

# PACIFIC STUDIES

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a journal devoted to the study of the Pacific--  
its islands and adjacent countries

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## PHANTOM NIGHT MARCHERS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

by Katharine Luomala

My paper focuses on the phantom night marchers of the Hawaiian Islands as reported on the five main islands--Hawai'i, O'ahu, Maui, Molo'ka'i, and Kaua'i. For the last ninety years or so published and unpublished accounts have surfaced of people encountering the marching apparitions of chiefs, chiefesses, dead relatives, gods, goddesses, and their retinues on roads they had once ceremonially traveled to attend to customary affairs inextricably combining secular and sacred elements. Hawaiians call the phantom parade either *huaka'i pō* (*huaka'i*, procession; *pō*, night) or, less often, *'oi'o* (derivation unknown).

The diverse content of the narratives and beliefs, which circulate principally by oral transmission, suggests that many originated independently during the last century. They evolved in a cultural matrix that encompassed information passed on orally or from publications about non-phantom--and even some spectral--Hawaiian daytime and nighttime processions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries following Captain Cook's arrival in 1778. In the next century, foreigners writing about the traditional and the transitional culture had to depend on themselves for organizing processions of their own followers, supplemented by Hawaiians, to conduct their business. Later, Hawaiians who had learned to write described processions in which they had participated or had heard about from elders. In the marches were living human beings, some of whom were led by a man or woman of such high rank as to be considered divine, and by men carrying images of gods of both sexes. Hawaiians believed that marchers might include gods, goddesses, family guardian gods, and spirits of dead kinfolk who assumed either material or spectral forms visible to human onlookers.

Source material about phantom marchers of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries consists of my unpublished collection of over twenty

narratives and statements of belief and about a half-dozen published references.<sup>1</sup> The unpublished material has items from the 1930s but most date from between 1950 and 1970. The first published reference to an *‘oi‘o* that I know of was in 1883. It stated that a phantom army led by King Kamehameha’s spirit had been seen on Hawai‘i. Another early account tells of a phantom army led by the spirit of the king’s nephew and foster son Ka-niho-nui, on Maui, that had left many dead persons in its track.<sup>2</sup> The fullest published description, largely generalized, was written in 1930 by Mary Kawena Pukui whose information came from her Hawaiian relatives and friends in her native district of Ka‘ū, Hawai‘i, and the neighboring districts of Puna and Kona.<sup>3</sup> A few years later, Antoinette Withington published over a dozen narratives obtained mostly on O‘ahu from Hawaiian and Caucasian residents of Honolulu and nearby communities.<sup>4</sup> Additional published accounts in newspapers, if located, might be useful to determine any effect on the frequency and content of experiences later reported. By and large, however, there is little published on the night-marching apparitions.

The four categories of sources are: (1) narratives by persons who have encountered the marching spirits, (2) those about a relative’s or a friend’s experience, (3) those about someone unknown to the storyteller, and (4) impersonal descriptions of the belief.

The information about daytime and nighttime processions in Hawaiian culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries comes from Hawaiian scholars writing in Hawaiian, sometimes for publication in nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers and periodicals. Part of this material has now been translated into English and published. Among these writers are David Malo, S. M. Kamakau, Kepelino Keauokalani, and especially John Papa I‘i, who was born in 1800 and died in 1870.

Martha F. Fleming has usefully assembled many early nineteenth-century descriptions by Englishmen and Americans about processions conducted for diverse purposes by both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian dignitaries and commoners.<sup>5</sup> In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the processions held during coronations, funerals, and other events relating to members (or former members) of the royal family, contained elements of still earlier processions. By the end of the nineteenth century the monarchy established by Kamehameha had fallen, and the United States annexed the islands.

Processions are a study in themselves, but my concern in this paper is merely to suggest the nature of those familiar to early Hawaiian writers because they form the background for the phantom marchers of later

years. In connection with the earlier processions, I shall mention occasional elements of the later ones to illustrate the continuity of customs and beliefs.

First, however, I shall quote a story told in 1970 by a Hawaiian fisherman of Pepe'ekeo, Hawai'i, about the time he and his companion heard the phantom night marchers and saw their torches.<sup>6</sup>

The limpet picker related his story this way: One night when I was fishing for *ulua* [crevally, *Carangidae*] Māhu-kona side, I was sitting listening to the waves crash on the rocks. I was with Keoki. We started talking story after sliding fresh *pūhi* [eels] down the line. It was about ten o'clock. Suddenly I heard the sound of a conch shell blowing in the distance. Keoki heard it too. I thought it was the wind. Then a little while later we heard it again. This time it was a little louder. It was spooky because we didn't see anything. Then we heard it again. We looked toward Ka-wai-hae side and then we saw it. It looked like a procession. At first we saw a line of torches in the distance. The procession was moving along the coastline. The conch shell blew again.

I took out my knife and Keoki got the rifle. We went seaward and laid down on the lava rock. We knew about night marchers from other fishermen. We knew you aren't supposed to look upon the marchers and to lay on the ground face down. We did this. The marchers passed about fifty yards in front of us on the sand path. As they passed we could hear the sound of a drum pounding beat by beat. We didn't look up until they were farther down the coast. All we could see now was the line of torches, and all we could hear was the far away sound of the conch shell.

We didn't know if they were going to come back that night, but we didn't want to stick around and see. We got our sleeping bags and made it to the car and went to Spencer Park to spend the rest of the night. In the morning we went back and picked up our rigs and equipment we left behind.

### **Processions in Hawaiian Culture**

In the earlier culture, processions of living chiefs and chiefesses were numerous and varied in purpose. This was because such personages seldom appeared alone in public owing to taboos as onerous to them as to people ranked above and below them. They could escape these taboos only if they temporarily withdrew, unrecognized, to the backcountry, but by doing so they lost their privileges of rank.



Rank, as Kamakau said, was obtained in the womb and known to people by the taboos and laws belonging to a specific man or woman.<sup>7</sup> A herald often accompanied a dignitary in order to command people to get off the road and, if the principal marcher was of very high rank, to prostrate themselves (*kapu moe*), or, if of lower rank, to squat down (*kapu noho*). The herald might also require the onlooker to close his eyes or to remove all or part of his clothing. Because anything belonging to a ranking person was also taboo, the solitary bearer of a chief's possessions always shouted a warning command. The most sacred chiefs and chiefesses were carried in litters because their feet would taboo the ground. They seldom went out except at night, thus preventing the disruption of daily labor and the chance of a polluting shadow falling on anything or anybody. A taboo-breaker might be killed or seized for a sacrifice at a high chief's heiau (place of worship). Sometimes the penalty was extended to the violator's entire family group.

Reports about latter-day phantom marchers occasionally refer to these taboos and attribute mysterious deaths to punishments inflicted by the marchers for violations of their highborn leaders' taboos.

Wherever a dignitary went, there was often a procession. To appease the offended volcano goddess Pele, Kamehameha the Great led a procession through the danger area in North Kona, Hawai'i, with his lesser chiefs, chiefesses, priests, and two of his wives--Ka'ahu-manu and her sister, **Ka-heihei-mālie**. After accepting the king's offerings, Pele stopped the lava flow and manifested herself as a woman leading a "multitude" of other goddesses, also in human form, who danced and chanted praises of Ka'ahu-manu whom Kamehameha had been neglecting at the time in favor of her sister.<sup>8</sup>

An observer of a latter-day procession of gods and goddesses in the volcano area recognized Pele's youngest sister, Hi'iaka. Although Pele herself is not named, this suggests to me that the other marchers may have included Pele's numerous younger sisters.<sup>9</sup>

Another memorable occasion was a magnificent social affair on Hawai'i, "the talk of the time," according to Kamakau, that lasted several days and consumed much wealth.<sup>10</sup> Kamehameha gave it to honor Ka'ahu-manu and celebrate peace following his final decisive battle at Nu'uanu Pali, O'ahu, in 1795 which united the archipelago. Kamakau implies that a procession was part of the celebration, for chiefs carried Ka'ahu-manu in a litter cushioned with feather cloaks while chiefs and chiefesses held the hems of her garments. The king's other four wives were also richly attired and attended by many high chiefs and chiefesses. Two chiefs held heirloom *kāhili* (royal feather standards) belonging to two of

the wives, each *kāhili* with a personal name and history. One belonged to Ke-‘ōpu-o-lani, the king’s sacred wife, who outranked him. She was attended by one of the other wives, who was her aunt, and by many taboo chiefs. Beholders prostrated themselves because of her taboo.

Latter-day observers note that phantom processions frequently appear on anniversaries and at places of important national or local events that took place in the marchers’ lifetime. In 1970, a great-grandmother on Hawai‘i explained that spirits of dead chiefs and their retinues still traveled from village to village to attend festivities such as they had enjoyed in life. She also noted that a very high chief had heralds to order people to prostrate themselves off the trail; anyone failing to do so risked being instantly killed by the chief’s guards (*mū*).

In the old culture, a chief and his followers marched to battle arrayed in feather cloaks, helmets, and other finery. In the chief’s personal party were his wife, closest friends, and bearers of stick images representing his gods. Also in his procession were his general, priests, astrologers, as well as variously trained, equipped, and specialized ranks of warriors.<sup>11</sup> Observers of phantom marchers frequently identify them as the spirits of a chief and his warriors.

Two important daytime processions occurred at a ten-day ceremony to bring health and peace to Kamehameha’s kingdom, the king himself, and his ailing sacred wife. During this time he resided in Papa-‘ena-‘ena Heiau on Lē‘ahi (Diamond Head) under strict taboo. The first procession, part of a ritual, marched only before an assemblage of chiefs (*ali‘i*), priests (*kāhuna*), and thatchers of the several heiau structures, and remained within the heiau precincts. First came a man bearing a taboo stick to warn that sacred personages were approaching. Then came a man-god and the feather images of gods--each carried by its keeper. The next day the king with many priests and other attendants marched from the heiau to a mountain to cut sacred logs to be carved into a new image of his principal god. The many rites connected with this “fearful and terrifying procession,” as I‘i called it, included human sacrifices--taboo-breakers seized from the king’s procession or along the route.<sup>12</sup> Observers of phantom processions frequently interpret them as either going to or from the site of a former heiau.

An annual daytime procession around each island or district was made during the Makahiki, a four-month-long harvest celebration to honor the god Lono and to collect tribute for redistribution. On O‘ahu in Kamehameha’s time, two processions set out from the Diamond Head heiau. The more important one--led by Lono’s stick image and banner--included priests and collectors of offerings who marched with the land on their

right, the ocean on their left, and the land toward the ocean taboo. The other procession with its stick image, images of other gods and goddesses, and numerous officials, marched with the land on the left and the ocean on the right.<sup>13</sup> I'i, in telling of several processions of gods and people during the Makahiki, adds that like many of the populace he followed one of the tax-collecting processions part of the way in order to learn about it and partake of the food contributed by residents at each stopping place.<sup>14</sup> On the second night before the principal processions the feather gods were taken out and paraded, and on the third night the parade was repeated with wooden images.<sup>15</sup>

Of special historical interest are processions to and from Hiki-au Heiau, Kona coastal area, Hawai'i. In this heiau, Captain Cook, who happened to anchor in January during the Makahiki season, attended a welcoming ceremony honoring him as the returned Lono. As it was a *luakini*, a heiau where human sacrifices were made, it was probably dedicated to the war god **Kū**, although it is often described as the principal heiau for Lono in the islands. Images of gods, including that of Lono, were kept there, and priests during the Makahiki carried these images on a circuit of the island (or wherever they were to be honored) and then back to the heiau. They followed The Pathway of the Gods (Ke Ala-ke-kua) for which the bay is named. Cook and his retinue were met on shore by four heralds who escorted them to the heiau. The sentence the heralds repeatedly shouted was probably *kapu moe*, for the populace disappeared except for those nearby who prostrated themselves on the ground. During the heiau ceremony two solemn processions arrived, each bearing offerings to Lono. The procession back to the boats resembled the arrival.<sup>16</sup>

Phantom night marchers have been seen frequently along the entire Kona coast including Kealakekua Bay and along The Pathway of the Gods, Kamehameha's birthplace, and other sacred and historical sites. In 1970 the great-grandson of the woman who described the march of chiefs to festivities conjectured that the night-marching spirits might on occasion be connected with the Makahiki. In 1931 a Maui woman interpreted a phantom midnight festival as a reenactment of a Makahiki fertility rite.

In 1827, eight years after Kamehameha the Great's death and the official (but incomplete) abolition of the taboo system by his successor, Liholiho (Kamehameha II), Ka'ahu-manu, now a Christian, made a circuit of O'ahu to preach the Gospel. Making a religious or political circuit was customary in the old culture; I'i has described the O'ahu trails used.<sup>17</sup> Ka'ahu-manu stopped at Māeaea, Wai-a-lua district, where Liholiho, her stepson, was in residence. Because all fires, including fishermen's torches, were taboo during this period and fishing shrines closely guarded, the

Dowager Queen's retinue was puzzled by strange lights at night from nearby Moku-lē'ia. They decided they were diamonds sparkling on the beach--calcite crystals in rocks like those that had given Lē'ahi its English name of Diamond Head.

Kamakau, describing the event, added that "people of old" (*ka po'e Kahiko*) called the lights "the innumerable fires of the 'aumākua o ka Pō, the divine ancestors of the Night."<sup>18</sup> 'Aumākua are protective and disciplinary gods of a family or an individual. Each may have more than one inanimate or animate manifestation; each may be an ancestor and may appear in a spectral procession, usually in human form. Gods born in the era of Pō during creation are in the vegetable and animal kingdom. Those of the later era, Ao (Light), include great gods and mankind.<sup>19</sup> People today believe the lights are carried by spirits marching to the many sacred sites in the area or are sent by an offended shark god who, offshore in rock form, wants to spoil fishermen's catches.

Malo, in applying the term 'oi'o to a living person's spirit and to "a group (or procession) of spirits," implies that spirits temporarily detached from living bodies also paraded in olden days.<sup>20</sup> More frequently "people of old" saw processions of spirits of dead ancestors who had been transfigured into volcanic flames, sharks, water spirits (*mo'o*), humpbacked thunder beings, or whatever the principal embodiment (*kinolau*) was of either a family's ancestors or its guardian gods. Marchers escorted the dying person's spirit to the afterworld. The person saw these spirits with joy and happily joined their march. Once a person's remains had been deposited in his family god's natural element, his living relatives anxiously watched for traditional signs of the arrival of a procession.<sup>21</sup> Latter-day marching apparitions seen by day or night are still believed to be escorting a dying person's spirit if they stop at his house.

### The Phantom Processions

Having indicated the nature of old Hawaiian nocturnal and diurnal processions of living persons and supernatural beings, I shall next examine the published and unpublished information about phantom processions of the later culture as to (1) observers' identity and evidence, (2) marchers' identity and time and place of marching, (3) observers' behavior and reaction, (4) listeners' reaction, and (5) functions of narratives and beliefs about phantom marchers.

**Observers' identity.** Men, women, and children have heard or seen marching apparitions. Most observers are of Hawaiian descent, but at

least a half dozen or more are Caucasian, some are Chinese, and two families are Filipino. Individuals from these and other ethnic groups, including Japanese and Korean, have also heard or seen Hawaiian spirits singing, dancing, or drumming after they have assembled. Several ascribe otherwise inexplicable deaths and accidents of people and animals to night marchers having found them on their routes.

Nothing suggests that one sex is more likely than the other to witness these specters. The effect of literacy, education, and occupation is difficult to determine, but the range of observers includes well-educated men and women with professional or other college degrees and those with perhaps no more than primary-school education in rural districts. Among adult observers are farmers, fishermen, ranch hands, U.S. soldiers, youth-camp counsellors, schoolteachers, a former interpreter in King Kalākaua's court, a plantation owner, a physician, a tourist, a prominent politician, and the sister of another politician.

Most observers, in relating their experiences, state that they were not alone at the time, and their companions, in all but one instance, saw and heard what they did. Occasionally a whole family, a community, or a group of people see the marchers.

Some Caucasians, and in one instance a Japanese, in describing experiences of people outside their own ethnic group, characterize the observers as respected, steady, truthful, not given to drink, and of good family.<sup>22</sup> Only one of these commentators had observed the phenomenon himself.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Hawaiians, when describing others' experiences, feel no compulsion to establish credibility or narrative interest by emphasizing an observer's good reputation. In fact, they may respect observers of these phenomena as highly as they respect visionaries.<sup>24</sup>

Opinions differ as to whether children can see or hear night marchers. A young O'ahu girl whose mother aroused her during a procession was able to hear but not see it. Another heard the drums although her young companions could not, and as an adult this same girl heard, saw, conversed with, and marched alongside of the spirit of an ancestor.<sup>25</sup> On Hawai'i a family sat up with their children to wait in a safe place for the procession. As an adult, the daughter recalled that she had heard the marchers distinctly but had seen them only rather dimly. One evening two young boys at South Kona heard the marchers' drums and saw their torches before their mother did, And a young Kohala girl, playing during the day in a forbidden field, was terrified when she heard a whistling wind, drums, heavy footsteps, and voices, and was knocked off the marchers' path by a protective spirit who whispered a name in her ear which

she later learned was that of a dead relative. A Moloka'i family was happily excited when a son heard the spirits' drums.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, a Maui woman as a child could not hear, and presumably could not see, the marchers, but as an adult she heard them so clearly that had she been able to record musical notation she could have put down the sounds of their chants, flutes, and drums.<sup>27</sup> In the 1960s, an O'ahu man stated flatly that only adults could hear and see the spirits, for as a child he had been unable to hear them although his parents and grandparents could.

More than one Hawaiian, while unconscious or seemingly dead, has subsequently told of joining spirits who were gathered for celebrations or were proceeding to an entrance of the afterworld. The person returned to this life because spirits of dead relatives, who said it was too early to die, drove the reluctant wraith home and forced it back into its cold, abandoned body. They pushed the spirit under the big toenail and up through the torso until a slight sound showed that the person was recovering consciousness.

Dogs appear to hear spectral marchers before human beings do and race along beside them.<sup>28</sup> In Hawaiian belief, everything animate in nature, and even what Westerners call inanimate, is very sensitive to the presence of spirits. Some Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians state that horses and even automobiles have this sensitivity and come to a dead stop when a spirit is around. However, no one on horseback or in an automobile has met a spectral procession although many have met a single night-prowling spirit.

**Observers' evidence.** Either visual or auditory evidence reveals the presence of phantom marchers, with the auditory more important to most observers, and the combination less often mentioned. One Hawaiian observer also felt the earth shake under him. Two "responsible" Caucasians had an "uncanny and unexplainable" experience of a "moving sound around their feet--which was more felt than heard--[that] gradually disappeared in the distance."<sup>29</sup> Feeling the wind and its direction are significant because marchers can smell an observer, and one should not mistake in Hawaiian belief distant, uncanny sounds for wind or windblown vegetation.

Indirect evidence of the passage of night marchers includes such things as fallen branches where gods have marched due to the fact that nothing must be above their heads.<sup>30</sup> Other examples of indirect evidence are the peculiar and recurring deaths at night of a Japanese man's horses until he moved his stable off what a Hawaiian neighbor told him was a route once used by Hawaiian warriors and now by their spirits. Then

there is the mysterious disappearance of a Japanese fisherman from his favorite and very solitary camp site. He had told villagers of hearing strange music that moved ahead of him when he followed it. Although warned by knowledgeable villagers not to return to that place, he did; villagers assumed that the spirits had finally lured him to join them. This is a familiar convention in Hawaiian belief and mythology--Pele herself followed such phantom music from Hawai'i to Kaua'i but later returned to her volcano. A South Kona fisherman found dead after the neighborhood had seen the night marchers was believed to have died of fright. Another Kona man found bruised on the rocks at the shore was believed by some to have been beaten by night marchers because he was in their path; more skeptical neighbors said he had probably fallen on the rocks while drunk.

Auditory evidence of spirit sounds or voices (*'ūlāleo*) may be merely the sound of ancient drums or marching feet loud enough to awaken living sleepers. More detailed evidence may be the creaking of litters or food calabashes carried on poles, chanters and instrumentalists, heralds shouted warnings, and conversation about the observers whose presence is always detected. An O'ahu woman heard some spirits shout, "*Pepehi*" (Kill), but others, presumably her dead relatives, called, "*Kali, kali*" (Wait, wait). Another person heard, "*Oia*" (Go ahead), meaning to kill, but a relative's spirit called "*Alia!*" (Stop!); other spirits answered, "*A'ohe!*" (No!), and still others, "*Auheha aku nei?*" (Where has he gone?) and "*A'ohe la*" (Not here) because the dead relative's spell prevented them from seeing the observer.<sup>31</sup> A fortunate observer may be recognized as a marcher's namesake, or a relative, or a god's favorite.<sup>32</sup> An O'ahu girl, descended from high-ranking people, recited these ancestors' names to the marchers until in a strange small voice, a man told her he was her ancestor; she talked and walked with the marchers until they disappeared.<sup>33</sup> Even if a spirit recognizes an observer and intervenes to protect him, he rarely calls him by name, and few who have recognized a dead kinsman in the march have stated his name.

The spirits' music is said to be weird, strange, beautiful, old Hawaiian, and very clear. An O'ahu woman recognized chants of the kind unaccompanied by dance (*olioli*), gourd rattles (*'ulī'ulī*), musical bows (*'ūkēkē*), or drums which, if they sound faint, she said, are close by. To others, the sounds, which at first seem like wind or baskets squeaking, become louder as marchers approach and are distinguishable as chants, conch shells, flutes, drums, and other unrecognized ancient instruments. Gods and goddesses march only to the chanting of their names and deeds; personal and family guardian gods have both chants and instruments; and spirits of

chiefs follow the traditions established in life by marching silently or with the accompaniment of musical sound.

The emphasis on auditory rather than visual evidence can be linked to several beliefs: that spirits generally march when the moon is dim and little can be seen; that listening to their talk and music is permissible; that observers should be hidden as far away as possible; and that observers' knowledge of appropriate behavior may include not watching the procession, particularly if the marchers are gods.

In my collection, only one observer said that he and his companion, having heard that marchers must not be watched, hid off the road, face down, without looking. All they ever saw were distant lines of torches approaching or receding, but they heard the music and tramping clearly. An O'ahu girl failed to see the marchers because her aunt enforced the prostration taboo. The observer caught on the road, if unable to do anything else, should lie down or sit without looking.<sup>35</sup> However, observers who are safely hidden usually watch, even if they hear far more than they can see. As part of her cure, a girl wounded by night marchers was required by a Hawaiian healer to watch the next procession from a window.

Visual evidence rarely includes torches except in certain regions. A Kona community, however, knows the procession only by the sight of different-sized torches emerging from burial caves on a nearby cliff. Night-marching family gods in Puna, Ka'ū, and Kona carry very bright torches, except in the daytime when a whirlwind marks the end of their line. Higher-ranking gods have brilliant torches that burn red (a sacred color), with the brightest and tallest marking the front, the rear, and three places in the middle of the procession.<sup>36</sup> The length of the procession can be gauged from the location of the first and the last of the kukui-nut flares.

Weird lights and moving figures are still seen in the Wai-a-lua district where Ka'ahu-manu's attendants saw lights in 1827. Now they are called Menehune Lights or Menehune Lanterns, and are believed to be carried by legendary little night-appearing people. In the 1940s some Hawaiian fishermen saw an army of torch-carrying Menehune walk over the water to shore and up a hill to a burial ground. According to a teacher, who has often seen the lights on the water, many people saw spectral figures carrying lights on an undesignated anniversary of a Hawaiian princess. A Caucasian physician, who had frequently seen and heard the marchers, took with him a mainland-educated Hawaiian girl when he thought there might be a spirit procession. After midnight both saw a long line of torch-carrying people, the faces almost visible, emerge chanting in Hawaiian from the water and climb a hill to the site of a former heiau where drums began to beat.<sup>37</sup>



At **Waikiki** one night in the 1930s, a tourist, unfamiliar with the belief in phantom marchers, saw strange, unidentifiable lights move along the shore toward Diamond Head.<sup>38</sup> A Hawaiian said the procession is going to the heiau not the Hawaiian. The heiau is Papa'endena going to a ceremony at the old heiau there.

Occasionally an observer, even if able to identify the race, rank, sex, relative age, and occupation of the phantom marchers, notes that they have relatively nonmaterial substance. A grandmother at **Hōlua-loa**, Hawai'i, told her skeptical granddaughter that the marchers were men led by a headless chief and accompanied by musicians, and looked like moving shadows. O'ahu observers describe marchers as looking strange, white, and shimmeringly radiant; or they may look at first like a silvery cloud of dust, then like smoke, and finally like young and old people of all sorts, with faces distinct enough for the observer to look closely in the hope--unrealized--of seeing a recently dead cousin.<sup>39</sup>

In summary, observers' auditory and less often visual evidence is that phantom marchers can see, hear, smell, talk, walk, perform specialized occupational duties, and exert force, with or without weapons, that can stun, wound, or kill living people and animals. They can also cast spells on each other. Although some phantoms are heavy enough to shake the earth or tread loudly, others float above ground.

**Marchers' identity.** As part of their evidence, observers specify or imply that marchers are identifiable as Hawaiian men and women or only men; sometimes these marchers have dogs. A procession may be limited to a single group: gods and goddesses (*akua*); family gods (*'aumākua*); spirits of living Hawaiians' ancestors (*wailua*, *kino wailua*) who may also be family gods; Menehune warriors; regular-sized warriors; or high-ranking people traveling with their retinues, not to war, but perhaps to places of entertainment or religious ceremonies. Some Hawaiians today claim descent from the little Menehune.

On Hawai'i, a night-marching phantom chief may or may not be accompanied by every imaginable kind of attendant. If his back is very sacred (and therefore deadly to those who come near) he marches at the rear; if his face is taboo he is in front; if he is of lesser mana (supernatural power) or was well protected in life, he marches among his attendants. For example, a Kona man saw a large phantom chief carried in a litter in the middle of his retinue of seven-foot-tall men and women who marched four abreast without their feet touching the ground.<sup>40</sup>

People frequently see phantom warriors, large and small. Moloka'i, like O'ahu, has marching Menehune armies. Some phantom armies of regular-sized warriors on Maui, O'ahu, and Hawai'i are led by a headless

chief, unnamed except on Maui. On O‘ahu, where his feet do not touch the ground he marches behind a dog that has its head in place but can expand or contract in size. This size-shifting dog, now headless, is the only leader of another phantom O‘ahu army in which its human warriors look as they did at death--some headless, others missing arms or legs.

The Maui headless chief followed by his army is Ka-niho-nui (The Long Tooth), Kamehameha’s foster son and nephew, whom the king reluctantly ordered strangled (some say beheaded) in 1809 for adultery with Ka-‘ahu-manu.<sup>41</sup> These apparitions are said to have left several dead in their path. Why Ka-niho-nui’s apparition appears on Maui I do not know for, according to I‘i, his body was placed as a sacrifice to decompose it Papa-‘ena-‘ena Heiau.<sup>42</sup> The grieved and outraged Ka-‘ahu-manu then plotted the overthrow of the kingdom as she surfed at Waikiki and wept whenever she looked up toward Diamond Head. Her plot aborted when the king’s chosen successor, Liholiho, refused to kill his father and seize the kingdom. Thereupon Kamehameha, who knew of the plot, disbanded his army.

Also among the phantom marching armies on Maui, dressed in oldtime array, may be members of a famous class of warriors of old: the shape-shifting dog-men (*‘ōlohe*), recognizable by their canine heads or tails and (unlike other warriors who had long hair) their hairlessness. *‘Ōlohe* were also old-time cannibalistically inclined male and female wrestlers, bone-breakers, and waylayers of travelers.<sup>43</sup> Warriors were sometimes metaphorically termed “bristling dogs.”

The size-changing, often shape-shifting dog, with or without a head, is usually the spirit of Kamehameha’s pet dog Poki (from the English “Boss”). So many dogs were named Poki for the king’s dog that finally it became the proper name for phantom O‘ahu dogs seen in clouds as omens, or stretched across roads as family gods to warn a Hawaiian traveler of trouble ahead, or stationed like *‘ōlohe* to extract tributes of pork, fish, kava, or *ōkolehao* (home brew) from travelers. On Mokoka‘i and Hawai‘i any size-changing, supernatural domestic animal, whether dog, cow, or mule, is now generically called a *poki*. Because Chief Boki, who disappeared on a voyage to the New Hebrides in 1829, may have been named for Kamehameha’s pet dog, a phantom dog is sometimes said to be one form of the dead chief’s spirit.

The most illustrious historical chief whose spirit has been seen leading a phantom army is, of course, Kamehameha the Great.<sup>44</sup> With “an imposing array” of officers and men, he marches in Hawai‘i with his club-carrying executioner (*ilāmuku*) nearby. Unfortunately, there is no documentation as to when this army or that of Ka-niho-nui was first seen, but

references indicate that the legends were circulating by the mid-nineteenth century. Kamehameha's giant spectre leading an army of kings and chiefs was also seen the night before Princess Likelike died. They marched silently through Nu'u-anu Valley, O'ahu, going to escort the spirit of the princess (who died February 2, 1887) to the afterworld. She was the younger sister of Kalākaua and Lili'u-o-kalani.

The grandest phantom march reported is one on Hawai'i of gods and goddesses with their red-burning torches and chanters who glorified their names and deeds. One of the three goddesses in the last row was recognizable as Hi'iaka, Pele's favorite and youngest sister, probably an ancestor and guardian goddess of the observer.<sup>45</sup>

Except for Hi'iaka and references to Kamehameha, Ka-niho-nui, and the dog Poki, observers rarely give the proper names of any marchers they happen to recognize or who recognize them. The Kohala girl whose ancestor told her his name is an exception. The Kona man who saw the seven-foot-tall marchers later saw them at play and heard them identify him as the grandson of Kekuanoi, a living visionary, and let him watch their games.

In 1917 in Ka'ū, a Chinese saw a procession of phantom chiefs and called it to the attention of his Hawaiian companion, a noted visionary, who recognized it as an escort procession. Then came word the next day of the death of former Queen Lili'u-o-kalani whose ancestors had been closely associated with the Ka'ū district since Kamehameha's time. Whom the escort is calling for is sometimes known by a dying person's neighbor who sees the procession of ancestral gods pause at that person's house.<sup>46</sup>

During World War I, a family in Wai'anae, O'ahu, saw, a ghostly procession of Hawaiian warriors in feather capes and helmets and took it as a sign that a son had been killed in action in France. News came later that he was indeed dead. One day his grieving mother saw the ghostly marchers again and knew that she would soon join her dead son in the afterworld; she died two days later.<sup>47</sup>

**Time of marching.** That the spirits usually march at night is either definitely stated or implied except when family guardian gods or spirits of dead relatives come for someone dying during the day. Marches usually occur between nightfall and dawn; several informants are specific about the hour, which may be around midnight or whenever it is very dark.

Hawaiians familiar with the old thirty-day lunar calendar say that spirits return to their former areas on earth on certain days and nights sacred to the worship of specific gods. The marches are most often on Pō Kāne, nights between the 27th and the 29th sacred to the god Kāne, the most important of the great gods in the early historic period. Other nights

for phantom marchers are the 29th, sacred to Lono; nights between the 24th and the 26th (some say the 23rd and the 24th), sacred to Kaloa (Kanaloa); two of **Kū's** nights when the moon is still new; and Akua's, the 14th, when the moon is distinctly round. Usually the processions are observed when the moon is either waning or new. A Maui woman, without using the Hawaiian name, said marchers appear every month, "the day before the new moon rises and always about 3 or 4 A.M. when the night is darkest." On the other hand, a Moloka'i woman said a Menehune army and singers appear during the full moon. Torch-carrying wraiths from Kona cliff burials "appear at certain times of the year."

Anniversaries of a death are psychically delicate, even dangerous. An O'ahu boy saw night marchers about a year after a young cousin's death and looked for her spirit but could see no one he knew.<sup>48</sup> His still unresolved grief, it seems, had continued beyond the customary year of acute mourning. Other Hawaiians who continue to mourn do not see night marchers, but the mourned person's spirit may appear alone in a dream or a waking vision. An exception was the grieving Wai'anae mother.

The loss of an entire army or division in a natural disaster is now marked by the warriors' spirits marching on the anniversary of death. Two fragmentary narratives give neither the date of the disaster nor when marching spectres were first seen. The first disaster, according to a brief summary of a Hawaiian guide's narrative about phantom marchers, was on Hawai'i where the second of three divisions of warriors died when **Kī-lau-ea** volcano suddenly erupted soon after their leader, an unnamed "king of **Ka'ū**," had gone ahead with the first division. The second division was trapped; all were found dead by the third division which arrived later. Spirits of the dead second division are now seen marching in the area on the undesignated anniversary of death.<sup>49</sup>

Kamakau and the Reverend Dibble describe the event, which, according to Kamakau (whose dates are not always reliable), occurred in November, 1790, after a battle in eastern Hawai'i, **Hāmākua** district, between Kamehameha and **Keōua Kuahu-ūla**, the latter the ruling chief of **Ka'ū**, Hilo, and Puna.<sup>50</sup> The great battle ended indecisively but Kamehameha had the edge. **Keōua** then marched south to **Ka'ū** with three companies which, as was usual on such expeditions, included the warriors' wives, children, and domestic animals. The army, when camped at **Kī-lau-ea** volcano, was beset by repeated eruptions which showered it with sand, heavy rocks, and fire. Some of the advance company died, others were injured, but the greatest death toll from gases was in the middle company. The rear company, hurrying forward after the eruptions had ended, thought at first that this company was at rest, for some were sitting,

others were lying down, and still others were clasping wives and children and pressing noses with them. They then discovered that all were corpses, the only survivor a hog. **Keōua**, it is said, lost four hundred fighting men and an untold number of women, children, hogs, and dogs. He thought Pele was angry with his army for having rolled rocks into the crater, but a seer said that her youngest sister, **Hi'iaka**, was angry because **Keōua** had left Hilo where she had been enjoying the fat mullet. Whether "fat mullet" is meant literally or metaphorically is unclear, because the spoils and lands **Keōua** had seized before Kamehameha's arrival are called "fat mullet." **Hi'iaka** was the chief's principal object of worship, for he carried her image with him and she was called "his beloved." It was also said that his wife's name was **Hi'iaka**.

The story of the other army that met disaster, an orally transmitted narrative by a young man of Japanese descent in 1953, briefly states that on very dark nights one can see lights along the reef at **Moku-lē'ia**, O'ahu, forming a long line of continuous light, an effect not produced by people out torch-fishing. The explanation is that an invading army from **Kaua'i** was killed by terrific waves during an invasion, and every year on the undesignated anniversary the lights are sure to be seen at night. I have found nothing about this invasion from **Kaua'i** or any such disaster. The incident is reminiscent of the heavy loss of American men due to a strong current and Japanese fire during the American invasion of Tarawa, Gilbert Islands, during World War II.

Two published narratives tell how spirits gather on dates significant in Western culture, namely the Fourth of July and Christmas Eve. A **Moloka'i** boy heard phantom drums coming from a former heiau site the night before the Fourth of July.<sup>51</sup> Whether the night was a sacred time in the old lunar calendar I do not know. The Christmas date has been tentatively identified by Mrs. Wichman with a **Makahiki** ceremony.<sup>52</sup> One night three employees of different ethnic origins on her plantation had heard, and one of them had seen, a phantom army. She was then told by another employee, a Japanese, that for three successive years after midnight on Christmas Eve he and his friends had seen spirits of young and old Hawaiian women chanting, playing old instruments, and dancing in an old-style performance near a sixty-foot-high rock, the so-called "male rock" (the "female rock" is in the river nearby). This is a sacred phallic rock, *pōhaku a Kāne* (rock of **Kāne**). One year the Japanese watchers saw a strange white canoe pass by on the river, and the celebration began soon afterwards. Mrs. Wichman, from information passed on in her family by the Reverend William Hyde Rice, her grandfather, and corroborated

by two old-timers, learned that in ancient times a yearly fertility rite important to women was held at this rock when taro planting was finished. Mrs. Wichman learned further that the old calendar ended the year with an uneven period of sacred days between December 23 and 28. She concluded that the ceremony of which the Japanese had seen "a mirage" on Christmas Eve perhaps coincided with one of these taboo days when the god Lono, or a chief representing him, came over the water in a canoe to be greeted by welcoming throngs and festivities on shore.

In 1930 on Hawai'i, people said that the phantom marchers did not manifest themselves as often as in earlier years.<sup>53</sup> Other Hawaiians have said the same. In 1950, an O'ahu woman said one is less likely to see them in the city because of the many houses, but they still march in the country. Most observers have encountered them in rural or isolated areas that in the earlier culture probably had a large population. Even in early August, 1978, just as I finished this paper, a fellow anthropologist told me that an informant had told him of a friend meeting the marchers on Hawai'i about two weeks earlier. Both informant and observer were convinced of the reality of the phenomenon.

**Place of marching.** Place, like time, may provide clues to the night marchers' purpose and destination. They appear in places familiar to them in life to do what they did in life. They are seen or heard on ancient roads like Ke Ala-ke-kua and on trails along the coast and over mountains, some of them now parts of modern highways; others use trails frequented only by fishermen, hikers, and campers. The ocean side of any coastal road was traditionally taboo when personages were traveling. Phantom travelers proceed between once-populous communities toward the site of a former heiau, battlefield, burial ground, leaping-off place to the other-world, playing field, or *loku*. Sometimes they are seen or heard already assembled and performing in these places. A *loku* was a secular area in the district of a chief's or king's court where men and women gathered at night in order to enjoy sports, games, dances, and storytelling. In the years that I'i served Kamehameha and Liholiho at court there were two such *loku* in downtown Honolulu at the corner of what are now Merchant and Alakea Streets and Nuuanu Avenue and King Street.<sup>54</sup> From seven o'clock to midnight the living were joined by spirits of former *habitués*.

Marchers are said to travel in a straight line, but this means only that they do not deviate from their traditional route and may kill or hurt anyone in their path. Rarely deterred by physical obstructions, they march through a house, stonewall, or automobile, or over a fisherman's gear without causing damage. Some marchers, however, don't adapt to modern culture and find parts of it baffling. Closed doors led one group to change

its route during World War II because Schofield Barracks, central O'ahu, was on its path. As long as the soldiers left the doors at opposite ends open at night, the phantoms paraded through. When their tread repeatedly disturbed sleepers, an old Hawaiian's advice to close the doors proved correct as no more marching was heard. In windward O'ahu, their clatter in an old-style Hawaiian kitchen awakened and terrified the family. Next morning the modern table, chairs, and dishes were found neatly stacked to one side as if to clear a path for the marchers.

Because many accounts pinpoint localities fairly precisely, I shall discuss them by island. Only a few records do not name the island but it is assumed to be the storyteller's.

**Hawai'i.** In South Kona night marchers with drums and torches apparently frightened a fisherman to death although earlier they had turned back from a home in their path where a woman was alone with her two young sons. A neighbor had warned her to turn off the lights and a Hawaiian policeman had telephoned to find out what was going on, but neither he nor the woman's absent husband (according to Russ and Peg Apple) would take the chance of crossing the ghosts' path to help her. Farther north a whole community sometimes sees the marchers leaving the Ho'okena cliff burial caves, and at Hōlua-loa marchers have often been seen on Pō Kāne nights. Two fishermen at Māhu-kona Bay saw the marchers come from the direction of Ka-wai-hae and move on to an unknown destination. Also along the coast two camp counsellors were kept awake at night by the tramping ghosts; an old Hawaiian explained that the ghosts were relocating to the mountains from the ruins of a nearby sacrificial heiau because the campers had disturbed it. At Koko-iki, in Kohala, where Kamehameha was born and the Mo'o-kini sacrificial heiau was located, a Japanese farmer's horses died until, on a Hawaiian neighbor's advice, he moved the stable off the spirits' path. Napua Poire, as a girl in the Kohala district, was knocked off a path during the day by spirits marching from the mountains to the sea.

In eastern Hawai'i, Kamehameha's phantom army marches on the Mahiki-waena Road between inland Waimea and coastal Kukui-haele, a name meaning "Traveling Lights." The torch-carrying marchers are said to be traveling through Waipi'o Valley on their way to a *lua-o-Milu* (pit of Milu, named for the god of death), an entry to the otherworld. Southward in Puna, Keōua's second division that died in the eruption has been seen on the road toward Kalapana. It was also in Puna that a man gathering *ko'o-ka-lau* (light green leaves from the center of a cluster of pandanus leaves) to make tea, was later found dead and presumed a victim of night marchers who had found him on their trail. The man's son said, "He

was draped in the branches as though he had been thrown there.” To the south in **Ka’ū**, **Hi’iaka** and other divinities march from **Honu’apu** to **Kahuku**. Inland at **Wai’ōhinu**, formerly a populous area, a Chinese and a Hawaiian saw during the daytime a ghostly procession escorting the spirit of Queen **Lili’u-o-kalani** to the otherworld. On nights sacred to **Lono**, god of health and peace, drums and chanting are heard, “even in post-Christian times,” at a heiau at **Nā-‘ā-lehu**.<sup>55</sup> On the south coast at **Kāwā**, a **Nā-‘ā-lehu** fisherman vanished, perhaps lured away by ghostly music.

**Kaua’i**. **Poli-hale**, site of a former heiau and a leaping-off place to the afterworld, is located in the **Waimea** district and is the destination of spirit processions. Near **Lāwa’i Kai Bay**, a horse frightened by Hawaiian music “from nowhere” threw and killed its rider. On another occasion two boys out crabbing heard the same music and raced home in terror, leaving a companion “flat on his face” in fear until searchers found him the next morning.

In **Wai-lua Valley**, phantom armies follow an old war trail from the base of a mountain to **Wai-lua**. Near the town are many formerly sacred places--a royal residential compound, a coconut grove, birthstones at which chiefesses gave birth, and **Holoholo-kū Heiau**, a place of refuge. In the valley is the rock of **Kāne** where Mrs. **Wichman** was told that female spirits hold an annual **Makahiki** fertility dance. **Emma De Fries** relates how her grandfather’s Chinese rice-plantation workers at **Hanalei** saw a phantom army march through a stone wall and disappear into **Hanalei River**.<sup>56</sup> In a **Hā’ena** house, **Ann Joesting** told me people say the marchers’ drums can be heard only in a certain room as the ghosts march from the mountains to the sea. The place is near a fishing shrine and a hula heiau--perhaps that of **Lohi’au**, **Pele**’s dream sweetheart whose music lured her from **Hawai’i** to **Kaua’i**.

**Maui**. Today in **Honokōhau Valley**, **West Maui**, people still remember legends of headless **Ka-niho-nui**’s phantom army; a Hawaiian woman told **Lesley Bruce** her grandfather had seen these marchers. The ghostly dogmen were first seen marching at **‘Oma’oma’o**, **Kula**, **East Maui**. I am told that spirits of the dead march each month at **Hāna**, **East Maui**, to visit their living relatives. On nights of **Kāne** at **Honua’ula**, phantom warriors gather at **Pokalani Heiau** to the beat of drums and make a circuit of the island.<sup>57</sup> In 1776, **Honua’ula** was attacked and ravaged by High Chief **Kalani’opu’u** of **Hawai’i**, whose army had landed on the coast. Later the army fought a battle with High Chief **Ka-hekili** on **Maui** which the invaders lost.

**Moloka’i**. Here a boy heard ancient drums on the Fourth of July; and “on the old horse trail over by **Ah Ping**’s [grocery],” **Menehune** warriors



and kings march during the full moon to a heiau site where they sing. They kill anyone on their path. Not everyone can hear their singing about which a Hawaiian woman exclaimed, "Oh, but it's beautiful music when you hear them!"

**O'ahu.** Around 1940, a Hawaiian woman saw phantoms of oldtime Hawaiians of every class march with their dogs down the middle of Gulick Avenue, Kalihi, through automobiles and other obstructions. The district, which long retained a village-like ambience, has many different ethnic groups sharing in common certain of each other's beliefs and customs. A Hawaiian man has searched Kalihi Valley in vain for the heiau sites "heard of" by Thomas G. Thrum. He has, however, heard drums on nights of Kane, evidence to him of one site's existence.<sup>58</sup> In Moana-lua Valley more than one person has reported that night marchers travel from the head of the valley to the sea.<sup>59</sup> Caucasians have "more than once" heard their heavy footsteps and drums. A Hawaiian patriarch has heard the hiss of their burning torches and chanting that became so loud after two hours that he had to cover his ears. A sailor on a ship off Pearl Harbor also saw torches moving down the valley for two hours.

In Wai-'anae a family saw a phantom army in which a son, recently killed in France, was believed to be marching; his mother saw the army again two days before she died. At **Pūhā-wai**, Lualualei, drums and conches sound at a sacred spring near a heiau site.<sup>60</sup> People still report mysterious lights at Wai-a-lua, like those seen by Ka-'ahu-manu's retinue, along with bands of shadowy figures walking over the ocean and up a hill to a sacred place where they drum and chant. At **Ka-wai-hāpai**, fishermen have seen torch-carrying Menehune armies parade over the top of the water and up to a hillside graveyard; one man saw them twice, once with companions and then alone as he guarded their gear while they laid nets. inland at Schofield, World War II soldiers complained that the tramping of phantom armies through their barracks kept them awake at night. A Hawaiian, after explaining that the building was on a night-marching army's trail, suggested closing the doors. This baffled the apparitions so that they no longer came through the building. Sentries had other uncanny experiences there and at Dillingham Airfield. At **Moku-lē'ia**, where many eerie events have been reported, torch-carrying ghostly warriors march over the reef, and herds of phantom horses gallop at night on the beach (horses were introduced around 1803).

Windward O'ahu also has its night marchers and ghostly music, usually on nights of Kane. When the ghosts hurt a girl who had tried to attack one, she was treated by a *kahuna* who specialized in healing. He ordered her to watch the next procession through a window, and her father was to

gather herbs for her treatment while going around the house naked three times at night, an experience he found frightening because of the ghosts outside. A Hawaiian woman in Kailua has minutely described the ancient music she has heard from a battle-mutilated army led by a headless dog. Two Filipino families in this same region, after hearing ghostly music for two years, could stand no more and moved. Inland from He'eia, hula drums beat on nights of **Kāne** at a sacred spring near a heiau site.<sup>61</sup>

Whether phantom marchers have been seen at Ka **Lae-o-ka-ō'io** (The Cape of the Bonefish) is uncertain; any sightings there may be due to mispronunciation of the word for bonefish (*ō'io*) as *oi'o* (spirit procession).<sup>62</sup> At Koko Head Crater, it will be recalled, two Caucasian men felt a "moving sound," which they considered uncanny, and at **Waikīkī** a tourist saw a line of torches moving toward Diamond Head. In Nu'uaniu Valley, Kamehameha's phantom army was seen the night Princess Likelike died.

**Observers' behavior.** Not all accounts tell what should be done or was done by observers on seeing or hearing marchers approach. A few, having gained some information from friends and relatives as they "talk story," know that they must at least get off the road and out of sight and perhaps lie face down on the ground. If an observer is unable to get off the trail in time, everyone knows he is out of luck unless a marcher recognizes him as a relative and protects him. Even if a marcher recognizes a prostrate figure on the trail he may, as on Maui, give him such a shock that he suffers temporary insanity. On Hawai'i, the observer lies naked face up on the road for a procession of a chief or strips only to his malo (loincloth) and sits with eyes closed if gods are marching. Either way is dangerous, for the marchers will argue whether to shame or pity, condemn or save him.<sup>63</sup>

It is important to determine the direction of the wind; some say this is to prevent the marchers from smelling the observer. A Maui woman says that a person unable to lie down in the road or hide should "walk with the breeze." An O'ahu woman claims that the unlucky observer should remove his clothing, rub his body with urine, and "go where the wind blows"--not to prevent the spirits from smelling him but to ensure that they do--because, she says, they like the smell. On the other hand, some who have encountered one or more night-prowling spirits use urine to repel them. According to beliefs also held in earlier times, urine, like ocean ("Hawaiian") salt and ti leaves (*Cordyline terminalis*), may either please or repel spirits, depending on circumstances. All three figure prominently in black and white magic and the old religion. Many non-Hawaiians, accepting Hawaiian belief that these three items affect spirits in some way, generally negatively, carry "Hawaiian" salt or ti leaves if they have to travel at night in isolated rural areas, and in an emergency they resort to

urine to drive off wandering spirits. Hawaiian belief may reinforce their own ancestral beliefs and customs.

A Moloka'i woman warned that an observer caught on the road and unable to hide must say "the right words out loud" or be trampled to death. An O'ahu grandmother always used a long prayer or spell when she and her family met marchers at night; the gist of it was to let her party go safely on its way.

**Observers' reactions.** To many Hawaiians the phantom processions are sacred things about which they may be reluctant to talk. They often say, "I really shouldn't tell you, I don't ordinarily talk about them." The ancient gods, some Hawaiians believe, may punish those who reveal family secrets and stories about gods.<sup>64</sup> Other Hawaiians enjoy talking about such matters and nostalgically reliving the past, particularly when they describe the chanting and the ancient instruments of the night marchers.

