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Cover image: Carved detail from Tauihu "XII" (Kendall no. 12), Museum Rietberg, Zürich, RPO 12 (full image in Figure 9 of Deidre Brown's article).

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Reviews

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Paul Clark is a semi-retired museum curator with 30 years' experience at the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory in Darwin. Currently a PhD candidate in maritime archaeology and museum collections in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Flinders University, South Australia, his academic background includes a BA from Auckland University, a graduate diploma in maritime archaeology from the Western Australian Institute of Technology (now Curtin University) and an MA by research from Charles Darwin University. His research interests include colonial collections, maritime material culture, pre-modern and historic watercraft from Southeast Asia and Oceania, shipwrecks, rock art and colonial photography with maritime history themes.

Albert Davletshin completed his PhD thesis on the palaeography of Maya hieroglyphic writing at Knorozov Centre for Mesoamerican Studies, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, in 2003. He has been with the Institute for Oriental and Classical Studies at the same university since 2003. He has been a research fellow at the Institute for Anthropology, Veracruz University, Xalapa, Mexico, since 2021. Albert works on logosyllabic writing systems, methods of decipherment, iconography and historical linguistics of Mesoamerica and Polynesia. He has published on the Epi-Olmec, Harrapan, Kohau Rongorongo, Maya, Nahuatl, Teotihuacan and Zapotec scripts. He has led research projects on Proto-Totonacan (Autonomous University of Mexico) and on Nahuatl hieroglyphic script (Bonn University). In addition to his studies on Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Albert has carried out fieldwork on the Polynesian Outlier language Nukeria (Papua New Guinea) and the Totonacan language Pisaflores Tepehua (Mexico).

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Danny Keenan, of Ngāti Te Whiti o Te Āti Awa descent, completed a PhD at Massey University in 1994 and became lecturer/senior lecturer there. Danny helped establish Te Pouhere Kōrero (Māori History Association of Aotearoa) in 1992. In 2009, a Fulbright Award enabled him to teach Aotearoa New Zealand history at Georgetown University, Washington, DC. Danny has published widely on Māori/New Zealand history (www.newzealandwars.co.nz**)**. In 2016 he received a Ngā Kupu Ora Māori Book Award for his *Te Whiti O Rongomai and the Resistance of Parihaka* (Huia, 2015). Danny's recent books include *The Fate of the Land: Ko ngā Ākinga a ngā Rangatira* (Massey University Press, 2023). Danny was also awarded the Michael King Fellowship in 2023 and is currently working on his manuscript "In Sickness and Health: Three Māori Pandemics 1895–2022". He is a full-time writer living in Whanganui.

Marcia Leenen-Young is a senior lecturer in Pacific studies in Te Wānanga o Waipapa at Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland. She completed a PhD in ancient history and has since transitioned to focus on the history of the Pacific. Her research interests include the historical relationship between Aotearoa New Zealand and the Pacific, Indigenous Pacific ways of telling history, Pacific research methodologies and Pacific pedagogies. Marcia has received a number of awards for her teaching excellence in tertiary education, including national recognition with a Te Whatu Kairangi Award in 2022 alongside an Enhancing Pacific Learners' Success Endorsement. Marcia is also the first editor of *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* who is of Pacific descent.

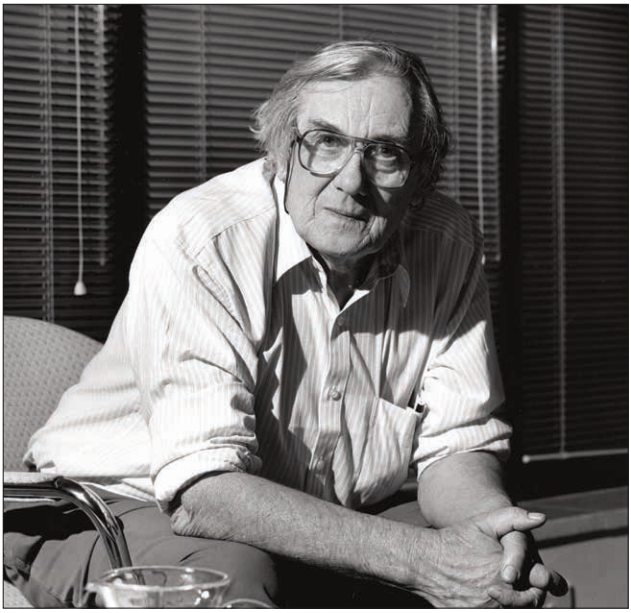
Melodee Panapa-Leilua is a master of arts student specialising in Pacific studies at Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland. She was born in Aotearoa New Zealand and is of Tokelauan, Cook Island, Tuvaluan and Sāmoan descent. Her research interests include Tokelau and Pacific diasporas, and her primary goal with her research is to uplift her communities. Melodee is also an avid creative writer, with her short story "O Le Toeaina" being translated into Spanish to be published in Mexico as part of a book of short stories.

Hone Arohaina Thorpe is from the South Island and Wellington tribe of Te Āti Awa. Born in Picton, he grew up in Queen Charlotte Sound and Wellington amongst his Āti Awa people. His people are very closely connected to the waters of those areas. His marae is Waikawa just out of Picton. He was educated at Victoria University of Wellington, the University of Waikato and Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland. He has worked as a scientist, a teacher of economics and a teacher of te reo Māori. He is currently the kaiārahi (senior Māori advisor to the faculty) in the University of Auckland School of Business and Economics.

Ashley Vaotuua is a master of arts student with a focus on Pacific studies at Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland. Born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand, she is of Sāmoan descent. Her academic pursuits delve into the realms of Sāmoan spirituality and womanhood, with aspirations to embark on further research in these areas in the future as a service to her Sāmoan community. Ashley has also lent her voice as a journalist, weaving together narratives that illuminate the stories and experiences of Pacific communities in Aotearoa.

MEMORIES OF JACK GOLSON

13 SEPT. 1926 – 2 SEPT. 2023



Jack, 1998. Photo by Loui Seselja. National Library of Australia.

Professor Jack Golson was a former editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and the 2022 recipient of the Society's Elsdon Best Medal for outstanding contributions to the archaeology of Aotearoa New Zealand and the Pacific (Sheppard 2022). Here former colleagues provide reflections on their time with Jack.

Harry Allen—Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland

Jack was head of department during 1969 to 1972 when I was doing my PhD at the ANU. I didn't have that much direct contact with him as Rhys Jones and John Mulvaney were my supervisors. Access to Jack's office was closely guarded by his secretary, Lois White, and by the clouds of cigarette smoke

Allen, Harry, Geoff Irwin, Jean Kennedy and Glenn R. Summerhayes, 2023. Memories of Jack Golson (13 Sept. 1926–2 Sept. 2023). *Waka Kuaka: Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (4): 387–396. | https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.4.387-396

that issued out whenever his door was open. Canberra was fairly tribal at that time, and the archaeologists and biogeographers in the Research School of Pacific Studies socialised together, so I often saw Jack at parties. One of the pieces of equipment I took with me to do fieldwork out at Mungo was a surveyor's dumpy level, which had charred tripod legs. I asked Wal Ambrose about this and heard the story of Jack's return from excavations at Sleisbeck (Fig. 1) in the mid-1960s. As Jack, Wal and Ron Lampert were heading home along the Stuart Highway, Jack was smoking and throwing butts out of the window, when Wal yelled "Fire!" The butt had landed on the tarp covering the finds and the equipment and quickly took hold with a good wind as they headed down the highway. I'm not sure how the fire was put out, but the Sleisbeck archaeological material had a mixed fortune after that. Much of it was destroyed in the fire that took the ANU's Weston Store in the Canberra bushfires of 2003 (Swete Kelly and Phear 2004).

Figure 1. Jack at Sleisbeck, 1963. Photo by Wal Ambrose.

Jack made lifelong friends in his time at Auckland. At the ANU, he and Rhys Jones initiated a programme of inviting artists to come and experience archaeological sites, particularly Mungo and Kakadu. Some were friends from the Kiwi Hotel. Hone Tuwhare was one such invitee and Ralph Hotere another. Ralph did the Mungo series of black window paintings based on his time there. On leave at the ANU in the 1980s, I had regularly had coffee with Bill Pearson, author of *Coal Flat*, another beneficiary of the scheme.

Jack was passionate about Indigenous involvement in archaeology and was president of the World Archaeological Congress when it held its third congress in New Delhi. This was at the time of sectarian disputes within Indian archaeology, and it transpired that the monies forwarded for the congress had disappeared. Jack bankrolled the meeting with a major increase to the mortgage on his and Clare's house in O'Connor (see Golson 1995).

Jack Golson was a one-off, an open person of immense charm who was larger than life. His influence on New Zealand archaeology and on that of Papua New Guinea (Fig. 2) and the Pacific was immense. Those who knew him will always remember him with affection.

Figure 2. Jack leads the rowing crew from the front, Kuk Swamp, Western Highlands, Papua New Guinea, 1975. Photo by Klim Gollan.

Geoff Irwin—Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland

There were frequent informal cricket matches between departments at ANU and a yearly match with the Anthropology Department of the University of Sydney, held alternately at Canberra or Sydney, and played for a trophy called the Beckett Nut (named after social anthropologist Jeremy Beckett), which was a silver-mounted coconut.

In one year at about the time of the photo (Fig. 3), Jack received this message from Sydney (from memory):

> To Captain Jack and his motley crew on the banks of Lake Sinecure,
> We send a challenge for the Beckett Nut to be played in a Sydney sewer.
> So leave behind your deciduous trees, your carefully manicured grasses,
> We'll hammer you on to your bended knees and whack one up your arses.

Note: Lake Sinecure is Lake Burley Griffin, Canberra. Sinecure refers to the fact that Jack's department was research only—there was no undergraduate teaching.

Figure 3. ANU interdepartmental cricket match, ca. 1973. Back row, left to right: John Chappell, Jim O'Connell, Alan Thorne, John Head, John Mulvaney, Howard Morphy and John Beaton. Front row, left to right: Geoff Irwin (and daughter Kate), Wal Ambrose, Jack Golson, Ron Lampert and Graeme Ward. Seven players are now dead; five are still alive. Photo in author's possession.

Jean Kennedy—Australian National University

I first met Jack Golson in the Bay of Islands in January 1965. Jack and his family arrived in time to reinvigorate the tired stayers of Les Groube's Otago undergraduate student crew, as we sweated to finish the long excavation of Paeroa Pā, on Moturua Island. Jack's overview of the site and acute stratigraphic eye helped us finish plan and section drawings, and he organised us into rowdy bucket-and-shovel brigades, filling in by lamplight.

Clare Golson, pregnant with Toby, rested on the beautiful little beach below the site, while the hyperactive two-year-olds Kate Golson and Kristin Groube played in the water, under watchful eyes. We were all housed in dilapidated tents behind the beach, with no running water, too few buckets and unreliable food deliveries topped up by abundant gifts of fresh fish from friendly locals. Jack, clearly enjoying himself, would have been used to all these conditions; if Clare was not, she seemed unperturbed.

Immediately after the excavation, the 11th New Zealand Science Congress, combined with the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) Biennial Conference, was held in Auckland (the programme is outlined in Green 1964). Jack had a major role in this, notably as discussant of Les Groube's paper, "The Classic Maori: Prehistoric or Protohistoric", and as chairman of the session of which it was part; and, with Les Groube chairing, in presenting the closing paper, entitled "Ends Are Means: Theory and Practice with Reference to New Zealand Archaeology", later revised and published (Golson 1965). I remember an overwhelming sense of excitement at the issues so vibrantly discussed, and not surprisingly, very little of my own first conference presentation. The Kiwi pub overflowed with archaeologists.

In this heady atmosphere, I was about to start my final year of a BA in anthropology at Otago. I had seen Jack's ideas, amplified through my teachers Peter Gathercole and Les Groube, as the foundation of a newly emergent picture of New Zealand prehistory. Jack's return from Canberra for the Auckland conference, after a three-year absence, came at a time of energetic theoretical debate, as archaeology had become firmly rooted in New Zealand universities.

Jack's influence had spread throughout New Zealand in the 1950s, his presence ever alert and unassuming. The NZAA Newsletter, of which I was an early reader, documents his expanding network. At the second NZAA conference in Dunedin, in 1957, Jack presented a paper, and later summarised the proceedings (Golson 1957). While in Dunedin, he dropped into a barber's shop, where the chatty barber, Bill Hackett, introduced him to my father, a Medical Research Council boffin. Jack assured him that local things archaeological would shortly pick up, with the arrival in Dunedin of his good friend Peter Gathercole. He was right: Dunedin was ready for Peter's arrival in 1958. By the time I started my BA in 1963, I had already been on several excavations, and was hooked.

Jack Holloway, a friend of my father's from student days, also gave a paper at that early NZAA conference. Holloway's prescient ideas on climate change, aired in our house, were the context in which I began to hear about Māori prehistory. Holloway's NZAA presentation, relayed to Douglas Yen by Jack, influenced Yen's pioneering work on kūmara (Yen 1961).

Jack and I have written about how we were both drawn into the Southeast Asian network of Bill Solheim, Jack through direct approach from Bill, me through the influence of Ham Parker, another of Jack's early Auckland recruits who later taught at Otago (Golson and Kennedy 2004). Solheim, alert to the growing reputation of New Zealand for skilful stratigraphic excavation, had sought Jack's advice, and Ham's participation in Southeast Asian research was mediated by Jack's recommendation. Jack was the second president (1980–84), after Solheim, of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association. This grew out of an earlier association that Solheim had revitalised by active recruitment of Southeast Asian and Pacific scholars. Jack's move to Canberra and concentration on New Guinea research was thus part of an ever-expanding network, into which he drew many of his New Zealand friends, Wal Ambrose, Win Mumford, Les Groube and Douglas Yen among them. Canberra was very well connected to archaeology in New Zealand and Hawai'i, and my post-PhD shift from Southeast Asian to New Guinea research felt like a homecoming.

Figure 4. Jack talking to Korup, Rei village, Lou Island, Manus Province, 1983. Photo by Wal Ambrose.

I recall an evening in the Staff Club of the University of Papua New Guinea, sometime in the mid-1980s, sharing an SP beer with Jack, Les Groube, Jo Tumbe Mangi and John Muke, along with other congenial regulars, mathematician, biologist, linguist; someone lined us up for a family portrait, raising glasses to a lineage of archaeologists. I've lost the photograph, but am proud to have been included with my young UNPG colleagues as one of Jack's academic grandchildren.

On both sides of the Tasman and beyond, Jack's appreciation of people, combined with an insatiable curiosity about ideas, built enduring, collegial friendships, from a wide range of disciplines, into the rhizomatous network on which the community of Pacific archaeology has continued to flourish.

Glenn R. Summerhayes—Te Whare Wānanga o Ōtākou | University of Otago

I first met Jack Golson over 40 years ago. As an MA student I ventured from Sydney to the ANU with Jim Specht to sample modern pottery Specht had collected from Buka in the 1960s. Meeting Jack for the first time was an unforgettable experience. His legendary status preceded him. He was a working-class boy from northern England who ended up in the coal mines as one of the "Bevan Boys" during World War II. He was known as having a strong social commitment, being a member of the Communist Party. He was the foundation lecturer in archaeology at Auckland and moved to the ANU to take up a fellowship, becoming a full professor in archaeology. He was a person with a vision for archaeology in the western Pacific. Jack was a legend. He was also the most important archaeologist working in Papua New Guinea, with his students marking out the knowledge we base our research on today. Both my mentors and supervisors in Sydney (Jim Specht and Peter White) were his students, not to mention others like Ron Vanderwal, Brian Egloff and Peter Lauer, to mention a few.

For someone who had a busy schedule, Jack provided plenty of time to talk about my MA research and to provide sage advice. He was compassionate and also demonstrated a common touch—something that he never wavered from. When I first moved to Canberra in 1988, and later again in 1995, we met up at the university and at social events. I first met his wife, Clare, at a party they held at their O'Connor residence. I turned up very late, and Clare, thinking me a gate crasher, was defending the entrance to their house with a broom in hand, waving it menacingly at me. In hindsight I must have looked a mess with hair halfway down my back and a number of earrings in both ears—and not exactly sober. Thankfully someone from inside came to my assistance and told Clare that I was indeed invited. We became friends after that, in particular after she found out I was a twin, which she thought was good luck. Other events that bring back memories was Jack's giving up smoking. He was a chain smoker. Indeed Craven A (a brand of cigarettes)

had a cigarette dispenser just outside his office door for his personal use. Giving up must have been a problem, and afterwards when we were at events and I was smoking, Jack was behind me taking in deep breaths. He had a great sense of humour.

One of my last acts in 2004 as head of archaeology and natural history at the ANU before moving to Otago was to approve airfares for Jack to attend the New Zealand Archaeology Association's 50th anniversary, held at New Plymouth. It was a special occasion for a number of reasons, not least seeing Jack with Peter Gathercole, Roger Green and Wal Ambrose. Unfortunately, I did not record the event. Another similar event took place two years earlier in 2002 at the Lapita conference in New Caledonia organised by Christophe Sand. Here we had Jack, Roger Green and Richard Shutler together (Fig. 5)—all legends indeed!

So what are my memories of Jack? A great scholar, a visionary, a person with the common touch who treated all people equally. Someone who encouraged Indigenous archaeology in the Pacific and was adamant that the results of archaeology be returned to the Pacific community. A person who definitely left their mark.

Figure 5. Lapita conference, New Caledonia, 2002. Left to right: Jack Golson, Richard Shutler, Roger Green. Author's photo.

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NUKUTAWHITI REDISCOVERED: FINDING THOMAS KENDALL'S 1823 *MARIANNA* CONSIGNMENT OF WHAKAIRO RĀKAU (MĀORI WOOD CARVINGS)

DEIDRE BROWN
Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland

ABSTRACT: In 1823, the Church Missionary Society missionary Thomas Kendall sent 18 whakairo rākau (Māori wood carvings) in three consignments from the Bay of Islands in Aotearoa New Zealand to the Society's headquarters in London. They were accompanied by his letters that described the whakairo rākau's spiritual meanings and a diagram of one carving, depicting the legendary ancestor Nukutawhiti, based on information supplied by Rangihoua Māori and conflated with Kendall's own Māori origin theories. While the letters and diagram arrived (and later influenced twentieth-century Māori art scholarship), one consignment was lost at sea and a second went missing in Australia. The whereabouts of the third consignment has been a mystery, despite an extensive search by the historian Judith Binney. This article presents new archival, photographic and museum research that rediscovers the third consignment's whakairo rākau by tracking them through countries, collections and conflicts. Reassociating Kendall's narratives with the whakairo rākau extends Binney's analysis of them and their meanings and reunites the Nukutawhiti diagram with the whakairo rākau it depicts. The research also reconnects the whakairo rākau, which have existed without provenance for over 200 years in New Zealand, European and United States museums and collections, with their Ngāpuhi tribal origins.

Keywords: Rangihoua, Matauwhi, Nukutawhiti, Thomas Kendall, Church Missionary Society, William Oldman, Horatio Robley, taratara-a-Kae, pātaka

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The current location of dozens of taonga Māori (Māori treasures) collected by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Aotearoa New Zealand during the early nineteenth century and sent to the Society's London headquarters has been a matter of speculation for over 50 years. This article documents new research undertaken to locate surviving taonga from among 18 despatched to London from the Bay of Islands in three consignments by the CMS missionary Thomas Kendall in 1823 (Kendall 5 April 1823: 189–91; 8 April 1823: 599–600; 3 June 1823: 208–10). These are among the earliest taonga sent offshore by Pākehā (Europeans) resident in the country and likely the first to include descriptions derived from Māori informants. Kendall's consignment lists and information in his letters about the taonga's spiritual purpose and meaning were published by the historian Judith Binney

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Brown, Deidre, 2023. Nukutawhiti rediscovered: Finding Thomas Kendall's 1823 *Marianna* consignment of whakairo rākau (Māori wood carvings). *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (4): 397–430. | https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.4.397-430

in a 1967 article in the *New Zealand Journal of History* and the following year in her acclaimed book *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* ([1968] 2005). Binney's *New Zealand Journal of History* article "The Lost Drawing of Nukutawhiti", interpreting Kendall's diagram which had been misattributed to another missionary for many years, was published in 1980. All of this published information has since been influential in art historical and ethnological understandings of whakairo rākau (Māori wood carving). While finding that one of the Kendall consignments was lost at sea and another went missing in Australia, Binney was not able to locate the largest consignment, which was thought to have arrived in London, despite extensive research (Binney 1980: 21; [1968] 2005: 158, n38). This has frustrated attempts to associate Kendall's sometimes complex and ambiguous descriptions with the types of taonga under discussion, and understand what he was trying to communicate about taonga Māori and Māori spirituality (Binney 1980: 21). Documents recently made public have shed new light on the movements of these taonga through time, collections, conflicts and many countries. By reconstructing these journeys it is finally possible to identify the current locations of most of the "lost" consignment's items.

CMS COLLECTING OF TAONGA MĀORI

The earliest taonga Māori to arrive at the CMS in London were sent via Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia, and pre-date the December 1814 establishment of the first CMS mission station at Hohi in Rangihoua, a bay in the western Bay of Islands. In June 1813, the Reverend Samuel Marsden, the CMS's Australia-based agent and driving force behind the CMS mission to New Zealand, dispatched from his Parramatta home "a fishing Net, and a Spear [presumably a taiaha (fighting staff with a blade-like end)] and Club" that he had received as a shipment from the rangatira (chief) Ruatara of Rangihoua (Marsden 1813). Only the net was received by the Society (Pratt 1814). Kendall, in September the following year, sent "various curiosities which I collected at New Zealand & which are contained in the Package you will be so kind as to forward to my friends" (Kendall 1814). A wooden self-portrait bust carved at Parramatta by the visiting Ngāpuhi rangatira Hongi Hika at the request of the Reverend Samuel Marsden in October 1814 caused so much excitement on its arrival and display in London that the CMS secretary, Josiah Pratt, asked for "every portable and curious to be collected, and sent to us as we are forming a Museum" (Marsden 1814; Pratt 1815).[1] After settling in New Zealand, Kendall and other Bay of Islands–based missionaries regularly sent quantities—sometimes specified in number and sometimes not—of small, portable items like weapons, pendants, musical instruments, cloaks, dressed harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) and sample handwriting books to "friends" (likely patrons and supporters), other members of the CMS in the United Kingdom and the Society.[2]

Aside from the handwriting samples collected from Māori pupils in the CMS mission school, these items were procured through exchange with local Māori. Māori had their reasons for providing taonga to missionaries. Exchanges of food and important and personal taonga like weapons, cloaks and personal adornments were a means of creating relationships. In return, CMS missionaries gave iron, blankets and eventually muskets as a conversion and survival tactic, to create material "wants" among Māori (Binney 1969: 144–46, 152). Yet, none of the taonga received by the missionaries up to 1823 were likely surrendered through the abandonment of Māori spiritual beliefs in favour of Christianity, as it was 15 years before the CMS in New Zealand secured its first convert (Lineham 2018). The listings of consignments in mission letters are generally short descriptions of purpose. However, by 1819 Pratt was keen to know more, asking the missionaries for information associated with the taonga that might explain "native superstitions" (Pratt 4 June 1819, 20 July 1819).

THE KENDALL CONSIGNMENTS

Kendall was among the first three CMS missionaries to establish the mission at Rangihoua, which was also the first organised European settlement in New Zealand. Here, the missionaries and their families experienced a precarious existence, being physically distant from, and sometimes underresourced by, Marsden in Parramatta and the CMS headquarters in London. They were, therefore, dependent on food and protection from a succession of local rangatira, including Hongi. In 1820, Kendall travelled with Hongi and another Ngāpuhi companion, Waikato, to the United Kingdom, where the two rangatira worked with the University of Cambridge linguist Samuel Lee on the transcription of te reo Māori (Māori language) and met King George IV. The King gave Hongi gifts that he traded in New South Wales for hundreds of muskets, which were later used to attack iwi (tribes) further south (Binney [1968] 2005: 78; Middleton 2008: 66; Salmond 2017: 148). But in August 1823, Kendall received news that he had been dismissed from the CMS, which objected to his own trading of muskets with Māori; Kendall had previously defended arms dealing as necessary for the mission's survival, as muskets were the main commodity Māori now wanted in exchange for their goods and services (Binney [1968] 2005: 88, 93–95).

