watinga mangamanga lima: three finger joints, i.e., one finger length.

Neawa mangamanga lima: span of hand from thumb to longest finger.

Watinga lima: finger tip to elbow joint.

Lima: finger tip to shoulder of outstretched arm.

Uma: finger tip to center of chest with outstretched arm.

Ngawa: tip to tip of fingers, with outstretched arms, across chest; tolunga ngawa, three lengths, and so forth.

Kumi: a length of 10 ngawa.

Lau: 100 ngawa: E wea te loa o te mea la? E lau; What is the length? 100 ngawa.

Measures of volume are made by the use of descriptive terms:

Mo mea lewu: a very little.

Lewu: a little.

Mo mea: a little more.

To ki: (a container) about $\frac{3}{4}$ full.

To kiki: between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ full.

To kiki ki lolotonu: about $\frac{1}{2}$ full.

Ki: full.

Ki kakale: brimful.

Ki kakale: full to flowing over.

There are no standardized measures for volume; the liquid which is being described is added to the descriptive term to make clear the amount of liquid measured.

COLORS

The Pukapukan has little need to distinguish fine degrees of color gradation. The environment is monotonous in color scheme: white coral sand, dull green of coconut and other tropical trees, blue sky and sea. Tropical reef fish are of course a riot of bright, variegated coloring, but they are easily distinguished in terms of shape, number of fins, and so forth. In general, therefore, the Pukapukan is content to distinguish one or two colors like red or brown and blue or yellow. These with black, white, and a term for variegated coloring are ample for his needs, because color terms can be duplicated and combined with other terms to give an approximation to a desired degree of saturation. Terms for a commonly used color series are:

Kula: red.
 Kulakula: brown (as the hair).
 Kula uliuli: very dark red-brown.
 Kula keye: deep red.
 Kula lelenga: greasy (?) red.
 Kula melo: scarlet.
 Kula melomelo: reddish.
 Kula pongipongi: brownish red.
 Kula toto: blood red.
 Kula yiyinu: shiny red.
 Melomelo: yellowish.
 Yengayenga, yeyenga, pa yengayenga: blue or yellow or a mixture of these two colors.
 Uyi, uyuyi, pa uyuyi, uyi koka: dark greenish.
 Mumuka, manunu, litolito, kena, kenakena: white.
 Makalele, mukavakevake: blinding white surface.
 Tea: white, used only in proper names.
 Kalipo: iridescent.
 Kokone, konekone, koyikoyi: striped or variegated.
 Uli (general word), uli popo, uliuli, pa uliuli, ulimotumotu, ulimangiloli, uli koka, uli popokawa: black and various saturations of black.

Informants found it impossible to compare exactly any of these adjectives with European colors, though perhaps a deeper investigation may establish a few exact correspondences. Informants were unable to agree upon the color name for a yellow pencil, some believing the color to be *yenga*, others *lenga*, a Rarotongan word meaning blue. Similarly, informants had no word to define the color of a piece of white paper. They called it *kena*; but the same word is also given for the color of pandanus (*lito*) plaited mats, which is usually a very light saturation of yellow. Informants defined the color of white clouds as *manake*, which seems to mean perfectly clear and soft. The tendency perhaps is to describe colors in terms of surfaces or relative degrees of saturation, which must be increased greatly before another color results. Smaller increases of saturation are simply described by duplicating the basic word or parts of the word.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

Kio, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toaka*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*kar*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*ta te ulu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kii*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kii* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kii* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatau nana (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka ulu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*kar*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua moana (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*avenua*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of *Leveke* (the old name, a god), or of *Levi* (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

Totolounga, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*awotato*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *takapani* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Totolounga, totolounga na ngalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *male* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Pai, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

DANCES AND SONGS

The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*amuu*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

- 1 Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono, ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono
Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu, katia i loto o te ulu ngayu
Ko wakanukunuku te muli o te kirole, ko wakanukunuku te muli o te kirole
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi toko to
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta
Ko yaele mai la koe, ko yaele mai la koe
Ko lomina e Tauga, lomina e Tauga ke tu te muavaka
Moe lai i a Te Yei la te makemakenga o Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Tolota
Wati ai te titi o Tolota
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangi-angi ki te matangi
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangi-angi ki te matangi
Kite atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia
Wati te tuki
E te manu e nimonimo ia
E te manu e nimonimo ia
Wakakaukau atu la te wale
Wakakaukau atu la te wale
Matiatia matiatia mati mai
Mati mai ki konei e
E te manu e welele mai la
E te manu e welele mai la
Tau i te puapua ia wanga
Tau i te puapua ia wanga
Lumakina i te vai o Malele
Ke tu te mea pe te yitolo
Yioyio mai ke liko ai te ngongo
Kakalo atu la matou e
Ki Te Manu koa wenake
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili
Iliili matou, iliiili matou
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;
Iliili matou, iliiili matou
- 2 You walk there, you walk there
You are pressed down by Tauga, pressed down by Tauga till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect
- 3 Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]
- 4 We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]
We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
The pounder is broken.
Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
They gather round the houses [repeat]
They are caught, they are caught
Caught here.
- 5 Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
It lights on the *puapua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]
- 6 Dive down into the pool of Malele
Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.
- 7 We look up
At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising
Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan
We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves
[repeat]

Ko te kau, ko te kau o Maui
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiote
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiote

9 E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu

10 E Luea to timu e angi nei
E Luea to timu e angi nei
Ka pa anu to vaka ki Kalaumea
E, ka pa anu to vaka ki Mata Kalokalo
E, ka tau la koe ki tawa ma te lulu ma te wawa
Ka tae la koe ki Kalaumea, ka tae la koe ki Kalaumea.

The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
[repeat]

Singing branches, singing branches
[repeat]
Like pulaka cooking, like pulaka cooking
[repeat]

Oh Luea, your wind blows here
[repeat]
Your canoe will be carried to Kalaumea
Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kalokalo
You will land at the side with the people with their talo
You will reach Kalaumea, you will reach Kalaumea.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Poloni (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki waii tua. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

Kinikini is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kinikini*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "yopu" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wakatangī ngutu is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *utu pepe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *utu taeviteiti*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utuutu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *tebitiki* in which the player hops on one foot.

Utu pepe wenua. A line (*wenua*) two fathoms long is marked off on the ground by scraping with the foot. Two teams (*waka*, canoes) are chosen. In turn each player of one team makes the *utu pepe* movements up and down the *wenua* line, while the count is kept of the total number of times the team moves up and down the line. The players of the other team follow. The team that scores the greatest number of complete jumps wins the contest. In *utu pepe waka*, two players, one from each team, jump together at the same time, without moving on any course. One team wins a point (*ka*) when the player from the other team drops out. The team that first wins 10 jumps (*utu tau-ngutu*), wins (*ta te utu*) the match.

In *utuutu* and *utu taeviteiti*, a *wenua* line may or may not be used.

Tebiteki hopping. A rectangular area (*wenua*) about 15 feet long and 10 feet wide is lined off on an open space. The participants, singly or in groups, hop up and down this line, scoring one point for each arrival at either end of the boundary. The player with the most points wins the contest. Because this is an endurance test, the skillful hopper makes each pace as long as he can and thus economizes on wind.

Tiitiiti koua (juggling with very young immature coconuts). Played by children and adults. In competitive juggling, the players chant and juggle in rhythm; those who are able to continue to the end of the chant win the contest. A number of chants especially composed for this amusement were collected (1). The usual number of *koua* used in juggling is three; some experts are able to juggle four at a time.

SHELL TOSSING

Titi pulepule (tossing *pulepule* shells, the Polynesian counterpart of jackstones). Played by adults and children of both sexes. From two to twenty persons may play at one time. A large number of seashells of the type known as *pulepule* (*Cypraca*) are gathered and placed in the center of the group of players who take up their positions in a circle seated on *takapu* mats. Each player has a throwing stone (*titi waka*) which he holds in his right hand. The object of the game is to toss up the stone, pick up the shells from the ground in a given fashion, and catch the stone as it comes down. Twenty-nine figures may be played in one game, starting with the simple tossing up of the stone and removing of one shell from the heap. The beginner, who is chosen in no special way, but who simply is the first to call out, "I am first (*Ko oku te pule tayi*) is known as the "*pule tayi*". He continues to play until he misses—until the stone has fallen (*na to*) without his having caught it, until he fails to pick up the required number of shells, or until he has removed all the shells, which is one win (*utu tayi*) for him. Should he miss, the play goes to the next person on his left, and so on in a counter-clockwise direction round the circle of players, continuing the one figure until all the shells have been removed. As each player picks up shells during his play, he places these under his bent knee, to be counted when the figure is over. Each player in turn counts (*kani*) his shells one by one, counting without any special numerical prefix (*katoa* being 10, *lau lua*, 20, and so forth). At the end of the play the number of figures won by the individual players, which are called *utu tayi*, *utu lua*, and so forth, are compared and the one who has won the most individual plays wins (*ta te uka*). To tie either in a single figure or for the whole game is *welolo*. The loser is *weloa* (defeated). As each figure is finished, the next is begun by the person to the left of the starter of the preceding figure, regardless of where the last play ended. Thus, each player from the start is called by the name of the figure which he will begin. The figures are played in the following order:

- 1. *Pule tayi*: throw up the stone, remove one shell from the heap, and catch the stone as it drops.
- 2. *Pule lua*: remove two shells at a time with each toss of the stone. It is considered a miss to pick up more or less than the required number. An odd shell at the end is counted by the player who finishes the figure.

3. *Pule tolu*: remove three shells with each toss of the stone.
4. *Pule wa*: remove four shells with each toss of the stone.
5. *Iko* (bend): the player whose turn it is to start the figure has merely to bend his elbow to score a win. There is no trick in this; it is merely the advantage of being the fifth starter.
6. *Lukuluku* (scoop): throw up the stone, scoop up as many of the shells in the pile as possible with two hands, and catch the stone on top of the shells in the two hands. The player then pairs all the shells he has picked up to see if there is an odd shell (*kai*) over. If such is the case, he may continue to play the figure, but if not, he is said to *lite* and must return the shells to the pile; the turn passes to the next player, who tries his luck. If he succeeds, the odd shell is returned to the remaining pile of shells to be picked up in the next scoop. To be unable to throw out the odd shell (*mate te kai*) constitutes the "liti".
7. *Pule ka*: throw up the stone and pick up with one hand only, as many shells as possible, catching the stone on the top of the shells as it falls.
8. *Pule ikaiko* (bend): as in 7, pick up as many shells as possible with one hand, catch the stone on them, and quickly flex the wrist inward to the body as the stone is caught.
9. *Pule pu* (hole): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible with a side sweep of the hand from right to left, and catch the stone on the radial side of the lightly clenched fist in the hollow formed by the flexed index finger.
10. *Pule tutu* (erect): toss the stone in the air, hit the pile of shells twice with the palm of the hand, pick up as many shells as possible and catch the stone with the same hand.
11. *Pule moe* (lying): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, catch the falling stone in the hollow between the outstretched thumb and index finger.
12. *Pule tu te imia* (hand erect): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone in the hollow between the vertically outstretched thumb and index finger.
13. *Pule patu te imia* (strike the hand): repeat 12, and snap down the index finger on the stone as it is caught.
14. *Pule wakarayake*: throw up the stone, pick up the shells, rotate the forearm and hand in a counter-clockwise direction so that the elbow points upwards and away from the body, catching the stone on the ulnar surface of the clenched fist, in the hollow made by the flexed little finger.
15. *Pule kakalo ki te langi* (look at the sky): gaze upward and without looking at stone or shells toss up stone, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.
16. *Pule kakalo ki te tangata* (look at the people): staring at the people around and without looking at shells or stone, toss up the stone, remove shells, and catch falling stone.
17. *Pule tolo* (shove): throw up the stone, push away the pile of shells, then pick up as many of them as possible, catching the falling stone.
18. *Pule wakamaoyangi* (quietly): separate the individual shells in the pile from each other, spacing them at about a half inch apart. Then one at a time, with the toss of the stone, remove each shell without touching any other shell with the hand and without allowing the stone to hit against the shell in the hand as it is caught.
19. *Pule tangi i te tua o te pulepule* (sound the back of the shell): toss up the stone, remove a shell from the pile, and catch the falling stone against the shell, so that the two surfaces make a clinking noise.
20. *Pule kali i lungu* (wait above): toss up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the stone while it is still high in the air, not lower than the top of the head.
21. *Pule kali i lalo* (wait below): throw up the stone, pick up shells, and catch the stone with the hand resting on the ground.