Generally observers are proud of having had the experience and feel awe with its compound of reverence, wonder, and fear. Several of these Hawaiians say that not all people have the ability to see or hear bands of spirits. A person without the ability who unknowingly encounters marching spirits is safe, says a Moloka'i woman. Only those whose heart is right have this spiritual experience, according to an O'ahu man; others agree. Those who have encountered the marchers are happy and others admire them; those who have not feel unfortunate and deprived. An O'ahu man who met the marching phantoms as a boy was told by his father never to forget this great event. A woman whose aunt could see and hear spirits has felt deprived all her life because when she was a child her aunt called, "*Kapu moe*," when the spirits were marching and would not permit the prostrate child to watch until they were safely past; as an adult this woman has heard their drums but has never been able to see them. A Hawaiian couple thought it peculiar that they had never heard the spirits' drums although their neighbors, two Filipino families, were so bothered by them for over two years that they moved.

The Hawaiian world is full of many different kinds of spirits distinguishable by class, function, sex, attitude toward mankind, and so on. The attitude toward the night-marching spirits or those gathered for celebrations is that they are not basically malevolent; observers get hurt or killed only by being in their way or violating other taboos connected with processions of personages. These apparitions are not what Hawaiians call *lapu*, the evil, spiteful, trouble-making spirits of the dead who wander the earth, forlorn and uncared for by the living. The evil spirits are unwanted by their ancestors and family gods. Either they never had an escort to the afterworld, could not find their way to a jumping-off place, or if they did,

these particular spirits landed in an unpleasant area. They even the score for their rejection by harassing all living things that happen to be physically or spiritually vulnerable. The night-marching spirits, however, are not *lapu* but family gods (*‘aumākua*), other gods and goddesses, and spirits (*kino wailua*) of dead human beings whose protection of the observer reveals that they are his relatives and are acting as family gods. Phantom marchers therefore inspire awe, excitement, pride, and happiness in the observers.

Emotionally and intellectually, observers accept the reality of the occult phenomenon they witness. Several, knowing of phantom marchers, seem unafraid and curious as long as they are a long way ‘off the road and with other people. The O‘ahu fishermen even followed the Menehune marchers until they vanished. On the other hand, the two fishermen on Hawai‘i, taking no chance on the uncanny marchers returning, left their gear and went to a park. Newcomers and others unfamiliar with the phenomenon are puzzled or annoyed when they encounter it until an old Hawaiian explains its cause and, where indicated, the cure.

Many believe that the phantoms, if they do not immediately disappear on detecting observers, cause them to drop dead. People directly in their path are therefore terrified and later feel thankful to be alive. An originally skeptical Hawaiian, although well off the path, was so frightened her knees shook and she had to sit on the ground to pull herself together. Subsequently she said, “Never again will I say that I do not believe what I have been told about these sacred things.”<sup>65</sup> A Caucasian man who laughed at his Hawaiian wife’s “superstitions,” as did a daughter, became with the girl a true believer when the girl was wounded by a night marcher and later cured by watching the next procession; the father--as part of her cure--had to race naked around the house (pursued, he knew, by spirits) to pick herbs. The brother of the missing Japanese fisherman, who was generally matter-of-fact about other strange events in their village, said, “Ever since his disappearance we have all gained much respect for what goes on in *Nā-‘ā-lehu* [village].”

Children’s reactions depend in part on whether their elders fostered fear or respectful curiosity. A woman who sat up as a child with her family to wait for night marchers seems to have been unafraid. A girl who had previously heard drums when her companions had not, fearlessly talked and walked with marchers until they vanished.

Another Hawaiian said that her father told stories at night about spirits and *kāhuna* (here meaning evil sorcerers) to frighten and make the children behave, and she now does the same with her children. Many elders tell children about spirits, especially *lapu*, to make them hurry home

before dark when, as many elders believe, spirits are especially active. A young man has heard such stories told to control children on playgrounds and at camp; another heard them as a boy when fishermen wanted to get rid of him before nightfall. Many other adults, recalling similar stories from childhood and adult years, are perturbed if they must travel at night, particularly if they are carrying food attractive to spirits--fish, pork, kava, or home brew. An adult who always tried to get home before dark when he had a catch of fish started back too late once and had to pay tribute to a spirit. A man was frightened as a child because his parents and grandparents--but not he--could see and hear night marchers, and his grandmother would pray to them not to harm the family. He has never subsequently heard or seen marchers, unlike a woman also frightened as a child, who got over her fear when she heard their beautiful music as an adult.

**Listeners' reactions to beliefs and stories.** Social and medical workers, as well as teachers and other professional people unfamiliar with Hawaiian culture, wonder if a Hawaiian telling of such psychic experiences is deranged and hallucinating. This doubtless has occurred to those who, in transmitting a story about phantom marchers, feel compelled to explain that the observer is a reputable person.

Of children's reactions, psychologists explain that even children too young to talk are very susceptible to visual-aural experiences and, like domestic animals, are sensitive to the moods and tensions of those around them.<sup>66</sup> Adults whose automobiles have stalled where spirits are known to lurk have found that if they remove pork, fish, or liquor from the vehicle the car will start without further difficulty.

Psychologists also find the Hawaiians' own criteria useful in judging whether or not a Hawaiian client or patient is hallucinating.<sup>67</sup> To a Hawaiian, a culturally normal psychic experience is a "true vision" if a group of people together share it; if only one in the group has the vision it is a hallucination, a "wrong vision" that originated in that person's guts, the Hawaiian location of emotion and intelligence. If the visionary is alone his experience is true if it is culturally comprehensible and does not later lead to danger or failure. Malo also distinguishes between Hawaiians who are genuinely inspired, albeit eccentric perhaps, and crazy people and maniacs who eat filth and indecently expose themselves.<sup>68</sup>

Thus by Hawaiian criteria, a vision of night marchers is true when more than one person has it at the same time. If the person is alone and lives to tell of it, the vision is true because it fits cultural tradition and had no permanent unfortunate effects on him physically or emotionally. That he may have had to remove his clothing if caught on the path is culturally

normal for such a situation. The criteria occasionally become ambiguous. For instance, the Japanese fisherman's hearing of spirit music was true because people with Hawaiian cultural experience recognized that spirits were trying to lure him away. Although they warned him not to return, he did and disappeared. The first aural experience was true because it fitted cultural tradition and later events supported it, but it was a wrong vision because it ended disastrously. Instances also occur of people whom the marchers injured or made temporarily deranged because they were on the path.

A few Hawaiian commentators on night marchers offer materialistic explanations without indicating whether or not they have observed the phenomenon. Such explanations by listeners are directed only to two aspects, the torches and the mysterious deaths and injuries, but never to auditory stimuli or other visual evidence. To Kamakau, the peculiar lights at Wai-a-lua were due to phosphorescence. A few years ago a Hawaiian minister attributed the strange lights from the Ho'okena cliff burials to fireballs of phosphoric elements from decomposing bodies, an explanation probably related to the amount of lore from various ethnic groups in the islands about fireballs.<sup>69</sup> A drunk's injuries at Hōlua-loa, Hawai'i, were due, said skeptics, not to night marchers but to his falling on the rocks at night. A white doctor, said a Hawaiian woman, would attribute mysterious roadside deaths not to phantom marchers but to heart attacks.<sup>70</sup>

Some Hawaiians--and non-Hawaiians--who have only heard about the marchers and offer such materialistic explanations are nonetheless dissatisfied and conclude that maybe the experiences are indeed supernatural. A Caucasian physician who had seen and heard night marchers on O'ahu more than once never found a satisfactory materialistic explanation, even after having scientists visit the region. The chanting and the drums particularly puzzled the physician until his death.<sup>71</sup>

**Functions of narratives and beliefs.** People tell about the night marchers for many reasons. When they are with others fishing at night, sitting around a campfire, or gathered at a party, they like to "talk story," as the island expression goes. The sociable communication, the much enjoyed entertainment, may also educate and inform listeners on how to behave and what to expect if they meet the phantoms. Listeners of every age may gain confirmation of their own beliefs and experiences by hearing other such stories, and repetition may strengthen the storyteller's own conviction of truth. Children, while learning about these things, may be frightened into obedience and fear being out after dark. Newcomers to the islands are initiated into Hawaiian beliefs and, through their empathy and rapport, may actually see the marchers one night or hear their drums.

Occasionally the narratives are a kind of casual oral history or an ethnographic description of past and present beliefs and events. They may help to protect natural phenomena and historical and sacred sites connected with the phantom marchers and other spirits by endowing them with a supernatural aura of danger, importance, and value.

Local people gain pleasure by nostalgically recalling the past and telling of their ethnic heritage. The wish for the return of "the good old days" of their ancestors is not always unconscious; it may be verbalized and these days is often connected with the claims of some Hawaiians against the U.S. Government. Others, less militant but equally proud of their heritage, may still describe the past romantically but also recognize realistically its disadvantages and the benefits of Western culture. Narratives and beliefs about the phantom processions, like other visionary experiences related to the immediate or distant past, give a sense of cultural continuity. Not all of the river of the old culture has vanished forever into the sands of time; it continues to bubble up to the surface or wind along in little streams.

An individual who has experienced the night-marching phenomenon gains, along with some of his listeners, a sense of personal continuity. Spirits of his dead kinfolk and some of his family guardian gods (by no means all forgotten or unimportant) may be in the procession. They are a joy to see, and their presence offers hope that his own spirit may continue its existence like theirs and perhaps march in such a procession some night in the future along familiar roads in familiar surroundings among the living. Said one Hawaiian social worker, "In the back of our minds, there's always the old. It does come back. You have a feeling that your ancestors are always here--always with you."<sup>72</sup>

Besides the sense of cultural and personal continuity, there is the thrill of danger to alleviate boredom and hasten the passage of time while waiting, say, for the fish to bite. If one has the will to see, hear, believe, and respond, one may, during the long, quiet night, hear spirit drums, a conch shell, or marching feet and see lights and shadows moving closer. There's no need to be ashamed, for others have had the same experience and been proud of it, although relieved to be alive to speak of it.

Whatever the storyteller's own conviction may be about the reality of what he witnessed, and in many instances he is undoubtedly strongly convinced, it is part of good storytelling convention to tell the story as "true"; otherwise some of its entertainment value is lost. A listener who asks the storyteller if it "really" happened to him or someone he knows is not likely to find out "for sure."

An emotional need to believe in supernatural forces that affect both inanimate and animate phenomena is evident in observers' and many listeners' dissatisfaction with explanations based on natural phenomena--earth tremors, erratic local winds, phosphorescence, methane gas from decomposing organic matter, shadows, and the like. Narratives leave no doubt as to the effects of emotion and suggestibility when added to these beliefs. Some people are predisposed to see the marchers, particularly those anxious about danger to an absent loved one, or filled with unresolved grief about the dead, or who anticipate their own or another's imminent death. After someone's death becomes known, the living recall out-of-the-ordinary events and perhaps unconsciously elaborate them to fit the traditional local pattern in order to establish that supernatural forces were trying to warn them of what was to happen. Other predisposing factors evident in the narratives are guilt and uneasiness arising from disobedience in being in a forbidden place, fear of lonely darkness, violation of still meaningful Hawaiian or foreign taboos, and the burden of beliefs about ghosts that foreign ethnic groups bring from their homelands to add to what is already present. Also conducive, as the stories show, are anniversaries that activate memories of the dead or of historical events. The innumerable ruins of sites and the many place names relating to the traditional culture are further stimuli, as is an individual observer's information or misinformation about traditional Hawaiian culture.

### **Summary**

Narratives and beliefs about Hawaiian phantom night processions (and occasional daytime ones) that have circulated during the last century in the Hawaiian Islands are based partly on unique, individual experiences of Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians of both sexes, various ages, and diverse occupations and education. Accounts of these experiences have circulated mainly by oral transmission. They are also partly based on cultural memories of fragments of knowledge about Hawaiian processions of living people and of spirits of the previous century before Hawaiian culture had changed due to Western contact. This cultural knowledge about processions, taboos, and rank has circulated orally for the most part, but may also reflect written information in publications in both Hawaiian and English.

Two often inseparable processes have fostered the night-marcher beliefs and narratives: tradition--oral transmission in time from one generation to another--and diffusion--oral transmission in space and across generations. To these processes has been added communication through



writing. Each narrative and belief is the product of these processes and that of each individual's uniquely personal experience in seeing, hearing, or both seeing and hearing the marchers.

Each narrative and statement of belief is highly individualized because the observer's situation is unique to him although it shares common elements with the situations of other observers. He is most often with companions but sometimes alone. The experience is unsought if he is out fishing, at camp, or at home. It is deliberately sought if he has gone to a place where he can witness the phenomenon or awaits it at home. The time is most often night, except when the marchers are traveling to escort a dying person's spirit to the afterworld. Generally, the moon is dim, and the period is one sacred to the worship of a particular great god, usually **Kāne**, but may occur during the Makahiki when worship of other gods is suspended and the god Lono's return celebrated. The place is usually specifically localized and is in the neighborhood of one of the innumerable sites of formerly sacred places (*wahipana*) connected with a variety of functions. The phenomenon has been reported from all five main islands in the archipelago.

Auditory evidence is more often advanced than visual evidence. A person might hear marching feet, instrumental and vocal music, conversation, and commands. Visual phenomena may include torches and shadowy figures, usually human but sometimes including dogs. The figures may become recognizable as to sex, rank, age, occupation, senses, and appearance. The observer's dead kinfolk, guardian gods, and--rarely--historical figures may be identifiable. An observer seldom reports the names of marchers known to him. His behavior follows such taboos as he has heard about in order to prevent the marchers from killing or injuring him.

An adult reacts to the experience with awe and later with relief at being alive, because marchers are known to kill people and animals who are on their path. Children and animals generally recognize the presence of spirits, but a child earlier frightened by parents into obedience by terrifying "ghost stories" lacks that ability. An adult is proud to have had the experience or to have a relative who has, for if the experience is a "true vision" in conforming to cultural tradition and is nondamaging to him, it is normal and nonhallucinatory, and shows that his heart is right.

Listeners to accounts of the experience, if professionally trained or otherwise imbued with knowledge, rapport, and empathy about Hawaiian culture, including the relationship to spirits, may accept an observer's sincerity and feel no need to question whether he is mentally and morally normal. Both listeners and observers may offer materialistic explanations

for the phenomena, but some feel that too much that is important is thereby left unexplained.

Stories of experiences with night marchers or beliefs about them are told for many reasons: to entertain; to discuss a puzzling, inexplicable, perhaps frightening phenomenon; to pass the time and relieve boredom; to dispense knowledge about the phenomenon and proper behavior in regard to it; to frighten children into obedience and fear of night-wandering spirits; to endow sacred and historic sites with supernatural protection and value and protect them from further damage; to communicate oral history; or a combination of several of these things. And very importantly such stories function to express the storyteller's sense of cultural and personal continuity with old Hawaiian culture--that all of it has not disappeared, that the processions are like those of the past in which both living human beings and spirits marched, and that someday the speaker may return to familiar roads and surroundings to march with fellow spirits and to look about for any living kinfolk who are watching and listening as he once did.

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## NOTES

1. The collection in my possession includes items obtained by myself and by student collectors in my folklore classes at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. A summary of this paper was given at the "Creatures of Legendry" conference, arranged by Dr. Richard S. Thill, UNO Folklore Archives, September 28-October 2, 1978, at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Ghost marchers reported from other parts of the world are outside the scope of this paper.

2. Joseph S. Emerson inserted the Kamehameha legend into "The Myth of Hiku and Kawelu," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1883* (Honolulu), 38. The Rev. L. Lyons who told it to him said the sighting had been "twenty to thirty years ago." Emerson retold it in "Some Hawaiian Beliefs Regarding Spirits," *Hawaiian Historical Society, Annual Report 9* (Honolulu, 1902), 16; reprinted by Sibley S. Morrill, *The Kahunas. The Black--and White--Magicians of Hawaii* (Boston, 1968), 37-38. T. G. Thrum reprinted the story under Emerson's name in his *Hawaiian Folk Tales* (Chicago, 1907), 49. It is often mentioned without a source, as by N. B. Emerson in David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, trans. Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson, 2d ed. (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 2, Honolulu, 1951), 115, n. 3. It was retold, along with the legend about Ka-niho-nui's ghost marchers, by W. D. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1891), 79; reprinted by Morrill, 99. It also appears in F. C. Riehl, "The Phantom Armies," *Paradise of the Pacific*, 39 (August, 1926), 31, a poem based on the legend of Kamehameha, and in Herbert H. Gowen, *The Napoleon of the Pacific* (New York, 1919), 316, along with a later legend about Kamehameha's ghost marchers and Princess Likelike.

3. Mary Kawena Pukui, "The Marchers of the Night," *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, ed. Martha Warren Beckwith (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 95, Honolulu, 1932), 198-200; reprinted by Helen P. Hoyt, *The Night Marchers* (Norfolk Island, 1976), no pagination.
4. Antoinette Withington, *Hawaiian Tapestry* (New York, 1937), 133-55.
5. Martha F. Fleming, *Old Trails of Maui* (Maui, 1933), 5-13.
6. The student collector was Alan Los Banos. My explanations are in brackets.
7. Samuel Mahaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko. The People of Old*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui from the newspaper *Ke Au 'Oko'a*, ed. Dorothy B. Barrère (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51, Honolulu, 1964), 9.
8. Samuel Mahaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1961), 185-86.
9. Pukui, 199.
10. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 183-84.
11. Malo, 196-97. Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs and Ka Po'e Kahiko* have many references to warfare.
12. John Papa Ii[I'i], *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy B. Barrère (Honolulu, 1959), 33, 41-43.
13. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, 19-21.
14. I'i, 70-76.
15. Malo, 141-59.
16. E. S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii, Their Life, Lore, and Environment* (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233, Honolulu, 1972), 373-84.
17. I'i, 98; map, p. 96.
18. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, 80.
19. Martha Warren Beckwith, trans., ed., *The Kumulipo. A Hawaiian Creation Chant* (Chicago, 1951; Honolulu, 1972).
20. Malo, 114, 115, n. 3.
21. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, 50, 64-89.
22. J. S. Emerson, "Some Hawaiian Beliefs Regarding Spirits," 16; Juliet Rice Wichman, *Hawaiian Planting Traditions* (Honolulu, 1931), 23; Withington, 137, 144-46; Luomala collection.
23. Wichman, 24.
24. Pukui, 200; Handy and Handy, 589.
25. Withington, 150-51.

26. Withington, 144, for Moloka'i; Russ and Peg Apple, "Victim of the Night Marchers," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 5, 1980, for South Kona; Napua S. Poire, "Night Marchers Scared Her," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin/Advertiser*, C-7, October 31, 1971, for Kohala.
27. Pukui, 200.
28. Wichman, 28.
29. Withington, 147-48.
30. Pukui, 199.
31. Withington, 141-42. W. D. Westervelt, *Legends of Gods and Ghosts* (Boston, 1915), 251, says "*o-i-o*" means "throw the spear."
32. Pukui, 199; Poire, "Night Marchers."
33. Withington, 151.
34. Pukui, 198-99.
35. *Ibid.*, 199.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Withington, 145-46.
38. *Ibid.*, 147.
39. *Ibid.*, 134, 146.
40. Pukui, 198-200.
41. Alexander, 79, mistakenly states that Ka-niho-nui was beheaded, probably because that form of execution became common, as storytellers also know, after metal axes were introduced. However, Ka-niho-nui was strangled by a method which prevented any one chief from bearing sole responsibility for executing this very popular young man who also had many influential relatives who might rebel. Those who report that he was strangled are: Otto von Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas and Beering Straits . . . 1815-1818*, vol. 3 (London, 1821), 251; Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, vol. 6 (Memoirs, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1919), 317; and Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition . . . 1838-1842*, vol. 4 (New York, 1856), 40. Wilkes states that the king, ignoring the chiefs' pleas for leniency, ordered them under pain of death to execute Ka-niho-nui. They then went openly to his house, put a rope around his neck, "and the ends of it being passed through the opposite sides of the house, they took hold of them and strangled him." The uprising that Kamehameha had prepared for did not occur. Wilkes says only that the young man had violated a taboo. However, Kamehameha had once expressed it metaphorically to his chiefs: "Six of Kamehameha's islands are free to you all, but the seventh is sacred to Kamehameha." He then explained that the seventh "island" was Ka-ahu-manu. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 282, states that in 1827 Malo, in defending the Rev. William Richards against Captain Buckle's charge of libel, recalled the old scandal to Ka-ahu-manu and other chiefs, adding that in reporting wrongdoing Richards was no more guilty than the guard Kamehameha had placed over Ka-ahu-manu. The charge against Richards was dismissed.

42. I'i, 50-51.
43. Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (New Haven, 1940; Honolulu, 1970), 343-44; *The Kumulipo*, 89.
44. See n. 2.
45. Pukui, 199.
46. Pukui, 198-99. Handy and Handy, 589.
47. Hoyt, no pagination.
48. Withington, 134.
49. Sol L. Sheridan, "Down in Puna," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 3 (1912): 521.
50. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 152; Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands* (Lahainaluna, Maui, 1843), 65; A. Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race. Its Origin and Migrations*, vol. 2 (London, 1880), 324-26, from Dibble. Fornander, 335, names Hi'iaka as Keōua's wife; he may have misunderstood Kamakau's reference. Early foreigners praise the delicious fat mullet from the Wai-ākea fishpond. I'i, 14, without referring to the eruption, states that Keōua "was routed and fled to Kau." Thomas A. Jaggar, *My Experiments with Volcanoes* (Honolulu, 1956), 120-21, discusses the 1790 eruption of Hale-ma'uma'u Crater in Kī-lau-ea and the footprints of men, women, children, and pigs headed both up and down the mountain; facing p. 120 is a photo of a footprint.
51. Withington, 144.
52. Wichman, 29-30. Some Middle American Indians also regard the last few days of the year as peculiarly and supernaturally sensitive.
53. Pukui, 200.
54. I'i, 64.
55. Handy and Handy, 596.
56. Emma de Fries, "Marching Warriors at Hanalei," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin/Advertiser*, C-4, October 31, 1971.
57. Handy and Handy, 510.
58. J. Gilbert McAllister, *Archaeology of Oahu* (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 104, Honolulu, 1933), 88.
59. Lois Taylor, "Spook Stories," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, F, October 31, 1972. My thanks to Anna Bond Howe for this reference and other ghost-marcher stories from Moana-lua.
60. McAllister, 110.
61. McAllister, 177.

62. Handy and Handy, 443, 450, spell the name as 'oi'o but it is given as 'ō'io by Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1974), 72.
63. Pukui, 199.
64. Laura C. Green and Martha Warren Beckwith, "Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs Relating to Sickness and Death," *American Anthropologist*, 28 (1926):198.
65. Withington, 146.
66. Mary Kawena Pukui, E. W. Haertig, M. D., and Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā i Ke Kumu (Look to the Source)* (Honolulu, 1972), 12.
67. *Ibid.*, 15-16.
68. Malo, 114.
69. William K. Kikuchi, "The Fireball in Hawaiian Folklore," *Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature, Essays in Honor of Katharine Luomala*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaeppler, H. Arlo Nimmo (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 62, Honolulu, 1976), 157-72.
70. Pukui, 198.
71. Withington, 145.
72. Pukui, Haertig, Lee, 43.

**NUKUHIVA IN 1819  
FROM THE UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF A  
SWEDISH TRAVELER**

by Brita Åkerrén

**Introduction**

The 1819 voyage undertaken by the American captain Arent Schuyler de Peyster (a man of Dutch descent), across the Pacific from Valparaiso to Calcutta, while commanding the British brigantine *Rebecca*, has received scant attention in the published literature of exploration. Only three short notices record the event: the first in Sharp's *Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (p. 195), the second in Maude's *Of Islands and Men* (p. 115), and the third in Chamber and Munro's article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (vol. 89:2, p. 181). Yet De Peyster's name for the islands he discovered, Ellice's Group (after the ship's owner), eventually became the accepted one for the present independent nation of Tuvalu.

The only detailed account of De Peyster's voyage is contained in the unpublished journal of his passenger, the Swedish military officer Major Johan Adam Graaner. Born in 1782, Graaner entered the Swedish Navy at the age of sixteen and served most of the next ten years in the Baltic fleet, particularly distinguishing himself during the 1808-1809 war against Russia. In 1810 he transferred to the army and saw action on the continent during the Napoleonic wars. He resigned from the army in 1815 with the rank of major to make what he himself described as a "study visit" to the La Plata provinces in South America. His reports on commercial and political matters so impressed the Swedish government that it entrusted him in 1817 with an official mission to negotiate commercial treaties with the newly independent republics of Argentina and Chile. It was after the completion of this task that Graaner decided to return home, via the Pacific and Indian oceans, on the British vessel *Rebecca* which left Valparaiso on 28 March 1819.

Tahuata in the Marquesas was sighted on 25 April, and two days later the ship anchored in the only good harbor in the group: Taiohae at Nukuhiva. The first man on board was an American, George Ross, who had been active at Taiohae in the sandalwood trade for six years and remained

there until 1822. He is described as an agent for the American merchant house Wilcox of Philadelphia, which had a branch office in Canton. Canton was the principal port of entry into China where a huge demand for sandalwood existed at that time. Ross later served as mate on Peter Dillon's ship *St. Patrick* during the momentous voyage to the Santa Cruz islands in 1826, which resulted in the solving of the La Pérouse mystery.

Graaner immediately struck up a friendship with Ross whom he describes as a man without much education, but possessing "a good, sound, natural understanding" and speaking fluent Marquesan. During the six days the *Rebecca* remained at Taiohae, Graaner literally pumped Ross of so much information that it takes up a full sixty-two pages of his journal. After having transferred to another British ship in Calcutta, Graaner, who had been ill for some time, died at sea before the ship reached Cape Town. His journal, which was handed over to the Swedish minister in London, is preserved in the Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm. Only the portion describing De Peyster's discoveries in Tuvalu (Funafuti and Nukufetau) has previously been published, in Swedish, by the historian Axel Paulin in *Forum Navale* (vol. 8, Stockholm, 1947).

A check of Graaner's Marquesan entries against other contemporary accounts and scholarly studies reveals only a few minor mistakes and inaccuracies. As a professional naval officer, it is hardly surprising that Graaner is particularly competent when it comes to describing the construction of Marquesan canoes and the physical charms of the Marquesan women. In addition to being an exact observer and faithful recorder, Graaner has a happy knack for the right phrase and the appropriate metaphor which makes the people come alive. All notes were made on the spot in a great hurry and are therefore somewhat rambling and occasionally repetitive. But whatever they lack in elegance they make up for in vividness and freshness of feeling.

However, the main interest of Graaner's journal lies not so much in his descriptions of native customs per se--he is undeniably walking over trodden ground here--but rather in the overall picture he conveys of the degree of acculturation reached in the Marquesas at this precise date, when the sandalwood trade was near its end. If we supplement Ross's and Graaner's information with data culled from the published journal of the French captain Camille de Roquefeuil who, during a trading voyage around the world, called at Nukuhiva from 23 December to 28 February 1818, we can obtain a reasonably complete picture.

The Marquesan portion of the journal which follows in unabridged form is here translated for the first time from the original Swedish manuscript by Professor Peter Malekin. A former lecturer in English at the



University of Uppsala, Sweden, he is presently teaching at the University of Durham, U.K. I also wish to thank Mr. Rolf Du Rietz, Uppsala, and Dr. Bengt Danielsson, Papehūe, Tahiti, for advice and help with the preparation of this introduction and the accompanying footnotes. In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, I have adopted modern spelling of all place names.

### **Nukuhiva, the Marquesas Islands, 27 April 1819**

Anchored in Taiohae Harbor, or as it is usually called, Port Anna Maria, on the south coast of Nukuhiva, at approximately 9 A.M. The harbor is excellent, and I will subsequently give a detailed description of it, together with soundings, etc., as soon as I have time to undertake investigations. For the time being, I will only concern myself with the most remarkable of the things I have seen. Just before anchoring we saw natives moving about on the beach bringing out a canoe. A man in European clothes, with long trousers, a jacket, and a Chile hat, was giving them orders, which aroused our curiosity. The canoe drew nearer with this man in the stern and five paddlers. Before letting him on board I asked in Spanish what his nationality was, for he looked rather like a Spaniard or a Creole. Since he did not understand my question, I put it again in English and asked him if he was an Englishman. Thereupon he replied in good English, saying that he was American. As soon as he came aboard we heard that he had been sent here six years earlier by a North American merchant house, Wilcox in Philadelphia, in order to buy up sandalwood, in which the Americans drive a profitable trade in Canton. The Chinese employ this aromatic wood (it has a scent like a mixture of roses and pear-tree wood) for making boxes, fans, chests, etc. On Vaitahu, sandalwood was sold at a rate of one musket for 5 piculs, or approximately 800 pounds, (a picul holding 133 pounds). The American says that the rate here is 300 pounds for one musket, but doubtless this information coincides with his own interest. He has now lived on the island in this harbor and valley for more than six years, and he seems particularly well suited to living entirely isolated among foreigners of whom we know so little. More of this later.<sup>1</sup>

Having received from him necessary information about the harbor, etc., we stood nearer in, and he meanwhile presented to us the chief of the inhabitants of this part of the island, who has six different tribes at his command living in different valleys along the coast. His name is Manoha, grandson of Getenui, a fairly elderly and highly respected chief, or more accurately king, over all these tribes.<sup>2</sup> Getenui's son married a girl from

the hostile tribe of the Taipi, and Manoha was born from that marriage. His father is dead, and he now exercises a limited authority over his fellow citizens. Thus his power does not extend beyond his frontiers or beyond the settling of internal matters and of such disputes as may arise between the tribes under his command. In the event of war against their permanent and sole enemies, the Taipi (who live on the other side of the mountain beyond a stretch of sandal-tree forest, that is to say in the northern part of the isle), another chief and men who are so-to-say professional warriors are chosen. The peacetime leader then often goes into battle as a private soldier or warrior.

This Manoha is an uncommonly handsome man with a copper-colored skin, like a light mulatto's, but he has in his bearing and appearance a dignity, confidence, and pride which only comes from the habit of giving orders and from a sense of acknowledged superiority. No prejudice in his favor could have contributed to this judgement, for I was struck by his imposing appearance long before I knew him to be a chief. He was, contrary to custom, completely free of tattooing, and his entire dress consisted of a piece of white cloth round his loins and a kind of headgear not unlike a grenadier's cap, made from a white plant like straw. The latter was, however, no sign of command, for I later saw several common people with the same headgear. Before coming aboard he had absorbed so much kava that he was soon half drunk, or to be more accurate, half asleep. This beverage, which is prepared by chewing a root, is so intoxicating, or rather so benumbing, that anyone who has drunk it quickly falls into a kind of stupor. After the arrival of these strangers I immediately went ashore with the captain and took the American with me to discover a good watering place.

After having also visited his house, which is situated a little higher up in a sort of garden of banana and breadfruit trees, we brought him back aboard with us, and dined together with Manoha and a man from his suite. I was not a little surprised to see these Indians handling knives and forks and conducting themselves at table a hundred times better than any gaucho or native from New Granada or Chile could have done. But it was in vain that we tried to persuade them to drink wine or porter. Nevertheless, according to the American, they have been accustomed to them, and a number of natives unfortunately acquired an inclination for strong liquor, as soon as they managed to lay hands on it, although it is known to have been a quite revolting drink to the inhabitants of the South Pacific in Wallis's and Cook's time.

After dinner we went ashore, taking several water barrels with us. The Captain and the Doctor went in the sloop, and I went alone in a canoe,

paddled by four Tahitians and an islander. These Tahitians are in several respects superior to the Nukuhivans, as much in intelligence and agility as in appearance, but somewhat darker in color. As soon as they came on board, they assisted, without being asked, in all that concerned the maneuvering of the ship and with great nimbleness and skill climbed up to fold the topsail and topgallant together with our own crew.

This unexpected ability led me to ask a good many questions about Tahiti, and I will now, while I remember, note down the information I received from the American. These four Tahitians came here with an American brig, which, was trading for sandalwood and bound for the northwest coast of America, that is why they remained here waiting for an opportunity to return to Tahiti. They told us that a number of English missionaries had established themselves there, ten or twelve years ago, and that they had started schools where the children generally learned to read and write the language of the country. At my request, one of them wrote a few quite legible lines in my journal, where they still remain. Polygamy and the *arioi* society previously customary on Tahiti have been completely abolished, and no girl sleeps with a man before legal marriage has been contracted. It is asserted that they scrupulously respect this rule. Theft is nowadays entirely unknown, and rights of property are strictly observed. The two hostile parties or tribes, the Tairapu and the Porionuu, each of which possessed its own part of the island, are now united and live in complete friendship. All kinds of warfare and raiding have ceased and an unbroken peace reigns over the whole island. Nevertheless they are ready to defend themselves against attacks from other islands, and not only the militiamen, who are under the command of King Pomare, but twenty-four prominent citizens possess one or several guns each, which they are well able to use. Many English families have established themselves there and contribute to the introduction and cultivation of useful fruits and animals. This is in brief what Captain Ross, an actual eyewitness, told me, and what the Tahitians themselves (two of them spoke a little English) fully corroborated. It is through the trade in sandalwood that these islanders have been provided with guns and powder by the North Americans, and this staple of trade is now almost exhausted on Tahiti.

On Owahi, one of the Sandwich Islands, King Tamehameha is autocratic ruler, and he is in addition prince of the islands of Owaho, Rajnai, and perhaps also Morotai, Maui, and Tahoroa. The western islands of this group, Atohi, Anihaa, Arihua, and Tahura, have their own chief, who is independent of Tamehameha. The latter mostly resides on Owaho, whose harbor is fortified with an armed earthwork, and every now and then he

resides for a few months in his court at Rarkikua.<sup>3</sup> He has, like Christophe, monopolized all trade on the island, and he allows none of his subjects to negotiate with foreign ships without his permission. The use of money is well known and commonplace. Spanish piastres are the current coin, and the king often buys entire cargoes of foreign goods, especially cloths and silks, etc. These he afterwards distributes to the various chiefs, who in their turn sell them to the common people. He also quite often buys ships which he pays for with sandalwood. The ship he is buying (which he prefers to be of a light construction, easily sailable, with spacious and fine cabins, berths, etc.) is filled to overflowing with sandalwood, and this wood, reloaded into another ship, which the seller should have available is the payment for the ship that has been sold. The use of guns is widespread, too. The King has an organized army and a permanent bodyguard. The use of strong liquors is unfortunately equally widespread and the taste for them is increasing daily, as is also the taste for tobacco, which is now generally smoked in pipes by both sexes and has in short become one of their essential needs. Thus the unbridled desire for profit has introduced previously unknown needs for imported goods and superfluities among a people who previously lived happily on the few products which their fruitful native soil gave them in abundance. I have seen a number of Sandwich islanders here and, to judge by them, the inhabitants of Owahi are much taller in build and darker in coloring than the inhabitants of either Tahiti or Nukuhiva. The latter are the lightest of the three island races.

Now a few words about Nukuhiva. The harbor where we anchored, which has already been mentioned, is the principal place on the island, and the nearby valleys surrounding it are said to hold about eight hundred inhabitants divided into six tribes, all of them under Manoha's command. There are in addition many valleys round the gulfs along the eastern, southern, and southwestern coast, whose inhabitants live on good terms with the inhabitants of Taiohae, so that the total number of natives united in friendship is not less than four thousand, of whom six hundred live in Comptroller's Bay (Schiomi) and approximately the same number in Lewis's Haven, a really excellent anchorage, almost a basin, six English miles west of Taiohae. Nevertheless, the latter harbor is so perfectly safe that you could not wish for a better, with twelve to seventeen fathoms of water everywhere, firm clay, no dangerous rocks, a good landing place, and fresh water next to the shore. Within living memory no strong wind or swell has ever come from the south, the sole open side to the harbor.

The inhabitants have now for many years plied a trade in sandalwood, for they own the sandal-tree forests lying in the wide valley to the north of the first range of hills. They have bartered this product for guns and powder from American ships that are specially provided for this kind of trade, and these are now the only articles of value to them. It is not at all uncommon to find in the house of a fairly well-to-do man six or seven guns in good order, ranged along the wall beside the door. Trinkets such as beads, mirrors, ribbons, feathers, buttons, etc., which were so much desired by them a few years ago, are now regarded as having little or no value, and the only ones who pay some slight attention to such things are the women, who are extraordinarily childish, immodest, lustful, and lively. Apart from guns and powder, only razors and other knives, hatchets, and axes are seriously sought-after objects for which something of value can be obtained.<sup>4</sup>

As soon as we came ashore the crew began to fill our water barrels, but as the breakers at the watering place are pretty high, our boat was kept beyond them under oars, and the Tahitians swam with much skill to and from land right through the breakers with the water barrels. After we had landed, a crowd of natives gathered, mostly young boys and children, and followed us all the way to Mr. Ross's house. They are all of a light mulatto tint, tending somewhat toward copper color, the women decidedly lighter and their color more golden than reddish. Some were at least as light-skinned as a woman from Portugal or the Azores. At Ross's house several chiefs were gathered, and after we had stayed there for a while, we took a walk along the west side of the valley, which is the most beautiful stretch of country you could wish, a perpetual variation of luxuriant hillocks and small valleys. There coconut, plantain, and breadfruit trees, all intermingled, grow in plenty around spacious, clean, and well fenced and laid-out farms and houses, built from a kind of coarse cane with pillars of coconut and other types of firm wood. In almost every house, all of roughly the same construction, there were enclosed plots planted with taro in regular garden clearings. We paid a number of visits and were everywhere received with friendship and hospitality to such a degree that there was never, either then or later during our whole stay on Nukuhiva, a single woman who did not in the most unmistakable manner invite us to lie with her, despite her husband's presence. In fact, the latter often encouraged such intimacy, and, in the same manner, fathers offered their daughters and sisters, without the slightest indication that they felt this improper as we do.

We now went up the valley in a northwesterly direction, entirely without weapons, which are not only unnecessary, but would even be

regarded with derision and contempt, for a more harmless, friendly and polite people I have never previously encountered, either among polite races, or among the many tribes of Indians that I have had occasion to see in South America. After about half an hour's walk through a wood of coconut and breadfruit trees, my attention already being stretched to the limit, I was surprised and delighted by a sight so new and so unfamiliar to me that I would seek in vain to describe the sensations it aroused. All of a sudden the previously dense forest gave way to an open space, or square, with two tiers of seats along the north and west sides occupied by several hundred natives of both sexes.<sup>5</sup> All were dressed in ceremonial costume, the majority of the men wearing their famous feather headdresses, producing an effect of splendor from a distance, and the women with their white or yellow cloaks and their headdresses of a kind of white gauze, made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and very like muslin, together with adornments of flowers, fans, earrings and necklaces of manifold shapes and colors. On the right or east side of the square there was a tier which no woman is allowed to climb. There the most distinguished men and chiefs were gathered in their most magnificent dresses and several of them holding long staves whose tops were adorned with red and white feathers.

In the middle of the square was an orchestra consisting of drums in the shape of a truncated cone, the small end covered with shark skin, the wide end open. The body of the drum was a thin, hollowed-out tree trunk and the skin could be stretched according to need with strings from the coconut tree, almost in the manner common with us. These drums were beaten in time and ten musicians placed in a circle clapped their hands in careful unison, so that all seemed to be one and the same beat. They followed the lead of a kind of director who conducted this strange concert, marking the beat with strong blows of his right hand against the upper part of his left arm. This he did with such vehemence that after the concert his arm was considerably swollen and in part raw. After this the ten musicians forming a ring burst into a song, which was not very melodious, but resembled a church mass or rather a canon, where each singer began in succession to chant certain words with great emphasis and solemnity. As soon as they had finished, a solo dancer came on whose artistry we had no cause to admire, for it consisted above all of simple leaps and various postures and steps, like a Norwegian dance. On the other hand, his costume was somewhat fantastic and the whole of his body was tattooed and smeared with yellow dye and coconut oil.

After we had taken a refreshment of coconut milk on the platform to the right, I toured the grounds and presented a ring of red and green

stones to a young girl, the daughter of one of the leading chiefs, who was particularly well apparelled and of an interesting appearance. This gift she accepted with great pleasure. We remained at the assembly ground for two hours, whereupon we returned to Ross's house. The feast had been given for forty strangers on a visit to Taiohae from a friendly tribe in a neighboring valley. They all wore headdresses of feathers, necklaces of red cone-shaped seeds and long staves, whose tops were adorned with red feathers. A number of them were rubbed with yellow turmeric root from head to foot, and afterwards anointed with coconut oil so that their heavily tattooed bodies resembled a multicolored, glossy calico. Once back home (a term I shall henceforth use for Mr. Ross's house), a vocal concert was given by three young and very pretty girls who sang a kind of mass or canon with great rhythm and precision, but without much tune or melody. They continued almost without a break for several hours, right up to the moment when some of our party went on board. I spent all the nights in Ross's house during our stay on the island.

Next morning before daybreak the people of the island began to bestir themselves, their first care being to wash themselves in the crystal clear mountain stream or rivulet which was winding between clumps of flowering shrubs and plantain trees down to the harbor. I followed their example, and immediately afterwards one of the wives of the chief arrived and without more ado stripped naked and entered the water to bathe at the same place as myself. Within a few minutes at least ten to twelve girls had followed her for the same purpose.

This and the following days I passed in the company of Mr. Ross, visiting the greater part of the area around the harbor to a distance of three or four English miles. As he had been living here for six years, and possessed a perfect mastery of the language, and as he attempted to give me all information he could, I will here give a point-by-point account of what he told me, together with the relevant observations that I was able to make myself.

Nukuhiva, or as it is called on English charts, Sir Martin Henry's Island, is a high land situated between 8°40' and 8°57' latitude south and 139°34' and 140°6' longitude west according to our observations. This island possesses two harbors, viz. Comptrollers's Bay or Schiomi, which is the most easterly and protected by a headland in the extreme south-east comer of the island. It is spacious and free of dangers, it has fresh water and is inhabited. The people living here are well-disposed and friendly and are on good terms with those who live around the harbor we ourselves visited. The latter, generally called Port Anna Maria, but Taiohae

to the islanders, is a wider and better harbor than Schiomi, with a firm bottom and a depth of between thirteen and twenty-seven fathoms. Lewis Bay, so named after its discoverer, Lieutenant Lewis of the American frigate *Essex*, is an excellent harbor, or more exactly basin, about six English miles southwest from Taiohae, and is presumably the one that was mentioned in Krusenstern's *Voyage*. It has fresh water, fruit in plenty, and six hundred inhabitants. The part of the land that I saw consisted of narrow valleys sloping steeply down to the coast and covered with densely growing fruit trees and the most splendid grass. Their dwellings were spread about in the shade of the breadfruit and plantain trees, tidily enclosed and mostly with a fenced garden just beside the house where they grow the plant from which they prepare their famous *kava* drink.

I saw numerous fruits and plants whose names and properties are entirely unknown to me, but I believe that the finest products of the island are coconuts, breadfruit, and plantains which constitute the natives' staple diet. They enjoy all these fruits all the year round, for when there is a shortage in the valleys, a fresh supply can usually be found in the higher areas, and vice versa. Coconuts take eleven or twelve months to mature, but at all times of the year nuts of different sizes and ages can be found. Breadfruit take six months before they are ready for harvesting, when they are picked and scraped in an ingenious manner which I had the chance of seeing. The stone is taken out with a sharp shell after which the fruit is laid in a square hole where it is crushed. When a great number have been gathered and crushed in this manner, they are covered with plantain leaves and earth and left for twenty-one days to go sour and ferment. They are thereupon taken up and shaped into more or less round balls and then put into another hole which is often three square ells and six ells deep, lined with finely woven mats of plantain leaves. Next, two or three men knead the fermented breadfruit with their feet until it is packed hard. When the hole is filled, it is covered or roofed over with mats. From this storage pit the household's requirements are taken during the period of the year when the trees have no fruit.

No poisonous animals or insects are known on the island, with the exception of centipedes which, however, I never came across. On the other hand there are thousands of mice, and the flies are very troublesome during the day, as are ants and cockroaches in the forest. I saw none of these insects, however, in the houses. A harmless kind of lizard can be seen on the beaches of the harbor, and in clefts on the rocks. No livestock or tame animals are to be found on the island, apart from pigs, and these are not particularly numerous. There are a few chickens, but these are not eaten by the inhabitants since their priests have declared them to be forbidden



or taboo, The same also holds for pink pigs, which only priests are allowed to eat. There are said to be a few wild goats in the higher valleys, but I saw nothing of them. Some years ago a cow and bull were brought here from North America and these are still alive and have two calves, so it is to be hoped that in a few years this very useful breed will spread. A number of donkeys were also brought here from Chile by the sandalwood merchants, but these were slaughtered and eaten by the inhabitants. There are no dogs on the island.<sup>6</sup> Of wild birds not many species are to be seen, most of those that I did spot being amphibious. Also I heard three or four species of songbirds singing beautifully at dawn.

The most highly prized food (apart from pork which is only consumed at festivals) is fish, of which several kinds are caught in the harbor. They are sometimes taken with a seine tied with coconut fiber, and sometimes caught at night with harpoons and bag nets, or also by hand by a diver, who plunges into the middle of the shoal of fish with incredible speed. The fish are usually eaten raw, even sharks, which are caught in considerable numbers. Sometimes they are roasted on hot stones, but the boiling of fish or any other food is entirely unknown, for they do not have pots able to withstand the fire. We left ashore a she goat and billy goat, which they promised to take good care of, and I gave Mr. Ross several *chirimoya* seeds that I had brought from Chile. These he promised to plant so perhaps this exceptionally beautiful fruit may one day exist on Nukuhiva. We could not discover any European or American trees or wild plants either or cultivated here, apart from a *peumo* tree brought from Chile, which bore plentiful fruit.<sup>7</sup>

The men on Nukuhiva are generally tall, well developed, and have regular features. They bear no resemblance to the Indians on the American continent. Their noses are straight and thin, their eyes perfectly horizontal, their lips thin rather than thick, and the shape of the head exactly like that of Europeans. Their teeth are of an unequalled whiteness and evenness, their hands and feet well shaped and small in comparison with their height, which is seldom less than five feet eleven, and often over six feet. In color they are generally copper red, and although there are several of a lighter complexion, they usually appear darker than they really are because of the dark-blue tattooing that covers almost the whole of their bodies. Their hair and eyes are completely black, the hair being customarily cut short on men and, whether somewhat shaggy or straight, being inclined to fall in locks. (The men on the island of Dominica or Hivaoa wear their hair long and curled.) Their eyes, generally wide open, are agreeable but not particularly lively, the whites being often somewhat inflamed, which may with good reason be attributed to their immoderate

consumption of *kava* and plentiful sleep. Their gait and air are relaxed, light, expressing strength and self-confidence. Their bodies, though very well built, are not particularly muscular, being corpulent rather than sinewy. They pluck the beard and hair from all parts of the body other than the crown of the head, the tip of the chin and the upper lip, so that they all have pointed beards and moustaches. The hair in their armpits is also plucked out. They are all circumcised [probably meant to be subincised or partially circumcised], and when they go to war, on a fishing expedition, or some other business that requires them to be completely naked, they draw the foreskin over the male member and tie it in front of the head with a thread of coconut fiber, whereupon they consider themselves suitably covered, and show themselves in this manner without any sign of embarrassment.

No kind of care or thought of worry appears to affect their perpetually cheerful disposition, and from morning to night nothing is heard other than unbroken joking, chatter, singing, play, and laughter, even among those who are barely able to move from age. All their necessary undertakings, which are in truth very few, are pursued with chatter and laughing, and in general they struck me as a race of grown children, prattling and playing with dolls, whose happiness and freedom from care we enlightened Europeans seek to achieve in vain, despite all our philosophy. I never saw any quarrel or disunity disrupt this perpetual contentment, and I heard from my interpreter that when disputes, though rare, do occur, they always finish after a few hard words from both parties, sometimes accompanied by a few blows on the ear and some pulling of hair. A dispute once over, the hostile parties return to the completest accord with each other, and the quarrel is considered to have been formally settled.