In the months leading up to his dismissal, Kendall thought he could redeem his reputation and retain his position in the mission if he was able to explain the Māori spiritual world to the CMS in London through his letters, using the taonga he collected at the Bay of Islands and sent to the Society as visual aids (Binney [1968] 2005: 127). He believed his knowledge of Māori language, spirituality and customs obtained through his engagement with the community had given him insight into the "language, idolatry, theology, mythology, traditions of the New Zealanders [Māori]" (Kendall 11 April

1823: 202). These aspects of Māori culture, he argued, were "inseparably blended together and if I am correct in my judgement to study their ideas is to study the science of metaphysics from nature itself" (p. 202). The purpose of the taonga he sent was to demonstrate the metaphysics of the Māori world as it was "cut out [of wood] for the purpose of commemorating, preserving and handing down the traditions of their forefathers to posterity" (p. 201). Kendall's project was an attempt to communicate across cultures, one that complemented his work on facilitating te reo Māori transcription.

This work came at considerable psychological, personal and professional cost to Kendall, who increasingly found himself torn between two worlds. After gaining the confidence of the Rangihoua tohunga (spiritual leader) Te Rakau, and while married to Jane Kendall, he had a brief relationship with Te Rakau's daughter Tungaroa in the early 1820s. Unable to continue living in the mission station, Kendall and Tungaroa moved from Rangihoua to nearby Kaihiki in March 1822 (Binney [1968] 2005: 103). The missionary kept moving, alone, over the following months: first further north to Whangaroa and then west to the Hokianga; later in the year, he moved between Kaihiki and Rangihoua before reconciling with his wife and settling under the protection of the rangatira Pomare in the eastern Bay of Islands at Matauwhi, near Kororāreka, in February 1823. Kendall reportedly said that he had cohabitated with Tungaroa "in order to obtain accurate information as to their [Māori] religious opinions and tenets, which he would in no other way have obtained" (Thomas Brisbane to Josiah Pratt 29 April 1823, in Binney [1968] 2005: 127). In addition to Tungaroa, Binney proposed Te Rakau and Tungaroa's brother Wharepoaka as other principal informants that Kendall consulted on Māori spirituality (Binney [1968] 2005: 106). His circle of engagement was probably much wider, however, as Kendall wrote that "some of the native children who are not more than six of seven years of age can explain to me with ease … the mysteries of their own system" (Kendall 9 April 1823: 612). He explained his understanding of Māori spirituality and its representation in whakairo rākau in a series of letters listing and describing the three taonga consignments between 1823 and 1824.[3] This information became entangled in his letters with his own conviction that Māori were descended from Ham's sons and their spirituality had an Egyptian origin, which he attempted to interpret using theories of Pythagoras gleaned from an 18-volume, 1797 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in his possession (Binney 2005: 133, 137, 158 n49).

Three consignments of 18 taonga were sent from the Bay of Islands to the CMS in London in 1823. Six taonga in one consignment were lost at sea with the sinking of the *Mariner* in April 1823.[4] Four, sent separately in April 1823, were received on route to London in Sydney by Marsden's curate, Thomas Hassall, were retained in anticipation of Marsden's return from New Zealand and have since disappeared.[5] The final consignment of

eight arrived in England in June 1823 on the *Marianna* (Binney [1968] 2005: 158 n38). After his dismissal from the CMS, Kendall became a clergyman for the British consulate in Valparaíso, Chile, in 1825 and two years later moved to New South Wales and started farming, only to drown in 1832 when a ship on which he was travelling sank (Binney 1990).

What became of the eight taonga sent on the *Marianna*? After looking for them, in 1968, Binney concluded:

> The CMS are unable to find any record of the carvings, but they state that this does not mean that they were not received. The *Marianna*, which carried the last eight pieces, reached England safely. It is possible that the British Museum may hold some of them, but there are no acquisition records of any carvings from the CMS. (Binney [1968] 2005: 158 n38)

The CMS no longer possessed any taonga Māori that could be related to the early years of the mission at the time of Binney's research. Travelling collection items were not always returned, and patrons and collectors were permitted to remove or possibly purchase taonga for their own collections.[6] The dispersal of the CMS collections coincides with the decline of the New Zealand missions from the 1850s onwards and with competition from other British public museums with stronger collections (Wingfield 2012: 190). The British Museum and the Horniman Museum in London received all remaining CMS material when it was divested in the 1950s and 1960s. But they have little of the original Māori collection, which suggests that most of the taonga Māori had left the CMS collection before this time. An inventory of the CMS Museum collection in 1903, when mission funding was stopped, only lists four remaining taonga Māori, although there is no evidence that the material Kendall sent was ever exhibited at the CMS Museum (CMS n.d.: 111–13).[7]

REDISCOVERY

A breakthrough in identifying surviving taonga Māori from the CMS collection and (as explained later) Kendall's *Marianna* consignment occurred with the recent rediscovery of a mid-nineteenth-century catalogue showing some of these items (see Table 1). The catalogue (*Musée des missions évangéliques* 1867), acquired by the Getty Research Institute in 1993 and made available online in 2013, illustrates a selection of Indigenous objects shown in the missionary pavilion of the 1867 Exposition universelle d'art et d'industrie in Paris on the Champ de Mars. Missionary organisations working around the world exhibited over 1,500 objects, making it the largest display of Indigenous art in Europe at that time (Vernes 1867). Fifty-four of them were Māori. They included clothing, flax ropes, tools, weapons, fishhooks, body adornments, storehouse carvings, war canoe components,

Figure 1. Taurapa (no. 1), model waka taua (no. 3) and tauihu (no. 6) from the CMS collection illustrated as plate II in the *Musée des missions évangéliques: Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867* catalogue. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (93.R.102).

Figure 2. Kūwaha pātaka (no. 1), poupou (no. 2) and tekoteko (no. 3) from the CMS collection illustrated as plate XI in the *Musée des missions évangéliques: Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867* catalogue. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (93.R.102).

musical instruments and treasure boxes.[8] These taonga were displayed alongside mission and other religious texts in English and te reo Māori. Six taonga Māori are illustrated on two plates of the album (Figs 1 and 2) and all were supplied by the CMS.[9] Using the illustrations as an identification tool, it was possible to identify three of these taonga in current collections: a tauihu (war canoe prow) in the Museum Rietberg, Zürich (Inv.-Nr. RPO 12) and a magnificent kūwaha pātaka (doorway of a raised storehouse) and poupou (wall carving) in Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum (VI 31789 & VI 31790). A taurapa (war canoe sternpost), model waka taua (war canoe) and possible tekoteko (house gable figure) shown in the Paris catalogue could not be located through this process. Records obtained for the three taonga located in museums said nothing of their CMS collection history, although they reveal all three taonga were purchased by the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (the forerunner of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin) from the London-based antiquities dealer William Oldman on 8 May 1911.

Oldman is a legendary figure in ethnological antiquities dealing. Born in 1879, Oldman began collecting when he was 15 years old, amassing the largest private collection of its type owned by a single individual (Waterfield 2006: 65). He stored his inventory in his homes, the first in Brixton and the second in Clapham, which were literally packed to the rafters with Indigenous art from around the world (Roger Neich and Janet Davidson in Oldman 2004: viii). Indeed, photographs taken about 1911 inside his Brixton house show the kūwaha pātaka and poupou from the CMS collection that were exhibited in Paris, the taurapa (which he kept for his own private Māori and wider Polynesian art collection) appearing in a later image of his Clapham home (Hales and Conru 2016: figs 111 & 112 (Brixton); Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, image no. O.027325 (Clapham)). Despite not travelling internationally, apart from one brief trip to mainland Europe, Oldman had an extensive sales network buying from other dealers, auction houses and small collections and selling to museums, universities and collectors around the world. His private collection of taonga Māori was first published in catalogue form by the Polynesian Society in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* (Memoir 14, serialised in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* between 1936–1938); then as *Skilled Handwork of the Maori: Being the Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts Illustrated and Described* (1938; reprinted 1946); and again as *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* (2004) with an introduction by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson. He sold most of his Māori and Polynesian collections to the New Zealand Government for £44,000 in 1948, a year before he passed away (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xix). These have been widely distributed to metropolitan and regional museums around New Zealand (xxvii).

The taurapa exhibited in Paris remained in his private collection and was listed in the *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts* catalogue (no. 49) as being from Te Puke in the Bay of Plenty—with no mention of its time in the CMS collection (Oldman 2004: 25, plate 69). Two other taonga in the Oldman catalogue were also attributed to Te Puke: a damaged taurapa now in Tūhura Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand (Oldman catalogue no. 49A; Oldman 2004: 26, plate 70; Tūhura Otago Museum object number O50.037), and a pare (which Oldman calls a "korupe") (door lintel) in Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand (Oldman catalogue no. 42; Oldman 2004: 29, plate 84; Canterbury Museum object number E150.594A).

An examination of Oldman's detailed and extensive outward sales registers, currently in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa archives in Wellington, provided his object numbers for the three Paris-exhibited items at their time of sale to the Museum für Völkerkunde (Oldman 1902–1916). While the CMS is not mentioned as an earlier vendor in the sales register, a small label found with others in an envelope kept with registers appears to belong to the taurapa shown by the CMS in Paris (Fig. 3). On one side of the tag is the black pen inscription "[Tau]Rapa—the carved stern of a Māori war canoe from Te Puke Bay of Plenty" with a circled number "49" in blue pen at the top right-hand corner. The other side of the label reads "Ex Missionary Society" in Oldman's handwriting and with a similar blue pen to the number on the verso but different handwriting to the black pen inscription (which is not Kendall or Oldman's handwriting). Since 49 was the catalogue number given by Oldman to the taurapa in *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts* it could be assumed that he was aware of the CMS connection to at least one of these taonga Māori and had deliberately chosen not to pass this information on to the Museum für Völkerkunde (Schindlbeck 2018: n.p.).

Oldman's inward purchase registers show that the Paris-exhibited tauihu, taurapa, kūwaha pātaka and poupou, the taurapa in Tūhura Otago Museum and the pare in Canterbury Museum, as well as a paepae pātaka (threshold of a raised storehouse) cut in two were sold to him by Horatio Robley on 8 November 1910 (Oldman 1910). Robley had been a colonial soldier, fighting against Māori at Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) in 1864 and fathering a Māori son with Herete Mauao during his two years living in New Zealand (Walker 1985: 4). In the United Kingdom Robley began his Māori collection, which infamously included upoko tuhi (preserved Māori human heads). Since he does not appear to have kept a register of his collecting, it is difficult to know whether Robley or someone else directly acquired some if not all of these taonga from the CMS collection, which he is known to have visited.[10]

Table 1. 1823 *Marianna* consignment's collection history.

Taonga and dimensions	1823 Kendall number	1867 Paris *Exposition universelle*	8 Nov. 1910 Oldman purchase from Robley	8 May 1911 Oldman sale register	1938 *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*	Current location
Poupou h 165 × w 66 × d 10 cm (from Ethnologisches Museum)	7 [engraved "VII"]	Vernes catalogue no. 1214; illustrated catalogue plate XI no. 2	No. 23695 "Door or Board" £20	No. 23695 "New Zealand Door Board"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £66		Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, object no. VI 31790
Pare h 53 × w 154 cm (from Oldman cat.)	8 [engraved "VIII", with "V" currently covered by earlier repair]		No. 23690 "New Zealand Over Door" £10	"Over Door"; kept for Oldman collection	"House Lintel (korupe)", catalogue no. 42, plate 84	Canterbury Museum, object no. E150.594A
Pare h 34.3 × w 89.2 × d 4.8 cm (from Brooklyn Museum)	9 [engraved "IX"]		n/a	n/a	n/a	Sold by Judith A. Small Galleries, New York, on 11 October 1961 to Brooklyn Museum; Brooklyn Museum object no. 61.126
Taurapa h 224 × w (at centre) 43 cm (from Oldman cat.)	10, attributed	Vernes catalogue no. 1213; plate II no. 1	No. 23691 "New Zealand Stern (Te Puke, Bay of Plenty)"	No. 23691 "New Zealand Stern Te Puke, Bay of Plenty"; kept for Oldman collection	"Stern ornament of a war canoe (taurapa)", catalogue no. 49, plate 69	"Stern", Oldman 1948 catalogue no. 49; not sold at 1950 auction; current location not known (presumed New Zealand)

Taonga and dimensions	1823 Kendall number	1867 Paris *Exposition universelle*	8 Nov. 1910 Oldman purchase from Robley	8 May 1911 Oldman sale register	1938 *Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*	Current location
Taurapa h 196 × w 26 cm (from Oldman cat.)	11 [engraved "XI"]		No. 23692 "New Zealand Stern damaged" £10	No. 23692 "New Zealand Stern damaged"; kept for Oldman collection	"Stern ornament of a war canoe (taurapa)", catalogue no. 49A, plate 69	Oldman 1948 catalogue no. 49A; current location Tūhura Otago Museum, object no. O50.037
Tauihu h 48 × w 40 × l 130 cm	12 [engraved "XII"]	Vernes catalogue no. 1213; plate II no. 6	No. 23693 "New Zealand Canoe Prow" £20	No. 23693 "New Zealand Prow"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £38 10s		Acquired by Arthur Speyer in 1939; current location Museum Rietberg, Zürich, object no. RPO 12
Paepae pātaka (left piece) h 37 × l 177 × d 10.5 cm (right piece) h 36.5 × l 129 × d 9 cm (from Ethnologisches Museum)	13 [engraved "XIII"]		Nos. 23696 & 7 "New Zealand 3 Boards in Front" £20 (£12 one piece, £8 other piece)	Nos. 23696 & 7 "New Zealand Front Board" & "Front Board smaller"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £42 10s as one lot		Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, object nos. VI 31791 and VI 31792
Kūwaha pātaka h 175 × w 61 × d 15 cm (from Ethnologisches Museum)	14 [engraved "XIV"]	Vernes catalogue no. 1214; plate XI no. 1	No. 23694 "New Zealand Granery [*sic*] Doorway and piece of leg" £32 (£2 for the leg, assumed £30 for the rest of the taonga)	No. 23694 "New Zealand Granery? [*sic*] Door"; sold Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, £85		Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, object no. VI 31789

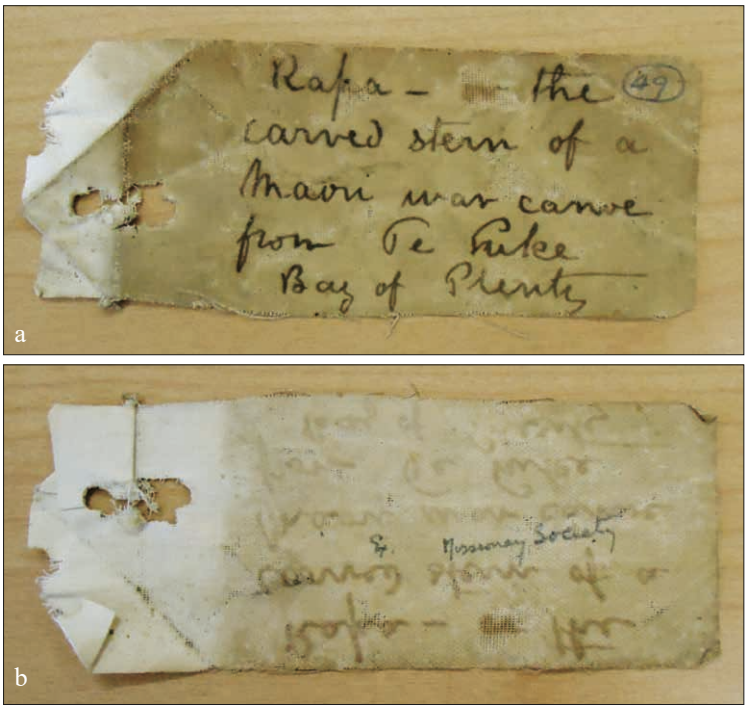

Figure 3. Front (a) and back (b) of label included in Oldman outward sales registers collection at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa archives in Wellington. Label registration number CA000225/001/0007/0001.

The next phase of research sought to establish whether all seven of the taonga sold by Robley to Oldman in 1910 might have come from the CMS collection and if there was a Māori provenance for them. Unlike the small, portable taonga sent offshore by CMS missionaries before 1823, the seven taonga Robley and Oldman were dealing in were sizeable items, likely acquired by missionaries through exchanges of other high-value goods. The only documented large taonga sent to London by a CMS missionary were those sent by Kendall who, in his words, "procured a large assortment of carved work" in 1823 (Kendall 7 April 1823: 594). These taonga had been acquired from Māori when Kendall started trading muskets in the early 1820s, a time that coincides with Ngāpuhi's raids on other tribes during a period of nineteenth-century intertribal conflicts known collectively as the Musket Wars. Binney claimed that Kendall exchanged muskets for these

taonga, although the citation she provides and Kendall's writings about the taonga make no mention of this arms trade (Binney [1968] 2005: 134). Nevertheless, it is conceivable that muskets would have been exchanged, as the taonga Kendall acquired had a high exchange value and guns were in high demand. Each of the items in Kendall's consignments was listed with an Arabic number in the letters that accompanied them. One of his letters, sent in early June with the *Marianna* consignment list, instructed Pratt: "As soon as you receive the first six pieces of carved work which I sent by Capt. Dalrymple [of the *Mariner*] you will be pleased to direct them to be numbered with a chisel, according to the directions on the cards" (Kendall 3 June 1823: 210). No doubt this was to aid cross-referencing with the list number for the carving descriptions in his letters.

Figure 4. Taurapa "XI" (Kendall no. 11) as illustrated (a and b) in the Oldman catalogue (pl. 49A); full length and detail of Roman numeral (c), Tūhura Otago Museum, O50.037.

Although the "cards" associated with Kendall's consignments have not been located, the taurapa now in Tūhura Otago Museum, and sold by Robley to Oldman who kept it for his private collection, has a Roman numeral "IX" or "XI" (depending on its orientation) carved into its surface. The number is clearly visible in a photograph of the taurapa published in *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts* (Oldman 2004: plate 70; Fig. 4). Number 11 on Kendall's *Marianna* consignment list is "Another stern…" (Kendall 3 June 1823: 209). An inspection of the taurapa shows the number has been expertly cut with a knife, rather than a chisel, onto a cut-down surface that would have once, according to the repetition of patterns elsewhere on the taurapa, been a raised double koru (spiral) motif. The inscription raised the question of whether there were similar numbers carved onto the other taonga Robley had sold to Oldman that could be associated with Kendall's *Marianna* consignment list.

My visits to the four taonga identified above in Berlin and Zürich have indeed confirmed that they, and the Tūhura Otago Museum taurapa, Canterbury Museum pare and another pare in Brooklyn Museum, were part of the *Marianna* consignment of taonga acquired from Ngāpuhi in 1823 by Kendall and sent to the CMS in London. Three of the four in Europe all have engraved Roman numerals that correspond to the same types of taonga on Kendall's list. The fourth is also engraved with a Roman numeral but was described by meaning rather than type by Kendall. The difficulty in cutting curves with a chisel or knife may have influenced the decision to use rectilinear Roman rather than curvilinear Arabic numerals. The consistent correlation between the items on Kendall's numbered list and the numbered taonga in Berlin, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Otago and Zürich leaves no doubt that they are the taonga he put on board the *Marianna* in 1823.

At Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum, the Roman numeral VII appears on the back of the poupou exhibited by the CMS at the 1867 Paris *Exposition universelle* (Fig. 5). This taonga was described on Kendall's list as follows:

> No. 7 The representation of the Creator completing a Human Being, by means of the principle of light or knowledge which is suspended at the breast; & being no other than a serpent or reptile cut in pieces and placed in the form of a fishing line, fishhook and bait which according to the ideas of the New Zealanders are descriptive of the three essential or first principles from which man derives his origin; namely the breath of life, or fishing line, likeness or the fishhook, and the knowledge or the bait. (Kendall 3 June 1823: 208)

Binney proposed that the references to man's creation, breath of life, likeness and knowledge were concepts drawn from the Book of Genesis's creation sequence (Binney [1968] 2005: 144). She was sceptical of the references and allusions to trinities, of which the tripartite serpent could be

Figure 5. Poupou (wall carving, left) "VII" (Kendall no. 7) and detail (right) of Roman numeral from back, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, VI 31790.

one, that pervade Kendall's writings on the taonga and Māori spirituality, calling this out as "completing for himself the Christian Godhead" (p. 145). The figure "suspended from the breast" is a manaia (beaked character in profile) on the Berlin poupou and not a serpent—with all of its biblical allusions—described by Kendall. On either side of the main figure's head are female manaia and between the main figure's legs is a female tiki (carved figure in an abstract form of a human). A wrought-iron screw is fixed to the back of the poupou. It may be a remnant of the fixings Kendall used for his "cards", since such screws were produced in the mission's blacksmith workshop at Rangihoua (Smith 2019: 118).[11]

Figure 6. Kūwaha pātaka "XIV" (Kendall no. 14) front view (left) and back view (right) showing Roman numeral at top, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, VI 31789.

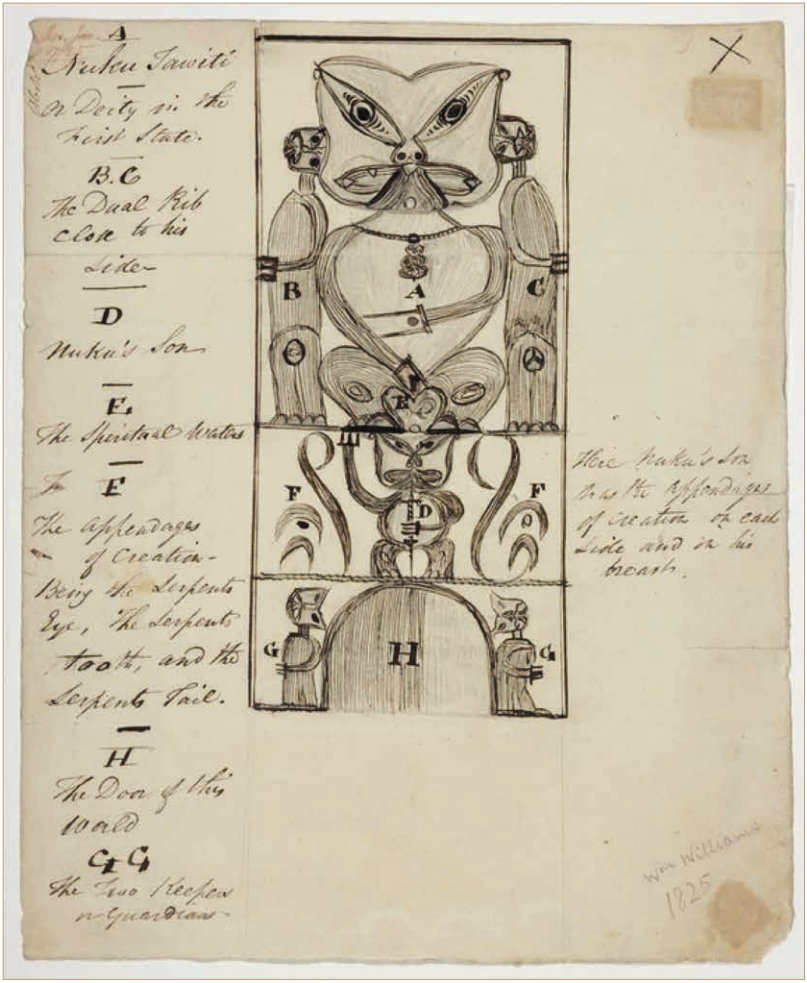

Figure 7. Thomas Kendall's 1824 annotated diagram of a kūwaha pātaka featuring Nukutawhiti as the main figure. Kendall named the diagram "Nuku Tawiti, a Deity in the First State". Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, A-114-045.

