

Among the specialized art products of Niihau and Kauai, the mats of *mahaloa* sedge are famous, as well as many of the mat designs. The sedge grew elsewhere but the mats were seldom made except on these two islands. The decoration of gourds and calabashes was done most extensively on Kauai and Niihau. Leis of small shells were made particularly on Niihau.

The technique of using two hands for pounding poi with a ring or block pounder was closely associated with the special forms. Also the fact that both men and women prepared food is an interesting distinction, as on the other islands the women were seldom permitted to take part in the food preparation. Another cultural difference is that mentioned by Cook—the lack of distinction among the Kauai chiefs. The fact that Cook landed at Waimea and the greatest chiefs lived on the opposite side of the island, at Wailua, may have influenced this opinion.

A linguistic distinction is mentioned by Fornander (24, p. 59.):

The effect of the new migration was great on the people. It even effected the speech of the people and as late as fifty years ago it was easy to distinguish a native from the leeward islands from one of the windward by his manner of pronouncing the *k* and *l*, which Kauai and Oahu natives, adopting the Tahitian style, pronounced *t* and *r*.

A slight distinction in physical measurements was noted by Sullivan (52, p. 273.):

A resume of Table XLIV shows that the differences from island to island are small. In specific instances some slight tendencies to differentiate appear; for instance, in cephalic index, for both sexes, Oahu and Kauai are opposed to the other islands, the index being lower. In head length this same grouping is more noticeable than in head width. In other characteristics, no such grouping is indicated.

Many of these features must be considered purely local developments of no great significance. Some of them, however, seem to indicate traces of an older Hawaiian culture which was covered by the later influx. Since Kauai became clearly part of the dominant Hawaiian culture, these distinctions must be carefully sought out. The contrasts are not glaring. The block grinders and the slab prototype of the block rubbers together with the Menohune cut stone causeway have flat surfaces and sharp angularity that contrasts with the curves in most of the later Hawaiian work. In this angularity, straight lines, and surfaces, there is some analogy to the Nihoa and Necker culture. The place of women in preparing food, the speech difference, the slight skeletal difference, and to a greater or less extent the different artifacts all point to a culture not the same as the dominant later Hawaiian.

The following queries present themselves. If Kauai block rubbers and grinders are a feature of an earlier culture why are they not found on the other Hawaiian islands, at least in the primitive forms? why are they not found on Nihoa or Necker islands? why have they not been found elsewhere

in Polynesia? If, on the other hand, they are local developments for the island of Kauai, why are there not more primitive, experimental forms, especially among the grinders?

If Nihoa and Necker represent the early Hawaiian culture, why are there not more analogies found in Hawaii? The temple form on these islands is fairly well standardized—a non-Hawaiian characteristic. Wooden slabs may have been used as uprights on Kauai, but why are not some dike prisms found, like those on Nihoa? And why are there not more of the artifacts found? So far only two, possibly three, adzes resembling the Necker type have been found among the thousands of Hawaiian adzes. None of the Necker images have been found on the other Hawaiian islands.

The geographical and political isolation of Kauai favors the development of local cultures and the retention of traces of a previous culture. In many ways it has developed local peculiarities, but at the same time it is dominantly part of the great Hawaiian culture. Certain local peculiarities suggest a previous culture that probably existed before and contemporaneously with the later culture. Also Kauai shows the closest relation to the Nihoa and Necker non-Hawaiian culture.