Their wars bear the mark of their unbelligerent temper, for although they often take the field against the Taipi, their implacable enemies from the north of the mountains, they often return without having come to grips with their enemies, or alternatively without having lost more than perhaps one or two men. For a small loss of this kind, especially if it is one of their numerous chiefs, there is more weeping and mourning on their part than there is in Europe for the loss of a whole army. They do not like meeting their enemies in the open field, unless they themselves possess a decided superiority in numbers, their most common strategy being to surprise them in their houses, or by ambushes and snares in the forest and from up in the trees where they hide themselves. Their weapons nowadays consist of lances or spears of coconut wood or of iron wood,

pointed at both ends and about fourteen or fifteen feet long with a diameter of an inch at their thickest. Although untipped (with metal), when thrown with strength these can penetrate the softer types of wood, such as the trunks of plantain trees, etc. They are said previously to have used bows and arrows, but there is not a trace of these now, guns having taken their place in general use.<sup>8</sup>

The latter are to be found in every house in greater or smaller numbers. I have not seen them use them, and Ross assured me that a large number of the inhabitants had not completely overcome their first fear of these weapons and that they could often be seen shaking before they fired a shot. There are nevertheless many outstandingly good marksmen among them, who amuse themselves by shooting birds in flight. Slings of woven coconut fiber are also in use for casting stones, but they are only employed by boys and the like who are not mature enough to own guns. They cast stones with great power and speed both in the air and completely horizontally in the manner of an aimed bullet. Their mode of warfare lacks all order; they spread themselves in all directions in small parties without a common commander, each and every one acting as seems good to him. But prisoners and booty are shared out on their return.

As is well known, prisoners are destined to the frightful ceremony of being served up as a meal for the victors. They are usually killed on the field of battle, but sometimes they are brought across the mountains alive and slaughtered at a place specially set aside for this purpose, furnished with surrounding benches of stone, where the victorious guests seat themselves. Ross told me that he had never witnessed this kind of festivity, although many had been celebrated during his stay on the island, but that he knew for a certainty that occasionally the captured victim was roasted alive. I leave it at that, though in other respects I have no cause to doubt his reliability. With the help of my friend Chief Manoha I attempted to get to the bottom of the cause and origin of this barbarous custom, but I did not come upon any particularly satisfactory explanation. I asked him, through Ross, if human flesh had a distinctive flavor, He answered no, but that it was a custom that he as chief was reluctantly obliged to observe since his grandfather Getenui (now old and enfeebled, but enjoying great respect on the island), had exhorted him to maintain all old laws, adding that their enemies, the Taipi, habitually ate the prisoners they took and that he had to observe a retributive justice. In his opinion, human flesh had no special culinary value but must rather be considered a sort of trophy signifying the defeat of implacable enemies.<sup>9</sup>

To foreigners they are friendly, helpful, and trustworthy, and for the first few days after their arrival somewhat curious, but this soon passes,

and the strangers are from then on regarded as old acquaintances. When somebody comes to stay for a longish time on the island, which often happens with the Americans who reside there to purchase sandalwood, one of the elderly chiefs usually takes it upon himself to be (as they put it) the stranger's friend, which means providing him with a house, land, and mostly also a wife, together with any other necessities for setting up his household. For this the chief receives no kind of payment or reward other than having at all times of the day the right of free access to and the disposal of his protégé's house, his protégé being usually accorded the title of son-in-law. This friend is moreover a trustworthy adviser, protector, and supervisor, and there is no example of their failing to fulfill all the most sacred duties of hospitality, and the same care and attention is paid by his wife. When a close friendship is formed, it is customary here, as on Tahiti, for each to take the other's name. Thus I was called Manoha, and Manoha called himself Gana, for he was unable to pronounce my name in any other way.

Their knowledge of foreign people and countries is limited to the Sandwich Islands, the Friendly Islands, England, and North America. Thus all the foreigners they see must come under one of the four names Owahi, Otaheiti, Paketani (England or Great Britain) and Merike (America). Despite all my investigations, I could find no noticeable trace of any kind of religious or spiritual practice. Nevertheless I have no doubt that something of the kind must exist there, though my interpreter Ross, who did not seem to have bothered very much with investigations into this matter, assured me that he had never been able to discover anything of the kind.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand he told me that they do have priests and priestesses. One of the latter, highly regarded on the island, was daily in his house, where she used to lie almost all day long, wrapped in her cloak and with her curly hair hanging down, upon a fine plaited mat that nobody else dared to use. This priestess--it may be mentioned in parenthesis that she was pregnant--was together with her husband the highest religious dignitary in the valley, but their duties were solely limited to the curing of diseases and healing of wounds, both by the application of herbs and decoctions, and by various superstitious pretences, as well as to lay a prohibition or taboo on certain things, places, or customs. Thus, for example, as I have mentioned before, all pink pigs were laid under taboo and were used only for the priests' own table, A house was laid under taboo, and consequently, though in good condition, uninhabitable, because during the slaughtering of pigs it had been defiled by the entrails. All canoes are laid under taboo for women, so that if one should happen to climb into a canoe, it is forever unusable either for fishing or warfare.

In game, our captain took hold of a young girl with the intention of lifting her up onto the bow of a large double canoe which was standing under a shelter on land, when one of the natives hastily ran forward to prevent him. Ross told us that if this had not happened the canoe would have been unusable for good.

The inhabitants of the island used to make their clothes themselves from the bark of a tree that resembles the mulberry, but the priests, for what reason I do not know, demanded an oath of the people that they would no longer occupy themselves with this, and the manufacturing of cloth from this tree was laid under taboo, so that the cloth now made on Nukuhiva is only of the bark of the breadfruit tree, other kinds being fetched from Hivaoa or St. Dominica.<sup>11</sup> The higher seats at the public meeting places are laid under taboo for the fair sex, who are not held in much regard on this island. The eating of chicken meat is also laid under taboo, and in truth, the priests here are nothing other than legislators and doctors, exercising in common with the chiefs a virtually unlimited power in cases where superstition can work upon the minds of the credulous islanders.

The men go about, according to our way of thinking, almost entirely naked, but they consider themselves clothed by the tattooing with which, on coming to maturity, they cover their whole bodies. Apart from this ornament, they wear only a narrow but long piece of cloth, swathed about their loins and wound once up between their thighs from their buttocks, so as to cover completely their organs of generation. The end of this piece of cloth usually hangs down one side or hip, shortened by several slipknots like a whip. They use no kind of sandal or footwear, and no other clothing than a necklace and headdress. The former are infinitely varied, sometimes consisting of a kind of red triangular dried fruit strung on a thread, sometimes of boar's tusks which, arranged in a double ring, packed tight on a string round the neck with their sharp points outwards, give a particularly ferocious appearance to their heavily tattooed physiognomy. The most highly prized adornment for the neck is a well-polished whale's tooth hung on a cord and the exchange price for such an ornament is usually a box of sandalwood worth \$4,500! They also have many ear ornaments, the most common being a large disc of bone with a pin an inch long protruding from the middle of the back that is stuck through the earlobe. Headdresses vary according to taste; some use a kind of white turban made of a thin gauze that is manufactured from the bark of the younger branches of the breadfruit tree and is completely transparent, with here and there a small hole where twigs grew on the tree. At festivals and ceremonial occasions, a sort of diadem of many colored feathers

is most commonly used. These all hang down to the right and are tied to the head with a ribbon, leaving the back of the head bare. A tassel of grey human beard tied to a red ribbon often adorns the crown of the head. Other headdresses of similar feathers stand up vertically in the shape of a sun, and may be up to thirty-six inches high.

The tattooing described by many travelers is carried out here more or less as on Tahiti. The dye used is the soot of a burnt, oily nut mixed with water. In this the instrument, a jagged sharpened shell, is dipped between virtually every cut. The pain caused by this operation is considerable, and the tattooed part of the body is heavily inflamed and swollen for two or three days afterwards. Nonetheless this ornamentation is in common use here, and the artists who possess the greatest invention and happiest fancy in this art are well paid and highly regarded. In the valley we visited there was only one elderly man who possessed this talent. It seems that there are certain types of tattooing that command increased respect and the determining factor here is the completeness of the tattooing and the extent to which certain sensitive parts of the body are covered. People begin to have themselves tattooed when they are about twenty, and the practice is continued thereafter according to their means and opportunity for several years, until their whole bodies are adorned right to their fingertips and toes. A number of feasts are given to which only people tattooed alike in a particular fashion are admitted. (I myself witnessed one during my stay on the island.) Those who were allowed to attend the festivity I have mentioned and partake of the roasted pig, were all tattooed with a dark solid ring round their left eyes.

Because of the heat, as well as the mass of flies that buzz around, they carry in their hands a kind of fan or flap, quite neatly woven, and terminating in a handle of sandalwood or bone. These are not manufactured in Nukuhiva, but on Uapou, and are therefore objects of rarity and value here. Manoha had a very well-made one with a handle of human bone, on which he set great value.

The tenderness and attention they pay to their dead is as exaggerated as it is unpleasant for others for when somebody dies the corpse is laid out in the middle of the dwelling-house on a 'kind of platform, or cage, of canes. Round about it, a great crowd of relatives and friends mourn for a day or longer in proportion to the rank of the dead man. The women in particular take turns to surround the corpse and wail and shout their intense grief. But a moment later, when their time to mourn has passed, they can be seen laughing, joking, and singing as before--until they return to weep around the corpse. When the time of mourning is over, the corpse remains in the house in the same place, covered with one or several pieces of cloth, for three or four months as a rule, occasionally for up to

two years, of which I chanced to see an instance. The relatives sleep in turns right underneath the platform where the corpse is laid out, irrespective of the stench which is so unbearable that it is almost impossible to approach a house where a corpse is laid out in this manner. The whole family nevertheless continues to live undisturbed in the house, and only when the smell has disappeared and little more than skin and bones remain of the corpse is it rolled in one or several pieces of white breadfruit cloth tied about in three places with strips of the gauze I have previously described and finally accompanied by its relatives to the family burial place, or *morai*.<sup>12</sup> This is nothing other than an ordinary house of cane, built in the manner customary on the island in a distant tract of land belonging to the family, usually in the middle of thick bushes. There the corpses are arranged side by side on a platform of long canes about five feet above the ground.

The islanders' meals are extremely simple. I never saw them eat anything other than roasted breadfruit dipped in a coconut filled with sea water. They eat independently and a great deal, as often as they feel hungry, without the slightest attention to meal times. They are in certain respects extremely cleanly, bathing three or four times a day, washing their hands and faces and rinsing their mouths before and after every meal. But they eat the vermin they pluck from one another's heads, especially the womenfolk who often vie with one another in their skill in first discovering one. Their bodies are in general completely free from vermin and from rashes or sores. Only a few fishermen seemed to have leg sores, which appear to be a consequence of their mode of life. Of the many hundreds of natives of both sexes that I had the chance to see, indoors and outdoors, not one was crippled or disabled in the slightest degree.

Jealousy is an entirely unknown vice when a foreigner is involved, but the natives seem more particular when among themselves and are liable to beat wives discovered in the act of adultery with one of their own countrymen. In contrast, the men openly offer their wives, daughters, and sisters to the strangers who visit them, and the women encourage and consent to such offers with words and signs. I think that the hospitality shown to foreigners is a sort of privilege that the women here have inherited from time immemorial, for no man thinks of preventing his wife or daughters from going aboard foreign ships, though they well know what the result will be. And many of the women return every night, month after month, without the men stepping in and forbidding it. It also appears that the desire for profit has very little to do with these visits, for most of them receive very little, often no presents at all. Through Mr. Ross I questioned one of the more respected married women on the island in the

presence of her husband, asking her if she had received fine presents on board where I knew she had passed the night. She answered very cheerfully that she had been given two quite good *pitohe*[], but nothing else, and that she intended to return on board that evening.

Children of both sexes go naked until they are nine or ten, and after that, at about twelve, they usually begin to lie with one another. Marriage involves no greater ceremony than a mutual agreement between the partners, and the consent of parents or relatives never comes into the matter. Polygamous marriages are permitted to both sexes and depend completely and entirely upon the quantity of land and fruit trees possessed by the contracting parties. I have seen several chiefs with four or five wives and many daughters of chiefs who had as many husbands. Strangely enough, the latter is more commonly the case among the better-off women than the former is among men of the superior class.

The women are lighter in color than the men, and their complexion is goldenish, something like that of a light mulatto from the South American continent or a dark brunette of southern Europe. Their eyes are full of fire, expressing without ambiguity the strong desires for which alone they seem to exist. Their teeth are of unparalleled whiteness, even and clean, their breath free from all offensiveness, their skin and hair very smooth and soft as silk, their hands and feet uncommonly small and better shaped than I recall having seen in any other place. Their breasts, however, sag much too early, probably because of their unrestrained and premature commerce with our sex. They are very clean, bathing three or four times a day, washing their hands and faces before and after every meal, but like the men they have the disagreeable and indecent habit of eating one another's vermin when they are in familiar company.

Their dress consists of a piece of cloth dyed yellow with the turmeric root. This they wind about their loins, and on top they wear a kind of cloak made from a large piece of cloth and worn open down the left side and held together over the left shoulder by a large knot, so that the right arm and breast are covered but the left arm and flank are left exposed. This costume is not at all unattractive, and from a distance resembles a dress of fine white muslin. They all wear their hair long and wound up upon the neck, exactly in the present European fashion, in a kind of circle and tied together with a twisted piece of breadfruit gauze, and in this coiffure flowers of various colors are usually stuck. Women's hat fashions are almost as changeable as they are in our polite nations, and it would require a great deal of time and space to describe them. They use many types of ear ornaments, but mostly the same elongated bone discs as the men, and their necklaces are most commonly made of a splendid red fruit.



The clothing I am now describing is their festival costume. On ordinary occasions and at home they only wear the cloth wound about their loins that has been previously mentioned. This stretches at most to the knee and leaves their breasts and heads uncovered. Sometimes they go stark naked, only throwing a square cloth over their shoulders if a stranger should come.

They are very lightly tattooed, only here and there on the hips and legs is there a picture of a breadfruit tree, a coconut palm, or a flying fish.<sup>13</sup> Their faces are completely free from drawings, apart from their lips which are usually marked with three or four perpendicular blue lines. However, their arms and shoulders are in general lightly tattooed, as are the backs of their thighs. But what appears to be their pride is the tattooing on the right hand of the most distinguished ladies, a dense tattoo made with a certain taste, very like that commonly printed on French gloves many years ago. Their hands and nails (those on the thumb and index finger being allowed to grow long) are almost always yellow with turmeric root, which they use for dyeing their clothes. They usually pull their hair out by the roots from all parts of the body other than the head, including from under the arms. They care for their children with marked tenderness and take great pleasure in decking them with many ornaments for public festivals, although between whiles they go stark naked.

The women spend a great part of the day lying naked on their neatly plaited mats, covered with a piece of breadfruit cloth, and fanning themselves with a fan. Only with the coming of dusk do they begin to walk along the seashore, usually in their best clothes. About 9:30 they go to bed, the whole family plus strangers sleeping together in the same room, up to ten or fifteen people. Usually at about 2 A.M. in the morning they begin to wake up and start individual conversations which soon become more and more general. About an hour later, the company usually falls asleep again, and they sleep on till half an hour before dawn when they all get up almost at the same time to bathe and wash themselves which they do with the greatest thoroughness. Each and every one then partakes of the breakfast he can provide for himself--of coconut, plantain, roast breadfruit, or raw fish--and not long afterwards the womenfolk usually betake themselves to rest again, while the men are performing other duties, and I believe that it is at this time in the morning that they express the liveliest desire for sensual pleasures.

The women's social life is very lively, and they do nothing else all day long than laugh, chatter, play, and enjoy life in utter ease. They are of a very voluptuous disposition, and everything that has to do with sensual enjoyment provides the subject of their conversation. The eldest are

greatly inclined to gossip and every now and then hold long conversations for an hour or two. They are usually very fond of resting, and I have several times seen them sit still, their legs crossed beneath them, without moving from the spot for eight or ten hours. They are generally quite corpulent, almost fat. Their necks and shoulders are most beautifully shaped, as are the breasts of the younger girls of about twelve years of age. After that age they begin to grow almost too large and to sag, for they do not have our women's knack of supporting them, even at an advanced age.

The houses are all spacious, inviting, and neatly built. Normally thirty to forty feet in length and consisting of one room, a few are up to eighty feet long, as is Mr. Ross's house. They are all built after the same pattern: one of the long walls is quite high, sixteen to twenty feet, and without windows, the other is about nine feet high and is made of loose cane mesh. These walls are covered with a sloping roof, so that the whole house is not unlike a forcing-house, and in the middle of the floor a long beam runs from one gable to the other. Between this beam and the higher of the long walls mats are laid, and here the family members sit, sleep, and perform their household tasks. The other portion of the floor between this long beam and the front wall of the house is covered with large stones. They use neither chairs nor tables, and their household utensils are remarkably few, usually consisting merely of a few calabashes plaited round with coconut fibers, a few baskets for storing fruit, etc., together with their articles of clothing and personal adornment. Their guns are hung up with great care and kept very clean. Doors and locks are as unknown as they are unnecessary, for here theft is an entirely unknown vice. Ross assured me that during the six years he has been here he has not lost anything, even though he has often had goods of considerable value in his house where the islanders continually go in and out without supervision. I know myself for a certainty that none of us either ashore or on board lost the least thing, although no precautions were taken against theft, and natives of both sexes stayed on board night and day for a whole week.

The natives only manufacture one kind of cloth, made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and it is not as white or flexible as the cloth made on Hivaoa or Dominica from a kind of dyed mulberry tree, which they obtain by bartering various articles of iron and other small foreign wares, since Dominica is rarely, if ever, visited by foreign ships for lack of an anchorage. The inhabitants of that island are of a less friendly disposition than those on Nukuhiva and not long since committed several murders of strangers who dared to go among them alone. Similar crimes have occurred at Vaitahu on Tahuata or St. Christina, and on both islands the victims were ceremonially roasted and consumed.<sup>14</sup> The manufacture of the

cloth made from the bark of the breadfruit tree has been so fully described in Captain Cook's *Voyages* that I will merely add here that each time I have had the opportunity to observe the whole process, I have greatly wondered at the speed with which a piece of twenty to twenty-four feet in length and four to six feet in breadth is completed within three days. Costumes of this cloth usually last a month, after which they are thrown away and are never repaired or patched. They cannot withstand washing but are carefully wetted now and then and squeezed between the hands to make them clean.

Their canoes, which are generally quite large and heavy, are constructed in much the same fashion as those of the other islanders in this part of the Pacific. The bottom is a piece of wood of forty to sixty or even eighty feet in length. The side planks are attached to the bottom by strong lashings of coconut rope. The joints or seams are caulked and then overlaid along the whole length of the canoe with a closely fitted batten over which the above mentioned lashings are passed, while on the inside of the canoe a corresponding batten is fastened in the same place and in the same manner. Their bows are normally provided with a long bowsprit like our galleys, representing a fish head, while the sternpost resembles a fish tail. They have a mast, shrouds, and sil, and many of them can hold forty to fifty men. Double canoes are made of two such hulls stoutly lashed to spars that lie crossways. The hulls are usually ten feet apart, and a kind of latticework is added on top of the spars that connect them athwartships, forming a platform where people, goods, fruit, etc., are stowed. These canoes are used for sailing to nearby islands to visit or to trade. Their war canoes are like those described above only somewhat longer, commonly reaching eighty feet in length, and they are higher fore and aft, as well as having along the stern a kind of cage or scaffolding, not unlike a sheepfold, where presumably the commander takes his place. They all have two outriggers athwartships on both sides, and the outer ends of these outriggers are lashed fast to spars that lie parallel to the central axis of the canoe. The smaller fishing canoes, which only hold five or six men, are of an extremely fragile and wretched construction and have outriggers only on one side.<sup>15</sup>

Their calendar is as simple as it is imperfect. Ten months (*maama*), which are computed from one new moon to the next, make up their *tari*, but beyond this year or *tari* they have no further reckoning, and consequently there is none among them who has the slightest notion of his age in years. I could discover no division of the hours of the day beyond those of shadow in the west, shadow in the south, shadow in the east, and night.

It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the Marquesas have right up to now retained their patriarchal or rather feudal system, while both the Tahitians and the Hawaiians have, through their acquaintance with polite nations, reconciled themselves to obeying a sovereign. I cannot decide whether this change would be likely to increase the Nukuhivians' happiness. But what I can say with certainty is that in their present condition, they seem to live in perfect peace under a familial system of government, and that according to Ross no crime or misdemeanor has been heard of during his time there, not one act of disobedience of paternal authority, which is held in great esteem. Manoha is probably the foremost chief in this valley, since he owns the greatest area of land, but his power is nonetheless quite limited, and the respect and deference shown to him is rather voluntary submission to his commands, and in general assemblies he does not seem to enjoy any noticeable advantage. In fact, anyone who owns a certain quantity of land and a number of breadfruit trees, etc., is a kind of chief and has many wives and consequently a large family. All who live on his property are obliged to carry out the duties he demands of them and are consequently a kind of day laborer. With their help and in accordance with immemorial customs, the chief provides for his family and settles their mutual disagreements. However, should any difference arise between them and him or between them and some other chief, they have recourse to Manoha or to the priests, who investigate, settle, and conclude the affair, and from their decision there is no appeal.

This is all that I can recall having observed during my short stay of only six days on Nukuhiva. Most of the information I received was given to me by Captain Ross who, though not a well-educated man, possesses a good, sound, natural understanding and faithfully translated the questions and answers that I exchanged with the most intelligent of the natives.

After six days' stay on Nukuhiva we left that superb harbor, well supplied with coconuts, plantains, breadfruit, green peppers, etc. We left our name and the name of our ship with Ross, who accompanied us to the furthest promontory of the island. I presented the Tahitian Amaru with a razor, and gave him my name printed on a card, etc., as a souvenir in accordance with his own wishes. In addition I wrote a letter to Kantzow, the Swedish chargé d'affaires, requesting him to inform the relevant authorities that I had passed the Marquesas Islands, in case something should happen to me in the course of the remaining voyage, which letter he promised me he would forward by an American ship which is shortly expected at the island. In Chief Manoha's house, right in front of the door, I put up a printed copy of Chile's Act of Independence and explained its

contents as well as I could. He promised to preserve the document with care, which could stand him in good stead if any privateer from the new state happened to visit this coast. Ross presented me with a fine lance and a piece of cloth.

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### NOTES

1. The best account of the sandalwood trade in the Marquesas can be found in Denning (1980:115-22). The pioneer was the American captain William Rogers of the *Hunter*, from Boston, who in November and December 1810 collected two hundred tons on Nukuhiva, assisted by two beachcombers. He sold his cargo at Canton for \$27,500, representing a price of \$18 a picul. De Roquefeuil reports in 1818 (1823:53): "Now all is changed; the exportation of nearly 1,800 tons has almost exhausted the resources of this little island; the small quantity of sanders wood which is still in the interior, is crooked, stunted, and very small, most of the pieces not exceeding two inches in diameter." His own experience is that "no more than ten to twelve tons of sanders wood can be collected in a month." Denning estimates that between 1810 and 1821, the natives of Nukuhiva and Hivaoa (there was very little or no sandalwood on the other islands) supplied more than two thousand tons. The only payment acceptable to the islanders was muskets and powder, and this modernization of their armory was, of course, largely responsible for the increased number of casualties during their frequent tribal wars. The trade ceased when the supply was finally exhausted. By then, the price in Canton had dropped to \$2.50 a picul, as a result of the discovery of sandalwood on many other islands in the Pacific.
2. This chief must be Moana. Graaner also misspells the name of Keatonui who in his journal consistently is called Getenui. The interesting point here is that Keatonui evidently still was alive at this time. Denning, who supplies an excellent biographical sketch (1974:326-35), thinks that Keatonui died later in the year.
3. Graaner obviously got most of these Hawaiian names wrong, and I am unable to make any other identifications than Owahi = Hawaii, Owaho = Oahu and Rarkikua = Kealakekua.
4. These are the prices paid by de Roquefeuil (1823:53): "For one musket, 500 lbs of sandal wood; for two pounds and a quarter of powder, 200 lbs; for a hatchet, 45 lbs; a whale's tooth, 200 lbs."
5. The peculiar Marquesan *tohua*, or assembly ground, on which *ko'ina* feasts were given, is most fully described by Linton (1925:24-53). It may also be worth mentioning that a faithful replica of a Marquesan *tohua* has been erected at the Polynesian Cultural Center, Laie, Hawaii. For accounts of *ko'ina* feasts see Robarts (Denning 1974:59-60).
6. It is interesting to note that no dogs had yet been introduced. Today they are very common, as are wild goats who roam the mountains and have been responsible for the heavy erosion of the soil.

7. There are a few *chirimoya* (*Anona* sp.) in the Marquesas today, although it is very doubtful that Graaner deserves credit for this. On the other hand, nobody has ever heard of any *peumo* (*Cryptocarya peumus*), or *pengu* trees in the Marquesas. For identification of these trees, see Friederici (1947:180-1,490).

8. This summary is consistent with the accounts by Robarts (Dening 1974:24-25, 78-84, 114-15) who often took part in the tribal wars.

9. Ross made almost identical statements to de Roquefeuil (1823:59-60), one year earlier.

10. For once, Graaner makes an outrageous and totally unsubstantiated statement, misled by Ross who evidently was indifferent to both the Marquesan and Christian religions.

11. De Roquefeuil (1823:43-46, 52) has much to say about the flourishing inter-island trade and himself visited Hivaoa.

12. Graaner, who was an avid reader of Captain Cook's *Voyages*, uses the great navigator's spelling: *morai*, of the Tahitian word *marae*, meaning open-air temple, whereas the proper Marquesan form is *me'ae*.

13. Similar tattooing designs were also much in vogue in Tahiti at this time and must be ascribed to European influences.

14. De Roquefeuil (1823:44-45, 63) tells in greater detail of the attacks against foreign vessels made at Uapou and Hivao a few years earlier.

15. Graaner's assertion that the war canoes "have two outriggers athwartships on both sides" revives an old controversy that Haddon and Hornell thought they had laid to rest in their monumental work *Canoes of Oceania* (1936, 1:29-31), by dismissing similar statements by Quiros and Porter as too ambiguous to be taken seriously. But Graaner's meaning is perfectly clear, and Lafond de Lurcy (1844, 3:6-8), who was in the Marquesas in 1822, expresses himself in a way that seems to lend support to Graaner's statement. So it is perfectly conceivable that a thorough examination of all available sources will show that the Marquesans (whose culture represented an extremely archaic type) used canoes with two outriggers after all.

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## FISH NAMES OF WALLIS ISLAND (UVEA)

by Karl H. Rensch

ABSTRACT. Fish names are not only of interest to the ichthyologist. Linguists too have been studying fish name as they are generally regarded as a more stable subsection of the lexicon, which is less subject to change and more reliable as a source for historical reconstruction. However in the Pacific, especially in Polynesia with its history of migration, linguists have to be careful when using fish names for comparative studies. While it is true that the common species have cognate forms in almost all Polynesian languages, a fish name may function as an interchangeable label for a lesser-known species designating a different fish in each language. The explanation for this semantic instability is readily found in the settlement of Polynesia by continuous migration. In their new environment people found fish species similar but not identical with those they knew. What was more logical than to use for the newly found species the name of its look-alike cousin back home? The data from Wallis Island are meant to encourage a Polynesia-wide study of fish names. Comparative research of this nature will reveal valuable information on linguistic subgrouping and on patterns of settlement in the Pacific region.

1. Wallis Island, native name Uvea, is part of the French overseas territory "Wallis et Futuna." Situated approximately halfway between Fiji and Samoa, it has remained a rather isolated island in the heart of Polynesia. Until recently Western influence has been minimal. Local customs, tradition, and language are well preserved. Wallis is an island of volcanic origin with peaks up to 145 meters high. It is surrounded by a barrier reef enclosing a lagoon in which there are nineteen small uninhabited islands. The total land area is 96 square kilometers. The Wallisian language, which is closely related to Tongan, is spoken by six thousand people on the home island and by twelve thousand immigrants in New Caledonia. As elsewhere in the Pacific, fish is an important part of the daily diet of the population. Fishing is done in the lagoon, hardly ever outside the barrier reef. The French government is encouraging noncommercial fishing by providing small motor-powered boats, which are locally built and sold at subsidized prices.

I collected data for this paper on a field trip to Wallis Island in 1980 while working on a dictionary project. My principal informant was Mino, an experienced fisherman of about forty, living at Lano in the district of



Hihifo. I checked the data with Sakopo Paninia, a man in his late fifties from the village of Utufua (Mua district), who had been recommended to me as one of the last of the older generation, who knew fish names that younger people had never learned.

2. For the identification of the fishes I used an ichthyological work, *Poissons des Mers Tropicales*, by P. Fourmanoir and P. Laboute, which contains color photographs of a high standard. Securing data by showing pictures instead of using fresh specimens is by no means an ideal way of obtaining precise information. People who are not used to looking at pictures or photos find it difficult to match them with their mental image of the real thing. This applies in particular to the interpretation of size. A photo of a small fish covering a whole page appears to be bigger than that of a shark that is only one of four on the opposite page. Similar difficulties exist with the recognition of color. Photographs taken under water using artificial light and filters often fail to produce the original shades, tones, and color intensities of the live specimen.

Another difficulty posed by the method of data collection is that whereas Fourmanoir and Laboute describe the fishes of New Caledonia and Vanuatu, those species are not necessarily identical to those in the latitudes of Wallis Island. This means, that if an informant has put a name to a species described and depicted in Fourmanoir and Laboute, one may only assume that a fish which to him appears to be of similar size, color, and shape exists in Wallis. It may be the exact species, or it may be a fish of another species, genus, or even family.

These intrinsic sources of error probably account for some of the divergent identifications and names given by my two informants. As I could not obtain a third opinion, there was no way of finding out who was more likely to be right, or whether it was at all a question of right and wrong. Some divergent forms are just alternative names or local variations. In particular, epithets describing species-specific features can vary from fishing community to fishing community.

Apart from these interpersonal disagreements there are also what appear to be intrapersonal "inconsistencies." In quite a few cases the same species was given two names by the same informant. Instead of trying to cross-examine him for the "true" name, a futile task without having a fresh specimen at hand, I simply recorded the different names. These cases are labelled DDF, double definitions, in the body of this paper.

3. The totality of Wallisian fish names forms a well-balanced taxonomic system. An analysis of its structure and the relationship between its

elements must wait until our inventory is more complete. The best we can do at the moment is to adopt the established Western model of classification as our frame of reference and describe the folk taxonomy in terms of the scientific taxonomy. The following situations are frequently encountered:

A) Any Wallisian fish name denoting more than one species, I call a monotermin (MT). Monotermins can be of different types depending on whether they refer to:

1) different species of the same genus (S-type monotermin), e.g. *lōlō* refers to *Scarus blochi* Valenciennes, *Scarus longiceps* Valenciennes, and *Scarus schlegeli* (Valenciennes).

2) species of different genera within the same family (G-type monotermin), e.g. *meai tanu* for *Anampses* species and *Novaculichthys taeniourus* (Lacépède), both LABRIDAE.

3) species belonging to different families (F-type monotermin), e.g. *moaga matu'u lau* for *Cheilio inermis* (Forskål) LABRIDAE, *Parupeneus macronema* (Lacépède) MULLIDAE, and *Gerres ovatus* Günther GERREIDAE.

Monotermins may indicate the low frequency of occurrence of one of the denoted species. In this case a rarely encountered fish of a different genus or family may be given the same name as a well-known fish to which it bears some resemblance. What on the surface appears to be a classificatory blunder is linguistically nothing but an attempt to cope with a problem of lexical deficiency. However, in most cases monotermins, especially S-type monotermins, are units of folk taxonomy established by a classificatory process, whose criteria are based on the observation and conceptualization of morphological characteristics, behavioral patterns, environmental preferences, and developmental stages of fishes.

B) I adopt the view that a Wallisian lexeme occurring at least twice and each time with a different epithet functions as a taxon or generic name. It is consequently assumed that epithet labelling stems from a system of classification where two or more fishes have been deemed to be sufficiently similar to deserve the same name, but are different enough to be distinguished by a salient feature. By comparing the two taxonomies we come across a situation where a Wallisian fish name consisting of a generic term and an epithet is used for a species which does not belong to the genus to which the generic term refers. We call this name a crossover (CROS). For example: *ume* is the generic term for genus *Naso*, as evidenced by forms like *ume ta Naso unicornis* (Forskål), *ume hiku pule Naso brevirostris* (Cuvier and

Valenciennes). However, *ume kaleva* is not a species of genus *Naso* as one would expect, but a crossover, denoting *Alutera scripta* (Osbeck), a species belonging to BALISTIDAE. In what follows, G-type crossovers (between genera of the same family) and F-type crossovers (between different families) are differentiated.

In the first part of this paper I examine the semantic basis of the folk taxonomy by having a closer look at the epithets used for the identification of species. In the second part I systematize the data by assigning the various fishes to genera and species.

For Pacific islanders living in a subsistence economy the naming and identification of a dietary staple such as fish is far from being an abstract exercise in biological theory. There are pragmatic reasons for being able to communicate concisely about the topic, because the catching of fish not only requires manual skills but also a considerable knowledge of the various species of fish. The choice of the right bait, hook, net, or harpoon means the difference between success and failure, sufficient food or an empty stomach. Moreover, distinguishing between an edible and a poisonous specimen can be a matter of sickness or health, life or death.

#### 4. The naming of fish

Wallisian fish names are formally of two kinds:

- a) monomial, i.e. consisting of a single lexeme, e.g. *ga'a*, *Rastrelliger kargurta* (Cuvier);
- b) bi- or trinomial, usually consisting of a noun and a qualifier, e.g. *moaga legalega Parupeneus chryserydros* (Lacépède).

The etymology of monomials is in most cases difficult or impossible to establish. They are of old Polynesian stock and have a wide distribution, e.g. *ume* 'unicornfish', *nofu* 'stonefish', *ali* 'flounder', etc. Bi- or trinomial names are semantically more perspicuous as the epithet usually describes a particular feature of the species, e.g. *legalega* 'yellow'. While it is generally true that epithets are added for the purpose of species identification, common sense forbids us to accept every noun to which a qualifier has been added as a generic term. A case in point are such names as *hiku hina Sufflamen chrysopterus* (Bloch and Schneider) and *Acanthurus mata* Cuvier, *hiku malohi* (growth term) *Caranx ignobilis* (Forskål) and *hiku manu-nu*, monotermin for *Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède) and *Upeneus tragula* Richardson. There is no *hiku* species; *hiku* simply means 'tail'. These names are elliptic versions of the full name, the generic term having been omitted. They are comparable to English names such as redfish or bigeye where noun and qualifier have become inseparable morphemes.

## 5. Growth terms

A major difference between the Wallisian and scientific classification of fishes is the use of the parameter “developmental stage” in folk taxonomy. While the age or stage of growth is irrelevant for scientific identification, it is important to people who catch and consume fish. As in other Polynesian languages the same fish may have different names depending on its growth. I call these names growth terms (GT). The differentiation of developmental stages is not a classification in the Western sense, as it presupposes taxon identity. Most distinctions are on a binary basis; very few go beyond three. The number of growth terms for a given species is limited by the maximum size that it can reach, but apart from this restriction the number of growth terms is an indication of the overall importance of the fish to the community. My informant used his arm, hand, and fingers to explain the growth terms of kanahe *Liza macrolepis* (Smith):

‘aua*	length of index finger
‘aua mui	length of hand
kanahe	length of lower arm (fully grown)

## 6. Binary distinctions

ō	laukofe	genus <i>Siganus</i>
saosao	pana nua	SPHYRAENIDAE
kivi	fagamea	<i>Lutjanus bohar</i> (Forskål)
uho uho	kaloama	<i>Mulloides flavolineatus</i> (Lacépède)
tautu	tautufala	DIODONTIDAE
hakuhaku	haku	monoterm for <i>Strongylura leiura</i> (Bleeker), <i>Strongylura urvilli</i> (Valenciennes), and <i>Tylosurus crocodilus</i> (Le Sueur)
gatala	fapuku	generic term for <i>Epinephelus</i>
mafole	hokelau	<i>Leiognathus equulus</i> (Forskål), <i>Carangoides gilberti</i> Jordan and Seale CROS, which needs clarification, see comment under CARANGIDAE

## 7. Ternary distinctions

tata	taga‘u	ta‘ea	monoterm for <i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål)
motomoto	hapatu	‘ono	unidentified species of SPHYRAENIDAE

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\*see footnote under 7.

humuhumu	gutu mea	humu	BALISTIDAE
homo	la'ea	kaulama	monoterm for <i>Scarus gibbus</i> Rüppell and <i>Scarus sordidus</i> Forskål
'aua*	'aua mui	kanahe	<i>Liza macrolepis</i> (Smith)
'aua*	'aua mui	ava	<i>Chanos chanos</i> (Forskål) identical GT for kanahe and ava
lupolupo	lupo	'ulua	
variation:			
lupolupo	hiku malohi	'ulua	<i>Caranx ignobilis</i> (Forskål)
te'e te'e	h u e	muhumu	generic terms for some species of <i>Arothron</i>
8. pone	māmā	palagi**	generic terms for some species of <i>Acanthurus</i>
variation:			
pone	māmā	ma'uli**	

Growth terms presuppose taxon identity, i.e. they are used for developmental stages of what the Wallisian classificatory system considers to be the same fish. However in the case of mafole, *Leiognathus equulus* and hokelau, *Carangoides gilberti*, we are dealing with species which belong to different families. This discrepancy between the Polynesian and the Western systems deserves our special interest and attention as its analysis will reveal the underlying classificatory principles on which the Wallisian system is based. Further information, however, is required before any conclusive statements can be made on this issue. For some Wallisians ava *Chanos chanos* and kanahe *Liza macrolepis* share the same set of growth terms, an indication of the similarity between the younger specimens of the related species. For 'ulua *Caranx ignobilis*, and pone, genus *Acanthurus*, two sets of growth terms have been recorded.

### Classifying Strategies of Wallisian Folk Taxonomy

#### 9. Reference to color

Fishes of the Pacific Ocean display an amazing array of colors and it comes as no surprise that color should be one of the prime classifiers at the species level. When used as epithets in fish names a subset is selected from the inventory of color terms. They form a closed system and the referential range of each term is determined by the number of color distinctions that the language allows in the semantic field of fish names. For

\*GT for *Liza macrolepis* (Smith), *Chanos chanos* (Forskål), and *Gerres acinaces* Bleeker

\*\*see under 17.

example, the term *mea* used with a plant name may cover a wider or narrower section of the spectrum depending on the number of permissible choices. One should keep the relative nature of color terms in mind when looking at the photographs in Fourmanoir and Laboute. None of the fishes labelled as *hina* is white, let alone perfectly white as suggested by the dictionary definition of *hina*. Obviously *hina* must be understood and redefined with reference to the other color terms of the subset applicable to fish names.

The following color terms occur in fish names:  
(dictionary definition in double quotation marks\*)

<i>hina</i>	“perfectly white”
<i>tea</i>	“whitish, low intensity white.” Europeans are said to have <i>kili tea</i> ‘white skin’
<i>mea</i>	has no direct equivalent in English, refers to the spectral range yellow-red with the additional component ‘low intensity’, e.g. <i>tamasi’i mea</i> ‘baby whose skin has not yet been exposed to the sun’
<i>legalega</i>	“yellow, the yellow of the saffron plant ‘ago, <i>Curcuma domestica</i> ”
<i>kula</i>	“red”
‘ <i>u’ui</i>	“light green, light blue”
‘ <i>uli</i>	“black”

The following secondary color terms, probably formed under European influence, do not occur in fish names; none is used outside Wallis:

<i>legalega momoho</i>	“orange”
<i>fulu ‘i hega</i>	“green”
<i>hua vaisi</i>	“maroon”
<i>hua lotuma</i>	“violet”

In the following list of fish names, we restrict ourselves to three examples to illustrate the use of color terms:

<i>gatala hina</i>	<i>Cromileptes altivelis</i> (Valenciennes)
<i>kivi hina</i>	<i>Tropidinius zonatus</i> (Valenciennes)
<i>lupo hina</i>	<i>Caranx celetus</i> Smith
<i>humuhumu tea</i>	<i>Sufflamen bursa</i> (Bloch and Schneider)
<i>toke tea</i>	unidentified species of <i>Gymnothorax</i>
<i>valu tea</i>	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
<i>toke mea</i>	<i>Gymnothorax javanicus</i> (Bleeker)

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*tonu mea* unidentified species of *Plectropomus*

\*Rensch, K. H., *Tikisionalio Faka’uvea-Fakafalani*. Forthcoming.

valu mea	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
te'ete'e legalega	unidentified species of <i>Arothron</i>
moamoala legalega MT	unidentified species of <i>Ostracion</i>
moaga legalega	<i>Parupeneus chryserydros</i> (Lacépède)
papa kula	<i>Cephalopholis sonnerati</i> (Valenciennes)
ulafi kula	<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> ♀ (Günther)
humu kula	<i>Balistapus undulatus</i> Mungo Park
homo 'u'ui	<i>Scarus bleekeri</i> (Weber and de Beaufort)
ulafi 'u'ui	<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> ♂ (Günther)
te'ete'e 'u'ui	unidentified species of <i>Arothron</i>
moamoala 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Ostracion</i>
toke 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Gymnothorax</i>
tonu 'uli	unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>

We include here the epithets 'alava and pulepule. They are not color terms but refer to patterning. 'alava means 'marked with stripes', and pulepule, the name of the cowrie shell, has the extended meaning of 'marked with colored spots'. Manunu in hiku manunu means 'bushfire' and is probably a color metaphor.

'aga 'alava or 'alava	<i>Carcharhinus amblyrhynchos</i> Bleeker
tolo 'alava	<i>Plagiotramus rhinorhynchys</i> (Bleeker)
tolo pulepule	<i>Acentrogobius ornatus</i> (Rüppell)
hiku manunu	<i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède)

#### 10. Morphological characteristics

An idiosyncratic morphological feature of a species provides in many cases the semantic basis for a fish name or an epithet. As individuals differ in their perceptual acuity and sometimes disagree on what might be considered the most salient feature, these names often vary from fishing community to fishing community. They are usually unsuitable candidates for Polynesia-wide comparative studies.

A rich source for the description of morphological particularities are metaphorical references to flora and fauna. The shape of a fish's tail might, for example, resemble a leaf of a plant and so justify the addition of the plant's name as an epithet to the generic name. Our data show that similarities have been recognized between fishes and plants, including trees, and between fishes and birds. It is not always obvious which parts constitute the basis for the metaphor.

##### a) References to plants or trees

humuhumu lau talo MT	<i>Xanthichthys auromarginatus</i> (Bennett), <i>Pseudobalistes fuscus</i> (Bloch and Schneider), <i>Balistoides conspicillus</i> (Bloch and Schneider)
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lau talo “taro leaf”	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>
valu lau niu	unidentified species of genus <i>Thunnus</i>
lau niu “coconut leaf”	
moamoa po niu	genus <i>Ostracion</i>
po niu “newly formed coconut”	
pone’uto	<i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> Schneider
’uto “germinating coconut”	
mata pula	monoterm for <i>Meiacanthus atrodorsalis</i> (Günther), <i>Atherinomorus lacunosus</i> (Bloch and Schneider), <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet), genus <i>Amphiprion</i>
pula “taro species”	
lele ‘ifi	unidentified species of CARCHARHINIDAE (sharks)
’ifi “chestnut,”	<i>Inocarpus edulis</i>
fai gatae	<i>Aetobatus narinari</i> (Euphrasen)
gatae “tree species,”	<i>Erythrina indica</i>
ume fau	monoterm for <i>Naso vomer</i> (Klunzinger) and <i>Naso tuberosus</i> (Lacépède)
fau “tree species,”	<i>Laritium tiliaceum</i>
kapa kau ‘i higano	<i>Sphyrna mokarran</i> (Rüppell)
higano “pandanus species”	
kau ‘i higano “stem of the pandanus”	
kapakapa “side fin of a fish” (or kapakau “wing”)	
palu kavakava	<i>Plectorhynchus orientalis</i> (Bloch),
kavakava (Tongan) “midrib of coconut leaflet”; the horizontal stripes are compared to the ribs of the coconut leaflet which are used in manufacturing kupesi (stencil for making designs on tapa)	
moaga matu’u lau MT	<i>Cheilio inermis</i> (Forskål), <i>Parupeneus macronema</i> (Lacépède), <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Gerres ovatus</i> Günther
matu’u lau “dry leaf”	
toke ‘akau	<i>Thyrsoidea macrura</i> (Bleeker)
’akau “plant, tree, wood”	
gutu leva or	unidentified species of <i>Lethrinus</i>
gutu levaleva	
leva	<i>Cerbera lactaria</i>
gutu “lip, mouth”	
motomoto	unidentified species of SPHYRAENIDAE
motomoto “coconut which is almost dry”	



## 11. b) References to birds

ume kaleva	<i>Alutera scripta</i> (Osbeck)
moa moa kaleva	<i>Lactoria cornuta</i> (Linné)
humuhumu kaleva	<i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> Richardson
kaleva,	<i>Endynamis tahitensis</i>
papa tavake	<i>Cephalopholis miniatus</i> (Forskål)
tavake,	<i>Phaeton aetherus</i>
fai pala	unidentified species of DASYATIDAE
pala	“feather of the tavake”
ta'e lulu	generic term for some species of <i>Lutjanus</i> , see 41
lulu	“owl,” <i>Stria delicatula</i>

## 12. c) Non-metaphorical references

ihe gutu tahi or gutu tahi	monoterm for <i>Hyporamphus dussumieri</i> (Valenciennes) and <i>Hemiramphus far</i> (Forskål)
gutu	“snout”
tahi	“one, single” refers to the fact that the upper jaw is much shorter than the (elongated) lower jaw, thus creating the impression that one half of the snout is missing; cf. the English name halfbeak
gutu loaloa	unidentified fish
loaloa	“long”
humu gutu mea	unidentified <i>Balistes</i>
mea	“light brown, yellowish”
pone 'afiga mea	<i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> Schneider, “chirurgien à épaulettes”
'afiga	“armpit” refers to the area behind the pectoral fin
mea	“light brown, yellowish”
tonu faga mea	unidentified species of genus <i>Plectropomus</i>
faga	“side of the head” (Tongan)
mea	“light brown, yellowish”
tala tahi	<i>Adioryx furcatus</i> (Günther)
tala	“spine”
tahi	“one single” refers to the characteristic anal spine which is longer than the longest dorsal spine
tata 'ila	<i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål), “dorade à tache noire”
lala 'ila MT	<i>Carcharhinus melanopterus</i> Quoy and Gaimard, <i>Isurus paucus</i> Guitart Manday

'ila "spot, speck, stain"	
malau mata mu	<i>Priacanthus hamrur</i> (Forskál) "gros oeil"
mata mu "probing eyes"	
mata kivikivi	<i>Scolopsis bilineatus</i> (Bloch)
kivi "sightless, sunken (of eyes)"	
toke taliga	unidentified species of MURAENIDAE (moray eels) which is said to have a head shaped like an ear
taliga "ear"	
tonu 'uno	unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
'uno "scale"	
valu 'alo	unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
'alo "lower part of a fish, belly"	
hiku malohi	<i>Caranx ignobilis</i> (Forskál), growth term
hiku "tail"	
malohi "strong"	
hiku mamaga	unidentified species of <i>Acanthurus</i>
mamaga "fork-shaped"	
hauhau lele	monoterm for <i>Pterois radiata</i> Cuvier, <i>Pterois lunulata</i> Schlegel, and <i>Dendrochirus zebra</i> Quoy and Gaimard
hauhau "bit needle, tattoo comb"	refers to the typical preopercular and opercular spines of SCORPAENIDAE
lele "run, move through water"	

### 13. References to behavioral characteristics

The description of behavioral patterns is only sparingly used for purposes of naming and identifying. This source is much less productive than the morphology.

gutu hiko	<i>Epibulus insidiator</i> (Pallas)
gutu "snout"	
hiko "to gather"	refers to the extensible snout of the species which can be rapidly pushed out to twice its length for the purpose of food collecting
'aga moe	unidentified species of CARCHARHINIDAE, a small shark
moe "to close the eyes, to sleep"	
fai lalo maka	<i>Taeniura lymma</i> (Forskál)
lalo "under"	
maka "rock"	
tu'a puhi	alternative name for the whale, which is considered as "ika" (fish)
tu'a 'back"	
puhi "to blow"	

meai tanu MT	species of <i>Anampses</i> said to bury itself in the sand, <i>Novaculichthys taeniourus</i> (Lacépède)
tanutanu	<i>Lethrinus nematacanthus</i> (Bleeker), fish with very small scales, buries itself in the sand
tanu “to bury”	

#### 14. References to habitat and origin

The Wallisian language distinguishes four main types of marine environments:

moana	“high sea, ocean outside the barrier reef”
t a i	“sea, including the lagoon, also ‘sea water’ ”
vai	“fresh water, as opposed to tai”
lau hakau	“reef”

All four forms are used as epithets in fish names:

ali moana	<i>Bothus mancus</i> (Broussonnet), left eye flounder
tolo moana MT	<i>Amblyeleotris japonica</i> Takagi, <i>Fusigobius neophytus</i> (Günther), <i>Quisquilius</i> species
toke moana	unidentified species of MURAENIDAE (moray eels)
‘afa ‘afa tai	<i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> (Rüppell)
ava vai	<i>Megalops cyprionoides</i> (Broussonnet)
kivi vai	monoterm for <i>Pristipomoides filamentosus</i> (Valenciennes), <i>Pristipomoides multidentis</i> Day, <i>Pristipomoides auricilla</i> (Jordan, Evermann and Tanaka)
malau vai	<i>Priacanthus hamrur</i> (Forskål)
ta’e lulu vai	<i>Macolor niger</i> (Forskål)
hue lauhakau	<i>Arothron stellatus</i> (Schneider)

The use of “vai” freshwater as an epithet for a saltwater fish is somewhat puzzling. However, there are in the lagoon of Wallis Island numerous freshwater springs, “puna vai.” A possible explanation would be that these fishes are often found in the vicinity of these springs or in places where freshwater streams enter the sea.

hoputu tokelau	<i>Lethrinus chrysostomus</i> (Richardson)
tokelau “Tokelau islands, north”	

#### 15. References to size

The only qualifiers used are puku “short,” liki “small,” and loa “long.” Few species are described by these unspecific epithets. The traditional

Polynesian way is to refer to size by the use of growth terms (calf-heifer-cow principle).

lupo puku	<i>Carangoides gymnostethus</i> (Cuvier)
malau puku	<i>Aspidontus taeniatus</i> Quoy and Gaimard
fa puku	generic term for <i>Epinephelus</i>
fa loa	<i>Anyperodon leucogrammicus</i> (Valenciennes)
kivi liki	<i>Gnathodentex aurolineatus</i> (Lacépède)

fa puku is a developmental stage of gatala, genus *Epinephelus*, i.e. the gatala becomes a fa puku. The qualifier seems to contradict the sequential order of the growth terms.

tonu puku	unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
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#### 16. Various references

kili fifisi	<i>Acanthurus glaucopareius</i> Cuvier
kili "skin"	
fifisi "prickly, pungent"	
malau ta S-MT	<i>Adioryx cornutus</i> (Bleeker)
	<i>Adioryx spinifer</i> (Forskål)

ta "to scoop up fish with a hand net"; a reference to the method of catching this kind of fish. When asked to explain the use of ta the informant replied that the fish "turns his head"

### Classification of Wallisian Fishes

(Family names are not in phylogenetic order, but are arranged alphabetically for easy reference.)