A Roman numeral "XIV" is carved onto the back of the kūwaha pātaka in the Ethnologisches Museum (Fig. 6). The taonga also has a clear provenance back to the CMS, through its exhibition in Paris in 1867. On Kendall's list, no. 14 is "Another representation of man in Creation or the second state" (Kendall 3 June 1823: 210). Kendall makes multiple references to three Māori "states of existence" in his letters, which Binney summarised as:

> The first "state" was a state of "*Union*" or perfection, a timeless existence before creation or conception; the second "state" was a state of "Equal and *Dual*", the state of creation and therefore imperfection; the third "state" was "*Triune*", or the end, and a state of rest, and without motion—existence beyond death. The first state is therefore the embryonic or potential state: "creation in pure Embryo". The second state of existence is life in this world. The third is the termination of existence in that it is life without movement: humans and all things are at rest. (Binney [1968] 2005: 137)

The kūwaha pātaka bears a strong resemblance to a kūwaha pātaka drawn as a diagram by Kendall in July 1824, which he included with a long letter to Pratt about Māori spirituality (Kendall 27 July 1824: 246–54; Fig. 7). Kendall may have sketched it from memory as all three of his consignments had been sent the previous year. In the diagram's annotations, Kendall identified the main figure in his diagram as Nukutawhiti, the captain of the *Ngātokimatawhaorua* migratory waka and Ngāpuhi ancestor, and stated that the carving depicted him in the first state of existence. On the Ethnologisches Museum kūwaha pātaka the main figure is flanked above their shoulders by two male figures, whom Kendall calls the "dual rib[s]", and holds a female tiki. The main figure stands above another smaller figure that may have been male, but has had its genitals removed, the prudish CMS being the most likely culprits. In Kendall's diagram, the main figure has a hei tiki (tiki pendant) rather than a held tiki on their chest and is holding a lizard. The smaller figure beneath Nukutawhiti, which also appears on the Ethnologisches Museum kūwaha pātaka, is identified as Nukutawhiti's son, who Binney suggests could be the Sky Father, based on Ngāpuhi narratives accessible to her (Binney 1980: 8). The figures flanking him are the "appendages of creation—Being the Serpents Eye, the Serpents Tooth, and the Serpents Tail" in Kendall's diagram.[12] These are manaia on the Ethnologisches Museum example. Kendall had similarly misidentified manaia as serpents in his description of the poupou also at the Ethnologisches Museum. Tiki figures on either side of the Ethnologisches Museum kūwaha pātaka doorway were labelled as guardians on Kendall's diagram. As a total composition, the kūwaha pātaka represented the passage from the first state of existence, a pre-creation realm, to the second, or life in this world, and as such would have been highly tapu (restricted, sacred).

Kendall's description of the three states was particularly influential on the work of the ethnologist David Simmons, who extrapolated the narrative to encompass the Māori creation narrative comprised of Te Kore (The Void), Te Pō (The Darkness) and Te Ao Marama (The World of Light) (Simmons [1985] 1994: 43; 1997: 153–54). Binney was highly critical of Simmons's approach, which she felt attributed meanings to Kendall's statements that were not justified or properly cited and cast serious doubts on the reliability of Simmons's Ahupiri Council of Ariki informants (Binney 1986: 139–40). In 1997, Simmons published an article on the Ethnologisches Museum's kūwaha pātaka, which he claimed (based on the advice of the Ahupiri Council) was part of a pātaka (raised storehouse) called Te Paringamouuhoki, carved by the legendary Ngāti Porou tohunga whakairo (master carver) Iwirākau, and generations later given to Ngātoto, who reassembled it at Te Horo on the East Coast (Simmons 1997: 151). In interpreting the kūwaha pātaka's composition and meaning, Simmons made reference to Kendall's Nukutawhiti diagram and his own interpretation of the three states of existence described in Kendall's letters, unaware of the close relationship between these documents and the Ethnologisches Museum's kūwaha pātaka (pp. 153–54).

The paepae pātaka, which Oldman sold in two pieces to the Museum für Völkerkunde, is engraved with a "XIII" on the back of the now rejoined taonga (Fig. 8). Its composition is described in detail by Kendall under no. 13 on his list:

> No. 13 The seven first principles constituting man in his second state or this world. On each side of man may be noticed a Beast of a peculiar form dragging man along with one hand and pushing him forward with the other. This beast represents the Sun and Moon. The upright horn or single horn pointed towards the eye of man signified the horn of the sun which enlightens him. The downward horns or dual horn or mouth resting upon the shoulder of the man signifies the two horns of the moon. The Moon is man's timekeeper and presides over his bones. The human being in the centre with a lame leg represents time: the lame leg has a particular reference to time past and the sound leg to present time. Man is partly a living and partly a dead creature. He is dead as to time past, and only lives in present time. (Kendall 3 June 1823)

Kendall's description closely matches the arrangement of elements on the taonga: seven tiki figures each being pulled and pushed on either side by manaia that each have a "horn" (a protrusion above the mouth, likely the nose) pointing to the tiki's eye, and a beaked mouth resting on the tiki's shoulder. The central tiki is female and has one foot facing down, which is the able leg, and one foot curled under the body, the so-called "lame" leg. There is one other female tiki figure on the paepae pātaka, and the other five have had their genital area sanded down; perhaps these were male figures

Figure 8. Paepae pātaka "XIII" (Kendall no. 13) front (above) and detail (left) of Roman numeral from back, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, VI 31791 and VI 31792.

altered by the CMS. Binney correctly deduced from Kendall's description that this taonga was a paepae pātaka (Binney [1968] 2005: 140). She also associated Kendall's references to horns as the sun and moon with the description of Pan as he was described in the 1797 *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Chasing the fantasy of the Middle-Eastern origins of Maori, Kendall had found the worship of 'Universal Pan', the God of Nature, in New Zealand" (p. 140). A physical examination I conducted of the severed ends reveals the paepae pātaka was hand sawn, rather than broken, into two pieces, which is how Oldman received it from Robley in 1910. The cut may have been made to facilitate transport of the taonga on the *Marianna* or storage at the CMS in London.

The tauihu in Zürich's Museum Rietberg is engraved with a "XII" on the upper, back surface of the taonga. On Kendall's list, no. 12 is described as "The Head of a War Canoe called the Pitao or Mystic Tongue or Spear [Fig. 9]. It will be shewn that to enter the head or stern of the war Canoe is according to the New Zealanders a change of state or death" (Kendall 3 June 1823). Pītau is a type of tauihu, like that at Museum Rietberg, composed of perforated spiral (pītau) embellished panels and a front bow figure with arms stretched back. Binney believed that Kendall had confused the sound *tau*, in "pītau", with *tao*, a spear, thus conflating and confusing the meaning of both terms (Binney [1968] 2005: 149). The concept of the waka taua as a type of liminal zone between life and death is another reference to the states

Figure 9. Tauihu "XII" (Kendall no. 12) side view (above) and detail (left) of Roman numeral, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, RPO 12.

of existence defined by Kendall and is still evident in the tikanga (customs) surrounding embarking and disembarking this type of vessel in use today. On the Museum Rietberg tauihu, the thighs of the main figure have less accomplished, possibly later surface carving. This may have been made after success in battle, as Kendall included a description of another type of carving, "A Statue", that had "a shield upon one of its thighs as a commemoration of victory" in his inventory list for the *Mariner* consignment (Kendall 5 April 1823). A wrought-iron screw on the torso of the tauihu's main figure is of the same type found on the back of the poupou at the Ethnologisches Museum, and may be further evidence that these fixings were used to attach Kendall's cards. The tauihu was exhibited by the CMS in Paris and was one of the lot sold by Oldman to the Museum für Völkerkunde in 1911. Unlike the others, it did not stay in Berlin. In 1939, the tauihu was one of 170 museum artefacts sold by the curator of the Oceania Department at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hans Nevermann, to the German ethnographic art dealer Arthur Speyer (Schindlbeck 2012: 147). The Museum Rietberg purchased the tauihu from the Speyer collection for 20,000 Deutschmarks in 1964. By this stage it had been damaged with the loss of both arms from the main figure, since at least one was present when it was illustrated in the 1867 *Exposition universelle* exhibition catalogue.

The pare Oldman acquired from Robley was published as part of *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* and transferred to the Canterbury Museum (object no. E 150.594A) in 1952 following the collection's purchase by the New Zealand government (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xxxvii [no. 42], 29, plate 84; Fig. 10). At the time of its illustration in the Oldman catalogue, the pare was damaged with four missing sections, all of which were replaced after it arrived in New Zealand by Iotua Taringatahi (Charlie) Tuarau (Hatesa Seumanutafa, pers. comm., 4 September 2023). Tuarau, who was Rarotongan and had learned whakairo rākau at the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts, was working as a carver and restorer at the Dominion Museum (known today as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) when he repaired the pare (Brown 1999: 247). The pare is engraved with a "VIII" behind the main figure's head, with the "V" obscured by a wooden brace. No. 8 is described on Kendall's list as "The Crown of the Store house of nature being the representation of a Trinity opening the firmament of heaven and Supporting the light of day. The circular carved work in the field of light" (Kendall 3 June 1823). Perforated spirals, like those on each side of the figures, are regarded in whakairo rākau practice as showing the entry of light into the world ("Te Ao Marama") as described in the Māori creation narrative.

Figure 10. Pare "VIII" (Kendall no. 8) as illustrated in the Oldman catalogue (plate 42; top); in repaired condition (middle) and detail of Roman numeral (bottom), Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, E150.594A.

Number 9 on Kendall's list is "The crown of a man's Bed Room" (Kendall 3 June 1823). This is almost certainly a pare in the Brooklyn Museum, New York, which has a Roman numeral "IX" engraved into the back of the main figure's head (object no. 61.126; Fig. 11). Unlike the other whakairo rākau in Kendall's 1823 *Marianna* consignment, it was not acquired by Oldman. The museum purchased the pare from the Judith A. Small Galleries in New York on 11 October 1961 and has no definitive record of previous ownership (Meghan Bill, pers. comm., 1 November 2023). The distinction Kendall makes between larger carved pare for use on a "Store house", as for number VIII in Canterbury Museum, and a smaller "man's Bed Room" is supported in historical and pictorial evidence of their installation on pātaka and wharepuni (sleeping houses).

Figure 11. Pare "IX" (Kendall no. 9) front (above) and back showing Roman numeral (left). Brooklyn Museum, New York, 61.126.

Kendall also sent two taurapa to the CMS on the *Marianna*:

> No. 10 The stern of feet of a War Canoe; representing the Dual of Mystic Rib, held together at the extreme points or toes by a bird, and defended at the lower part adjoining the Canoe by a narara [*sic*] or reptile.
>
> No. 11 Another Stern, or feet of a War Canoe & sent in order to shew the Society the Uniformity of the design of the natives in respect to the signification of the figures cut out upon them. (Kendall 3 June 1823)

Figure 12. Taurapa thought to be Kendall no. 10 as illustrated in the Oldman catalogue (plate 49). Current location not known but possibly in New Zealand.

As mentioned earlier, No. 11 (engraved with an XI) is currently located in Tūhura Otago Museum, and the current whereabouts of No. 10, exhibited by the CMS in Paris in 1867 and included as no. 49 in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts*, is unknown (Oldman 2004: 25, plate 69; Fig. 12). The latter is not on the list of locations in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts*, which notes that "unlisted items are in Te Papa or did not come to New Zealand" (Oldman 2004: xxxvii). A search of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa online collection database does not yield any former Oldman collection taurapa matching the photographs of this taonga. Māori and Pacific taonga from Oldman's private collection not bought by the New Zealand Government were auctioned by Oldman's widow in 1950; however, the taurapa is not listed in the catalogue (Sotheby & Co.: 1950). The process of dividing between museums the Oldman collection purchased by the New Zealand Government was described by Neich and Davidson as "tortuous", and it is possible that the taurapa did come to New Zealand and is yet to be rediscovered in a museum (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xxiii).

Kendall was correct in his assertion that these two taurapa were of a common compositional type for waka taua. What he identified as a "narara" is a manaia, as is the "bird", since manaia can be expressed artistically with reptilian or avian (and humanoid) characteristics (Brown 2013: 162–64). Binney believed that Kendall misinterpreted the word ngārara, which means "reptile" in te reo Māori, by conflating it with ngā rara, or "the ribs", and projecting this understanding into the two stem-like parts of the design that run the length of the taurapa (Binney [1968] 2005: 149). That led him to associate the "Dual of Mystic Rib" (the two stems) with the rib that God took from man to create woman in the Book of Genesis, thus reinforcing his flawed proposition that Māori spirituality was connected to Christianity (Genesis 2:22; Binney [1968] 2005: 149).

TAONGA TUKU IHO: TREASURES PASSED DOWN

The identified taonga in Kendall's *Marianna* consignment are skilfully executed examples of whakairo rākau that were clearly in use before they were traded with Kendall. Each taonga will have its own history that can be revealed through further research. Some observations can be made about their possible origins based on carving style and events in the Bay of Islands in 1823.

Consistencies in surface carving, specifically the distinctive taratara-a-Kae (also spelt taratara-a-Kai) raised notched pattern, suggest that the paepae pātaka, the kūwaha pātaka and possibly the poupou in Berlin are stylistically related. The surface carvings are not sufficiently similar to suggest they were made by one carver, but this does not preclude them from being parts of the same multiartist-created pātaka. Paepae pātaka, kūwaha pātaka and poupou of similar composition were illustrated in 1827 by the travelling artist Augustus Earle on pātaka at Kororāreka (near Matauwhi; National Library of Australia,

Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK 12/81) and Papuke (a headland pā (fortified village) at the southern end of Rangihoua Bay; National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK 12/69) in the Bay of Islands, places where Kendall lived in the 1820s and just four years after he sent his *Marianna* consignment to the CMS in London. Taratara-a-Kae is associated with Bay of Plenty and Rotorua carving styles (Mead [1986] 1995: 86–88, 93; Simmons [1985] 1994: 29, 77). It is named after the legendary tohunga Kae, who had broken or crooked teeth (thus notched teeth and bite), a person that Kendall refers to in his 1824 letter to Pratt (Kendall 27 July 1824: 254). European accounts from the 1820s describe tohunga whakairo from Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty and the neighbouring East Coast region working in the Bay of Islands as commissioned experts or as captives.[13] This form of patronage, which likely included directives about content, might explain how whakairo rākau carved in the Bay of Plenty style could be interpreted by Tungaroa and her community according to Ngāpuhi traditions and ancestral stories. That their narratives are the ones associated with these pātaka would also suggest that the paepae pātaka, kūwaha pātaka and poupou were obtained by Kendall in Rangihoua, as this was where Tungaroa, Te Rakau and Wharepoaka lived. Matauwhi, on the other side of the bay, was the home of rival hapū (subtribes) that would not be integrated into Ngāpuhi for several years and was, therefore, a place where Tungaroa's hapū were unwelcome (Sissons *et al.* 1987: 149).

Both taurapa and the pare in Canterbury Museum were listed in *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts* as being from "Te Puke, Bay of Plenty", which is about 500 km south of the Bay of Islands. Inspection of Oldman's inward register only shows the more intact taurapa with a Te Puke attribution, the same attribution given on the associated object tag mentioned above. It would appear that the attribution to Te Puke for the second, damaged taurapa and the pare was transcribed incorrectly at the time of making *The Oldman Collection of Māori Artifacts*, probably because they were always together in numerical order in Oldman's registers and almost 30 years had passed since their purchase from Robley. Kendall does not mention Te Puke in his list for these taonga. It is possible that the accompanying "cards" he mentioned for his *Mariner* consignment were also included in the *Marianna* consignment and had additional information.

There are many possible scenarios for the "Te Puke" attribution. The modern-day township of Te Puke is 18 kilometres inland and southeast of Tauranga in the western Bay of Plenty. Although Marsden visited Tauranga in 1820, his CMS missionaries did not travel to Tauranga until the late 1820s (Elder 1932: 264; Williams and Rogers 1961: 488). There seems to have been little to no European contact with this "Te Puke" in the early 1820s. However, Ngāpuhi were active in the Bay of Plenty at this time and could have brought the taurapa back to the Bay of Islands. Hongi, Pomare and fellow Ngāpuhi rangatira Te Morenga, Tītore and Te Wera individually,

and sometimes in pairs, led forces to attack Bay of Plenty and East Coast iwi on several occasions between 1818 and 1823 (Crosby 2012: 30). Hongi and Pomare's combined 1823 war party fought at Paengaroa in the Te Puke district. However, this was probably later in the year, since Hongi's war party did not return to the Bay of Islands until September, and Pomare's January 1824, months after Kendall sent his carving consignment on the *Marianna* (Adams 2021: 84; Crosby 2012: 127, 132, 135). There are also other places with the same or similar name to Te Puke, which can be translated as "The Hill", that had a connection to the CMS. Marsden visited a pā called "Te Puke" near the mouth of the Waihou River on the Firth of Thames, during his 1820 expedition (Elder 1932: 260–21). As he was travelling on foot it is unlikely that he acquired the taurapa here. "Papuke", the fortified pā at Rangihoua Bay, could have been confused with the township of Te Puke at a later date on CMS labels. With so many possibilities, community-based research is required for the Te Puke attribution to be confirmed.

CONCLUSION

Since their publication by Binney, Kendall's descriptions of the taonga Māori he encountered and collected have been influential in some of our contemporary understanding of the compositional and metaphysical aspects of whakairo rākau. They are the basis for interpretations of carvings by prominent scholars such as Roger Neich and David Simmons (Neich 1996: 86, 103–4; Simmons [1985] 1994: 18–19, 22, 28–32). Stripping away Enlightenment and Christian thinking in Kendall's letters reveals the compositional meanings explained to him by Tungaroa and her community, which remain evident in contemporary whakairo rākau. Pare, paepae pātaka, kūwaha pātaka and tauihu are transitional spatial markers that, when physically crossed over, also shift people between states, akin to moving between pre-life, life and death. Although it is beyond the scope of this article, a more fulsome comparison of the now identified taonga that Kendall sent on the *Marianna* with Binney's exacting analysis of his writings and contemporary understandings of whakairo rākau could be made. The rediscovery of the four taonga sent by Kendall to Hassall in April 1823 and then "lost" in Australia would strengthen such a project.

Binney's conclusion that Kendall's descriptions were heavily influenced by Christian thinking holds true when they are compared to the now identified taonga. Less convincing today is her argument that "knowledge of the lore connected with them [whakairo rākau] is lost, and there is no one who knows the meaning of the old forms" (Binney [1968] 2005: 136). Since *The Legacy of Guilt* was originally published, there has been a significant whakairo rākau revival, with the remaining "lore" now passed on to many more practitioners who will have their own mātauranga (Māori knowledge)–informed opinions about the nature and Māori origins of these taonga.

The whakairo rākau identified in this study are remarkable taonga that have survived the upheavals of the Musket Wars, the perils of long sea journeys and narrow escapes during the Blitz (for the taonga that stayed in Oldman's private collection) and the Allied bombing of Germany (for those kept in Berlin) during World War II (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: x). For more than 80 years they were in the possession of the CMS in London, some exhibited in Paris and perhaps taken on tour with others to further missionary exhibitions and meetings or maybe displayed in the CMS Museum in Salisbury Square. This is sadly a rather poorly documented collection given its origins (Barnes 1906: 215). The identification of seven of the eight taonga from Kendall's *Marianna* consignment in museums is a small step forward in the cultural contextualisation of the Oldman collection, which is notorious for being light on origin details even though, it appears, he knew more than he recorded (Neich and Davidson in Oldman 2004: xxxi). It is not clear why Oldman did not pass on the CMS collecting history of these taonga to their new owners when he was happy to attribute a Te Puke origin to three of them in his personal collection catalogue. The most important outcome of this research is that these taonga can finally be identified as being in the hands of Ngāpuhi ancestors in the Bay of Islands in 1823, and perhaps more precisely from either Rangihoua or Matauwhi, where Kendall had his strongest Māori relationships.

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NOTES

1. Three carvings have since been attributed as Hongi Hika's self-portrait bust in different museum collections around the world: those at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum (New Zealand) (on loan from Tūhura Otago Museum, Dunedin), the Macleay collection at the Chau Chak Wing Museum

of the University of Sydney (Australia) and the Brighton & Hove Museums (United Kingdom). Exactly which one (if any) might be the original is an ongoing discussion, since each has characteristics both for and against being made by Hongi. Furthermore, none have evidence of ever having been in the possession of, or removed from, the CMS in London (Brown 2016; Kerehona 2019).

2. Reference to these consignments can be found throughout the correspondence of missionaries up to 1823 that is available in the Marsden Online Archive, https://marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz/.
3. Binney believed that the description in Kendall's letters "were probably culled from notebooks which have been lost" ([1968] 2005: 106, 129).
4. Described by Kendall as follows: No. 1 "Represents a Trinity in Union and perfection"/"A Trinity in perfection and in the First State"; No. 2 "Represents a Trinity in Creation and imperfection"/"A Trinity in Creation and in the Second State"; No. 3 "Represents the Covenant of a New Zealand Espousals"/"A Pregnant Woman"; No. 4 "Represents a Trinity holding up the Earth with the feet, and bearing up the heavens with the 3 Middle fingers of each hand. The Crown of the Universe"/"New Zealand Crown"; No. 5 "The crown of a family"/"New Zealand Crown"; No. 6 "A Statue with a shield upon one of its thighs as a commemoration of Victory"/"The Statue of a Chief" (Kendall 5 April 1823: 190–91/11 April 1823: 201).
5. Described by Kendall as "No. 1 Man in his first State. Presence; No. 2 Man at his End. –Station; No. 3 A New Zealand Crown; No. 4 The Brazen Serpent, having one head broken off" (Kendall 8 April 1823: 599–600).
6. I am indebted to Dr Chris Wingfield who in September 2015 explained to me the likely scenario for the dispersal of the CMS taonga Māori collection, based on his knowledge of the London Missionary Society Museum.
7. The four taonga were a stone patu (cleaver weapon), a wooden patu, an uhi (chisel) and a patu aruhe (fernroot beater). Three additional Māori items are listed as deposited or loaned by individuals who were not attached to the New Zealand mission.
8. Vernes, *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris*, object nos. 53–61, 713–16, 722, 724, 733, 756–57, 760, 762–63, 765, 768, 797, 799, 802, 804–5, 808–9, 852, 855–57, 862, 864, 880, 886, 892, 908 and (CMS taonga Māori) 1197–1214.
9. More of the taonga sent by Kendall in the *Marianna* consignment may have been displayed in the *Exposition universelle* as the Vernes catalogue descriptions of grouped exhibits—"Parties d'un canot de guerre sculptées" (carved parts of a war canoe) and "Poteaux sculptés" (sculpted posts)—are ambiguous in number (Vernes 1867: object nos. 1213 and 1214). An oar illustrated in plate II (no. 4) of *Musée des missions évangéliques* (1867) may have been incorrectly identified as Māori in the catalogue.
10. I am indebted to Lucie Carreau at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, for showing me (in 2017) an undated letter from Robley to Baron von Hügel, in which Robley describes his knowledge of the Church Missionary Society headquarters in London's Salisbury Square where the museum was based.

11. Less likely is that the screws were attached by the CMS or later collectors, since machine-made screws were common in the United Kingdom by the early nineteenth century.
12. Binney misidentifies these figures as the lizard held by Nukutawhiti's son in her analysis of the diagram in the 2005 edition of *The Legacy of Guilt* (p. 154), although she correctly identifies them in "The Lost Drawing of Nukutawhiti" (1980: 16).
13. These include accounts from 1820 by Alexander McCrae and Richard Cruise, Samuel Marsden in 1823 and John King in 1825 (Binney [1968] 2005: 227 n45).

GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are te reo Māori unless otherwise stated.

hapū	subtribe
hei tiki	tiki pendant
iwi	tribe
koru	spiral
kūwaha pātaka	doorway of a raised storehouse
manaia	beaked character in profile
mātauranga	Māori knowledge
ngārara	reptile
ngā rara	the ribs
pā	fortified village
paepae pātaka	threshold of a raised storehouse
Pākehā	European
pare	door lintel
pātaka	raised storehouse
patu	cleaver weapon
patu aruhe	fernroot beater
pītau	perforated spiral
poupou	wall carving
rangatira	chief
taiaha	fighting staff with a blade-like end
tao	spear
taonga (Māori)	(Māori) treasures
taonga tuku iho	treasures passed down
tapu	restricted, sacred
taratara-a-Kae	raised notched pattern in carving
tauihu	war canoe prow
taurapa	war canoe sternpost
tekoteko	house gable figure

te reo Māori	Māori language
tikanga	customs
tiki	carved figure in an abstract form of a human
tohunga	spiritual leader
tohunga whakairo	master carver
uhi	chisel
upoko tuhi	preserved human head
waka taua	war canoe
whakairo rākau	Māori wood carving
whānau	family
wharepuni	sleeping house

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POSSIBLE CLUES TO THE EAST POLYNESIAN HOMELAND: PAPER MULBERRY, SWEET POTATO AND RED-FLOWERED HIBISCUS

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ABSTRACT: Several words designating economically important plants and objects in East Polynesian languages show a peculiar sound change: the loss of a labial consonant (**p*, **m* or **f*) in contact with both a rounded vowel (**o* or **u*) and an unrounded one (**i*, **e* or **a*), in polymoraic words more than two morae long. Such words seem to originate from a hypothetical East Polynesian language whose speakers were responsible for introducing 'paper mulberry', 'sweet potato', 'girdles plaited from banana leaves', 'bowls for pounding food' and 'cultivated red-flowered hibiscus' to their neighbours. The language may have been spoken in the Southern Cook Islands, where the highest number of words with lost labial consonants is found. One of the words under discussion, 'red-flowered hibiscus', is also attested in the languages of West Polynesia, Fiji, Rotuma, Anuta, Tikopia and the Central Northern Polynesian Outliers. This distribution indicates that the Southern Cook Islands were a locus of interaction between speakers of West and East Polynesian languages before the settlement of Remote East Polynesia, that is to say, a place where East Polynesians maintained their ancestral connections. This implies that the Southern Cooks may have been the East Polynesian homeland.