22. *Pule toko ki lungu* (raise up): throw up the stone, pick up as many shells as possible, and catch the falling stone with an upward swooping movement of the hand.
23. *Pule yana*: throw up the stone in such a way that it will fall near the front of the body, remove as many shells as possible, and catch the stone at the height where the *yana* (neck ornament) hangs on the chest.
24. *Pule luku ki te vaka* (scoop to the canoe): throw up the stone, toss a handful of shells into the lap and catch the stone.
25. *Pule lakei* (decorate): place the shells in a line along the outside of one leg and thigh at intervals of one inch, and remove these one by one with a toss of the stone, in such a way as not to disturb the remainder.
26. *Pule lufe*: toss the stone high in the air, slap thighs with both hands, pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.
27. *Pule yi patuki* (fish *patuki*): throw up the stone, move one shell at a time toward the body with a flick of the flexed index finger and catch the stone.
28. *Pule kekemo* (eyes closed): throw up the stone, close eyes tightly, pick up shells and catch the falling stone without opening the eyes.
29. *Pule raryilavila* (sleepy eyes): throw up the stone, and with eyes more than half-closed pick up shells, and catch the falling stone.

DISC THROWING

Wakapotekateka (disc throwing for distance). The disc (*poteka*) is a stone of *pinga* coral. To throw the disc is *wakatateka*. The course is the village street. The teams are made up of ten men each, one team from each village. Three men throw each round. The stone is held with the thumb and index finger and thrown for distance with an underhand motion. The team with the greatest number of longest throws at the end of ten rounds wins the contest.

DISC PITCHING

Tupe (disc pitching). The game is played with coconut-shell discs, of varying weights and sizes, cut from the bottom of the dried, hard *yakai* nut shell. The discs are polished smooth and the edges made even and regular. Two sets of discs are not distinguished by different colorings, the discs are not ornamented, nor is there any special container for them. The surface on which the discs are thrown is a new, smooth, ordinary pandanus mat, 6 to 8 feet long and of any width. The players sit at the head of the mat. The opposite end of the mat is raised 4 or 5 inches by the insertion under its edge of a coconut leaf midrib, which is called for this purpose *kariyalo*. A third person called the *kariyalo* sits at the raised end of the mat to keep the prop in position, to judge and recover the thrown discs. The object of the game is to place the discs as near the edge of the mat as possible, even tilting them over the raised surface, so that they are closer to the edge than the discs of the opponent.

The game is played by two players at a time. Any even number of discs up to 20 is equally divided between them. Though the first pitcher is at a disadvantage, he is not chosen in any special way. One player simply says to the other, "Tupe", and the other throws. He tosses his disc up to the edge of the mat with a well-aimed side twist of the wrist which spins the disc and helps to check the danger of its rolling off the edge of the mat. If the first player's placement is a good one and lies just at the edge of the mat, but not tilting over, the second player attempts with his first pitch to hit (*tongi* or *tita*) it off from the inner side so that his own disc will remain on the mat while the other is knocked off. If the first disc of the first player is badly thrown and constitutes no danger to the second player, the second player throws without attempting to upset its position but to place his own shot in a good position on or near the edge of the mat. Then the first player, in his second pitch, will attempt to knock off the opponent's good shot, replacing it with his own disc. As soon as he betters his own preceding throw, which has itself been bettered by the opponent, the disc of his preceding throw is

removed (*to*). Should he have two or more discs on the mat, none of which is bettered by the opponent's discs, these are left until such time as the opponent manages to place a disc ahead of them, when all behind opponent's placement are removed.

The players in turn shoot their discs always trying to line their own discs on the edge of the mat, while keeping the opponent's off. Two skillful players will often play through their discs, each putting his shot well on the edge of the mat, only to be knocked off by the next play of the opponent. In this case there will be only one score (*kai*), the last disc thrown by the second player. To knock two of opponent's discs off the mat with one throw is *tita lua*; to knock off three is *tita tolu*. Should there be several discs on the mat at the end of play, only one player's disc or discs bettering all discs of the opponent is counted in the score. Should it happen that the player who started has no disc remaining on the mat and only one disc left to throw, while the finisher has two discs left to throw and at least one on the mat, then the latter, without taking his turn, calls out, "Na lave", and scores three points. The beginning player forfeits his last shot, and the next round begins.

With the help of the *karyalo*, the players remember their own scores for each round; the player who first scores ten points wins (*ta te ulu*).

A game of *tupe*, though played at one time by only two players, is actually of the nature of a group game. At the end of a game, the loser briskly jumps up and another person takes his place to try his skill against the winner. The number of persons that one player successively defeats is his *iki*; two, *iki lua*; three, *iki tolu*. The crowd sits or stands about watching with the greatest interest and coaching each shot. Should the *karyalo* neglect to remove a dead *tupe*, someone in the crowd of onlookers is sure to scold him and order him to remove the disc, "To te tama ia! E kole, te tupe i te tawana na!" (Remove that child! No, the one on the side!) The player must decide whether to attempt to knock off the opponent's well-placed disc, with the danger of losing his own disc over the edge of the mat, or whether to leave the opponent's disc in position and attempt to place his own disc ahead of the other. Similarly the skilled player has a feeling for the relative merits of each of the discs; a heavy disc he will save for a crucial shot when it is important to knock the opponent off the mat, a light disc he uses for a placement shot at the beginning. The game is played for hours and ends by successive players, the player who scores most victories at a session being adjudged the winner. A favorite time to play is in the cool of a moonlight night, when a full moon gives ample light to judge the discs.

There are no records of indoor or outdoor guessing games other than the children's games of *tolotounga* and *poi* nor do the Pukapukans seem to have indulged in riddling contests.

INTER-VILLAGE CONTESTS

Outdoor sports competitions between the villages were very common. Of the large variety of such games, many have been submerged at the present time by a passion for cricket, which is played between village teams of men and women with any number of players on each side for two or three weeks at a time. Old-time games have not been forgotten, however, and our presence on the island was the incentive for their revival.

Coconut-tree climbing contests (*vainganga kake niu*). Two coconut trees are selected near an open space. The height of the nuts on one tree is measured with a rope, the same height is measured off on the other tree and marked on the bole by a fastening of coconut leaf. In contests where the two trees are of about the same height the winner is the one whose nut hits the ground first. Where the trees are of unequal

height, the winner is the one who, having climbed to the height indicated, first reaches the ground. Each contestant stands before a tree with a climbing bantage on his feet. The left hand rests on the tree trunk; the right hand is clasped around the tree. At the given signal (at present, on the count of three) each man springs up the tree and climbs as fast as he can. In coming down the tree he may slide as much as possible and leap from the tree when about 8 or 9 feet from the ground.

Coconut-husking contests (*yokanga niu papaku*). Three carefully sharpened husking sticks are placed in the ground, $1\frac{1}{2}$ paces apart, to form the apices of an equilateral triangle. The husking sticks are carefully placed to make an angle of about 70 degrees with the ground. On a small coconut leaf mat impaled over the sticks, the village husker kneels, squatting on an unhusked nut. Sixty *yakali* nuts are placed in the center of the triangle. Each husker impales a nut on his stick. At the signal the men start to husk and continue until all the nuts are husked, including the nuts on which the men squat. The man who husks most nuts wins the contest. One man may stop the contest at any time to repair his stick if it falls over or if its point breaks or blunts. Behind each man stands his second (*tohaloko*), a man from another village, who counts his nuts at the end. In an average contest, three men husk 60 nuts in 2 minutes. After one contest, the points of the sticks are resharpened and fixed in the ground again, and another contest follows.

Nuts are competitively husked not only in inter-village contests but also by villagers preparing for a feast, making copra, or dividing nuts from the reserves. At the present time, in making copra at the reserves, after each adult has collected his weekly quota of from 100 to 200 nuts, all the young men, accompanied by children, women, and old men move from one pile of nuts to the next, holding a husking contest at each pile. In this contest two or more men compete against each other until the pile is finished. The group spends the whole day going thus from one pile to the next. Sometimes a women's team accompanies the men to husk the nuts of the women, at times competing against the men. The mixed contests are occasions of great fun-making which reach a climax if a woman defeats a man. The women wax jubilant, and the onlookers hurl all sorts of advice and ridicule at the unlucky man, who is glad to make his escape. The news spreads like wildfire through the copra settlements. The old men are quick to make suitable witticisms, and it is long before the defeated man hears the last of his shame.

Composite dart-throwing contests. Held on an open space (*malae*) usually on the beach at low tide. An exhibition contest was given during our stay. The *malae velo* (dart-contest space), the beach in front of Loto village, was cleared of rubbish before the contest commenced; men of Yato cleared one half, men of Loto and Ngake the other half. Rubbish was thrown into the sea, and the loose coral was pushed off to the side with the butt ends of coconut midribs. This made a clear space about 75 yards long and 15 yards wide. Two throwing pits (*taua*) were dug, one at each end of the *malae*. Each pit was 6 feet long and 3 wide, and sloped from the ground level at the rear to a depth of 1 foot in the front. The sand from the pit was piled up at the front end to form a small batter used as a throwing base (*muli taua*).

The composite dart, *velo*, is described on page 214. The thrower takes the dart in his right hand, holding it at the *yiku* end with the thumb and middle finger, the index finger steadying the *yiku* tip. To test the hold, balance, and aim of his spear, he takes a preliminary run (*folio*). He starts five paces behind the *taua*, takes several quick steps forward toward it, holding the dart with the forearm vertical, the dart horizontal and level with or a little higher than the shoulder. He stops in his run and, with the fingers of the left hand, plucks (*wakangarali*) the dart at a point about 2 feet from the *yiku* end. Then he moves back to the starting point, makes another *folio*, and again tests the dart to be sure that his trajectory is correct. The third time, he advances to the *taua*, plants his left foot against the batter, and hurls the spear (*wakapoi te velo*). A well-thrown dart moves through the air horizontally about 10 feet above the ground, strikes the ground at an obtuse angle, and then slithers (*toloto te velo*) a long distance

along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *uluoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wakatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*ulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tava* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*kai*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ta te ulu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *patekinimui*.

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngayau* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

Running races (*wetele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuleki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *taugata racolo* (man of swift foot).

WRESTLING

Wrestling (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*wakayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if he fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau ulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was sneared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of seinit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*wananga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, peluia to malo, tai ke to ulu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in the villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, there shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin seinit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tia tava*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*tio*) the other man by beating his buttocks (*pakiaki te lemu*) with both hands and trotting around the inside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

sennit cord of the ring with one hand, peeks under the cord into the ring, kicks one foot into it and the other foot away from the ring, and then trots on. He goes around the ring two or three times. Then the two men duck under the cord and enter the ring. The champion stands in the center, his second at his side. An opponent (*naeva*) advances from his shelter, enters the ring, and the two men wrestle. After a few seconds' wrestling, if there is no throw, the second stops the bout. Other men from the second village and from the champion's own village enter the ring in turn and wrestle, but the second stops the bout each time. Though the wrestling is not taken seriously, the champion is now considered unbeaten in these preliminary trials; and the ring is said to remain in his possession. He and his second take down the ring. Had the champion been beaten in one of these contests, the ring would have passed to his opponent and the opponent would have removed the ring. Only recognized champions of their respective villages have the right to wrestle with the island champion inside his ring. Once the ring is removed and the challenging finished, the general contests begin. Bouts take place anywhere on the ground which, though unmarked and without a ring, is still called *one*.

A man from Loto, the challenging village, stands on the grass in front of his shelter, silent and looking straight ahead. A challenger from Yato advances toward the Loto man. When close together, the Loto man appears to notice him and the two men open (*wakaanga*) the match thus: Each man bends forward from the waist and grips the outstretched fingers of his opponent in an interlocking grip with his own fingers. The two disengage and swing the arms around to the back of the body, beating the hands against the buttocks. This is repeated several times, the men sparring (*hiale*) for grip, balance, and foothold. Then the two engage seriously and seek for a throw. In the old days famous champions dispensed with the sparring movements, rushed straight at their opponents, and sought for a surprise grip and unexpected throw. If a man did this when his opponent was expecting to spar, he generally took his opponent off guard and threw him. There is nothing unfair in these surprise rushes.

Instead of advancing only one man, the challenging village may advance three or four men who wait for a contest. One opponent comes forward, and the one among the challengers who is considered a fit match for him waits while the other men retire. If the other villages are backward in advancing a man, the challenger walks up and down before the shelter of his opponents. He does this carelessly, silently ridiculing the apparent faint-heartedness of his opponents. This invariably shames the opponents into advancing one or several men, in which case the challenger indicates the man he wishes to wrestle by engaging his fingers. After each bout the winning village is supposed to issue a challenge for the next bout. If the bout is a draw, the initiative remains with the previous challengers.