Abbreviations: MT monotermin, G-MT genus type monotermin, S-MT species type monotermin, F-MT family type monotermin, DDF double definition, MDF multiple definition, GT growth term, CROS crossover, G-CROS genus crossover, F-CROS family crossover. The scientific name quoted in Fourmanoir and Laboute has been marked with an asterisk and put in square brackets if the species has been redefined since their publication.\*

#### 17. ACANTHURIDAE (surgeon and unicornfishes)

api	<i>Acanthurus guttatus</i> Schneider; Bataillon defines it as <i>Chaetodon</i>
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\*I owe the later information to Dr. Jack Randall, Dept. of Ichthyology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

'alogo		<i>Acanthurus lineatus</i> (Linné)
kili fifisi		<i>Acanthurus glaucopareius</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus aliala</i> (Lesson)]
ma'uli S-MT**		<i>Acanthurus mata</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus leucopareius</i> Jenkins], <i>Acanthurus dussumieri</i> (Valenciennes)
manini		<i>Acanthurus triostegus</i> (Linné)
palagi also GT for pone		<i>Acanthurus bleekeri</i> (Günther)
pone		generic term for some species of <i>Acanthurus</i>
GT 1 pone	alternative set	GT2 pone
lole		māmā
māmā		ma'uli
palagi		
pone 'afiga mea	DDF	<i>Acanthurus olivaceus</i> Schneider
pone 'uto		
hiku hina MT		<i>Acanthurus mata</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus leucopareius</i> Jenkins], <i>Sufflamen chrysopterus</i> BALISTIDAE
hiku mamaga		unidentified species of <i>Acanthurus</i> ***
ma'ito		<i>Ctenochaetus striatus</i> (Quoy and Gaimard)
tutuku		<i>Paracanthurus hepatus</i> (Linné), <i>Bodiamus axillaris</i> (Bennett), species of <i>Amphiprioninae</i> (POMACENTRIDAE)
ume		generic term for genus <i>Naso</i>
ume fau S-MT		<i>Naso vomer</i> (Klunziger), <i>Naso tuberosus</i> (Lacépède)
ume hiku pule		<i>Naso brevirostris</i> (Cuvier and Valenciennes)
ume hiku legalega		<i>Naso lituratus</i> (Schneider)
ume ta		<i>Naso unicornis</i> (Forskål)
ume kaleva		<i>Alutera scripta</i> (Osbeck)

Genus *Naso* and *Acanthurus* are well distinguished in the taxonomy. Ume is the generic term for *Naso*, while different names are used for the species of *Acanthurus*: pone is generic, ma'uli and palagi function as species names and growth terms, which probably explains the double definition of *Acanthurus mata* as hiku hina and ma'uli.

\*\*also GT for pone

\*\*\*name recorded by Burrows (p. 107). He describes it as "a kind of surgeon fish."

## 18. ATHERINIDAE (silversides)

mata pula F-MT		<i>Atherinomorus lacunosus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Pranesus pinguis</i> Lacépède], <i>Meiacanthus atrodorsalis</i> (Günther), genus <i>Amhiprion</i> , <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet)
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## 19. BALISTIDAE (triggerfish)

humu kula	DDF	<i>Balistapus undulatus</i> Mungo Park
humu 'uli		[* <i>Balistes undulatus</i> ]
humuhumu 'uli		<i>Balistoides viridescens</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes viridescens</i> ]
humuhumu hina		<i>Rhinecanthus verrucosus</i> (Linné) [* <i>Balistes verrucosus</i> ]
humuhumu lau talo S-MT		<i>Pseudobalistes fuscus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes fuscus</i> ], <i>Xanthichthys auromarginatus</i> (Bennett) [* <i>Balistes ringens</i> (Linné)], <i>Balistoides conspicillus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes niger</i> (Bonaterre)]
humuhumu tea		<i>Sufflamen bursa</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes bursa</i> ]
humuhumu gutu mea		unidentified species of BALISTIDAE
hiku hina F-MT		<i>Sufflamen chrysopterus</i> (Bloch and Schneider) [* <i>Balistes chrysopterus</i> ], <i>Acanthurus mata</i> Cuvier [* <i>Acanthurus leucopareius</i> Jenkins]
ume kaleva		<i>Alutera scripta</i> (Osbeck)
humuhumu kaleva		<i>Sufflamen fraenatus</i> Richardson

The reduplicated form humuhumu is the generic term for the family, although two non-duplicated forms have been recorded.

## 20. BELONIDAE (needlefish)

haku G-MT		<i>Tylosurus crocodilus</i> (Le Sueur), <i>Strongylura leiura</i> (Bleeker), <i>Strongylura urvili</i> (Valenciennes)
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GT hakuhaku  
haku

## 21. BLENNIIDAE (combtooth blennies)

panoko		<i>Petroscirtes mitratus</i> Rüppell
tolo 'alava F-CROS		<i>Plagiotremus rhinorhynchos</i> (Bleeker)

mata pula F-MT      *Meiacanthus atrodorsalis* (Günther),  
genus *Amphiprion* POMACENTRIDAE,  
*Atherinomorus lacunosus* (Bloch and Schneider)  
[\**Pranesus pinguis* (Lacépède)],  
*Polydactylus plebeius* (Broussonnet)  
POLYNEMIDAE

malau puku      *Aspidontus taeniatus* Quoy and Gaimard  
cf. HOLOCENTRIDAE

## 22. BOTHIDAE (lefteye flounders)

ali G-MT      *Bothus pantherinus* (Rüppell),  
*Pardachirus pavonius* Lacépède,  
genus *Aesopia*

ali moana      *Bothus mancus* (Broussonnet)

## 23a. BRANCHIOSTEGIDAE (tilefishes)

moko tai      DDF      *Malacanthus latovittatus* (Lacépède)  
pili tai

Moko and pili both mean lizard. Moko has a light brown color, pili is bluish. Given the shape of the *Malacanthus* the justification of the two names is far from obvious. For some people pili tai means crocodile.

## 23b. CAESIODIDAE

gaga      generic term for *Caesio* species

## 24. CARANGIDAE (jacks)

'atule      *Selar crumenophthalmus* (Bloch)

tafa 'uli      *Caranx melampygus* Cuvier

lupo hina      *Caranx celetus* Smith

'ulua      *Caranx ignobilis* (Forskål)

GT1 lupolupo      alternative set GT2 lupo

lupo      hiku malohi

'ulua      'ulua

lupo puku      *Carangoides gymnostethus* (Cuvier)

ala ala      *Carangoides fulvoguttatus* (Forskål)

hokelau      *Carangoides gilberti* Jordan and Seale

GT mafole\*      *Leiognathus equulus* (Forskål)

hokelau

\*see comments under 8.

kiokio F-MT	<i>Elagatis bipinnulatus</i> (Quoy and Gaimard), <i>Polydactylus plebeius</i> (Broussonnet) POLYNEMIDAE, <i>Mugil seheli</i> (Forskål) MUGILIDAE
po'opo'o S-MT	<i>Trachinatus blochi</i> (Lacépède), <i>Alectis indicus</i> (Rüppell)

Mafole as a growth term for hokelau is puzzling. Three informants identified independently a picture of *Leiognathus equulus* as mafole after it was pointed out to me by R. Langdon that mafole does not denote *Leiognathus equulus* elsewhere in Polynesia.

#### 25. CARCHARHINIDAE (sharks)

'aga moe	unidentified species (a small shark) CARCHARHINIDAE
'aga tea	unidentified species
'aga 'alava or 'alava	DDF <i>Carcharhinus amblyrhynchos</i> Bleeker
fakahiku 'ulua lala 'ila MT	<i>Isurus paucus</i> Guitart Manday, <i>Carcharhinus melanopterus</i> Quoy and Gaimard, man-eater
fa 'emi	<i>Triaenodon obesus</i> (Müller and Henle)
tanifa	unidentified species
kalavi	unidentified species
lele 'ifi	unidentified species

#### 26a. CHAETODONTIDAE (butterflyfishes)

Sifisifi or the metathesized form fisifisi are the generic terms for the family.

no distinction of genera or species

#### 26b. CHANIDAE

ava	<i>Chanos chanos</i> (Forskål)
GT 'aua	according to one informant ava shares GT with
'aua mui	kanahe <i>Liza macrolepis</i> (Smith) MUGILIDAE
ava	

#### 27. DASYPATIDAE (rays)

fai lalo maka	DDF <i>Taeniura lymma</i> (Forskål)
fai kili	<i>Taeniura melanospila</i> (Bleeker)
fai pala	unidentified species of DASYPATIDAE
ponuga DDF	<i>Taeniura lymma</i> (Forskål)



## 28. DIODONTIDAE (porcupine fishes)

tautufala

GT tautu

tautufala no distinction of genera or species

## 29. ECHENEIDAE (remoras)

talitali 'uli

generic term for *Echeneis* and *Remora*,  
suckerfish

## 30. ENGRAULIDAE (anchovies)

nefu\*

no classification, generic term

## 31. EXOCETIDAE (flying fishes)

mālōlō

generic term for flying fishes

## 32. FISTULARIDAE (cornetfishes)

kalapa

*Fistularia commersonii* Rüppell  
[\**Fistularia petimba* (Lacépède)]

## 33. GERREIDAE (mojarras)

moaga matu'u lau F-MT

*Gerres ovatus* Günther,  
*Cheilio inermis* (Forskål) LABRIDAE,  
*Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède)  
MULLIDAE,  
dot and dash goatfish,  
*Parupeneus macronema*  
(Lacépède) MULLIDAE

matu

*Gerres acinaces* Bleeker cf. MUGILIDAE

matu gaelo

unidentified species of GERREIDAE

## 34. GOBIIDAE (gobies)

tolo

generic term for gobies

tolo moana G-MT

*Amblyeleotris japonica* Takagi,  
*Fusigobius neophytus* (Günther),  
*Quisquilius* species [\**Quisquilius eugenius*  
(Jordan and Evermann)]

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\*described by Burrows (p. 103) as slender fish, 2-3 inches long. They appear now and then in the deep pass opposite the village of Gahi in such numbers that the water sparkles with the glint of their turning bodies. The species may be that called "whitebait" in Fiji. It is different from the larger spotted nefu of Futuna, which the Wallisians call gatala.

tolo hina		<i>Acentrogobius puntang</i> (Bleeker)
tolo pulepule		<i>Acentrogobius ornatus</i> (Rüppell)
tolo 'alava F-CROS		<i>Plagiotremus rhinorhynchus</i> (Bleeker) cf. BLENNIIDAE

## 35. HEMIRAMPHIDAE (halfbeaks)

ihe or

ihe gutu tahi G-MT		<i>Hemiramphus far</i> (Forskål), <i>Hyporamphus dussumieri</i> (Valenciennes)
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## 36. HOLOCENTRIDAE (squirrelfishes)

malau ta S-MT		<i>Adioryx cornutus</i> (Bleeker), <i>Adioryx spinifer</i> (Forskål)
malau helehele telekihi	DDF	<i>Adioryx diadema</i> (Lacépède), crowned squirrelfish
telekihi S-MT		generic term for some species of <i>Adioryx</i> including: <i>Adioryx cornutus</i> , <i>Adioryx diadema</i> (Lacépède), <i>Adioryx ruber</i> (Forskål)
tala tahi paku malau	DDF	<i>Adioryx forcatus</i> (Günther) species probably not found in the latitudes of Wallis (Randall)
malau mata mu F-CROS,		<i>Priacanthus hamrur</i> (Forskål)
malau vai	DDF	
malau puku F-CROS		<i>Aspidontus taeniatus</i> Quoy and Gaimard, cf. BLENNIIDAE
malau ta telekihi	DDF	<i>Adioryx cornutus</i> (Bleeker)
fakamataku		<i>Flammeo sammara</i> (Forskål)

## 37a. STIOPHORIDAE

hakulā		<i>Makaira mazara</i> (Jordan and Snyder)
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## 37b. KUHLIIDAE (mountain basses)

hehele		<i>Kuhlia rupestris</i> (Lacépède) freshwater fish
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## 37c. KYPHOSIDAE (rudderfish)

nue		<i>Kyphosus vaigiensis</i> (Quoy and Gaimard)
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## 38. LABRIDAE (wrasses)

'afa'afa tai	DDF	<i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> (Rüppell), napoleon fish
lalafi		
lalafi	S-MT	<i>Cheilinus chlorourus</i> (Bloch), yellow dotted maori wrasse <i>Cheilinus undulatus</i> (Rüppell)
molali	S/G-MT	generic term including: <i>Cheilinus chlorourus</i> (Bloch), <i>Cheilinus diagrammus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Cheilinus fasciatus</i> (Bloch), <i>Cheilinus unifasciatus</i> Streets [ <i>Cheilinus rhodochrus</i> (Günther)], <i>Cheilinus trilobatus</i> (Lacépède), trilobed maori wrasse, <i>Epibulus insidiator</i> (Pallas) <i>Cheilinus chlorourus</i> (Bloch)
lalafi	DDF	
molali		
meai tanu	G-MT	<i>Anampses</i> species, <i>Novaculichthys taeniourus</i> (Lacépède) [* <i>Hemipteronotus taeniourus</i> Lacépède]
mamanu		<i>Choerodon transversalis</i> Whitley
gutu hiko	DDF	<i>Epibulus insidiator</i> (Pallas)
molali		
moaga matu'u		<i>Cheilio inermis</i> (Forskål),
lau	MT	<i>Parupeneus macronema</i> (Lacépède)
	F-CROS	MULLIDAE, <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède) MULLIDAE, <i>Gerres ovatus</i> Günther GERREIDAE

## 39. LEIOGNATHIDAE (ponyfishes)

mafole		<i>Leiognathus equulus</i> (Forskål)
GT mafole		
hokelau*		<i>Carangoides gilberti</i> Jordan and Seale, cf. CARANGIDAE, striped jack
filu	F-MT	<i>Leiognathus fasciatus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Trachinotus bailloni</i> (Lacépède), cf. CARANGIDAE, pompano or swallow tail

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\*see comments under 8

## 40. LETHRINIDAE (emperors)

kuago S-MT	<i>Lethrinus xanthochilus</i> (Klunzinger), <i>Lethrinus lentjan</i> (Lacépède)
kulapo DDF tanutanu	<i>Lethrinus nematacanthus</i> (Bleeker)
hoputu tokelau	<i>Lethrinus chrysostomos</i> (Richardson)
tokoni fusi	<i>Lethrinus obsoletus</i> (Forskål)
m u	<i>Monotaxis grandoculis</i> (Forskål)
gutula	<i>Lethrinus miniatus</i> (Schneider), long-nosed emperor
gutu leva or	
gutu levaleva	unidentified <i>Lethrinus</i>
kivi liki F-CROS	<i>Gnathodentex aurolineatus</i> (Lacépède), cf. LUTJANIDAE, golden-lined sea perch

## 41. LUTJANIDAE (snappers)

ta'e lulu S-MT	<i>Lutjanus malabaricus</i> (Schneider), <i>Lutjanus amabilis</i> (De Vis), <i>Lutjanus gibbus</i> (Forskål), paddle tail snapper
ta'e lulu vai CROS	<i>Macolor niger</i> (Forskål)
taga'u S-MT	<i>Lutjanus fulvus</i> (Schneider), Moses perch, <i>Lutjanus rufolineatus</i> (Valenciennes)
havane S-MT	<i>Lutjanus quinquelineatus</i> (Bloch), <i>Lutjanus lineolatus</i> (Rüppell)
tata 'ila DDF tāe'a	<i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål)
kivi GT fagamea kivi	<i>Lutjanus bohar</i> (Forskål), red snapper
kivi liki	cf. LETHRINIDAE
kivi vai S-MT	<i>Pristimoides filamentosus</i> (Valenciennes), <i>Pristimoides multidens</i> Day, <i>Pristimoides auricilla</i> (Jordan, Evermann and Tanaka)
kivi hina	<i>Tropidinius zonatus</i> (Valenciennes)
tāe'a GT tata	<i>Lutjanus fulviflamma</i> (Forskål)
taga'u tāe'a	
'utu	<i>Aprion virescens</i> Valenciennes, grey jobfish

## 42. MEGALOPIDAE (tarpons)

ava vai *Megalops cyprionoides* (Broussonnet),  
tropical tarpon

## 43. MOBULIDAE (mantas)

liliko *Manta birostris* (Donndorff)

## 44. MUGILOIDIDAE (sandperches)

takoto S-MT *Parapercis hexophthalma* ♀ (Cuvier)  
[\**Parapercis polyphthalma* (Cuvier)],  
*Parapercis cylindrica* (Bloch),  
*Parapercis hexophthalma* ♂ (Cuvier)  
generic term for the family

## 45. MUGILIDAE (mulletts)

kanahe *Liza macrolepis* (Smith [\**Mugil macrolepis*  
GT 'aua matu (Smith)]; shares GT with ava  
'aua  
kanahe

'aua mui S-MT *Liza macrolepis*,  
*Liza vaigiensis* (Quoy and Gaimard) [\**Mugil*  
*vaigiensis* (Quoy and Gaimard)]

kafakafa DDF *Liza vaigiensis*, diamond-scaled mullet

'aua mui  
kanahe DDF *Liza macrolepis*

'aua mui  
kiokio F-MT *Valamugil seheli* (Forskål) [\**Mugil seheli*  
(Forskål)],  
*Elagatis bipinnulata* Quoy and Gaimard, cf.  
CARANGIDAE,  
*Polydactylus plebeius* (Broussonnet), cf.  
POLYNEMIDAE,

kiokio DDF *Valamugil seheli*  
tofutofu

## 46. MULLIDAE (goatfishes)

moaga generic term for some species of *Parupeneus*

moaga kula *Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède)

moaga legalega *Parupeneus chryserydros* (Lacépède)

hiku manunu G-MT *Parupeneus barberinus* (Lacépède),  
*Upeneus tragula* Richardson

hiku manunu		<i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède)
moaga matu'u lau	DDF	
hiku pule		<i>Upeneus bandi</i> (Shaw) [* <i>Upeneus vittatus</i> (Forskål) of most authors]
moaga matu'u lau	F-MT	<i>Parupeneus macronema</i> (Lacépède), <i>Parupeneus barberinus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Gerres ovatus</i> Günther GERREIDAE, <i>Cheilio inermis</i> (Forskål) LABRIDAE
memea		<i>Mulloides flavolineatus</i> (Lacépède)
kaloama	DDF	[* <i>Mulloidichthys flavolineatus</i> (Lacépède)]

## 47. MURAENIDAE (morays)

toke		generic term for morays
toke fai manu		<i>Gymnothorax meleagris</i> (Sharp and Nodder)
toke mea		<i>Gymnothorax javanicus</i> (Bleeker)
toke meai S-MT		<i>Gymnothorax flavimarginatus</i> Rüppell, <i>Gymnothorax xanthostomus</i> Snyder, <i>Gymnothorax undulatus</i> (Lacépède), <i>Gymnothorax meleagris</i> (Sharp and Nodder)
toke meai	DDF	<i>Gymnothorax meleagris</i>
toke fai manu		
toke 'akau		<i>Thyrsoidea macrura</i> (Bleeker)
toke meai 'onea	DDF	<i>Gymnothorax flavimarginatus</i> Rüppell

## Unidentified species of MURAENIDAE:

toke taliga		'bluish, ear-shaped head, poisonous'
toke 'u'ui		
toke gatata		
toke tapea		
toke moana		
toke 'uga'uga		
toke taupili		(buries itself in the sand, of grey color, black spot near the eyes)
taka 'aho		
taku'ali		

## 48. MYLIOBATIDAE (eagle rays)

fai gatae	DDF	<i>Aetobatus narinari</i> (Euphrasen)
fai manu		
fai is also used for		DASYATIDAE

## 49. OSTRACIIDAE (trunkfishes)

moamoa                      genus *Ostracion*

GT po niu

moamoa

moamoa kaleva S-MT    *Lactoria diaphana* (Schneider),  
G-CROS *Lactoria cornuta* (Linné)

Undefined species of *Ostracion*:

moamoa legalega

moamoa 'uli

moamoa kula

## 50. PLOTOSIDAE (catfish eels)

kapoa                      *Plotosus lineatus* (Thunberg)  
[\**Plotosus anguillaris* (Bloch)]

## 51. POLYNEMIDAE

kiokio MT                      *Elagatis bipinnulata* (Quoy and Gaimard)  
*Valamugil seheli* (Forskål)  
*Polydactylus plebeius* (Broussonnet)

## 52. POMACANTIDAE (angelfishes)

kou                          *Pomacanthus* species

## 53. POMACENTRIDAE (damsel-fishes)

tutuku F-MT                      generic term for some species of the  
AMPHIPRIONINAE subfamily  
*Paracanthurus hepatus* (Linné),  
*Bodianus axillaris* (Bennett)

mutumutu                      *Abudefduf sordidus* (Forskål)

## 54. POMADASYIDAE (grunts)

fotu'a S-MT                      *Plectorhynchus chaetodonoides* Lacépède,  
*Plectorhynchus picus* (Cuvier)

palu kavakava                      *Plectorhynchus orientalis* (Bloch)

## 55. PRIACANTHIDAE (bigeyes)

malau mata mu                      *Priacanthus hamrur* (Forskål)

malau vai                      cf. comment under HOLOCENTRIDAE

## 56. SCARIDAE (parrotfishes)

homo kula	DDF	<i>Scarus blochi</i> Valenciennes
lōlō		
homo 'u'ui		<i>Scarus bleekeri</i> (Weber and de Beaufort)
homo 'uli	DDF	<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> (Günther)
'ulafi 'u'ui		[* <i>Scarus chlorodon</i> Jenyns]
lōlō S-MT		<i>Scarus blochi</i> Valenciennes, <i>Scarus longiceps</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus harid</i> Valenciennes]
'alomea	DDF	<i>Scarus longiceps</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus harid</i> Valenciennes]
tufu	MT	<i>Scarus rivulatus</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus fasciatus</i> Valenciennes], <i>Scarus schlegeli</i> Valenciennes [* <i>Scarus venosus</i> Valenciennes]
menega	DDF	<i>Scarus schlegeli</i> Valenciennes
tufu		[* <i>Scarus venosus</i> Valenciennes]
'ulafi kula		<i>Scarus brevifilis</i> ♀ (Günther)
homo S-MT		<i>Scarus gibbus</i> Rüppell, <i>Scarus sordidus</i> Forskål)
GT homo		
la'ea		
kaulama		
galo		<i>Bolbometopon muricatus</i> (Valenciennes)
meai F-MT		<i>Bodianus perditio</i> (Quoy and Gaimard), <i>Canthigaster solandri</i> (Richardson)

## 57. SCOLOPSIDAE

mata kivikivi		<i>Scolopsis bilineatus</i> (Bloch)
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## 58. SCOMBRIDAE (mackerels and tunas)

'atu		<i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i> (Linné), skipjack
'atu 'alo		<i>Euthynnus</i> species, bonito
pa'ala		<i>Scomberomorus commerson</i> (Lacépède)
ga'a		<i>Rastrelliger kanagurta</i> (Cuvier)
katakata		unidentified SCOMBRIDAE
valu		genus <i>Thunnus</i> , generic term
valu lau niu		unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
~ puku		unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
~ tea		unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
~ 'uli		unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>



mea		unidentified species of <i>Thunnus</i>
lai		<i>Euthynnus affinis</i> (Cantor)
59. SCORPAENIDAE (scorpionfishes)		
lala		<i>Pterois antennata</i> (Bloch)
hauhau lele S-MT		<i>Pterois radiata</i> Cuvier, <i>Pterois lunulata</i> Schlegel, <i>Dendrochyrus zebra</i> (Quoy and Gaimard)
nofu		<i>Synanceia verrucosa</i> Bloch and Schneider
60. SERRANIDAE (groupers and sea basses)		
ponu		generic term for <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu mea		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu puku		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu 'uno		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu 'uli		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
ponu faga mea		unidentified species of <i>Plectropomus</i>
papa		generic term for some species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>
papa 'uli		<i>Cephalopholis microprius</i> (Bleeker) [* <i>Cephalopholis hemistiktos</i> Rüppell]
papa kula		<i>Cephalopholis sonnerati</i> (Valenciennes) [* <i>Cephalopholis formosanus</i> (Tanaka)]
papa tavake		<i>Cephalopholis miniatus</i> (Forskål)
'ahu afi	DDF	<i>Cephalopholis argus</i> (Schneider)
'ahu afi 'uli		
mata ele		<i>Cephalopholis urodelus</i> (Schneider)
gatala		generic term for <i>Epinephelus</i>
GT gatala		
fa puku		
gatala kula		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala 'uli		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala mea		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala pulepule		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala pata		unidentified species of genus <i>Epinephelus</i>
gatala hina		<i>Cromileptes altivelis</i> (Valenciennes)
munua		<i>Variola louti</i> (Forskål)
fa loa	DDF	<i>Anyperodon leucogrammicus</i> (Valenciennes)
'ahu afi mea		
papa legalega		unidentified species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>
papa 'u'ui		unidentified species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>
papa mea		unidentified species of <i>Cephalopholis</i>

## 61. SIGANIDAE (rabbitfishes)

laukofe                      genus *Siganus*

GT ō

laukofe

pi                              genus *Siganus*

## 62. SPHYRAENIDAE (barracudas)

saosao                      SPHYRAENIDAE family

GT saosao

pāna nua

motomoto                      SPHYRAENIDAE family

GT hapatu

'ono

## 63. SPHYRNIDAE (hammerhead sharks)

faifai moaga                      *Sphyrna mokarran* (Rüppell)

kapa kau 'i higano MDF

mata 'i taliga

## 64. SYNODONTIDAE (lizardfishes)

pataki                      *Synodus variegatus* (Lacépède)

## 65. TETRAODONTIDAE (puffers)

hue                              generic term for some species of *Arothron*hue lauhakau                      *Arothron stellatus* (Schneider)hue hina                      *Arothron nigropunctatus* (Schneider)te'ete'e                      generic term for some species of *Arothron*

GT te'ete'e

hue

muhu muhu

te'ete'e kula                      unidentified species of *Arothron*te'ete'e legalega                      unidentified species of *Arothron*te'ete'e 'u'ui                      unidentified species of *Arothron*te'ete'e hina                      unidentified species of *Arothron*

## 66. THERAPONIDAE (tiger perches)

kavakava                      *Therapon jarbua* (Forskål)

## FINDER LIST

Numbers refer to subdivisions in the text. Unidentified fishes are marked with an asterisk. They are listed again at the end of the finder list with their cognate forms in Niuean, Tongan, Samoan, Eastern Futunan, and Tuvaluan.

- |                      |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 'afa 'afa tai 14, 38 | gatala hina 9, 60        |
| 'aga 'alava 9, 25    | gatala kula 60           |
| 'aga moe 13, 25      | gatala mea 60            |
| 'aga tea 25          | gatala pata 60           |
| 'ahu afi 60          | gatala pulepule 60       |
| 'ahu afi mea 60      | gatala 'uli 60           |
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| *aku                 | *gutu kao                |
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| ali 22               | gutu mea 7               |
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| 'alomea 56           | haku 6, 20               |
| api 17               | hakupaku 6, 20           |
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| 'atu 'alo 58         | hapatu 7, 57, 62         |
| 'atule 24            | hauhau lele 12, 59       |
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| 'aua mui 5, 7, 45    | hehele 37b               |
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| fa puku 6, 15, 60    | hiku manunu 4, 9, 46     |
| fa'emi 25            | hiku pule 46             |
| fagamea 6, 41        | hokelau 6, 8, 24, 39     |
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| fai pala 11, 27      | hopotu tokelau 14, 40    |
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| fakahiku 'ulua 25    | hue hina 65              |
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| ga'a 4, 58           | humu 'uli 19             |
| gaga 23b             | humuhumu 7               |
| *gagafu              | humuhumu gutu mea 19     |
| galo 56              | humuhumu hina 19         |
| gatala 6, 15, 60     | humuhumu kaleva 11, 19   |

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## UNIDENTIFIED FISHES

Abbreviations: TON Tonga, SAM Samoa, NIU Niue, FUT Futuna (East), TUV Tuvalu. Definitions are based on dictionary sources, see Bibliography.

- \*aku SAM a'u *Strongylura* species (Milner), the guard-fish (Pratt)  
 NIU aku pipe fish  
 TUV aku fish  
 Wallis: name listed in Bataillon. Identified as *Belone vulgaris*
- \*gagafu TON ngangafu a very small kind of fish  
 FUT gagafu fish name  
 Wallis: a small fish
- \*gutu kao TON ngutukao long-nosed emperor, *Lethrinus miniatus* (Schneider)  
 Wallis: a kind of snapper
- \*hahā TON haha anchovy, *Clupeiformes*, very small size; Wallis: fish, also recorded by Bataillon as haha
- \*maga TON manga a fish  
 Wallis: a kind of snapper
- \*mata kelekele Wallis: a kind of white fish
- \*nifa Wallis: a kind of sardine
- \*tuna TON tuna eel  
 SAM tuna freshwater eel of genus *Anguilla*  
 NIU tuna eel, freshwater fish found in caves  
 FUT freshwater eel, two species: tuna fata and tuna mea  
 Wallis: freshwater eel, only one species found in Wallis. Lives in streams and lakes, dies when washed out to sea by heavy rains
- \*'ulu kau TON 'ulukau small fish (like a sardine)  
 Wallis: a nifa-type fish, poisonous
- \*'ulu magugu FUT magugu a small fish

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## EDITOR'S FORUM

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### CULTURES IN COLLISION: HAWAI'I AND ENGLAND, 1778

by Haunani-Kay Trask

Political and scholarly discourse are so often intertwined, it is difficult to tell where one begins and the other ends. In political theory, debates over the gifts of liberalism and the failings of capitalism continue to confirm this observation. And most recently, anthropology has become embroiled in disputes with larger political ramifications. Derek Freeman's new book on Margaret Mead and Samoa is an example of an old, politically-embedded debate re-emerging in new biological-cultural contexts.<sup>1</sup>

But if politics has often invaded scholarship, it has just as often forced necessary reconsiderations and corrections. For example, it is apparent that indigenous political rumblings in the Pacific have influenced recent major revisions in Pacific scholarship.<sup>2</sup> This scholarship, in turn, has had some influence on the outlook indigenous peoples bring to their modern political situations. Virtually every aspect of Euro-American and indigenous culture in the Pacific--religion, politics, economics, and more--is now undergoing new scrutiny at the same time that Pacific Islanders have begun full-scale independence struggles.

In recent articles in *Pacific Studies*, historian I. C. Campbell has loosened the hold of two cherished, fundamental myths of early European-Polynesian contact. He argues that eighteenth-century European explorers of the Pacific did *not* carry with them a romantic image of "Noble Savagery," as previous writers have contended. Rather, these explorers held more complex and contradictory views. Even those explorers regarded as "the giddiest of a naive and romantic crew," entered the Pacific with highly ambivalent expectations. As for the Polynesians, Campbell shows that while they may have regarded European interlopers as supernatural beings on first contact, such a reaction was "an acknowledgment of [the Europeans'] power as well as their strangeness." The Polynesian view was "*not* a token of admiration," as has been commonly supposed. Supernatural beings throughout the Pacific, Campbell notes, "were often malevolent, usually mischievous, and always unreliable"--characteristics that were readily applied (with good reason) to the European adventurers.<sup>3</sup>



Campbell's historical revision of the perceptions that Europeans and Polynesians held of each other on contact has major potential consequences for future histories of the region. For example, Campbell's analysis should reinforce the historical credibility of those early Europeans who found so much to admire in the Pacific, just as it should begin to give back historical dignity to those Pacific Islanders who were the subject of that admiration.

However, Campbell concludes his second article by asserting that "there is no reason to think that Polynesians, any more than Europeans, allowed their preconceptions or reactions to racial differences to override self-interest in their dealings with foreigners. . . . Polynesian history shows unremitting calculation and determination to seize whatever advantages circumstances offered."<sup>4</sup>

This assertion of an undefined, universal "self-interest" as the simple motivation behind both European and Polynesian behavior runs the danger of placing both peoples in the same category. Crucial differences that distinguish two cultures in collision and that elucidate both perceptions and behaviors are minimized, if not wholly lost, in Campbell's assertion of "unremitting calculation." The essential historical problem that Campbell does not address is the source, the cultural ground from which European and Polynesian perceptions sprang.

These cultures, I will argue, were as polarized as cultures can be. The European and Polynesian worlds differed in major ways--economic organization, social and political organization, and cultural and environmental valuation. In their moral relationships and in their appreciation of the individual and the collective, these societies were worlds apart. It is these differences we must clarify before we can determine the source of cultural perceptions or judge their effects. This essay is an attempt to compare the cultures of England and Hawai'i on the eve of contact.

Although I focus upon Hawai'i, I assume that much of my analysis is relevant for other Pacific cultures. To what extent my assumption can withstand scrutiny awaits the work of other scholars.

### **The Characteristics of Indigenous Societies**

Over eleven centuries before Columbus accidentally encountered one of the largest land masses on earth, large numbers of Polynesian sailors, employing navigational skills that still astonish students of the art, had crossed more than two thousand miles of ocean to find new lives for themselves and their families on the most isolated archipelago in the world--Hawai'i. Before there existed an England, an English language, or

an Anglo-Saxon people--Hawaiian society was already taking shape. It would continue to do so, with very little interruption from the outside world, for more than fourteen hundred years.<sup>5</sup>

During this time--stretching roughly from the era of the earliest barbarian attacks on Rome to that of the American Revolution--society changed a great deal in both Europe and Hawai'i. But the paths of change were very different. Through all the buffetings of war and social upheaval, trade and cultural exchange, two powerful strands in the fabric of European culture came to shape the world view of its people: the religious strand of Christianity, and the economic strand of capitalism. Spared the great tumults and dislocations of Europe's history, and growing undisturbed out of an entirely different array of primary cultural and cognitive principles, Hawai'i's people: created a society that was in many ways the antithesis of the European scheme. In several respects, however, Hawaiian society had remarkably much in common with that of other peoples in other parts of the non-European world.

In a brilliant work of scholarly synthesis, anthropologist Stanley Diamond some years ago proposed a typology of characteristics that distinguished indigenous societies from those of the modern West.<sup>6</sup> As a preliminary guide to the structure! of Hawaiian society before Western contact, portions of Diamond's model are worthy of scrutiny.

1. *The Economics of indigenous societies*, Diamond argues, are generally "communal"--that is, "those material means essential to the survival of the individual or group are either actively held in common or, what is equivalent, constitute readily accessible economic goods." Even in those societies (such as that of late precontact Hawai'i) where a class structure develops, Diamond notes, "it rarely results in the economic ruination of one group or individual by another." On the contrary, since it is economically noncompetitive and "lacks a genuinely acquisitive socio-economic character," and since, even when a hierarchy develops, "production is for use or pleasure rather than for individual profit," such a society is one in which, for example, "no man need go hungry while another eats."

Money--that is, "an abstract, intrinsically valueless medium for appropriating surplus, storing value and deferring payment or delaying exchange"--does not exist in indigenous societies. Neither does the Western concept of economic private property "ownership." This latter point is crucial for understanding precontact Hawai'i, or any indigenous society, especially since it has so often been misunderstood or misconstrued by both advocates and critics of communal indigenous societies.

As Diamond points out, conventional ideas regarding “property” in indigenous societies do *not* mean (as Engels, for example, supposed) that everything in such societies, including wives and children, is owned in common. This idea, as he puts it, “conjures up a false image of an absolute, monolithic, social, economic and psychological collectivism.” Nor, in the absence of this extreme, should we suppose the opposite--as some have--that even incorporeal things such as songs, magic spells, curing rituals, or spirits are “owned” by individuals. Both of these misconceptions result from an inability or unwillingness to consider a reality beyond the parameters of the Western world view. Both fail to recognize the middle ground that is repeatedly seen in the workings of indigenous societies: ownership can and does exist, but in a way that is *independent* of basic economic functions--that is, in Diamond's words, it “does not endanger and is irrelevant to the communal functioning of the economic base.”

In sum, although possession is possible in indigenous societies, private “ownership” of economically essential goods--including, most importantly, land--is not. Such societies, as Diamond puts it, “uniformly possess a communal economic base; economic exploitation of man by man, as we know it in archaic and modern civilizations, is absent.” As a result, “the expectations of food, clothing, shelter, and work are not juridical because they are unexceptional.” As for the land, perhaps the eminent Harvard anthropologist Dorothy Lee said it best more than thirty years ago: “What is for us land tenure, or ownership, or rights of use and disposal, is for other societies an intimate belongingness,” an attitude in which people “conceive of themselves as belonging to the land in the way that flora and fauna belong to it. They cultivate the land by the grace of the immanent spirits, but they cannot dispose of it and cannot conceive of doing so.”<sup>7</sup>

2. *Leadership and social organization* in indigenous societies, like the economy, tend to be “communal and traditional,” Diamond observes, “not political or secular.” This is not to say that there are no leaders, but that the entire fabric of society--“all meaningful social, economic, and ideological relations”--is seen as synonymous with an integrated network of kinship. Even in relatively large-scale indigenous societies, such as those in Hawai'i at the time of Western contact, “where hundreds of people may be said to descend from a common ancestor and the actual blood relationships may either be entirely attenuated or completely fictitious, people still behave toward each other as if they were kin.” This, “the most historically significant” feature of indigenous society--the feature most commented on by anthropological observers--has no spatial or

temporal limitations: the kinship network, the "personalism" of indigenous culture, "extends from the family outward to the society at large and ultimately to nature itself." Thus, Diamond notes, the people in such societies "live in a personal, corporate world, a world that tends to be a 'thou' to the subjective 'I' rather than an 'it' impinging upon an objectively separate and divided self."<sup>8</sup>

The consequence of such a world view for leadership in indigenous societies is that leaders are seen more as caretakers than as ultimate and unshakable authorities. There is rarely, if ever, a "king" in an indigenous society--and indeed, the *absence* of a single, king-like, autocratic figure is often said to be part of the *definition* of an indigenous society.<sup>9</sup> Leadership is divided and changeable; the various leaders' powers are limited and they have no divine claim to authority sufficient to deny the people their power to abandon or depose them. Thus, "in a profound psychological sense," Diamond concludes, such societies are "democratic; though they are not reductively 'equalitarian.'"<sup>10</sup>

3. *Cultural integration and social change* in indigenous societies are invariably *conservative*, in the root meaning of the word. Time is not marked off or measured in a mechanical, linear way; it is seen as cyclical and at one with the ecological rhythms of the natural world. There is no sharp cleavage between the physical and spiritual realms and thus no elevation of one realm to the detriment of the other. Diamond writes: "Between religion and social structure, social structure and economic organization, economic organization and technology, the magical and pragmatic, there are intricate and harmonious correlations."<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, guiding this framework of correlations is a code of life that Robert Redfield, in a classic explication, has called the "moral order"--in contrast to the "technical order" that guides modern Western society. In a society guided by "moral order," behavior is organized around ideas of what is "right" (rather than "useful" or "necessary" or "expedient"--terms which characterize the "technical order") and in a morally-ordered society "sentiments, morality and conscience" determine the correctness of conduct.<sup>12</sup> Thus there is no sense of, or yearning for, religious or social "progress" (and, conversely., no fear of "backsliding"), no determination to pull the society out of imagined depravity, no endless debating over religious technicalities (in most indigenous societies there is no separate word for religion),<sup>13</sup> and no such thing as religious war. "The preacher of conversion and the preacher of moral regeneration are creatures of civilization" Redfield writes, noting that "for two and a half centuries a community of Tewa Indians have lived among the Hopi of First Mesa,"

totally maintaining their cultural integrity and, Redfield wryly observes, leaving no evidence "that Tewa and Hopi send missionaries to each other."<sup>14</sup>

Indigenous societies are, in Diamond's words, "systems in equilibrium" that "do not manifest the internal turbulence endemic in archaic or contemporary civilizations." Thus:

Society is apprehended as a part of the natural order, as the backdrop against which the drama of individual life unfolds. It is sanctified by myth, revealed in ritual, and buttressed by tradition. The social network is perceived as a more or less permanent arrangement of human beings vis-à-vis each other. Since the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter and . . . personal participation are satisfied . . . in a socially-non-exploitative manner, revolutionary activity is, insofar as I am aware, unknown.

In a real sense, then, the individual in an indigenous society "is a conservative":

His society changes its essential form only under the impact of external circumstances or in response to drastic changes in the natural environment. Institutional disharmonies never reach the point of social destruction or, correlatively, of chronic, widespread individual disorganization.<sup>15</sup>

In short, in indigenous society the individual's world "is neither compartmentalized nor fragmented, and none of its parts is in fatal conflict with the others."<sup>16</sup> As a result of this complex interrelationship of entities, all the products of the natural and spiritual worlds are regarded with respect and care, all are possessed of power, and none can be dispatched, abandoned, or exploited in a mood of indifference.

Diamond's model, supported by an enormous array of other anthropological findings, can be condensed to a single paragraph:

Indigenous societies tend to have communal economies. In such economies private ownership of the economic base--including the land--does not exist. Neither does the idea of profit or surplus accumulation in the Western sense, with the result that there is a remarkably even level of goods distribution: to the extent that food, clothing, shelter, and work are available to anyone, they are

available to everyone. In those indigenous societies that have relatively permanent leadership positions (there are many that do not), such leaders are viewed as part of the overall kinship network and not as independent, secular, autocratic masters. There are no "kings" in indigenous societies and those people not in leadership positions can and often do depose or abandon leaders who betray their shared trust. Embracing every institution in indigenous societies is a recognition of the essential unity of existence, a sense of the interdependence of all things, and a belief in the ultimate permanence of moral tradition. The natural world, the spiritual world, and the world of humans are equally real, equally "alive" and subjective, and equally protected from casual exploitation.

So much for the model. How did the reality of Hawaiian society before Western contact compare with it?

### **The Economic, Political, and Social Structures in Precontact Hawaii**

Precontact Hawai'i was a society with a subsistence economy--that is, an economy without a market and without a need for surplus production. Some writers, however, load this term with bias when they read into it the idea, in Pierre Clastres' words, of an economy that "permits the society it sustains to merely subsist," an economy that "continually calls upon the totality of its productive forces to supply its members with the minimum necessary for subsistence." Used in this way (not in the simple descriptive way in which I shall use it), Western historians of indigenous peoples have often displayed a remarkable tolerance for self-contradiction: indigenous peoples, they find, live in precariously formed subsistence economies; *and*, they continue, indigenous peoples are lazy.

Now, as Clastres has pointed out, "one cannot have it both ways": either people in these societies do live in such subsistence economies and therefore must, by definition, spend virtually all their waking hours in search of food; or they do not live in such subsistence economies and thus have time available for leisure and other pursuits.<sup>17</sup> In Hawai'i, as in other indigenous societies, the reality was the precise reverse of the Western prejudice: the people were neither lazy, nor did they live in a subsistence economy requiring an endless search for food. They had bounteous amounts of food available as a result of diligent and ingenious labor--and they also had a good deal of time available to pursue sporting, cultural, and artistic activities.

A number of things repeatedly impressed Westerners about Hawai'i during those first years of contact: the strong, and well-proportioned bodies of the people, with their "remarkably pleasing countenances"; the neatness and cleanliness of their homes and persons; the orderliness of the society and the affection of the people for one another; the industriousness of the people, especially as demonstrated in their intensive and astonishingly productive cultivation of the land; the facility with which the men built and maneuvered their seagoing craft; and the vigor, discipline, and complex precision with which dance and sporting events were carried out.<sup>18</sup> None of this, of course, came about by accident. In an effort to understand this flourishing land and people, let us turn back to the social categories set forth in Stanley Diamond's typology.

1. *Economics.* The islands of Hawai'i are enormous volcanic mountains projecting up out of the ocean. The economy of precontact Hawai'i depended primarily upon a balanced use of the products of this mountainous land and the sea. This accounts for the ingenious way in which the land was divided.

Each island, or *mokupuni*, was divided into separate districts running from the mountains to the sea, known as *'okana*. Each *'okana* was then subdivided into *ahupua'a*, which themselves ran in wedge-shaped pieces from the mountains to the sea; each *ahupua'u* was then divided into *'ili*, on which resided the *'ohana* (extended families) who cultivated the land. The *'ohana* was the core economic unit in Hawaiian society. Here is how it operated, according to two of the most knowledgeable modern historians of ancient Hawai'i:

Between households within the *'ohana* there was constant sharing and exchange of foods and of utilitarian articles and also of services, not in barter but as voluntary (though decidedly obligatory) giving. *'Ohana* living inland (*ko kula uka*), raising taro, bananas, *wauke* (for *tapa*, or barkcloth, making) and *olonā* (for its fiber), and needing gourds, coconuts and marine foods, would take a gift to some *'ohana* living near the shore (*ko kula kai*) and in return would receive fish or whatever was needed. The fishermen needing *poi* or *'awa* would take fish, squid or lobster upland to a household known to have taro, and would return with his *kalo* (taro) or *pa'i 'ai* (hard *poi*, the steamed and pounded taro corm). A woman from seaward, wanting some medicinal plant, or sugarcane perhaps, growing on the land of a relative living inland would take with her a basket of shellfish or some edible seaweed

and would return with her stalks of sugarcane or her medicinal plants. In other words, it was the *'ohana* that constituted the community within which the economic life moved.<sup>19</sup>

Needless to say, there was no money (in Diamond's words, no "abstract, intrinsically valueless medium for appropriating surplus, storing value, and deferring payment or delaying exchange") in precontact Hawai'i, nor did there exist the economic concepts on which such a medium could be based. There was no idea of surplus appropriation, value storing or payment deferral in precontact Hawai'i because there was no idea of financial profit from exchange; and thus, there was also no concept of economic exploitation. There was an annual tax levied by the *ali'i* (chiefs); however, "this was not levied individually on planters, but they were assessed by the *haku* (the head of the extended family) in proportion to the land cultivated and the crop."<sup>20</sup>

These various land subdivisions, in the words of one recent anthropologist, operated out of a decentralized "conical clan" social system that tolerated "competing politics" and was rooted in a tradition of economically independent *ahupua'a*.<sup>21</sup> The necessities of life--food, clothing, shelter--never caused dispute because one's basic right to them was never questioned. Along with the right to work, these rights simply adhered to an individual as part of his or her membership in the *'ohana*. As anthropologist Marion Kelly has written: "Under the Hawaiian system of land-use rights the people living within each *ahupua'a* had access to all the necessities of life," thus establishing an independence founded upon the availability of "forest land, taro and sweet potato areas, and fishing grounds."<sup>22</sup>

While these were unquestioned rights that could not be taken away, there were other "rights" (in the Western way of thinking) that, on the contrary, could not be given to or held by anyone: private land and water rights. Such notions "had no place in old Hawaiian thinking. The idea of private ownership of land was unknown" and "water . . . like sunlight, as source of life to land and man, was the possession of no man," no matter how high his social rank.<sup>23</sup>

One particularly revealing manifestation of the Hawaiian attitude toward land and the environment in general is reflected in the Hawaiian language. The Hawaiian language has two forms of possessive: the "o" possessive, which signifies a non-acquired and therefore inalienable status--for example, one's body; and the "a" possessive, which signifies acquired and therefore alienable status--for example, most material objects. There are, however, certain material objects that take the "o" possessive, meaning they cannot be acquired or alienated: house, canoe, land, and



sometimes adzes. In the very structure of the language, then, we have confirmation of this crucial aspect of pre-contact Hawaiian life: land could not be acquired or disposed of because it was inalienable and available to everyone.