Keywords: settlement of Polynesia, East Polynesian homeland, linguistic borrowings, paper mulberry, hibiscus, sweet potato

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In memory of Robert Blust

Historical linguists are haunted by the ghosts of regular sound correspondences: "Every sound change, inasmuch as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that admit no exception" (Osthoff and Brugmann 1878: XIII). It is not always easy to see the regularities that govern the linguistic facts of distant communities, but when such a regularity is found it allows us to grasp reality through a considerable depth of time. Thus historical linguists are compelled to look for regular sound correspondences, as this is our only means of accessing the linguistic past.

In a very interesting paper, Lex Thomson, Paul Geraghty and Pila Wilson (2020) proposed that the Polynesian words **kau-mafute* 'paper mulberry stick stripped of its bark', **aut*e 'paper mulberry' and **kaute* 'a red-flowered

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hibiscus' are etymologically related (see also Churchill 1912: 227). The authors contend that **kaute* referred to an endemic East Polynesian species that was domesticated in high islands of Central East Polynesia and dispersed westward in pre-European times. Indeed, the relationship between the three words, which share much in shape and meaning, is undeniable. Thomson *et al*. (2020: 431) offered a number of explanations to disentangle the complex relationship between the three reconstructed words but were led to posit several irregular phonetic developments such as *m > *$ʔ$ (replacement of bilabial nasals with glottal stops), *$ʔ$ > *s (replacement of glottal stops with alveolar sibilants) and *s > zero and *f > zero (loss of bilabial fricatives and alveolar sibilants). My purpose here is to present an observation that brings more regularity into the picture and to derive some if its historical implications.

I begin by delineating some basic principles that allow us to trace word etymologies and recover the linguistic past. Then I present a conservative, widely accepted classification of Polynesian languages and discuss cognate sets designating names for 'paper mulberry' and 'red-flowered hibiscus'. I then consider Polynesian words with lost labial consonants and suggest that they all originate from a language once spoken in the Southern Cook Islands. I conclude by suggesting that the Southern Cook Islands were a locus of interaction between West and East Polynesia before the settlement of Remote East Polynesia.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The basic principles of historical linguistics allow us to interpret recurrent phonological and semantic correspondences between two or more languages and can be briefly delineated as follows (see, e.g., Campbell 2004).

Regular Phonetic Correspondences

Comparing two languages, a significant number of cases can be observed in which words with similar phonetic shapes bear similar meanings, and a specific sound in the words of one language recurrently corresponds to a specific different sound in the similar words of the other, without or almost without exception. Such phonetic correspondences are called regular. An example can be seen in the following set: *ϕā* 'four' (Māori)[1] and *hā* 'four' (Hawaiian), *ϕē* 'caterpillar' (Māori) and *hē* 'caterpillar' (Hawaiian), *ϕiϕi* 'entangled' (Māori) and *hihi* 'entangle' (Hawaiian), etc. (see examples in POLLEX, Greenhill and Clark 2011; on Polynesian historical phonology see Biggs 1978 and Marck 2000). The only possible way to explain the observed regularity is via three assumptions.

First, the members of each set where the regular phonetic correspondence between *ϕ* (Māori) and *h* (Hawaiian) is observed are genetically related and

descend from ancestral words: ‘four’, ‘caterpillar’, ‘entangled’, etc. We call words with regular phonetic correspondences cognates.

Second, a regular sound change took place in the history of either Māori (**h* > *ɸ*) or Hawaiian (**ɸ* > *h*) or both (**ʔ* > *ɸ* in Māori and **ʔ* > *h* in Hawaiian).

Third, Māori and Hawaiian are genetically related and descend from an ancestral language spoken in the past. We call this language Proto-East Polynesian.

Hawaiian does not possess labial fricatives *f* and *ɸ* in its phonological inventory, and many East Polynesian languages show voiceless labial fricatives *f* in the corresponding sets. Thanks to this, it is possible to deduce that in Hawaiian **f* was replaced with *h* at some point in time and to reconstruct Proto-East Polynesian words where the phonetic correspondence in question is observed: **fā* ‘four’, **fē* ‘caterpillar’, **fifi* ‘entangled’, etc. The asterisk (*) is used to indicate words and sounds that are not documented but rather reconstructed, interpreting regular sound correspondences between several related languages, and the greater-than sign (>) shows the direction of the reconstructed sound change. The interpretation of the regular sound correspondence in question is supported by the fact that the sound change **h* > *f* is undocumented but that **f* > *h* is observed in the reconstructed histories of various languages and therefore can be considered natural. It is also possible to bring other members of the Polynesian family into the comparison and show that all the languages of East Polynesia, except Pukapukan, are more closely related among themselves than with the rest of the family because they display a higher number of shared phonetic developments and cognate words of which the ancestry is confirmed by regular sound correspondences (Fig. 1).

Regular sound correspondences can be observed between reconstructed languages too, and therefore sound changes could have taken place on reconstructed levels. Regular sound correspondences between the Polynesian languages can be found in the Appendix.

Conditioned Sound Correspondences

Regular correspondences can be observed only in certain contexts, specifically where they reflect sound changes dependent upon neighbouring sounds or upon the changing sound’s position within words. Such phonetic changes are called conditioned. Comparing Māori, Tahitian and South Marquesan with Samoan, it is possible to deduce that Proto-East Polynesian replaced **f* with **h* before the rounded vowels **o* and **u*: *hōu* ‘new’ (Māori) and *fōu* ‘new’ (Samoan), *huhuti* ‘pull up and out’ (Māori) and *fufuti* ‘to haul in a fishing line’ (Samoan), as contrasted with *ɸitu* ‘seven’ (Māori) and *fitu* ‘seven’ (Samoan), *ɸeke* ‘octopus’ (Māori) and *feɔe* ‘octopus’ (Samoan), *ɸaŋa*

'bay' (Māori) and *faŋa* 'bay' (Samoan), etc. This sound change is attested across the world and phonetically motivated because the sounds *f*, *o* and *u* are all labial, and sequences of two identical phonetic features in adjacent segments can be simplified.

Conditioned regular sound changes can be also used for reconstructing the linguistic past.

Irregular Phonetic Correspondences

Comparing two languages, a number of cases may be observed in which words with similar phonetic shapes bear similar meanings and a specific sound in the words of one language corresponds to two different specific sounds in the words of the other. Such phonetic correspondences are called irregular if no complementary distribution is observed, i.e., the realisation is not conditioned by neighbouring sounds. Irregular phonetic correspondences can be explained by the borrowing of lexical items from a related language or dialect.

The regular reflex of the Proto-Polynesian fricatives **f* and **s* in Rapanui is *h* (Bergmann 1963), but a few Rapanui words show irregular glottal stops or zeros (see entries in Englert 1978; Greenhill and Clark 2011; Weber and Weber 1995): *ʔaŋa* 'work' (from Proto-Polynesian **saŋa*), *akaue* 'lever' (<**faka*- 'causative prefix', **sue* 'uproot'), *ʔaruke* 'remove lice' (<**sākule*), *hakaʔou* 'again' (<**faka*- 'causative prefix', **foʔou* 'new'), *ʔoka* 'plant, stab' (<**soka* 'stab, pierce') and *tītaʔa* 'demarcation, boundary, limits' (<**tafa* 'side'). Similar words are found in Mangarevan where the glottal stop *ʔ* is a regular reflex of both Proto-Polynesian **f* and **s*: *ʔaŋa* 'work', *ʔaka*- 'causative prefix', *ʔue* 'lift up with a lever', *ʔākure* 'hunt for lice', *ʔakaʔou* 'again', *ʔoka* 'stick used as digging tool, extract with a tool or instrument, spear' and *titaʔa* 'to be on the side of, said of things' (Rensch 1991; Tregear 1899). A few other unexpected matches between Rapanui and Mangarevan can be added to this list: *urumanu* 'commoners' and *ʔurumanu* 'common people, herd, poor' (<Proto-Polynesian **fulu* 'nature, sort'), *kurī* 'cat' and *kurī* 'dog, cat' (<**kurī* 'dog'). We can assume that the Rapanui words with irregular reflexes of **f* and **s* are post-contact borrowings from Mangarevan because such realities as 'lever' and 'cat' were unknown in Polynesia before the arrival of Europeans. Father Hippolyte Roussel and three Mangarevan converts who stayed on Rapa Nui from 1866 to 1871 were likely to have been responsible for introducing Mangarevan borrowings into Rapanui (Fischer 2005: 97, 113).

The sound correspondence Mangarevan *ʔ* versus Rapanui *ʔ* is attested in a minor portion of lexicon. The correspondence *ʔ* versus zero can be explained by the fact that the glottal stop is systematically, but with exceptions, lost in Rapanui words three or more morae long (Davletshin 2016). Borrowings are

frequently restricted to certain semantic domains that reflect the nature of the contact between speakers of two languages: five of the words discussed above ('work', 'lever', 'again', 'plant', 'demarcation of fields') have to do with communal works, and two ('remove lice', 'commoner') might be perceived as derogatory. None of them belong to basic, noncultural vocabulary, which is known to be more resistant to borrowing. Borrowings from related languages may result in etymological doublets, that is, words similar but not identical in form and meaning that descend from the same source in the ancestral language, one directly inherited and the other borrowed from a linguistic relative (each with characteristic sound changes). Here are two examples: Proto-Polynesian **foʔou* is reflected differently in Rapanui *hoʔou* 'new' and *haka-ʔou* 'again', and Nuclear Polynesian **kiole* 'rat' is attested in two variants, *kioɾe* and *kioʔe*, in today's Rapanui, suggesting that two dialects were spoken on the island before the arrival of Europeans (for more on this see Davletshin 2016).

Irregular sound correspondences can be observed between reconstructed languages too, and thus lexical borrowings can take place on reconstructed levels.

Sporadic Replacements

Comparing two languages, a sound replacement may be observed that is restricted to one or very few words, in contrast with many examples where the sound remains intact in identical phonetic environments. We call such replacements sporadic. Their nature is not phonetic but lexical: a new lexeme is created on the basis of the old one and then the latter falls out of usage. They can be explained by analogy when a word shifts to match a pattern found in other words, especially from a rare pattern to a more common pattern, by etymological reanalysis and by different kinds of word taboos.

The Proto-East Polynesian passive form of the verb **roŋo* 'to hear' is reconstructed as **raŋo-na*, with the vowel alternation in the stem unattested in other passives; both the regular *roŋona* and irregular *raŋona* are used in Māori, and some Polynesian languages replaced the irregular form with the regular one (Greenhill and Clark 2011). Some examples of sporadic replacements in Rapanui might have been explained by the avoidance of words related to bodily excretions, illness or death: *takituɾi* 'earwax' (<**taɾe-tuli* 'ear wax, lit. deafening excrement'), *takatea* 'semen' (<**taɾe* 'excrements' and **tea* 'white'), *tehi* 'sneeze' (<**tise*), *tumu* 'cough' (<**tuŋu*), *tiŋaʔi* 'kill, destroy, murder' (<**tinaʔi* 'destroy'), etc. (Englert 1978; Weber and Weber 1995).

Sporadic replacements can be also observed in borrowings because the speakers of the recipient language can misinterpret and reanalyse the words of the donor language.

Methodological Issues

It can be seen from the discussion above that identical words in two related languages cannot be proven to descend from their common ancestor because a borrowing scenario is always possible. The regularity of a sound correspondence must be observed in a fair number of lexical sets for a sound change to be securely reconstructed. Naturalness and possible phonetic motivation of a postulated sound change can help, although typologically rare, unnatural and unmotivated sound changes are known (Blust 2005). Thus, statistical considerations and regularity are of primary importance in reconstruction.

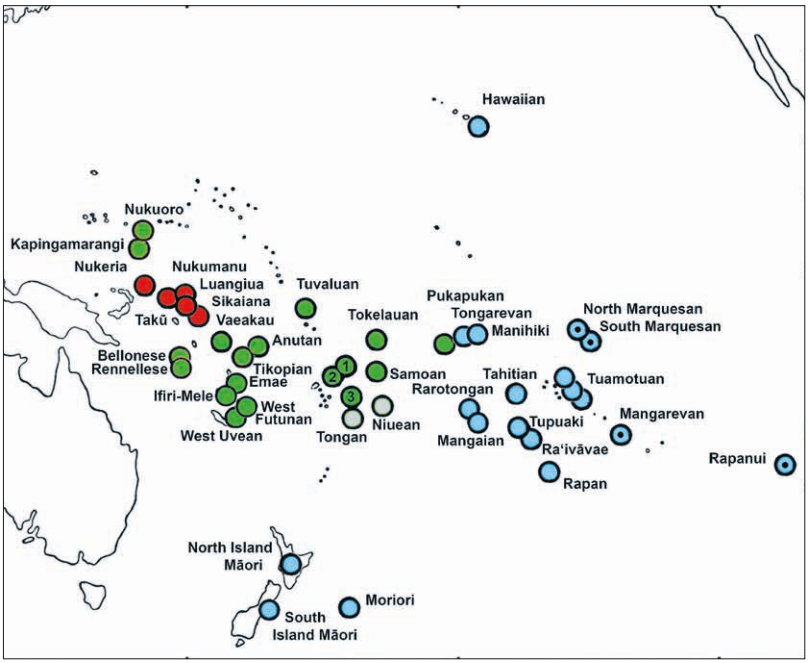

Figure 1. Polynesian language subgroups. Tongic languages (marked grey) are contrasted with Nuclear Polynesian languages, including Central Northern Outlier languages (red), East Polynesian languages (blue) and unclassified Nuclear Polynesian languages (green). Far East languages are marked blue with black dots. Numbers 1, 2 and 3 stand for East Futunan, East Uvean and Niuafo'ou.

Similar and even identical sound changes can take place in the history of related languages, as can be observed in the case of Luangiua in Solomon Islands and Hawaiian and Tahitian in East Polynesia. These languages reflect Proto-Polynesian velar stops **k* as glottal stops *ʔ*. However, they show different reflexes of dental stops **t* (*k*, *k* and *t*) and velar nasals **ŋ* (*ŋ*, *n* and *ʔ*), suggesting different phonetic scenarios and histories.[2] Enormous geographic distances and the absence of other shared innovations in phonology, lexicon and grammar point to the replacement of velar stops with glottals as independent developments in these languages.

Sound changes can spread by contact between related languages, as can be inferred from the fact that the Proto-Polynesian glottal stop **ʔ* was preserved in a few languages spoken on the margins of Polynesia and belonging to three different subgroups: Rennellese-Bellonese, East Futunan, East Uvean, Tongan and Rapanui. Once again, statistical, distributional and geographical considerations are of help, because borrowing can take place only between languages in contact. Distant migrations of people and languages are well known, including in Oceania, but all things being equal, the greater the distances, the less likely the migration.

Languages descend from languages spoken by a linguistic community in a certain time and place. It is not surprising that related languages tended to be spoken in geographically adjacent areas, at least until relatively recently.

To sum up, when recurrent phonological and semantic correspondences between two or more languages are observed, they can be used to recover linguistic and populational histories such as common ancestry and contacts if the proposed scenarios are statistically, distributionally and geographically plausible.

CLASSIFICATION OF POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

These are some 40 Polynesian languages spoken in Oceania (Fig. 1). They form an easily recognisable genealogical group (Biggs 1971; Elbert 1953) that is itself part of the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family (Blust 2013; Dempwolff 1934–1938), specifically related to Tokelau–Fijian (Geraghty 1983; Hockett 1976). Today's Polynesian languages derive from the first colonists in West Polynesia, who populated the region of Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa around 800 BP (Burley *et al.* 2015). Polynesian languages are relatively well documented for a language group outside of the Indo-European family. Proto-Polynesian is relatively well reconstructed (Biggs 1978; Clark 1976; Greenhill and Clark 2011; Kirch and Green 2001). Here I provide an uncontroversial conservative classification of Polynesian languages (Elbert 1953; Pawley 1966) incorporating recent proposals about the specific relationship between Mangarevan, North Marquesan, South Marquesan and Rapanui (Davletshin 2019; Wilson 2021).[3]

Polynesian (a member of the Tokelau-Fijian subgroup):

1. *Tongic*: Tongan, Niuean
2. *Nuclear Polynesian*:
   Unclassified: Anutan, East Futunan, East Uvean, Emae, Ifira-Mele, Kapingamarangi, Nukuoro, Niuafo'ou, Pukapukan, Rennellese-Bellonese, Samoan, Tikopian, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan, Vaeakau-Taumako, West Futunan-Aniwan, West Uvean
   2.1. *Central Northern Outliers*: Nukeria, Takū, Nukumanu, Luangiua, Sikaiana
   2.2. *East Polynesian*:
      Unclassified: Hawaiian; North Island Māori, South Island Māori, Moriori; Mangaian, Manihiki-Rakahanga, Rapan, Rarotongan, Tahitian, Tongarevan, Tuamotuan, Tupuaki, Ra'ivāvae
      2.2.1. *Far East Polynesian*: Mangarevan; North Marquesan, South Marquesan; Rapanui

More detailed subgroupings may be worked out in the future.[4] I consider the Northern Outliers hypothesis and the Futunic hypothesis as plausible proposals (Clark 1978, 1986; Davletshin 2015; Pawley 1967; Wilson 2012, 2018). The Northern Outliers hypothesis groups together the Northern Outliers (Kapingamarangi, Nukuoro) and the Central Northern Outliers (Nukeria,[5] Takū, Nukumanu, Luangiua, Sikaiana). The Futunic hypothesis groups together East Futunan, Tikopia, Vaeakau-Taumako, Emae, Ifira-Mele, West Futunan-Aniwan and West Uvean. Any further subgrouping would not affect the conclusions presented in this paper.

Subgroups of the structure "several unclassified languages" plus "a well-defined lower subgroup" are suggestive of migrations. Thus, geographic projections of the Polynesian classification strongly indicate three major migration events: (i) the settlement of East Polynesia, (ii) the settlement of Far East Polynesia and (iii) the settlement of the Central Northern Outliers. This agrees with a much later dispersal of humans into East Polynesia, from around 1100 BP (Ioannidis *et al*. 2021; Sear *et al*. 2020). It is worth mentioning that a large number of Polynesian languages and the long distances separating Polynesian speech communities provide opportunities for developing detailed, step-by-step linguistic reconstructions based on statistical, distributional and geographical considerations.

Having presented the classification of Polynesian languages and basic principles of historical linguists, we can proceed with the analysis of the words designating 'paper mulberry' and 'red-flowered hibiscus'.

RELATED WORDS DESIGNATING PAPER MULBERRY AND HIBISCUS

Table 1. Polynesian names for ‘red-flowered hibiscus’ and their cognates (based on data from Greenhill and Clark 2011; Thomson *et al*. 2020).

Language	Paper mulberry stick	Paper mulberry	A kind of paper mulberry	Barkcloth	Hibiscus	Flower
West Polynesia:						
Tongan	mokofute				kaute	
Niuean					kaute	
Niuafo‘ou					kaute	
East Uvean					kaute	
East Futunan	kaumafute				kaute	
Samoan	ʔaumafute				ʔaute	
Tokelauan					aute	
Tuvaluan					aute	
Outliers:						
Nukeria					kaute	
Takū					kaute	
Nukumanu					kaute[†]	kaute
Luangiua						aʔuke, uke[‡]
Tikopian[§]					kaute	
Anutan					kaute	
East Polynesia:						
Rapanui		mahute				
North Marquesan		ute	kouhauti		koute, kōute	
South Marquesan					koute, kōute, ʔoute, ʔōute	
Mangarevan		eute	ute[‖]	moʔute[#]	koute	

– *Table 1. continued over the page*

Language	Paper mulberry stick	Paper mulberry	A kind of paper mulberry	Barkcloth	Hibiscus	Flower
Hawaiian		wauke				
Tahitian		aute			ʔaute	
Tuamotuan					ʔaute, kaute	
Tupuaki		aute				
Ra‘ivāvae			aute			
Rapan		aute				
Tongarevan		aute			kaute	
Rarotongan		ʔaute			kaute	
Mangaian		ʔaute			kaute	
Māori				aute		

* Other etymologically unrelated names for hibiscus species have been collected and discussed by Thomson *et al*. (2020: 416–19).

† Nukumanu *kaute* means both ‘red hibiscus’ and ‘flower (generic)’ (Richard Feinberg, pers. comm., 2023).

‡ Two documentations of Luangiua ‘flower’—*aʔuke* (Tryon and Hackmann 1983: 198) and *uke* (Salmond 1975)—are irregular and might be mistranscribed; the expected shape is *ʔauke*.

§ Tikopian *kaumafuta* ‘tripod of poles as a filter stand for turmeric extraction’ is not included in the table because of the uncertain semantic connection and irregular final vowel (cf. Thomson *et al.* 2020: 429).

‖ Mangarevan *ute* is attested in only one source and might be mistranscribed (Tregear 1899).

Mangarevan *moʔute* means ‘piece of cloth offered to the gods in priest initiation rites’ (French: pièce d’étoffe offerte aux dieux au cours de la cérémonie de l’initiation des prêtres) (Rensch 1991).

Related Polynesian names for ‘paper mulberry’ and their cognates are presented in Table 1. Several regular phonetic correspondences from the Appendix can be observed: **t*>*k* (Luangiua, Hawaiian), **k*>*ʔ* (Samoan, Hawaiian, Tahitian, South Marquesan) and **f*>*ʔ* (Mangarevan). Thomson *et al*. (2020: 421) discuss that in Tongan and Niuean an antepenultimate **a* in **-aCu-* sequences normally changes to *-oCu-*, where C stands for any consonant or zero (cf. Marck 2000: 76–78) and, thus, identify Tongan and Niuean *kaute*, unaffected by the sound change, as borrowings that postdate the sound change in question. They also discuss a similar development, **-aCu-* > *-ou-* in Marquesan and Mangarevan (Fischer 2001: 116–18;

Marck 2000: 79–81). Thomson *et al.* (2020: 422) note that the Tuvaluan and Tokelauan terms *aute* show irregular reflexes of initial velar stops *k* and, thus, likely derive from the Samoan *ʔaute*, the source of many post-European borrowings in these two languages.

East Polynesian reflexes for the Proto-Polynesian word for 'paper mulberry' **siapo* do not denote 'paper mulberry' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). On this basis, Thomson *et al.* (2020: 428) infer that the original settlers of East Polynesia did not take paper mulberry with them but rather introduced it later from West Polynesia and borrowed Proto-Polynesian **kaumafute* 'paper mulberry stick stripped of its bark' as a designation for paper mulberry. They show that East Polynesian names for 'paper mulberry' **aute* can be derived from **kau-mafute* by the loss of the morpheme **kau-* 'stick' and deletion of the consonants **m* and **f*, which remain preserved only in Rapanui *mahute*. They further suggest that Marquesan *kouhauti* derives from **kaumafute* by a series of sound changes **m* > **ʔ* > **s* > *h* after the loss of **f* (p. 430). According to them, the form **ʔaute* was borrowed into Rarotongan as *ʔaute*, Hawaiian as **waute* and other languages as **aute*, and, thereafter, developed into Mangarevan *eute* and Marquesan *ute*. Thomson *et al*. (2020: 432) consider that the variety in the related terms attested on the Marquesas indicate that these islands were the original area of East Polynesia where paper mulberry was introduced from the west and cultivated.

