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ETHNOGRAPHY OF ONTONG JAVA AND TASMAN ISLANDS WITH REMARKS RE: THE MARQUEEN AND ABGARRIS ISLANDS

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INTRODUCTION

The Polynesian outliers for years have held a special place in Oceanic studies. They have figured prominently in discussions of Polynesian settlement from Thilenius (1902), Churchill (1911), and Rivers (1914) to Bayard (1976) and Kirch and Yen (1982). Scattered strategically through territory generally regarded as either Melanesian or Micronesian, they illustrate to varying degrees a merging of elements from the three great Oceanic culture areas—thus potentially illuminating processes of cultural diffusion. And as small bits of land, remote from urban and administrative centers, they have only relatively recently experienced the sustained European contact that many decades earlier wreaked havoc with most islands of the "Polynesian Triangle."

The last of these characteristics has made the outliers particularly attractive to scholars interested in glimpsing Polynesian cultures and societies that have been but minimally influenced by Western ideas and

accoutrements. For example, Tikopia and Anuta in the eastern Solomons are exceptional in having maintained their traditional social structures, including their hereditary chieftainships, almost entirely intact. And Papua New Guinea's three Polynesian outliers—Nukuria, Nukumanu, and Takuu—may be the only Polynesian islands that still systematically prohibit Christian missionary activities while proudly maintaining important elements of their old religions. Yet until recently the very isolation that has made these islands worthy of attention has discouraged systematic documentation.

Since the 1960s substantial bodies of ethnographic data have been published on a number of the outliers. Works include Carroll's writings on Nukuoro (e.g., 1970, 1975a) and Lieber's on Kapingamarangi (e.g., 1970, 1974, 1977) in the Federated States of Micronesia; Bayliss-Smith's studies of Ontong Java in the Solomons' Malaita Province (e.g., 1974, 1975b); the work of Monberg and his colleagues on Rennell and Bellona in the Central Solomons (e.g., Elbert and Monberg 1965; Monberg 1971, 1976); Davenport's accounts of the Reefs and Taumako in the Santa Cruz Group (e.g., Davenport 1968, 1972, 1975); and Feinberg's writings on Anuta at the Solomons' eastern fringe (e.g., 1981). In addition to most of these islands, West Futuna in southeastern Vanuatu has been documented from a linguistic standpoint (Dougherty 1983). Archaeological studies have been published on Nukuoro (Davidson 1968, 1971), Anuta (Kirch and Rosendahl 1973), and Tikopia (Kirch and Yen 1982). And our knowledge will be much augmented with the publication of extensive linguistic and archaeological studies on Takuu by Jay Howard and Barbara Moir respectively, and of detailed ethnographic work on Sikaiana by William Donner. By contrast, studies predating the 1960s are few and far between.

By far the most extensively reported of the Polynesian outliers is Tikopia, which since 1928 has been the object of rigorous study by Sir Raymond Firth. Kenneth Emory's substantial monograph on Kapingamarangi (1965) is based on research carried out in 1947 and 1950. And H. Ian Hogbin's work on Ontong Java in the 1920s resulted in a series of articles (e.g., 1930a, 1930b, 1930c, 1931a, 1931b, 1932) and an important book (1961). But prior to the 1920s, the only professional publication of note on the outliers is Sarfert and Damm's monograph on Nukumanu and Ontong Java (1929), based on Sarfert's participation in the Thilenius expedition of 1908-1910. While Sarfert compiled much information in what, by modern standards, was a rather short period of fieldwork, the monograph is only available in German and is not easily accessible. And before the twentieth century we have little more than

brief, sporadic comments by traders, planters, missionaries, and explorers. It is in this light that Parkinson's writings assume their importance.

Richard H. R. Parkinson, a man of Anglo-German ancestry, was sent to Samoa as surveyor for Godeffroys trading company in 1878 at the age of thirty-five. Shortly after his arrival in Samoa, Parkinson met and married Phoebe Coe, younger sister of the famed "Queen Emma." That same year Emma left Samoa with Thomas Farrell for the Bismark Archipelago of what is now Papua New Guinea. She and her husband/partner managed to acquire large landholdings in the Bismark Archipelago and the northwestern Solomons; and until well into the first decade of this century, Forsayth and Company, headed by "Queen Emma," was a force to be reckoned with in the German New Guinea colony,

In 1882 Richard and Phoebe Parkinson moved to New Guinea to join Emma, and for almost three decades Richard Parkinson was the chief administrator and agronomist for the Forsayth copra empire. His responsibilities required extensive travel among the islands of the German colony; and as an amateur natural historian, he made careful inquiries and observations, which he systematically recorded.

By today's professional standards, Parkinson's ethnographic methods left much to be desired. He rarely stayed long in one location, nor did he learn local languages to any great extent. He did not attempt participant observation; indeed, he often employed bodyguards and carried a revolver for protection. As representative of a powerful and sometimes heavy-handed company, there was ample reason for villagers to mislead him about sensitive issues. And he at times displayed an unacceptable propensity to account for behavioral variation in terms of biological differences. Thus it is well to take parts of his account with a healthy dose of skepticism. Yet despite these shortcomings, he was a keen observer, intelligent, generally sympathetic, and genuinely interested in his subject matter. From his half-Samoan wife and other members of her household, he seems to have learned some spoken Samoan. And in his "thirty years in the South Seas" he gained a wealth of information, belying Hogbin's glib dismissal of his ethnographic acumen (Hogbin 1961:181n).

Most of Parkinson's New Guinea encounters were with Melanesians of the Bismark Archipelago. But—perhaps because of his Samoan connections—he seems to have had a special interest in the four Polynesian atolls of the northwestern Solomons. (Three of these—Nukuria, Takuu, and Nukumanu—are located in what is now Papua New Guinea's North Solomons Province; one—Ontong Java—is just across the inter-

national border in the Solomon Islands' Malaita Province.) In addition to the present article, he devoted parts of several others and a chapter of his autobiographical treatise, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (1907), to these atolls. Yet, other than a typewritten translation of the latter work housed in the University of Papua New Guinea's New Guinea Collection, none of his observations on the Polynesian outlier atolls has heretofore been available in English.

In 1984 I had the opportunity to spend several months conducting research with Nukumanu islanders both on the atoll and in other parts of Papua New Guinea. During that period I also had extensive contacts with people from Ontong Java, with whom the Nukumanu maintain close relations. I came to know quite well many people from Takuu and was able to visit that atoll during a major ceremony. (My contact with Nukuria people was much more limited, and I never had the opportunity to visit their island.)

In the course of my investigation, it became clear that these atolls' culture and society had changed considerably over the past century as a result of the copra trade, including many decades as private plantations, and that much of the traditional system has been forgotten. Furthermore, administrative reports in Papua New Guinea's national archives date back only to about the time of World War II, and there seems to be virtually no documentary evidence on these islands from the early days of contact.

For these reasons, I was particularly interested in Parkinson's material. And I was fortunate that Dr. Rose Hartmann, who grew up in a bilingual household and speaks German virtually as a native, agreed to make a detailed translation of the present article. The intrinsic interest of Parkinson's material and the quality of the translation are such that I felt it ought to be made available to a wider public, so with the translator's approval, I offered it to *Pacific Studies.*

In this translation we have attempted, insofar as possible, to remain faithful to the original. Adaptation of any written work for presentation in a new language and different forum, however, requires some modifications. Most importantly, perhaps, a number of deletions have been necessary. In particular, Parkinson's original article contains several pages of tables and sketches illustrating tattoo designs and many of the objects described in his text. And he presented four pages of vocabulary lists from Samoa, Nukuria, and Ontong Java with their approximate German equivalents. In the interest of space, the illustrations, tables,

and vocabulary lists have been deleted. Readers wishing to consult these materials are referred to Parkinson's original article.