2. *Leadership and social organization.* If the *'ohana* was the center of the Hawaiians' economic universe, it was equally the heart of the political realm. As E.S.C. Handy put it: "Government in old Hawai'i was a personal or family affair centering in the *Mō'i* (the supreme male *ali'i* [the "chief", as it were]) of a *moku* (island or segment of an island)." Despite the high rank and privilege bestowed upon the *Mō'i*, he acted only in concert with other *ali'i*: "In practice, a *Mō'i* discussed in a council of *ali'i* (*aha ali'i*) the fitness of prospective heirs, who were qualified by rank for succession, and with the approval of the council, the decision was made and announced."<sup>24</sup>

However, not all ruling chiefs were the bearers of the highest rank. Kamakau remarked that the "pedigrees of the chiefs in the line of succession from ancient times down to those of Kamehameha I," were not the same. He continued:

As their descendants spread out, the ranks (*'ano*) of the chiefs lessened. Sometimes the hereditary chief lost his land, and the kingdom was taken by force and snatched away by a warrior, and the name of "chief" was given to him because of his prowess. He then attached himself to the chiefly geneologies, even though his father may have been of no great rank (*noanoa*), and his mother a chiefess. Therefore the chiefs were not of like ranks, and the islands came under the rules of different chiefs who were not all of high chiefly status (*kulana*)--not from generations of chiefs.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, there were competing chiefs, the most powerful of whom was assisted by an advisor known as the *kalaimoku*, an individual whose office was personal rather than formal, and the priests, who themselves possessed great authority and were independent of the powers of the *kalaimoku*.<sup>26</sup>

Before these figures and the *ali'i* were the *maka'āinana*, the people of the land. Although subordinate to the *ali'i*, they supplied the *Mō'i* with his economic requirements and he in turn supplied his family, the court, and the priests. In certain crucial respects, the *Mō'i* and the *maka'āinana* were bound together in a reciprocal interdependence: "Land and people existed for the *Mō'i*, as earth and men belonged to the gods. . . . On the other

hand, the *Mō'i* existed for the sake of the people whose welfare depended upon him."<sup>27</sup> In general, "the relationship of the planter and his family to the high chief, and to the *ali'i* class in general, was a very personal one in which ardent affection was the prevailing feeling unless an *ali'i* was quite despicable, which was rare."<sup>28</sup>

And rare for very good reason. Unlike feudal European economic and political arrangements, to which the ancient Hawaiian system has often been erroneously compared, the *maka'ainana* neither owed military service to the *Mō'i* nor were they bound to the land. Should any of them decide to leave one area and move to another, they were always free to do so. And should they choose a more drastic path, that too was available to them. Among a number of similar stories, it is told that an eighteenth-century chief named Koihala directed the people in his district to do what they considered excessive work. On top of that, he robbed the fishermen of their catch:

The story is that he compelled his canoe men to paddle him here and there where the fleets of fishing canoes were. The wind was bleak and his men suffered from the wet and the cold, he being snugly housed in the *pola*. (A raised shelter between the hulls of a double canoe.)

One day he had his men take his canoe out towards the south cape where there was a fleet of fishing canoes. His own canoe, being filled with the spoils of his robbery, began to sink; and he called out for help. The fishermen declined all assistance; his own men left and swam to the canoes of the fishers, leaving him entirely in the lurch. He was drowned.<sup>29</sup>

As Marion Kelly notes, the *maka'ainana* labored willingly most of the time; but they also "took pride in their independence and dignity and never permitted themselves to be abused for long."<sup>30</sup> The story of the hapless chief Koihala is not unique.<sup>31</sup> It is not surprising, then, that among the chiefs there existed a "wholesome fear of the people," as David Malo long ago noted.<sup>32</sup>

Clearly, the chiefs were caretakers. Their powers were intertwined with the complex network of kinship that was the carefully nurtured center of social life, and the *maka'ainana* were a far from docile group of followers, even at the level of the *'ohana*:

The *Haku* headed the councils of the *'ohana*; he was the revered leader; but the old folk, men and women of strong character, were extremely independent in speech and action; consequently the *haku* was no dictator but was subject to the advice and opinion of householders and of all other members of his *'ohana* concerned in or affected by decisions and enterprises.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, the genius of the mutually beneficial political system of pre-contact Hawai'i: on the one hand, the independent *maka'āinana* and their *'ohana* were free to move and live under the *Mō'i* of their choosing--while on the other hand, the individual *Mō'i* increased his status and material prosperity by having more people living within his *moku* or domain. In combination--and without the overbearing presence of a king or other ultimate, single human authority--these two parts of the system together created a powerful and permanent incentive for the society's leaders to provide for *all* their constituents' well-being and contentment. To fail to do so meant the *Mō'i*'s loss of constituents, loss of prosperity, loss of status, and--most important of all--loss of *mana*, or spiritual power.

3. *Cultural integration and social change.* "The principle of *kapu* was the keystone of the arch that supported the traditional culture of old Hawai'i."<sup>34</sup> So writes E. S. C. Handy in a well-known statement.

*Kapu*--a variant of *tapu* or *tabu*--meant to the ancient Hawaiians a restriction, a prohibition, sometimes because the thing in question was sacred and sometimes because it was contaminated. *Kapu* was the sacred law. To refer back to Redfield's terminology, it was the driving force of the "moral order," the code upon which determinations of "right" and "wrong" were based. It was *kapu* that determined everything from the time for building canoes to correct eating behavior. As Handy put it:

In planting, fishing, canoe-making and house-building, which were men's work, the materials used, the operatives, the actual labor involved and the place consecrated to it were sacred and hence protected by *kapu*. Thus in the making of a new canoe, the tree from the moment of its felling, the men who hewed, hauled and finished it, the shed by the shore in which it was trimmed and rigged were under a spell of consecration, which was removed by ritual at the time of the launching.<sup>35</sup>

One result of the *kapu* system was that social change was relatively slow in precontact Hawai'i. The society was a system in balance, guided

by an inflexible (but readily internalized) moral code. People knew where they stood and what was expected of them; in a sense, then, the *kapu* was both liberating and confining. But it was liberating and confining for *everyone*. No one was above the law. Indeed, everyone and everything was immersed in the law. And the law was immersed in the natural world.

The gods in ancient Hawai'i were, as Handy says, "by no means a vague feeling." On the contrary: "The gods of the Polynesians were personified concepts that, on the one hand, embodied the desires and needs, the hopes and dreads of their worshippers; and, on the other hand, individualized the elements and forces that they observed in nature."<sup>36</sup> Whereas Western culture has tended to restrict the idea of consciousness to human beings (and has often bickered even about that), thus objectifying and dehumanizing everything in the nonhuman realm, Hawaiian culture did just the reverse: it animated the world at every level, granting consciousness to an extraordinarily wide sweep of reality. This view was manifested in song and dance and poetry:

The poetry of ancient Hawai'i evinces a deep and genuine love of nature, and a minute, affectionate, and untiring observation of her moods. . . . Her poets never tire of depicting nature; sometimes, indeed, their art seems heaven-born.<sup>37</sup>

Hawaiians developed a great depth of sensual feeling for the non-human world and an extraordinary respect for the life of the sea, the forest, and the sky. Returning once again to Stanley Diamond: to the pre-contact Hawaiian, the world around him was "neither compartmentalized nor fragmented, and none of its parts [was] in fatal conflict with the others."

It is perhaps ironic--tragically ironic, in view of the destruction wrought upon Hawaiian culture by the coming of the West--that only in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries did Western science and philosophy begin to comprehend and to celebrate the "discovery" of concepts that had been an integral part of ancient Hawaiian life. Thus, centuries before Darwin announced his theory of evolution, Hawaiians had elucidated the heart of that idea in their great creation chant, the *Kumulipo*. And only with the philosophical writings of Alfred North Whitehead, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Edmund Husserl, and others, did the West begin to recognize what Whitehead called "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness"--that is, the mistaken notion of subject-object polarization that had puzzled the West since Plato, but that had no place in the Hawaiian

perception of reality. In the wisdom of its traditional metaphysics, Hawaiian culture long knew what the West is only now (and against continued resistance) finding out.

If much of this has seemed abstract, that is because the constraints of space and time required it to be. But what, beyond the abstract formulation, *did* the ancient Hawaiians' world look like? Here is Captain Cook upon meeting two Hawaiian men:

Both of these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait Mr. Webber has drawn, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.<sup>38</sup>

Here is Archibald Menzies describing some of these men in a mock battle staged for the white visitors:

They first fought with blunt spears which they darted from their hands at one another with amazing force and dexterity, making them pass through the air with a whirring noise and quivering motion, yet the party aimed at on either side would often catch hold of them in their rapid course and instantly turn their points with equal force and velocity on those who hove them.<sup>39</sup>

Here is a surgeon with Cook's crew, a Mr. Samwell, on the sight of the Hawaiian canoes that met the *Resolution* and *Discovery*:

We counted 150 large sailing canoes. Many of which contained thirty and forty men, we reckoned that altogether there could not be less about the two ships than 1,000 canoes and 10,000 [Hawaiians].<sup>40</sup>

Here is Archibald Campbell, one of the first Westerners actually to live in Hawai'i for an extended time, on domestic life:

It is only by size that the houses of the chiefs are distinguished from those of the lower orders, for the same barn-like shape is universal. They are, however, kept very clean, and their household utensils, consisting of wooden dishes and calabashes, are hung, neatly arranged, upon the walls. . . . In all of [the houses] the utmost attention to cleanliness prevails.<sup>41</sup>

Here is William Shaler on agriculture:

These are certainly the most industrious people I ever saw. . . . [They] have, by long and successive experiments, brought their agriculture to an incredible degree of perfection. . . . I have seen, in some places, aqueducts constructed to bring water to elevated lands, that would do honour to the ingenuity of a much more civilized people.<sup>42</sup>

Archibald Menzies, a professional naturalist, was more willing to overlook the problem of "civilization":

Even the shelving cliffs of rocks were planted with esculent roots, banked in and watered by aqueducts from the rivulet with as much art as if their level had been taken by the most ingenious engineer. We could not indeed but admire the laudable ingenuity of these people in cultivating their soil with so much economy. The indefatigable labor in making these little fields in so rugged a situation, the care and industry with which they were transplanted, watered and kept in order, surpassed anything of the kind we had ever seen before.<sup>43</sup>

Cook also commented on agriculture. On a trip inland he "did not observe a single spot of ground that was capable of improvement, left unplanted; and, indeed, it appeared . . . hardly possible for the country to be cultivated to a greater advantage."

And on personal relationships, here again is Cook:

It was a pleasure to observe with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such tender office.<sup>44</sup>

Or Captain George Vancouver, noting the "fair and honest dealing in all their commercial intercourse" and the calm and orderliness of the people "although there was not a chief or any person of distinction amongst them to enforce their good behavior; neither man nor woman attempted to come on board, without first obtaining permission; and when this was refused, they remained perfectly quiet in their canoes alongside."

Again, Vancouver, this time on a performance of hula:

The entertainment consisted of three parts, and was performed by three different parties consisting of about two hundred women in each, who ranged themselves in five or six rows. . . . The whole of this numerous group was in perfect unison of voice and action, that it were impossible even to the bend of a finger, to have discerned the least variation. Their voices were melodious and their actions were as innumerable as, by me, they were indescribable; they exhibited great ease and much elegance, and the whole was executed with a degree of correctness not easily to be imagined.<sup>45</sup>

Pages could be filled with observations of this sort, but the same point would simply be reiterated again and again.

The society of precontact Hawai'i was, in crucial respects, an exemplar of the indigenous society model devised by Stanley Diamond. And it was a far cry from the culturally impoverished "subsistence" society commonly ascribed to indigenous cultures by unfriendly Western writers. But on that January day of 1778 when Captain Cook anchored off the coast of Hawai'i, there was another society that can properly be described as "precontact." It was English society, as represented by the men on board Cook's ships, *Resolution* and *Discovery*. With regard to Hawaiian society, after all, English society was still in a precontact stage. How did that society compare or contrast with the indigenous model?

### **The Economic, Political, and Social Structures of Eighteenth-Century England**

It has often been remarked that Captain Cook brought to Hawai'i something the Hawaiians had never before seen. Iron. But that was not all he brought. He brought vermin that would in time infest the environment. And he brought disease that would torture and destroy the people. But he also brought, in himself and the minds of his men, a view of the world that could not co-exist with that of the people who would welcome him as their guest. He brought capitalism, he brought Western political ideas, and he brought Christianity. Let us see how these match up with the relevant parallel ideas in Hawaiian society and indigenous societies generally.

1. *Economics*. In capitalism Cook brought with him (in what one economist has called a "minimal structural definition") an economic system that places the means of production in the hands of private individuals and firms. That is, those "material means essential to the survival of

the individual or the group"--material means that in indigenous societies are held in common--were, in Cook's homeland, the private property of a wealthy few. Further, as opposed to the economically noncompetitive and nonacquisitive indigenous forms of material distribution of goods (where "no man need go hungry while another eats"), in capitalism Cook brought with him the abstract notion of money, with all its ideological trappings, and the idea that the proper method of its distribution among people is through the competitive arena of the marketplace.

Whatever else can be said about capitalism, this much is beyond dispute: the notion of private ownership of land and private control of all other aspects of goods distribution is at the heart of the system. So too is the idea of labor as a commodity to be bought and sold. Under the economic system that prevailed in England and in the minds of Cook's crew, no one had a right to expect, as a matter of course, access to food, clothing, shelter, medical care, or work; all of these were articles or means of trade that each individual had to wrest from a resisting community of others that placed great value on the personal traits of ambition, self-reliance, and cunning. Individual survival rested not on *interdependence*, but on *independence*--on personal exploitation of others, rather than on communal sharing with them.

2. *Leadership and social organization.* In England, where Cook and his men came from, there was a king. Though no longer possessed of the autocratic powers of many of his predecessors (these had been lost, along with the king's head, at an earlier time) the King of England still symbolized an individual atop the pyramidal structure of the state.

Moreover, the relatively new parliamentary system of England was still nothing like the political system of indigenous societies; on the contrary, England's political system was in many ways precisely the reverse of that common to indigenous societies. Where leadership in indigenous societies tends to be "communal and traditional, not political or secular," in England leadership was now both political and secular, not communal or traditional.

Like the economic system, the political system was intensely competitive and individualistic. Notions of extended kinship relations, of naturally expected and accepted reciprocity, of temporal and mundane power as part of the web of a larger reality--these had no place in the modern world of eighteenth-century England. Power, like money, was simply to be seized by those most willing and fit to make the effort, and those without power took their lives in their hands should they attempt to resist or elude its grasp.



3. *Cultural integration and social change.* Finally, there was Christianity, the belief system that enveloped and nurtured the social world. Such a religion could not have been more different from the spiritual beliefs of the Hawaiians, or of indigenous peoples in general. In the Christian view time was linear, proceeding from a specific beginning to an imminent and apocalyptic end. The earthly world and the spiritual world were separated by an immense gulf; compared to the spiritual world the earthly world was a pit of ghastly depravity.

The chasm between the earthly and spiritual realms was repeated in the other subdivisions of reality. Paramount among these subdivisions were those separating God, man, and nature. God was transcendent and man, as Henri Frankfort has noted, "remained outside nature, exploiting it for a livelihood . . . but never sharing its mysterious life."<sup>46</sup> "Nature," as the Christian theologian Charles Davis accurately puts it, "is not sacred for the Christian."<sup>47</sup> Thus, speaking as a Christian--though not uncritically--the distinguished twentieth-century historian Lynn White could observe:

We are superior to nature, contemptuous of it, willing to use it for our slightest whim. . . . To a Christian a tree can be no more than a physical fact. The whole concept of the sacred grove is alien to Christianity and to the ethos of the West. For nearly two millennia Christian missionaries have been chopping down sacred groves, which are idolatrous because they assume spirit in nature.<sup>48</sup>

But Christian missionaries did much more than level sacred groves. Relentlessly driven to wipe from the face of the earth every religious faith but their own, Christian missionaries became not only the front line of Western incursion into the rest of the world, they were also revolutionaries at the heart of political turbulence at home.<sup>49</sup> In short, far from functioning in the way that belief systems do among indigenous peoples--that is, as an integrative force, uniting the varied realms of reality and providing equilibrium to the social process--Christianity strove to segregate and hierarchically rank the realms of reality while endlessly disrupting the social order. This was particularly so among England's Protestants from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries--the period of that nation's initial forays into the Pacific.

Moreover, embedded in the Western consciousness of this time--religious and secular alike--was an attitude toward non-Western people that

was racist in the extreme. Eighteenth-century English society was obsessed with a sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority and the complementary inferiority of people of color throughout the world. This obsession was so remarkable that one recent analyst of pseudoscientific racism calls England "the logical site" in which that dogma "was to be born."<sup>50</sup> During the past fifteen years or so a host of historical and psychological literature has documented and analyzed this pathological conceit, perhaps best epitomized by David Hume thirty years before the Western invasion of Hawai'i: "There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white," he wrote, "nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation."<sup>51</sup>

In sum, then, on every measure that we have examined--the economic, the political and the religious--the world views and ideology carried by European adventurers into the Pacific were directly at odds with that of the people who were to become their hosts. What Stanley Diamond has said of the differences between Western and indigenous world views in general--that they "are as antithetical as it is possible for cultural attributes to become within the limits of the human condition"--was true as well in the specific case of Hawai'i and its encounter with Captain Cook.<sup>52</sup>

But again, as in the earlier discussion of precontact Hawaiian society, much of what I have just said has been cast in fairly abstract terms. What we have asked of the Hawaiians we should also ask of the English sailors who encountered the Hawaiians in 1778: What did England look like at that time? What had Cook and his crew left behind when they began their fateful voyage to the Pacific?

England in the middle of the eighteenth century was a world in which a third of the population, in historian Lawrence Stone's words, lived "on the bare margin of subsistence." Malnutrition made rickets common among children, broke the bodies of many adults, and starved not a few of both--a condition only temporarily relieved by the famous food riots that occurred from time to time, whenever utter desperation set in. England at this time was populated by a people afflicted with, among other scourges, the "all but universal disease" of smallpox, a disease that killed, blinded, or disfigured for life its countless victims. Indeed, as Stone notes, among the English "only a relatively small proportion . . . at any given time was healthy and attractive, quite apart from the normal features of smell and dirt." What was wrong with them? Many things:

Both sexes suffered long periods of crippling illness, which incapacitated them for months or years. Even when relatively well, they often suffered from disorders which made sex painful to them or unpleasant to their partners. Women suffered from a whole series of gynaecological disorders, particularly leucorrhoea, but also vaginal ulcers, tumours, inflammations and haemorrhages which often made sexual intercourse disagreeable, painful, or impossible. Both sexes must very often have had bad breath from the rotting teeth and constant stomach disorders which can be documented from many sources, while suppurating ulcers, eczema, scabs, running sores and other nauseating skin diseases were extremely common, and often lasted for years.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, there was "the ever-present risk of venereal disease." The great Boswell, for one, contracted gonorrhoea at least seventeen different times.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to the stench of disease and simple bodily filth (in England, as in France up to the end of the nineteenth century, it was common for women "to die without ever once having taken a bath"--unlike men who had to bathe occasionally while in military service) there were the pervasive odors of death and excrement. "In towns of the eighteenth century," Stone writes, "the city ditches, now often filled with stagnant water, were commonly used as latrines; butchers killed animals in their shops and threw the offal of the carcasses into the streets; dead animals were left to decay and fester where they lay." Human excrement was dumped in the streets each night. A "special problem" was the phenomenon of "poor's holes." These were "large, deep, open pits in which were laid the bodies of the poor, side by side, row upon row." These huge pits were left uncovered until entirely filled with corpses, causing one contemporary to complain: "How noisome the stench is that arises from these holes so stowed with dead bodies, especially in sultry seasons and after rain."<sup>55</sup>

This was English civilization. A far remove from Hawai'i. And then there were the children. Infanticide was common--not, as in most indigenous societies, because of infant malformation, but because of financial desperation. Such desperation led to the abandonment of thousands of infants each year, almost all of whom died. Babies left "lying in the gutters and rotting in the dung-heaps" had little room for hope.<sup>56</sup> Those who didn't die immediately were sent off to parish workhouses where they soon did--sometimes because of neglect, other times because of murder; Poisoning with gin was a favorite technique used by some nurses. There was, of course, always someone ready to make a profit out of this kind of misery. For example, "the Overseers of the Poor, who extracted a lump

sum from the father, or the putative father if the infant was a bastard, and made a clear profit from the early death of the child."<sup>57</sup>

The capitalist ethos could do better than prey on the deaths of children, however; it could prey even more profitably on their lives. Some were "virtually enslaved" for prostitution or to serve as pickpockets' apprentices. Others suffered crueller fates:

Some had their teeth torn out to serve as artificial teeth for the rich; others were deliberately maimed by beggars to arouse compassion and extract alms. Even this latter crime was one upon which the law looked with a remarkably tolerant eye. In 1761 a beggar woman, convicted of deliberately "putting out the eyes of children with whom she went about the country" in order to attract pity and alms, was sentenced to no more than two years' imprisonment.<sup>58</sup>

Thus the home country of Captain Cook. The would-be saviours of the Hawaiians left a homeland littered with hungry, deprived, sick, and viciously exploited men, women, and children (the poorest of whom, philosopher John Locke had recently suggested, might best be virtually enslaved)<sup>59</sup> to bring the beacon of civilization to a healthy, strong, happy, and well-nourished people. They left a nation where avarice was accepted and where vast concentrations of wealth and political power were held by a tiny handful of men, to bring enlightenment to a land where the economy was communal and where such oligarchic wealth and power was nonexistent. They sailed in ships manned by conscript crews to liberate a people who did not know the meaning of conscription.

Not everyone, of course, lived under such conditions in eighteenth-century England. But vast multitudes did--and long had, and long would. The entire social system dictated as much. Captain Cook himself had struggled up from this vast slough of degradation, while his men were still deeply mired in it.

Clearly, the English were a people with extraordinary pretensions of racial superiority who treated their own people with callous disregard. They were a people whose entire social engine of money, politics, and religion was roaring toward empire. Only other aspirants to imperialist dominance--Germany, France, America--would dare cross England's path.

### **Cultures in Collision**

And so, on January 18, 1778, England and Hawai'i confronted one another. For a short time, Cook's ships bobbed in the waters off Kaua'i.

Then contact was made. Flesh touched flesh. And instantly the tragedy had begun.

Bacteria that Cook carried in his ship and on his person, bacteria for which the Hawaiians had no natural immunities, started their invisible invasion. In less than seventy years, the Hawaiian population would be cut in half and well on its way to being halved again.<sup>60</sup> The invisible killer that medical historian Alfred W. Crosby has called *conquistador y pestilencia*, the killer that had slain over 90 percent of the indigenous population of South and North America was now loose in Hawai'i.<sup>61</sup> As in the Americas, so in the Pacific: 90 percent of the Hawaiian population would perish before the pestilence had subsided.<sup>62</sup>

This bacteriological invasion, horrible as it was, needs to be seen as but one part of a larger onslaught. In this regard, the words of Greg Denning, although written about the Marquesas, are applicable to the effects of Western contact in Hawai'i as well:

The violence of contact was universal in its carelessness: difference was insufferable. There was violence in the Outsiders' presumed right to possess the Land; there was violence in the assumption of cultural superiority; violence in the prejudices, violence in the goodwill to make savages civilized and Christian; violence in the *real politik* of empire and progress.<sup>63</sup>

Hawaiian society had been a classic example 'of what anthropologist Marshall Sahlins has called "the original affluent society." Long, slow centuries of cultural evolution had produced a society with "an unparalleled material plenty" *without* the endless work necessary to close what in modern society is the never-ending gap between means and desires.<sup>64</sup> Unto itself, such a social order was strong and resilient. It was a unified, integrated, and communal society that had drawn together as if in a fine web the multiple layers of human and natural and supernatural existence. But like many complex and finely-tuned institutions, this kind of world was vulnerable to gross and barbaric assault.

Eighteenth-century England was the opposite of an affluent society, if we accept Sahlins' definition of an affluent society as one "in which all the people's material wants are easily satisfied."<sup>65</sup> It was a society of great economic disparity, a society on the brink of modern capitalism's enshrinement of *artificial* need fulfillment as the measure of success. It was a driven society that left in its wake enormous amounts of human flotsam as the price of "progress" for a privileged few. It was a rapacious society, at the time deeply involved in the African slave trade, that segregated the

human and natural and supernatural orders. In the words of political theorist C. B. MacPherson, eighteenth-century English society was characterized by "possessive individualism" and was beginning to fetishize and objectify that idea.<sup>66</sup> The Hawaiians were to be among its victims.

Without the ravages of disease from Western voyagers, the post-contact history of Hawai'i might have been different. We shall never know. Disease has always been the Europeans' first friend in his colonizing efforts, his most valuable weapon in breaking the back of the indigenous society he has chosen to invade.<sup>67</sup>

But more than disease, the West brought to Hawai'i--as to the rest of the Pacific--an amoral and opportunistic self-righteousness that preyed on the weakened survivors of the bacteriological assault. Hawai'i was to become a client state of the West. Toward that end it was necessary for the West to remake Hawaiian society in its own image. Thus the English helped generously in the creation of a Hawaiian royalty that could be dominated, manipulated, and controlled.<sup>68</sup>

That, however, is another story for another time. In these pages all I have attempted to demonstrate is the cultural reality--and some of the consequences--behind the polarized world views that the European and Hawaiian encountered in each other the day their paths first happened to cross. The revision of Pacific history has already begun. This is but one small chapter in that revision.

It is well to remember that politics and scholarship are rarely separated with success. Nor should they be. For generations a self-serving Western bias has been part and parcel of the colonized history of the Pacific. That is changing now, as is the response to colonization itself.

"We must realize," writes historian Wilbur Jacobs, "that modern nationalist activism has its basis in a real disagreement with a white man's culture that has taken so much and given so little."<sup>69</sup> So too does native *scholarship* have its basis in a real disagreement with a white man's culture.

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## NOTES

1. Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

2. Noel Kent's new book, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), is only the most recent example. The relevant literature is far too

extensive for citation here, but some of the more important works on various topics are discussed in Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Fatal Confrontation: Early Native-White Relations on the Frontiers of Australia, New Guinea, and America--A Comparative Study," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (1971), 283-309; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); and Greg Denning's brilliant study, *Islands and Beaches* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980). This somewhat random selection does not include the burgeoning work that has not yet seen publication. For two recent examples specifically concerned with Hawaii, see Barry S. Nakamura, "The Story of Waikiki and the 'Reclamation' Project," M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Hawaii, 1979; and Myra Jean Tuggle, "The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana: Cultural Revitalization in a Contemporary Hawaiian Movement," M.A. Thesis, Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawaii, 1982.

3. I. C. Campbell, "Savages Noble and Ignoble: The Preconceptions of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia," *Pacific Studies* (Fall 1980), 45-59; and *ibid.*, "Polynesian Perceptions of Europeans in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Pacific Studies* (Spring 1982), 64-80. Italics added.

4. *Ibid.*, "Polynesian Perceptions," 79.

5. The earliest settlement discovered to date has been traced to around 350-375 A.D., using radiocarbon analyses of artifacts, and research continues that may establish even earlier settlements. See H. David Tuggle's summary of recent research in the chapter on Hawaii in Jesse D. Jennings, ed., *The Prehistory of Polynesia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). It is worth noting that these latest scientific findings only prove what the Hawaiians themselves have always said, basing their calculations on genealogies passed on orally from generation to generation. See Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, Vol. I (London: Trubner & Co., 1878). pp. 166-68.

6. Stanley Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1974), pp. 116-75.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-34; Dorothy Lee, "The Religious Dimension of Human Experience," (originally published in 1952), in her *Freedom and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1959), p. 169.

8. Diamond, pp. 135, 145.

9. See, for example, Pierre Clastres, *Society Against the State* (New York: Urizen Books, 1977), especially pp. 169-74.

10. Diamond. p. 136.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

12. Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953), pp. 20-21.

13. Lee, p. 165.

14. Redfield, p. 55.

15. Diamond, p. 138.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
17. Clastres, pp. 162-63; cf. Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (New York: Aldine, 1972), pp. 1-39.
18. Such observations fill the pages of the writings of all the early Western explorers. See especially the following: James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . .*, 3 vols. (London, 1784); George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the South Pacific Ocean . . .*, 6 vols. (London, 1801); Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage Round the world . . .* (New York, 1817); William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage Between China and the Northwestern Coast of America* (Philadelphia, 1808); and Archibald Menzies, *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago*, William F. Wilson, ed. (Honolulu, 1920).
19. E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u Hawai'i* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972), pp. 5-6. This is a reprint of the 1958 edition published by the Polynesian Society, Inc.
20. E. S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, with the collaboration of Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1972), p. 20.
21. Tuttle, "Hawai'i" in Jennings, ed., *The Prehistory of Polynesia*, p. 195; cf. R. J. Hommon, "The Formation of Primitive States in Pre-Contact Hawai'i," doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona, 1976.
22. Marion Kelly, *Majestic Ka'u* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1980), p. vii.
23. Handy, Handy, and Pukui, *Native Planters*, p. 63.
24. E. S. Craighill Handy, *Cultural Revolution in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Intitute of Pacific Relations, 1931), p. 10.
25. Samuel Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964), p. 4.
26. Handy, *Cultural Revolution*, pp. 11-12.
27. *Ibid.*, p.14.
28. Handy, Handy, and Pukui, *Native Planters*, p. 326.
29. David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951), p. 201, n. 15. Originally published in 1898.
30. Kelly, *Majestic Ka'u*, p. 1.
31. For other examples, see Marion Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure in Hawai'i, 1778-1850," M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i, 1956, p. 37; and Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, pp. 202-3.
32. Malo, p. 195.
33. Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System*, p. 7.
34. Handy, *Cultural Revolution*, p. 3. Italics added.



35. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
36. E. S. Craighill Handy, *Polynesian Religion* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1927), p. 88.
37. Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawai'i* (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909), p. 263.
38. Cook, *A Voyage*, vol. 3, p. 4.
39. Menzies, *Hawai'i Nei*, p. 91.
40. David Samwell, *Journal of Cook's Third Voyage . . .* (Manuscript copy in Bishop Museum, Honolulu.)
41. Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World*, p. 126.
42. Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage*, pp. 112, 163.
43. Menzies, *Hawai'i Nei*, p. 105.
44. Cook, *A Voyage*, vol. 3, p. 112; Volume 2, p. 230.
45. Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, vol. 5, p. 99; vol. 1, p. 361; vol. 5, p. 128.
46. Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 344.
47. Charles Davis, *God's Grace in History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 25.
48. Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science* 155 (March 10, 1967), 1203-7.
49. On Calvinism in England as the intellectual and psychological source of the world's first full-scale revolution, see Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints* (New York: Atheneum, 1972).
50. Allan Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), p. 72. The literature on this subject is enormous, but no one should ignore the classic work. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968). See also, Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1978); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), especially Part One. "European and Colonial Origins"; and, for a penetrating psychological analysis, see Joel Kovel, *White Racism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).
51. David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary* (London, 1875), vol. 1, p. 252.
52. Diamond, p. 129.
53. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England. 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 486-87. Previous quotations on pp. 64, 76.
54. *Ibid.*, 486-87.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

56. Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 172.
57. Stone, p. 475.
58. Ibid. Although Stone's massive work, based on an astonishingly large body of primary sources, is commonly regarded as the most thorough and sophisticated treatment of England's social world during this period, supporting data can be found in numerous other studies. See, for example, Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*; J. Clifford, "Some Aspects of London Life in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in P. Fritz and D. Williams, eds., *City and Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); and the classic work of M. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925).
59. Locke's proposal, affecting (children from the age of three, "stopped a little short of enslavement," notes historian Edmund S. Morgan, "though it may require a certain refinement of mind to discern the difference." Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), pp. 322, 381.
60. For historical population statistics on Hawai'i, see Robert C. Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawai'i, 1778-1965* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968).
61. Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972), chap. 2.
62. For some comparisons between America and the Pacific on this matter, see Woodrow Borah, "America as Model," *Actas y Memorias XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (Mexico City, 1962), 384-88; cf. some passing qualifications in Rudolph A. Zambardino, "Mexico's Population in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11(1980), 5.
63. Denning, *Islands and Beaches*, p. 4.
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65. Ibid.
66. C. B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962).
67. A now almost classic study of the impact of disease, followed by cultural assault, in the destruction of a people and their world view is Calvin Martin's *Keepers of the Came* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
68. See Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), vol. 1, p. 65; cf. Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence*, pp. 15-16.
69. Jacobs, "The Fatal Confrontation," p. 309.

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## BOOK REVIEW FORUM

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Bradd Shore, *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. Pp. ix, 338, bibliography, index, glossary.

This past year two important additions to Samoan ethnographic literature have been published: Derek Freeman's book, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, and Bradd Shore's *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery*. Both volumes provide us with new information which enhances our understanding of Samoan culture and behavior. The value of Shore's work lies in his careful exposition of Samoan social structure and the relationship of that structure to behavior. This analysis is contained in the first two sections of his book written as a traditional village ethnography and introduced aptly enough as a murder mystery. The third section of the book is an exercise in symbolic anthropology in which the events of the preceding sections are examined.

One of the difficulties in working with Samoan ethnographic sources has been understanding the cultural process. For example, How do kinship diagrams translate into behavior? How is an 'aiga actually formed? What forms does cultural change take in a village? Until now, Albert Wendt's novels have been the best source for understanding Samoan behavior and consequently have often been used in the classroom and in research to augment the static scientific descriptions of Mead, Gilson, Holmes, Freeman, and others. Shore, like Wendt, starts his book in a narrative form, and in an exceptionally graceful prose style, transforms storytelling into science, describing the process as well as the structure of Samoan village social and political life. Traditional village ethnographies can also lead to errors of interpretation, extrapolating idiosyncratic events to whole cultures. In the present ethnography, Shore clearly differentiates between the village particular and the cultural generalization.

He has clarified, at least for the present, the lengthy and sometimes tedious argument about Samoan kinship and descent, although regrettably he relegated the history of the anthropological disagreement on Samoan descent groups to an extended footnote rather than incorporating the information into the text. Through the technique of enumerating actual affiliation choices in *Sala'ilua*, he has presented most clearly the possibilities and implications of male-female descent choices and affiliations. He has also definitively addressed two other ethnographic ambiguities. First, he

has summarized the range of referents for the term 'aiga and has opted for a very useful definition of 'au'aiga as the primary cooperating kin residential or commensal unit. (Orans has called this unit an *umu 'aiga*.) Second he has laid out for us, using the Sala'ilua data, the structure of the *matai* system, the ranking of titles, the acquisition of titles, and most importantly the behavioral outcomes.

In effect, Shore has written two different books in this volume. The first one is an exceptionally well written and illuminating scientific endeavor. Besides the substantive addition to Samoan ethnography, Shore has also conveyed the field-work experience in particularly vivid terms--the dual obligations of the participant-observer, the sensitivity to the natural environment, the inertia, and then the intense excitement of the intellectual mystery. It is, therefore, unfortunate that Columbia University Press allowed so many typographical errors to slip by in the text and bibliography and that the photographic reproductions in the paperback edition were of such poor quality. Most regrettably appendix C, which purported to explain the relationships among the major figures in the mystery, was omitted.

The second "book" (Part III) entitled "Meanings," is more difficult to evaluate. In his brief introduction to this section, Shore does not lead us to the structure of his argument, does not explain the relationships of the seven chapters in this section. These chapters seem to stand almost independently and in each case are certainly informative. Undoubtedly this section of the book has great value, and certainly the detailed and lucid explanation of the dualism of social behavior (*aga*) and personal behavior (*amio*) can comfortably include the data of both Mead and Freeman. I found most delightful the review of Samoan naming possibilities, which explains the difficulties of obtaining a single answer, consistent through time to the researcher's indispensable question, What is your name? Perhaps this section would have profited from an introduction that spelled out the theoretical premises and explained the role of each of the chapters in developing the argument of meanings. His conclusion summarizes neither the evidence nor the hypothesis. It is, therefore, impossible to judge the validity of his explanation. Perhaps in the next edition Shore will provide us with a more tightly organized view of how meanings are analyzed. Despite the obscurity of this section, *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery* is a major contribution to the anthropological literature.

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In the book *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery*, Shore has attempted to produce an ethnographic account of Samoa on two different levels. One level depicts the world of Sala'ilua and the events surrounding the murder of a high-ranking chief of this rural Samoan village. On a deeper level Shore describes the underlying structures of Samoan culture and how these structures impart meaning to behavior. As an ethnographic account of Samoan culture the book succeeds in drawing together more information in a comprehensible form better than any previous work on Samoa. As a cultural explication of the murder in Sala'ilua the book does not quite live up to expectations.

There are some flaws in the production of the book, the most annoying being the numerous typographical errors. In addition, some of the figures are confusing or misleading. For example, Figure 2.1, a sketch map of Sala'ilua, was inadequately labeled. The identity and significance of two of the numbered household compounds is revealed thirty-seven pages later in the text, leaving the reader with the uneasy feeling that he has missed some crucial point of the diagram. Also, clearer marking of the households of the key personalities would have been helpful. Figure 3.2, spatial orientations in a Samoan village, depicts the "ideal" round village and gives spatial orientations in relation to this center versus periphery model. As Shore notes, not only is Sala'ilua a linear village spread along a government road that parallels the coastline, but most of the villages in Samoa also conform to the linear model. While it is interesting to note the ideal village form, it would have been good to discuss more clearly the distinctions between the ideal and real villages and perhaps to develop a model of the spatial orientations in a linear village. These are minor complaints, however, and they do not detract greatly from the value of the book.

There are two potentially more serious problems with the book. First, I am concerned about the somewhat confusing statement of methods in the preface. Shore states that he has resided in Western Samoa for nearly five years. He has conducted two research trips to Samoa: a three-month stay to investigate adoption, incest prohibition, and other aspects of Samoan kinship; and an eighteen-month trip when he conducted his dissertation research. The focus of his doctoral research is not explained; however, it appears from the title of his dissertation that he was interested in the paradox of personal control and aggression in Samoa. It seems unlikely that such an orientation might produce a biased understanding of Samoan culture, particularly in Shore's case, where he has such extensive experience in Samoa outside of a research context. However, potential

biases should be addressed and discussed to permit an accurate evaluation of an author's interpretations.

The list of information sources used by Shore leaves the impression that all first-hand accounts by informants came from interviews conducted in rural Savai'i. However, this clearly is not the case, as informants from Manono (p. 164), Apia (p. 165), and rural Upolu (p. 157) are quoted. It is not disclosed whether these interviews were conducted during the same trip when the author resided in Sala'ilua, or whether they were from the earlier trip that focussed on kinship.

The second general criticism concerns the incomplete integration of the two levels of the book. The first two chapters and the last chapter deal almost exclusively with the murder of Tuatō Fatu, one of the most important chiefs in Sala'ilua, and also one of Shore's key informants. Because of Fatu's position in the village, this murder has wide-ranging social implications. The event is a uniquely apt particularization of the general principles of Samoan culture outlined by Shore in chapters 3 through 13. This appears to be the purpose for discussing the murder in the book, but there are few references to the murder and the surrounding social milieu in the chapters on Samoan culture. After reading Shore's preface I expected the event of the murder to be used like the ax fight in the film "Ax Fight" (Asch and Chagnon, 1975). The film used the event to illustrate points about kinship and social organization among the Yanomamo. There were many instances in Shore's book when a discussion of a general principle of Samoan culture could have been illuminated by a detailed dissection of some aspect of the murder; instead other information was introduced. This criticism in no way impugns the value of the book in explaining Samoan culture, but by not fully exploiting the murder, the usefulness of the three chapters based on the murder is reduced.

I was somewhat surprised to find some key sources on Samoa missing from the bibliography. Three works that I have found useful include Buck's (1930) *Samoan Material Culture*, Grattan's (1948) *An Introduction to Samoan Custom*, and Holmes' (1958) *Ta'u, Stability and Change in a Samoan Village*. If these books were considered and rejected by Shore, it would have been interesting to learn the reasons why.

Overall, this book is a very valuable contribution to the understanding of Samoan culture. The chapters on structures in Samoan society are excellent, especially the sections on the *matai* system and on titles. The chapters on meanings provide insight into the paradoxical nature of Samoan personalities, that is, the blending of politeness and aggression that is necessary to succeed within Samoan society. The problems that I have

noted are more annoyances than serious flaws. This book is clearly a must for any serious scholar of Polynesia.

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Gregory Bateson's dictum that "the way to phrase scientific questions is with the word 'how' and not with the word 'why' " (Berger 1978:46) applies as well to a whodunit as to a scientific treatise. A detective story that lays out the facts directly, letting them challenge the reader's deductive abilities, satisfies better than one that jumps too quickly to abstractions of motive. *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery* is a satisfying whodunit, an anthropological detective story that sticks to the "how," despite the temptation to pursue the "why."

It tells the story of a village and a crime. The village is Sala'ilua, a settlement on the southwestern coast of the Western Samoan island of Savai'i; and the crime is murder, an infrequent occurrence in the lives of the villagers. But the real mystery does not concern the crime itself, because the details--a rivalry, an argument, a fight, a shooting--make themselves known immediately. Instead, it lies in "the interplay of cultural and social structures that constitute an adequate general context for understanding the crime" (p. xiv). Little resembling the standard whodunit at the outset, this detective story takes unconventional detours to an untraditional dénouement; and in the end, the hypothesis that the mystery "could be resolved" is asserted to be "solution enough" for it.

It's an artificial mystery, of course--a writer's gimmick, and a clever one. Few anthropologists are, as it were, lucky enough to be on hand at the murder of their principal host and smart enough to know how to take literary advantage of their good fortune. Bradd Shore, both lucky and

smart, has turned an ugly affair to good account by sympathetically portraying his former neighbors as semi-novelistic figures in a semi-ethnographic memoir, which captivates as it confounds and inspires as it informs. He has fashioned the first Polynesian ethnological production in which the struggle against the impermanence of human relations forms at once the background and the focus of analysis.

Between an account of the crime (pp. 7-39) and a review of the patterns of thinking that, to an undemonstrated extent, “determined” it (pp. 284-91), Shore makes a penetrating psychosocial study of the people of Sala’ilua. He sifts his evidence with a care toward saving the symbolic and thereby shapes an unusual anthropological treatise. Fascinated by intangibles, he ignores material culture. He admits few items of traditional lore into his ken. He keeps his mind on analytical goals and does not allow himself the pure but unprocreant pleasures of wallowing in folkloristic delights.<sup>1</sup>

Shore divides this study into two sections called “Structures” and “Meanings.” In the first of these, which is disposed in five chapters, he defines the village--once in terms of the land, and again in terms of the people: he describes their chieftainships, their councils, their titles, and their laws. These chapters will stand as a plausible portrayal of the locality and its inhabitants, though, as with earlier ethnographic works on Samoan villages, the reader cannot always judge which attributes describe all native settlements and which are unique to the village under study.

Sala’iluans believe their society to be “founded on God” (national motto of Western Samoa), but they often behave as if it were founded on chieftainships. Their *matai* “overseers” (reviewer’s gloss) are normally heads of households who have taken an official title to exercise its authority over lands and people. In chapter 4, Shore describes the powers of the *matai*, in relation to property and persons; he discusses recruitment of *matai*; and he lists the titles of Sala’ilua (in table 4.1). Oddly, he is, by his own admission, confused about intertitular relationships of rank (pp. 63-64). The reader must skip to chapter 6 for a treatment of title-succession, the relationships of titles and genealogies, and the structure that titles provide the village. “That structure is abstracted in the *fa’alupega* “dove-like thing,” a variable list of honorific phrases expressed in allusive and arcane diction; Shore discusses the *fa’alupega* of Sala’ilua in chapter 5, “The Framework of a Local Political Order.” He catalogues many of the remaining affiliative classes of persons--formal organizations of young men, of unmarried women, and so on--in the concluding chapter of this section.



By thus setting the stage for his analysis of the structures behind the crime, Shore highlights politics at the expense of other scripts for social action. He expatiates on his actors' civic roles and even takes pains to rehearse the plan of their *fono* "councils"--both actual (the one held after the murder, pp. 26-33), and ideal (pp. 79-81, with a seating-plan in figure 5.1). Yet, in the bill of major structures, the absence of the Christian church creates an unexpected mystery.<sup>2</sup>

More Samoans attend more worship-services on a more regular basis at more stages of life than will ever participate in a *fono*; and the ethical instruction they receive in church, with the ritual behavior they witness and follow there, may well affect their lives as deeply, in ways they cannot understand or explain, as any policy or procedure of a political council. Like the seating-plan of a *fono*, that of a Protestant worship-service establishes a critical spatial structure: men, women, boys, girls, and the pastor's family are segregated in groups; and deacons or appointed persons guard assigned doors (which they close during certain prayers). The textual components of the order of worship--hymns, prayers, readings, offerings, sermons, announcements--establish a critical temporal structure.<sup>3</sup>

The lack of a discussion of the structures provided Sala'iluans by religion prevents us from knowing the full extent of the expression of the rivalry between the murderer and the victim. We learn how the two men could have related spatially in a kava-ceremony, but not in a church-service. We learn how they could have manipulated the order of the events in political councils, but not of those in ecclesiastical ones. We learn about their jockeying for superiority in the *fono*, but not in the congregation.<sup>4</sup>

It is easy to think that in Samoa, as in the rest of Polynesia, the Christian church is still, as it once was, an intrusion on indigenous institutions; but when it ceased to be new, it became indigenous; and when it ceased to be strange, it became authentic: over time, it has become a real presence in the real world of real Polynesians. The fact that the stimulus for the invention of Samoan Christianity came from abroad should not deter the anthropologist from fully including the Samoan church in the ethnographic description, especially since that institution demonstrably offers many structural opportunities for the playing-out of the kind of rivalry which the anthropologist has chosen for the central topic of his concern.

In the section on meanings, Shore outpaces his anthropological predecessors in the islands. He maintains that "human action is in large part symbolic action," and that one of the fieldworker's most challenging problems is to "rescue some of the intentions that inform human acts"

(p. 127). In chapters 8 through 13, he explores the interrelated meanings of six aspects of Sala'iluan life: personality, action, knowledge, conflict, power, and aesthetics. In treating these topics, he delineates boldly the cultural constraints on Samoan character and examines bravely the protean impulses of the Samoan mind. His speculations on the patterns of Samoan symbolic action rise to breathtaking heights of fancy and reach an atmosphere so charged with the revelatory power of his intellect that we are astonished by every thesis and thunderstruck at every page.

Central to the unraveling of the mystery is the fact that Sala'ilua has an inverted hierarchy: orators (*tulāfale*) receive its highest formal honors; but in the rest of Samoa, such honors devolve upon chiefs (*ali'i*). Both murderer and victim were orators, and their titles took the highest honors in the village. Shore believes that "the subordination of the dignity of the *ali'i* of Sala'ilua to the cruder kind of power represented by orators" (p. 290) explains much of the cast of conflict in the village--conflict whose aggressive style of resolution reveals itself in the local tendency toward personal assertiveness, which Shore noticed on his first day there (p. 9) and about which Sala'iluans brag (pp. 289-90). The inversion of the normal order of paired complements--chiefs and orators--becomes, in Shore's hands, the most important clue in the potential solution of the mystery.