Thomson *et al*. (2020: 432–33) further propose that a variant pronunciation **kaute*, irregularly derived by the replacement of **ʔ* with *k*, was developed and increasingly used for the newly cultivated hibiscus species originating in the mountains of the Marquesas. They indicate that the red hibiscus is endemic to East Polynesia and, thus, explain why it had the name transferred to it from the paper mulberry. According to them, red hibiscus with its name **kaute* was later spread all over East Polynesia, reaching the Southern Cook Islands and taken further to Sāmoa, Tonga, Fiji and Rotuma. For Rotuman, the term *kauta* meets the criteria established by Biggs (1965) for identifying Polynesian borrowings, and the distribution of the Fijian name, *ʔaute*, is suggestive of a Polynesian borrowing too (Thomson *et al*. 2020: 421). Thomson *et al*. (p. 420) emphasise that Tikopia has strong cultural ties to the Central Northern Outliers through seasonal voyages undertaken between these islands from ancient times and propose that the plant and the name were spread from West Polynesia to Tikopia and afterwards to the Central Northern Outliers.

Table 2 presents a summary of the relations among the forms as proposed by Thomson *et al*. (2020).

Table 2. Summary of the developments proposed by Thomson *et al.* (2020)

***kau-mafute** 'paper mulberry stick' Tongan *mokofute*, etc.	→	***mafute (loss of *kau-)** 'paper mulberry' Rapanui *mahute*				
	→	***kau-ʔaute (*m > ʔ, *f > zero)** →	***kau-haute (*ʔ > *s > h)** Marquesan *kouhauti*			
			→	***ʔaute (loss of *kau-)** 'paper mulberry' Hawaiian *wauke*, Tahitian *aute*, etc.	→	***kaute (*ʔ > k)** 'red hibiscus' Tongan *kaute*, Nukeria *kaute*, Samoan *ʔaute*, etc.
					→	***eute (*a > e)** 'paper mulberry' Mangarevan *eute*, Marquesan *ute*

I will discuss these cognates organising them into seven subsets, six of which I consider etymologically related; their geographic distribution can be seen in Figure 2.

*Set 1: *kau-mafute* 'paper mulberry stick stripped of its bark'. The reflexes are regular apart from the Tongan *mokofute* with a coalescence of the vowels *a* and *u* and a metathesis of two first consonants, and, thus, the term can be formally reconstructed to Proto-Polynesian. Its restricted geographical distribution in the vicinity of Tonga, however, suggests that the term postdates Proto-Polynesian times, because East Futunan, East Uvean, Niuean, Samoan and Tongan significantly influenced each other's lexicons in pre-contact times (Tsukamoto 1994: 55). The term may have derived from the morpheme **kau-* 'prefix of tree names and wooden artefacts' and the stative verb **ma-futi* 'pulled out, plucked'; see also **futi* 'pluck hair or feathers, pull up weeds, pull on a line'. The vowel is, however, irregular.[6]

*Set 2: *mahute* 'paper mulberry'. The term can be reconstructed to Proto-Mangarevan-Marquesan-Rapanui, although it is unattested in Marquesan. The distribution suggests that it is not inherited from Proto-East Polynesian but independently borrowed from West Polynesia. The term derives from **kau-mahute* by simplification of the prefix **kau-* 'stick' as semantically redundant in the name of the plant.

Set 3: kou-hati 'a kind of paper mulberry'. This Marquesan term is found in one dictionary (Dordillon 1904) and is problematic in several respects: (i) no other East Polynesian language shows the reflex of the **kau-* prefix, (ii) the restricted semantics 'a kind of' suggests a borrowing or a neologism, (iii) the word-final high vowel *i* is irregular, as are (iv) *h* instead of *m* and (v) zero instead of *h*. The word may be unrelated to the other sets or, less likely, mistranscribed.[7] It may have derived from the names for *Abelmoschus moschatus*, a hibiscus species: Tahitian *fautiʔa*, lit. 'upright *Hibiscus tiliaceus*', and Rapan *fautiʔa*, *hautiʔa*, *ʔautiʔa*; see also *autia* 'une herbe' (French: a plant) (Fare Vāna'a 2017; Kieviet and Kieviet 2006; Thomson *et al*. 2020: 417).

*Set 4: *aute* 'paper mulberry'. The term can derive from **kau-aute* by simplification of the semantically redundant prefix **kau-* 'stick' (see Set 2). The reconstruction of the initial glottal stop is possible but problematic.

*Set 5: *waute* 'paper mulberry'. The irregular accretion of the initial *w* in Hawaiian is attested in another word longer than two morae, *wākea* 'space deified; first-order anthropomorphic god', although Mangaian and

Tuamotuan cognates *wātea* are also known (Marck 2000: 168). Thomson *et al.* (2020: 430) assume that **ʔ* was borrowed as *w*. I am unaware of similar examples and suspect a simplification of the word **kauaute* by the loss of the first syllable with the reinterpretation of the vowel **u* as the labiovelar approximant *w*, perhaps in the process of borrowing. The prestressed **u* is realised as [w] in several Polynesian languages, e.g., in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 26) and Nukeria (Davletshin 2018: 118).

*Set 6: *ʔaute* 'paper mulberry'. Rarotongan and Mangaian *ʔaute* may be recent borrowings from Tahitian *aute* 'paper mulberry' (Charpentier and François 2015; Fare Vāna'a 2017; see also Lemaître [1973] 1995: *ʔaute* 'hibiscus; paper mulberry'). It is possible that Rarotongan and Mangaian acquired the glottal stop in the process of borrowing because vowel-initial words received non-phonemic glottal stops at the start of a prosodic phrase (Kieviet 2017: 34–37; Kuki 1970: 60). Additional stops are attested in English loans into Hawaiian, Tongan and Rarotongan (Herd 2005: 72) and Spanish loans into Rapanui: *ʔaramā* 'army'<*armada*, *ʔīrea* 'idea'<*idea*, *ʔavione* 'airplane'<*avión*, etc. (see examples in Kieviet 2017: 58–59). For the same reason, glottal stops are usually preserved in Tahitian borrowings into Rapanui, but in a number of words, they are elided (Kieviet 2017: 60).

*Set 7: *(ʔ)e(C)ute* 'paper mulberry'. The term can be either reconstructed to the ancestor of Marquesan and Mangarevan or interpreted as a borrowing from one into another. Initial *e* vowels are sometimes dropped in Marquesan trimoraic words: Marquesan *ʔeʔo* 'tongue' from **eʔeʔo*, *ʔehi* 'coconut' from **eʔehi*, etc. (Thomson *et al.* 2020: 438). In Mangarevan and Marquesan, an antepenultimate **a* in **CaCu* and **CaCi* sequences can developed into **e*: Mangarevan *erero* 'tongue' (Proto-Polynesian **ʔalelo*), *etua* 'god' (<**ʔatua*), *eture* 'big-eyed scad fish' (<**ʔatule*), *eriri* 'a kind of sea snail' (<**ʔalili* 'turbo shell', cf. Thomson *et al.* 2020: 438). Thus, *eute* and *ute* can be explained as Marquesan and Mangarevan developments of **(ʔ)a(C)ute*.[8] The four words above where **a>e* is attested are reconstructed with a glottal stop **ʔ* to Proto-Polynesian and, thus, justify the reconstruction of **ʔ* for Proto-Marquesan-Mangarevan. The rule stated implies the original form **ʔeCute*, where C is an unknown consonant. The otherwise unattested segment **C* makes this interpretation problematic. Mangarevan *ute* may be mistranscribed as it is attested in only one source (Tregear 1899); if not it must be a loan from Marquesan.

*Set 8: *kaute* 'red hibiscus'. The term can derive from **kauaute* but not **kauʔaute* by simplification of the tautological sequence *auau*, because the shape of the word goes against reduplication rules (Davletshin 2016:

353–55).[9] The sound change *ʔ>k is unnatural and unmotivated, although sporadic replacement of *ʔ with *k* due to hypercorrection can be found in the situation where one dialect of the language shifts *r>ʔ but the other *k>ʔ and interdialectal borrowings are observed (Tryon 1987: 675; cf. Thomson *et al.* 2020: 430, 432).

*Set 9: *kaute* 'flower'. Nukumanu and Luangiua are quite different phonetically but very close lexically (Davletshin 2015). There are not many species of flower on Northern Outlier atolls, and of these the most prominent is red hibiscus; this explains why the term developed into the generic 'flower' semantically (Fig. 3).

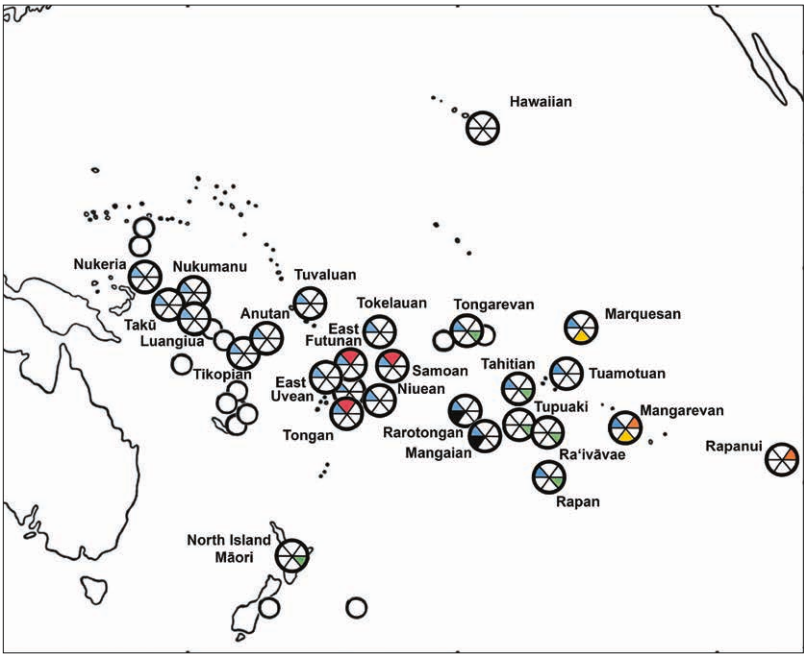

Figure 2. Distribution of the etymologically related words for 'paper mulberry' and 'red-flowered hibiscus' in Polynesian languages: reflexes of **kau-mafute* are marked red (12 o'clock), **mafute* orange (2 o'clock), **aute* green (4 o'clock), **(ʔ)eute* yellow (6 o'clock), **ʔaute* black (8 o'clock) and **kaute* blue (10 o'clock). Hawaiian *wauke* is left unmarked.

Table 3. Summary of the developments proposed.

kau-mafute ‘paper mulberry stick’	→	***mafute* (loss of *kau-)** ‘paper mulberry’				
	→	***kauaute* (loss of *m and *f)** ‘paper mulberry’	→	***aute* (loss of *kau-)** ‘paper mulberry’	→	**ʔaute (glottal stop accretion in borrowing)** ‘paper mulberry’
					→	***(ʔ)eute (*e > a)** ‘paper mulberry’
			→	***waute* (loss of *ka-)** ‘paper mulberry’		
			→	***kaute* (loss of *-au-)** ‘red hibiscus’		

The relationships among the forms as proposed are summarised in Table 3. Mapping of the sets attested in more than one language reveal clear geographical patterns, all but Sets 2, 4 and 7 crossing the limits of the established subgroups (Fig. 3). Such distributions are indicative of borrowing events.

To sum up, the complex relationship between the cognates, the irregularities discussed above and geographic patterns imply multiple borrowing events, which can be attributed to the economic importance of paper mulberry and hibiscus in Polynesian cultures. Most details of this complex relationship can be explained and understood, despite some uncertainties and alternative explanations, but the irregular loss of **m* and **f* in **kauaute* and, therefore, its relation to the word **kaumafute* remain unjustified.

Figure 3. A Nukeria boy adorned with red hibiscus flowers on the lagoon side of Puhuria Island. Nukuria Atoll, Papua New Guinea, 2013. Author's photo.

LOSS OF LABIAL CONSONANTS IN POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

The loss of **m* and **f* is the key point in relating the cognate sets **kaumafute*, **kaute* and **aute*. Thomson *et al*. (2020: 430) suggested a scenario where **f* was lost and **m* was later replaced with **ʔ*, which shifted to **s* and consequently was lost. This scenario is unattractive for three reasons. First, the sound changes **m>ʔ* and **ʔ>s* are unnatural, being undocumented in the world's languages to the best of my knowledge. Second, they are unmotivated because it is difficult to see any phonetic or acoustic reasons for such developments. Third, the four posited sound changes are unique to one word and make the proposed etymology questionable. We can, however, find six other cognate sets where labial consonants **p*, **f* or **m* are lost in East Polynesian dictionaries (Table 3), with the higher number of

Table 4. Loss of **p*, **f* or **m* in East Polynesian languages.

Proto-East Polynesian		Mangaian*	Elsewhere
banana leaf	**rau-maika*†	*rauaika*	*rouaika* 'leaves of the banana', *roamaika* 'green leaves of the banana' (Mangarevan)
banana stem	**puʔu-maika*	*pūaika* 'stem of the banana, fibre made of it'	–
crab spp.	**kōfiti*	*kōiti* 'small black and white marsh crab with red claws'	–
stopper	**kō-pani*	*kōani* 'cork, plug'; *kōmani*, *kōpani* 'stopper, plug'	–
sweet potato	**kūmala*	*kūara*, *ʔūara*, *kūmara*	*ʔuala* (Hawaiian); *uara*‡ 'Hawaiian species of sweet potato', *ʔumara* 'sweet potato' (Tahitian)
wooden bowl	**kumete*	*kuete*, *ʔuete* 'wooden mortar'; *kumete* 'trophy'	–

* Five of the six Mangaian words show etymological doublets, some of which can be explained as borrowings from Rarotongan or Tahitian.

† Proto-East Polynesian **maika* is reconstructed as 'banana, *Musa* sp. (generic)', **puʔu* as 'base of a tree', **pani* as 'block up, stop' and **rau* as 'leaf' (Greenhill and Clark 2011).

‡ Tahitian *uara* 'Hawaiian species of sweet potato' looks like a post-contact borrowing from Hawaiian because of its specific semantics. The dictionary where the word is attested (Davies 1851) does not indicate glottal stops; as such the pronunciation may have been *ʔuara*.

attestations in Mangaian (Christian 1924; Clerk 1981; Davies 1851; Shibata 1999; Te Rangi Hiroa 1934; Tregear 1899). There are eight instances of lost labial consonants in total because the two labial consonants **m* and **f* in **kaumafute* are absent in **kaute* and **aute* (Table 4).[10]

In his vocabulary of Mangaian (1924: 3), F.W. Christian writes that "as a medial letter, *m* is sometimes dropped", and gives three examples—"*ko'ani*", "*ku'ara*" and "*ku'ete*". I assume that Christian used the apostrophe to indicate not glottal stops but elided consonants, which was common practice in European orthographic traditions. This agrees with Te Rangi Hiroa (1934: 7), who states that "the *m* sound has been dropped in two words, *kuara* and *uete*, but there is no glottal closure".

How Can the Sound Change Under Discussion Be Described and Explained? We can see from Table 4 that the loss of labial consonants is restricted by two conditions that are also satisfied in the case of **kaute* and **aute* derived from **kaumafute*. First, all the words under discussion are more than two morae long. This restriction plays its part in several sound changes in Rapanui and some other languages of the family (Davletshin 2016: 359–67). Second, the lost labial consonants (**p*, **f* or **m*) are found at contact with both a rounded vowel (**o*, **u*) and an unrounded one (**i*, **e*, **a*). Thus, the sound change is conditioned.

The conditions defined allow us to propose a likely phonetic mechanism for the sound change under discussion. We can posit that the labial consonants **m*, **p* and **f* became labialised between rounded and unrounded vowels as **mw*, **pw* and **fw*, which were later simplified as **w* and then lost; the resulting **w* was consequently lost at contact with the rounded vowels **u* and **o* because *w* is non-phonemic in this position in at least some Polynesian languages (Elbert and Pukui 1979: 12–13). Two typological parallels to this development can be mentioned: (i) the intervocalic **m* is lost after **a* and before an unstressed **u* in words longer than two morae in Waidina Fijian, Rotuman and Proto-Polynesian (cf. Geraghty 1983: 178–79; 1986: 292), and (ii) both **m* and **k*^{w} can be lenited as *w* in the Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1976). We can alternatively reconstruct the intermediate form **kauʔaʔute* with the labial consonants **p*, **f* and **m* shifted to glottal stops **ʔ*, but in this case we need to admit an unusual and unmotivated phonetic development. Moreover, the form **kauʔaʔute* violates the constraint against co-occurrence of two glottal stops reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian and Proto-East Polynesian (Davletshin 2016: 353).

From a probabilistic point of view, one conditional sound change (the loss of **f* and **m*) is more likely to have occurred than the five previously suggested unique phonetic developments (loss of **f*; **m* > **ʔ*; **ʔ* > **s*; **s* > **h*; loss of **h*).

What Can Be Said About the Language That Underwent the Loss of Labial Consonants?

Mangaian has the highest score of items with lost labial consonants, but there are four reasons for thinking that these words were borrowed into Mangaian. Firstly, the loss of labial consonants is attested in only a few lexical items out of the many that meet the conditions specified for the sound change under consideration.[11] Secondly, three of these items show etymological doublets where labial consonants are preserved ('stopper', 'sweet potato' and 'wooden bowl'). Thirdly, all of them designate economically important objects: paper mulberry used for manufacturing barkcloth, large wooden bowls for pounding food, banana leaves for plaiting heralds' girdles and for serving food (Te Rangi Hiroa 1934: 139; Tregear 1899: 8), stoppers for plugging coconut-shell vessels, sand crabs for bait (Clerk 1981: 239; Elders from Atafu Atoll 2012: 29, 33), and one of the Polynesian staple foods, sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). Fourthly, none of the items where the sound change is observed belong to basic noncultural vocabulary. Therefore, we can conclude that the words with lost labial consonants are borrowings in Mangaian as well as in other East Polynesian languages.

The language where the sound change took place is hypothetical because no Polynesian languages are documented where the change is complete and covers items that belong to the basic noncultural vocabulary. We can identify this hypothetical language as a member of the East Polynesian subgroup because of three lexical innovations: (i) Proto-East Polynesian **maika* 'banana', which replaced Proto-Polynesian **futi*, (ii) **kōpani* 'lid, cover', which is undocumented outside of East Polynesia, and (iii) **kōfiti* 'crab spp.', which replaced **kaviti* (see Greenhill and Clark 2011).[12] It is significant that reflexes of **kōpani* and **kōfiti* are not attested in Marquesan, Mangarevan and Rapanui (Wilson 2012: 304).

Mangaian is the language with the largest number of the words affected by the sound change. The island where it is spoken is the most southerly of the Cook Islands and the second largest of them, after Rarotonga. We are forced to propose that the hypothetical language was spoken somewhere in the vicinity, donated loans for culturally important items to its neighbours and then disappeared. Thomson *et al*. (2020: 427) consider the Marquesas the likely source of the *kaute* plant and its name. This proposal, however, implies that Marquesan either underwent the same sound change independently in only one word or lost the other words where the sound change took place; it also implies multiple independent borrowings of the word westwards to Mangaia, against the main direction of migration. A more economical solution is to locate the hypothetical language on the Southern Cook Islands, situated at the geographic centre of the islands where reflexes of **kaute* are attested because of the large distances involved.

How Can We Account for the Rather Unusual and Varied Distribution of Forms Showing This Sound Change?

We can suggest three supplementary scenarios in order to account for the distribution of **m*-less reflexes in Polynesia. Firstly, the word **kaute* 'red-flowered hibiscus' had reached West Polynesia before the ancestors of the people of Anuta, Tikopia, Nukeria, Takū and Nukumanu left West Polynesia for their new homes. It is possible but less likely that the ancestors of populations in the Central Northern Outliers acquired the plant in their present locations. Secondly, the ancestors of the Hawaiians had borrowed the words **kuala* 'sweet potato' and **kauaute* 'paper mulberry' from the hypothetical language before they started to move northwards but after people had started to cultivate the sweet potato and red hibiscus in East Polynesia (Muñoz-Rodríguez *et al*. 2018). Alternatively and less likely, they were introduced to Hawai'i after the archipelago had been settled. Thirdly, either the ancestors of the Rapanui lost the words **kaute* and **aute* on their way to Rapa Nui, or Proto-Mangarevan-Marquesan-Rapanui speakers had left the East Polynesian homeland before the words *kaute* and *aute* started to spread and only later were these borrowed into Marquesan and Mangarevan. All three scenarios together suggest that the hypothetical language was spoken in the place where the interaction between the people of West and East Polynesia in prehistoric times occurred.

Importantly, the loss of **f* in **kaumafute* and the borrowing of the word from West Polynesia must have occurred relatively early because none of today's East Polynesian languages preserve **f* in the position before the rounded vowels **u* and **o*.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the restricted geographic distribution of the set **kaumafute* in West Polynesia suggests the word was borrowed into some Proto-East Polynesian dialects, after the East Polynesian homeland had been settled. The restriction of the conditioned loss of labial consonants to several cultural words and their geographic distribution in East Polynesia suggest that these words were borrowed from a language spoken in the Southern Cooks. One of these words is **kaute* 'red hibiscus', whose reflexes are restricted in geographic distribution outside of East Polynesia, suggesting that it was borrowed further to the west. These three observations together suggest that the Southern Cooks were a locus of interaction between speakers of West and East Polynesian languages, that is to say, a place where East Polynesians maintained their ancestral connections. This implies that the Southern Cooks may have been the East Polynesian homeland. This scenario is in accordance with recent archaeological and genomic studies indicating that the Southern Cooks served as a gateway to East Polynesia (Ioannidis *et al*. 2021; Sear *et al*.

2020). Indeed, the Southern Cooks are the closest islands of East Polynesia to Niue, Sāmoa and Tonga, at a distance of around 1,000 km, 1,400 km and 1,600 km respectively; a direct voyage from Sāmoa to the larger Society Islands, bypassing the Southern Cooks, would add another 900 km to the journey, and then 1,400 km to the Marquesas or 1,600 km to Mangareva (Allen and Wallace 2007).

The East Polynesian names for another important cultigen, 'sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*)', should be mentioned here (Langdon 1989). The word can be reconstructed as Proto-Polynesian **toro* on the basis of the reflexes **tolo* in Nuclear Polynesian languages, on one hand, and, on the other, because of the Tongan and Niuean *tō*, where the Proto-Polynesian rhotic **r* is regularly lost. The Proto-East Polynesian reflexes **tō* are irregular and look like a borrowing from either Tongan or Niuean, suggesting that the original settlers of East Polynesia did not take sugarcane with them and that the plant and its names were introduced later from the west.

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NOTES

1. In this paper "Māori" is used to refer to the North Island dialects of Aotearoa New Zealand.
2. The overall phonetic correspondences are different, and thus different historical scenarios must be proposed, for example, as follows (cf. Blust 2005: 226–27): i) Luangiua belongs to the Central Northern Outliers, where Proto-Polynesian dental and velar nasals **n* and **ŋ* are neutralised as dental **n*; in Luangiua, velar stops shifted to glottal stops (**k* > *ʔ*); dental stops were recruited to fill in the place left by the velar stops (**t* > *k*); this prompted dental nasals to shift to velar ones (**n* > *ŋ*). ii) Proto-Polynesian dental and velar nasals were also neutralised in Hawaiian as dentals (**ŋ* > *n*), but the sound changes **k* > *ʔ* and **t* > *k* did not affect the dental nasals (**n* > *n*). iii) Tahitian shifted velar stops and nasals to glottal stops (**k* > *ʔ*, **ŋ* > *ʔ*), but original dental segments (**t*, **n*) remained unchanged.
3. I concur with William Wilson's proposal that Mangarevan, Marquesan and Rapanui are specifically related and descended from a single speech community, and arrived at that conclusion independently from him (Davletshin 2019; cf. Thomson *et al*. 2020: 435; Wilson 2021: 43; 2022: 285). Nevertheless, I do not agree with his suggestion that Mangarevan and Rapanui are specifically

related as opposed to Marquesan languages because of some innovations shared between Mangarevan and Marquesan, in particular, between Mangarevan and South Marquesan. The evidence will be presented in another publication.