Each match lasts for 35 to 45 seconds of intense struggle. A bout is won by causing opponent to fall, by lifting opponent's feet clear of the ground, or through opponent's allowing part of his body other than his feet to touch the ground. Any wrestling hold is termed *liko* or *taiga*. To lift from the ground by grasping the front of the malo is *liko i te muu malo*. A malo that comes loose and provides a good handgrip is *mafo mataia*. To throw or lift by grasping the thighs is *liko i te tenga*; to lunge or dive forward and grasp the leg or thigh is *tui te tenga*; to push a man to the ground as he lunges for the leg is *hau tui zae*; to throw by any means is *ui*. Other holds are used to dive for the knees and pull them from the ground, which is countered by locking (*poliua*) the other's neck under the arm, trying to throw him off his balance by a sudden twist of neck and shoulders; and to hook a foot behind opponent's leg and trip him with a sudden push. Long arms and heavy weight are considered an asset in these holds. Striking with the closed or open hand, grasping vital organs, and twisting limbs so as to inflict pain have no part in Pukapukan wrestling. Even though there is no referee for the bouts there seems to be no temptation to indulge in unfair holds.

If no throw occurs at the end of about 45 seconds of wrestling, the bout is considered a draw and either wrestler indicates this to his opponent by relaxing (*wakabara*)

his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reinforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau zaru*, strong men): *muu zaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto zaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *mili zaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *muu zaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto zaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *mili zaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *hapaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *hileniga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tita*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *lukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *liupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuiki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuiki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

WATER SPORTS

Canoe-paddling races (*vainganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*vainganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

Swimming races (*vainganga kaukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*wakayekeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

FISHING CONTESTS

Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *vainganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *vainganga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *vainganga kakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lani*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae peni*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yuisi* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *ava* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka takataka mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*paeteke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *ukupaku*, she prepares quantities of the talo dish *likolito*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *paekupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pala*, *kamai*, and *wanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared *talo*, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

MAT-MAKING CONTESTS

In former times women held mat-making contests (*waiinganga pangā*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*tiaki na pangā*) and chanting as they did so.

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waitea (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *ho* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *welo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of semit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of semit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakan*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayamao* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*awanga ya*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tana, who,

by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluca and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Taa. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (kaleva bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata karua* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tuu, united as the *wai taina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamaunga and Yayi, were together the *muli karua* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata karua* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki lungu. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Ononowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kiko-kiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovaloa ki a Maui Mua, "Ononowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa lungu, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, mo?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki lungu, wuwuti ki lungu. Tavaloa loa i a Maui Potiki, "Ononowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Ononono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki lungu, koa oko ki te kongu o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe kongu o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe kongu. Kakao oki te toe kongu. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki lungu. Ili loa te vaka ki lungu. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pae ki lungu te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yawa ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

Mimia loa te wui atua, ya lulu i lunga o te wenua. Yuki mangamanga te wui atua. Wano atu te wui atua ulu ke tai ona konga nanai. Wo na toe atua ulu atu ki na toe konga. Yau loa la i a Tamayei. Ulu mai ia te moana ki Tokelau. Yau loa mai Tonga, yau loa e, oko mai loa ki te moana nei, pae ai lunga o te kilitai. Takaycu ai ma te onono ki lalo. Ko kakao mai te watu ia mai. lalo o te papa o te moana. Onono ai, e waingata. Niko loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai iai ke to loa, yau oki wakawou. Ko tona tino ya yau ia e tino kaka. Yau oki ki te mea ya onono ai taumua. Inoino ai ma te onono ki lalo. Koa yau loa ki te tikitike te tupunga o te watu ia. Wano oki wakawou ki Tonga, kalai iai ke to mo loaloa. Yau oki wakawou. Lela mai ai taumua, onono atu ki lalo; koa wakakena mai lalo o te neuu o te moana. Wano loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai ke ili ni lua ayo. Yau loa, ko tona tino atua tika. Kakao mailunga o te kilitai. Onono atu ki te mea ya wakakena mai i te tolu o tona yaunga. Koa wano loa ki te ula. Pae loa la i lunga. Onono loa, Kite loa i ana, e wenua. No loa ki lunga o te watu.

Ngawa loa te tangata mai loto o te watu. Ko Mataliki te ingoa. Onono atu i a Tamayei, e tangata ko i loto o te watu. Wulungia loa i a Tamayei. Wano atu loa i a Tamayei i tona wanonga. Koa pau tona talatala.

No loa i a Mataliki i lunga o te watu, ma te wakaope mai te kekelele, te kilikili ki lunga o te toka.

Ke no i a Mataliki ki lunga o te toka nei, wowou loa i te wenua nei e te wui atua. Wowou atu, talipili atu ki Samoa; wowou i te toe konga, talipili atu ki te atu laulau. Wowou atu oki ki tokelau, talipili atu ki Pa Lakawanga. Ko wai ta latou yanga nei i loto o te po. Onono ake i a Mataliki, kae wolo tona wenua, kae talipili mai ni wenua ki tawa o tona wenua. Lili loa i a Mataliki. Wakamalama loa i te ao. Mimia loa te wui atua. Maka loa i ta latou wowounga i te wenua.

The many gods who had gathered on the island hastened away. The gods ran off in all directions. The gods went to seek their place to hide. Some gods went to other places. Tamayei came then. He searched throughout the sea to Tokelau. He came from Tonga, he came, finally reached this sea, drifting on the surface. He circled around looking down. The rock was arising from the rock-bottom of the sea. He looked, it would take a long time. He returned again to Tonga. He waited there for a while, then came again. His body with which he had come was the body of a ghost tern. He came again to the thing he had first seen. He circled over it, looking down. The growth of the stone was becoming high. He went again to Tonga, waited there for a longer time. Then returned again. He flew here, circled around in the air above the thing he had first seen; it was whitening below the spray of the sea. He went again to Tonga. He waited there for a few days to pass. He came, his real body of a god. He appeared on top of the surface of the sea. He looked at the thing that had been turning white at the third of his comings. It was turning red. It floated on top. He looked, he waited, (and) waited e-e-e, it was red on top. He knew, it was an island. He stayed on the rock.

Then the man from inside of the stone burst through. Mataliki was his name. Tamayei looked, it was a man inside the stone. Tamayei was afraid. Tamayei went off on his journey. His story is finished.

Mataliki stayed on the stone, piling up sand, the corals on top of the rock.

While Mataliki was living on the stone, the island was being built up by the many gods. They built it up, it grew near to Samoa; they built up the other part, it neared the distant lands (*atu laulau*). They built it up also to the north, it neared the Lakawanga group. They were doing this work in the middle of the night. Mataliki watched lest his island grow large, lest some islands come close to the side of his island. Mataliki became angry. He made the day dawn. The many gods disappeared. They dropped their building-up of the island

The god Vaclua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongalelewa. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaclua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki look that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumuliwaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumuliwaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumuliwaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumuliwaka watched, Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumuliwaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumuliwaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241) that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for atoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wue and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

given in informant's statement that Wanguna, who caused much of the trouble at this time, was but a small child when Wue sailed away on his voyages, and that she gained power later when people were not sure whether Wue's son was going to return to Pukapuka to succeed his father or was going to live for the rest of his life in the land of Witi. (See p. 242 for other opinions.) Wue's son finally died in Witi (Fiji?) without succeeding to the title held by his father. Another period that is not allowed for in this count of generations is the period of Tuiva's regency between the twelfth and thirteenth chiefs. This probably lasted 20 or more years. Taking into consideration these two periods, about two generations, it would seem that Pukapukan history goes back in time about 600 years. The catastrophic seismic wave which overwhelmed the atoll occurred on this timescale about 13 generations ago. Other genealogies place the occasion for this wave at 11 or 12 generations back. Allowing again for the regency of Tuiva, it must have occurred about 350 years ago.

Pukapukan traditional history before the seismic wave (*te mate wolo*, the great death) is concerned primarily with the following: voyages away from Pukapuka by Pukapukan navigators, the arrival in Pukapuka of migrants or visitors from the Tokelau Islands, a mass migration of settlers from a land called Yayake, further invaders from a land called Tongatelewa, contact between Pukapuka and Nassau Island, and the events that led up to the seismic wave. Accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka to Tonga, Niue, the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Equatorial Islands, and Manihiki are left for separate consideration because they do not add anything to the traditional account of the development of Pukapuka. Further stories about historic characters whose activities are incidental to the main story are left for separate narration also (1).

PERIOD BEFORE THE WAVE

IMMIGRANTS

The first canoe whose arrival in Pukapuka is remembered came from the west, probably from the Tokelau Islands, a long time before the seismic wave. It was probably a drift canoe, because it contained only one man named Te Mutu, a priest. The canoe landed at the reef channel, later called Te Ava-Mutu. Te Mutu settled down at the place in Loto called Utelei and built there a sacred enclosure. Many years later he built a new canoe and sailed away again from Pukapuka, never to return. He is remembered by the reef channel name, by the name of his enclosure, and by frequent references in chants.

Two accounts of the migration to Pukapuka of many people (*tini*, "more than a thousand") from the land of Yayake were obtained. This migration

occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely that it was during the reign of Kamola or before. The translation of the textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

They were from Tonga. These were their two brothers: Manawune and Tangalao. The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wuewue. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wuewue. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawune and Tangalao. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers asked, girl on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipole and Taipeloa.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wuewue. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (*yau*): Poike, Niutao, Tane, Tapungaye. First to the *yau* of Poike; they fought with Poike, struck Poike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the *yau* of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his *yau* completely. They went to the *yau* of Tane, fought with Tane, struck Tane dead, ravaged his *yau*. They went to the *yau* of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his *yau* completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipole and Taipeloa heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipole and Taipeloa spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga." We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipole and Taipeloa came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumaloo. Taipeloa and Tokaipole talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawea is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumaloo. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-na-to-i-Te-Aumaloo (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumaloo), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the many Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likoliko*) and decayed coconut (*yami*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kumawawine was her name. She went to Matautu, covered her head with a basket. She swam across the water to Matawea. She spoke to Tokaipole and Taipeloa. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

¹⁰ It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Taupeloa who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupeloa looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kumawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No." They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a nasty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawuke. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Taa. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-of-Palaoa. Palaoa said to Taupeloa and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupeloa said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupeloa shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Watu-manava-nui (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wulumanu-a-te-tokaiua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at each end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, aumai aku mea ke yamuyamu ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his stone couch or bench (*toke-welangi*) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i'Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-nui was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*taulua*) with a crew of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaiwaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongalevea, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

At the time of the seventh chief, Kuluca, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyauola; the second, Tuyimate. Whenever Tuyimate looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyauola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyauola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the sea. The shell drifted over the ocean and came to rest on the beach in front of Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyauola. The

woman waited and then discovered that she had conceived a child to which she later gave birth. The name of the woman was Yinalakimokimo. The child was a male child, but its mother gave it no name because this was the duty of its father.

The woman had two brothers whose names were Te Maunga-yui and Te Malo-kanctoa. These two knew that Tuyiyauala desired their sister's child to succeed him as chief of Yayake, so they set out in a canoe to carry the child to Yayake. In this land Tuyiyauala had several wives and families (*huna*). These families lived in a wooden house several stories high, with platforms superimposed one above the other. On the lowest platform lived the fifth wife of the chief; on the next platform lived his fourth wife, and so on to the topmost platform where lived the principal wife of the chief. When the Yayake people and the wives of the chief saw the two Pukapukan men arrive with another child of the chief, they were angry. "Who is this child?" they asked. "Why bring it to the chief? This child can not be an heir to him. Throw the child into the sea."

Tuyiyauala became frightened at this talk and agreed to throw the child into the sea. But when the child was dropped into the ocean and left to drown, the tame whales of the chief picked up the child and, tossing it from one to the other, threw it back onto the beach. This was hailed as a proof that the child was meant to be the heir to the chief, so it was taken in and housed by the fifth family on the lowest platform of the house. The chief soon called for the child to be brought to him on the topmost story. The eldest child of the chief by his principal wife protested, saying, "This new child must not come before me in succession to the chiefly title." But his father would not listen and ordered the child to be brought before him. As the child was coming along the edge of the topmost platform, the eldest son made magic, and the child from Pukapuka fell to earth and died with a broken neck.

When the chief found this child was dead, he desired to send a gift of sympathy to the mother in Pukapuka. He therefore looked for someone trustworthy to bear a gift of a tooth from one of his pet whales to Pukapuka. He could find no one in Yayake. He sent for the Tongalelewa people, and when they came to Yayake he asked them to bear the gift to Pukapuka. They agreed and returned to Tongalelewa to find a canoe crew.

Luaivaipapa, the captain, tested his crew by striking each man on the back of the head with the fist. If the man's head did not bend forward, he was considered strong enough to become a member of the crew, but if his head moved forward under the blow, he was discarded in favor of a stronger man. Luaivaipapa chose his crew thus and sailed again to Yayake. The chief gave him the tooth, saying, "Be very careful of this gift. If you lose it, you will get into serious trouble. Go to Pukapuka and give it to the woman Yinalakimokimo."