Because the perceptual pair that can be represented as "dignity/crudeness" regulates the Samoan view of reality, Shore occupies himself with the study of its behavioral implications. In keeping with ancient anthropological custom, he finds dualities almost everywhere. In the description of the village, he stresses the social resonance of the orientational dyads, *tai/uta* "seaward/landward" and *luma/tua* "front/back" (pp. 48-51). The seaward half of a Samoan house bears a sense of politeness, of courtesy, of dignity; likewise the front, which is the side facing the center of a village or facing a road or path. These pairs find conceptual analogues in the basic human biological polarity, *fafine/tāne* "female/male" (pp. 225-41), and in the basic Sala'iluan political one, *ali'i/tulāfale* "chief/orator" (pp. 216, 241-46). To these, Shore adds *mana/pule* "spiritual power/temporal power" (pp. 246-49), and many others. A magnificent table, which lists eighty-three dyads (appendix B), tells an absorbing ethnological tale in itself.<sup>5</sup>

The key dyad of the mystery, the duality that Shore believes to be central in the Samoan assessment of human behavior, is the distinction between *aga* "social conduct (prescriptive)" and *āmio* "personal behavior (descriptive)" (Shore's glosses, p. 154). In support of these definitions, he quotes the remarks of selected Samoans (pp. 157-58). He presents his fullest analysis of *aga* and *āmio* in chapter 9, "Action"; but references to this

dyad appear throughout the book. Taking his cue from the presented definitions, he develops the thesis that Samoan social structure has “a kind of dual organization, comprising sets of social roles linked through complementary opposition and mutual control” (p. 257). He mentions (p. 154), but does not explicate similarities with, two vaguely analogous Western dualities: superego/id (in psychology), and culture/nature (in anthropology).<sup>6</sup>

The basic polarity conveyed in the dyad *aga/āmio* might be understood as “culture/impulse” or “control/expression.” In chapter 12, “The Symbolism of Power: Dual Organization and Social Order,” Shore examines the links between local culture and control. He posits that cultural restrictions in Sala‘ilua control “aggression, competition, and the unrestrained expression of personal impulses” (p. 221). The Samoan word glossed as “culture,” *aganu‘u*, is itself based on *aga*; other glosses include “custom(s)” (Milner 1966) and “conduct according to the customs of one’s own country” (Pratt 1911).

In examining the structural significance of *aga* and *āmio*, Shore bolsters his thesis with the assertion that “most of the compound terms made from *āmio* refer to acts that are socially disruptive, while *aga* is found principally in compound terms denoting forms of virtue” (pp. 154-55).<sup>7</sup> His assertion may not be right on either count: this reviewer’s browsing in the Samoan Bible—a text whose influence on the Savai‘ian ideology of behavior cannot be overestimated—yielded a different result: while more compound terms made from *āmio* do have negative (disruptive, non-virtuous) connotations, those terms present themselves less frequently than compounds bearing positive (nondisruptive, virtuous) connotations; in addition, there seem to be more negative compounds of *aga* than positive ones.

Since Shore places cardinal importance on the distinction of *āmio* and *aga*, the evidence is worth an examination at length. Here follow the positive phrases built upon *āmio*.<sup>8</sup>

- āmio alofa* “loyal” (II Sam. 22:26, Ps. 18:25), “walking in love (RSV), [to walk] charitably (KJV)” (Rom. 14:15).
- āmio Atua* “faithful” (Ps. 149:1), “godly” (Ps. 12:1, I Tim. 2:2), “holy” (I Thess. 2:10); *e āmio Atua* “[to] profess religion” (I Tim. 2:10); *e e āmio Atua* “the godly” (II Peter 2:9); *le āmio Atua* “godly” (Titus 2:12), “godliness” (I Tim. 4:7-8, 6:3, 6:5-6, 6:11; Titus 1:1; II Peter 3:11); *lē e āmio Atua* “holy” (Titus 1:9); *[nofo] ma le āmio Atua* “to live a godly life” (II Tim. 3: 12).
- āmio fa’aaloalo* “reverent” (Titus 2:3, I Peter 3:2).

- āmio lelei* “good [noun]” (Rom. 2:10), “good conduct” (Rom. 13:3), “good morals” (I Cor. 15:33), “innocent” (Pvb. 1:11); *e āmio lelei* “[to] do well” (James, 2:8); *ē e āmio lelei* “goodness” (Titus 1:8); *‘ia ‘e āmio lelei* “do what is good” (Rom. 13:3); *le āmio lelei* “good [noun]” (II Tim. 3:3), “good behavior” (I Peter 3:16), “good works” (Matt. 5:16), “holiness” (I Thess. 3:13, Ephes. 4:24, I Tim. 2:15), “well-doing” (II Thess. 3:13); [*le*] *āmio lelei* “doing right” (I Peter 3:16); *‘ua āmio lelei* “does good” (Rom. 3:12).
- āmio mamā* “chaste” (Titus 2:5, I Peter 3:2), “pure” (II Sam. 22:27, Ps. 18:25); [*le*] *āmio mamā* “purity” (II Cor. 6:6, I Tim. 4:12), “self-control (RSV), temperance (KJV)” (Gal. 5:23), “self-controlled” (Titus 1:8).
- āmio mamalu* “dignified” (I Tim. 3:2).
- le āmio mātagōfie* “respectful (RSV), honesty (KJV)” (I Tim. 2:2).
- āmio sa’o* “blameless” (Job 1:1, Pvb. 29:10), “innocent” (Philip. 2:15), “pure” (I Tim. 4:12), “upright” (Ps. 11:7, Pvb. 3:32); *ē e āmio sa’o* “the upright” (Pvb. 15:8); *le āmio sa’o* “equity” (Pvb. 1:3), “the right” (Ps. 17:1); *ma le āmio sa’o* “aright” (Pvb. 15:21); *‘ua sa’o la’u āmio* “my integrity” (Job 31:6); *‘ua sa’o le āmio* “the innocent” (Job 27:17).
- āmio e tatau* “how one ought to behave (RSV), how thou oughtest to behave thyself (KJV)” (I Tim. 3:15). [Note that this denotation is prescriptive--not, as Shore insists for *āmio* (p. 154), descriptive.]
- āmiotonu* “blameless” (II Sam. 22:26, Ps. 18:25), “may be justified” (Rom. 10:4), “is justified” (Rom. 10:10), “right” (Job 33:12, Ephes. 5:9), “righteous” (Ps. 11:7; Matt. 13:17; Rom. 1:17, 3:10, 5:7, 5:19, 5:21, 6:13; I Thess. 2:10), “righteousness” (Rom. 4:3, Gal. 3:6), “upright” (Job 1:1); [*e*] *āmiotonu* “integrity” (Pvb. 28:6), “[to] do right” (Rev. 22:11); *ē e āmiotonu* “the righteous” (Ps. 1:5), “the upright” (Ps. 112:2); *ē ‘ua āmiotonu* “the righteous” (Jer. 20:12), “the upright” (Ps. 107:42 & 112:4); *fai le āmiotonu* “[do] what is right” (Ps. 15:2); *le āmiotonu* “a just cause” (Ps. 17:1), “justice” (Rom. 3:5), “piety” (Matt. 6:1), “prosperity” (Pvb. 8:18), “righteousness” (II Sam. 22:21, Ps. 23:3 & 118:19, Pvb. 25:5, John 16:10, Rom. 1:17, II Cor. 6:7, Ephes. 4:24, I Tim. 6:11, Gal. 5:5, Titus 3:5, II Peter 2:21), “right mind” (I Cor. 15:34), “the just requirement” (Rom. 8:4); *lē ‘ua āmiotonu* “the just” (I Tim. 1:9). [For *fai le āmiotonu*, compare Shore’s remarks on *fai le āmio*, p. 155.]
- taūāmiotonu* “justify” (Job 32:2, Gal. 3:8); *‘ina ‘ia ta’uāmiotonuina* ‘brings justification” (Rom. 5:16), “for justification” (Rom. 4:25), “so that might be justified” (Titus 3:7); *lē na te ta’uāmiotonuina* “one

who justifies” (Rom. 4:5); *na te ta’uāmiotonuina* “he will justify” (Rom. 3:30); *ta’uāmiotonuina* “acquittal” (Rom. 5:18), “acquitted” (I Cor. 4:4), “justified” (Rom. 3:4, 3:24, 4:2; I Cor. 6:11; Gal. 2:16, 3:11, 3:24, 5:4), “justifies” (Rom. 8:33), “righteous” (Rom. 2:13), “vindicated” (Job 11:2); *ta i lātou* “righteousness reckoned to them” (Rom. 4:11); *ta’uāmiotonuina mai* “[reckon] as righteousness” (Gen. 15:6).

As the listed examples indicate, *āmiotonu* is extremely productive, both in kind and number of forms.<sup>9</sup>

Thirteen negative phrases built on *āmio* were found; here follow those encountered more than once.<sup>10</sup>

–*āmio fa’alēmatau* “godless” (Job 34:30); *le āmio fa’alēmatau* “ungodliness” (Rom. 1:18, II Tim. 2:16).

–*āmio fa’atalanoa* “idle” (II Thess. 3:7), “idleness” (II Thess. 3:6); *’ua āmio fa’atalanoa* “are living in idleness” (II Thess. 3:11).

–*āmio lēaga* “bad [conduct]” (Rom. 13:3), “doing wrong” (I Peter 3:17), “do wrong” (Rom. 13:4), “evil” (Rom. 2:9, II Tim. 3:13, Pvb. 24:1), “impurity” (Ephes. 5:3), “trespasses” (Coloss. 2:13), “wicked” (Job 34:8, Ps. 1:1, I Cor. 5:13, II Thess. 3:2); *e e āmio lēaga* “bad company” (I Cor. 15:33), “evildoers” (Matt. 13:41), “the unholy” (I Tim. 1:9), “unholy” (II Tim. 3:2), “the wicked” (Ps. 1:1); *le āmio lēaga* “corruption” (II Peter 1:4), “evil” (I Cor. 5:8), “evil deeds” (Coloss. 1:21), “impurity” (Rom. 1:24 & 6:19, II Cor. 12:21, Gal. 5:19, Coloss. 3:5), “iniquity” (II Tim. 2:19, Jer. 31:34), “lawlessness” (II Thess. 2:3 & 2:17, Heb. 1:9), “trouble” (Job 4:8), “uncleanness” (I Thess. 2:3), “wickedness” (Ps. 5:4 & 45:7, Pvb. 10:2, Rom. 1:18 & 2:8 & 6:13), “wrong” (I Cor. 6:1). [Placed within the scope of Shore’s thesis, this phrase becomes a conceptual oxymoron, since *lēaga* “bad” may—as Shore points out (p. 312), despite his spelling the word without the macron—be a compound of *lē* “(negative particle)” and *aga*.]

–*āmiolētonu* “iniquity” (Lament. 4:22), “[to] do evil” (Rev. 22:11), “[to] do wrong” (Job 34:10), “unjustness” (Rom. 3:5), “unrighteousness” (Jer. 22:13), “wickedness” (Rom. 3:5); *e e āmiolētonu* “the unjust” (Matt. 5:45), “the unrighteous” (I Cor. 6:1); *lana āmiolētonu* “the wrong he has done” (Coloss. 3:25); *le āmiolētonu* “injustice” (Rom. 9:14); *lē e āmiolētonu* “the wrongdoer” (Coloss. 3:25); *ma le āmiolētonu* “by their wickedness” (Rom. 1:18). [The form *āmiolētonu* supplies the negative of *āmionu*.]

–*āmio mātagā* “arrogant” (I Cor. 13:5), “dishonor” (Pvb. 18:3); *le āmio mātagā* “to revel [sinfully]” (II Peter 2:13).

–*āmio pi’opi’o* “perverse” (I Sam. 20:30); *āmio fa’api’opi’o* “crooked” (Philip. 2:15); *ē ‘ua āmio fa’api’opi’o* “the faithless” (Pvb. 21:18); *fai le āmio pi’opi’o* “[to] pervert” (Job 33:27).

–*āmio ulavale* “evil (RSV), wickedness (KJV)” (Rom. 1:29), “iniquity” (Rom. 6:19).

On the whole, this evidence constitutes less than overwhelming support for the interpretation that the term *āmio* alone, without qualification, implies “the darker impulses and cruder aspects of experience” (p. 275)--“impulses,” perhaps; “darkness” and “crudity,” no. The contexts confirm that *āmio* is socially neutral: it denotes a “manner of life” (Ephes. 4:22), inferred from *āmioga* “deeds” (Rom. 8:13). Of the listed compounds, a connotationally negative one (*āmio lēaga*) is, as expected from the argument, the most frequently encountered.<sup>11</sup> However, the most frequently encountered derivative from *aga* is also a connotationally negative one, *agasala* “sin.” Since the word *sala* “wrong” brings the negativity to the phrase, Shore could point out that the base *aga* might still denote “virtue”; but he insists that the compounds of *aga* tend to also.

The meaning of *agasala* is best approached through the analysis of a phrase that happens to include both members of the dyad: *āmio lēaga ma agasala* “trespasses and sins” (Ephes. 2:1, RSV & KJV). Here, the complementary terms--*āmio leaga* “trespasses” and *agasala* “sins’”--may refer respectively to actions and tendencies: trespasses can be understood as transgressions of laws; sins, as evidences of a disposition to err.<sup>12</sup> Hence, *āmio lēaga* are outward and visible acts, while *agasala* are inward and spiritual thoughts: *āmio* implies the outer self, the social being; and *aga* implies the inner self, the psychological being. This contrast stands Shore on his head. But the facts do not just leave him wiggling his toes in the air. As we have seen in the case of *āmio*, they buffet him about; and sometimes they flip him onto his feet. For *agasala* are not always “sins”; they can be “trespasses” too. And even “trespasses” can be “sins’”--as in the “Lords Prayer” (Matt. 6:12, KJV), where violations of divine law are *agasala*, and those of human law, *agalēaga*.<sup>13</sup> 3

For the current purpose, it matters not that native speakers of English supervised the translation of the Bible into Samoan. The status of their text as the “revealed word of God” gives legitimacy and authority to their diction; the duration and depth of their work with a committee of knowledgeable natives (Turner, 1861: 168-69) ensured that their translation would be accurate in most respects. One of the Samoan members of the committee, Mala’itai, “knew a great deal about the language and customs and old religion of Samoa., which other Samoans did not know, and therefore . . . [the missionaries] were very glad to have his help, and without it

they could not have translated the Bible so well into Samoan” (Barradale 1907:150). A committee of six native pastors revised the Samoan text in 1953-1956 (Faletoese 1961:53).

The Bible constitutes a text from which most Sala‘iluans hear or read passages several times a week. Its availability to them, as a frame for their moral judgments, is immediate. However, because the model for the text came from across the seas, the Bible may strike some observers as an unsuitable source for Samoan conceptual material. Other written records would prove useful in filling out the picture. One such record, a manuscript by Penisimane (n.d., probably 1860s), comes from the vicinity of Sātupa‘itea (Brown 1915:173), a village about ten kilometers from Sala‘ilua. Although the manuscript cannot have influenced modern Sala‘iluan thought, its style may be taken for a fair semblance of southwestern Savai‘ian linguistic usage of about a century ago.

Penisimane uses compounds of *aga* in several contexts that give clear indications of disapproval; these occur mainly in *fāgono* “tales.” In one tale, a man’s inadvertent sexual congress with his sister is called his *agamāsesei* “bad conduct” (p. 172).<sup>14</sup> In another text, an eel who has eaten his siblings concedes: ‘*Ua a’u agavale ‘i la tātou ‘āiga*, “I’ve been *agavale* toward our family” (p. 186). In another, a girl who has been raped by her brother calls him *le tamāloa valea ‘ua agalēaga lava iā te a’u*, “the crazy man who has really been *agalēaga* to me” (p. 204). In 1972 and 1973, an extremely old but spirited lady of western Savai‘i performed the tale in which this last situation occurs.<sup>15</sup> In each of three performances, the girl in the tale says: ‘*O a’u ‘ua agavalea e le tama*, “I myself have been *agavalea*’d by the boy.”

Another compound of *aga* occurs in Penisimane’s definition of a word, *fa’aagaaganoaina*:

That’s a bad station. It’s really good to be *agatonu*, but it’s bad to be *fa’aagaaganoaina*, an ugly thing. It’s hateful, it’s detestable, it’s very much aloof from everyone: no one caters to it; people do not befriend it, but they really avoid it.<sup>16</sup>

Although the negative connotations of *fa’aagaaganoaina* could not be clearer, they may support Shore’s claim that *aga* involves the social implications of conduct.

A predicted, negative sense of *āmio* is seen in this sentence, also from a tale told by Penisimane: *Fa’auta mai ‘i le āmio a Faga ma Lua: e ‘ino’ino ‘i la lā tama, ‘ina ‘ua liu pili* “Behold Faga and Lua’s *āmio*: they detest their child, because it has become crippled” (p. 89). Unusually, in

view of uses in both contemporary speaking and Biblical writing, *āmio* here denotes an attitude, rather than an action.

Penisimane links *aga* and *āmio* in the definition of another word, the compound term *sealoumānuginogi*: “that’s a word applied to a bad-*aga* person, as if he had no pleasant scent, but were malodorous, because there’s no good *āmio* there, but just a bad *āmio*.”<sup>17</sup> In this commentary, we learn that the absence of a good *āmio* and the presence of a bad *āmio* reveal a bad *aga*. Once again, as with many of the Biblical examples, we find that *aga* comprehends the interior essence of a person, and that other persons can perceive it only through the exterior evidence afforded the senses by *āmio*.

These examples confirm that, in the case of *āmio* and *aga*, Shore has identified a fundamental structure in the Sala’iluan mind; but the facts are messier than the tidiness of his argument implies. By relying only on oral and informal sources, he has missed the connotational correctives that written and formal sources provide.

In chapter 11, Shore examines the meanings of conflict in Sala’ilua. He tries to prove that the murder was not only a crime, but also “an affirmation of Samoan normative categories” (p. 193). The stance that killing one’s neighbor achieves affirmative action seems at first untenable, but Shore manages to demonstrate the propriety of violence in the village. He shows that relations of status fit into two sets: symmetrical and complementary. In the first set fall relations of an identical nature, such as those among brothers or among sisters, or--most importantly for understanding the murder--among orators. In the second set fall relations of different natures, such as those between sister and brother, or chief and orator. Bowing in the direction of Bateson’s theory of schismogenesis, Shore implies that continued competition between members of a symmetrical set, in the manner of the murderer and the victim for several years before the crime, leads naturally to violence.<sup>18</sup>

The remainder of the chapter on conflict, where Shore begins to find structures within structures, is the most recondite part of the book. To summarize his ideas, he resorts to a two-by-two chart (table 11.2), of which each of the quadrants contains a distinct type of human interconnection, defined according to his criteria. The complementary and symmetrical relationships of the first part of the chapter here divide into the ranked and the unranked to generate four qualitatively different kinds of relationships: “incorporation” (symmetrical, ranked), “competition” (symmetrical, unranked), “authority” (complementary, ranked), and “mutual respect” (complementary, unranked). Shore discusses this differentiation on pp. 211-16. In one of the deepest sentences in the book, he



captures the driving force of Samoan society: “The way of controlling the aggression of . . . symmetrically related units without totally destroying their useful energies is to harness that energy by crosscutting crucial symmetrical relations with stabilizing complementary relations of control” (pp. 218-19). He lists a few symmetrical relations and the complementary crosscutting relations in table 11.4.<sup>19</sup>

In view of the lengths to which Shore goes in probing the significances of his dualities, particularly as they affect symmetrical and complementary relations, it might have been useful for him to have considered salient historical or legendary examples of Sala‘iluan dyadic relationships--both between important individuals and among the corporate members of important confederations in the district. The analysis of “Hierarchical Structuring of Relationship Types” (pp. 216-19), an eminently clear but equally cold argument, could benefit from a “fleshing-out” that involved real incidents and real people, portrayed in detail. For the Samoan archipelago as a whole, the periods of the expulsion of the Tongans, and of the dynastic alliances that led to the reign of “Queen” Salamāsina, invite reinterpretation in this respect. We may hope that Shore will some day apply his knowledge to such subjects to produce a structural commentary on Samoan history, perhaps along the lines of the reinterpretation of early regal Hawai‘ian history made by Marshall Sahlins (1981).

One figure appropriate for the demonstration of dualities is that of King David (of the Old Testament), a man who holds a powerful, almost archetypal, attraction for Samoans. In the manifestation of characteristics that Shore might accept as evidence of *āmio* and *aga*, he alternately committed great crimes and demonstrated deep contrition for them.<sup>20</sup> It was no accident that Mālietoa Vaiinupō, the first Christian leader of the polity that has become Western Samoa, chose for himself the personal name *Tāvita* “David.” The great emotional friendship of the young David--that with his rival, Jonathan, whose love was “wonderful, passing the love of women” (II Sam. 1:26, KJV & RSV)--also bears a symbolic import, which finds expression in Samoan sermon and song. David and Jonathan’s relationship was, in Shore’s terms, symmetrical and unranked; their intimacy strikes a concordant note in the Samoan understanding of competition.

Since Shore demonstrates, in the quadrated chart, his ability to handle a linked pair of dichotomous qualities, his handling of similarly disposed quantified variables in the examination of moral conflict (appendix A) is surprisingly maladroit. In that discussion, he probes the contrast of “the personal and the social dimensions of experience” (p. 293) through an examination of the opposed “voices” of moral judgment. Having given a questionnaire to 141 schoolchildren of Savai‘i,<sup>21</sup> he analyzes the responses

by rough statistical methods; he presents numerical findings in nine tables (A1 through A9). He concludes that “there seems to be a close inverse correlation between the personal voice of desire, an expression of *āmio*, and the more social voice of moral prescription, an expression of *aga*” (p. 299).

In his strongest “correlation,” 23 children (16% of the total) said both that thieves should be jailed, and that they themselves would steal if they knew they could get away with the crime.<sup>22</sup> Turning these 23 children into 23 percent (on p. 299), Shore calls this number, and values as low as 10%, “very high figures,” which indicate “a striking correlation” (p. 298).

Although desire and the proscription of desire may indeed be mutually dependent in Savai‘ian thinking, the “correlation” produced in the responses is no correlation at all. A suitable method for examining the relationship of two dichotomous variables is that of chi square and derivative formulas. Arithmetical manipulation of Shore’s figures permits the construction of a two-by-two table requisite for using chi square to test the null hypothesis that the variables are independent. In the case of the 23 little would-be thieves, chi square (corrected for continuity) is 4.91; and at a .05 level of significance, we can reject the null hypothesis. However, we cannot do so at the .01 level. Therefore, we conclude that the observed results are probably significant, and the variables are probably related or associated.

The strength of a relationship between variables is measured by several statistical methods of which the most frequently employed is the coefficient of contingency,  $C$ . In the case discussed above,  $C = .18$ . For a two-by-two table, a perfect correlation does not quite reach .71 (Freund 1952:303): the correlation of .18 between a desire to steal and a proscription on theft must therefore be interpreted as weak--not, as Shore would have it, “very high.” Since the classifications of table A.9 describe individuals, the correlation of attributes,  $r$ , which varies from 0 to 1, is also an appropriate statistical tool. In the present case,  $r = .19$ , which also indicates a weak correlation.

These procedures assume that the sample of Savai‘ian schoolchildren was selected randomly from the population of the island. If Shore did not select the 141 respondents at random, then he cannot necessarily use their responses to make valid quantitative inferences about an insular population in the tens of thousands.<sup>23</sup> The problem in administering a questionnaire nonrandomly is epistemological: it is not that the results have no worth, but that the anthropologist cannot weigh their worth by appropriate measures of confidence and validity. The results represent a sample

perfectly, but how well the sample represents the population from which it was drawn remains a mystery.

In chapter 13, "The Esthetics of Social Context: Dual Organization and Expressive Culture," Shore examines Sala'iluan aesthetics, which he seems to equate with the "emotional tone of interactions" (p. 257). He begins with dance. The *siva* "improvised dancing" (reviewer's gloss) attracts 'aiuli "clowning"; the more grotesque the 'aiuli, the more dignified the *siva*. The dyad *siva*/'aiuli correlates with that of chief/orator: performing the *siva* befits a chief (or a *tāupou* in her role as chiefly ornament), and performing the 'aiuli befits an orator. So patent is this correlation, that dancers of the 'aiuli--whether men, women, or children; whether titled or not--can be called "orators" (informant's usage, p. 260).

Intercultural evidence supports Shore's distinction of dancing/clowning and its analogy with that of chief/orator. In Tonga, the archipelago south of Samoa, most formal dances are not improvised. Tongans think of improvised dancing as being foreign to their tradition: they call such dancing *tau'olunga*, a Tongan term formed on the model of the Samoan word *taualuga*, which designates the final dance of a party, in which the distinction of *siva*/'aiuli is the most clear. (A high-ranking person leads the final dance, and therein provokes energetic clowning.) To denote the clowning, Tongans have adopted the Samoan term for "orator," *tulāfale*, which they pronounce *tulaufale* (Adrienne Kaeppler: personal communication). In a reminiscence of the Samoan implications of the dyad "male/female," Tongans hold the role of *tulaufule* to be more appropriate for men than for women (Kaeppler 1983:91).

Shore treats only the *siva* (with its 'aiuli), and thereby gives the impression that it is the only kind of Samoan dancing. While improvised movement characterizes the most frequently encountered styles of Samoan dancing, the islanders do occasionally present formal and rehearsed group-dances. Three genres involve coordinated gesturing: the women's *sāsā*, performed sitting down, has percussive accompaniment;<sup>24</sup> the men's *fā'ataupati*, performed standing up, is likewise accompanied (or has no accompaniment); the *mā'ulu'ulu* requires a mixed chorus disposed in three tiers (sitting, kneeling, standing). Another genre, the 'ailao "men's club-dance," is performed by a company wielding weapons in synchrony.<sup>25</sup> A distinction of *siva*/'aiuli appears in none of these dances. Descriptions of Samoan dancing in the nineteenth century seem to indicate that other nonimprovised dances existed in the islands.

The contrast of women's and men's coordinated gesture-dances suggests a duality not listed in appendix B: "sitting/standing," as an analogue of "dignity/crudeness." (Shore does list *nofo/gāoioi* [with the latter word

misspelled as *agāioioi*] “sit/move,” but the two dualities are not the same.) Such a dyad may also establish the sensibility behind the Samoan stricture of etiquette that it is impolite for a standing person to address at close range a sitting one. It may also explain Samoan resistance to the European custom of rising for the singing of hymns.

Also in chapter 13, Shore treats the phonetic registration of the Samoan language, in which he finds a duality essential to the definition of social interactions: the Samoan phoneme /t/, which reflects Proto-Polynesian /\*t/, has a formal allophone [t] and an informal one [k]. At about the middle of the nineteenth century, foreigners began to notice the replacement of [t] with [k].<sup>26</sup> George Brown writes that speaking in the [k], called *‘o le nanu fa‘a-Tutuila* “Tutuila-jabber,” was in 1860 “very rarely heard outside of the Port of Apia and the Tuamasaga district” (Brown 1916:182). S. J. Whitmee adds, “When I went to Samoa in 1863[,] I heard k used on the island of Tutuila, and on the eastern portion of Upolu” (Pratt 1878:1). That foreigners first heard the [k] at a given time does not necessarily reveal anything about the use of [k] among Samoans at that time; but it does, at least, indicate the changing of a linguistic marker of decorum. By the turn of the century, the use of [k] in addressing foreigners had become almost universal: on a tour of Savai‘i, including Sala‘ilua, A. M. Hocart found the situation “the same as in Upolu, except that a few here and there stuck to their *t’s*” (Hocart 1916:42).<sup>27</sup> Shore’s guess that the early missionaries chose to represent the /t/ in writing as “t” because it was the culturally preferred form is unquestionably correct.<sup>28</sup>

Shore examines insightfully the contextual implications of the current use of the [t] and the [k]: shifts in pronunciation correlate with shifts in vocabulary, which he illustrates amply, but not exhaustively, in his tables 13.1 and 13.2. The presentation suffers from the employment of a misleading term, “intimate,” by which Shore designates the informal register. The [k] is often heard at open and public events--in the delivery of orations, and in the playing of field-games (cricket, rugby)--hardly the sorts of activities that convey notions of intimacy to most speakers of English.

In treating the pronunciation of song-texts, Shore invents a problem where none exists. Whether a social situation is formal or informal (“intimate”), Samoans sing in the [t], not in the [k]. He tries to explain this fact by a circular argument: the preservation of [t]--for use in any linguistic performance--“is linked to European-based institutions (church, schools, pastor, the Bible, books)” (p. 272); and the sung [t] “suggests . . . the coincidence of associating singing with church hymns, hymnals, and the historically older form of pronunciation passed on orally in lyrics” (p. 271). He fails to demonstrate that Samoans actually associate the singing

of secular songs--including bawdy ones--with the singing of hymns. Singing tends universally to be a formally marked speech-event, which, as such in Samoa, requires the [t], no matter how informal the nonlinguistic elements of the situation. Shore does not need to drag "European-based institutions" into the discussion.

When speaking of personality, Samoans tend to refer to "sides" (*itū*) or "parts" (*pito*), rather than to a whole. Shore uses a Manu'an creation-myth and its associated *solo* "intoned poem" to illustrate this tendency, which he explores in chapter 8. The myth depicts human creation as the process of assembling bodies from pieces. Shore takes this depiction as a metaphor and develops a fascinating argument from it, in much the same manner as Freud, who expressed some of his ideas in terms of Greek myths. Shore's insight is that Sala'iluan personality (or, in his nice diction, "the person" in Sala'ilua), like the original bodies in the poem, results from a fragmented development, in which parts mature to an existence independent of the whole (p. 132). A Sala'iluan presents no fixed or focused self to the world, but shows different "sides" in response to different stimuli.

In Shore's view, Samoan behavior is "caused" by external forces, whereas European behavior is "motivated" by internal demands (p. 136): Samoan personalities do not develop into "discrete and self-consistent units"; they become "bundles of different behavioral potentials that are activated in relation to particular social contexts" (p. 143). Shore is so attached to this premise that he denies that the ordinary terms "personality" and "self" can serve as appropriate analytical concepts in understanding Sala'iluan mentation (p. 149). In arguing that the normal Samoan mind is nonintegral, he stakes out an extreme, revolutionary--perhaps impossible--position; and in the coming years, it will be of great intellectual interest to observe how the orthodox psychological establishment responds to his challenge.

Since Shore loads the Manu'an myth and poem with heavy explanatory weight, while failing to show their connection with the village under study, there may be some use in documenting their history in print. The earliest known text of the *solo* was collected in 1870, by Thomas Powell, from the orator Fofō [= Fofō?] (of 'Ofu Island, Manu'a); it consists of 114 verses or "lines" (for references, see bibliography below). In 1878, S. J. Whitmee published, without attribution, verses 1-17, plus an unattributed English translation. In 1886, Powell at last published the full text, with his English translation and commentary. John Fraser edited and republished the text, with George Pratt's English translation, in 1890; he reprinted it

(with minor changes) in 1897. Ten years later, William Churchill reprinted verses 1-11 of Fraser's second publication, with corrections in punctuation and spelling, plus a reprint and a new translation of verses 16-21. In 1930 and 1969, Margaret Mead republished Pratt's translation of 1890, with newly introduced errors of spelling and punctuation; recently, Marjorie Sinclair published a drastically altered adaptation of Mead's verses 56-69. In 1970 Fitisemanu (a Samoan chief) adapted, without attribution, sections of Powell's translation (verses 13-14 and 16-29). A cognate text was collected about 1895, by Augustin Kraemer, possibly from the lady Matelita (of 'Olosega Island, Manu'a), and from unspecified Tutuilans; Kraemer published it, plus his own German translation, in 1902. An English translation of the German text was issued in a mimeographed edition in the 1940s.<sup>29</sup>

Of these editions, it is Mead's of 1930--the least accurate, and the farthest removed from an indigenous source--that Shore cites. Yet, if any written version had been available to the people of Sala'ilua in the formative years of the murderer and the victim, it would probably have been Kraemer's.<sup>30</sup> Shore cannot easily dismiss the fact that the solo emanates from Manu'a, which it vaunts at the expense of the rest of Samoa (Buelow 1897:376); hence, it is unsuitable for performance by non-Manu'an residents of other districts, although they might know and even quote the first few verses, which possess a universally appreciable majesty of expression. He fails to show that anyone in Sala'ilua is affected by the poem, or cares about it, or even knows it. To say that an author has taken his metaphor from the wrong edition of the wrong version of the wrong poem may seem captious; but in a criminal inquisition, it is of the utmost importance that only relevant evidence be introduced. If Shore's unstated assumption--that Manu'ans wholly resemble Sala'iluans--is not wholly true, then his argument from it is at least partly false.

Although Shore displays dexterity in unraveling the tangled interpersonal strands of the present, he evinces little readiness in trying to understand their past. "Historical explanations deal with events," he writes, but "anthropological mysteries, by contrast, are solved through *structures*" (Shore's emphasis, p. 290).<sup>31</sup> In dealing with the conditions behind one event, the murder of his host, he has made an effort to seek out manuscripts and books (p. xv); but he relies almost exclusively on recent versions of history (as told by villagers) and cites only the most obvious published records for historical evidence.

As a result, the history of crime in Sala'ilua suffers. Shore does mention one well-known murder in Sala'ilua, that of the trader William Fox in 1856; but he fails to note the most famous malefaction in the district,

the murder of as many as twelve foreigners by a man called “Opotuno” (Wilkes 1845, vol. 2, p. 93).<sup>32</sup> In the early twentieth century, a Sala’iluan “chief of small importance,” who bore the same title as the murderer in Shore’s book, was accused of embezzlement (Rowe 1930:292). Studying this and other criminal information on record could help reveal the character of the village, which Shore admits to be “unusual” (p. 9) and not “typical” (p. 48).<sup>33</sup> Since he has consulted a number of unpublished sources that treat Samoan village-structure (p. 304), we may hope that he will some day tackle another mystery: the extent to which his description of Sala’iluan symbolic action reflects Samoan behavior at large.

Finally, Shore merits acclaim for the very prose of his book, by which he communicates intricate ideas in a style that is always comfortable, engaging, and cogent.<sup>34</sup> The contrast with Margaret Mead, whose academic works often read as if they had been composed by committee, could not be greater.<sup>35</sup> Mead wrote with romance for a popular audience, but with imprecision for a scientific one; Shore combines in one style the grace and imagery that a popular audience enjoys, and the precision and theory that a scientific one demands. Despite a consuming passion for exploring virgin ethnological territory, in order to survey the most abstruse cognitive topologies discoverable, Shore seldom stumbles into the semantic and syntactic brambles that snare and scratch Mead’s attempts at serious writing; and students of both anthropology in general and Samoa in particular, together with lovers of the English language, will rejoice.

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#### NOTES

1. He omits details of the all-night vigil over the body (*leo*), with its rounds of speech-making and hymn-singing; and he does not recognize the other life-cycle observances (such as the *nunu* “first-child ceremonies,” and the gift-giving to a *failele* “mother of a newborn child”) that must have occurred during his sojourn. He makes nothing of the ephemeral economic transactions of village-life (as opposed to the formal or ceremonial ones, such as the exchange of *tōga* and *’oloa*). He even excludes details that Savai’ians might find indispensable in establishing the tone and authenticity of formal proceedings, such as the names of local chiefly lands (*vāifanua*), fine mats (*’ie tōga*), kava-cups (*ipu*), and ceremonial hostesses (*tāupou*).

2. The local congregations and associated organizations rate three paragraphs on page 106; a few references to the church appear *passim*.

3. The blending of indigenous and introduced customs observed in church--such as in the *Mē* (the annual competitive offering of funds), in the style of homiletic oratory, or in the

tendency (in one parish on Savai'i at least) for *matai* to partake of Holy Communion in a sequence in which they might otherwise drink the 'ava--supplies a marvelous matrix for investigation.

4. Shore paints the victim as a "pillar of morality" (p. 11). But did that pillar stand sufficiently tall to pass the qualifying examination to become A'oa'o Fesoasoani, so as to be licensed to lead the service in the absence of the pastor? did the murderer? Did either man achieve the status of deacon? Did one or the other attempt to gain sponsorship (and control) of the 'autalavou? How did the rivalry manifest itself in the competition to donate funds to the pastor's family? The answers to these and related questions might shed additional light on the mystery.

5. The Biblical "New Testament/Old Testament," as an analogue of "dignity/crudeness," belongs among these pairs. In the Christian interpretation (as taught at Mālua, the Samoan seminary), many of the images conveyed by the Old Testament provide raw representations of reality that unrefinedly prefigure the unalloyed truth of the New Testament. For example, the passover-lamb, sacrificed for the sake of the people of Israel (Exodus 12:21-27), symbolizes the figure of Jesus as Christ, sacrificed for the sake of all people (Mark 14:24, I Cor. 5:7, Heb. 9:23-24); wherefore Jesus is mystically depicted as a lamb (Rev. 5:6-14).

6. He comments more fully on the latter pair in Shore 1981, a paper that succinctly treats many of the points of duality that are at issue in the present book.

7. He cites five disruptive compounds of *āmio* but only two nondisruptive ones. He discounts two nondisruptive compounds in Pratt's dictionary: *āmio ali'i* "polite"--he buttresses his argument by citing instead *aga ali'i* "chiefly action"--and *āmio tama'ita'i* "ladylike" (reviewer's spellings). He ignores Pratt's (many) negative compounds of *aga*, such as *aga fa'aletino* "sensual," *aga fa'apua'a* "piggish, thoughtless," *aga fa'avalea* "foolish," *aga mālosi* "gruff," *aga tele* "abusive," and *agavale* "left-handed, thoughtless" (reviewer's spellings and glosses).

8. Aware that generalizations based on a nonrandom sample are not necessarily valid, the reviewer offers these observations with diffidence and regret; he takes solace in the fact that the sample exhaustively covers the part of the New Testament that gives moral instruction, the Epistles. Samoan terms quoted from the Bible in this review have been edited to conform with standard orthography (Milner 1966), as interpreted by the reviewer; the English glosses quote the Revised Standard Version (RSV), except where the King James Version (KJV) is indicated. One neutral phrase was encountered: *āmio fa'anuu'ese* "live like a Gentile" (Gal. 2: 14). Unmodified, *āmio* is glossed "[to] behave" (II Cor. 1:2) and "[to] live" (Rom. 8:12-13); *āmioga*, "deeds" (Rom. 8:13), "what he has done" (II Cor. 5:10), and "manner of life" (Ephes. 4:22). Another example is at Rom. 15:18.

9. Uniquely glossed instances of *āmiotonu* are found at Rom. 3:25, 3:26, and 5:18; I Cor. 1:30; II Cor. 9:10; Philip. 3:9; I Tim. 3:16; and Titus 1:8 and 2:12. For *le āmiotonu* "righteousness," the citations can be expanded to include Rom. 3:10, 3:21-22, 4:5, 4:9, 4:11, 4:13, 4:22, 5:17, 6:16, 6:18-20, 8:10, 9:28 (KJV), 9:30-31, 10:3, 10:5-6, and 14:17; II Cor. 6:14 and 11:15; and II Tim. 2:22, 3:16, and 4:8. For *ta'ūāmiotonuina* "justified," the citations also include Rom. 3:4, 3:24, 3:28, 4:2, 5:1, 5:9, and 8:30.

10. The unique instances in the sample are: *āmio fa'aletino* "worldly" (Jude 19); *āmio fa'amataaitu* "licentiousness" (II Peter 2:7); [e] *āmio faigōfie* "being simple [as opposed to



wise]” (Pvb. 1:22; potentially positive, this phrase has a negative connotation in the context); *āmio pa’a’ā* “overbearing” (I Peter 2:18); *āmio valea* “foolishness” (Eccles. 7:25); *le fa* “a shew of wisdom (KJV)” (Coloss. 2:23); and *tagata fa’afiaāmiotonu* “hypocrites” (Matt. 6:2). Uniquely glossed instances of *āmio lēaga* are found at Ps. 107:17 and 107:42, Rom. 1:29, Ephes. 5:5, and II Thess. 2:8.

11. Another negative phrase, *āmio māsesei*, appears in Congregational hymn 168, but did not turn up in the search of the Bible: however, *aga māsesei* “bad conduct, troublesome,” an apparently synonymous phrase based on *aga*, may occur more frequently in hymns (see Anonymous n.d.: nos. 141, 142, 173, and 241); and *aga māsesei* is the only member of this pair listed in Pratt’s and Milner’s dictionaries.

12. Exegesis of the (original) Greek terms--*paraptómata* “trespasses” and *hamartíai* “sins”--has perplexed readers since Augustine (354-430). At the time of the initial translation of the Samoan Bible, the prevailing distinction, which the missionaries undoubtedly discussed with their Samoan colleagues, was that “trespasses” (*āmio lēaga*) referred only to “concrete acts,” while “sins” (*agasala*), the more general term, included “the sinful disposition”; modern scholarship treats the terms as possibly synonymous (Abbott 1897:39).

13. Note also the phrase *’ua mātou agasala atu ’i le Ali’i* “we have sinned against the Lord” (Deut. 1:41): Samoan Christians do not--cannot--“sin” (*agasala*) against human beings. Aside from the positive derivatives of *aga* that Shore lists, the Bible has: *agamalū* “gentle” (Thess. 2:7), “meek” (Matt. 5:5), “kind” (I Cor. 13:4); and *le agamalū* “gentleness” (I Tim. 6:11), “kindness” (Rom. 2:4): but it also has the unpredicted terms *aga e sesē* “deceitful spirits” (I Tim. 4:1), and *agapi’opi’o* “perverse” (Pvb. 3:32), “unjust” (Pvb. 29:27). An expected social sense figures in an unusual gloss of *agalelei*: “[to bestow]” (Ephes. 1:6, phrased *’ua agalelei fua mai* “he has freely bestowed on us”).

14. All terms quoted from Penisimane’s manuscript have been edited and glossed here by the reviewer; most of the editorial changes involve the addition of apostrophes (signs of the glottal stop), macrons, and punctuation marks. Except for these tokens of orthographic precision, Penisimane’s spellings almost reach perfection; the man must have written with a fine understanding of the sounds of his language.

15. She was the granddaughter of Mala’itai, one of the Samoan members of the committee that assisted in translating the Bible; she tended him in his old age, and learned much from him.

16. “*’O le tū lēaga lea. E lelei lava ona agatonu, ’a e lēaga ona fa’aagaaganoaina, ’o le mea mātagā. ’Ua itagā, ’ua ’inosia, ’ua matuā ’alofia lava ’i tagata ’uma: ’ua lē ta’ita’i ane ’i ai se tasi; ’ua lē fa’auōtia e tagata, ’a ’ua fa’a’esea lava*” (p. 476). Penisimane spells *fa’aagaaganoaina* with the indicated reduplication (*aga+aga*), not by joining the nominalizing suffix *-ga* to the base (*aga+ga*): on these distinctions, see Shore, chapter 9, fn. 5, p. 312.

17. *’O le ’upu fa’atusa lea ’i le tagata agalēaga, peisea’i ’ua lē ai sina manogī ’o iā te ia, ’a ’ua nāmūlēaga, ’auā ’ua lē ai se āmio lelei, ’a ’ua nā ’o le āmio lēaga* (p. 269).

18. In his discussion of the social structure of exchange (pp. 203-7), Shore provides the neatest available treatment of complementary formal exchange-goods, *tōga* and *’oloa*.

19. Samoan spatial orientation is rife with examples of crosscutting lines, such as the general seating-plan of a *fono*, where rival orators face each other, or sit in a row facing the same

direction, and chiefs may repose at the axis perpendicular to their line of sight. The architecture of many Samoan churches--by which the floor-plan takes the shape of a cross--permits the pastor to stand opposite the adult members of the congregation (in the nave), while children sit at the perpendicular axis (in the "wings" of the transept).

20. Consider the arbitrary massacre of two-third of the Moabites (II Sam. 8:2), and the sending of Bathsheba's husband into battle to be slain so David could marry her (II Sam. 11:15); for an example of contrition, see II Sam. 12:13.

21. One of the minor mysteries of the book is "The Case of the Missing Schoolchild." According to Shore's disclosure (in table A.1, and in chapter 3, fn. 2, p. 304), 141 children took part in the survey; but, again by explicit statement (p. 293), only 140 did so. On page xv, there are said to have been "approximately" 140 schoolchildren. Table A.1, question 2, supports both totals: addition of the columns of respondents yields a total of 141 children, but recalculation from the relationship of percent in the "true" column yields a total of 140. Perhaps the missing child was only an approximate child.

22. This response is akin to item 135 (or J-45) of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory: "If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it" (Dahlstrom et al. 1972:431). Adult Americans honestly responding tend to agree with that statement and other statements like it. (Disagreement elevates the "lie" scale of the protocol.) Stealing in Samoa may be a greater crime than sneaking into a movie in America, but that only 32 of 141 Savai'ian children honestly responding (figures from table A.8) would admit to a desire for stealing, seems peculiar, in light of the American findings of the MMPI.

23. Since Shore had good reason to believe that several dualities--especially "female/male" and "chief/orator"--might affect Savai'ian perception of moral behavior, he should have selected a sample stratified by SEX and main parental political affiliation; he should also have controlled for age (it would not have been appropriate to have let the mean age of the boys be 14 years, and that of the girls, 9 years); he might have controlled for other attributes pertinent to notions of morality, such as the religious dyad, "Roman/Protestant."

24. Photographs of the performance of Samoan women's sitting-dances are reproduced at Kraemer 1902:37 and 1903:314, 318, 322, Scheuermann 1926:#99, and elsewhere. The significance of two photographs of men sitting in a row, dancing with a *tāupou* at the center (Kraemer 1903:325 and Scheuermann 1926:#98), is not known; likewise, a photograph of men sitting in a row, dancing with a *mānaia* at the center (Kraemer 1902:35).

25. This reviewer has seen performances of the first two genres; the last two were common through the 1920s and 1930s but are infrequently performed today. Robert Flaherty filmed a performance of an *'ailao* in 1925-1926; cut into segments of a few seconds each, that performance can be seen in his film *Moana*. Photographs of the performance of an *'ailao* appear at Scheuermann 1926:#103-4, Rehearsed group-dances frequently appear today in programs presented by schoolchildren.

26. The allophonic use of [k] probably developed after a shift from PSO /\*k/ to SAM [ʔ] had freed for other uses the sound of [k]. In modern SAM, speaking in the [t] can be said to be "marked" behavior, and speaking in the [k], "unmarked"; but unless the phonetic instability of /t/ goes back beyond the beginnings of SAM (and it might, in view of reflexes of

PPN /\*t/ in LUA, HAW, and MQA), the situation must once--perhaps as recently as the middle of the nineteenth century--have been the reverse.

27. A shift from [t] to [k] took place also in Hawai'i. By the early nineteenth century the [k] had become so thoroughly adopted there (and perhaps so little identified with contextual marking), that the missionaries chose to represent the prevailing reflex of PPN /\*t/ as "k" in writing; the HAW [t] continued to be used in singing. In 1926, the ethnomusicologist Helen H. Roberts--although beguiled by the common belief that "on Kauai and Niihau formerly *t* was a regular substitution for *k*," a belief that got the facts right but the interpretation backward--concluded, correctly, "this use of a *t* sound in chanting, or its modification, would indicate that the sound was once common to the people of all the islands, possibly in an earlier home" (Roberts 1926:72-73). Examples of the HAW [t], sung in several performances by a man born in 1845, appear on a recently issued audio-disk (Tatar 1981). In Luangiuan, reflexes of PPN /\*t/ are pronounced [k], in both speaking and singing.

28. On the exceptional use of [k] in the formal register, he may err in suggesting (p. 268) that SAM *saka* "to boil" predates European contact: (1) the word does not appear in the earliest Samoan lexicons; and (2) the nineteenth-century missionary George Pratt, a careful lexicographer, states that other words, *puke* and *puketa* [= *puketā* ], "were the only instances in which the *k* was used [formally] until the recent corruption of *t* into *k*" (Pratt 1878 and 1911, s.v. "PUKE"; Pratt expresses a similar judgment in the first edition, 1862).

29. The myth has also had a variegated history in print. Shore seems to recognize no importance in the fact that the version he quotes is particular to Manu'a (and hence, in "meaning," likely to stand at a far remove from the sensibilities of Sala'ilua), and that another version he cites (Stuebel's) is particular to Lufilufi, 'Upolu. An uncited version from closer at hand--Sāhune, Savai'i--was published by Wilhelm von Buelow (1899).

30. As a part of German Samoa in the early twentieth century, Sala'ilua was more closely linked to German publishing than to American; even after German rule gave way to that of New Zealand, the remaining German settlers continued to maintain contacts with their homeland. In 1971, this reviewer interviewed a prominent Western Samoan catechist who proudly displayed his copy of Kraemer's book (bound in the original covers, not those used in a post-1945 binding, which identifies copies of the book recently offered for sale) but said he had not seen any of the writings of Margaret Mead. Kraemer's version of the poem, and several other versions (including Mead's), are now available in the Nelson Memorial Library, Apia.

31. Aficionados of intellectual history will relish a comparison of these wisdoms with the opposed opinions of Marshall Sahlins, one of Shore's teachers: "Anthropologists rise from the abstract structure to the explication of the concrete event. Historians devalue the unique event in favor of underlying recurrent structures" (1983:534).

32. In a short discussion of these crimes and their consequences, the historian R. P. Gilson identifies the man as "Popotunu" and credits him with the titles "Tualau" and "Tonu-maipe'a" (1970: 152-56).

33. The boast of Sala'iluans (pp. 12 and 289) that their village is so extraordinary as to be a "second Apia" (*Apia Lua*), a replica of the national capital, may have originated as a pun on *Apialua*, the name of the local unmarried-women's organization (listed at Kraemer 1902:33).