Other changes have been relatively minor. We have substituted modern English place names where identifiable and have employed modern spellings. Parkinson refers to the three Polynesian atolls in Papua New Guinea as the Abgarris, Marqueen, and Tasman Islands. We have generally rendered these by their indigenous names: Nukuria, Takuu, and Nukumanu. On occasion, to clarify that Parkinson is referring to an entire island group rather than a single islet, we have used modern European names: the Fead, Mortlock, and Tasman Islands, respectively. Where Parkinson refers to Kingsmill, we use Gilbert Islands, and his Neu Mecklinburg is rendered as New Ireland. In the title we have retained Parkinson's original designations. For Ontong Java we employ the common European name because the atoll includes two distinct communities—Peelau and Luangiua—and there is no indigenous designation for the entire atoll.

In accordance with our decision to use modern spellings, we use "Ontong Java" for the atoll that Parkinson renders as Ongtong Java. For Nukuria we have followed recent linguistic convention (e.g., see Bayliss-Smith 1975a; also Moir personal communication as quoted in Feinberg 1985) despite the spelling of "Nuguria" that appears on many maps, administrative reports, and in popular and some older scholarly articles. Parkinson's orthography is fairly consistent; however he sometimes uses the Samoan /g/ and sometimes /ng/ for the velar nasal /ŋ/. This we have consistently represented with the familiar /ng/.

Finally, Parkinson is not always clear as to which of the four atolls is being discussed in any given passage, despite some significant cultural variation among them. This is particularly problematic as his textual renditions of indigenous words are almost invariably in Ontong Javanese. These and other points of clarification will be made in notes distributed throughout the article.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF ONTONG JAVA AND TASMAN ISLANDS

Anyone who has noted the gradual disappearance of traditional culture among Oceanic peoples during recent years will be interested to find small pockets where the intrusion of Christianity has not completely obliterated the preexisting culture.

In Micronesia and Polynesia a major portion of the original culture has been displaced by modern culture, and unfortunately not always for

the better. The people of several island groups no longer know the implements and techniques their forefathers used to decorate their weapons and household utensils. The old stone and shell tools have been replaced by metal; yet, the workmanship observed in modern items is definitely inferior to that seen in the older ones.

For instance, comparing a club made in Samoa today with specimens found in anthropological collections, a tremendous difference is evident. In olden times, a much greater value was placed on an individual weapon than today. It would be handed down from generation to generation, and a current owner would know the entire history of the weapon—who used it, how it was used, with tales of the heroism of his forbears—and the weapon would occupy an honored place in the home; but now the old family treasure, made of wood, is devalued, treated as worthless junk, and traded for a drink. Thus the family tradition was broken, has disappeared, and cannot be reclaimed.

This has happened not only in Samoa, but in all the islands of Oceania, and is continuing today. Even though European culture has not had the same overwhelming impact in the western outliers as in other parts of the South Seas, its influence is still evident and is increasing every day. In areas where I saw stone axes used twelve years ago, they are now all but forgotten, and one must go to deserted or isolated houses to find them. Native people with whom I have spoken say they are ashamed to be identified with these primitive implements. They feel they have achieved a higher status by owning the new tools. In another ten years the Melanesians will have lost most of their distinctive characteristics; therefore, it behooves us to take advantage of any opportunity we have to observe them now in order that we may achieve a composite understanding of the ethnography of the Oceanic peoples.

We have studied especially the Polynesian-populated islands—the Ontong Java Islands, the Tasman Islands [Nukumanu], the Fead or Abgarris Islands [Nukuria], and the Mortlock or Marqueen Islands [Takuu]—which are near the Melanesian-populated Solomon Islands and New Ireland.

I have had the opportunity, in the last ten years, to visit these islands several times. Whereas my observations are not as complete as I would like them to be, I feel that I can make a contribution to the understanding of these people before world commerce obliterates their individuality.

There is no doubt that the populations of these islands are of Polynesian origin and that they migrated from the east, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. An old legend about the origin of the population of the Fead Islands was told to me as follows:

> In the beginning, two gods with three women came from Nukuoro and Tarawa over the ocean in a canoe. The gods were named Katiariki and Haraparapa. As the canoe reached the reef Katiariki struck the water with his stick, and a third god named Loatu arose from the deep. Simultaneously, a sand bank arose. The two original gods accepted the third as their equal. As the land they now observed was arid and unoccupied, Katiariki and Haraparapa decided to search for food, leaving Loatu to guard their new island. While they were gone, another god named Tepu appeared. He came from Nukumanu, banished Loatu, and occupied the island. When Katiariki and Haraparapa returned and saw that Tepu had occupied their island, they were furious and threw away the food they had brought. They summoned Loatu and together they settled in the main island, Nukuria. Eventually Tepu occupied a small hill, with Katiariki and Haraparapa to the right and Loatu to his left. All four of these gods are still honored as higher beings.

This legend indicates that this group came at different times and from different places, and that only after some strife did the immigrants achieve an understanding. The legend specifics the original homeland of the immigrants, namely Nukuoro in the Carolines and Tarawa in the Kingsmill [Gilbert] Islands.[1] Nukumanu is the present Tasman group. The following table gives approximate distances of the various groups from their Polynesian neighbors in the east:

TO:	Nukuria	Takuu	Ontong Java
FROM:			
(in sea miles)			
Samoa	2100	1920	1800
Ellice Islands[2]	1500	1320	1200
Gilbert Islands	1120	1050	900
Nukuoro Atoll	450	540	620

This table will help the reader understand the Polynesian migrations in the following discussion.

The Polynesian voyages from east to west continue. I have been made aware of a number of such voyages in the past several years. In 1885 two canoes from the Gilbert Islands were driven ashore on the island of Buka. The first canoe, out of Abemama, started with eight persons. Three died en route, and five were rescued by a German ship. The second canoe, out of Nikunau, had seven on board, two of whom died en

route. The survivors were rescued by another ship. They recalled they had been under way for thirty-one days when rescued. All the survivors, though exhausted when they reached Buka, recovered quickly. They were not attacked when landing as they carried no weapons and offered no resistance. Others coming to these shores were less fortunate. I met a woman on one of the Caroline Islands about six years ago who had been driven ashore on the east coast of Buka, in the company of three men and one woman. The men and woman put up a fight on landing and were killed. The girl was compliant, and was treated well (she was adolescent at the time). Later, according to local custom, she was sold to a Buka Islander and was living with him as his wife when I met her. She apparently was satisfied with her lot, as she refused my offer to buy her freedom and return her to her native land. She preferred to remain in her new country.

Ten years ago, in Ernst Gunther Harbor at the northeast end of Bougainville, I received a spear set with shark's teeth, which I immediately recognized as a Gilbertese weapon. I was told this spear came from a canoe which had arrived many years before with eight light-skinned people. Several were killed immediately; others lived there some time, then died. I was told further that three other canoes had come since then and landed slightly to the south on the tiny island of Tekarau [Taurato?]. They stayed there several days and were then, because of paucity of food, sent on to the main island where they were killed by people from the interior. They were described as large, light-skinned people, carrying no weapons; which leads me to conclude they were from Ontong Java. Years ago I saw three heads preserved by smoking in a house on Manning Street; one of these heads had a turtle-shell earring, as was worn on Ontong Java. The hair on all three heads was loosely wavy and dark. In Numanuma on the east coast of Bougainville, I saw a Gilbertese-style necklace, consisting of many rows of discs so arranged that one row covered about three-fourths of the underlying row. This necklace was said to have come from a canoe with seven light-skinned people which was driven ashore two years prior. No one would say what happened to these people, leading me to conclude that they were killed when they landed.