The canoe set off but soon ran into heavy weather. Luaivaipapa thought the tooth must be causing trouble, so he dropped it overboard. After this the weather got better and the canoe sailed well. Recalling the chief's threat of trouble if anything happened to the tooth, he decided to go on to Pukapuka, kill all the people there, and settle down himself on the island away from the anger of the chief. He made a landfall in the middle of the night. It was a dark and stormy night with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. This bad weather was caused by the Pukapukan gods so that the strangers might not clearly see the island or the people on it. The canoe therefore came up to the reef and dropped anchor to ride out the gale and await daylight.

In the height of the stormy weather Luaivaipapa decided to go ashore with two of his men to spy out the land. The three landed on the beach at the back of Yato and walked through the bush until they came to the fish pond of Yato. They tasted the water here, found it fresh, and so called out to each other, "Teia la, Iolei te yua o tai o Te Tu" (The water of the sea of Te Tu is good). They walked along the beach of the lagoon. The chief Kuluca saw the strangers go past his house. He was frightened to see men higher than coconut trees. He called on his gods and then went to arouse his men. First he went to the houses of Matanga lineage, then to the houses of

Muiwutu, then to the houses of Yangelipule. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluca said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meanwhile the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluca dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluca with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluca *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelewa canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluca knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluca killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (*yau*), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauala the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonganga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauala remained on the part of the land called Rarotonganga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelewas used in praying to their gods when their canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *yau* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *Yau* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauala. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

The captain of the canoe was Te Amu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualau, Tapotoa, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kaui wawoiti*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a semit string. The perfume, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wake and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualau and another place called Pupuya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

CONTACT WITH NASSAU

In the time of Kuluca and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles south-east. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god *Mataiki*. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wake, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. *Tima* was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. *Tima* came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also. *Tima* went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wake and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaogao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred setting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many?). It was Kuialalao, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialalao and his father, Tautuna:

Kuialalao, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toutuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialalao privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialalao objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialalao took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe overturned. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialalao did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of super-human powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, to Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitonganuku noticed them. Talitonganuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. The Talitonganuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitonganuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialalao was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialoa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tonga ma latou waka-matanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the population group (*aiti* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaclua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakaa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

REHABILITATION

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e tui waakamoemo*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

THE LAW OF PULE PAE

Tuliyanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliyanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliyanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te halo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

CIVIL WAR

Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village. From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

THE FIGHT IN WALETOA

There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group. When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were fainting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

¹⁷ The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of semmit from which hung strips of *aeolo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house, or when the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the many men.

Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystallized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

FURTHER BLOODSHED

The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal character, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *teanganaga*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernatural sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Waie, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tava to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vana. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group: all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Waie along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Waie and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pūlata* tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tuā; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried men and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineage before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

FIRST WHITE CONTACT

It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship (*pāyī*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakawa* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yīyīyī* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngawa/iwāi* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

THE REGENCY

Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watu-moana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watu-moana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture:

Tuiva was a child of Taonge, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuiva was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*. The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

They invented their strange trick. They came, talking as they walked. They arrived at Te Watapepe. One of the children among them suggested, "You make a fake, O Wakitula (the oldest); you are the one Tuiva favors. Pretend to have broken your arms and your legs; when we reach the place where Tuiva is, you cry out, pretend to be in great pain." Finished the discussion, they wrapped the arms and legs and body of Wakitula in the "bark" of the *vavai* creeper, so that it would seem that these were parts hit by Takitini with his weapon, so that Tuiva would go to kill Takitini. Finished wrapping up Wakitula, they carried him. When they drew near to the place where Tuiva was staying, Wakitula cried, raising his voice high, "Awei, my arm is broken, and my side is pierced, and my leg broken. How it hurts! You carry me carefully, don't shake."

When Tuiva heard, he recognized that this was the voice of Wakitula. He looked out with both his eyes, the hand was hanging, the arms and legs were wrapped up. Tuiva became stiff with shock. He got up, seized his weapon and his spear. He did not question the children. Tuiva thought Takitini had struck him, from the reports of the children on the other days. The children only said to Tuiva, who was running with the weapon, "Your reason for sending us was not this." Tuiva ran on. Takitini was staying in the space between Utupoa and the Motu of Te Tali. Takitini looked at Tuiva, who was running with the spear. Takitini did not know the reason Tuiva ran there. But indeed it was because of the deceitful trick of the children, which they had played on Tuiva. Takitini watched the spear of Tuiva shooting towards him from above him. Takitini warded off the blow with his stick. The hurling of Tuiva was mistaken. Takitini was a skillful person. Takitini ran away.

Tuiva chased him through the *ngayw* bushes of the place Te Kalele. Takitini climbed on top of the *ngayw*, came down in another place. He was speared by Tuiva from behind with his spear, tight in the side of the back. Takitini seized the spear, pulled it out, threw it at Tuiva. Takitini ran to Watumoana, who stayed in Te Newa. He crawled up to the front of his body. Tuiva ran there, flourished his weapon, he was going to hurl it from above. Watumoana objected, "What's the matter? You do this for no reason? That's enough. You have come to me here. You are not showing me proper respect." Tuiva did not listen to Watumoana, "You get out of the way, just push aside, this man did not show respect for me and my children." Tuiva speared Takitini, hard. Takitini died. If only Takitini had turned to explain to Tuiva. I don't know, it is not known which was the man of the two of them who would get the worst of it, Takitini was a strong and skillful person. From his having killed Te Ki and Kaleva in Uta, his mind had been made dull. Then too Tuiva did not listen to the words of Watumoana. He had known that Takitini was strong, therefore Tuiva had taken revenge; he did not show respect.

Finished, Tuiva went back to his house, to his children; they were certainly all right; it was indeed only lies of theirs. Hence the saying, "The death-bringing lies of the children."

Finished the death of Takitini, Watumoana went to the crowd of Yato, they were going to kill Tuiva. Watumoana was a man of Matanga of the sub-lineage Angialulu. These are the names of the Yato group: Uikele, Vakaua, Vakauti, Puyaka, Te Kele, and Watumoana, a Ngake man. They talked in the evening. This was their talk, they were going to kill all the men of the island, so that they were finished; the women of Puka-puka would be for themselves. This was the further decision of theirs, they were going to make Tuiva the first, he was the strong man of the time. They were going to make the rest of the men last. Finished the discussion in the evening, they went to prepare, their girl on their malos, sharpened their weapons with *pala* jawbone knives, and did their other things.

Uikele went away to his and Matautu's house. Matautu was the wife of Uikele. He climbed up on the platform, prepared his things. Matautu was sleeping below. His knife fell on the breast of Matautu. Matautu asked, "What are you doing there?"

^a The name of the sacred enclosure of the god Tuilikalo.

Aren't these nights for the people to sleep?" Uikele did not answer. Matautu was figuring it out in her mind, "What is the thing of this group?" Finished the doing of Uikele, he jumped down, went to the place where they were gathering. When Uikele moved outside, Matautu also went to the side of their house. This was what Matautu figured out, "Isn't this group going to kill the group of all the men?" Tuiva was a cousin-in-avoidance of hers. Besides, Katinga, the wife of Tuiva, was a blood-sister of hers.

Matautu went to Matala, where Tuiva lived at that time. She did not get right up to the house, she stood just at the side. She threw stones to the side of the house. Tuiva and Katinga were sleeping in the deep midnight sleep of the people. Tuiva was a person who slept wakefully, the sleep of the strong. Tuiva heard the stones rattling. He awakened Katinga, "Just you get up to see what are the things rattling there." Katinga stood up to look, "Nothing." Katinga came back inside their house. Katinga said it was nothing, "It's nothing probably." They listened again, rocks were being thrown. Tuiva said again, "There they are rattling again. You get up." Katinga got up again to look. Katinga again said to Tuiva it was nothing, "Why, there's nothing." Tuiva said, "Just walk out to the front."

As to the doing of Matautu, she was sheltering in the back in case Tuiva got up, because they were cousins-in-avoidance. Matautu looked, it was Katinga. She showed herself to her. Matautu said to Katinga, "Tell the group of all the men there, he is going to be killed by the group of Yato."

Katinga came, told Tuiva, "Why, you are going to be killed by the group of Yato." Tuiva listened, he did not delay. He got up, tore the net matting. He girt on his malo. He ran to his brother, Kililka. He went to Kililka, who was making pretty his voice (singing), he was lying chanting with his mates in the young men's house (*wale lopa*). Tuiva objected, "While you make happy the voice, your death is being planned. Why, we are going to be killed by the crowd of Yato."

Kililka listened to the speech of Tuiva. Kililka arose, told his companions to come carry their fighting sticks. His companions arose, girt on their malos. Tuiva said to one pair of them that they come with him to trap fish at night, so that they would have some food to go with their talo pudding made by Katinga in the night. They went to the small channels; they got one net full with the net of *taiva* and *vete* and some other fish. They came, brought them to Katinga, who baked them in the night.

They prepared their weapons. Their food cooked, they ate their food. The night was cut into two (half gone). It would soon be dawn. The group went to search for the Yato group.

The six of Yato: the preparing of their weapons was over. They went to tie the several stone representations of the gods with coconut leaves, so that their going-out would be lucky. They went to Te Mangamanga and Talitonganuku, and Tava, and Mataliki and the other gods. They also went to collect the weapons in the several weapon houses of the various lineages and the weapons in other places.

The preparation of their things over, they went to kill Tuiva first. They came along to the talo garden of Valua. They came on to the Motu-o-Kaikole. A man was sleeping there, Tuanunui was his name. They struck him dead. They came to the reserve at Matala, to Tuiva. The man they had killed came to life again, he was brought back to life by the gods. It was not right for him to die, he was a man of their side.

They came to the house of Tuiva. They broke into the house. They had finished arranging this plan in advance. When they reached the house of Tuiva, they climbed on top, speared, struck with the weapons from on top. They thought Tuiva was inside. Why, no indeed, he was gone. They looked for him. They said, "He will pay for this, without a doubt. Where has he gone? Come, let's search." They went, searched in Ngake for Kililka and his companions. They looked there, they were gone. They said, "They have gone too. Who told?"

They went to search for Tuiva and Kililka. They searched at the point of Ngake, searched on, they were missing. Then too Tuiva and Kililka were searching for them

in Yato. They went to look at the several god houses. They went there. They finished tying up their coconut leaf. They tore down the coconut leaf of the eight. They had also not yet seen them. They encircled the bush in the search. Dawn was quickening. Meanwhile the group of Yato had also thoroughly searched through Wale. They didn't meet the group during the night. Tuiva and Kiliika reached the point in Ngake. The Yato group also arrived at Walepia. Still they hadn't been seen. Dawn was quickening. The skin of a man could be seen. They returned in their encircling search. Tuiva and Kiliika returned to the shore of Paepae. The Yato group also came to the shore of Kailia. The crowd saw each other. Tuiva and Kiliika saw from Paepae. They were seen by the Yato crowd from Kailia.

The crowds ran toward each other. Tuiva and Kiliika ran to Wumalolo. Tuiva stamped, both feet were firm in the ground, the coral reached to the ankles. Kiliika also stamped, firm. But he didn't stand well (his feet were not planted deep in the sand). The Yato crowd was approaching. They were aiming the spear and their *koko* (throwing weapons). Kiliika said to Tuiva, "O Tuiva, my standing is not right. I shall be badly hurt. Is it bad if we two run to Te Wunui? Besides, we are fast-footed." Tuiva felt sorry for his brother, lest he be hurt dead. The two of the pair ran along Waula. One of their weapon carriers fell down. Yakilia was his name. He was speared from on top by the six of Yato. One of their own men, Uikele, warned off the blow with his stick. This was why he was saved by Uikele: Yakilia was a *tuanga tau* of his (a person whose village membership Uikele sponsored). Tuiva and Kiliika arrived at Te Wunui. Kiliika stamped, firm. Tuiva also stamped, it was not right. The talo bed was soft.

Tuiva had earlier informed Kiliika that when he saw Puyaka he was not to hit him, for he was a man who understood the ancient stories and the various fishing signs, and the island genealogies and other things. That was the reason the Yato group was not finished off. This was the other: if the two of them had stayed planted in the place first stamped down by Tuiva, I guess it would have been only the wink of an eye for the (Yato) crowd to be completely finished. Because they took the fight to Wunui, therefore others lived.

The group of Yato arrived there. They hurled at each other with weapons. Tuiva threw first at Watumoana, who was their strength; he died. Puyaka, Vakaua, Te Kele were Kiliika's. Watumoana, Uikele, Vakauli were Tuiva's. They threw at each other with weapons. When Tuiva looked at the weapon of Kiliika, he noticed that it was turned on its side. Tuiva said to Kiliika, "Why, I guess your weapon is tilting sideways, turn it straight." The weapon of Kiliika was straightened. Tuiva ran for Vakauli, he died. The dead were two in number.