4. Tongan and Niuean may not be specifically related because they share few if any innovations in the basic lexicon.
5. The term Nukeria is used to designate the language and the people, since my consultants insist that it is the correct name and that Nukuria is a word from a local "trade language". The term Nukuria is used as the name of the atoll (Davletshin 2018).
6. In Samoan, word-final mid vowels *e* and *o* are more closed and even rhyme with *i* and *u* (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 25, 35); in Nukeria and Takū, phrase-final vowels *e* and *o* are realised as [*i*] and [*u*] (author's fieldwork data, 2013). This can explain the irregular vowel *e* instead of *i*, but only if we assume that the term was borrowed from a neighbour language with the final vowel misinterpreted.
7. Ross Clark (pers. comm., 2022) sees *kouhauti* as representing the original compound **kaumafute*, with the loss of **m*, the regular shifts **au* > *ou* and **f* > *h*, further metathesis of *h* and unexplained change **e* > *i*.
8. The form *eute* 'papyrus' (Tregear 1899) may be mistranscribed because several vowel-initial entries in Tregear's dictionary include an accreted article *e*: *eau* '*Hibiscus tileaceus*' (*ʔau* < **fau*), *ereŋa* 'turmeric' (< **reŋa*), etc. (Ross Clark, pers. comm., 2022). Nevertheless, Janeau (1908: 28) also gives *eute* 'nom du papyrus poussant sans culture' (French: name for papyrus growing in the wild).
9. Bimoiraic roots $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ are reduplicated as C_1V_1-$C_1V_1C_2V_2$ and $C_1V_1C_2V_2$-$C_1V_1C_2V_2$, and trimoraic roots $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3$ as $C_1V_1V_1$-$C_2V_2C_3V_3$ and $C_1V_1V_1$-$C_2V_2C_3V_3$-$C_2V_2C_3V_3$ (C stands for a consonant, V for a vowel and numbers in subscript identify the segments). The word **kute-kute* 'red' (attested in Mangaian, Rarotongan and Tahitian) might be etymologically related to **kaute* 'red-flowered hibiscus', and the loss of **a* can be explained by the fact that Polynesian colour terms tend to be reduplicated, bimoraic roots in Polynesian languages.
10. In East Polynesian languages, **f* shifted to *h* preceding the rounded vowels **o* and **u*. Thus, the labial identity of **f* in this sound change is questionable because the loss of **f* might have taken place before the sound change **f* > *h*.
11. I list several entries where the sound change is expected but not attested in Mangaian: *ʔaumata* 'face', *kaʔumata* 'a place name', *kūʔmaku* 'masticate', *ʔomaʔa* 'urinate', *raupipi* 'young rudderfish (*Kyphosus* sp.)', *tōmata* 'begin', and *raumiʔi* 'a kind of crab' (Christian 1924; Clerk 1981; Shibata 1999).
12. Regular reflexes of **maika* are attested in Hawaiian, Mangarevan, Marquesan, Rapanui, Rarotongan, Tahitian, Tongarevan and Tuamotuan. The irregular reflexes *meia* in Rapan and Tupuaki look like borrowings from Tahitian *meiʔa* because of the irregular loss of the velar stop. The Tuvaluan *maika* might be a borrowing too because of the lexical doublet *futi* 'banana (generic)'.

GLOSSARY

This glossary begins with a list of the main reconstructed forms from Proto-Polynesian discussed in this article, and is followed by a list of individual contemporary words mentioned in the article.

**aute*	paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) used for making barkcloth (Common East Polynesian)
**fau*	hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), its bark used for making cordage and fishing lines (Common Polynesian)
**kaute*	red-flowered hibiscus (*Hibiscus* sp.) (East Polynesian)
**kōfiti*	ghost crab (*Ocypode* spp.), used as bait on some islands (Common East Polynesian)
**kūmara*	sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) (Common Polynesian)
**kumete*	large wooden bowl used as a mortar in pounding food (Common Polynesian)
**maika*	banana (*Musa* sp.) (Common East Polynesian)
**raumaika*	banana leaves used for plaiting girdles and for serving food (Common East Polynesian)
akaue	lever (Rapanui)
aute	paper mulberry (Tahitian)
autia	a plant (Rapan)
ʔakaʔou	again (Mangarevan)
ʔākure	hunt for lice (Mangarevan)
ʔaŋa	work (Rapanui, Mangarevan)
ʔaramā	army (Rapanui)
ʔaruke	remove lice (Rapanui)
ʔaumata	face (Mangaian)
ʔaute	paper mulberry (Mangaian, Rarotongan)
ʔaute	hibiscus (Fijian)
ʔaute	red hibiscus (Samoan)
ʔautiʔa	a plant, probably a hibiscus (Rapan)
ʔavione	airplane (Rapanui)
erero	tongue (Mangarevan)
eriri	a kind of sea snail (Mangarevan)
etua	god (Mangarevan)
eture	big-eyed scad fish (Mangarevan)

eute	paper mulberry (Mangarevan)
ʔeʔo	tongue (Marquesan)
ʔehi	coconut (Marquesan)
faŋa	bay (Samoan)
fautiʔa	*Hibiscus tiliaceus* (Tahitian, Rapan)
feʔe	octopus (Samoan)
fitu	seven (Samoan)
fōu	new (Samoan)
fufuti	to haul in a fishing line (Samoan)
ɸā	four (Māori)
ɸaŋa	bay (Māori)
ɸē	caterpillar (Māori)
ɸeke	octopus (Māori)
ɸitu	seven (Māori)
ɸiɸi	entangled (Māori)
hā	four (Hawaiian)
hakaʔou	again (Rapanui)
hautiʔa	a plant, probably a hibiscus (Rapan)
hē	caterpillar (Hawaiian)
hihi	entangle (Hawaiian)
hoʔou	new (Rapanui)
hōu	new (Māori)
huhuti	pull up and out (Māori)
ʔīrea	idea (Rapanui)
kauta	hibiscus (Rotuman)
kaute	red hibiscus (Tongan, Nukeria)
kioʳe, kioʔe	rat (Rapanui)
zkōani	cork, plug (Mangaian)
kōmani, kōpani	stopper, plug (Mangaian)
kōiti	small black and white marsh crab with red claws (Mangaian)
kouhauti	paper mulberry (Marquesan)
kūara	sweet potato (Mangaian)
kuete	wooden mortar (Mangaian)
kūmara	sweet potato (Mangaian)
kumete	trophy (Mangaian)
kūʔmaku	masticate (Mangaian)
kurī	cat (Rapanui)
kurī	dog, cat (Mangarevan)

mahute	paper mulberry (Rapanui)
mokofute	paper mulberry stick stripped of its bark (Tongan)
ʔoka	plant, stab (Rapanui)
ʔoka	stick used as digging tool, extract with a tool or instrument, spear (Mangarevan)
ʔomaʔa	urinate (Mangaian)
pūaika	banana stem, fibre made from it (Mangaian)
raŋona	to hear, passive form (Māori)
rauaika	banana leaf (Mangaian)
raumiʔi	a kind of crab (Mangaian)
raupipi	young rudderfish (*Kyphosus* sp.) (Mangaian)
roŋona	to hear, passive form (Māori)
rouaika	leaves of the banana (Mangarevan)
rouamaika	green leaves of the banana (Mangarevan)
takatea	semen (Rapanui)
takituri	earwax (Rapanui)
tehi	sneeze (Rapanui)
tiŋaʔi	kill, destroy, murder (Rapanui)
titaʔa	to be on the side of, said of things (Mangareva)
tītaʔa	demarcation, boundary, limits (Rapanui)
tō	sugarcane (Tongan, Niuean)
tōmata	begin (Mangaian)
tumu	cough (Rapanui)
uara	Hawaiian varieties of sweet potato (Tahitian)
urumanu	commoner (Rapanui)
ute	paper mulberry (Marquesan)
ʔuala	sweet potato (Hawaiian)
ʔumara	sweet potato (Tahitian)
ʔūara	sweet potato (Mangaian)
ʔue	lift up with a lever (Mangarevan)
ʔuete	wooden mortar (Mangaian)
ʔurumanu	common people, herd, poor (Mangarevan)
wākea	space deified; first-order anthropomorphic god (Hawaiian)
wauke	paper mulberry (Hawaiian)

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APPENDIX

Regular, Unconditioned Reflexes of Proto-Polynesian Consonants (Bimoraic Roots, Word-Initially)

Note: Well-defined subgroups are delineated.

	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*f	*s	*h	*m	*n	*ŋ	*l	*r	*w
1. Tongic:													
Tongan	p	t	k	ʔ	f	h	h	m	n	ŋ	l	–	v
Niuean	p	t	k	–	f	h	h	m	n	ŋ	l	–	v
2. Nuclear Polynesian:													
Samoan	p	t	ʔ	–	f	h	–	m	n	ŋ	l	l	v
East Uvean	p	t	k	ʔ	f	h	–	m	n	ŋ	l	l	v
East Futunan	p	t	k	ʔ	f	s	–	m	n	ŋ	l	l	v
Tokelauan	p	t	k	–	f	h	–	m	n	ŋ	l	l	v
Tuvaluan	p	t	k	–	f	h	–	m	n	ŋ	l	l	v
Anutuan	p	t	k	–	p	t	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
Tikopian	p	t	k	–	f	s	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
Rennellese	p	t	k	ʔ	h	s	–	m	n	ŋ	^{n}g	^{n}g	β

– Appendix table continued over the page

	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*f	*s	*h	*m	*n	*ŋ	*l	*r	*w
2.1. Central Northern Outliers:													
Nukeria	p	t	k	–	h	h	–	m	n	n	r	r	v
Takū	p	t	k	–	f	s	–	m	n	n	r	r	v
Nukumanu	p	t	k	–	h	s	–	m	n	n	r	r	v
Luangiua	p	k	ʔ	–	h	s	–	m	ŋ	ŋ	l	l	v
2.2. East Polynesian:													
Hawaiian	p	k	ʔ	–	h	h	–	m	n	n	l	l	w
Tuamotuan	p	t	k	–	f	h	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
Rapan	p	t	k	–	ʔ	ʔ	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
Tahitian	p	t	ʔ	–	f	h	–	m	n	ʔ	r	r	v
Rarotongan	p	t	k	–	ʔ	ʔ	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
Mangaian	p	t	k	–	ʔ	ʔ	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
Tongarevan	p	t	k	–	h	s	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
North Island Māori	p	t	k	–	ɸ	h	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	w
2.2.1. Far East:													
Rapanui	p	t	k	ʔ	h	h	–	m	n	ŋ	ɾ	ɾ	v
Mangarevan	p	t	k	–	ʔ	ʔ	–	m	n	ŋ	r	r	v
North Marquesan	p	t	k	–	h	h	–	m	n	k	ʔ	ʔ	v
South Marquesan	p	t	ʔ	–	f	h	–	m	n	n	ʔ	ʔ	v

PASIFIKA PERCEPTIONS OF PACIFIC MEN AND WOMEN AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP WITH MENTAL HEALTH IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT: Research exploring Pacific peoples' views of mental health is growing, and this study contributes to this space as part of a larger research project, Pasifika Mental Health in Aotearoa (PMHA). The PMHA was a two-phase sequential mixed-methods project comprised of a survey (phase 1) and an e-talanoa (phase 2). The e-talanoa formed the foundation of this study and explored participant views in response to vignettes that presented a Pacific man experiencing depression and a Pacific woman experiencing anxiety. Pasifika critical realist thematic talanoa analysis of participant responses to the vignettes identified views of Pacific men as stoic and emotionless caretakers that were more likely to suppress emotions and uphold the hegemonic Polynesian masculine ideals of being a leader, provider and protector. Participants perceived Pacific women as emotional nurturers that were more likely to be emotionally expressive and able to navigate multiple roles, including caregiving, providing empathetic support and looking after the home. Overall, this research contributes significantly to Pacific mental health research and highlights the need for more nuanced and intersectional approaches towards Pacific mental health, which can contribute to improved mental health and wellbeing for our communities.

Keywords: Perceptions of mental health, gender, Pacific mental health, e-talanoa, thematic talanoa

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As a Pacific[1] person, and more importantly, as a fefine Tonga (Tongan woman), I am no stranger to the dynamics of gender within our Pacific cultures and particularly within our Tongan culture. I am the only daughter and youngest child of a humble and hardworking man, Taloa Kapeli Kautai, who migrated from Lapaha in Tongatapu to Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ) in the 1970s. Given my father's position as the youngest sibling to three older brothers and three older sisters, I know my place and the role I serve in our family—as the daughter of the youngest brother. I also chose to pursue a career in academia and research, a space I do not occupy alone. I am in this space today because of the Pacific changemakers who came before me, who stand beside me and who will lead after me—our leaders, our parents, our scientists, our communities, our children… I stay in this space because I am invested in growing positive

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health and wellbeing solutions for our Pacific communities. Through my research, I often resonate with our communities through shared experiences, and this research is no different. This research highlights the perceptions of Pacific men and women and their interrelationship with mental health, demonstrating how existing structures and representations of gender can influence how we engage with and experience the world, particularly as Pacific peoples.

PACIFIC MENTAL HEALTH IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Achieving equitable health and wellbeing outcomes is vital to the prosperity of our Pacific communities (Ministry of Health 2020). As a contribution, I developed the Pasifika Mental Health in Aotearoa (PMHA) project exploring Pacific mental health literacy, comprised of two phases: a survey and an e-talanoa. The study I present here draws upon the e-talanoa findings. Pacific mental health research continues to be a broad and growing area, with significant development since the 1980s (Kapeli, Manuela and Sibley 2020). There is vast evidence outlining the barriers that Pacific peoples experience in terms of accessing mental health services (Fa'alogo-Lilo and Cartwright 2021), their higher prevalence rates of mental health challenges (Ataera-Minster and Trowland 2018) and their tragic rate of suicide deaths (Tiatia-Seath *et al.* 2017b). For a broader overview of Pacific mental health in Aotearoa NZ and areas identified for future research, see Kapeli, Manuela and Sibley (2020).

A greater research focus is needed towards exploring Pacific perceptions of mental health (Kapeli, Manuela and Sibley 2020), adding to existing work across a diverse range of Pacific ethnicities (Loan *et al*. 2016; Tamasese *et al*. 2005; Vaka *et al*. 2016), within a sporting context (Marsters and Tiatia-Seath 2019) and focusing on experiences of migration (Foliaki 1997) and mental health service delivery (Suaalii-Sauni *et al*. 2009). Most recently, research in Australia identified how exploring Pacific perceptions of mental health is key to enhancing mental health and wellbeing within and across Pacific communities (Ravulo *et al*. 2021). Ravulo and colleagues (2021) highlighted five key Pacific perceptions of mental health: (i) mental health concerns are aligned with spiritual forces, (ii) mental health is pathologised, (iii) derogatory perceptions are associated with those experiencing mental health concerns, (iv) there is a lack of development in dealing with mental health, and (v) there is a lack of connection to culture in navigating mental health.

The PMHA survey included two vignettes with follow-up questions. Each vignette aimed to resonate with our Pacific communities and was developed in accordance with the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5) and alongside an all-Pacific advisory board that included mental health clinicians. Table 1 provides a brief snapshot of PMHA survey descriptive findings (Kapeli 2022).

Vignette 1 described Tevita's experience of depression:

> Tevita is 44 years old, married, and has 5 children between the ages of 5 and 15. Tevita has been feeling really sad for the last few weeks. Tevita feels tired all the time and has had trouble sleeping nearly every night. Tevita does not feel like eating and has lost weight. Tevita's wife, Siu, has asked him about his strange behaviour, but Tevita says it is because he is busy. Tevita is a bank manager and has been unable to keep his mind on his work, and puts off making decisions. Even daily tasks seem too much for him. This has come to the attention of Tevita's boss, who is worried about Tevita's work and lack of leadership.

Vignette 2 described Malia's experience of anxiety:

> Malia is 18 years old and is in her second year at university. Malia is also a part of her church youth group, works part time at McDonald's and plays netball. Within the last 12 months, Malia has been avoiding youth group and has found it hard to relax. Malia has also felt nervous about all the work she has to do at university. Over the last 6 months, Malia has found it hard to concentrate at university and has also found herself breathing fast and shaking for no reason. Malia thinks this is because she is so busy and not sleeping much. Last week at church, Malia's mother found her in the church bathroom breathing fast, shaking and crying, but Malia's mother did not know what to do and is now very worried.

Table 1. Snapshot of descriptive findings from the PMHA survey.

	Overall participants (%)	Pacific men (%)	Pacific women (%)
Ability to recognise depression	42.3	41.8	42.6
Ability to recognise anxiety	52	45.6	52.8
Demonstration of high mental health knowledge as measured by the Mental Health Knowledge Scale (MAKS)	29.2	29.1	32.5
Indicated experiences of stress	71	73.4	70.3
Indicated experiences of depression	54.9	51.9	55.5
Indicated experiences of anxiety	40.3	39.2	40.4
Identified family as the main mental health support	64.1	67	63
Identified friends as the main mental health support	50.9	48	51
Identified health professionals as the main mental health support	22.6	2.2	19.9

Gender and Pacific Mental Health

Data across the current literature consistently suggests that Pacific men and women have differing experiences of mental health issues. Overall, Pacific women are more likely to experience a mental health issue. Specifically, Pacific women are more likely to experience internalised mental health issues, such as anxiety, depression or eating disorders. On the other hand, Pacific men are more likely to experience externalised mental health issues, such as substance abuse (Foliaki *et al*. 2006; Ministry of Health 2008; Oakley Browne *et al*. 2006). Further differences are seen with higher prevalence rates for intentional self-harm among Pacific women; however, hospital stays associated with intentional self-harm were higher for Pacific men (Tiatia-Seath *et al*. 2017a). From 1996 to 2013, the gender proportion of suicide deaths was significantly higher for Pacific men, at 77.6% versus 22.4% for Pacific women, with the highest prevalence of suicide deaths being among Pacific men 15 to 24 years old (Tiatia-Seath *et al*. 2017b). From 2014 to 2022 (including provisional data from 2019 to 2022), suicide deaths remained significantly higher for Pacific men (averaging 12.2 suicide deaths per 100,000 population per year) versus Pacific women (averaging 2.1 suicide deaths per 100,000 population per year). Overall, Pacific suicide death rates have decreased from 10.3 per 100,000 in 2009 to 7.5 per 100,000 in 2018 (Te Whatu Ora 2023).

These differences in mental health issues, suicidal ideation and death by suicide may in part be due to social expectations placed on men and women. Research on gender and mental health suggests that perceptions of masculinity and femininity are major risk factors for internalising and externalising problems, including the different nature of the stressors that men and women are exposed to, the coping strategies they use, the social relationships they engage in and the personal resources and vulnerabilities they develop (Rosenfield and Mouzon 2013). Gender roles often position Pacific women as being responsible for activities in and around the home (i.e., caring for the home and family), whereas Pacific men are often positioned as holding roles that focus on activities outside of the home (i.e., working as the primary financial earner; Griffen, 2006; Kapeli, Manuela, Milojev and Sibley 2020). Such gender representations are reflected across contemporary Aotearoa NZ where Pacific women are most likely to be employed as carers and aides and Pacific men are most likely to be employed as store workers or labourers. Pacific men also have a higher annual median income in comparison to Pacific women, who are also more likely to do unpaid activities, such as childcare or caring for someone who is ill or has a disability (Ministry for Pacific Peoples 2016; Roughan and Taufa 2019).

As Pacific women tend to engage in more relationally heavy roles (i.e., as carers), it is no surprise that they report receiving higher levels of social support than Pacific men across the lifespan (Kapeli, Manuela, Milojev and Sibley 2020). Given Pacific men tend to engage less in unpaid activities

and receive higher incomes (albeit the lowest in comparison with other ethnic groups in Aotearoa NZ), it is likely that this further contributes to several factors that increase the risk of experiencing mental health issues, including reduced social support and increased financial responsibility as primary income earners. However, it has been suggested that mental health challenges that are internalised for women and externalised for men can be regarded as functionally similar, due to their relative impacts. In other words, they can be seen as comparable expressions of psychological distress (Hill and Needham 2013). It is also important to highlight that the stressors that Pacific men and women experience can vary due to cultural expectations and understandings. For instance, in our Tongan culture we have a relationship ranking structure of ʻeiki (high rank, outrank) and tuʻa (low rank). In particular, sisters ʻeiki their brothers; older siblings ʻeiki younger siblings of the same gender; and the father's side of the family ʻeiki the mother's side (Filihia 2001). In essence, an individual's rank comes with additional responsibilities and pressures as well as entitlements.

As mentioned, the PMHA survey was drawn upon to develop a report that provides a descriptive overview of the survey findings around Pacific mental health literacy for Pasifika in Aotearoa NZ. In addition to this, the vignettes used as part of the survey were accompanied by open-ended questions. Participant responses to the vignettes reflected the gender of the character in the vignette. For example, responses to the Pacific male character (Tevita) referred to qualities that implied stoicism and emotional unavailability, qualities that are usually associated with masculinity, whereas responses to the Pacific female character (Malia) referred to qualities around nurturing and emotional availability, which are usually associated with femininity:

> Males in our Pasifika community do find it hard to articulate their emotions and feelings as it has become the norm. As [Pacific] women, those who find it quite easy to share, we should be more willing to just assure that we are listening. (Sāmoan woman in their 20s)

Responses also articulated how behaviours associated with experiencing mental health challenges were perceived as "typical" for Pacific men (Tevita) but as a personal "responsibility" for Pacific women (Malia):

> Tevita's story is typical of many Pasifika men. It's so hard to share about how you are feeling when you are the head of the family … He is a father and provider for the family. In a Pasifika family hierarchy, he is at the top. Where do you go for help when you are at the top of the hierarchy? (Sāmoan man in their 20s)

> She is taking on too many responsibilities as a young Pacific woman. (Cook Island Māori–Tahitian woman in their 20s)

The patterns of participant responses to the Pacific male (Tevita) and Pacific female (Malia) characters in the vignettes warranted further investigation to understand why participants described the characters in the ways they did. This in turn shaped the development of the PMHA e-talanoa guide used as part of this study, in efforts to better understand how Pacific perceptions of Pacific men and women interrelate with mental health.

Pacific Perceptions of Gender

Dominant representations of Pacific masculinity and femininity have in part been shaped through the impacts of colonisation, which has sought to redefine Pacific notions of gender according to a western lens. Colonisation has contributed to the narrowing representations of Pacific masculinity and femininity, and whilst these are not the only representations of gender that exist, it has influenced dominant understandings of masculinity and femininity that are most commonly expressed or understood by Pacific peoples living in Aotearoa NZ, whereby Pacific men are perceived as leaders and contributing to roles outside of the home and Pacific women are perceived as nurturers and contributing to roles in and around the home. The focus of this study is on perceptions of Pacific men and women in Aotearoa NZ. Yet, gender diversity within the Pacific is far more diverse, including MVPFAFF+, PRC and LGBTIQA+.[2] Please see Thomsen and colleagues (Thomsen and Brown-Acton 2021; Thomsen *et al*. 2021) for a more comprehensive review of Pacific gender diversity.

When exploring mental health, perceptions of gender can reveal intricacies that may be overlooked. Drawing upon social constructionism (Willig 2001), a Pasifika social constructionist epistemology attends to Pasifika perceptions of their lives and how they see the world. Drawing upon critical realism (Willig 2001), a Pasifika critical realist ontology recognises that Pacific worldviews are real and true and shape people's lives in meaningful ways. It also acknowledges that Pacific worldviews can be shaped through colonialism, capitalism and migration. Although social constructionism and critical realism have been critiqued by Pacific scholars, when paired together, researchers can be provided with a way of exploring Pasifika ways of knowing, being and understanding. However, researchers must also acknowledge the cultural complexity and diversity of experiences across the Pacific. Thus, our expressions of gender are fluid and socially constructed, but also informed by our Pacific worldviews in different ways. In this way, subjective understandings of gender will be different and not epistemologically or ontologically singular. Exploring gender in this way can help us to understand that diverse expressions of masculinity and femininity exist across the Pacific; however, there are dominant representations of masculinity and femininity

more commonly understood by Pasifika in Aotearoa NZ. Therefore, how gender is understood within Pacific cultures and communities can influence how individuals, families and communities are affected by mental health.

While Pacific peoples as a collective do share cultural similarities, there are also differing aspects of gender and gender identities that exist in some Pacific cultures and not others. For example, in the eastern and northern parts of the Pacific, hierarchy can be more important than gender, which means that "elder sisters take precedence over men in cultural matters and women can hold high rank with paramount titles" (Underhill-Sem 2010: 13). However, in some Pacific cultures gender can be more important, and women are "explicitly treated as property to be transferred between kin groups" (p. 13). With the rising influence of education and increased awareness of legal and social rights for women, dominant representations of Pacific gender roles have begun to evolve (Macpherson 2001). This change has been apparent across Pacific communities in Aotearoa NZ, where "opportunities for women to work and to earn extended their economic and political influence within family and village networks and within congregations" (Macpherson 2001: 73). It is also important to note that within Pacific cultures, changes in gender representation have affected men's roles too, especially towards normalising (to an extent) shared gender roles and men's increased contribution to childcare and household chores (Sua'ali'i 2001).