The now-deceased King Goroi of the Shortland Islands told me that he knew of numerous landings of light-skinned people. He remembered precisely the arrival of two canoes with men and women who stayed for some time without interference. They communicated freely with Goroi's people and learned their language to some extent. He remembered the name of their homeland, which he pronounced Beru, but which was

probably Peru, an island of the Gilbert Archipelago. Goroi apparently had recognized sovereignty over a significant portion of the islands of Choiseul and Bougainville and sent his canoes annually to these regions to collect tribute from them. He was therefore well-informed about the events in his territory. Besides, he was an unusually intelligent and talented native. I have no doubt that he was telling the truth, and that he knew the fate of the people he was reporting about. I was told on Ontong Java that many canoes arrived, but none of them left. In 1880 no fewer than sixteen canoes arrived. In 1885 I found a number of men from these canoes on Takuu Atoll. I was also told on this atoll that canoes arrive from time to time bearing people who appear racially identical with the locals. These arrivals stay and mingle with the native population. Many canoes came from Sikaiana to Ontong Java, but these people await favorable winds and return to Sikaiana when they are able.[3]

The distance from the Gilbert Islands to Buka in the Solomons is about the same as that from the Ellice Islands to Ontong Java, and as I know that migrations from the Gilberts to the Solomons do occur, it seems reasonable that similar migrations from Gilbert and Ellice to Ontong Java took place. If the occasional immigration of Polynesians to the Solomons has had no lasting influence on the native Melanesians, this can be attributed to the inhospitality and unfriendliness of the Melanesians who, still today, greet strangers with hostility, especially if they appear exhausted and abandoned. Those drawn into the atolls with little or no population fared far better.

In any case, we have in these islands people who have come from several different Polynesian areas, bringing diverse customs indicating their distant origins. Their language is most like that of Samoa and Ellice; their spears like those of Ontong Java and Nukumanu; the weaving looms are reminiscent of Caroline Islands. Other items, like the turtle-bone axes of Takuu, take us 600 miles further west.

This last finding leads me to the question of immigration from the west. Obviously some of this took place, but it is doubtful that there was enough of that to have an appreciable influence.

On Nukuria there are now two women from Ninigo, who arrived about thirty years ago with others from their country. Nukuria and Ninigo are about 600 sea miles apart. The Nukuria Islanders still insist that the Ninigo people imported a virulent disease which has gradually infected and decimated the whole population. Congenital syphilis seems today to be dooming the local population to eventual extinction and this disease is blamed on the Ninigo people.

On Ontong Java, a captain had received a mask years before, which came from New Ireland, a distance of 550 sea miles. On Takuu several obsidian spear tips were found which doubtless originated in the Admiralty Islands, 650 miles west. Many of the tools which have been found on Nukuria clearly did not originate there. On Ontong Java they still tell of two large canoes which arrived years ago carrying black people. They landed on the island and killed all in their path until the native peoples joined forces to eliminate them. These invaders were undoubtedly Solomon Islanders, who, with their superior weapons and lust for combat, made serious trouble for the less well-armed Ontong Java people. They were able to overrun the local population and displace some of them. Another instance is in the Cartaret Islands [Kilinailau], where a tribe lives that originated in Hanahan, on the east coast of Buka. These Cartaret Islanders are still in contact with Buka. A chief I know well on Cartaret has told me that, many years ago, Hanahan people on a trip to the Nissan Islands were diverted to Cartaret and settled there. This same chief named nine ancestors back to the first one who found the Cartaret Islands. He had no other information for me. When I showed Cartaret's natives some *Tridacna*-shell adzes, they brought me several others saying they were found in the earth. As the Buka people were unfamiliar with these articles, they must be relics of an earlier population.

If we can draw a conclusion from the above, i.e., that the Polynesian immigrants were usually badly treated when they landed on populated islands and became victims of cruel and murderous impulses of these people, then it seems probable that the coral atolls they now inhabit were uninhabited when they first landed there. There are still islands and island groups in the Pacific which are uninhabited although they offer natural resources that make them habitable. It is amazing with how little a native can manage. For instance, in 1885 a ship rescued two persons, a man and a woman, from a sandbar fifteen miles south of Nukuria. They had fled fifteen months earlier out of fear of a chief and had lived all that time on fish and an occasional coconut that washed in from the sea. Their island had no edible vegetation. They sheltered themselves in a sand pit and collected rainwater in shells they had been able to find. When they were discovered, they inquired of the captain whether he would take them back to Nukuria, in which case they would prefer to stay on their desert island. When assured that the ship was headed elsewhere, they consented to be "rescued." Whereas these people were not exactly well-nourished when found, they were neither weak nor exhausted, and after a few days were able to row a boat for

hours. A European could not have survived that degree of deprivation for weeks, let alone months. Considering that the islands found by the ancestors of present-day Nukumanu and Ontong Javanese were larger and undoubtedly offered some edible vegetation, it is easy to see how they could have successfully settled there.

Even the imperfections of these people's vessels are no real hindrance to their lengthy sea voyages. The tropical seas are usually not stormy, and waves are not high. If a canoe is occasionally overturned, the Polynesians are strong swimmers; they easily right their vessel and swing themselves into it. Wind and current are consistently in one direction and can propel a boat about 60 miles in twenty-four hours.[4]

Another question is how people who had not planned for so long a trip were able to survive thirty or more days without food. Apparently Polynesian stomachs are patient and can endure long intervals without nourishment. It is unlikely that there were enough flying fish to provide food to sustain life. I propose the possibility that some of those voyagers who died en route did not die a natural death. This suspicion is supported by the number of contradictions and evasive answers one gets when asking about the causes of death on board.

Geography

The Ontong Java Islands lie between 5° and 6° South and 159 and 160 East. The Tasman Islands are 30 sea miles further north. The former group was discovered in 1567 by the Spaniard Alvaro de Mendaña. Hernando Gallego reports in his journal, "As far as we could see, these islands stretched at least over 15 leagues. We named them 'Los Bajos de la Candelaria.' " Later geographers identified "Candelaria Reef" about 80 sea miles north of the island Ysabel. In 1871 Von Maurell rediscovered it and named it "El Roncador." This reef is about 6 sea miles long and is not identical with the atoll Gallego described which was about 35 sea miles north of Maurelle's "Roncador." La Maire and Shouten rediscovered the first group in 1616. Tasman saw both groups in 1648 and named the larger group Ontong Java. Captain Hunter renamed this group "Lord Howe Islands" when he visited in 1791. I have used the most prevalent designation, "Ontong Java," for the main group. The main island of this group is Luangiua.[5] The main island of the Tasman group is Nukumanu.[6] In both cases, the local people use the name of the main island to refer to the entire group.[7] The Marqueen or Mortlock Islands were discovered in 1616 by La Maire and Shouten. They lie 4° 45′ South and 157° East, about 120 sea miles west of Nukumanu.

The main island is named Taku.[8] About 100 sea miles northwest are the atolls of Abgarris and Fead. The main island of this group is Nukuria.[9]

All these island groups are flat coral atolls, covered with palms and other trees. They form a circle of large and small islands separated now and then by deep passages through the reef.

The Inhabitants

The inhabitants of these islands are Polynesians, although a Melanesian mixture, especially on Nukuria, is unmistakable. The now almost extinct Takuu as well as the Ontong Java and Nukumanu Islanders have apparently kept their racial identity. The men are tall and slim, and well-muscled. They are on the average taller than we Europeans. Their skin color is closest to the Samoan or Tongan, although there are individuals who are appreciably darker. Hair texture varies from straight and long, to wavy and curly. The women, who tend to stay indoors or in the shade, are significantly lighter than the men. They are shorter and more squat, but strong in build. The children tend to be dainty and graceful. The chiefs and their wives tend to become corpulent, probably the result of plush living.