Tuiva had not seen the flying-up of the spear of Uikele. He guarded himself, he was speared in the groins. He struck his club straight at the end of the spear to deflect it, but unsuccessfully. The point was broken off inside the groin of Tuiva. Tuiva was in great pain. It made him fall, he lay with his stomach on top of Vakauli, of his man who was dead. He bit on him. He only knew that he was going to die. There was Vakaua, he was standing turned toward Tuiva. He was going to hit with his club. The thing was that Tuiva was shielded by the women who crowded on top of Tuiva. Therefore the bad thrusts of Vakaua. Kiliika, on the other hand, had washed his forehead, which had been injured, in the pool at Taumalanga, bandaged it with *avelo* bark. The voice of Tuiva shouted out to Kiliika, "Kiliika, oh, I am indeed dying." Kiliika jumped over, Vakaua was fainting over Tuiva. Kiliika pierced him in the heel; he fell down on the base of his skull. Vakaua died. The dead were three in number.

Meanwhile Uikele had stayed off to the side. The other three ran up: Uikele, Te Kele, and Puyaka. They went to bury themselves alive. They buried their elders who had died first. Meanwhile Tuiva and Kiliika were taken by the women and their weapon bearers to take care of their injured parts so that they would be all right. They were all right. They went to look for the group who lived. When they went there, they were already finished burying themselves.

Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kiliika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; he also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. He it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitimi had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

FURTHER WHITE CONTACT

No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikiua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans *Te Vaka-o-lalangi*.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *vilivili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muijiwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalawalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle fantastically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiote* (rat) or *tihiā* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muiiwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muiiwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamao (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether physical or supernatural, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and anti-social interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernatural or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

real, but, after all allowance is made, the fact remains that the Pukapukans were daring voyagers, of which the following material is sufficient evidence.

The first voyage of which record still remains is that of Tu (captain) and Longo, who went with a crew in a single outrigger canoe:

These men sailed to the east to look for fresh lands and to increase the prestige of Ngake village. They took with them as stores, fish, cooked foods, talo and nuts, perhaps also fire. Fresh stores they procured from the islands visited. The first land they came to was Walalanga. They placed an offering to their god on this island, setting up a stone around which they tied a coconut leaf. After a short stay, they went on to Wakalava, a very large, long, mountainous land. Their star course to these two lands from Pukapuka was probably the Pleiades. They sailed farther east and came to Tongaleleva, then to Lua Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains, joined together at their tops, made a tunnel through which the canoe sailed. Their next landfall was Te Tawa-o-te-langi (Side-of-the-sky), where everything was beautiful, rocks, flowers, and trees particularly so. Here they sought to gather the beautiful things they saw about them and bring them back to Pukapuka to show the people. They filled up the canoe with all manner of things and put to sea, but before going far, the flowers had all wilted. They put back to land to gather more, but the flowers wilted again. A third time they gathered flowers, but again they turned to ugliness, so they sailed on without going back, visiting lands in every possible direction.

On their return to Pukapuka, they divided among the people of Ngake all the basalt rocks they had acquired. These were used for adzes. A few plants found in their canoe were planted but they were too dead to take root. Tu and Longo also taught the people their knowledge of strange lands, the star courses to reach them, the names of the winds that blow on the Ngake side. By some the two stars, α and β Centauri, are thought to refer to these two men under their names of Na Mata-o-te-tokalia (Stars-of-the-pair).

The second voyage of early navigators was that of Tonu (captain) and Taea with a crew of Loto men. It is likely that this voyage represented a rival expedition, seeking to emulate or excel the voyage of the Ngake men.

The voyage of Tonu and Taea was made in the season of easterly winds, from April to October. The voyagers visited the island called Te Motu-tuwua (identified by some as Fanning Island) and Te Papakaleva (perhaps one of the Equatorial Islands), both islands frequently mentioned in the legends as having excellent fishing grounds near by. Another island visited was Pa-lakawanga, termed Pule-tutu in a second account because the people of this island burned on funeral pyres the bodies of their dead. At the place called *tokolangi*, which is the same plant as that unsuccessfully gathered by the expedition of Tu and Longo. The voyagers came finally to Yayake where the attractiveness of the copulating places tempted them to settle for a time. Afraid, however, of the displeasure of their god, Mataliki, they hurried back to Pukapuka and told the story of their adventures.

Two voyages which informants thought were next in order nicely mix the improbable with a characteristic Pukapukan view of human nature:

Welei was a man rejected by women. His god took pity on him and made for Welei a coconut-leaflet canoe which quickly transported him to a land called Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vaginas) or Nuku-namutole (Island-smelling-of-vaginas), inhabited only by women. The women paid so much attention to Welei that he soon died, exhausted by their persistent attentions. Hence the saying in Pukapuka when a man

has difficulty in obtaining a woman's favor: "Wano koe ki Nuku-namutole" (Go you to Nuku-namutole). Children at play sometimes fashion little make-believe canoes of coconut leaflets which they call *vaka o Welei* (canoes of Welei). The legend of a far-away island inhabited only by women recalls a similar legend reported from both Sikiana and San Cristoval.

The voyage of Yawau indicates the intense power of the weapon of ridicule in a small community and the manner in which its unsparring use can drive a man to the most desperate straits. Yawau was a priest of Yamaunga lineage. As the result of a fishing contest, the lineage was able to present Yawau with a large portion of *Rivulius* fish. Yawau ate heartily of this fish, but later when chanting to his god in the god house, the people noticed that he had defecated on the priest's seat. Yawau became ashamed of his mishap, especially as the children were wont to tease him about it. He fitted out a canoe and sailed away, seeking for a land where the people had not heard of his shame. But the people of Tokelau, of Samoa, of Fiji, and of many other islands welcomed him with ridicule and it was only after reaching the land called Kapiti-te-wue that Yawau was able to find a haven where he could settle down and live forever.

The journey of Wue, eighth chief of Pukapuka, made to the islands to the east and west of Pukapuka resulted in the introduction of many games with which the Pukapukans were not previously familiar. The account is a long one, telling of the adventures of Wue, his two sons, and his crew of Loto men at each of the islands visited.

By asserting that anything new he saw was a child's trick of no consequence in Pukapuka, Wue was able to steal swings from the people of Lakawanga, jackstone shells, the idea of coconut juggling, and kicking games from other islands, *tupe* discs from Wakalava. At only one island was Wue unsuccessful. At Motulau, the people played with a red feather which, when placed in the mouth turned the whole body a deep red color; when the feather was removed, the body turned brown again. In spite of all Wue's assumed indifference, people of Motulau valued the red feather too highly to allow him to take it and Wue could bring back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather. The remarks of Wue, the counter-remarks of the people of the islands he visited (all repeated the customary three times) and the tricks whereby Wue secured the things that interested him, are all considered highly amusing. The saying *Te Ngutu o Wue* (the mouth of Wue) is today applied to any one who exaggerates greatly or who obtains something from another by lies, beggary, simulation, or trickery.

The next voyages were those of Te Nana and Yi to Tonga, Niue, and Yayeke. Informants thought they occurred in the reign of the chief Maina. But as this was after the seismic wave had more than decimated the population, it seems unlikely that there would have been enough energy left for long voyages of adventure and exploration. It is probable that these voyages belong to the era of Wue, being made perhaps after this explorer had returned to Pukapuka from one of his trips with his accounts of lands to the east and to the west.

Te Nana and Yi had each an outrigger canoe. Beyond the names mentioned in the narrative, other members of the crews are not remembered today. After leaving Pukapuka, the first landfall of the canoes was Te Motu-tuwua and Te Papakaleva. They fished in the lagoon in the middle of Te Motu-tuwua as all the other voyagers had done. They ate fish until they were satiated, which was soon, because they had no complement of talo. Then Te Vae-matua, one of Te Nana's crew, thought of the plan

of going to the land of Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapu, a small islet close to the shores of Yayeke, an islet famous for its talo, where all the food complement desired could be easily procured. Yi did not want to go to Yayeke, so Te Nana said he would go alone. Yi replied: "Agreed. You go to the windward islands, I will go to the leeward islands." So both canoes took in anchors, and one went one way, the other another way.

The story of Te Nana follows. Te Nana arrived at Te Nuku-o-te-wakatapu. He beached his canoe at a place called Avalau. There was plenty of talo in the talo beds, and the crew settled down to feed on the abundance. Te Nana had a passion for talo cooked as *likoliko*; this was prepared every day, 40 to 50 shells full for each man at each meal. As each man finished his shellful, he threw it behind his back, and soon there was a high mountain of shells growing up on the beach. The crew kept on eating talo while planting to renew the beds. They began at one end, and worked to the other end, and kept on until they had worked through all the talo beds on the islet five times.

About this time the people of Yayeke suddenly realized that there were signs of life on the islet which was to them tapu. They looked across the sea and saw flocks of birds rising from the islet day after day. They began to query each other as to the reason for this, and at last decided to go and see what was disturbing the birds.

Te Palo, a Yayeke warrior, volunteered to make a reconnaissance. He sailed his canoe to the islet, and coming near the beach, saw a group of people watching him. One man, Te Nana, he saw standing by a *taeyiniu* tree. He was burnt black by exposure to sun, and was tremendous in size through his feeding on *likoliko*. Te Palo took him to be a strange monster of a man, and hurriedly sailed back to Yayeke to report.

The people of Yayeke decided to sail a great fleet of canoes to the islet to kill off the giant strangers. In the vanguard went the canoes of Te Palo, followed closely by the canoes of Yukui, another noted Yayeke warrior. Behind sailed the general fleet of Yayeke canoes; so many were there that they looked like a huge net flung on the ocean. The plan was for the two warriors to land first, and then while they engaged the strangers, the other canoes were to land their men.

Te Nana watched the canoes coming, and to test them out he decided to throw the challenging coconut midrib (*yilyiyili*). He said to Te Vae-matua: "Stand in front, Te Vae-matua. Tie up your hair, gird on your malo. When the canoes are close, hurl at them this *kalewa* bird (midrib), and then we shall see whether the canoes are friendly or not." Te Vae-matua did as he was bid. Twice he hurled the *kalewa*, and twice it was taken and thrown back at him (a sign of hostility). A third time Te Nana ordered him to throw, but Te Vae-matua was frightened of the strange host, and suggested that another might care to have the honor of throwing the *kalewa*. But Te Nana said: "No, you are our mouth, go and throw again." Weeping, Te Vae-matua went forward and hurled the *kalewa* a third time. The two Yayeke warriors were now so close to the beach that they jumped ashore and stabbed Te Vae-matua before he could retreat. They cut his legs, arms, and head from his trunk. Te Palo impaled the trunk on a spear, and advanced with it to meet Te Nana.

At the sight of his friend thus killed, Te Nana felt a great fierceness well up through his stomach. As the three came closer, Te Palo called to Yukui: "Don't look behind, don't watch me, watch only the place you plan to strike. It will be above (the head), while my place will be below (the stomach)". Te Nana had ready another *kalewa* which he formally threw at the two warriors. It was returned to him. Then the three men engaged. Yukui ran forward recklessly, with his guard lowered. Te Palo was more careful, realizing from the way Te Nana handled his weapons that he was a skilled warrior. Te Nana watched his chance, and soon cut Yukui to pieces, in the same way that Te Vae-matua had been killed. He impaled the body of Yukui on his spear, and then charged at Te Palo. Coming closer, with a mighty throw, he threw the body at Te Palo.

Te Palo, amazed at the strength displayed, rushed for his canoe, which was awaiting him on the reef. He set sail and hauled off to where the gathered Yayeke canoes were awaiting the outcome of the champions' fight. Despite the orders of Te Palo, some of

his crew had followed him ashore, and these were easily killed by Te Nana and his men. Te Palo waited in his canoe for the outcome of this shore battle, between Te Nana and his own crew. As the battle swayed to the leeward, Te Palo shouted in admiration of the skill of Te Nana: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai lalo" (Glittering, brilliant, the school of *eyeu* fish of the war party from the west). And as the battle swayed back to the windward part of the beach he called out: "Kanapa, kanapa, te ayeu lulu o te tawa mai ngake" (. . . from the east). Then, realizing that his own men were getting badly beaten, he called to them to stop fighting. They made their way to a canoe, and Te Nana, finding he had won the fight, ceased fighting also. The people of Yayake sailed back to the main island. Te Nana saw however that they would come a second time and that a second time he might not be able to beat them, so he got ready his canoe and soon sailed off for Niue.

Leaving Te Nana, the story of Yi follows. When Yi sailed to the leeward, he finally made a landfall at Tonga-nui or Tonga-wolo. The Tongan people decided to test out the powers of the strangers and to this end arranged a contest to shift a pile of coconut husks from one place to another. Yi chose one of his crew, but his men refused to have any other champion than Yi himself, saying he was a man of power (*mana-mana*) and hence the one best fitted to represent them. Yi agreed. The Tongans chose their champion, a man named Yuliyuli. Both men stood before their piles of husks, and the contest started. Yuliyuli started fast at first, while Yi went slowly. All the people watched the contest while the men ran back and forth. Soon Yuliyuli got short-winded; Yi increased his speed and won the contest. The Tongan people killed and ate the loser, as was their custom.