For the purposes of this research, dominant gender representations of Sāmoan and Tongan cultures are highlighted due to their cultural prominence among our research participants. Sāmoan culture sees gender relations operate across two domains—siblingship and conjugality (Schoeffel 2014). Historically, the relationship between brothers and sisters was considered sacred, where the status of sister was ranked higher than that of wife (Sua'ali'i 2001). This in turn meant that women as sisters had a very strong influence on matters of importance. It also meant that brothers were to protect the chastity of their sisters, as a way of protecting family status. Thus, unmarried women predominantly had responsibilities within the home whilst men largely had responsibilities outside of the home (Lilomaiava-Doktor 2020; Sua'ali'i 2001). During the mid-nineteenth century, the place that Sāmoan women occupied in the gender power structure was displaced as political agendas saw the need for a male-dominated church structure (Pulotu-Endemann and Peteru 2001). The change diminished the importance of the brother–sister relationship in favour of the husband–wife relationship, whereby husbands gained higher rank and wives were deemed subordinate to their husband. Consequently, women as sisters and daughters still retained equal rights to family land, but women as wives only had access to and use of their husband's lands whilst married (Sua'ali'i 2001).

In our Tongan culture, as outlined earlier, we have a relationship-ranking structure. Women hold higher social status within Tongan society because of the fahu system within families, where the eldest sister (or another chosen sister) holds a place of honour and respect and plays an important role in family decision-making. Even though Tongan society is patriarchal, sisters are ranked higher than their brothers in certain contexts, provided that a woman has a brother and her brother (or brothers) has a child (Government of the Kingdom of Tonga 2019). Dominant Tongan gender representations are similar to those of other Pacific Island countries: women's roles are based around the home, family and extended family, predominantly in caring and nurturing, whereas men's roles include providing food, income and security for the home and family as well as in leadership and politics. Tongan women also do not hold any rights to the family home or land, which will be inherited by their eldest brother or brothers. In Aotearoa NZ, gender roles for Sāmoans and Tongans, like many other Pacific communities, have become more fluid in recent years in response to the economic and social conditions of mainstream NZ society (Helu 1995; Sua'ali'i 2001). In those cultures, it could be argued that the differences in the roles and power between men and women promote gender inequality. Whilst this may be true in contemporary settings, being aware of these gender dynamics may help to better understand the multiplicity of mental health experiences across the Pacific.

Dominant colonial representations of masculinity and femininity have filtered across the Pacific where men are perceived as protectors and are promoted as superior, whereas women are seen as nurturers and are denigrated as inferior (Chen 2014). Lilomaiava-Doktor (2020) discusses how Sāmoan women have "adapted and transplanted their power or power sharing roles into new social and political structures imposed by colonialism and the church" (p. 80). However, any improvements in gender relations are not shared by all women and tend to benefit those with higher education and those living in more urban areas. On the other hand, the patriarchal influence of colonialism and Christianity has "distorted and limited women's participation in decision-making" (p. 80).

Although there is limited research exploring Indigenous and Pacific femininities, Grande (2003) highlights that Indigenous and Pacific women have more in common with Indigenous and Pacific men than with any other subcategory of women. However, there is growing literature around Indigenous and Pacific masculinities, particularly in terms of the dehumanising and hypermasculine perceptions around identity development and behavioural norms for young Pacific men (Hokowhitu 2017; Rodriguez and McDonald 2013).

Recent studies have found that hypermasculine norms increase internalised stigma towards depressive or low moods, restrict ways of coping and promote the masking of emotions that can lead to self-destructive behaviours (Doherty *et al*. 2016; Horton 2014; Valkonen and Hänninen 2013). Hokowhitu (2004), Rodriguez (2012) and Teaiwa (2019) highlighted similar findings regarding hypermasculine attitudes towards Pacific male athletes and outline in greater depth the origins, influencing factors and impact of such attitudes on the psyche and norms of young Pacific men today. For example, Teaiwa (2019) explains how Pacific men are at the forefront of sports such as rugby where they are marketed as hypermasculine spectacles, which both glorify and demonise primitive hypermasculinity. A contemporary Pacific view prioritises a specific type of masculinity while other types are marginalised or even repressed. Chen (2014) describes three expressions of Pacific men: Polynesian warriors, male hula and feminine men. The latter two are often marginalised or repressed by society. Chen argues that colonialism has reconstructed a discourse that favours a Polynesian warrior masculinity which promotes hegemonic Polynesian masculinity.

Integrating aspects of gender into research is valuable. It recognises how different roles, contributions, priorities and needs of women and men are essential to the ongoing talanoa (sharing of ideas/conversation) around mental health in our Pacific communities, and across the wider mental health care sector. When our Pacific communities talanoa and share their perceptions, we are privileged to gain insight into Pacific worldviews that are essential to taking our Pacific communities positively forward. As researchers, we need to provide better opportunities to engage with and work alongside our Pacific communities so that our research goals and outcomes are Pacific-centric. In this way, we put our Pacific communities and their aspirations at the centre, which allows us to work collaboratively to address challenges in a meaningful way.

Overview of the Current Study

This study builds upon findings from the PMHA survey, which included two vignettes describing Tevita, a Pacific man experiencing depression, and Malia, a Pacific woman experiencing anxiety. The participant responses to the vignettes reflected the genders of the characters in the vignettes. The responses to the vignettes guided the direction of the e-talanoa (virtual online talanoa) to better understand why participants described the characters the way they did. I used e-talanoa due to its being contemporary and accessible while also promoting cross-relational understanding across Pacific cultures and research. E-talanoa involved having one-on-one talanoa virtually via Zoom with members of our Pacific communities.

METHOD

Methodology

From Talanoa to E-talanoa. Talanoa is largely understood across Pacific research due to its cross-cultural understanding within many Pacific cultures and its phenomenological approach (Fa'avae *et al*. 2016; Leenen-Young and Uperesa 2023; Vaioleti 2006, 2013). In my experience, the meaning of talanoa can change depending on the time, space or place in which it is situated. Within the context of research, talanoa can again hold different meaning for the researcher versus the participant (Marsters 2023; Matapo and Enari 2021). Marsters (2023) acknowledged the changing landscape of Pacific research methods, that these methods are flexible and dynamic, and that we should not feel misaligned because we apply them in contemporary ways that are not reflected within the literature. However, the essence of talanoa, at least for me, is underpinned by 'ulungāanga faka-Tonga (Tongan ways of knowing and being) and continues to centre the experiences and aspirations of our peoples (Fa'avae 2019). In this way, talanoa not only guided how I collected the data (method) but shaped my analytical approach (methodology).

Due to the global COVID-19 pandemic and the ongoing restrictions across Aotearoa NZ during the time of carrying out this research, e-talanoa was adopted, which shifted the talanoa to an online space (Fa'avae *et al*. 2022; Faleolo 2021). The e-talanoa still aspired to the same values of an in-person talanoa despite being conducted online, such as face-to-face engagement (via video conferencing software), sharing of kai (food; each participant was encouraged to bring their own food to the e-talanoa) and me'a'ofa (gifts; these were sent out via post after the e-talanoa). As a fefine Tonga, I am acutely aware of tapu (sacred) relationships, recognising that male participants may not have felt comfortable to talanoa with me (a woman) in this context. I offered each male participant the opportunity to talanoa with a Tongan male researcher who was familiar with the research project. All male participants opted to talanoa with me.

Development of the E-talanoa Guide. The e-talanoa guide comprised a series of focus questions to facilitate talanoa around Pacific understandings of mental health. The focus questions were key in ensuring consistency between talanoa but also in allowing participants to have autonomy over how they expressed and conveyed their ideas, experiences and thoughts. This approach allowed for a gathering of rich and contextual data reflecting participants' views and perceptions related to mental health. The e-talanoa focus questions were developed after an analysis of the PMHA survey (Kapeli 2022) and a review of research evidence, and in consultation with experts in the area of Pacific mental health. Overall, this study draws upon e-talanoa data that focused on participant views in response to vignettes presenting a Pacific man experiencing depression and a Pacific woman experiencing anxiety.

Position in the E-talanoa. As a fefine Tonga, tauhi vā (keeping the relationship ongoing, alive and well), ʻofa (love, care, kindness) and fakaʻapaʻapa (acknowledging and returning respect) underpin and guide my practice. Mental health can be a sensitive and tapu topic to discuss, and part of upholding these values meant creating a safe and inclusive space for participants and me to share. During the e-talanoa we shared our stories, we shared laughter, we shared tears, and although I was part of the e-talanoa, the analysis is based predominantly on participant responses.

Data Analysis. A Pasifika critical realist ontology combined with thematic talanoa analysis was used to analyse e-talanoa transcripts. I transcribed all interviews verbatim. Critical realism is ontologically realist (reality exists independently of our perceptions) and epistemologically relativist (our understanding of reality is constructed by our own perspectives). Thus, many understandings of one reality can exist (Maxwell 2012). This study aimed to gather knowledge of a reality but acknowledges that the data gathered may not provide direct access to this reality. A critical realist approach to research assumes that data is informative of reality but does not straightforwardly mirror it; rather it needs to be interpreted to provide access to the underlying structure of the data (Willig 2012).

A Pasifika critical realist ontology recognises that Pacific worldviews are real, are true and shape people's lives in meaningful ways. But it also recognises the impacts of colonisation, capitalism and migratory experiences and how these have shaped and influenced our Pacific worldviews. Pacific worldviews are holistic in nature, via the incorporation of links and relationships between nature, people and nonliving and living things (Tamasese Taʻisi 2007, cited in Ponton 2018). In this way, there is no single Pacific worldview but there are shared and recognised values across Pacific cultures that are reflected in Pacific worldviews, such as holism, vā (relational space that fosters connectedness) and relationality. More importantly, acknowledging Pacific worldviews ensures that our research practices and approaches are culturally appropriate for the communities we work alongside.

In this study, one-on-one e-talanoa were held with members from our Pacific communities. The e-talanoa data reflects one person's perspective, and the analysis is an interpretation constructed from findings based on my own understanding, experience and knowledge. As such, the analysis is constructed according to the lens in which the data is viewed. Pacific worldviews combined with the understanding, experience and knowledge that I hold were integral to data analysis. This approach further emphasises how colonisation and the influences of capitalism and westernisation affect the ways in which people perceive the world. It also recognises how Indigenous worldviews, including Pasifika, have been positioned as inferior. This approach was used to validate and emphasise that Indigenous and Pacific knowledges provide a solid foundation for research.

Thematic analysis can be applied across many epistemological frameworks, including that of realism. It is a qualitative research method used for identifying, analysing, organising, describing and reporting themes within a dataset (Braun and Clarke 2006). There are few studies that explore Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men and women in relation to mental health; thus, this research is exploratory. For the purposes of this research, thematic analysis was deemed to provide the most useful methodological framework, as theories can be applied to it flexibly (Braun and Clarke 2006; Clarke and Braun 2013; Willig 2001). Thematic analysis allows the researcher to interpret individual accounts of their experiences and remain close to them, and it is useful in examining individual perspectives, highlighting similarities and differences and generating unanticipated insights (Braun and Clarke 2006; King 2004). Thematic analysis also guides the handling of data, enables a summary of key features of a large dataset and supports production of a clear and organised report (King 2004).

A reflexive thematic approach was used, pursuing both inductive and deductive theme development (Braun and Clarke n.d.). It was deductive in the way that theme development occurred prior to each e-talanoa, drawing upon my personal understandings and experiences, and inductive in the way that transcripts were read and interpreted to develop concepts. Using this approach, each e-talanoa session offered an individual Pacific perception. Themes were then identified so that findings could be transferable and more generalisable across our Pacific communities. The findings were reviewed in light of previous literature, which reflected consistencies. This research provided a platform for our Pacific communities to share their understandings around mental health, and therefore yields important information with useful implications.

In this way, I adopted Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step method of thematic analysis to familiarise myself with the transcriptions using NVivo v1.3. Although NVivo has the potential to compartmentalise themes, the software helped me to navigate the data whilst conceptualising the talanoa as a *whole conversation*. Drawing upon the concept of thematic talanoa throughout analysis also helped in retaining the intricacies of the talanoa by centring participant voices whilst theory and interpretations were built around them (Thomsen 2020; Thomsen *et al*. 2021).

Data analysis focused on gaining insight into the Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men and women and how these interrelate with mental health. The data were coded and the codes examined. By exploring Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men and women, the data naturally fell into two broad datasets: *Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men* and *Pasifika perceptions of Pacific women*. Further thematic talanoa analysis was conducted on each dataset. A total of four themes were identified and defined for Pacific men (Fig. 1) and three for Pacific women (Fig. 2). The themes were then reviewed manually in NVivo and through talanoa with project advisors.

Study Design

This research is part of my doctoral research project, in which I explored Pacific mental health literacy. As part of this, the PMHA survey was developed to explore recognition, knowledge and attitudes around mental health. Using sequential mixed methods, this paper describes a follow-up PMHA e-talanoa study based on findings from the survey. More specifically, the survey included two vignettes describing a Pacific man (Tevita) experiencing depression and a Pacific woman (Malia) experiencing anxiety. The responses to the questions related to these vignettes reflected the gender of the vignette characters. This guided the development of the PMHA e-talanoa guide. This study specifically focused on e-talanoa participant responses in relation to the vignette characters. Ethics was approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (reference number 022137).

Recruitment

Participants had already completed the PMHA survey, and as part of the survey, they were asked if they were interested in participating in future research about Pacific mental health via a face-to-face interview. If participants were interested, they were able to provide their name and a contact number or email address. Recruitment for the PMHA survey was voluntary, and participants opted to complete the survey online or via paper copy. A combination of direct and snowball sampling methods was used. A unique follow-on effect of direct sampling is snowball sampling, where participants identify other potential participants. To enhance recruitment, advertisements were also placed in public spaces and shared on social media (Facebook and Instagram).

Of the 548 survey participants, 220 indicated that they would be interested in follow-up research. Emails were then sent out to individual participants requesting their participation in a one-on-one talanoa with me. I scheduled and carried out the individual e-talanoa in twos (with one man and one woman) to ensure an even gender split and to provide time to reflect on the conceptual depth of the completed talanoa. Extensive field notes from the e-talanoa were taken. This process continued, and when ten e-talanoa were completed, I determined that conceptual depth was achieved, and data collection was ceased. In other words, I was confident that I had reached an adequate depth of understanding from the e-talanoa. Importantly, I also want to highlight *conceptual depth* as opposed to *data saturation*. Whilst not the focus of this research, recent interrogation into qualitative research has questioned whether data saturation is a useful concept for qualitative analysis—please see Braun and Clarke (2021) for more insight.

A participant information sheet and consent form outlining the details of the study was sent electronically to each participant via a link from Qualtrics (a survey-based software), allowing participants to download the information and provide their consent ahead of the e-talanoa. Participation was voluntary,

and each participant was given the opportunity to ask questions before their e-talanoa. Participants were also able to opt out freely from the study at any point. At the start of each e-talanoa the study details were clarified once again.

Data Collection

The one-on-one e-talanoa sessions were conducted between May and July 2020 through Zoom (video conferencing software). I worked with participants to arrange a suitable time. I was initially hesitant to adopt e-talanoa, but all the participants were very positive towards having a talanoa online as it provided more flexibility for them to participate. One of the major challenges of adopting e-talanoa was the audio disruption experienced when using Zoom. This was a rare occurrence, and if anything, it added māfana (warmth) to the talanoa as we would laugh it off.

> [technical delay] … can you hear me? Zoom doesn't want me to be great right now [laughter]. **(**Samu)

Each e-talanoa lasted between 30 and 90 minutes and was audio recorded via Zoom with the participant's permission. All e-talanoa were conducted in English.

RESULTS

Participants

In total, ten participants (five men, five women) participated in this study. The youngest participant was in their 20s and the oldest in their 60s. To uphold confidentiality and privacy, pseudonyms have been provided and exact ages have been omitted from the study. Please see Table 2 for demographic details.

Table 2. Demographic summary of participants.

Participant pseudonym	Country of birth	Ethnicity	Gender	Age bracket
Alisi	Fiji	Fijian-Indian	Woman	20s
Lanuola	Aotearoa NZ	Sāmoan-Pālagi	Woman	30s
Telesia	Aotearoa NZ	Sāmoan-Māori-Pālagi	Woman	30s
Una	Aotearoa NZ	Tongan	Woman	40s
Teisa	Aotearoa NZ	Tongan	Woman	40s
Mikaele	Aotearoa NZ	Sāmoan	Man	20s
Taione	Aotearoa NZ	Tongan	Man	20s
Misi	Aotearoa NZ	Tongan	Man	30s
Samu	Aotearoa NZ	Sāmoan	Man	40s
Tali	Tonga	Tongan	Man	60s

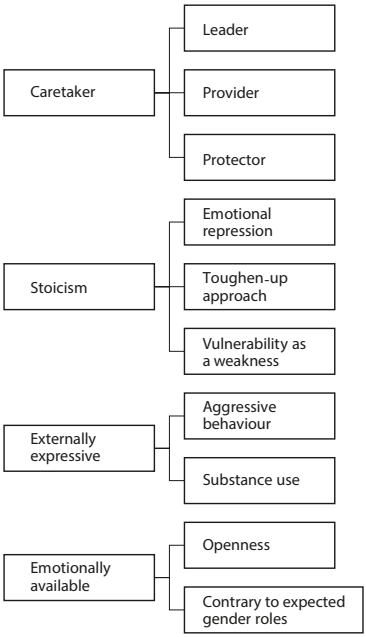

Figure 1. Summary illustrating core perceptive themes of Pacific men and corresponding codes.

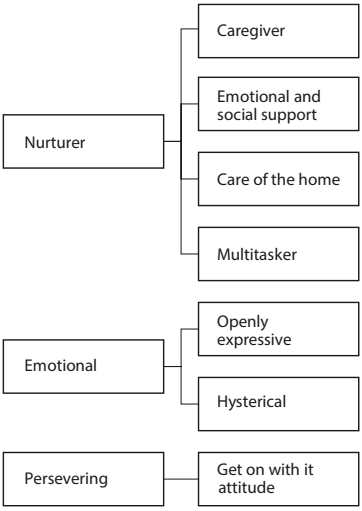

Figure 2. Summary illustrating core perceptive themes of Pacific women and corresponding codes.

Dataset: Pasifika Perceptions of Pacific Men

Four themes identified from the analysis of the first dataset are presented here, regarding Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men discussed during e-talanoa. The perceptions of Pacific men are from all participants and are not separated by gender.

Caretaker. Pacific men were positioned as caretakers where their ultimate role is to take care of their families. Participants viewed caretaking as both an individual thing to do and also an expectation of Pacific men, reflecting the discourse of hegemonic Polynesian masculinity (Chen 2014).

> [I]f he [the Pacific man] can't do his so-called job or support his family, he doesn't want everybody else in the family to go [experience] the same as himself. **(**Tali)

The broad theme of caretaker was also discussed in more nuanced ways, as a leader, provider and protector. This reflects what has socially and culturally been described as men having a role that occurs outside of the home but contributes to the running of the home, such as providing food, income and security for the family.

> Pacific Island men … that real stereotypical view of like they have to have it all together. They have to be the leader of the family. (Telesia)

> The [Pacific] woman, their lifestyle is different, because when they brought up, they rely on the [Pacific] man, as a leader in the house, to provide. (Tali)

> There's still sort of that really big pressure for the men to make sure that everything in the house is running well, like financially and all that. (Alisi)

Stoicism. Pacific men were described as repressing their emotions, taking a toughen-up approach and avoiding vulnerability due to a fear of being perceived as weak. Stoicism and its associated subthemes were viewed as personal attributes but also as an expectation of Pacific men. Again, this reflects a normative hypermasculine perception that Pacific men are expected to uphold.

> As a Pasifika, you assume that if you are male, and if you're the head of the family, then you're just expected to take on everything and not show your feelings and emotions. (Misi)

> My father and my father in-law. Both very stoic, you know like, lovely, very friendly, and will talk to anyone, but when it comes to emotions and talking about that stuff out loud, it's like, no thanks. And definitely not in an open environment with everyone around. (Telesia)

> I definitely think that there is still an expectation for Pacific men to be more stoic and to be less vocal about their mental health and less forthcoming about it. And in that sense, I feel like their perceptions might be shaped in that way, where maybe it's not always as salient for them as it might be for me, as a woman. (Alisi)

Hypermasculine norms have been found to increase internalised stigma and promote masking of emotions, lending to a lack of openness or willingness to be open (Doherty *et al*. 2016; Horton 2014; Valkonen and Hänninen 2013).

> I guess from personal experience, I've seen a lot of other [Pacific] males in my family go through things, and you can see the hurt on their face, but they're not willing or they don't feel comfortable enough to express themselves. (Mikaele)

> For the [Pacific male] Islander. His feeling he has to keep to himself. (Tali)

> My grandad, my dad, even my uncles, they never really talked about mental health. So we didn't. (Misi)

> I think a lot of [Pacific] men are not comfortable opening up and having what they think is deficits about them or having problems and having issues. I feel like they're far less likely to want to open up to their mates, in case they're seen as weak. (Telesia)

This in turn can influence the way Pacific men cope with mental health challenges, for example, by being more inclined to suppress emotions or hinder help-seeking to avoid vulnerability (Chen 2014; Horton 2014; Marsters 2017).

Externally Expressive. Pacific men were described as more likely to be externally expressive through aggressive behaviour or substance use. We know that Pacific men are more likely to experience externalised mental health challenges that can lead to external coping mechanisms such as substance use.

> I think about my grandpa on my mum's side, who was a lot more closed off. I look at my uncles on that side, and the first thing they do when sensitive topics come up is they joke, they joke or they go outside for a smoke or they drink or something of that sort. (Mikaele)

> My dad loves to, his way of coping with and keeping his mental health in check is socialising with my uncles drinking kava. (Alisi)

Prior research also indicates that normative hypermasculinity promotes internalised stigma towards depression, hinders coping and encourages emotional repression that can lead to self-destructive behaviours (Doherty *et al*. 2016; Horton 2014; Valkonen and Hänninen 2013).

> Back then, it was more the physical side of things. Just get a hiding. That's how I thought mental health was. (Samu)

> My dad was like the tough one giving tough love. My mum was more the emotional side of things. So, like the old man would give us a hiding and the old lady would say things that you know, more plays on your emotions. (Samu)

> Like being a man is talking with your fists, right. So not discussing it and not doing it, but it's about action. It's about showing. It almost felt like the more violent you were the more valued you were as a man, because you could protect. Even just the idea of talking, talking through things, acknowledging feelings, was dismissed almost immediately. (Mikaele)

Emotionally Available. Using personal anecdotes, some participants described some of the Pacific men in their lives as comfortable being open and expressive with their emotions and how they are feeling. Participants shared these anecdotes in ways that made clear their awareness that this was contrary to what was expected of Pacific men, i.e., Pacific men are expected to be stoic and emotionally distant. Additionally, these anecdotes described Pacific men as emotionally available and highlighted the sense of safety or their willingness in being able to move outside of the normative sociocultural gender roles expected of them.

> I guess that's where I feel a lot more privileged in how I was brought up because I have a dad who's a lot more communicative. Who didn't growl me for crying, for example, or for sharing things that made me feel scared, or feel sad, or feel worried. I don't know if that's the main reason why mental health might be in that state when it comes to Pacific males. (Mikaele)

> I feel like we blur the gender roles a bit because my partner is a really actively hands-on dad … He's very domestic. He'll do lots of things around the house. So I feel like he takes the stigmatism [*sic*] away from it, like only Mum does those jobs or only Dad does those jobs. (Telesia)

> I can honestly say that there's a lot of banter, and a lot of mocking that goes on amongst the boys. But I feel like it wasn't until the boys experienced their own loss that they were able to then tell each other they loved each other in a scenario of like being on a group chat or being around each other … And I think that's part and parcel of that vulnerability, and seeing these people they

> know and love taking their own lives, it puts it into perspective. So, yeah, it definitely makes them more vulnerable, but more open to that vulnerability, rather than trying to hide it and be like, "nah I'm tough gee", like, they're shifting that perception that they have to be okay. (Telesia)

Dataset: Pasifika Perceptions of Pacific Women

Three themes identified from the analysis of the second dataset are presented here**,** regarding Pasifika perceptions of Pacific women discussed during e-talanoa. The perceptions of Pacific women are from all participants and are not separated by gender.