Agriculture and Food

The low coral atolls are not naturally suited for agriculture. However, coconut palms thrive and are the major staple. Only in times when the coconut harvest is poor is the fruit of the pandanus tree used.[10] The cultivation of taro is more complicated. To prepare a site for planting taro, the coral soil in the island's interior is broken down to a depth of 4 meters. A pit about 20 to 30 meters long by 10 to 15 meters wide is dug. The excavated material is broken further and ringed about the pit. A mulch is made of palm leaves and other vegetable wastes. The mulch is mixed with sand and the taro field is ready for planting. Even with that, however, the taro grows only to the size of a fist. Here and there you may find a banana plant. Recently, sailing ships have begun to bring young banana plants which are welcomed by the popu1ation.[11] Seafood is plentiful and rounds out the diet.

Pigs and chickens have been introduced into the islands in recent years and are thriving, so that the quantity of meat available for purchase is increasing.[12]

Social Structure

In all the groups, each island has a single chief whose position is inherited.[13] These chiefs do not set themselves apart from the general population in manner of dress, tattooing, or home. However, they maintain complete authority and have the respect of their people.

Next to the chief, the priests or sorcerers have great influence.[14] Their main duty is to intercede with the gods for several purposes: to maintain health or cure illness, to get favorable winds, a good catch when fishing, and to officiate at the birth of babies and at the piercing of the nasal septum for purposes of ornamentation. The sorcerers' homes are larger and more elaborate than those of the other islanders, and the common folk approach them with shyness. When strangers land on the island, they are greeted by the sorcerer, sprayed with water, annointed with oil, and girded with bleached pandanus leaves. Sand, water, and green leaves are spread about the arrival and his boat. After this ceremony, the new arrival is taken to the chief and introduced to him.

Polygyny is the general rule on these islands. However, on Ontong Java, where there are many women, there are many unmarried men who apparently are not rich enough to support a wife or who are of a lower class which is not allowed to marry.

The treatment of women is good. Men do most of the important work, like preparing and tending the taro fields, fishing, building houses and boats, etc. That is, all work requiring physical strength.[15] Child care, homemaking, cooking, and weaving or braiding mats are women's work. In their spare time, they can lounge about their homes, tend their bodies, gossip, etc. Children play in the sand and water and do not wear clothes until adolescence approaches.[16]

Although the islanders at first glance seem to be peaceable folk, there is sufficient evidence to the contrary. Transgressions are quickly punished, so that laws are observed, with the result that white people can now sojourn on these islands safely. There are now white traders living on several islands, who buy the islanders' excess products for shipment abroad.[17]

Whereas most of the islands of these groups are abundantly covered with coconut palms and offer reasonable living conditions, the people choose to live on the larger islands and set up their villages there. As a rule, the small islands have only isolated huts, occupied temporarily during fishing trips or coconut harvest time.[18] The major population, as

on Ontong Java, is in large villages; in the Tasman group, there is just one large village on the island of Nukumanu.

The design of the villages follows a pattern. Most houses are built in the shade of coconut palms. At the beach, these are single homes, where most are protected by the trees. Streets are at right angles to each other and divide the village into sections. They are swept clean and often covered with white sand, as are the entrance ways to the huts. Next to the huts, there are piles of fuel,[19] and in consistently shady places, benches are constructed for sitting. Most huts have pits for storing and ripening coconuts. Every village has one or more wells, up to 7 meters deep, lined with coral. The upper rim is square; the inner sides are funnel shaped and collect rainwater. This is used for drinking but still has a salty taste, which most Europeans find objectionable.[20] Rainwater is also collected in vessels made from large *Strombus* shells[21] which are hung from bent coconut palms.

The living quarters of the natives are rectangular huts 6 to 8 meters long and 3 to 4 meters wide. The sidewalls are 1½ to 2 meters high. The roof rests on two or three 6-meter-high posts and rises about 1½ meters above the vertical supports; it overhangs the sidewalls by about the same amount. Roofs are made of whatever wood or material is available—mostly of coconut wood, covered with thatch made of coconut or pandanus leaves. The sides are covered with the same material. Every hut has two entrances, one at the gable end and the other on one of the long sides. In Takuu houses, the entire gable end is open. Door openings are usually covered with a mat. Often shells are worked into these mats. They chime when the mat is disturbed, thereby announcing an arrival. Inside, the hut consists of a rectangular room. The floor is earth, covered with white coral sand. In the middle there is a flat, round depression where a fire is maintained and meals are prepared. Along the sidewalls homemaking utensils and fishing gear are hung. At the gable end there is a storage room for coconuts and utensils used in their preparation. They also make a hanger device from mangrove roots, used to hang their food baskets.[22]

Beds are made of mats approximately 2 meters wide and 3 meters long, composed of several layers of coconut and pandanus leaves.

The sorcerers' homes are distinguished from the general populations' by being larger and more ornate. The sidewalls are covered with woven coconuts; turtle-shell ornaments hang from the beams; the upright posts are covered with ribbons and bows made from pandanus leaves. Although the sorcerer lives here with his wives, the building also seems to serve as a meeting place for men. On Nukumanu, I found two

invalids lying in the sorcerer's home, and in an adjacent hut, two more sick people. The sorcerer's home seems to serve as an infirmary, as it is considered a refuge from evil spirits, and therefore a place where healing is favored.[23]

The largest building in a settlement is the temple or *reaiku.*[24] The site for this is elevated about 1 meter with coral bricks. The posts and beams are clean and smoothed logs, securely fastened to each other with sennit ropes. The floor is covered with coconut-leaf mats, and an idol *(aiku)* stands at one end of the building.[25] This is usually a block of coral, or a log, carved to resemble a human form. The *aiku* is decorated with bleached pandanus leaf strips and yellow hibiscus. On Nukumanu, the *aiku [sic]* is called Pau-Pau. He is 5 meters tall and carved from hard, brown wood. The face is reminiscent of the large wooden masks of Lukunor (the Mortlock group of the Caroline Islands). The eyes are made of white shells. There are five conical, slightly bent horns with rounded tips on the occiput. A band of woven pandanus leaves is placed around the forehead and cranium. Near the middle of the block, there are two long slits demarking the arms. Pandanus leaves and yellow hibiscus are drawn through these slits and wound about the body, tied on the side into bows with long ribbons. About the hips, a narrow mat, called *tainamu,* is slung, and tied in front into a bow whose ends extend to the ground. Over the mat is a thick belt made of sennit cord into which a number of 20-centimeter-long pointed sticks of coconut are woven. The long-hanging ends of the hip mat cover the junction of the trunk and legs of the figure. The foot end of the idol is covered with pandanus leaves, hibiscus, and other foliage. Coconuts and carved wooden figures, whose significance I do not know, lie at the idol's feet.

As I viewed the idol, only the sorcerer accompanied me, the others remaining at a respectful distance.

Around the *reaiku [sic]* there were several open huts, which apparently were also dedicated to worship. Within the radius of these huts the ground was covered with coconut leaves. I was unable to find out the purpose of these huts. No one was willing to accompany me as I looked over these buildings, and they did not seem to like my loitering there. These huts were completely empty and only occasional posts were wound with pandanus leaves.

Every village has a community burial ground not far from the houses, but I could not persuade anyone to go there with me. The burial ground is divided into rectangular sections, varying in size. Individual graves are arranged in rows covered with white coral sand, and covered with coconuts. The end of each grave is marked by coral blocks, one usually

taller than the others and marked with a red spot about the size of a hand. Skulls were not available.[26] Where I showed the skulls I had brought from the Solomons, I was asked to hide them quickly. A number of skulls are being saved on Nukuria Atoll. These are said to be the skulls of some chiefs and sorcerers. They are taken to the beach annually, washed with salt water, and rubbed with coconut oil. It is said that each of these skulls is known by name, but I am skeptical of this.

The household furnishings have no special significance. In most huts one finds rectangular stools of various sizes, made of a single piece of wood, which were offered to me to sit on. The natives rarely use them. They sit on the ground or on mats.

Wooden bowls, 10 to 80 centimeters long, are found in almost all homes. They are usually oval, with triangular knots at the ends used as handles. The inside bottom is rounded, outside is flat. They are used to prepare meals. Coconut shells are used as containers. These are covered with woven sennit cord and can be hung.