A new trial was decided on to catch the strangers. This was a food-eating contest, in which the contestants were to be old, grey-headed men only. Yi picked out his warrior, Mayau, the oldest man in his crew. The Tongans chose their champion, and both men sat down before a huge pile of food, pigs and nuts. Mayau thought to outwit the Tongans. When he picked up a piece of food, he made a feint at eating, and then threw the food to some of his men behind him. This was noticed by the Tongans who became angry at the subterfuge, and stopped the contest, saying that Mayau was disgracing their way of playing the contest by giving the tapu food of the old men to commoners to eat.

Then they gave out the word that the strangers had given sufficient offence right-fully to be put to death. All were ordered to collect firewood and cooking stones, that the strangers might be killed, cooked, and eaten on the morrow. Yi and his men heard of the plan. They slept until early daylight. Then Yi roused and armed his men. He got some to prepare his canoe. The old man Mayau he sent to the Tongans. Armed with a huge club, he told the Tongans: "This club will be used to strike down you Tongans, if you stop our going. Yi is a powerful warrior, and I warn you this club will strike you like the head of an eel. Listen not with one ear, but with two ears." The people of Tonga were frightened by this bold threat, and while they were undecided what to do, Yi got his canoe launched, and all his men aboard.

He set sail for Niue, where he met Te Nana coming from Yayake. The two went ashore together, and settled down for a while before going to sea again.

After a long stay in Niue, they decided it was time to begin the voyage back to Pukapuka. They and their crews had been living an idle life on Niue, and when they went to look at their canoes, they found that both were imprisoned by the growth of young coconuts which people of Niue, either by design or through chance, had planted around the canoes. The two men began to tear up the coconut trees, in order to clear the canoes.

Now there was a young woman of Niue named Tuiyamingalao, who had become infatuated with Te Nana. Seeing that he was getting his canoe ready for a voyage, she said to Te Nana: "Take me with you back to Pukapuka and make me your wife." Te Nana would not agree. Yi had his canoe in the water, and Te Nana was ready to move his canoe to the sea. Then the girl returned, bringing with her a basket of prepared

lalo (*iholiko*), of which she knew Te Nana was excessively fond. She gave the food to Te Nana, pleading, "My sweetheart, take me with you to Pukapuka." But Te Nana replied in horror, "What, you wish me to take you, a woman, in my canoe, and disgrace (*iehu*) it before the eyes of my gods? If I did this, I would never arrive in Pukapuka; the gods would punish me for my horrible sin." [See p. 309.]

The girl was not to be turned aside, however, and to prevent Te Nana from leaving Niue, since he would not take her with him, she roused up the people of Niue, crying that the Pukapakans were stealing away, taking with them many things stolen from the people of Niue, and that Te Nana was also trying to steal her away from her people. It was now nearly dark. The people of Niue came rushing to the beach, bringing with them weapons and torches of dry coconut leaves. They rushed at Te Nana and at his canoe, which was still on the beach. Te Nana picked up a coconut club, and beat off all the people attacking him. He rushed at them, drove them back, then tried to pull his canoe nearer the water. The Niue men rushed forward again. Some applied torches to the canoe, which, being very dry, blazed up. Te Nana saw his beloved canoe on fire, and in a frenzy of desperation, he threw down his club and tore at the people with his hands and his teeth. Then finding all was useless, he crept into his burning canoe.

The Niue people stood off, and Te Nana was burned to death with his canoe. Yi had all this time been standing off the beach in his own canoe. Those of Te Nana's crew not killed swam to it and were taken aboard. Yi saw the great crowd of Niue people and fearing that if he went to help all would be killed, he decided to save himself and his own canoe. He had, however, left on shore a valuable anchor line, which he wished to get. Thinking it would be madness to beach the canoe, he waited until the Niue men were all engaged with Te Nana, then he slipped into the sea and swam ashore with his club. He stole to where his anchor rope was lying. Some Niue men rushed at him, but he killed them with his club. He picked up the rope, wound it on his arm and started back for the beach, killing all who tried to stop him. He got to the beach safely and swam out to his canoe, which hoisted sail and returned to Pukapuka.

He told the people the story of his own voyage and of the voyage of Te Nana as related to him by Te Nana, and the fate of Te Nana and his canoe.

Yi lived on in Pukapuka to become a member of the older men's age group (*muti-taka*). When the people of Yato went to Motu Kotawa to catch booby birds, Yi went with them. Being still an active man, he elected to climb a tall *puka* tree. While he was waiting in the tree for the birds, a sudden squall blew up. The rain poured down, making the bark of the trees so slippery that none could climb down safely. The other men saw the squall coming and managed to get down safely. But Yi lost his head, for the spirit of Te Nana had entered into him. He did not climb down quickly, but called out to those on the ground: "I am going to fall. Gather together coconut leaves, pile them under the tree, that I may fall on something soft." The men complied, and cried to Yi to jump. But he was crazed by the spirit of Te Nana, and could not. Again the people cried to him, but he could not jump. A third time they called to him, but there was no reply. They saw him jump clear, but no body fell to earth. And so the people of Pukapuka believe that the spirit of Te Nana consumed Yi's body and soul in order to punish him for having deserted Te Nana when Te Nana was fighting against great odds in Niue. Had he rushed to the help of Te Nana on that occasion, all might have been well, and both might have returned safely to Pukapuka.

The Pukapakans remember a cycle of five stories about Te Palo, the Yayake warrior with whom Te Nana fought, of which one recounts his adventures with Te Nana in Yayake; three, his adventures killing man-eating demons (*kai tangata*), and one, his adventures in coming to Pukapuka.

The last account relates that Te Palo came to Nassau and from Nassau to Pukapuka on a voyage of woman-seeking (*e tele timotimo*). He was greatly impressed with the

amount of talo grown in the reserve of Uta, hence the saying that is remembered to this day: "Te konga nei, koa kaina te tuli ngauta i Yayake" (This place reminds me that the talo beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by *tuli* birds). After a long visit in Pukapuka and several trips back and forth between Wale and Naitau, Te Palo sewed his sail for the return journey to Yayake with the arm bone of Malele, a demon that he had previously killed in Yayake. The goddess Tana was so annoyed at this use of human bone which was tapu on Pukapuka that she infected Te Palo's arm with a tumor to remind him of this fact on his way home. This visit of Te Palo is chiefly remembered for his adventures with Pukapukan women, the speed of his sailing canoe, and the tapu against the use of human bone.

As a general rule voyages made by members of Matanga lineage with their sacred maid in the canoe were safe. (See p. 239.) An exception to this rule is stated by informants to have taken place during the time of the chief Maina. But it must have been later, because it is further stated that about 7 to 10 canoes, containing in all about 100 persons from Matanga, composed the expedition, and there could not have been so many people in Matanga so soon after the devastating seismic wave. The captain of the expedition is not known, but it is remembered that the sacred maid of Matanga, Nokaulava, accompanied the fleet of canoes to give power (*aukumanga*) to the sailing.

The fleet sailed from Pukapuka to the southwest and came up to a land called Tonga. Owing to the exhaustion of the crews it was necessary to land. The crews were beached, but the people of Tonga rushed down upon the exhausted men and killed them all. Nokaulava had been hidden in the hole in the bow cover (*puayo*) of the chief canoe when trouble threatened. She was found after the fight by the chief of Tonga, a man called Tautonga. He was struck by her beauty, and in order to save her life he hastily thrust her back into her hiding place and announced casually to the people that all the strangers had been well killed. He remained close to the canoe, guarding the girl until nightfall, when he secretly took her from her hiding place, and, carrying her over his shoulder, ran swiftly inland to the top of a mountain peak. Here he found a cave shelter for her and food in the near-by valley. He became enamoured with her beauty, and stayed with her for many moons, the people knowing nothing of her hiding place. The girl reciprocated his love, and soon was pregnant. Later she bore him a son named Moko, who rapidly grew up to be a sturdy lad.

She taught the boy the language and stories of Pukapuka, and all the wisdom of her atoll home that she could recall. Now and then she would ask the boy: "Taku tangi e, ka ni o mea la langa ake te imu o taua kainga?" (My child, have you yet the strength to prepare the oven—revenge—for our lineage?). The boy would not reply, but he kept the words close to his stomach. His mother saw this and was satisfied.

As the boy grew up, he trained himself in his solitariness with all kinds of trash of strength, lifting heavy rocks and tree trunks. His father saw this and was pleased. His mother was happy too, because she knew full well that his strength boded ill for her enemies. The boy climbed the highest mountain ridges and again his parents were surprised at the endurance and hardness of his body.

One day his mother took the boy aside, and told him the tragic fate of his people at the hands of the Tongans who lived by the shore. The boy wished to go to the coast to see these people. His mother allowed him to slip away from the mountain at night and he went to the shore, leaping from house ridge to house ridge, so that none would see him walking. Another time he went to the shore by daylight, stole a canoe and a pig, and paddled out onto the lagoon close to the villages. Then holding aloft the pig, he called out, "Look, you people of Tonga, can you do this?", and with his naked hands

are apart the pig. The people of Tonga were surprised at the young man, and asked, "Whence comes this young man?" Before they could launch a canoe to investigate, he slipped ashore and hid again in the mountains.

Some days later, the young man decided that the time had come for him to remember his mother's remarks and avenge his people. He gathered together many large rocks and boulders on the top of his mountain. Then he went down to the shore villages. He met a man close to one of the villages, wrestled with him, and tore him apart. He went into the villages and fought everyone he saw, tearing each apart with his hands. He did this until the breath came short in his body, and a formidable crowd of Tongans had gathered to fight him. He rushed inland, pursued by the Tongan warriors. He reached the top of his mountain far ahead of his enemies, and as they toiled up the slopes after him, he rolled down on them the boulders already prepared. His mother, excited at the slaughter of her enemies, urged him on to greater slaughter, but his father, appalled at the killing of his people, cried: "Stop, my son, the people of Tonga are now all finished." The boy finally desisted at the entreaties of his father.

Soon after this, his mother, being sick for sight of her native land, went with her son back to Pukapuka, where she told her lineage of the revenge. Her heart was with her husband, however, so after a short stay in Pukapuka both mother and son returned to Tonga and were welcomed back by the chief. They moved to another island, where they settled. The mother's heart was now glad to live in Tonga, for her blood was avenged on the Tongan people.

Before Nokaulava returned with her son to Pukapuka, an exploring expedition had set out from Pukapuka to search for the missing people of Matanga. This was a fleet of canoes from Muliwutu, also with about 100 men as crew. With α and β Centauri as their guiding stars, the fleet sailed to the southwest and finally reached Niue. They did not find the missing men of Matanga, but were apparently so well treated in Niue that most of them decided to stay there. A canoe came back from Niue to report the decision; nothing more was ever heard of the emigrants, and it is supposed that they settled down in Niue and intermarried with the people.

All the canoe voyages mentioned by informants were made to particular islands, except one which was meant to be an exploring expedition away from Pukapuka but which got no farther than within earshot of the land. This was a voyage projected by Tuliayanga when he was a young man and before he had succeeded to the chiefly title.

The boy was filled with the lust to travel, his imagination excited by returned travelers' accounts of strange lands below the horizon. His father, Maina, feared for his safety at sea, and refused at first to let him go. Tuliayanga insisted, so his father was forced in the end to allow him to fit out a canoe. When the boy set off, Maina prayed to his god requesting that his son be not allowed to see land anywhere but be made to travel only in a circle that would bring him back to Pukapuka. Tuliayanga sailed a first time, but the morning brought him back to Pukapuka. He sailed a second time, but on the fourth morning he was again in sight of Pukapuka. A third time he set off, and after sailing for several days he knew he was near land because he saw birds flying and thought he heard voices. But he saw no land no matter which way he sailed his canoe. After being at sea for several months, he sighted three islands. He came up to them quickly, with joy in his heart, for these were surely the new lands he had hunted these several moons. But when he came close he found it was only the three islands of Pukapuka to which his god had returned him once more. Tuliayanga was so disgusted with the weighting of the gods against him that he gave up deep-sea voyaging forever.

Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanganga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

Tuliayanganga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliku, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliku, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliku and pretended to attack him. Aliku, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliku to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliku had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Elice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngoyu* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliku rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliku was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanganga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yamaunga, named Taluawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily: Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Taluawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to accompany Kieilu to the west to find a new home. Taluawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Taluawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaoa, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitonganuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitonganuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaoa who had voyaged abroad. But Talitonganuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaoa sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of

Taluawa, the spirits caught hold of every cloud descending from the sky and shook it so hard that it fell to pieces. When the whirlwind came, Talitonganuku blew it away. When the rain came in squalls, Talitonganuku covered the canoe with his body and protected it from being filled and swamped. Then Talitonganuku said: "I have protected my men from every weapon of Te Alongaoa." But he had forgotten another weapon of Te Alongaoa, the sharks and fish of the sea, especially swordfish. While Talitonganuku and his spirits were fighting enemies of the air, Te Alongaoa sent his own spirits to gather all the fish and to send them round the canoe. They came to the canoe, and made the waves rough with their thrashing to and fro. The swordfish bored holes in the side of the canoe, and cut the lashing with his sword. Then Talitonganuku rushed to drive off the fish. This left the air unprotected, so Te Alongaoa gathered all the forces of the air for a final onslaught on the canoe. A tremendous storm came from every direction, and the canoe sank ever closer to the water. In spite of Talitonganuku's efforts, the swordfish cut the canoe to pieces, and speared each person on the canoe as he was thrown into the water; all were killed. Te Alongaoa was pleased that he had thus revenged his priest killed by Talitonganuku's shark.

The spirits of the dead returned to Pukapuka and told their living relatives in dreams what had befallen them. Thus is the story known today in Pukapuka. This was the last canoe that sailed from Pukapuka for many generations, because the people were afraid to venture on the ocean while the gods were fighting against each other, destroying all voyagers in their anger.

For five or six generations after this time, Pukapukan sea voyages were less frequent. Two short voyages to Samoa made after the coming of the missionaries to Pukapuka are worthy of mention:

Yipouli was a Yato man, affiliated with Loto village, who was caught stealing nuts from Motu Kotawa. He was fined 10 nuts by the guard, but was so ashamed of being labeled a thief wherever he went that he gathered together a few friends and refitted his double canoe. One of the two canoes making the vessel was called Te Lava-yaunga, the other Yae-langi. The voyagers set out, sailing by the star Melemele (Antares). They reached Tutuila, and later went on to Upolu where they settled down. Yipouli often wished to return to Pukapuka, but the thought of his shame always prevented him. He died in Samoa.

A little later, in the time of Okotai, second Rarotongan missionary to Pukapuka, about 60 years ago, Okotai's son, Ue, who had lived with his father previously in Samoa, decided he would like to return there. He discussed the matter with Pukapukan young men, stressing the good times that awaited the travelers in Samoa and the surpassing beauty of the Samoan women. Ten young men decided to join Ue in the venture. Saying they wished to go on a fishing trip to the Tima reef, they borrowed a canoe from a Yato man. The name of the canoe was Te Punga-i-Witi, the name also of a large canoe in Yato village today belonging to the son of the owner of the borrowed canoe. The young men prepared the canoe with the minimum of publicity. They went to Motu Kotawa and stole a cargo of nuts. Then they set sail on a course that brought them to Tutuila. The sea on the reef where they made a landfall was not bad, but instead of searching for a reef passage they decided to wreck the canoe, jump into the water, and swim ashore. They were unaware that the sharks of Samoa, unlike those of Pukapukan waters, were man-eating sharks. Of the ten men that left the canoe nine were eaten by sharks. Only one man, Yolomili, brother of the present chief, Nawatu, managed to climb on a rock and make his way ashore when the tide went out. He was cared for by a Samoan family and stayed in Samoa till his death, too ashamed to return to Pukapuka. Opinion is that the death of the young men was punishment sent by the old gods, at the request of the owner of the canoe, for the stealing of the canoe and the violation of the tapu of the reserves.

This disastrous voyage to Samoa is probably the last of the deep-sea voyages of the Pukapukans to foreign lands. Occasional fishing trips are still made to Tima reef, but there is no record in recent years of any deep-sea voyage with native canoes.

SUMMARY

A survey of the voyages recorded in the previous pages indicates that the majority were made to lands to the west of Pukapuka. The Tokelau Islands, Tonga, Niue, and Samoa were frequently visited. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that some of the other names mentioned refer to islands to the north of Pukapuka, the Equatorial Islands. The land of Yayake still remains a puzzle, not rendered more easily solvable by the reference to Karotonga. As this land is identified by some as Tahiti, it may be instructive to discuss the possibility of canoe voyages between Pukapuka and Tahiti. I am indebted to Robert Dean Frisbie for the material on navigation in the following paragraphs:

The island of Raiatea may be used as a destination rather than Tahiti because it is closer to Pukapuka (940 miles) than is Tahiti (1080 miles), and it would be sighted by a canoe sailing direct from Pukapuka to Tahiti. The navigator's course to Raiatea from Pukapuka is 112° east southeast.

A canoe sailing from Pukapuka to Raiatea would require a light wind from north-east by north or farther north. No wind to the east of 32° would be serviceable because a native canoe at sea can not make good more than one point into the wind and if the wind blows at more than force 3 (Beaufort scale), the canoe can not make good a course closer than 90° to the wind. Winds from north of northeast blow in this part of the Pacific only during the hurricane season from November to March. At Pukapuka northerly winds are fairly steady and moderate, but to the eastward, these northerly winds give way to easterly winds. A wind shift to the north is generally followed by a gale from the northwest which a Polynesian canoe could not weather.

It would be practically impossible for a Pukapukan canoe to beat to Tahiti against a head wind. To do this, it could scarcely make more than 20 miles a day on a true course, and for this it would have to sail a little over 100 miles each day. A canoe beating towards Tahiti would be at sea for at least 47 days, changing the course continually as the wind shifted. If, at the end of this time, any island of the Society group was sighted, it would be due to singular luck and not design. No star course would be of value, for the canoe would be changing course continually. Even if a navigator knew by experience that a certain star at rising lies towards Tahiti, it would be impossible for him to shift his courses so that they would average one equal to the true star course.

All this does not discredit the fact that the early Pukapukan navigators could and did make long sea voyages with a fair or even a beam wind, short voyages also with a head wind if the wind was mild and the navigator was clever enough to keep track of his position. That the Pukapukans were well aware of the impossibility of long voyages against a head wind in the hurricane season is shown by the fact that when they sailed to Upolu from Pukapuka they had a fair wind; coming back to Pukapuka, they did not attempt to sail direct (against the wind), but sailed first to the Tokelau Islands,

waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverbed and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, bobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations. Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovmaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excellence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovmaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovmaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensual but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land talo cultivation without irrigation is common to both

Pukapuka and Samoa. The double-pointed throwing weapon links Pukapuka to Funafuti; oval or round religious structures seem to have their nearest parallel with those of Niutao in the Ellice Islands. Unlike Samoa, Pukapuka lacks tattooing, the arched house, the use of house decorative lashings and the plank-flanged canoe, though the use of flanges on the dugout canoe may suggest Samoan influence.

In social organization, Pukapuka presents several features that seem more Melanesian than Polynesian. This is notable in the structure of the maternal moieties, and the importance of named maternal descent groups. The common western Polynesian custom of *vusu* or *falu* is absent in Pukapuka. Though the Pukapukan kinship system is marginal to the west, there has been a specialization in the function of at least one western kinship category (the *mayakitanga*, sacred maid), and whereas brother-sister tapu is absent, the full weight of avoidance has fallen on those of opposite sex who are related as cross or parallel cousins. This strongly suggests a similar emphasis reported for the southeast and northwest Solomon Islands (Mala and Buka). Again, the elaboration of rank within kindred associated with the west, and the elaboration of rank within the social structure associated with Samoa and Tonga, together with a chiefly language, are all lacking in the simpler, more democratic structure of Pukapukan society.

The hierarchy of Pukapukan gods is hard to trace elsewhere. The named gods and their elaboration of function seem peculiar to Pukapuka. The absence of such gods as Tangaloa, Tane, Ru, and Rongo points to a break with the deistic systems of the rest of Polynesia. Certain correspondence between the Pukapukan conception of the Underworld and that formerly prevalent in Futuna may be noted, but it is significant that a common western name for the underworld, *putotu* or its dialectical equivalent, is unknown in Pukapuka other than as a recently introduced word.

Linguistically, the dialect of Pukapuka and its phonetic material seem to be unique in that it is impossible to say whether Pukapukan is more closely allied to the western or to eastern dialects. One of the two phonetic anomalies that are not found elsewhere in Polynesia appears to have its closest affinity with sounds recorded for Fiji and the New Hebrides.

The games of Pukapuka are widespread Polynesian games. Analysis of the string figures indicates that these show a closer affinity with the west than with the east. Because comparative string figure collections are still very inadequate, it is impossible to be more definite than this.

The myths and tales of Pukapuka mention several of the well-known Polynesian culture heroes. It is possible that the relatively large number of animal tales in Pukapuka, though few by comparison with the total number of known tales, points to a far western affiliation. At least it serves to dis-

tinguish Pukapuka from most other Polynesian groups. The Pukapukan origin myth is characteristically western in its phrasing.

Traditional history seems to point to fairly close contact long ago with islands to the west. It is unfortunate that so many of the foreign lands mentioned in these accounts can not be identified. The modern Pukapukan family believes that such names as Tonga, Yamao, Witi, Tokelau and others refer in the legends to Polynesian islands which bear these names today. For lack of other evidence I see no reason to deny this. In the light of this traditional history it is hardly legitimate to pose the question: whence came the Pukapukans? The modern Pukapukan has no answer. The modern ethnologist can not yet speak with finality.

I take it as reasonably clear, however, that on a basic stratum of fundamentally Polynesian patterns, there has been superimposed a culture that has strong affiliations with both eastern and western Polynesia, but on the whole marginal to the west. These strata, combined with certain specific elaborations or survivals in social organization, serve to give characteristic accent to Pukapukan culture when viewed against the background of Polynesia as a whole.

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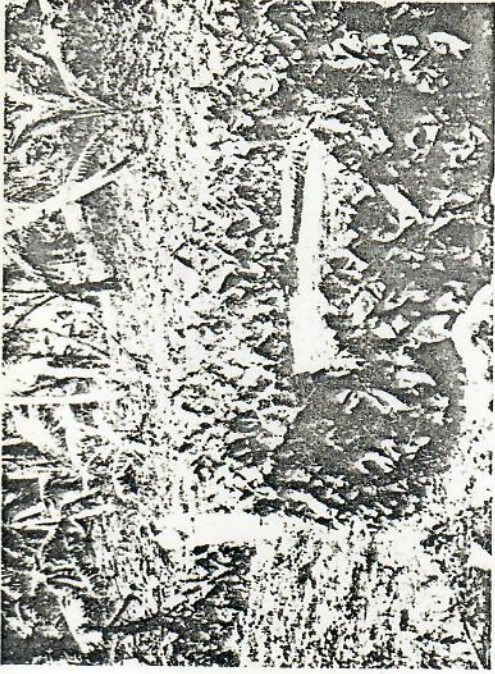
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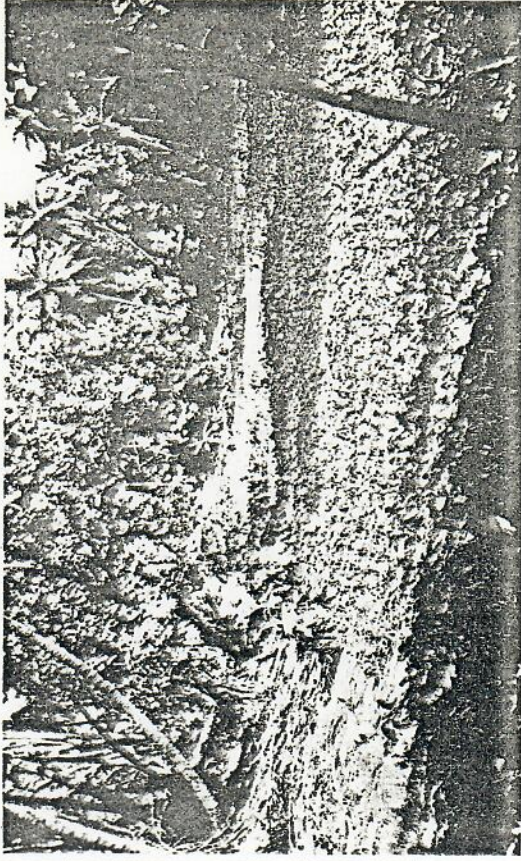
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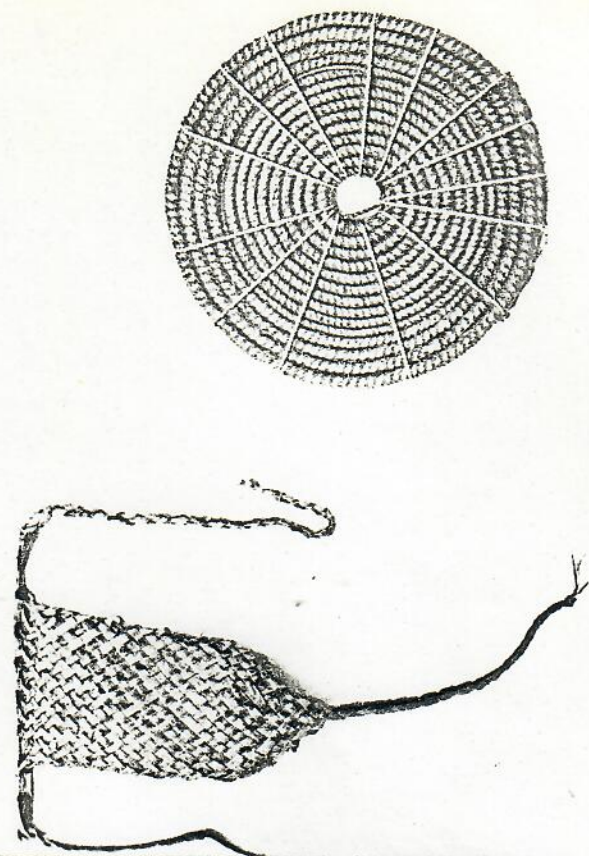
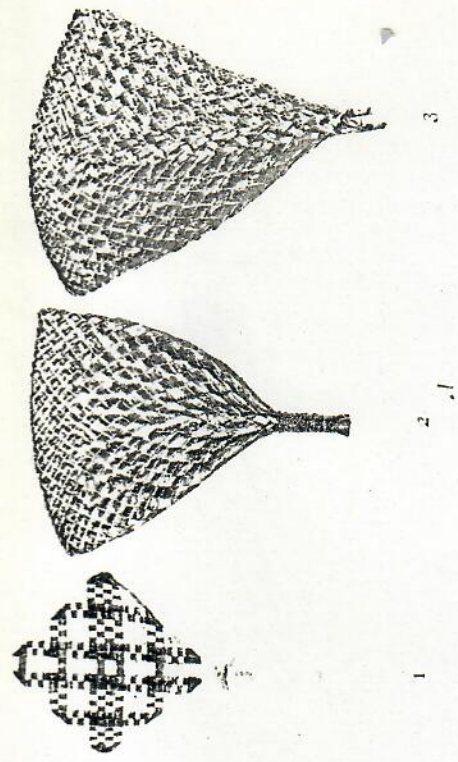