34. In the printing of Samoan words, a few of the usual kinds of misprints manage to turn up: [1] addition of an unwanted glottal stop (‘*augānofo*, for *augānofo* “title-succession line” [from *au* “to continue,” not ‘*au* “to send”], p. 83; ‘*uiga*, for *uiga* “meaning, manner,” [from *ui* “to go along,” not \*‘*ui*], p. 140); [2] omission of a wanted glottal stop (*i* “in” for ‘*i* “to,” p. 64; *u’u* “oil” for ‘*u’u* “mollusc-shell used by women to split pandanus-leaves for plaiting,” in the phrase *matua’u’u* [better, *matuā’u* or *matua-a-’u’u*] “‘*u’u*-elder,” p. 105; *Upolu* for ‘*Upolu*, p. 219; *o* “of” for ‘*o* “[focus-particle, indicating an appositive in the context],” p. 221); [3] addition of an unwanted macron (*pāolo* for *paolo* “affines,” p. 20; *māota* for *maota* “chiefs house,” p. 79; *tāgata* for *tagata* [despite the alleged pun, on *tū gata* “to strike snakes” and *tagata* “person”], p. 131; *lāgona* for *lagona* “to feel,” p. 168; *mamāfu* for *mamafa* “heavy,” p. 225; *āfio* for *afio*, p. 265; *Faleālupo* for *Falealupo* [i.e., *Fale-a-lupo* “Lupo-house, Lupo-town”; cf. *Faleapuna*, *Faleasi’u*, etc.], p. 269); [4] omission of a wanted macron (*fā* for *fā* “‘bye,” p. 13; ‘*auala* “path” for ‘*āuala* “obsequies, bier,” p. 21; *Āsaga* for *Asaga*, p. 56; *faiavā* for *faiāvā* “affine,” p. 63; *matuatala* for *matuātala* “house-ends,” p. 79; *fāsi igoa* “name-beater” for *fāsi igoa* “name-pieces,” p. 82; *tamatane* for *tamatāne* “descendants of a brother,” p. 91; ‘*aumaga* “cluster of forks [?]” for ‘*aumāga* “untitled-men’s organization,” p. 101; *lavalava* for *lāvalava* “kilt,” p. 109; *tua’oi* for *tuā’oi*, p. 133; *fā’apouliuli* for *fā’apōuliuli* “heathen,” p. 158; *sese* for *sesē* “wrong,” p. 168; *sa* “[pronominal particle]” for *sā* “[past-tense marker],” p. 170; *filemū* for *fīlēmū* “peace,” p. 171; *matou* and *tatou* for *mātou* and *tātou*, p. 195; *alataua* for *alātaua* [or *ala-a-taua*] “warpath,” p. 217; *taupou* for *taupou* [or *tāupōu*] “ceremonial hostess” [though Shore avoids the common barbarism, *taupo*], passim; *Lafai & Sālafai* for *Lāfai & Sālāfai*, p. 305); and [5] misspelling (*susī* for *susū* “to come, to go [polite],” p. 249). The English text exhibits a remarkably small number of misprints, the trickiest of which is perhaps “consideration” for “condition” (p. 201, line 8), and the queerest of which is perhaps “homeoerotic” for “homerotic” (p. 230).

35. Take, for example, the first words of her ethnography *Social Organization of Manu’a*: “The Samoan social organization is an amalgamation and recombination of several distinct principles; the principle of hereditary rank; the functions and privileges of relationship groups; and the recognition of the organized village community with rights and privileges of its own” (Mead 1969:10). What can she be trying to say here? How does a society “amalgamate” its principles? And when have those principles previously been combined in order perpetually to be “recombined”? Can a “function” really be a principle? can a “privilege”? can a “recognition”? (And let us forbear to think on that first semicolon!) Compare Shore’s first words: “An alien culture is inevitably a mystery[,] and its comprehension can aptly be described as a piece of detective work” (p. xiii). Although Samoans may be sorry to learn that their culture is alien, they--and any reader--will have no difficulty in appreciating the passage.

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### A Response by Bradd Shore

Reviewing books, especially long ones, is frequently an onerous scholarly duty, taxing already strained work schedules. My thanks go to the three scholars who agreed to critique *Sala'ilua* in these pages. I am particularly grateful to Jacob Love, whose careful and thoughtful review reveals, even in its critical moments, a sympathetic grasp of the approach and the questions that are at the heart of the book. Quite a few questions are raised by the reviews, several requiring extended response, and others more cursory treatment. I'll begin with methodological and organizational issues, leaving the more substantive and theoretical matters for last.

Several of the reviewers' questions concern the relevance of material cited in the book for a study of Sala'ilua. Implicitly, I think, the general question here is whether the book is intended to account broadly for the Samoan world view or for that of the single Samoan village of Sala'ilua. Thus Bindon expresses surprise that interviews from Manono and Upolu supplemented those from Sala'ilua, while Love questions the appropriateness of a Manu'an version of Samoan creation in accounting for Sala'iluan culture. My answer to these questions is contained in the title of my book: it is about Sala'ilua, but it is clearly intended as a *Samoan mystery*. My intent was to demonstrate that Sala'ilua's political organization was a distinctive variant on a more general Samoan model of power relations. Within the broader Samoan cultural context, these variations might be understood to have important consequences for village ethos generally and social control in particular in Sala'ilua. I deliberately drew upon certain material--the Manu'an myth, a set of drawings of a Samoan artist from outside Sala'ilua (p. 173), and interview material from sources from all over Western Samoa (about half from Sala'ilua)--to establish the generality of conceptions of person and action in Samoan thought and to implicate the residents of Sala'ilua directly in the significance of those conceptions. If this sounds as though I am claiming that Samoans share a common world view that transcends village and island localities (and to some extent historical vicissitudes), that is precisely the point I want to make (see page 128 of *Sala'ilua*). Often voices of protest are raised against this kind of claim, citing the familiar Samoan penchant for localized variation in political or ceremonial organization, or for the idiosyncratic or even contextual locus of variation. But these are hardly mutually exclusive propositions, suggesting only that the relevant level of analysis has to be kept in mind.

My book gives considerable recognition to local variation in village organization. Indeed without the recognition of the importance of such variation, my whole analysis of Sala'ilua would lose whatever power it has. At quite another level of analysis, I point to the crucial importance of contextual variation in both behavior and thought in Samoa. And, beginning as it does with events of the moment and particularities of time, place, and personality, the book is hardly oblivious to the idiosyncratic in Samoan life. Nevertheless, if notions like local *variation* or historical *change* are to have any analytic power at all, they can only be secondary epistemologically to a conception of broader cultural themes. Too often studies of change or local variation fail to clarify what may remain constant in spite of the variations, so that it is hard to gauge how deep we are to assume such variation runs. Thus I deliberately organized the book in

four (not two, *pace* Love) sections, moving from the idiosyncratic events of a moment, to the local structures of a village, to the more global Samoan meanings, and then back (though in a spiral rather than a circle) to reconsider the events.

While Sala'ilua is distinctive in a number of ways (as are all villages in Samoa) I try, by casting my ethnographic net widely in the archipelago, to demonstrate a level of thought at which Sala'iluans are Samoan. Indeed, conclusions that may be drawn about person and action in Samoan thought from Manu'an myth or interviews throughout Samoa seem to represent rather conservative aspects of Polynesian thought in general (see, e.g. Barofsky 1982 on Pukapuka, Smith 1981 on Maori, or Levy 1973 on Tahiti). Given the range of evidence I present on aspects of Samoan world view, it seems largely irrelevant whether Sala'iluans actually know the particular version of the creation myth I cite. They certainly appear to share the conceptions of person and action it suggests.

More to the point, however, is Love's wish that the book had included more historical material on crime in Sala'ilua to further support my claim that Sala'ilua was somehow distinctive. I can't but agree with him that a thorough history of the village (going beyond the oral and anecdotal history that I was able to collect) would be fascinating in light of my claims. I have recently (through the generosity of Marshall Sahlins) obtained a copy of Hocart's Sala'ilua fieldnotes which I did not know existed when I was writing my book. When these are transcribed (they are handwritten, not neatly) and translated (much is in Samoan) they may help to supplement the oral history of Sala'ilua as collected from modern villagers.

Bindon's query about the absence of three sources on Samoan culture in my bibliography is puzzling. My dissertation contains a more complete list of Samoan references and my bibliography on Samoa used for my master's oral exams in graduate school is even more exhaustive. But the book is not a graduate student's attempt to demonstrate a total command of the literature so much as a careful selection of materials that were found to be useful for the book's purposes. A list of such omissions might actually be lengthier than the bibliography itself. Questions about omissions only make sense, it seems to me, in relation to specific material or insights that the omitted works might have contributed to the book.

Both Bindon and Baker find the organization of the book somewhat incoherent in that the connections between the latter chapters on meanings and the murder in Sala'ilua seem strained or totally absent. Baker complains that the theoretical links among the seven chapters are unclear and that an explanatory introduction to this section of the book would have been helpful. Readers of the book will have to judge for themselves,



of course, whether further clarification is called for, and whether the chapters on meanings sufficiently illuminate the events in Sala'ilua. Admittedly, my analysis goes far beyond Sala'ilua and the murder in order to provide the most general and deepest cultural context for the events. Had I stuck more closely throughout the book to a point-by-point explication of the murder, as Chagnon does in *The Ax Fight*, there would have been, I suspect, less of a tension between the specific and general than *Sala'ilua* generates. But the book would have been a lot less interesting too. It does seem to me relatively clear in the book that each of the analytical chapters contributes directly and importantly to the final explication of the murder. Indeed, chapter 14 tries to make these connections explicit by replaying a number of the key events surrounding the murder in terms of the cultural analyses in the latter part of the book. A credible argument about the implications of the reversal of *ali'i* and *tulafale* rank in Sala'ilua requires, it seems to me, a thoroughgoing explication of the cultural underpinnings of Samoan social action. I cannot agree with Baker that my conclusions (and introductions) neither summarize the evidence nor the hypothesis. In fact, pp. 284-91 are quite explicit summaries of just this kind (see especially p. 290), while the elaborate appendix B (read so appreciatively by Love) is a diagrammatic summary of the cultural evidence elaborated in the book.

Finally, in a methodological vein, I should address Baker's somewhat skeptical question about clarifying the methodology for examining meanings. Do I detect here the positivist's exasperation with analyses of what Love so delicately calls the "intangibles" of life? While linguistics, structuralism, and ethnoscience have provided at least apparent methodologies for examining linguistic evidence for meaning, there has never, to my knowledge, been articulated a precise and fully impersonal method for insight into patterns of human meaning. I conducted hundreds of interviews, refining the questions as I went along. Texts of songs, speeches, recordings of meetings, and archival material on Samoa were all collected. Meanings were inferred from (a) patterns of behavior or language found to recur in a wide number of contexts; (b) the predictability of behavior-shifts as contexts altered; (c) cross-tabulations of responses on questionnaires (appendix A); and (d) the reactions of Samoans to my attempts at clarifying the intersubjective patterns that seemed to me to underlie Samoan thought and behavior. This latter criterion depended not on simple assent by Samoans to my suggestions (for Samoans are notoriously polite in such circumstances and likely to agree for the sake of smooth relations). Rather I was interested in the characteristic visceral excitement of perceptive informants when they discovered previously tacitly understood

patterns brought to the surface. In such cases, informants were usually able to extend my arguments by providing new examples of the conceptual scheme under consideration. Meanings may be studied carefully like anything else in human life, but it would be foolish to claim that personal insight (empathy, participation) on the part of the researcher can somehow be factored out. In this sense, the study of culture is not radically different from the analysis of literature or any other production of the human mind.

Bindon hints somewhat darkly at possible unrevealed biases that might have colored my perception of things Samoan. How does one address such a claim? Does this question somehow implicate me more than, say, anyone interpreting anything? How, one wonders, would Bindon respond to the question turned back on him, for biases are not unknown in physical anthropology. My own personal history of involvement with Samoa is laid out rather clearly in the preface, and Chapter 1 contains quite a bit of self-revelation. It is, of course, arguable (indeed hardly deniable) that personal biases always affect the foci of our work. In my own case, for instance, the book was the result of a ten-year attempt to untangle what had seemed to me a paradoxical society, one that had alternately exasperated and enthralled me as a Peace Corps volunteer. But such biases are not just personal. They are partly "objective" too, shaped by distinctive contradictions in Samoan ethos as attested to by the recent media coverage of Samoa.

My remaining comments will focus on more substantive ethnographic issues raised in the reviews. It might be helpful to underscore a point that Love makes in his review. While *Sala'ilua* is a rather broadly conceived ethnography, it is not intended as an exhaustive compendium of Samoa in the *Notes and Queries* tradition. There is quite substantial literature already on Samoa and my judgment was that what was needed was a self-consciously interpretive ethnography of Samoan world view as it bears upon social control and conflict. So much contradiction and paradox have dominated the literature on traditional Samoa that it seems to me the problem may well lie in the disparity between Western presuppositions about such concepts as "persons," or "structure," and Samoan thought. The time was ripe for attempting to get "inside" Samoan cultural categories. This self-conscious limitation of purpose lay behind the selection of data and background resources. Thus the book is not primarily about material culture, or economics, or even kinship, though it touches on each area. Love complains that the impact of the church has been all but left out of my book. I think this overstates the case. While the place of the church in Samoa was not at the heart of my research, it is certainly far

from absent in my account. A glance at the index to the book under Church and Church-based organizations will allow the reader to judge for him or herself. I think, however, it is possible to overstate the role of the church in shaping Samoan world view. It strikes me that Dr. Love's dependence on Biblical texts for evidence of *Samoan* understandings of behavior is somewhat misplaced. But more on that below.

Love also suggests that I focus (unreasonably?) on Samoan political experience. Any such complaints need to be qualified by a clarification of what might have been gained in relation to the problems I set out to explore by the inclusion of more material on the church, or consideration of Buck's *Samoan Material Culture*, or other than civic dimensions of Samoan life. Since it is impossible to describe any object exhaustively, any account must leave more out than it includes. Thus the simple statement that something is missing does not by itself argue for its inclusion.

In the matter of the stress on Samoan civic or political culture I would argue that any consideration of social control and conflict resolution in Samoa would of necessity require a detailed "political" ethnography. As my book takes pains to point out, Samoan social control is predicated on the public control of private impulse; therefore the village has a much larger role than we are accustomed to in shaping private morality. On the other hand, no worthy cultural account could be so institutionally exclusive as to focus solely on politics. I am surprised that Dr. Love finds my perspective on Samoa narrow. *Sala'ilua* deals with kinship, politics, religion, language, dance styles, psychological constructs, and other matters as they have bearing on the relation of private desire to public behavior in Samoa. Other than perhaps a more thoroughgoing ethnography of the church in Samoa, I am not sure what omissions Dr. Love is alluding to.

Bindon suggests that my account of the organization of a Samoan village stresses the idealized circular shape of a village while neglecting to discuss the implications of the fact that most villages are linear settlements. Bindon would have liked me "to develop a model of spatial orientations on a linear village." This would be a useful criticism except that the issue is discussed at some length in *Sala'ilua* (pp. 49-50). The complexities of how Samoans conceive the "shape" of their villages and their spatial/moral orientations is actually more complex than the disjunction between an ideal circular village and a linear reality. The distinctions between front/back (or *tai/uta*) developed in my book are at some variance with the equally common orientation of center/periphery. Interestingly, both of these orientations (in Levi-Strauss' terms diametric dualism and concentric dualism [see *Sala'ilua*, p. 247; Levi-Strauss 1967]) are employed in different contexts in both circular and linear villages. In a yet

unpublished paper (Shore 1980) I explore in some detail the implications of these alternative ways of coding spatial orientation. My thinking on this was relatively rudimentary at the time *Sala'ilua* was being written.

Love seems puzzled by my alleged admission that I was “confused about intertitular relationships of rank” for chiefly titles. This does not quite resume the passage to which Love is referring. I actually said that I was unable to check carefully the formal relationships of rank subordination between specific titles because this formal relationship (*pito vao*) is not frequently discussed publicly and only became apparent to me toward the end of my field work. Any confusion about ranking of titles is as much a function of the intrinsic ambiguity in Samoan ranking as it is of any lapses of knowledge on my part (see pp. 60, 64, 67, 208-9, 211 in my book for discussions of ambiguity in title-ranking). Why Love should find it odd that precise title ranking and subordination may be problematical in Samoa is unclear to me.

As Love suggests, I do not try to define precisely what I mean by “esthetics,” though the title of chapter 13 contains the term. Obviously it is not adequately defined as the emotional tone of relationships; I was trying to suggest that in Samoa a lot of information about relationships is conveyed esthetically, by which I mean through the formal qualities of ritualized interactions. The reference of the chapter title is to the expression of Samoan world view through highly formalized public ceremony, as in dance, oratory, speech stylistics, and ritual divisions of food.

Love is quite right in pointing out that the *siva/aiuli* dance styles far from exhaust the catalog of Samoan dance types, and he properly suggests a few of the many traditional group dances of Samoans. Certainly I (and presumably Mead) did not intend to suggest that the *siva* was the only dance done by Samoans. My interest in the *siva/aiuli* (by far the most common dance forms in modern Samoa) was, of course, in the metaphorical dualism that was expressed on the dance floor. While the distinction between perfect constraint and dignity on the one hand and pure impulse expression on the other is probably nowhere so clearly demarcated in Samoan dancing as in the *siva*, I suspect that a closer examination of other dance events would reveal the presence of this duality, whether in the structuring of tempo changes, or the distinction between graceful day dancing (*ao siva*) and the reputedly wild night dances (*pō ula*) (see Shore 1979).

While basically agreeing with my treatment of the phonological stratification in Samoan speech, Love finds the term “intimate” somewhat misleading as a description of the “k” form of pronunciation, frequently referred to in Samoa as “bad talking” (*tautala leaga*). I am not wedded to

any particular terminology and would happily adopt other labels for these registers other than formal/intimate if a better alternative were suggested. That “intimate” does not convey the right impression to English speakers, given the use of “k” pronunciation in public kava ceremonies and cricket matches, is less important than that it convey the *Samoan understanding* of the register. And here, I suspect that my gloss is relatively accurate, since I take pains to indicate how Samoans seem to categorize Samoan/Samoan relationships (i.e., “traditional” Samoan institutions) appropriate for the “k” as intimate/symmetrical as contrasted with the more formal complementary relationships of Samoans to Europeans, where the “formal” register is appropriate. From my own experiences using both registers and from extensive interviews on the registers, all indications are that Samoans find speaking in the “k” a more intimate form of expression than the “t.” See pp. 273-83 for an extended treatment of this problem.

Love chides me for inventing a nonexistent problem in trying to account for the use of the formal “t” register in singing. While I admit that my own very hypothetical explanation for the association (which suggested that singing of traditional songs had been wedded to European-introduced hymn-singing in Samoan thought and thus assigned to the intimate register) may be on shaky ground, I am unconvinced by Love’s attempted demystification of the issue. Love calls my argument “circular,” though I don’t see why it is circular reasoning to argue that if Samoans classified all singing with church-related hymns, they would likely adopt the formal pronunciation in both cases. His own explanation, that “Singing tends universally to be a formally marked speech-event, which, as such in Samoa, requires the [t]” is certainly no improvement. Moreover, it completely sidesteps the real ethnographic problem that other “formally marked speech events” such as formal oratory and kava ceremonies properly are realized in the “k” and not the “t.” It was this complexity of context-classification that originally impelled my long treatment of speech styles, and led to the analysis of the relation between lexical registers (chiefly language/common language) and phonological registers (t/k) as related but analytically distinct problems. I may not adequately have solved that problem, but I certainly did not invent it.

I have saved for the end the most important of Love’s criticisms, that referring to my explication of the terms *aga* (“social conduct”) and *āmio* (“personal behavior”). As Love rightly points out, I have given considerable analytical attention to these words and treat them as a privileged example of the fundamental duality in Samoan culture and ethos. In recent months, Derek Freeman has made repeated public claims that not

only do I have these terms wrong, but that I have them actually backwards. I have pressed Professor Freeman for further clarification of his claim but have as yet only the slightest notion of what he means. It is thus with some interest that I read Dr. Love's analysis which, while not going as far as Freeman's, suggests that there may be subtleties in their meaning that I have not appreciated. Given the difficulty of pinning down Samoan informants on matters of semantics (see Milner 1966, pp. xii-xiii) as well as the inherent complexity of these concepts, Love may well be right. Certainly in a number of my tentative formulations (such as associating *aga/āmio* with culture/nature) I have invited the criticism of a perhaps too facile rendering of Samoan concepts in English terms. Since Love's analysis only serves to further complicate already complex matters and does not present a clear alternative analysis for me to consider, it is difficult to respond to his caveats. As best I can make out, Love bases his reservations on a long list of biblical quotations and dictionary entries in which he claims (a) that *aga* may not, in compound forms, have more socially "positive" connotations than those compounds made with *āmio* as I claim (154-55) and (b) that based upon a translation from Ephesians 2:1 of the phrase *āmio leaga ma agasala* ("trespasses and sins"), *āmio* implies "outward and visible acts, while *agasala* are inward and spiritual thoughts: *āmio* implies the outer self, the social being, and *aga* implies the inner self, the psychological being."

Let me say outright that my assertion about the positive associations with *aga* and the negative ones with *āmio* was based on impressions formed by almost five years in Samoa spent listening to everyday discourse. While my analysis does not stand or fall on the correctness of those impressions, it is important to note that they have been confirmed in the work of a linguist who has recently studied child-language in Samoa and suggests that her 18,000 pages of transcriptions of caretaker-child intercourse confirm my more impressionistic conclusions (Ochs 1982, pp. 20-22). As for Love's partially disconfirming evidence, I am surprised that he would find the Samoan translation of the Christian Bible a convincing source of information on Samoan conceptions of behavior. When one considers the Protestant emphasis on *personal salvation* (a concept rather alien to traditional Samoan notions of sin and redemption), it is hardly surprising that the European translators of the Bible stressed compound terms in Samoan highlighting virtuous personal behavior (*āmio*). This kind of evidence is illegitimate in modern linguistic analysis of the contextualization of meaning in actual social discourse. This does not mean that Love is wrong or I am right but only that his lengthy refutation is largely irrelevant to the problem at hand. Certainly, as I point

out in my book, there are many occasions when *aga* is employed with negative connotations and *āmio* is used approvingly. At times, the two terms may even appear to be synonyms. It is only in certain contexts of maximum contrast that the implications of the opposition are highlighted. Thus, according to Lōia Fiaui, a knowledgeable Samoan and a graduate student in anthropology, *aganu'u* refers to all of the dignified structures of a village, such as kava circles, *fa'alupegas*, etc., while *āmionu'u* would refer to a description of base behavior of lower-class villagers. This contrast is perfectly consistent with my own analysis. It is also similar to Albert Wendt's recent comment (Wendt 1983) that Samoan culture comprises two opposed behavioral styles: the *tū fa'atamāli'i* (noble conduct), the proper way to behave, and the *tū fa'atūfanua* (the base behavior of commoners), which Wendt associates with "beasts."

Love's second objection concerns an example he has found in which *aga* seems to refer to the inner, psychological man and *āmio* to the outer social man. Here it appears to me that Love has misapplied Western conceptions directly to Samoan terms, again an error partly encouraged by the use of Biblical texts in which European moral concepts are fitted improperly with Samoan terms. *Aga* is, of course, the ideal *center* of one's being, just as its correlates are danced out in the center of the dance floor or gracefully staged in the etiquette appropriate to the central *malae* of the village. But the center of the person, if I understand the Samoan notion correctly, is not the Western, private, psychological self, but something more like the "social self" derived from one's existence in the social world. What once was external--to the unsocialized child--eventually becomes one's center, one's *agāga* or "soul." In a Christian context, particularly in the context of Love's quotation, it is divine rather than human laws that are at the center of one's being, and thus *in that context*, *āmio* is employed for the relatively peripheral influences on human action. In a Christian context, and particularly in the context of Love's quotation, it is divine rather than human laws that are at the center of one's being, and hence responsible for one's *aga*. This apparent shift in meaning of *āmio* in relation to an implicit context is no more surprising than that the word *pitonu'u* can refer to a "village" in one context (in which the generic term *nu'u* refers to a district) while in another context (in which *nu'u* refers to village) *pitonu'u* refers to a hamlet or subvillage (*Sala'ilua*: pp. 51-52). The problem with pinning down the exact definitions of a Samoan term is that it is so often highly contextualized in reference. As one Samoan Wittgenstein told me, Samoan words don't have "definitions" but change from use to use. An overstatement of course, but revealing.

To conclude this rather lengthy response, I want to address the question raised gently by Love and rather combatively by Freeman as to the extent to which I intend my cultural analysis as a sufficient explanation of the events in Sala'ilua. How far, that is, can one go in attributing causal determination to the structure of ideas? This is, of course, a tired debate that has for so long pitted so-called materialists against so-called idealists. Let me be quite clear here, as I tried to be in the book. I do not argue nor do I hold that Samoan culture *caused* the death of Tuatō Fatu in Sala'ilua. As with any single perspective on human action, cultural analysis is a limited apprehension of the facts. Complex human behavior is not determined by any single factor but is, if anything, shaped by a complex interaction of different influences acting like vectors of forces on the motion of an object in space. History, personality, alcohol, socialization, biological constitution, and a hundred minute influences that impinge on any human life were at work on that day in Sala'ilua. Which is why no one could have predicted the murder. Nonetheless, that same human nature that suggests to some the regnant influences of biology suggests equally the need for external sources of information and control, general models of and for experience by which people orient themselves to the world. What we call "culture" and what I have tried to explicate for Sala'ilua are precisely such general cognitive and affective orientations. That they caused the death of a Samoan chief is a preposterous notion. But there is little doubt that they were involved, and to some considerable extent, in the tragic events of that hot Samoan afternoon. It was to the resolution of that mystery--the cultural one--that my book was dedicated.

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## REVIEWS

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James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. Pp. xi, 270, illustrations, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.50.

The life of Maurice Leenhardt was, in many ways, a paradox. He was “a bundle of contradictions” moving between ethnology and evangelism, science and religion, Christian monotheism and archaic myth. He was an outsider who spent over half his adult life in Melanesia. He went to convert New Caledonians and, instead of imposing Western concepts on them, attempted to rediscover his own God in Melanesian religious experience. As Leenhardt once remarked, he himself was, perhaps, his only *real* convert.

Clifford's book is a well written and informative study of Leenhardt's life and thought. It should prove interesting and valuable, not only to Melanesianists, but to a wider audience, particularly students of the historical development of anthropological theory.

This biography is divided into two parts, each composed of seven chapters. The first, *Do Neva*, focusses on Leenhardt's training and experience as a missionary. The second, *Do Kamo*, concentrates on Leenhardt's intellectual life. It describes his life as a professor of ethnology in Paris, his relationships with Professors Lucien Levy-Bruhl and Marcel Mauss, and the development of his theories of myth, person, and participation. The structure of the book reflects Clifford's insistence that Leenhardt was not a missionary turned ethnologist for it gives each of these aspects of his life and experience an equal importance, each having informed and molded the other. Both must be considered if we are to comprehend the man. The theme of Leenhardt as living paradox runs throughout this book. His career united two opposing roles, missionary and ethnologist, which, according to Clifford, Leenhardt never thought of separating. He was both a representative of the colonizing, Christianizing West and an ethnologist with a mission to understand the Melanesian structure of experience and to preserve the old ways of thought against alien, imposed concepts. When he returned to New Caledonia in 1947-1948, after years in Paris, he continued to speak on behalf of the ancient traditions. When he talked to surprised young Melanesians about the Kingdom of God he described it, not in terms of Heaven, but as the *maciri*

or “peaceful abode” of their grandfathers. One listener confessed, “Our Patriarch . . . turned us back on our tracks, back toward the religion of our *Canaque* ancestors. . . . I had some difficulty getting in tune with my very old and dear missionary” (p. 194).

Most of Leenhardt’s research was done in an evangelical context, and much of his later ethnological theorizing was a reflection on and a justification of his priorities as a missionary. Conversely, in his evangelical work he constantly strove to find his God in the concrete grounding of Melanesian religion. He insisted that an accurate translation of Christian concepts required the use of the vernacular in order that a Melanesian context might endow them with meaning. His painstaking translation of the New Testament was a constant search for dynamic equivalences and an attempt to provide an inventive interpenetration of the two cultures, French and Melanesian. His work anticipated by fifty years the modern ethnolinguistic approach to Bible translation. Clifford’s study clearly shows that in his translations, as in much of his thought and in his militant defense of the rights of indigenous peoples, Leenhardt was decades ahead of his time.

Another theme that unites Clifford’s book is that of Leenhardt the nonconformist. He was a “problem” student who did not adjust to the rigidity of the French educational system and who reportedly provoked one angry teacher to predict, “You’ll end up in New Caledonia!” then a penal colony. He was a trouble-making colonial, labelled pro-native by the other whites in New Caledonia, and with good reason. Convinced that Melanesians were being systematically cheated, he encouraged them to learn to read and cipher so they could protect their own interests when trading with white merchants. He also aligned himself with a general movement of native assertion. Consequently, he was viewed with suspicion by the colonial authorities and was accused of subversion during the rebellion in the New Caledonian highlands in 1917. He was an evangelical renegade who was distrusted by his own mission board. As a result, his recommendations for reform were ignored, and, when he left New Caledonia his mission was torn apart by factional disputes and soon deteriorated into just another auxiliary of colonial policy. Finally, he was a university misfit whose hermeneutical style was thought to be “strange” and whose phenomenological approach found little support in the existing ethnological theories of the day which were primarily derived from either Durkheim’s structuralism or Malinowski’s functionalism. Indeed, as Clifford observes, “his habit of looking at culture primarily from the point of view of the ‘person’ is still rare in ethnological literature” (p. 190).

It would have been easy for his many frustrations and disappointments to make Leenhardt a bitter man, the eternal outsider always standing in opposition to those in authority. But, Clifford insists, he was not. He was sometimes saddened, but never bitter. Instead he learned how to shock without becoming an enemy, how to prevail in a conflict without seeming to be involved. Furthermore, Clifford maintains, "he was composed of others": his mission family, his students, his friends, his intimates, his family, fellow ethnographers, missionary colleagues, colonial administrators, Melanesian converts. Clifford seems to suggest that Leenhardt embodied his own theory of the person, being himself an ensemble of participatory relationships without a central essential ego at his core. All of the persons and landscapes of which he was composed, says Clifford, "were resumed and reconciled not in a 'self' but in a 'person' " (p. 217).

Clifford's treatment of Leenhardt is sympathetic but balanced. We see in Leenhardt a man of immense vitality, warmth, informality, and sympathetic understanding, but we also see a missionary whose moral values sometimes led him to make judgements that a relativistic anthropologist would ordinarily not endorse. For example, as a young missionary Leenhardt broke his own later rule, that an evangelist should never forbid any indigenous custom that he does not thoroughly understand, when he outlawed the "purchasing of brides" without comprehending the Melanesian system of reciprocity. His relativism grew as he matured, but his tolerance was not always extended to his colleagues. His evaluation of the work of his peers was, apparently, colored by a certain amount of sexual prudery, the classic hobgoblin of missionaries. For instance, Professor Leenhardt was scandalized by Malinowski's "concentration on carnal details" in *The Sexual Life of Savages*, and finally, as editor of *Propos missionnaires* managed "to associate Malinowski with a subversive movement devoted to moral relaxation and based, he appears to believe, in Moscow!" (p. 147).

Throughout the book, Clifford traces the evolution of Leenhardt's understanding of Melanesian thought, beginning with his attempt to translate the Bible by finding Houailou equivalents for Christian religious concepts and proceeding through Leenhardt's development of the concepts of mythic participation, cosmomorphism, and the structure of the person. In contrast to Levy-Bruhl and, later, Levy-Strauss, Leenhardt's perception of myth is similar to Gregory Bateson's notion of the relationship between art (dance, ritual, myth) and primary process thought. Both are, fundamentally, an ensemble of synchronic and concretely juxtaposed forms and experiences. Only secondarily are they formulated narrative. Myth, like the Houailou concept *no*, is at once the word, the act, and the thing. It

communicates, beyond discursive language, the single expression of a felt complex of immediate experiences. One has the impression that Leenhardt's Melanesians would agree with Isadora Duncan: "If I could tell you what it meant, there would be no point in dancing [or mythologizing] it" (Bateson 1972: 137).

Clifford concludes his biography with an anecdote that expresses, concretely, the paradox of Leenhardt's life. At Do Neva, the site of his mission, there is a monument to Leenhardt. The seven-foot tapering white column is decorated with his profile in bronze, military in bearing, and an engraved plaque. At the narrow summit there is a single, smooth stone placed there by the local committee. In New Caledonian thought, stones are forms of history, mythic "words," the solidified spirits of the ancestors. At the ceremonies celebrating the centennial of Leenhardt's birth, the press dwelt on the many speeches and visiting dignitaries. The stone was ignored. "Perhaps," Clifford comments, "by means of a smooth stone, Leenhardt's tradition has been appropriately, discretely, coopted (sic)" (p. 227). Perhaps! After having read Clifford's excellent book, I suspect that Leenhardt would have appreciated the irony.

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Rod Ewins, *Fijian Artefacts: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery Collection*. Hobart: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 1982. Pp. vi, 115, illustrations (no price available).

Clarity is the keynote of this excellent catalogue, from the impressive, glossy color-cover to the review of its contents on the back cover. The introduction explains how a wide diversity of nineteenth-century Fijian artifacts came to be housed at Hobart, Tasmania by contacts between Fiji and Hobart through whalers, traders, amateur collectors, and the Hobart Wesleyan Mission headquarters.

The subsequent five chapters illustrate and comment on approximately two hundred items--barkcloth, wooden artifacts, pottery, fiber articles, and a small miscellaneous category. Book design, photographs, ex-

planatory drawings, and attributions are provided by the author, Rod Ewins, a professional artist who was born and raised on Fiji and is now the Senior Lecturer in the School of Art at the University of Tasmania. His presentation is suitably descriptive and factual. He supplies Fijian terms, identifies materials, and describes craft procedures in a manner that makes this book a valuable single-source reference work on Fiji material culture.

Each section of the catalogue first provides a few paragraphs of general information, usually including nineteenth-century descriptions of the craft or its uses. Ewins then discusses individual pieces in an informative way; his observations on quality and provenience are useful because he gives reasons for his decisions.

The book concentrates on barkcloth and clubs, the two best-known Fiji artifacts. In his introduction to barkcloth, Ewins offers detailed information on materials and types specific to Fiji: white, patterned, and smoked. That women produce this material is amply illustrated by his photographs, though he does not mention it. His discussion of the designs as a means of "clan recognition" is especially good. Designs to this day are jealously guarded by their rightful owners and "pirating" for commercial purposes is deeply resented. Fiji-designed barkcloth seems easy to recognize; nevertheless, his summary of eight technical features will be valuable to museums, dealers, and all general buyers.

Clubs were ubiquitous artifacts on Fiji, used by men and women seemingly on every public occasion. Using Fergus Clunie's *Fijian Weapons and Warfare* (1977, Suva), Ewins classifies and describes the several types of war, dance, and ceremonial clubs. Other wooden artifacts that have won admiration are well illustrated, among them many-legged bowls for kava drinking and shallow bowls for priests' drinking rites. Ewins does not deal with their aesthetic appeal as abstract forms but offers useful comments on shapes and special features.

The technique of Fiji pottery, already well treated in ethnographic literature, is clearly summarized. Three examples of the water jars are beautifully illustrated in color, but most exciting to me are the three photographs of women shaping, firing, and applying resin finish to pots, all taken by the author in 1981. It is especially worthwhile to have factual information and identification of fiber works, baskets, and mats in one source, although more about the use of baskets should have been included. The most interesting miscellaneous item discussed is the presentation whale's tooth. Ewins disagrees with the current notion that this highly significant talisman was introduced to Fiji only during the whaling period.

Drawings and photographs from nineteenth-century publications and archival sources greatly enrich each section. I was especially pleased to see a number of photographs of contemporary craft work and ceremonies, taken by the Fiji Information Service and the author. In addition to its value for the historical and factual record, the alternating rhythm of text and illustrations, and the clear type and fine quality paper give this catalogue an artistic value that should appeal to a wide audience beyond Pacific specialists.

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Richard Feinberg, *Anuta: Social Structure of a Polynesian Island* with a foreword by Sir Raymond Firth. Laie, Hawaii and Copenhagen: Institute for Polynesian Studies and The Danish National Museum, 1981. \$16.95.

*Anuta* is a valuable and precise ethnography that advances our knowledge of the Western Pacific; it also puts forward a hypothesis on Oceanic kinship that is worth discussing. Accordingly, after a few remarks on the ethnographic presentation, I will concentrate my comments on the theoretical part of the study.

Feinberg presents Anutan society in terms of integrative levels, successively discussing three main units of increasing size: the *patongia* (extended family); the *kainanga* (a "descent group" with some qualifications); and the *kanopenua* (which includes the entire population of the island). This method of presentation reflects a functionalist bias that presumes that a lower-level unit can be defined independently from higher-level units, since the latter are viewed essentially as aggregates of the former. The approach is in sharp contrast with a structural one, for which the determination of the parts presupposes that of the whole, so that the system cannot be viewed as the integration of preexisting components.

Without entering into the philosophical debate over the respective virtues of Functionalism and Structuralism, it seems to me that the superiority of a presentation based on structuralist premises is dramatized by the difficulties the reader encounters in following Feinberg's exposition: when treating lower-level units he must constantly refer the reader to the subsequent discussion of higher-level units. This gives the impression that

the book should be read backwards. It would have been more helpful to begin with a brief global presentation of the system and its basic principles which--as Feinberg recognizes (pp. 3, 146)--are found at all levels of Anutan society.

Generally speaking, the book is more ethnographic than interpretive; for instance, one looks in vain for an analysis of the interesting *rites de passage* and their symbolism (p. 109-22). Only their functional import is considered by Feinberg.

The ethnographic nature of the study is further emphasized by the fact that almost half of it consists of appendixes, Especially valuable are the complete genealogical record of the population, the appendix that lists the use of kin terms by fourteen Anutans, and the extremely detailed record of personal data of all the inhabitants of the island. One would have liked, however, to see more of these data incorporated into the discussion of the principles of Anutan society, especially as statistics.

Most disappointingly, Feinberg has not used the genealogical and personal data to give more substance to his very sketchy account of marriage. He presents the "Anutan system" as one in which restricted exchange is practiced by each generation with a different group, and the original alliance is repeated after five generations (p. 125). No empirical evidence is given to support this model and to show how it relates to the concrete patterns of intermarriage.

Feinberg's description of Anuta is based on the principle that the ethnographer must scrupulously adhere to the "native view" (p. 4). He suggests that "a division of the sociocultural universe in terms of integrative levels more nearly approaches universality than one which breaks phenomena down into politics, economics, kinship, religion, and the other categories according to which Western social thought has been accustomed to proceed" (p. 4). But in practice Feinberg contradicts this programmatic statement by liberally using Western categories to define Anutan institutions. For example, he claims that "the *patongia* is conceptualized fundamentally in economic terms" (p. 99, cf. p. 73) because it is "the group which shares a common basket when food is distributed among the island's population . . ." (p. 98). This reductive characterization of food sharing as a purely economic phenomenon goes against all we know about food as: a symbol of identity in Oceanic societies and especially the association established in Anuta between food and *aropa*, "love" as an index of kinship (cf. p. 69).

On the theoretical plane, Feinberg's most interesting contribution is his rather Schneiderian characterization of Anutan (and Oceanic) kinship



as based on two principles: genealogy (i.e. belief about biological relations, cf. p. 2) and “code for conduct,” which involves “the giving and sharing of labor, goods, and particularly food” (p. 2). The “behavioral component” of kinship is summarized in Anutan culture by a single concept: *aropa* “love.”

Although at one point Feinberg concurs with Goodenough in declaring that “in order to be ‘kinship,’ a domain must be defined at least in part by genealogy” (p. 42, n.4), the central thesis of the book is that the ‘behavioral component’ of kinship can be separate from the genealogical and take its place entirely. In other words, acting like a kinsman would suffice to make one a kinsman in the full sense of the term, without any need of genealogical connection (pp. 71, 146, 197).

The problem with this view is that it does not recognize the true basis of the principle that acting like a kinsman makes one a kinsman. This basis can only be, in my opinion, the axiomatic connection established between a certain genealogical relationship and a certain pattern of behavior. Since a genealogical kinsman is supposed to act in a certain way, acting in this way may be (considered the index of the corresponding kinship relationship, and because it evokes it, because it makes it present in the mind, it makes it exist in a certain sense.

To put it another way, the rule “if behavior x, then relation y” is true only because it is the reciprocal of another rule that it presupposes: “if relation y, then behavior x.” Accordingly, “kinship by conduct” is not an autonomous principle but presupposes “kinship by genealogy.” Moreover, it is evident that to the extent that the relationship between behavior and genealogy is really considered axiomatic, it should imply that behavior establishes not simply a vague “kinship” that it would be possible to define without reference to genealogy, but genealogical kinship itself.

The ethnographic data given by Feinberg seem to establish that the axiomatic connection between kinship and behavior is not valid in all contexts, because there are cases in which behavior does not seem to really establish kinship or does not override a previous genealogical relationship that is in contrast with it. When the axiom is considered valid, however, one notices a tendency--at the very least--to postulate a genealogical connection.

Anutan adoption exemplifies the class of cases in which a given behavior is not axiomatically translated into a given kinship relationship. In an adoptive relationship, the adopter behaves like a father and the adoptee like a son. Nevertheless at the moment of marriage the adoptee is considered “a member solely of his natal *patongia*” (p. 95). Obviously, then, the

ideology of descent is so strong that it is not overridden by behavior. Behaving like a father does not make one a full father. The point is further emphasized by a case cited by Feinberg (p. 94) in which the adoptive father is still considered by his adoptee as the mother's brother that he is genealogically.

This case contrasts with those in which behaving like a kinsman makes one fully a kinsman by bringing about a genealogical incorporation. Thus Pu Raropita, an immigrant, having begun as a bond friend (*toa*) of the last descendant of the founder of a *kainanga*, ended up being a perfectly valid genealogical link between his own descendants and the founder of the *kainanga* in which he was incorporated. Thus the relationship between the descendants of Pu Raropita and the founder of the *kainanga* is one of descent (pp. 131, 167).

In the end, the paradigmatic connection of kinship and genealogy is recognized--rather contradictorily--by Feinberg himself at the end of the hook where he writes: "When an immigrant is incorporated into the Anutan kinship system on the basis of his conduct, the genealogical element is supplied terminologically, and he is called not just *taina maori* ["true sibling of the same sex"] by members of his sex and generation in his *patongia*, but *taina maori, nga maatua e tai* ["true siblings of the same sex with the same parents"] as if they actually believed him to be the offspring of the same couple as themselves" (p. 197).

This confirms that genealogy is the true ideological principle of kinship in Anuta (cf. p. 56) and that, insofar as behaving in a certain way axiomatically implies kinship, it involves the fictitious establishment of a genealogical connection or the use of kin terms that imply that connection. I infer from all this that by making behavior an autonomous and "distinct" (p. 197) element of the Anutan ideology of kinship, its true relationship with genealogy is misunderstood.

This criticism notwithstanding, I find *Anuta* valuable both as an ethnographic record and as a stimulating and challenging revindication of the "behavioral" aspect of kinship in Oceanic societies.

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Steven Feld, *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. Pp. xii, 264, maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$28.00. Paperback \$10.95.

This ethnography evolved out of a highly idealized fieldwork situation. Steven Feld was initially intrigued by the dissertation and subsequent book of a fellow anthropologist (E. L. Schieffelin) and his wife on the Kaluli, one of the four Bosavi-speaking groups of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was his good fortune to gain access both to their linguistic proficiency (he lived with them during most of his year's fieldwork) and to their field collections of genealogies, local histories, and detailed records of social and economic activities. Thus Feld began his fieldwork with much of the groundwork for his study already prepared--enviable if not perfect research circumstances serving to increase the reader's expectations.

The breadth of the book's subtitle notwithstanding, Feld focuses on the songs of the *gisalo* ceremony and consciously sets out to complement Schieffelin's own work (1976) which examines its social significance. Feld's book began as a doctoral dissertation, and although the transition to its present form has been largely smooth, remnants of the original work occasionally slip through: unnecessary repetition in the early chapters; two subheadings in French (presumably to indicate his acknowledgement to Levi-Strauss); and periodic breaks in the presentation to recast already lucid accounts in the language of one or other of his interpretive models (Levi-Strauss, Geertz, and Hymnes). Another distraction is the frequent introduction of new material in chapter sections headed "Conclusion."

The book is organized around interpretations and ramifications of the Kaluli myth "The boy who became a *muni* bird," seeking to establish music as a system of symbols. The opening chapter examines how the Kaluli values of interpersonal relationships, food, hunger, and reciprocity are reflected and crystallized in the myth and how both the pitch sequences and interpreted meaning of the *muni*'s call are paralleled in women's weeping and men's *gisalo* songs. It is here, however, that an apparent procedural oversight has been made. If there is such a thing as Bosavi or Kaluli musical style, then one can expect to find shared features among the various song categories. Feld admits that four song categories have pentatonic tonal structures (p. 36), and one of these also duplicates the *muni* call representation (p. 37). He claims that the Kaluli represent the *muni* call in a four-note descending pitch sequence (p. 31). The possibility therefore exists that the Kaluli have structured their representation of the call using melodic intervals that fitted into their musical style, i.e. the *muni* call was incorporated into an existing style. Feld, however, claims a generative relationship between the call and the *gisalo* song contours (pp. 38-43), and indeed much of the book is predicated on this assumption. He may well be correct, but the fact remains that he makes no mention of

any other possible explanation for the similarities between the *muni* call and the *gisalo* song. In a work relying heavily on indigenous terminology and outlook, this apparent extrapolation is a disappointment. A more rigorous treatment of this theme would have resolved such misgivings.

Chapter two provides a detailed taxonomy of local birds according to Kaluli ornithology and relates this to metaphors using bird names, symbols incorporating bird coloring and movements, and the grouping of bird calls into linguistically intelligible and unintelligible units. The amount and variety of detail are justified by the importance of the *muni* bird myth to the Kaluli in matters of sorrow, death, *gisalo* song, and belief about the afterlife.

The *muni* myth has connotations of child abandonment, grief, and death. The representation of the *muni*'s four-note call is said to form the basis of *gisalo* ceremony melodies. *gisalo* texts contain a graduated sequence of sorrowful references culminating in the "hardening" of the words at the point of climax, revealing that the songs are directed at a particular man in the audience, recently bereaved, and are allegedly sung by the spirit of the deceased who is now a bird. The emotional intensity moves this man (and his close relatives and friends) to tears. They seize burning torches and ram them into the singer's back in retribution for having provoked them to tears. The same *muni* pitch sequence occurs in the melodic weeping of women during mourning, expressing grief transcending mere speech. A deft mirror image emerges: song moves men to tears, but weeping moves women to song.

A subsequent chapter examines the poetic content of *gisalo* song texts. These are shown to have layered meanings, with "insides," "underneaths," and "turned-over language" (i.e. metaphor) culminating in a "hardening" when the identity of the man to whom the songs are directed is identified unequivocally. The texts trace recent travel through local country associated with the deceased and the specific member of the audience, recounting shared activities at remembered places.

Feld also analyzes Kaluli musical terminology, which derives from metaphors about the qualities of water and bird calls. This analysis largely duplicates a paper published in 1981 (Feld 1981). Specific melodic intervals and overall melodic shape derive from the various characteristics of waterfall sounds. For example, *sa-min* is a level area before a waterfall drop; in music, it describes level melodic movement. Less clear, however, is the term *sa-gulu*, which relates to level movement on the phrase final (p. 168). Feld translates this term as the "tonal center" (p. 169), but offers no justification in terms of Kaluli metaphors, apparently confusing melodic movement on a pitch with that pitch itself.

Chapter six summarizes the previous data and sets out to examine Kaluli aesthetics, by which the author means the bases and nature of emotional responses relating to sorrow and song. The “becoming a bird” metaphor is deemed central to Kaluli emotional states because it alone evokes deep feelings of loss, nostalgia, and abandonment. Feld himself took drumming, singing, and dancing lessons, becoming an inside outsider in order to add an emotional dimension to his material by attempting to duplicate the emotional state of a Kaluli performer. Evidently impressed, the Kaluli responded by talking about the “inner dimensions” of such an emotional state, but unfortunately Feld does not record their comments. Mastery of the technical elements of performance, however, is but a single factor; bimusicality, like biculturality will forever elude the trained Western mind by simple virtue of that training. Feld’s rejection of a value-free, objective, analytical approach to studying the emotive qualities of musical phenomena in favor of a performance-oriented, personal, and subjective “experience” is somewhat frustrating (p. 236), as there is no sign that he had exhausted Kaluli disclosures on the subject. Moreover, his claim that ethnographers should (and therefore in his mind, could) become “emotionally involved people who have an open nondetached attitude” (p. 236) appears to ignore the cultural bias in the educational processes that underpin the Western mentality, and which presumably motivates ethnographers into the field in the first place.