In a few huts I noticed some wooden vessels used only by the women for their cosmetic care.

In Tasman and Ontong Java I found small wooden containers for spices. These containers, called *haufa,*[27] are carved from one piece of wood. They are about 15 centimeters in diameter on bottom and 9 centimeters on top. About 4 centimeters below the rim there are four triangular projections, pierced to allow a fiber string to be pulled through. The string is joined and serves for hanging the vessel.

In almost every house there is a coconut scraper; fastened to a wooden block with sennit cord is a half shell, often replaced now by metal. When working with these, the user sits on the block and works with the tool between his legs, in front of him.

Pestles of hard brown lumber are found in all the islands. Their design varies slightly as do the decorations.

Small baskets made of coconut or pandanus leaves serve to store smaller utensils, They remind me of the school baskets carried by children in Germany. They are rectangular and vary in size, with braided handles that serve for hanging.

Scrapers and knives made of turtle bones are prevalent and vary in size. I have found examples up to 40 centimeters long and as short as 5 centimeters. Width varies from 3 to 5 centimeters. These scrapers are used to open and cut the coconuts. Both men and women wear them around their necks and they serve a decorative as well as utilitarian purpose. The knives, also made of turtle bone, are basically triangular, with a 7-centimeter-long blade. The overall length is about 10 to 15

centimeters. At the end, they have either a hole or a handle, either of which allows a string to be attached so that the implement can be hung. Needles for sewing mats and sails are also made of bone and are up to 12 centimeters long. They are called *kui.*[28] On Ontong Java, near the sleeping mats, people have numerous small pillows, called *kuaruga,* filled with a white material and used to support or cushion various body parts. Among their uses, they are placed under the arms or legs while tattooing.

Of most interest on all the islands is the production of the clothing material. The weaving looms are called *mehau* on Ontong Java and Nukumanu. Mats 175 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide make skirts for women. After they are woven they are dyed dark brown with plant colors and coconut oil. They are called *laulau.*[29] Women wrap them about their bodies covering themselves from waist to knee. A strip of pandanus leaf serves as a belt to fasten the laulau. Men's mats are about 22 centimeters wide, are dyed with carrot coloring, and are called *talla.*[30] They are tied about the hips, and the ends are fastened between the legs. Larger mats, called *tainamu,* are woven expressly for the use of the sorcerers. The sorcerer was very reluctant to let me have one of these mats, apparently fearful that the possession would bring me misfortune. The larger mat was 450 centimeters long and 70 centimeters wide; the smaller one 430 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide. This latter was the type wrapped about the idol's hips on Nukumanu; it was also wrapped about one of the patients seen in the sorcerer's house.

On Nukuria, similar mats are made, and several are sewn together as protection from the many mosquitos. In Samoa also, the mats are sewn together for the same purpose, and called *tainamu* as on Nukuria. Strange, then, that on Ontong Java the same name is given to a mat with an entirely different purpose.[31]

The material used on all the islands is the same—namely hibiscus vine, knotted together. The weaving is done by men. The women help in preparing the materials.

Ornamentation and Tattooing

Ornamentation is of little importance to the islanders. On Nukuria, I remember no jewelry or tattooing at all. On Takuu as well, there was no tattooing. If you saw a tattooed individual here, he was an immigrant from Ontong Java.[32] Occasional earrings and belts do however serve notice that beautifying the body is not entirely a lost art. For instance, I

saw earrings made of turtle-shell, mother-of-pearl, and other shells, in the form of a fish. Characteristic here also are belts, made of three rows of snails. Single-row belts of similar material were an earlier fashion. The belts are 80 to 90 centimeters long and put together so that the upper side of the snail shell is shown. The shells are joined by braided sennit cord. On Ontong Java and Nukumanu, the ornamentation was more sophisticated, though apparently a dying art.

Usually dancefests are the reason for wearing the ornaments. However, there are some objects used only for the dances: for instance, an apron, called *kiki* and worn by men.[33] In some dances women as well as men hold short wooden clubs in their hands, which they manipulate to produce sounds, as with castanets. In some dances, four or five small wooden bars are held in each hand and shaken to strike each other and produce the sounds.

A characteristic ornament of these groups is the nose ornament, called *heranga,* worn by the priests and old men.[34] This is about 11 centimeters long and at the lower end about 7 centimeters wide. The upper ring is split so that it can easily be slipped through the slit made in the nares for this purpose. With one of these ornaments in each nostril, hanging over the mouth and chin, the wearer has a most grotesque appearance—inducing laughter in Europeans, rather than the respect it is supposed to induce. Women also wear a small leaf of turtle-shell through the nostril. The women's nose ornament is small, and never hangs over the upper lip.

Adolescent boys seem to prefer to wear ear ornaments. I noticed only one design for these, consisting of a fishtail design with a ring of turtle-shell stuck through the auricle.

Men and women wear narrow armbands called *waha* around the upper arm.[35] These are about 1 centimeter wide and are braided out of 2-millimeter-wide strips of pandanus leaf. Armbands of trochus are seen on all the islands. These are roughly finished and only poorly polished. On Takuu I found armbands made of coconut shell, 1 centimeter wide, made of one piece.

As a rule neck and chest ornaments are worn only at festive occasions. Usually they are round plates made of cone shell.[36] They are smoothed and. polished, and holes are bored into them near the rim so that they can be worn singly or in multiples. If several are worn, the largest is in the middle, and then they decrease in size to right and left. These discs vary in size from 2 to 6 centimeters. I have also mentioned before that a rasp made of polished turtle-shell is worn by many men as a neck ornament. Women wear a corresponding ornament, but theirs consists of

one to four pieces of turtle-shell about 15 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide. A hole is bored into the upper end; the lower end is pointed and sharpened as a knife blade. Because of their value, these ornaments are worn on rare occasions, and then only by the wealthy.

All the necklaces I saw and that were described to me are made of teeth (they are called *ngiho,* meaning tooth).[37] The teeth are of varying size, and usually in their natural state, except that a hole is bored through the roots so that they can be strung. Large teeth may be worn singly on a string. Necklaces made of adapted sharks teeth are especially treasured. These teeth may vary from 5 to 15 centimeters in length. If a number of teeth are strung together, the largest one is centered, with decreasing size toward each end. Usually there are no more than three teeth on a single neck ornament. One chief presented me with a necklace of 14 teeth, which probably could not be duplicated today.

Men and women wear fish-shaped discs made of mother-of-pearl 3 to 6 centimeters long, either singly or several on a string.

Finger-rings made of turtle-shell which are worn now are probably of recent origin, copied from European fashion.

At dances women wear special belts, called *moro,* to fasten their skirts. These consist of ten rows of beads made of coconut shell, about 5 millimeters in diameter and 1½ to 3 millimeters thick. The outer surface is polished. Each string is about 65 centimeters long. Sometimes white beads made of snail or conch shell are interspersed at intervals of 10 centimeters.

Although they are not decorative objects, I want to mention fans here. Fans are found and used on all the islands. Usually they are made of braided palm leaves, are heart-shaped and of uniform size, and are carried by all the sorcerers and priests. On Takuu, they have special ceremonial fans that are hung—up to 1½ meters long.

On Nukuria the sorcerers have special belts about 2 meters long. They are made of sennit cord and fashioned with loops at the ends, by which they are fastened around the body.

Tattooing is the most prized body decoration on Ontong Java and Nukumanu. Extensive tattooing is common for both men and women. Because of the time involved in these extensive patterns, they are often done in sections over a period of many years. The instruments used are made from bones of aquatic birds. The instrument is held in the left hand and tapped lightly with a stick held in the right hand to drive the points with the dye through the skin.