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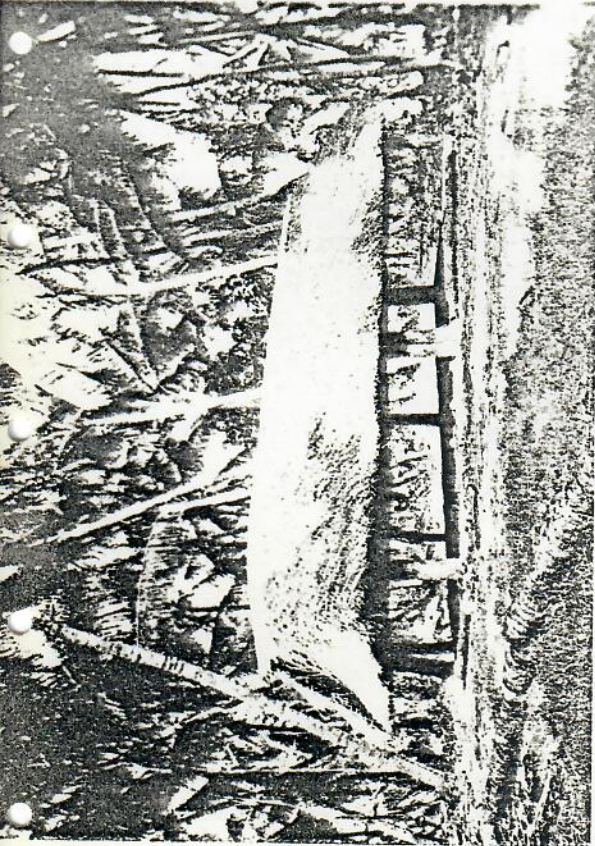


B

TALO GARDENS. A, SMALL INDIVIDUAL TALO GARDEN WITH EXCAVATION SUNK WELL BELOW THE SURROUNDING SURFACE OF THE LAND. B, LARGE VIL-
LAGE-CONTROLLED TALO GARDEN IN THE RESERVE OF UTA; THE GARDEN IS
REDIVIDED INTO INDIVIDUALLY CULTIVATED, SMALLER SECTIONS; EMBANK-
MENT AT THE LEFT IS FORMED PARTLY BY EXCAVATION AND PARTLY BY HEAP-
ING EXCAVATED SOIL INTO A RIDGE WHICH SERVES AS A BOUNDARY BETWEEN
THIS AND THE ADJOINING GARDENS.



FANS AND MALOS. *A*, FANS: 1, PLAATED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2, PLAATED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS ATTACHED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3, MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT MIDRIB AND LEAFLETS PLAATED IN CLOSE BECK. *B*, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST CIRCLE; BODY OF PLAATED LEAFLETS CONCEALS ENTAILS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS, FASTENED TO WAIST CIRCLE AT BACK. *C*, MALO OF FIVEPLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREEPLY SENNIT.

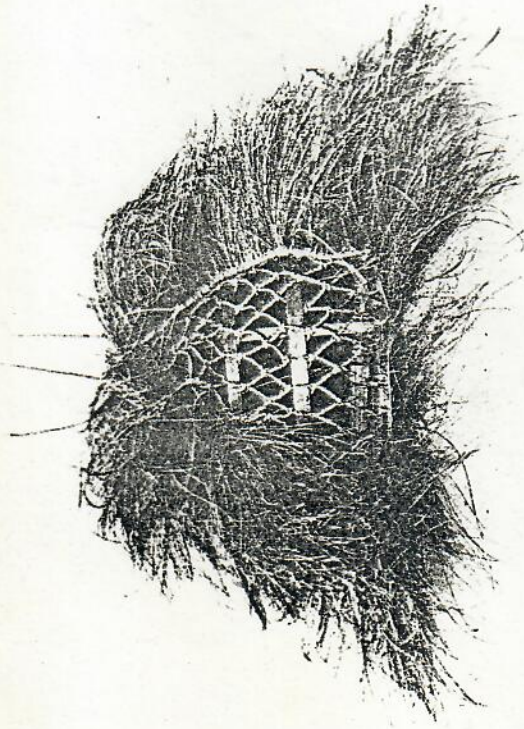


A



B

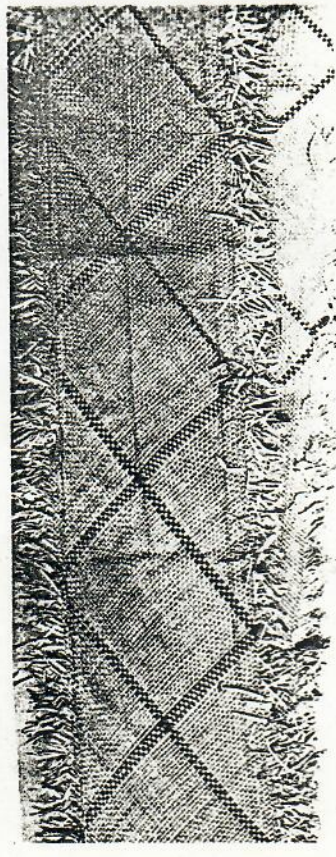
HOUSE AND CEMETERY. *A*, LARGE HOUSE OF THE HALE JIUA TYPE AT THE PLACE MATI-MALA IN THE RESERVE OF UTA, USED TODAY BY THE RESERVE GUARD, ONE ORIGINAL CORNER POST AND ONE SIDE POST HAVE BEEN REINFORCED BY NEW POSTS. *B*, VIEW OF THE CEMETERY OF TUA LINEAGE OF IOTO VILLAGE. THREE BOX GRAVES IN CENTER ARE CHRISTIAN; REMAINING GRAVES AND STONES ARE PRE-MISSIONARY AND SHOW VARIOUS STYLES OF STONEWORK; BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE VILLAGE, MATURED COCONUTS ARE STORED HERE UNTIL NEEDED.



A

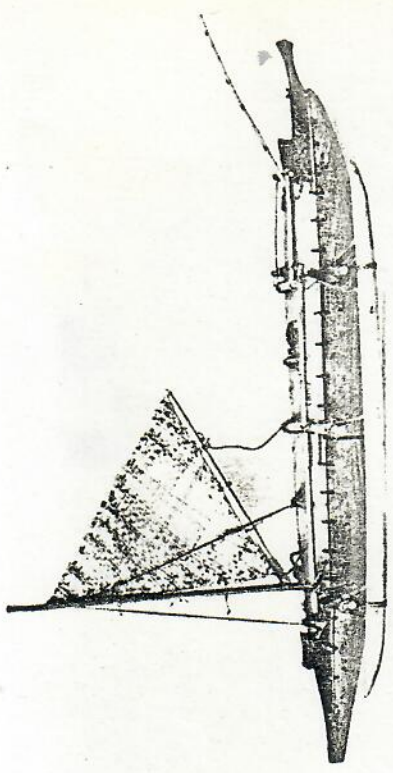


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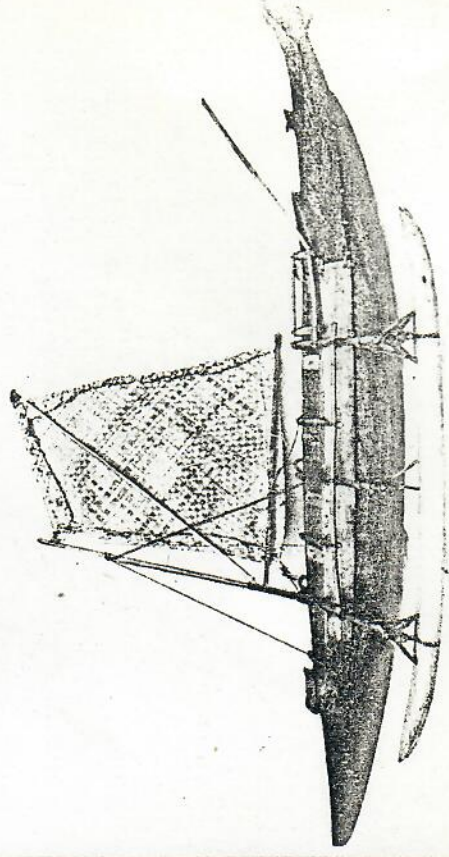


C

HAT AND MALO. A, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCO NUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWOPLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCO NUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. B, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. C, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

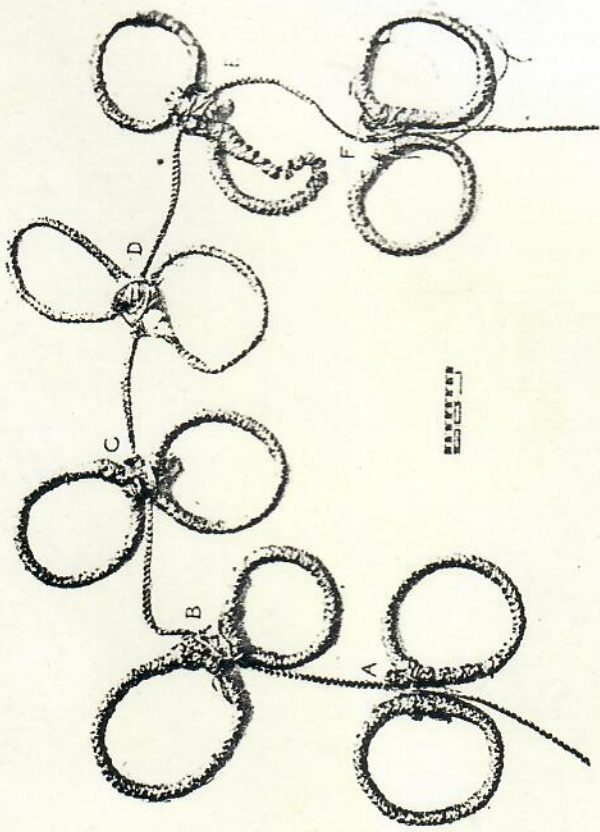


A



B

CANOE. A, THROUGH-AND-THROUGH LASHED CANOE, WITH TRIANGULAR SAIL OF PANDANUS MATTING; ROD IN STERN SHOWS POSITION OF BONITO ROD WHEN THE CANOE IS TROLLING. B, CANOE WITH INSIDE FLANGE LASHINGS AND GAFF SAIL. BOTH CANOES ARE MODELS, AND PROPORTIONS OF BOW AND STERN COVERS TO REST OF HULL ARE ONLY APPROXIMATELY CORRECT; OTHERWISE CANOES EXACTLY MADE.



GILL'S PUKAPUKAN SOUL TRAP. DIMENSIONS: END TO A, 12 FEET $1\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES; A TO B, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES; B TO C, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES; C TO D, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES; D TO E, 7 INCHES; E TO F, 8 INCHES; F TO END, 4 FEET 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES; APPROXIMATE DIAMETERS OF CIRCLES VARY FROM 4 INCHES TO 5 INCHES.