Despite these reservations, the book’s strong points are immediately apparent and impressive: lucidity of expression and tenacity in extracting the details of intricate and multivocal phenomena. In these respects, Feld’s work advances Papua New Guinea ethnomusicology in a manner that is both absorbing and stimulating. Mention is made of two discs of Feld’s Kaluli recordings (p. 259). One, which deals with the *gisalo* songs examined in the book, was, regrettably, unavailable. The other, *Music of the Kaluli* (1982), contains examples of songs both locally composed and imported from surrounding areas. Several points of similarity with the *gisalo* songs are evident including melodic intervals, descending melodic contours, and “echo” polyphony. Although the subject matter of Feld’s book is limited to the *gisalo*, a more comprehensive approach to Kaluli music as a totality would have put these *gisalo* texts and music in a more balanced setting. It is hoped that we can look forward to Feld’s next publications to do this.

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Pauline King, ed., *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg: An American Diplomat in Hawaii, 1853-1858*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1982. Pp. 605, illustrations. \$25.00.

David L. Gregg was not one of the great men of American history or Pacific affairs. Small triumphs continually eluded him throughout his life, triumphs that might have more firmly established him in the historical record. He was, for instance, an ambitious, seemingly gifted politician in Illinois in the 1840s, but perforce remained in the shadow of such contemporary giants as Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. Although he was touted for governor of Illinois in 1852, his campaign succumbed to an upsurge of anti-Catholic prejudice and to his own unwillingness to take a stand on the divisive issue of slavery. Though defeated, Gregg was not forgotten, and following the election of fellow Democrat Franklin Pierce to the Presidency that same year, he was offered a minor political plum--United States Commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands. But Gregg's service to the Islands was not particularly noteworthy. He was, for instance, intimately involved with the annexation negotiations in the mid-1850s, but his work has largely remained a footnote in the history of U.S.-Hawaiian relations since the Islands did not become a part of the American Republic for another four decades. And after leaving his post as consul in 1857, he became finance minister in the Hawaiian cabinet but was swiftly forced out of office, in part because of his less than sober approach to the consumption of alcohol. When he left the Islands in the mid-1860s it was fitting that he should finish his career as a public servant in a marginal town on the American frontier: Carson City, Nevada. Clearly, Gregg was no political luminary.

Yet if David Gregg's career was generally undistinguished, the diaries in which he recorded his activities in Hawaii between 1853 and 1858 illuminate many vital issues and aspects of Hawaiian history. Indeed, as scholars begin to probe this collection of ten diaries that Pauline King has so skillfully edited, they will gain a deeper insight into the complicated and often convoluted affairs that characterized Hawaii at midcentury. Of

greatest value, as King points out, is Gregg's reconstruction of his protracted, tiresome, and secretive meetings in 1853-1854 with the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Relations, Robert C. Wyllie, concerning the annexation of the Islands to the United States. Gregg's account is certainly the most extensive record of the negotiations available, at least from the American perspective. In addition, the text (and more often the notes) reproduces the various protocols signed by Wyllie and Gregg, documents that further enhance our understanding of the processes, prejudices, and political maneuverings that transpired throughout the negotiations. These documents, as well as Gregg's assessment of them and of the countless conversations he had with Wyllie, members of the Hawaiian royal family, and others, suggest that historians need to reexamine the reasons for the collapse of the negotiations in late 1854, early 1855.

Merze Tate, in a seminal essay, "Slavery and Racism as Deterrents to the Annexation of Hawaii, 1854-1855" (*Journal of Negro History*, 1962), argued that the negotiations fell apart due to Hawaiian concerns about American racial prejudices and to American policy debates over the general question of the expansion or prohibition of slavery, issues that were of the utmost importance in the bloody events that were rocking Kansas at the time of the annexation discussions. These domestic issues, according to Tate, ended the United States' desire for overseas expansion. Tate's heavy emphasis on the impact of racial fears obscures an equally compelling factor, one that Gregg recognized as critical to the demise of the annexation talks: the future Kamehameha IV's understandable ambition, once he gained power, to retain control of his kingdom, "to wear a crown" (p. 201). For him, the talks with the United States were only a safeguard "to be used in case of an emergency to his advantage and for his protection" (p. 194).

Tate's assessment of Gregg's character and the role it played in his handling of the negotiations must also be reexamined. Gregg had a personal stake in annexation, Tate concludes, for he was offered a substantial bribe by the scheming American merchant, G. W. Ryckman, that hinged on the successful conclusion of an annexation treaty. This presumably helps account for Gregg's imperial (and imperious) behavior, but the evidence that Tate cites from Gregg's diaries does not substantiate the charge. Quite the contrary: by the time Ryckman approached Gregg, the latter was convinced that annexation would not occur and so informed Ryckman. Moreover, Gregg clearly despised Ryckman and was appalled by the attempted bribe. In this incident, Gregg acted in a scrupulous manner (pp. 203, 206, 208-10).

The majority of Gregg's time in Hawaii was spent not in secret negotiations but in more mundane affairs. It is in an examination of this routine that the texture of his life as U.S. Commissioner is richly revealed. He spent an inordinate amount of time, it seems, making obligatory social calls on various members of the royal family, calls that in turn prompted some astute observations on their characters and capabilities. More than most of the foreign residents in Honolulu, Gregg appreciated the skills and talents of the Hawaiian nobility, though he could not always transcend a cultural sense of racial superiority. Equally revealing (and time consuming) was the ritualistic fencing with other foreign consuls, the daily exchange of patriotic bombast, exchanges that disclose the clash of national ambitions and jealousies that frequently rippled the surface of Honolulu society. Gregg played the game well, deftly handling political intrigue and recording sharply etched portraits of the other players in his diary. Of Monsieur Perrin, head of the French delegation, he observed: "He cannot be trusted. He would sacrifice his own father to sustain himself" (p. 287). Gregg was no more sympathetic to the Reverend Richard Armstrong, "a bigoted sectarian, who sees no merit in any thing that does not square with his own theological notions" (p. 223). Gossip too was a staple in Gregg's life and in the lives of the other foreign residents. Perhaps the most comic of the many revelations that dot his journal were those that concerned the lecherous Monsieur Landais, who enjoyed a reputation for adultery and for despoiling virgins; his antics were explicitly reported in the diaries. Nor did Gregg miss an opportunity to recount the many rumors that swirled around town about the royal family's behavior, or the seamy events that surrounded the suicide of Fred James Porter and the attempted assassination of Madame Rouquette by a crazed American sailor (the Madame herself was none too stable, Gregg observed). By revelling in such salacious and sensational stories, Gregg showed that he too was not immune to the voyeurism born of Honolulu's intense insularity, a trait he had once decried: "Scandal may have its fill in this town. There is no place like it in the wide world: No place is so bad in the countenance it gives to slander" (p. 286). In time, Gregg would know the full meaning of this as he too fell victim to the rumormill, losing first his post as commissioner and then his portfolio as finance minister.

In guiding the publication of these diaries, and in ably reconstructing missing portions from Gregg's personal correspondence and from U.S. State Department memoranda, Pauline King has provided an invaluable service to those fascinated by the Hawaiian past. Both specialist and lay reader will learn much from Gregg's diaries and from King's introductory remarks and biographical sketch of David Gregg that highlight important



issues and place his life and activities in their appropriate historical context. Nearly one hundred pages of notes supplement the text, some of which provide substantive commentary though most are of only antiquarian interest. Nonetheless, this is a richly detailed, provocative, and significant contribution to the historiography of Hawaii and of U. S. diplomacy.

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Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982. Pp. 396, illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. \$32.50.

The whaling sections of Harry Morton's book, *The Whale's Wake*, are fascinating and informative. From an extensive foray into primary whaling sources in New England, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, and from correspondence with the whaling archives of many other libraries, Morton provides detailed knowledge of the varieties of whales pursued, their anatomical makeup and behavioral characteristics, the captains and men involved, the different types of vessels used, conditions on board, and the equipment and techniques employed when hunting the whale. He also analyzes the decline of British whaling in the face of intense competition from New England whaling companies and later from rapidly developed Australian colonial interests. Distance from the Pacific, diversity of aims (many British vessels combined whaling and trading activities), and the "well-intentioned but deadly" regulations that hampered the British whaling industry (p, 103) are all set forth as causes of the decline. However, the emphasis placed on intrusive regulations, many imposed in an attempt to protect the lives and well-being of British seamen, is not, I feel, fully substantiated.

The "wake" that Morton proceeds to analyze in the latter parts of the book is less well presented. It is, as I understand it, a deft metaphor for the effects of whaling activities on whale populations, participant human populations, and national economies and policies. Here, it relates exclusively to the multifarious effects of whaling in New Zealand. No comparisons are made with Samoa, Tahiti, or Hawaii, all of which were deeply involved with the whaling industry in similar periods. Morton clearly establishes the importance of British and colonial involvement in New Zealand sealing and whaling in creating and maintaining the continued British commercial and imperial interest in the area that eventually led to British annexation. But when he turns to the Maori population to assess

the interrelations between them and the whalers and whaling activities, his assurance and analysis falter. No detailed picture of traditional Maori culture and society is provided against which change in any aspect of Maori life could be properly measured. Postcontact, no close analysis of particular incidents of Maori-whaler contact is attempted. Te Rauparaha and Tuhawaiki are mentioned several times, but their tense, ambivalent relations with the whalers, their dependence upon wealthy foreigners versus their intimidation of them, are not elaborated. Morton's research into the extensive body of published literature in Maori and Pacific history relevant to culture contact is very limited in comparison with the wealth of data he examined on all aspects of whaling. An opportunity to analyze the different nature of Southern Maori, their language, culture, and contact history is ignored, although some information to develop such an analysis was available (p. 115).

Morton perpetuates the myth about good race relations in New Zealand. In the introduction he asserts: "Both the relative numbers of natives and newcomers and the enduring strength of Maori culture itself ensured a happier development of race relations than elsewhere in the English-speaking world" (p. 18), but, nowhere in the body of the work does he present evidence to substantiate his claim. In fact, later in the introduction he states: "That Maoris supplied labour and skill was important but this did not alter the industry itself in any way except because they were many and war-like, by making shore whaling in New Zealand much more subject to local interruption and interference than it was in Australia or had been in early America" (p. 19). This suggests that race relations were tense and intrusive and that the whalers were not the only transgressors, but the question is not taken up later. Rather Morton tends to rely on easy assertions: "Maoris when provoked were even more dangerous than sperm whales" (p. 115), or "A few [Maoris] remained [in tropical Polynesia] to become powerful personages because of their superior energy and drive. In a sense, although certainly Polynesians, they were Polynesian plus" (p. 168). No evidence is provided to substantiate these claims.

*The Whale's Wake* is an attractively presented book, well supplied with superb black and white illustrations and photographs. The end-of-chapter, black and white line illustrations of whales, seals, equipment, and many other related botanical and zoological specimens are illuminating and attractive--see particularly the illustration (p. 139) of the different flukes and spouts of sperm and right whales. Given this, the total absence of maps is difficult to understand. Maps of whaling grounds, whale migratory patterns, and the location of shore stations around New Zealand are

essential to a full understanding of this history. On balance, this is an informative, easily read book about Pacific whaling and its importance in bringing New Zealand into the British Empire, but its exploration of the interrelations between whaling and Maori culture lacks depth and careful interpretation.

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Nicolas Peterson, ed., *Aboriginal Land Rights: A Handbook*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981. Pp. vi, 297. \$13.75.

Over the past fifteen years the issue of Aboriginal land rights has attracted a great deal of attention in Australia and, as with the case of the controversy over Noonkanbah in 1980, occasionally drawn an international audience as well. There are many difficulties facing the novice interested in the subject, particularly one seeking comparative material on the question of aboriginal rights. Among the problems are how to find and sort through the large amount of literature produced on the land-rights question, how to keep track of the changing legislation, and, perhaps most important, how to get beyond the normally superficial analyses offered by journalists, politicians, academics, and others on the topic. Given this situation, the idea of a handbook on Aboriginal land rights seems a very good idea. A book such as the one under review, growing out of a major symposium on land rights (Canberra, 1980) and edited by a well-known scholar in the field (Nicolas Peterson), is met with great anticipation, promising to fill a conspicuous gap in the literature. Unfortunately, expectations are at best only partially met. All things considered, this is a very disappointing book.

The volume contains a series of generally short review articles that highlight the main points of existing legislation, usually followed by appendixes listing the various parcels of land involved. Thus one eight-page article on the situation in Victoria is followed by a forty-four-page appendix of sites. It is as if the significance and success of the Aboriginal land rights movement can be measured solely by the number of acts passed and hectares turned over to Aborigines. For the "facts" of land rights we are presented with the narrowest range of empirical data. What passes for analysis is limited for the most part to the first page of Peterson's introduction where we are offered a fairly simplistic explanation for the rise and relative success of the land rights movement that does not even begin to approach the depth of understanding so badly needed.

This is not to say that the collection is worthless, for it is no doubt useful to have reviews of the various laws and some other aspects of land rights collected in one place, even if the material is generally handled superficially and is in some cases now a little out of date (as in the case of New South Wales where new legislation was passed in 1983). Also, there are two articles worthy of note. Ross Howie provides a good, brief history of the important legislation in the Northern Territory that if supplemented with other material provides a useful introduction to the situation in this state, and Christopher Anderson has written a very good history of the situation in Queensland. But overall it is not a collection that most readers would find helpful in their search for greater insight into the Aboriginal land rights question.

What is perhaps most troubling about the book is that it seems to be part of a general trend among non-Aboriginal academics and the emerging Aboriginal elite to pat themselves on the back (albeit gently) over the progress that they feel has been made in the struggle for Aboriginal rights through the passage of the various acts and the acquisition of assorted pieces of land and royalties. That progress has been made no one can deny, but there is as yet little cause for celebration. It is quite clear that land-rights continue to elude a large number of Aborigines and that even for those who have achieved some recognition of their claims the benefits they have derived to date have been less than inspiring. In fact it is questionable whether there has been any improvement at all for most Aborigines in social or material terms. That this may not be the fault of the land rights movement simply accentuates the point that it is not the great panacea for what is in many ways an increasingly desperate situation. These and many other issues are not addressed in the handbook. Clearly, what is still needed is a handbook that offers deeper analysis of the land-rights question, placing laws and hectares more firmly within a political, social, and economic context.

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### **NEW RUSSIAN BOOKS ON THE PACIFIC, 1980-1981**

Pacific researchers may wish to take note of the many new monographs published in the Soviet Union.

Every year a conference is held, usually in Moscow, that brings together Soviet researchers on Australia and Oceania. These meetings began in 1968. A brief survey of the conference participants and papers is given

each year in the journal *Sovetskaia etnografiia* [Soviet ethnography]. Now for the first time, abstracts are available of the reports presented at the twelfth annual meeting. Only 150 copies were produced for distribution. The title of this collection is *Dvenadtsataia nauchnaia konferentsiia po izucheniiu Avstralii i Okeanii: tezisy dokladov* [The Twelfth Scientific Conference on the study of Australia and Oceania: the subjects of the reports] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981). The authors and titles<sup>1</sup> of the papers are as follows: V. B. Amirov, Australian-Japanese economic relations; N. A. Butinov, Easter Island: the tribes and territory in connection with the Kohan rongo-rongo; N. A. Butinov, The social organization of the Micronesian island of Ponape; M. S. Butinova, The cult of the chief in Polynesia; V. IA. Vybornov, Military bases in Australia; E. V. Govor, The first Russian publications about Australia and Tasmania (18th to early 19th centuries); A. I. Dmitriev, Post-war immigration and the problems of uniting Australia's working class; O. V. Zharova, The politics of the "new federalism" in Australia and the Laborite government of E. G. Whitlam, 1972-1975; O. V. Zernetskaia, The trilogy of Vance Palmer--ideological problems, genre specifications, a national individuality; V. I. Ivanov, The Pacific community and the future of international relations in the Pacific region; P. N. Ivanov, The political and economic situation of Taiwan in the Pacific basin; M. V. Kriukov, The results of diachronic research of Tongan kinship terminology; N. B. Lebedeva, Oceania in the 1980s: a new wave of interest by the imperialist states; N. I. Lutsenko, Japan's Pacific strategy: the struggle for Latin America; A. I. Martynov, The evolution of 'New Zealand's foreign policy after WWII; A. IA. Massov, "Troubled times" in the colonial history of Papua--the transfer of British New Guinea to the Australian Commonwealth; N. G. Nanitashvili, Several features of the development of early New Zealand prose; V. P. Nikolaev, "Traditionalists" movement and political parties in the independent states of Oceania; E. I. Razzakova, Questions about "aborigine lands" in Australia, 1960-70; B. B. Rubtsov, Features of Australia's financial capital; A. IU. Rudnitskii, The first steps of Australian historiography; M. M. Solodkina, Australia's entry into the epoch of imperialism; L. G. Stefanchuk, Higher education in the countries of Oceania; A. IU. Suchkov, Perspectives of developing the mineral sector of Australia's economy; I. K. Fedorova, Anthroponyms and ethnonyms<sup>2</sup> of Easter Island as a historical source; N. P. Chelintseva, The social, economic development of French Polynesia in the 1970s; M. A. Chlenov, The western periphery of Papuan languages--ethno-linguistic notes; A. V. Chuiko, Basic tendencies in the export of raw materials and food supplies from Australia to Japan.

The Soviets occasionally publish collections of essays, which are an outlet for the more important papers of the annual Pacific meetings. The

latest offering is *Strany iuzhnykh morei* [Countries of the South Seas] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1980). The essays are divided into four sections as follows: *History*: V. P. Nikolaev, Oceania as a physical, geographical and political region of the world; N. B. Lebedeva, The ethnic factor and social-political development of Fiji; L. P. Savel'eva, The first British settlements in New Zealand; O. V. Zharova, The struggle of Australia's working class for social-economic reorganization and the political laws in the 1850-70s; A. S. Petrikovskaia, The state and the development of Australian sciences, 1945-1975; K. IU. Bem, German-Japanese relations in the Pacific basin during 1940-1942; I. I. Vasilevskaia, About the question of Japan's' policies in the Pacific basin countries during the 1970s. *Economics*: V. I. Ivanov, Several aspects of international economic relations in the Asiatic-Pacific region; B. B. Rubtsov, The evolution and contemporary state of the Australian Commonwealth's monetary system. *Ethnography*: V. R. Kabo, Tasmanians: the structure of social productivity; T. V. Seniuta, Property in land and totemism of Australia's aborigines; O. IU. Chudinova, Individual behavior and social regulation of Australia's aborigines; N. A. Butinov, About the history of counting and numbers (based on Tasmano-Australian and Oceanic materials from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century); K. IU. Meshkov, Ancient writing of Pacific basin countries, not connected in origin with Chinese hieroglyphics; L. A. Abramian, About the features of the passage of chaos into the cosmos in archaic ritual and myth (based on Australo-Oceanic material). *Geography*: T. E. Grigorkina, Hydrography, water resources and water balance in Oceania.

In 1956 the Soviet ethnographer Daniil D. Tumarkin discovered that Kotzebue's report of his third voyage, published in German in 1830, was not a translation of the 1828 Russian edition as had always been assumed. It was an independent work, much more interesting than the official report in Russian and containing additional notes of use to ethnographers. The 1830 Weimar edition was translated into English and in 1959 was translated by Tumarkin into Russian. That edition quickly went out of print, but a second edition is now available. It contains a new introduction by Tumarkin, together with illustrations from various voyages, since there was no artist on the *Predpriiatie's* voyage of 1823-1826. The title of this new edition is *Novoe putesthestvie vokrug sveta v 1823-1826 gg.* [A new voyage around the world from 1823-1826] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981).

Three new monographs contain travel impressions of the South Pacific. Vladimir V. Petrov and others went on a one-month trip to Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji arranged by the Soviet Friendship Society. The

title of this work is *Chetyre nedeli v IUzhnom polushari: vpechatleniia botanika* [Four weeks in the Southern hemisphere: impressions of a botanist] (Moskva: Mysl', 1981). There are many illustrations and photographs, including several in color, with a heavy emphasis on the plant life of each country. The well-known Polish journalist Janusz Wolniewicz gave his impressions of the South seas in 1977 in the book *Kolorowy pasat*, which edited and with an added postscript by K. V. Malakhovskii, has now been translated into Russian: *Krasochnyi passat, ili Stranstviia po ostrovam IUzhnykh morei* [A colorful trade-wind, or travelling through the islands of the South Seas] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1980. Series: Rasskazy o stranakh Vostoka). The author has made several trips to the Pacific and in this work covers the New Hebrides, Fiji, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Hawaiian Islands, with a lengthy account of the island of Hawaii. Several Soviet scientific research vessels have undertaken expeditions in the Pacific. Evgenii M. Suziumov combines impressions from the *Ob, Vitiaz'*, and *Dmitrii Mendeleev* cruises. He writes about Hawaii, the Marquesas, Tahiti, Easter Island, Tasmania, and Macquaire Island in *Tik-hookeanskim marshrutom* [With a Pacific itinerary] (Moskva: Mysl', 1980). The author's photographs accompany the text.

A popular new geographical-ethnographical series is being published in twenty unnumbered volumes entitled *Strany i narody* [Countries and peoples]. Edited by P. I. Puchkov with the help of N. A. Butinov, G. M. Ignat'ev and K. V. Malakhovskii, the volume *Avstraliia i Okeaniia. Antarktida* [Australia and Oceania. Antarctica] (Moskva: Mysl', 1981) is now available. There are descriptions of the nature, history, and peoples of Australia, as well as the following islands of Oceania: Papua New Guinea, Solomons, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Norfolk, Micronesia, Guam, Wake Is., Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga, Western Samoa, Eastern Samoa, Wallis and Futuna, Tokelau, Niue, Cook Is., French Polynesia, Pitcairn, Easter Island, Hawaii, Midway, Johnson Is., and New Zealand. Life in the Antarctic is covered separately. There are good quality maps and photographs with the text and a list of the authors for each island entry. The major contributors are Puchkov, Malakhovskii, and Tumarkin.

Four new titles have appeared about Australia. Kim V. Malakhovskii, the prolific writer on the Pacific and head of the Pacific Section of Moscow's Institute of Oriental Studies, has written after twenty years of work *Istoriia Avstraliia* [A history of Australia] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1980). This book studies British colonization and its effect on the native population, as well as the formation of a class structure and the special features of the Australian government. There are two sections: Australia up to the twentieth century (seven chapters cover the discovery,

the political and economic effects of British colonialism, Australia's local colonialism and the creation of the Australian Commonwealth) and Australia in the twentieth century (six chapters cover from WWII up to the 1970s). There is a geographic index, as well as a bibliography (pp. 391-96, 229 items). Boris Dorofeev analyzes various aspects of the political and economic situation in present-day Australia, concentrating on trade union and communist party developments in his book *Trudovaia Avstraliia v bor'be za mir i sotsial'nyi progress* [Australia's workers in the struggle for peace and social progress] (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1980). In 1965 V. M. Kudinov was working in the Soviet Embassy as a trade advisor in Canberra where he gathered and had translated several myths and legends of the aborigines, most of which have appeared in various English-language compilations. The title of this collection is *Pervyi bumerang. Mify i legendy Avstralii* [The first boomerang. Australia's myths and legends] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1980). Finally, Iuliia A. Roznatovskaia has compiled and written an introduction to *Genri Lawson: biobibliograficheskii ukazatel'* [Henry Lawson: a bio-bibliographic index] (Moskva: Kniga, 1980. Series: Pisateli zarubezhnykh stran). Lawson, whose portrait is on the back cover, is widely translated in the Soviet Union. This useful reference work gives a biography and lists over four hundred citations to his publications in English, references about his life and works in English, translations of his works into Russian, and references about his life and works in Russian.

Historical-political developments and myths in New Zealand are the focus of three monographs. The first, by Aleksandr I. Martynov and Olga K. Rusakova, presents *Aktual'nye problemy vneshnei politiki Novoi Zelandii: istoriia i sovremennost'* [Actual problems of New Zealand's foreign policy: history and the present] (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1981). Four chapters cover the history of British colonialism, the period of the two World Wars, and postwar developments in new political alignments for this conservative, capitalist country. The second, by Kim V. Malakhovskii, *Istoriia Novoi Zelandii* [A history of New Zealand] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981), relies heavily on Western sources and covers the history of New Zealand from its discovery by Europeans until the 1970s. Economic developments and colonialism also are given substantial coverage. The third work, a collection *Skazki i legendy maori* [Stories and legends of the Maori] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981) was translated from four different collections of A. W. Reed. The editor and author of the foreword for the Russian edition is A. M. Kondratov.

Fedor P. Krendelev and Aleksandr M. Kondratov give a synthesis of materials already available in *Bezmolvnye strazhi tain (zagadki ostrova*



Paskhi) [The silent guards of the secrets (the mysteries of Easter Island)] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, Sib. otd-nie, 1980). Ideas are taken from geologists, oceanographers, archaeologists, linguists, and others. The eight chapters cover the riddles, legends, hypotheses, facts, volcanoes, statues, and catastrophes. A short bibliography, a small list of Rapanui words, and a chronological history of the Island are included.

For the first time Fiji is the subject of a monograph in Russian. Nina B. Lebedeva draws upon her 1969 dissertation (kandidat)<sup>3</sup> for the book *Fidzhi: istoriia i sovremennost'* [Fiji: history and the present] (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981). In six chapters Lebedeva presents a survey of the natural resources and people, the annexation by Britain, the colonial period up to WWII, social and economic developments after the war, social changes in the various ethnic groups, and the struggle and achievement of independence. The bibliography (pp. 184-89) contains 171 entries, the majority of which are Western language sources. The author compares the efforts of Oceanic nations to achieve independence to those of Afro-Asiatic countries and examines Fiji as a model for Oceanic countries.

A new biography joins several others on *Nikolai Nikolaevich Miklukho-Maklai: stranitsy biografii* [. . . : pages from a biography] (Moskva: Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1981. Series: Russkie puteshestvenniki i vostokeyedy.). Boris N. Putilov, the compiler, acknowledges other biographies based largely on Miklukho-Maklai's diaries. He reviews some little-used material, including the diary of Miklukho-Maklai's wife Margaret, attempting to present a more complete biography of Russia's famous anthropologist who lived many years in Papua New Guinea. The bibliography (pp. 207-12) contains 133 entries.

Boris N. Putilov also has published another book, *Mif-obriad-pesnia Novoi Gvinei* [Myths-rites-songs of New Guinea] (Moskva: Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1980. Series: Issledovaniia po fol'kloru i mifologii Vostoka.). Some of the material used in this study was gathered by the author in 1971 when the *Dmitrii Mendeleev* stopped on the Maclay Coast. A summary (pp. 378-81) in English accompanies this book, as well as an extensive bibliography (pp. 365-76) with 335 entries. In seven chapters Putilov describes mythology as a system, gives a general picture of rites, ritual, and ceremony, discusses songs, presents musical instruments in the ritual mythological complex, describes the worship of the dead, the spirits of the dead, fertility worship, and the myth and song in initiation rituals.

Finally a small volume of short stories, translated from English into Russian, is available: *Novye rasskazy iuzhnykh morei* [New stories of the South Seas] (Moskva: Progress, 1980). The compilers are L. Volodarskaia

and A. Petrikovskaia and the twenty-four-page introduction is also written by A. Petrikovskaia. There are two stories from Australian aborigines, three from Papua New Guinea, two from Fiji, three from Western Samoa, one from the Cook Islands, and eight from New Zealand.

### Additional Notes

My review of new Soviet books, 1974-1979, which appeared earlier in *Pacific Studies* (1980, v. 4, no. 1) needs to be amended. On page 85 five monographs about the 1971 cruise of the *Dmitrii Mendeleev* were discussed. The title of G. M. Ignat'ev's book was omitted. It is *Tropicheskie ostrova Tikhogo okeana* [The tropical islands of the Pacific] (Moskva: Mysl', 1979).

Six additional titles should also have been included in that survey. They are as follows: *Novaia Zelandiia, spravocnik* [New Zealand, a handbook], by V. M. Andreeva, K. V. Malakhovskii, A. S. Petrikovskaia (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1974); *Sovremennaia Avstraliia, spravocnik* [Modern Australia, a handbook], edited by K. V. Malakhovskii (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1976); *Mify, predaniia i legendy ostrova Paskhi* [Myths, traditions and legends of Easter Island], compiled, translated from Rapanui and Western European languages, foreword and notes by I. K. Fedorova (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1978); *Prosveshchenie i podgotovka natsional'nykh kadr-ov v stranakh Okeanii posle Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* [Education and the training of national specialists in the countries of Oceania after WWII], by L. G. Stefanchuk (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1978); *Avstraliiskaia literatura* [Australian literature], edited by A. S. Petrikovskaia (Moskva: Nauka, Glav. red. vostochnoi lit-ry, 1978), and *Inostrannyi kapital v Avstralii posle vtoroi mirovoi voiny* [Foreign capital in Australia after World War II], by V. I. Ivanov (Moskva: Nauka, 1976).

### NOTES

1. For brevity, only the translated titles are given for the first two collections discussed.
2. Ethnonymy is a division of anthroponymy that studies the names of peoples.
3. The *kandidat* is a degree above our masters' level, but not equal to a doctorate.

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William L. Rodman and Dorothy Ayers Counts, eds., *Middlemen and Brokers in Oceania*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1982. Pp. ix, 307. \$16.00.

*Middlemen and Brokers in Oceania* is the ninth volume published in the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) Monograph Series. The collection of papers--an introduction, eight case studies, and a concluding contribution--has its origins in an ASAO meeting of nine anthropologists with research experience on "middlemen and brokers in Pacific societies." Their working session led to a symposium involving the presentation of papers and including as a discussant an anthropologist, Marc Swartz, who had investigated middleman roles outside Oceania. His views round off the volume in the concluding chapter.

This collection of seminar papers is linked by the concept of "middleman" but--as is always the case in edited volumes--it is quite variable in interest, quality, method, and style. James Boutilier (a historian) has written an interesting account of Solomon Islanders' evolving conceptions of the British colonial government during a fifty-year period (1893-1943). It begins with a personal touch: "One day in June, 1972, I was sitting by the sea at Munda in the Solomon Islands. . . ." The narrative soon takes on a more familiar, detached, historical tone, but the sketches of the district officers--rumors of "womanizing tendencies" here, "celebrated dipsomaniacs" there--are memorable and make useful points about the vicissitudes of colonial service.

The other contributors are anthropologists commenting on the results of their field research as well as on questions of definition and approach relating to the study of mediators, or go-betweens, between and among individuals, groups, bureaucracies, cultural traditions, and whole societies. William Rodman discusses middlemen acting as quasi-judicial mediators involving personal-community conflicts in Vanuatu. In fact, the title of his paper is misleading: his research was conducted between 1969 and 1971, and between 1978 and 1979, in the New Hebrides. The islands became Vanuatu in 1980, but his research and findings relate to an earlier period. Daniel Hughes and Debra Connelly contribute an interesting, succinct, well-written chapter on Ponapean attitudes toward elected officials at several levels of the colonial political structure. The major defect of the article--which the authors acknowledge--is that most of their data were gathered in 1966 (or sixteen years prior to the publication of this book) and so "it would be false to assume that the situations described here have remained the same." This is a comment applicable to many of the papers. Nevertheless the Hughes-Connelly account of what might be described as

the Ponapeans' first impressions of leaders legitimated according to what were then novel criteria is plausible and thought provoking. Dorothy Ayers Counts' paper investigates a middleman's capacity to act "as an agent of modernizing change" and centers around events occurring in two villages--Kandoka and Taveliai--in northwest New Britain, Papua New Guinea. A second Papua New Guinea study is the paper by Susan M. Pflanz-Cook and Edwin A. Cook on the Manga of the Jimi River Valley of the Western Highlands District. The fieldwork was conducted from 1961 through 1963, and again in 1971 and 1972. As in many of the papers, the effect of a person's acquaintance with new values and approaches--on himself and on his community--is examined in an interesting way although the conclusions are fairly unsurprising: "If he is successful in his persuasiveness, he will continue as a . . . leader. . . ."

Henry Rutz's paper is principally a study of strategies used by Fijian villagers to influence government involvement in rural development. His analysis is based upon models of "rational village brokerage," but in addition to the theoretical enterprise in which he is engaged there is a basic human story which he has to tell, and it is one that holds considerable fascination. Jean-Marc Philibert's paper is based on fieldwork conducted on the island of Efate in the then New Hebrides, between December 1971 and April 1973. The article provides a well-organized account of two middlemen, one a village chief, the other an entrepreneur, and the means by which one achieved success as a quiet innovator--a sort of Tory reformer--while the other's more flamboyant style led to his "downfall." Paul Shankman's study of *pulenu'u*, village mayors, in Western Samoa is lucid and sensible. It is most valuable in pointing out the obstacles facing alien administrations--in this instance both colonial and independent--seeking to introduce new leadership roles within profoundly conservative, hierarchical, closed communities.

Readers interested in a brief understanding of the central theories of the book will be impressed with the closing chapter by Marc Swartz. In it he summarizes and compares the authors' main propositions and findings in a thoughtful way, lending them an individual coherence and a collective congruence that they do not always possess. As a middleman himself, he successfully translates the authors' papers from their origins in field work and symposia to a full, book-length collection. In so doing he makes explicit some of the assumptions underlying anthropological research--assumptions that he describes as "not fully stated"--to conclude that "a somewhat different analytical approach would be beneficial and would lead to further advances." In general terms, there is a need for candid exchanges of research findings and theoretical perspectives among Pacific

researchers on themes of social and cultural change and continuity. To this overall effort, this book--like the monograph series of which it forms a part--makes a useful contribution.

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Elizabeth Tatar, *Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant*. Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1982. Pp. xiv, 178. \$15.00.

Ten years of disciplined and exhaustive study of Hawaiian chant types and vocal styles of the nineteenth century have produced this very succinct analytical study of Hawaiian vocal music by Elizabeth Tatar. Her career in musicology, focusing on Hawaiian chant in traditional structure and style, began while studying with Mantle Hood at the Institute of Musicology of the University of California at Los Angeles. Early in her studies the author determined that the identification of the Hawaiian terms for chant types and vocal styles would help define traits unique to Hawaiian music. As she explains in the preface to her book:

It was hypothesized at that time that the uniqueness of Hawaiian music was due to the retention of certain traditional musical traits, the roots of which were presumed to lie in Hawaiian chant. During the formulation of one of these analytic levels, "form," I first became aware of the large body of Hawaiian terms applied to musical types and styles of chants and of the apparent order that they followed. My interest in studying the relationship of these terms to the music of chanting grew, and eventually determined the subject of my doctoral research. . . . I began intensive research . . . to discover the underlying order implied in the use of these Hawaiian musical terms and thereby to identify unique Hawaiian traits in both contemporary and traditional Hawaiian music.

In this respect, her basic regard for the essential Hawaiian approach to defining chant type in structure and style is not skewed in the direction of musicology, with roots in anthropology and cultural history, but has also achieved a linguistic dimension through the organization of the nomenclature of traditional Hawaiian vocal music. Her method is well controlled, and there is a sense of order in her comprehension of the relationship between form as demonstrated vocally and form that emerges in the

spectral analyses presented as an alternative to standard musical notation of selected chant types and styles. Her study thus is an updated, less restrictive approach than the earlier but equally necessary work of Helen Roberts' *Ancient Hawaiian Music* published in 1926. It enjoys the advantages of improved musicological techniques and equipment as well as access to the collection of recordings in the Bishop Museum archives.

The substantive data have been organized into eight chapters: "Sources of Nineteenth Century Chant," "Sociocultural Context of Chant," "Types of Chant," "Styles of Chanting," "Musical Analysis of Chants," "Musical Features of the Styles of Chanting," "Toward a Theoretical Musical System of Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant," and "Conclusions." There are also four appendixes: "Chant Transcriptions," "Tonal Organization," "Spectrograms of Speech and Contemporary Chanting," and "Hawaiian Musical Instruments," followed by a bibliography and a list of archival collections. The whole is preceded by a table of contents with detailed subtopics for each chapter, allowing easy access to information and immediately followed by a list of tables and illustrations. These tables contain all the Hawaiian terms and their definitions (along with the source consulted) and represent perhaps that portion of the book most useful to Hawaiians both in advancing musical appreciation of chant styles and the composition of chant types, and as a guide in determining, for example, what style or type of chant would be most appropriate for a certain occasion. Tables 3.1 to 3.15 consist of chant types separated according to these headings: chant types and relationships to social classes, prayer chants (of the dance hall, *heiau* temple, and of the priesthood), genealogy chants, animal chants, formal name chants (in praise of individuals or place names), sex chants, lamentations, game chants, love chants, and chants for informal or spontaneous expression. Tables 4.1 to 4.6 concern general musical terms for styles of chanting, specific styles of chanting, voice qualities of chanting, and general or specific functional-stylistic terms. Tables 5.1 to 5.5 are most interesting to linguists as they contain structural components of chanting, Hawaiian consonants and manner of articulation, Hawaiian vowels and places of articulation, with a key to phonetic symbols, and phonetic modifications and sets of allophones of Hawaiian consonants used in chanting. Tables 6.1 to 6.7 are analyses of the musical features of styles identified by their Hawaiian names, with a concluding table showing the distribution of voice qualities in six specific styles of Hawaiian chanting. In each of these tables under a "division of analysis" the author supplies a description for each subtopic with respect to tonal organization, giving the key register normally used or preferred

according to the style (say of *hō‘ae‘ae* as distinct from *kāwele*), the number of tones and intervals; voice quality with phonology, stressed qualities (such as position of the ‘lips and tongue), amplitude variation, attack, release and vibrato; and melody.

In order to present these data in a convenient, well-organized tabulation the author has not only compiled two hundred chant terms but also consulted chant recordings housed in the Division of Audio Collections and Research of the Bishop Museum. The major resources of that archive, insofar as Tatar’s materials are concerned, were the large Helen Roberts and Kuluwaimaka collections. Tatar listened to 700 recorded chants, analyzed 150 of them, and from that group selected 32 for detailed transcription in the spectrographic analysis for her book. She remarks: “A preliminary examination of Hawaiian music suggested that the voice quality of chanters and singers, rather than the tonal organization and melody of chants and songs, was the prime factor in distinguishing Hawaiian music from other musics” (p. 72).

In order to distinguish between Hawaiian traits and what she suspected were introduced traits (while taking into consideration the highly acculturated context in which the sample recordings were made), Tatar sought to “identify Hawaiian elements in Hawaiian chant . . . to define a context that no longer exists: that of Pre-European Hawaii” (p. 15). Starting from the premise that since there is a relative uniformity of culture in East Polynesian societies, a Pre-European Hawaiian context can be determined: “If a certain musical trait, documented in 19th century Hawaii, also appears in similar form in other Eastern Polynesian cultures, and is supported by appropriate documentation, then it is probable that the trait existed before European contact and therefore can be considered ‘Hawaiian’ ” (p. 15).

Tatar’s evaluation of present-day performers as authentic sources for analysis of these ancient Hawaiian musical traits is matter-of-factly negative: “Few present-day chanters are able to perform in the different chant styles, and fewer still are aware of the seemingly complex compositional processes of pre-European chant” (p. xi). Of what vintage, then, are the recorded chants used for the analysis of nineteenth-century music on which Tatar bases her conclusions as to what musical traits may be distinctively Hawaiian?

One of the more comforting aspects of the book for the strictly local Hawaiian audience, particularly those training in chant and hula under present-day masters, is that Tatar has recorded the great names of the past in the art of Hawaiian chanting: Kuluwaimaka (to whom the book is dedicated with a good photograph and short commemorative biographic

sketch excerpted from Theodore Kelsey's notes), Iokepa, Nalimu, Kalama, Kalaiwa'a, Kaluhiwa, Maunupau, Kaleiho'ohie, Helela, Keko'owai, Kahalu'u, Ha'aheo, Lahapa, Paikulu, Lahilahi Webb, and Kalokuokamaile. She has also noted in appendix A (Chant Transcriptions, p. 121-50), the names of contributors of the analyzed samples of vocal music elaborated by spectrogram. They are Kalaiwa'a, born (b.) 1855 Kamuela, Hawaii; Tom Hiona b. 1915 Maui; Paikulu b. 1855 Ni'ihau; Kuluwaimaka b. 1845 Na'alehu, Hawaii; Puku'i b. 1895 Ka'u, Hawaii; Kuhi b. 1861 Honolulu; Ka'upena Wong b. 1929; Kihe b. 1857 Kohala, Hawaii; Wm. Cano b. 1873 Honolulu; Hale b. 1958, Maui; Ka'ili b. 1854 Waipi'o, Hawaii; Kaluaikapahukapu b. 1835 North Kona, Hawaii; Napu'unoa b. 1865 Kahakuloa, Maui; Ho'opi'i b. 1860 Lahaina, Maui; and Ka'o'o b. 1852 Honaunau, Hawaii.

The range of birthdates in this listing, from 1835 to 1958, with twelve resource people born between 1835 and 1895 and three between 1915 and 1958, indicates that 80 percent of the chanters were born before the turn of the century, 20 percent of whom were retained in the twentieth century sampling as those Tatar would qualify as capable resource people. Most astounding is the 1835 birthdate of Kaluaikapahukapu who was recorded in 1923 at the age of eighty-eight. Recalling that in 1834 Lahainaluna Seminary had just gotten on its feet, that the *Paipala Hemo-lele* (Holy Bible) had not yet been fully translated into Hawaiian, that neither the first constitution (available in 1840) nor the Declaration of Rights the Hawaiian Magna Charta, 1839) had yet appeared, and that this person was born before Kamehameha III launched the Great Mahele of 1848, we realize that something of a younger time when the Kamehameha Dynasty still ruled the Hawaiian Islands has been preserved in this ancient voice. It was made and trained by people born before the missionaries set foot on Hawaiian soil and introduced hymns and music notation. That particular chanter, at age eighty-eight, had seen not only the changes that six monarchs had brought about, but the Organic Act that made Hawaii a territory of the United States. One final attraction, particularly for students of chant and hula, are the photographs of Kuluwaimaka and his peers on the dedication page and in a two-page portrait assemblage (pp. 10-11).

Tatar concludes that the music of Hawaiian chant was essentially determined by a set of six styles, or modes, which provided a systematic means for the improvisational processes of Hawaiian chant, and she is convinced that those traits are pristinely uncorrupted Hawaiian musical traits: "It is my belief that the formal system of Hawaiian musical composition and performance described in this study stems from pre-European times" (p. 117).



Her summary provides a point of departure for the study of related Polynesian musics, especially of the Tuamotus and Tahiti:

It is possible to identify precontact musical traits in today's acculturated music of Hawaii and other areas of Eastern Polynesia . . . the study of these . . . cultures . . . beckons. Our understanding of the complex art of traditional Hawaiian chanting and its contributions to contemporary Hawaiian folk music will not be complete without the knowledge of other Eastern Polynesian musical expression and the systems that supported and, perhaps, continue to support them. Extensive studies of the continuities and changes of musical structures and their interrelationships to social organizations in Eastern Polynesia are much needed (pp. 118, 120).

While one would have liked to see more detailed background included on the Bishop Museum collection, by item and by contributor or region, cataloging the archive's holdings may be left to a librarian or archivist. This work is scholastically excellent, structurally cohesive, and easy to follow. Finally, for the reader's appreciation, the back cover of the book has an inside jacket with a disk of recordings, "Examples of Chant Types and Styles." Analysis, profoundly interpretive, becomes again the sounds of music.

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Stephen A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori, *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area, Part I: New Guinea Area, Oceania, Australia*. Stuttgart, Germany: GeoCenter GmbH for the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1981. Maps, text. DM 200.

This atlas is a worthy addition to the growing number of recent, high-quality publications that specifically relate to the areal and spatial aspects of the human geography of the Pacific. It is a much needed successor to Salzner's *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes*. The publication of *A Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific* by A. Capell in 1962, the monumental effort by C. F. and F. M. Voegelin, *Classification Index of the World's Languages* in 1977, and the contributions in *Current Trends in Linguistics, Oceanic Linguistics*, and other related anthropological and linguistic journals have all served to hasten the obsolescence of

Salzner's work. This flourish of activity in Oceanic linguistics since the publication of Salzner's work over twenty years ago has made the *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (LAPA) a welcome addition to students and scholars of the region.

The LAPA is a beautiful work with twenty-four multicolored and highly informative maps that measure 500 x 360mm and lie flat in a sturdy folio container. The cartographic quality of each map is most impressive. The six to nine colors of each map, plus the dozens of geometrical symbols and shading overlays, give remarkable clarity and readability. The reverse side of each map contains detailed demographic and linguistic for each group or tribe identified (which can exceed five hundred groups on some of the maps of New Guinea). The languages are classified on the phylum, sub-phylum, family, and stock level, with a brief discussion of the rationale for the organization and grouping of the data. Also, there is an extensive bibliography attached to each map.

The overall effect of this atlas is to render a complex linguistic region more comprehensible. While realizing the heterogeneous nature of the distribution of languages in New Guinea, for example, it was none-the-less a personal revelation to discover the large geographical range of the Trans-New Guinea phylum which easily encompasses about three-fourths of the island. The Sepik-Ramu phylum of the northwestern portion of Papua New Guinea (the second largest Papuan phylum on the island) is much smaller than the Trans-New Guinea phylum, but the two phyla together easily include all but an approximated 10 percent of the island.

A phylum is a composite of distinct language families, and within a particular family a high degree of linguistic variation can exist. However, linguistic studies of New Guinea are too often burdened by their over-emphasis of linguistic isolates and distinctions between the languages. Such perceptions of the linguistic complexity of the island are considerably reduced by an inspection of the maps contained in this atlas. With the related structural and phonological features which often typify language groupings at the stock, family, and sometimes even the phylum level, the basic unity of many of the languages of the region emerges and may help to provide insight regarding the wide-spread usage of pidgins throughout Melanesia (see map 24). In similar fashion, the languages spoken in the Bismarck Archipelago and Solomon Islands region are reduced to a more comprehensible level by inspection of map 5. Two groups emerge: the East Papuan phylum and the Melanesian languages, belonging to the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family. Finally, the wide-spread extent of the Pama-Nyungan family of Australia becomes readily

apparent. With the exception of the northern half of the Northern Territory, the Kimberly district of Western Australia, and the (now extinct) languages of Tasmania, one phylum encompasses the remainder of the entire continent.

It is my opinion that the editor could have used this atlas to help eliminate the confusing--and often misleading--practice of using the term "Papuan" to refer to the languages of Melanesia unconnected to the Austronesian family. The term Non-Austronesian (NAN) has been introduced by Arthur Capell to emphasize this lack of genetic unity and to accommodate languages in the Southwestern Pacific outside of New Guinea. To have used Capell's NAN designation would have been more desirable than a continuation of the "Papuan" designation.

The atlas is divided into four sections: maps 1-14 depict the New Guinea Mainland and adjacent islands; maps 15-19 depict the islands of the remainder of Melanesia plus one map each for Micronesia and Polynesia; maps 20-23 cover Australia and Tasmania and map 24 "Pidgin Languages, Trade Languages and *lingua franca* in Oceania and Australia" stands by itself in the final section. Somewhat disappointing is the heavy emphasis on Melanesia (maps 1-19). Micronesia and Polynesia are accurately but summarily portrayed. The map for Micronesia displays eight major groups of the Austronesian family (plus all of the attached subgroups) but contains a single bibliographic entry compared to the seventeen authors with their twenty-seven works cited in the bibliography for map 6, "Sepik Provinces." The editors of the LAPA do mention that "other scholars in and around the University of Hawaii who have worked on Micronesian languages . . . have supplied the compiler with verifications and recommendations through personal communication." Perhaps these "other scholars" should have been given some credit in the bibliography.

The limited sources cited for Micronesia and Polynesia may also be the cause of the few inconsistencies of the work. The relocated Kiribati (Gilbertese) communities in the Solomon Islands are clearly indicated on map 16, but no such indication is given for the Kiribati settlements on Rabi in Fiji or their settlements in the Phoenix Islands. Also, the atoll of Nui in Tuvalu is shown as a Polynesian-speaking instead of Kiribati-speaking area. Also, the tribal and dialectical diversity of New Zealand deserves more attention than was given.

A concluding critical note must be sounded. At DM 200, this work will discourage many potential buyers. It is unfortunate that the editors of the series did not foresee this problem and publish one general map each for Melanesia and Australia as they did for Micronesia and Polynesia. This

would have provided access to most of the information needed for all but the most critical areal specialist and would have made the information affordable to a much wider audience. It is hoped these problems will be rectified with the publication of revised maps as promised by the editors of the atlas.

With the exception of the minor criticisms mentioned above, this is an excellent atlas and is highly recommended to all libraries serving Pacific Island scholars--and to the scholars themselves who can afford it. One can only wait with hope and enthusiasm for Part II, maps 25-47 including sections dealing with Japan, Taiwan and the Philippines, Mainland South-East Asia, Insular South-East Asia, and the pidgin languages of the region.

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