Tattooing is done exclusively by women. The art is practiced by a few

privileged families, and is passed down from mother to daughter. Because of the length of time tattooing takes and the demands for the service, the tattoo artists are always busy at their profession. They are extremely skilled, so that they can carry on conversations and observe their surroundings with only occasional glances at their work. The client endures the pain of the procedure stoically; only the eyes and tightly drawn lips reveal the reactions to the pain. In the many times I watched, I never heard a groan from any client. One young woman whom I watched being tattooed seemed to be enduring great pain. She did not emit a sound, but her temperature, taken during the procedure, revealed a high fever, indicating a marked inflammatory reaction.

The tattooed areas are bathed daily with fresh water. In about three to four weeks the scab falls off and the tattoo design appears on the skin as blue lines. In older people the designs tend to fade and to merge. In old women especially, the extensive body and leg tattoos give the entire skin a grayish blue appearance, but in young men and women the tattoos are distinct and attractive.

Canoes and Fishing Gear

The Nukumanu and Ontong Javanese must depend on driftwood for building their canoes, since they do not have trees large enough for this purpose.[38] By the number of vessels in the area, one would judge that the sea provides sufficient materials. Almost every canoe shows signs of long and hard use, with many patches on its planks. The pieces of driftwood are not always big enough for a boat; thus, several pieces must be joined, so that you may find light and dark woods used together without regard for pattern or distribution.[39] The chief Uila of Ontong Java owns a long canoe which unmistakably was once the mast of a large ship. The canoes vary in size from small ones which hold only two people, to 16 meters long, accommodating twenty people.[40] However, they all have the same shape: a long trough with straight keel and rectilinear edge, the ends bent slightly back of the keel. Some have short decks fore and aft, which serve as a seat for the helmsman. Stability is provided by an outrigger. Many canoes also carry a triangular sail, and it is amazing how fast these clumsy and often fragile boats can go even in stormy weather outside the lagoon.[41] If the boat capsizes no great harm is done, as the people easily right it and swing themselves on board. If women or children are taken aboard, they are protected from sun and/or rain by a shed made of pandanus leaves.[42]

On Nukuria canoes are similar to the above, except that they have native wood for building them. On Takuu, on the other hand, there are

some old boats which are beached and are no longer used because the population is unable to launch them. They are 10 to 14 meters long, made of heavy planking built from the keel up. Their inner depth is 1½ meters. There are long carved figures on the prow and stern, and a shed, also with carving. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a sketch or photo of one of these boats, and I'm afraid that they will soon be destroyed by weathering if they have not been destroyed already.[43]

Obviously fishing is very important to these populations, as the sea provides the major portion of their nutrition. I have not had the opportunity to observe the various fishing techniques; rather, my descriptions are based on inference from the tools I have found in the fishing huts.

Nets of all types are found everywhere, ranging from small casting nets to large sink-nets.[44] The large nets seem to be the common property of certain families. On the reef, they fish for small fish and crustaceans at night with a draw-net spread over a circular wooden frame and attached to a rod of variable length. The fish are lured by the light of burning coconut fronds and caught in the net. Fishhooks made of various materials are also used.

Hooks for shark-fishing are made of hardwood with shanks from 15 to 30 centimeters long. At the upper end of the short shank a hook is attached at an angle, with cord, and the whole is attached to a fishing line. I have never seen this used and am unable to visualize its use.

Spearfishing is done on all the islands, but its use seems limited.[45]

Nets and lines are made of sennit cord and the fiber of a type of hibiscus. The latter is also used to spin a thread from which the throw-nets and sink-nets are made. Threads are spun by rolling the fibers with the flat hand against the thigh, one hand feeding the fiber, the other hand doing the rolling. Several threads are then rolled together by similar techniques. If thicker cords are desired, a number of threads are braided together.

To protect the soles of people's feet from the sharp coral, sandals are worn on Ontong Java and Nukumanu. They are made from braided sennit and held on the foot by a thong between the toes and cords tied around the ankle. The soles are thick to give protection from the sharp edges of the coral.

Weapons and Utensils

On Nukuria, the only weapon now in use is a club made of mangrove wood, about 1 meter long. The islanders do not remember ever having spears.

On Takuu, there are more sophisticated weapons. They have long, heavy lances, 3 meters long by 3 centimeters thick, pointed at each end. In a hut here, I found an old example of a lance, 280 centimeters long, carved at one end. I am not sure that this was a weapon. It may have been a ceremonial spear, the type held by an orator during a speech. This assumption is supported by the fact that the upper end was wrapped with bleached pandanus-leaf strips. I also obtained a very old club made of dark hardwood, completely plain except for carving at the end. The shape reminded me of old Samoan clubs.

On Ontong Java and Nukumanu, in 1895, I succeeded in finding old weapons in some huts even though I had been told that weapons were completely unknown there.[46] There were three types of lance. *Makaki* -plain, straight, 3½ to 4 meters long with one pointed end; *kumalie*—with short spikes to the right and left of the midshaft at acute angles; and *maai*—with many spikes, each at a different angle to the axis of the shaft.[47] This implement was reminiscent of similar ones in the Gilbert Islands. It is a very heavy weapon, and therefore, useful only in close combat. Its weight would make it impossible to use as a throwing spear.

Paramoa and *langa* are club-like weapons fashioned from whalebone. They vary in size from 40 to 60 centimeters long and 6 to 15 centimeters wide. At one end there is a knob to give a better grip. Usually a hole is bored through the knob so that a sling rope can be pulled through.[48]

At present, the articles in use are metal tools brought by the traders. They have so completely replaced the old tools that it is difficult to make the local inhabitants understand that you want to collect the old discarded tools. It is quite possible, therefore, that some instruments are completely forgotten. On Nukuria one finds old hatchets, etc., in dumps and abandoned homesteads. They also used shovels which I have not seen anywhere else. The blade was made of turtle bones and was about 18 centimeters long, the lower end rounded to about 19 centimeters wide, the upper end about 9 centimeters wide. At the middle of the upper end, a tongue protruded to enable secure fastening of the blade to the handle. This tool too has been replaced by metallic ones.

In my collection, I have two axe blades found on one of the Fead Islands. These are entirely different from any other blades found there. They are made of black basalt-like stone not found in the Fead group. The cutting end is curved, slightly concave, 14 centimeters wide, the upper end almost coming to a point and well polished. The other is somewhat smaller. Both specimens were found while digging and probably came from old graves.

Years ago on Takuu, I found rectangular blades about 25 to 30 centimeters long, made out of turtle bones. One end, about 9 to 12 centimeters wide, is slightly curved and sharpened. The other end, which is narrower, had two holes about 4 centimeters apart, about 3 centimeters from the upper rim. Somewhat smaller blades of similar shape but with only one hole were also found. The hole in these smaller blades was small, admitting only a single strand of coconut fiber, whereas the holes in the larger blades were 5 to 7 millimeters in diameter. I thought these implements were large scrapers or maybe spatulas used in the preparation of food. In September 1895, a resident trader from Takuu presented me with several old stone axes and other tools. Among these I found one of the two-holed blades described above. This trader had an elderly native make some handles for old tools to demonstrate their mode of attachment; among these, he had a wooden handle made for the two-holed blade, which made it obvious that this implement had served as an axe.[49] This was especially interesting to me as I had just read a treatise by Dr. Von Luschan about the Maty Islands[?] in which he described collections of objects similar to the ones I observed here. The above example from Takuu bears great resemblance to the bone axes of Maty although the latter were finished with far greater attention to detail and greater artistry. The blade of my Takuu specimen is undoubtedly very old; the handle and fastening are of more recent date. One can assume that earlier handles were made with greater attention to detail. The newer handle and fastening are far simpler than the ones I obtained years ago when I first collected there. It is impossible to determine now whether the Takuu specimen was a primitive copy of the Maty axes, or whether the Maty implements were a more sophisticated version of the Takuu tool.

The axe and blade of Takuu are made of *Tridacna* shell and polished *Terebra* snail. The *Tridacna* blades are distinguished for their remarkable size, although the shape is similar to those of Nukuria.

On Ontong Java and Nukumanu, we see virtually the same shape as on the above islands, although minor variation of details may be seen. I have not been able to obtain examples of comparable implements from these islands.

Money

On Nukumanu women make *kua* or money strings, consisting of discs, 7 to 8 millimeters in diameter and 1½ to 2 millimeters thick, made of white seashells or of coconut shell, strung alternately on strings. Each

string was about one meter long. Five such strings were combined in one bundle. This "money" was used mainly in trading with Ontong Java. On the east side of the Solomon Islands, these strings are sometimes worn as necklaces. I have found them on the east side of Bougainville, in the Shortland Islands, and on Choiseul. On Bougainville I was told that they came from washed up canoes. Therefore it is probable that the specimens found in the Solomons originated on Nukumanu or the Gilbert Islands, where similar money strings were in use.[50]

Language

The first natives of Ontong Java I met had come to Samoa as workers in 1878. Several of them were assigned to me as boat crew a few weeks after their arrival, and I was surprised to note that they communicated with the Samoans without any difficulty. Later, when I visited Ontong Java, I found the language there very similar to the Samoan language. Traders who speak the Samoan language and now live on Takuu and Nukuria assure me that they could understand these islanders, and within a few weeks could converse with them without difficulty; in a short time they mastered the pronunciations of the various island natives.

NOTES

Parkinson's ethnography can be found in *Internationales Archivs fur Ethnographie* 10:104-118 and 137-151. The original article was published in 1897 under the title, "Zur Ethnograhie de Ongtong Java- und Tasman-Inseln, mit: Einigen Bemerkungen über die Marqueen- und Abgarris-Inseln." I am indebted to Kent State University for providing the leave time during which I gained a firsthand knowledge of the islands discussed in this article. In addition, I would like to express particular gratitude to Jay Howard for a careful reading and constructive criticism of Parkinson's article and my annotations. His contribution is cited repeatedly in the notes that follow.

1. Tarawa is the capital of the Gilbert Islands, now an independent nation known as Kiribati.

2. The Polynesian Ellice Islands, formerly part of the British Gilberts and Ellice Colony, are now an independent nation known as Tuvalu. We use the designations Gilbert and Ellice Islands in this article for Kiribati and Tuvalu respectively as independence did not come about until many decades after the article's original publication.

3. Sikaiana or Stewart Island is an atoll east of northern Malaita in the Solomon Islands. Its nearest neighbor, Malaita, is well over a hundred miles away, and Ontong Java is almost three hundred miles distant to the northwest. The readiness of voyagers to sail their

canoes between the two atolls is impressive testimony to their self-confidence and navigational abilities.

4. There is, of course, a great deal of variation in canoe speed, depending on weather tack, the size and construction of the vessel, and the sailors' seamanship abilities. Nonetheless, the estimate of 60 miles a day (an average of 2½ knots) is rather conservative, assuming that one is not beating against the wind. On the other hand, to right a capsized vessel in a storm, even for Polynesians, can be far more problematic than Parkinson imagined (see Feinberg n.d.).

5. Parkinson's original spelling was Liueniua. The indigenous pronunciation is more accurately represented in contemporary orthography as Luangiua, and we have thus rendered it in this translation.

6. Nukumanu is the largest islet and, at the time of Parkinson's visits, was also the site of the atoll's only settlement. Shortly after the Australians took over administration of the old German New Guinea Colony, the settlement was moved to Amotu, the atoll's second largest islet. Many families keep up houses on the main islet, but residence in these dwellings is sporadic. The *Cyrtosperma* swamps are still on the "Big Island."

7. This is untrue of Ontong Java, where there is no indigenous name for the entire atoll. Luangiua is the name of the larger settlement and the islet on which it is located; it does not include the smaller settlement, Peelau, which is politically and socially autonomous. Peelau is usually spelled Pelau on maps. Nukumanu is the indigenous name for the entire Tasman group and the largest islet of that group. My informants, however, more often used the name Vaihare when referring to Nukumanu islet rather than the atoll.

8. The proper pronunciation is Takuu, with a lengthened /uu/. This name is used for both the atoll and the largest islet, which today serves as the garden islet. The settlement is located on the second largest islet, Nukutoa.

9. According to Bayliss-Smith (1975a), Nukuria is a group consisting of two separate atolls known as Nukaruba and Malum. The entire group is also known as the Fead Islands. Some maps identify Nukuria (usually spelled Nuguria) as only the more southerly atoll and give the designation Nugarba (i.e., Nukaruba) or Goodman Island for the largest islet. According to recent provincial maps, the group has only one indigenous settlement and the largest islet is uninhabited.

10. To the contrary, children constantly chew on pandanus seeds, and adults also appreciate the moisture and tangy flavor. There was no shortage of coconuts during my stay on Nukumanu.

11. Nukumanu distinguish between *taro* (true taro, genus *Colocasia*) and *vakkehu* (swamp taro, genus *Cyrtosperma*). Informants say that taro once grew on their atoll but has become extinct, leaving the main source of carbohydrate *vakkehu* and imported staples such as wheat flour and rice. True taro still is said to grow on Ontong Java. Parkinson's comments on the difficulty of raising either of these crops are as apt today as they were a century ago. He also is correct about the introduction of banana; and to the list one might add papaya, pumpkin, tobacco, and sugarcane. However, none of these crops grow well in the atolls' salty, coralline, sandy soil. On Nukumanu, which seems to be the driest of the four atolls, these crops rarely fruit, and when they do the fruit is of poor quality.

12. This presumably means purchase by the visiting planter; islanders do not customarily sell pigs and chickens to each other.

13. The accuracy of this statement depends on one's translation of indigenous terms. Each atoll has two terms that could conceivably be glossed as "chief"; presumably, Parkinson is referring to the position designated on Ontong Java as *ke ku'u,* on Nukumanu as *te tuku,* and on Takuu as *te pure.* The holder of the *ku'u* (or *tuku,* or *pure*) title might be described as the "paramount chief," although I prefer "secular" or "administrative chief." The other chiefly title is *ke maakua* on Ontong Java, *te ariki* on Nukumanu, and te maatua on Takuu. This is presumably the term that Parkinson translates as "priest" or "sorcerer." As *ariki* is the usual Polynesian word for "chief," I am inclined to gloss the office as "sacred" or "spiritual chief." Each settlement appears to have had one "administrative chief"; Luangiua and Peelau each had its own *ku'u.* By contrast, there were several "priests" or "sacred chiefs" in each settlement, although at least on Nukumanu, there no longer is agreement as to how many there were or who their true descendants are. According to present-day informants, Nukumanu's first *tuku* took power by force of arms within the past 150 years; thus, it is interesting to see the administrative chiefs ascendancy so definitively reported a century ago. One is reminded of Tongan chiefly history with the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua's ascendancy over the Tu'i Tonga, and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu's ascendancy over the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. Perhaps the theme of the lower overcoming the higher, cited by Goldman in his description of Samoa (Goldman 1970) is more widely embedded than he realized in Polynesian cultures. Jay Howard (personal communication) has expressed general agreement with the above observations but adds that the terms *tuku* and *ariki* are found on Takuu as well as on the atolls to the east, although they are used by Takuu in a somewhat different sense.

14. The indigenous term that Parkinson is glossing as "priest" or "sorcerer" presumably is *maatua* (Takuu), *ariki* (Nukumanu), or *maakua* (Ontong Javanese). Sorcery, since Frazer, has connoted use of magic formulae to manipulate a mechanistic universe. A priest, by contrast, is a religious practitioner whose power rests in his ability to appeal effectively to autonomous spiritual beings. According to contemporary anthropological usage, then, "priest" may be an apt translation. True "sorcery" has been described for Ontong Java (Hogbin 1932, 1961), but this is quite distinct from the phenomenon addressed here by Parkinson.

15. This statement is largely true for Takuu and perhaps Nukuria. On Nukumanu and Ontong Java, by contrast, "taro" swamps are controlled and tended by women. In addition, women cut and carry large bundles of pandanus leaf, firewood, and coconuts for copra—all heavy work, requiring considerable physical strength.

16. This is still true on Nukumanu and probably Ontong Java; it is less so on Takuu.

17. The atoll dwellers had good reason to make themselves appear peaceful to their European overlords. Today, these people feel less threatened by outsiders and it is possible to obtain stories of major battles fought within the past century and a half—not long before Parkinson's observations.

18. In general, this statement is still true. However, the most common reason at present for visits to the outer islets is to collect bêche-de-mer. Family groups will often camp for up to a week on distant islets in order to save time and outboard-motor fuel.

19. Fuel for cooking fires usually consists of coconut shells left over from the copra-making process. Parkinson's use of the term "fuel" *(Bernmaterial)* rather than "firewood" suggests that this situation has not changed in at least a century.

20. At present, Takuu has no well; however, almost every house has a cistern to catch rainwater. Nukumanu has two wells, but well water is used for washing and cooking-not drinking.

21. Howard (personal communication) adds that "the Takuu formerly collected water in the shells of the giant clam *(Tridacna gigus)* and the helmet conch *(Cassis cornuta).*"

22. House design differs somewhat from one atoll to another. Today, the villages are arranged as straight rows of houses parallel to the beach, and typically each house has two doors: one facing the lagoon and one on the seaward side. On Nukumanu floors are paved with a kind of cement made by mixing sea water with fire ash. On Takuu house floors are coral rubble. Takuu houses, reflecting population density, are smaller and closer together than are Nukumanu dwellings. Roofs are fashioned of pandanus-leaf thatch; walls are of coconut-leaf mats. Wooden doors with padlocks have become commonplace.

23. This description is as apt today as at the time it was written,

24. This should be *hare aiku,* "spirit house," on Ontong Java, *hare aitu* on Nukumanu, and *fare aitu* on Takuu.

25. *Aiku* (or *aitu* in Nukumanu and Takuu) is the word for "spirit"; apparently a physical object held to personify a spirit was called by the same term.

26. This is still a fairly accurate description of the Nukumanu graveyard. Headstones are sometimes concrete but usually are fashioned from coral slabs. Recent stones have the names of the persons buried under them and the date of death. Many are decorated with tuna, marlin, lizard, or turtle designs; the designs are sometimes highlighted with red enamel paint.

27. Neither Howard nor I am familiar with this word. Howard (personal communication) suggests that *haufa* may have been a printer's error resulting from a misreading of Parkinson's handwritten manuscript.

28. This is the Ontong Javanese word; the Nukumanu pronunciation is *tui*. The word also appears as the verb "to sew."

29. This is a reduplicated form of *lau,* the generic term for "leaf" or "leaflike object." The proper spelling for the loom is *meehau* (Nukumanu) or *meefau* (Takuu) (Howard, personal communication).

30. I am not familiar with this term. The description of the dye sounds like turmeric, known in Nukumanu as *kaarena* and Takuu as *rena;* the turmeric plant, as opposed to the dye, is *te lau ano* on both islands.

31. *Tainamu* is the word for "mosquito net" in much of modern Polynesia.

32. Tattooing is also practiced on Nukumanu, although few people under thirty years of age have gone through the procedure at this time.

33. Howard states that "*kiki* is the Ontong Java term for Nukumanu *titi*. Takuu has *ttii aronaa,* 'strips of fiber from the *aronaa* plant.' These are used to make net cordage, but also presumably the 'grass' skirts worn in dancing" (personal communication).

34. This probably should be *he ranga, he* being the indefinite article, singular. It may be significant here that priests and old men are called by the same term— *maakua*—on Ontong Java.

35. Howard (personal communication) notes that *waha* should be written *vaha.* The Takuu cognate is *vasa* (meaning "plaited pandanus mat" or "prepared pandanus leaves for making mat."

36. The German word that we translate as "cone shell" is *Kegelschnecke,* for which we have been unable to obtain a definitive gloss.

37. This is cognate with the usual Polynesian word for "tooth"; cf. *niho* (Nukumanu), nifo (Takuu, Tikopia), *nipo* (Anuta), etc.

38. This misconception has been repeated elsewhere, as in the ethnographic film "Death of an Island Culture." In fact, Nukumanu has several species of tree from which canoes are cut. By contrast, for Takuu, where the large trees were cut down by Forsayth and Company to make more room for its copra plantation (Howard, personal communication), Parkinson's assertion may be à propos.

39. This is still very much the case. Suitable wood for canoes is at a premium; therefore, no usable timber is discarded. When a canoe is rotted beyond repair, salvageable wood is kept and reused for planking or patching other vessels.

40. This is precisely the variation in canoe size that I found on Nukumanu in 1984.

41. Obviously, from Parkinson's description, these canoes are functional, efficient, and anything but clumsy.

42. This sounds reminiscent of the sheds on Carolinian canoes, which are set on the lee platform during lengthy journeys, especially if women are to go along (Gladwin 1970). Ontong Java and the Polynesian atolls of Papua New Guinea no longer equip their canoes with sheds; indeed, the lee platform itself is a thing of the past.

43. These are undoubtedly what Takuu call *vaka fai laa,* large interisland sailing canoes. Takuu still make models of these vessels, primarily for sale to tourists, but full-sized sailing craft have not been built since Parkinson's day. One explanation I was given in Papua New Guinea was that the necessary magic has been lost and it is felt that to construct and launch a *vaka fai laa* without supernatural protection would be to court disaster. In addition, one might note that European ships have made long-distance canoe travel unnecessary. Canoes are constantly sailed between Nukumanu and Ontong Java, but for the 30-mile voyage, elaborate vessels are not considered necessary. With outboard motors, the voyage can now routinely be made in five or six hours.

44. Presumably these were some kind of weighted net.

45. Parkinson is probably referring here to use of wooden fishing spears rather than the relatively recent use of spear guns.

46. Parkinson's informants were obviously dissimulating; according to oral traditions, armed conflict has been very much a part of the political history of these atolls (cf. note 17).

47. *Makaki* and *kumalie* are Ontong Javanese pronunciations. Howard further notes that "*makaki* was probably intended as *makahi,* with a handwritten /h/ misread as a /k/. . . .

The Takuu form *mattasi* (from *mata,* "point," + *tasi,* "one") suggests that the true Ontong Java and Nukumanu forms are probably *makkahi* and *mattahi,* respectively" (personal communication). The word that Parkinson presents as *maai* is probably the Ontong Javanese *ma'ai* without orthographic representation of the glottal stop.

48. *Paramoa* should be written *paraamoa.* Howard (personal communication) suggests that the term derives from *paraa,* "feather," + *moa,* "chicken," and is used to refer to a machete as well as the weapon described by Parkinson. He further states that "probably the term referred to a tool or weapon of a particular form and function regardless of the material it was made out of," and that "the Takuu form and usage are exactly the same." *Langa* is Ontong Javanese; the cognate on Takuu and Nukumanu is *llana,* "shed-sword" or "beater of a loom." Howard describes it as "a flat, wide stick similar in shape to a *paraamoa"* and suggests that the correct Ontong Javanese form probably is *llanga.*

49. Howard (personal communication) states that "the bone axes of Takuu (called *takuu*), as well as the bone-bladed shovels *(kapika)* described [above], were gardening tools. The axes were used for cutting taro stalks and similar tasks."

56. Kua is Ontong Javanese; the Nukumanu pronunciation is *tua.* Today, *tua* are necklaces of plastic beads. They are made by women and may be sold or given away as tokens of affection.

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