Nurturer. Pacific women were positioned as nurturers in the way they take on many roles such as caregiving, providing social support and looking after the home. This was considered in addition to any further paid or unpaid work that was also carried out. This further demonstrates the sociocultural reflection of Pacific women and their role inside the home through organising homelife and caring for children and other family members. This enables Pacific men to fulfil their role outside the home as providers. As discussed, we see this across contemporary Aotearoa NZ, where Pacific women receive lower incomes and are more likely to carry out unpaid activities (such as caregiving) in comparison to Pacific men (Ministry for Pacific Peoples 2016; Roughan and Taufa 2019).

> There are most definitely gender roles that parents play … the mums would do a lot of the work, in terms of running the household, organising their household, talking to the kids. … But it's very much the mum organising the heart of the home and having the more meaningful conversations or having more in-depth conversations with the kids around loss and grief. (Telesia)

As highlighted in many of the comments around Pacific women, their role has been consistently described synonymously with multitasking and nurturing. In this way, Pacific women are perceived and expected to care for many people, provide emotional support and look after the home, often at the risk and potential sacrifice of their own wellbeing.

> I feel like there's a lot of other areas of mental health that isn't being addressed for Pasifika women. I think one of the big areas that I've seen in my work is caregiver burden. They take it upon themselves to or they get placed in a role where it's their job to look after Mum and Dad or grandparents. It's not often acknowledged how much that takes out of their own wellbeing, how much it impacts them. So even that, it's something that's culturally entrenched, and it's not looked at, because there again, we look at the roles that they serve in this society and not so much their needs as a person or their mental health. (Mikaele)

> [B]eing able to balance multiple roles. I feel like it's a lot more complicated for Pasifika women because of the multiple roles that they can hold versus men. I always feel like the expectation for men is just to work. It makes me feel like the comments might start to reflect more, you should be able to look after yourself because mums are the carers. Which feels horrible to say. (Mikaele)

Emotional. Pacific women were described as emotional, both subjectively and as an expectation of Pacific women. Being emotional was described in the way Pacific women use talking (with family and friends) to express themselves or as a coping strategy for navigating internalised challenges.

> There was a perception that [Pacific] men would perceive mental health as something that they didn't really talk about, whereas when we think about our Pacific women, that's kind of the only thing they talk about, their feelings, their thoughts, their emotions. (Misi)

> As [Pacific] ladies, we get into our groups, and we talk. We talk all the time … And with dealing with mental health, we have people that we talk to, we have our friends and our female relatives that we talk to all the time about stuff. (Teisa)

It was also highlighted that approaching Pacific women (rather than Pacific men) to discuss mental health challenges was preferred due to a perception that they are likely to respond with more emotional and compassionate consideration than Pacific men.

> As a kid coming up, I used to think if I was going to approach someone about feeling depressed or feeling suicidal, I'd definitely approach my mum, rather than my Pacific male role models in my family. Because I think they [Pacific women] would have more of a compassionate and a loving side. Rather than this tough like, harden up from the guys. (Misi)

However, the perception of being *emotional* was not always described in a positive way, as indicated by the association with *hysteria* and its acceptable expression by and expectation of Pacific women. This is unsurprising as historically, hysteria was constructed as a feminine disease and promoted a patriarchal system that supported male dominance and female irrationality and, in turn, inferiority (Gilman *et al*. 1993).

> I think it sounds sad, but it feeds into the stereotype of hysteria for women, which I think is such a horrible stereotype, but it's the idea that it's okay for women to be emotional, because that's their role, to be emotional. It's their role to look after kids and kids are emotional, so you have to be emotional back. Compared to being a Pacific male, I feel like there's a lot less pressure [on Pacific women] to hold back [their emotions]. (Mikaele)

Persevering. Pacific women described subjective experiences of being encouraged to adopt a persevering approach. This was often expressed in the way that their feelings are dismissed and that they are expected to get on with it and work hard. This contrasts from previous perceptions of Pacific women being described from a general stance of acceptance and as highly emotional nurturers. Interestingly, each experience describes a daughter–parent relationship, and the persevering approach fostered in each circumstance may be more indicative of a relational influence than of a perception or expectation of Pacific women.

> My mum, who's Sāmoan, would just be like, when you're going through something, "just do it, it doesn't matter how you're feeling, just get along with it". Where like my Pākehā dad is more, "you have to deal with your feelings", and, like, it's different. (Lanuola)

> Anxiety is not even a word in our household like that—we don't know what that means. And it can often be likened to "just being dramatic", or "just get on with it", or "what is this?" You know, "you can't concentrate because you're not trying hard enough" … I've always grown up with the, "well you should be busy", "you should be working hard", "you should be building, working hard, so that you can have a better life than we did." (Alisi)

> It's interesting because although it's more acceptable for women to express their emotions … if you do it too much, you're still complaining. (Alisi)

DISCUSSION

This study explored Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men and women and its interrelationship with mental health through e-talanoa. More specifically, analysis of Pasifika perceptions of Pacific men identified four themes: caretaker, stoicism, externally expressive and emotionally available. Further, the analysis of Pasifika perceptions of Pacific women identified three core themes: nurturer, emotional and persevering.

Pacific perceptions of gender have in part been shaped through broader social discourses and have influenced how masculinity and femininity are more commonly expressed or understood by Pacific peoples living in Aotearoa NZ. Our discussion serves not to homogenise participants' views but rather to explore the commentary and examples provided, which aid in uncovering the ways in which perceptions of gender intersect with mental health for the Pacific peoples who participated in this research. Thus, the overall discussion is guided by participant statements extracted from the e-talanoa.

The responses show a lot of the expectations around the stereotypes that we still hold about Pacific peoples and what it means to be a Pacific man versus a Pacific woman. (Mikaele)

This research extends the conversation to think about how Pacific perceptions of gender relate to mental health at all levels. Our participants described Pacific men as stoic protectors who were less likely to engage in conversations around mental health. On the other hand Pacific women were described as emotional nurturers who were more likely to engage and provide emotional support. These perceptions are narrow but clear. Pacific men are expected to be and are therefore perceived as leaders, tough, dominant and unemotional, to name a few. On the other hand, Pacific women are expected to be and are therefore perceived to have characteristics of (but not limited to) being nurturing, compassionate, softer and emotional. From a young age we also learn the place of masculine and feminine qualities, often with the underlying implication that nonmasculine (that is, feminine) qualities are undesirable amongst men but that women are expected to uphold standards of femininity. These limited sets of expectations do not allow for much deviation, and, in turn, men are often penalised more than women for violating gender expectations.

And this is where tradition sort of comes into it. (Alisi)

The participants discussed *tradition* as the shared knowledge of cultural customs and beliefs that have been passed between generations, whereby a tacit knowing or understanding of the roles and expectations of men and women in Pacific spaces has been developed from a young age. For Pacific men this looked like having roles outside the home including caretaking of land and making sure the home and family are being looked after financially. For Pacific women, this looked like care duties within the home. Participants also noted that for Pacific women, emotional expressions of grief and sadness tend to be very open and loud, particularly in the context of funerals. The same was not noted of our Pacific men. This difference in emotional displays may also be influenced by our cultural norms related to grief that allow Pacific women to be openly expressive in particular contexts. Given the dominant gender ideologies across our Pacific communities and beyond, I also extend this talanoa to consider the impact of colonisation.

Until recently, research around masculinity has largely focused on western discourses of masculinity. Colonial and postcolonial history has also been tacitly infused with a western masculine worldview (Hokowhitu 2017). Colonisation has been highlighted as a gendered movement and one that aggrandised the settler heterosexual male as the epitome of power and human reason, and therefore was perceived to represent the interests of humanity (Hokowhitu 2017). In this way, the colonial impact and western influence across our Pacific communities has promoted an idealised European masculinity that not only silenced the power of Pacific women but fostered a patriarchal dividend.

Gender roles are definitely present in my household, but I think we do blur them. (Telesia)

Our participants also discussed how dominant norms of gender upheld within their own families and wider community have slowly changed over time. This change was described as being due to a myriad of factors, including education, media and intergenerational mobility, among others. We see this expressed through the themes of *emotionally available* identified for Pacific men and *persevering* for Pacific women, which recognises that there is space for diverse understandings and expressions of masculinities and femininities. *Blurring gender roles* allows us to make connections between Pacific men and women. For example, the *emotionally available* perception of Pacific men is a counterpoint to masculinity which connects to a feminine representation. Similarly, the *persevering* perception of Pacific women as taking a "get on with it" approach connects to a masculine representation. This shows us that there can be and is fluidity in expressions of gender, and we should not be confined to the static representations of what is normatively expected of a Pacific man or woman.

It is important that we start to share and talanoa and conversate around what we're going through. (Misi)

Participants highlighted the importance of open communication, especially for our Pacific men, who are expected to be tough and to not show emotion. There were discussions across the e-talanoa around the need to reduce the stigma around talking about our thoughts and feelings and seeking help, as well as the importance of enhancing our understanding of mental health in a way that serves our Pacific communities. As highlighted in Table 1, findings from the wider doctoral project (Kapeli 2022) suggest that Pasifika tend to largely draw upon informal avenues for mental health support (i.e., family and friends). Whilst continuing the talanoa about mental health within our communities is vital, consideration needs to be given to how we talanoa about mental health in informal spaces. Acknowledging that doing this safely whilst honouring tauhi vā/vā could also be a reason why we might not talanoa about mental health so openly. The nongovernmental organisation Le Va (n.d.) offers a great resource, the Mental Wealth Project, a mental health literacy education programme that provides practical tips for how we can engage in talanoa about mental health. This is important because our Pacific peoples experience a significant burden of mental health challenges in Aotearoa NZ, with higher reports of mental health challenges but also lower reports of diagnosis and, in turn, help-seeking (Ataera-Minster and Trowland 2018).

Prior research indicates that Pacific women are more likely to internalise emotions, which can lead to withdrawal, anxiety and depression, while Pacific men are more likely to externalise emotions, which can lead to aggressive, impulsive, coercive or noncompliant behaviour (Ataera-Minster and Trowland 2018; Foliaki *et al*. 2006; Ministry of Health 2008; Oakley Browne *et al*. 2006). Knowing this can also help in developing more effective prevention, intervention and treatment strategies. However, it is important that such strategies not focus solely on internal or external expressions, for example, strategies to stop men from being aggressive, which can also fuel an expectation or stereotype that men are violent. Additionally, it is also important to consider that Pacific peoples are relatively low users of mental health care and services in comparison to their non-Pacific counterparts (Ataera-Minster and Trowland 2018). Thus, there is a need to further explore the driving factors around why this is consistently seen and reported across literature. There is also limited research on the effectiveness of talking therapies with Pacific peoples, although these have been found to be ineffective with Indigenous Māori men (Hokowhitu 2007). This may be a reflection of the western concepts these therapies draw upon and their direct nature, as it is well acknowledged that holistic, culturally responsive and circular (indirect) approaches are important when working alongside Pacific peoples (Te Pou o te Whakaaro Nui 2010; "A Tongan Approach" 2021).

Aotearoa New Zealand has come a long way … but there's still a lot that needs to be done. (Taione)

For change to happen in Aotearoa NZ, the intersections between culture, gender and mental health must be considered at all levels (within policy, research and frontline services) of mental health. Andermann (2010) highlighted that targeted services (i.e., for specific groups such as women or minority groups) do need to be studied further. However, such services are not as prevalent in the community as they are often harder to sustain due to the required expertise not always being available. Additionally, the priorities of larger organisations do not always support the development and continuation of targeted services. There is also the idea that "specialisation leads to marginalisation", resulting in specialised care for minority populations rather than enhancing cultural competency across the board (Lo and Chung 2005; Satel 1998). However, specialised services have been highlighted as vital because attending to specific needs promotes good practice for everyone (Burman *et al*. 2002; Kohen 2001; Seeman and Cohen 1998).

Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions

As far as I am aware, this is the first study carried out exploring Pacific perceptions of Pacific men and women and their interrelationship with mental health. By doing so, I provide a unique and significant contribution

to the research literature. Drawing upon the PMHA survey vignettes was a unique aspect of exploring mental health in this study. I recommend that future Pacific mental health research consider not only the use of vignettes but also how different variables (i.e., age, gender, symptoms) could be manipulated in vignettes or how vignettes could be counterbalanced to further explore gender biases. This research explored responses to the vignettes; future research could explore the perceptions that Pasifika men have about themselves in contrast to the perceptions that Pasifika women have about Pasifika men, and vice versa.

This study also adds to existing research demonstrating how e-talanoa can be used safely and respectfully with our Pacific communities. Each participant was comfortable with the e-talanoa being carried out in English, likely a flow-on effect from the PMHA survey also being in English. It is important to acknowledge and address the limitations of Pacific research being carried out in English only and the barriers to participation it imposes. I also acknowledge the limitation in focusing on Pacific peoples as a collective, but I hope this research also signals the need for more ethnic-/gender-specific Pacific mental research and approaches, especially in terms of gender-diverse Pacific peoples. As mentioned, this research forms part of a larger research project, and there is an opportunity for further e-talanoa research dissemination. For instance, e-talanoa analysis also identified themes related to recognition of mental health challenges, the needs of our Pacific communities and experiences during the COVID lockdown in March 2020.

CONCLUSION

Using a Pasifika critical realist approach to thematic talanoa analysis, I identified common themes that participants talked about in regard to their perceptions of vignettes describing a Pacific man experiencing depression and a Pacific woman experiencing anxiety. Not only does this significantly contribute to the research literature around Pacific perceptions of gender, it highlights an area for consideration in the development of future policy and practice around mental health for our Pacific communities. I finish with the words of the late Epeli Hau‘ofa, a renowned Tongan scholar, who wrote, “My writing … is not something only for quiet reading in bed or in a library. It is meant to be read aloud so that some of the beautiful and not so beautiful sounds of the voices of the Pacific may be heard and appreciated” (Hau‘ofa 1990: 253).

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NOTES

1. "Pacific" and "Pasifika" are used interchangeably to refer inclusively to Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, with ethnic roots in many Pacific nations.

2. MVPFAFF+ refers to māhū (Hawai'i and Tahiti), vakasalewalewa (Fiji), palopa (Papua New Guinea), fa'afāfine (Sāmoa), 'akava'ine (Cook Islands), fakaleitī (Tonga), fakafifine (Niue), plus all Pacific peoples who have another gender identity or sexual orientation. These terms have not been defined in the glossary as they are diverse and culturally nuanced. PRC refers to the Pacific rainbow community. LGBTIQA+ refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer or questioning, asexual, plus all people who have another gender identity or sexual orientation.

GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are Tongan.

'eiki	high rank, outrank
e-talanoa	virtual online talanoa
fahu	father's oldest sister
faka'apa'apa	acknowledging and returning respect
fefine Tonga	Tongan woman
kai	food
māfana	warmth
me'a'ofa	gift
'ofa	love, care, kindness
talanoa	multi-Pacific practice involving the sharing of ideas and stories through conversation and storytelling based on histories, realities and aspirations
tapu	sacred
tauhi vā	a way of nurturing and maintaining relationships
tu'a	low rank
'ulungāanga faka-Tonga	Tongan ways of knowing and being
vā	multi-Pacific concept describing a relational space that fosters connectedness

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SHORTER COMMUNICATION

A SOLOMON ISLAND PLANK-BUILT LASHED-LUG CANOE IN THE CANTERBURY MUSEUM COLLECTION, CHRISTCHURCH

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents an acquisition history of a 7.3 m six-frame canoe from Sasamunga, Choiseul Island, collected by the Canterbury Museum in 1968. Purpose-built for the museum by local craftsmen in 1967–1968, the vessel presents the observer with a wealth of information on the methods and technology of "plank-built lashed-lug" canoe building from the northwestern region of the Solomon Islands. As well as interpreting information supplied by the master builder at the time of procurement, this paper also discusses some of the structural components and patterns of frame and plank attachment that embrace this finely crafted maritime artefact. Apart from documenting the canoe's description and provenance for public record, this paper also suggests a possible method for classifying similar plank-built lashed-lug watercraft found in the region.

Keywords: Austronesian watercraft, Solomon Island canoes, tomoko, plank-built canoes, stitched-plank canoes, sewn boats, lashed-lug frames

This paper forms a work-in-progress report on a plank-built lashed-lug canoe (accession number E173.627) located in the Canterbury Museum collection in Christchurch, Aotearoa New Zealand. A final version will be incorporated into a broader study of Austronesian plank-built lashed-lug boats and canoes from several other museum collections in Australia, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, Europe and North America to be published later. It presents what is currently known and acknowledges that a variety of sources have yet to be consulted.

Therefore, while not a complete account, this commentary presents a description of the vessel and a narrative of how, where and why the canoe was built. It also provides a brief outline of the acquisition process and the "voyage" the canoe made from its place of creation to where it now resides in museum storage in Christchurch.

Clark, Paul, 2023. A Solomon Island plank-built lashed-lug canoe in the Canterbury Museum collection, Christchurch. *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (4): 495–510. https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.4.495-510

This report also presents some preliminary observations on the construction methods and techniques used and the materials contained in its build. In lieu of scientific analysis, however, some of the material identifications must be regarded as hypothetical or based on the work of others.

In addition, a possible method for identifying and classifying similar bespoke plank-built lashed-lug canoes from the region is offered. It follows a similar logic that allowed Haddon and Hornell to propose the "five-part canoe" and Burningham the "seven-part canoe" method for identifying and classifying dugout canoe types (Burningham 1993: 194; Haddon and Hornell 1975, vol. III: 5).

This report, however, does not compare or analyse the similarities or differences of other plank-built lashed-lug canoes found in the Solomon Islands, or canoes, boats or similar constructed vessels found in Southeast Asia, southern Taiwan or other parts of the world. While this is a very relevant and meaningful conversation to have, it is beyond the scope and purpose of this shorter communication.

For this discussion and subsequent debate in this space, the distinction between canoe and boat is based on how the vessel is propelled and not on the vessel's form or function. While both can be sailed, a canoe is paddled, and a boat is rowed.

CONCEPTION AND COMMISSION

In February 1967, the director of the Canterbury Museum, Roger Duff, and the membership of the Canterbury Museum Trust Board were asked by Rev. E.C. Leadley, of Munda, New Georgia, in the Western Province of Solomon Islands, if the museum would "take up a lapsed commission from a United States Museum to have a tomoko [war canoe] of traditional style" built for the Canterbury Museum's collection (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 125).

Within a month the museum agreed to the terms, and master builder Rev. Job Rotoava of Sasamunga, Choiseul Island, in Choiseul Province was given the NZ$500 commission to build the canoe (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 125). In today's monetary value, this commission would be worth approximately NZ$11,511 (Inflationtool 30 October 2023).

Leadley was clearly a man of influence. An educator, he had been in charge of the Methodist College at Kokenggolo, Munda, New Georgia, from 1934 until his evacuation by boat in January 1942 during World War II (*Courier Mail* 1942). In 1961 he was elected president of the Methodist Church in New Zealand (Moore 2020a) and from 1965 to 1968 was chairman of the Solomon Island District, Australasian Methodist Missionary Society (AMMS) (Moore 2020b).

Leadley was well versed in missionary custom as practised by the AMMS in the Solomon Islands. From its inception in 1902 the AMMS combined an "evangelistic message along with general education and industrial training"

(Moore 2020b). One of the first Methodist missionaries sent to the Solomon Islands was Rev. John Francis Goldie (1870–1955) (Moore 2020c).

Goldie developed a patronage system that exploited the existing chieftain system of leadership in the region to the mission's advantage. By educating the sons of traditional village leaders and training them to become ministers in the church or schoolteachers, they developed a vested and continuing interest in the church, the education system and leadership politics. Many of these early-twentieth-century elites became intergenerational clients and developed into some of the leading families in the Solomon Islands (Moore 2020b).

Rev. Leadley clearly understood the patron–client relationship and the benefits of networking. Having found a new commission in the form of the Canterbury Museum for his church colleague, he maintained a close relationship with both parties throughout the building process and was instrumental in seeing the canoe delivered to the museum in Christchurch.

Builder's notes, possibly a notebook written by Rotoava for Leadley in the Roviana dialect of New Georgia, are said to contain information on the origin and use of tomoko and the canoe-building process (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 127–28). Unfortunately, the Canterbury Museum does not hold this document, and a search of Methodist archives is yet to locate it, if it still exists. What is available, however, is the museum's accession register book, which provides the canoe's registration number, E173.627, together with several pages of handwritten notes (Canterbury Museum 1968a).

There is also an accession file (220/68) containing two photographic slides (numbered 16 and 17), several typed pages of information, some of which has been copied from the register book, and a few pages of miscellaneous handwritten notes. One page of typed notes dated 11 November 1968 (author unknown) is of particular interest as it contains a short description of the canoe's construction and its transportation to the museum (Canterbury Museum 1968b).

The information contained in the typed and handwritten pages most likely came from Rotoava and was translated into English by Leadley. However, it is unclear if any of the documentation was written (typed) by Leadley himself. It is likely they were transcribed by a museum employee after the canoe arrived in Christchurch and became part of the museum's collection.

It appears from the notes in the register book (and a copy in the accession file) that Rotoava's motivation for building the canoe was not just financial reward. He clearly had regrets about the loss of cultural knowledge and building practice in his community:

> The younger generation does not want to think about the work and bother to do it. They only can make dugout canoes, but I (Job) [Rotoava] am a man that loves to do the work, for I think it is a memorial to those who lived long ago and a way to remember them. (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 127)

As a Methodist minister, Rotoava's nostalgia for past cultural skill was not embedded in the ritualised warfare known as headhunting, a violent practice for which war canoes (also known as raiding canoes) were built, but in the skill and craftsmanship that built them. The plank-built canoe required more skill, proficiency and knowledge to build than a dugout canoe.

Two explanations of the tradition and cultural practice of building tomoko in the nineteenth century and their revival in the twentieth century can be found in Hviding (2014) and Sheppard (2021). An earlier work by Waite (1990: 46–48) describes the decorative elements of the Canterbury Museum canoe built by Rotoava and the shell inlay art work attached to the bow and stern.

THE BUILDING OF A WAR CANOE FROM CHOISEUL ISLAND

In March 1967 work began on the construction of a 7.3 m six-lako (frame) war canoe at Sasamunga, a village located on the west coast of Choiseul Island (Fig. 1). According to the handwritten notes in the museum register book, 22 men, plus 4 women providing food, were involved in building the canoe. The work on the canoe was completed in April 1968, having taken 13 months to construct (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 125).

Figure 1. Location map of Choiseul Island in the Solomon Islands showing the village of Sasamunga, where the war canoe was built, together with other place names mentioned in the text.

Tomoko is a Roviana name for a war canoe, but other places in the New Georgia group had other names. In the Marovo Lagoon language area they are known as magoru, and in a Vella Lavella language as niabara (Hviding 2014: 103). Most of the languages spoken in the New Georgia group are languages related to the Austronesian family. However, on Vella Lavella a Papuan or non-Austronesian language is spoken (Obata 2000).

There are eight different languages spoken on Choiseul, all related to the Austronesian language family. The largest is Babatana (Mbambatana), followed by Varisi, Vaghua and Tavula (Craven 2017 (2019): 29). Rev. Job Roviana spoke Babatana and probably one or two of the other languages as well (pp. 54–55).

On Choiseul Island war canoes were known in the Babatana language as mola sisira (p. 55), mola being a generic name for any plank-built canoe (Hviding 2014: 105). Sisira were similar, but smaller than the larger tomoko, magoru and niabara. They carried 10 to 12 men and were built for raiding along the Choiseul coast in order to supply victims for mortuary rituals. They did not carry out raids or venture "over the sea" between islands like the tomoko, magoru and niabara were known to have done (Craven 2017 (2019): 31, 55).

The tomoko in the Australian Museum collection (E23373) in Sydney and the Museums Victoria collection (X8042) in Melbourne are both 14 m long. The Vella Lavella niabara in the British Museum collection (Oc1927,1022.1) in London is 11.3 m long. The very large war canoes of 12–15 m long were said to carry as many as 35 men (Somerville 1897: 369).

Since the information about the canoe was supplied by Rotoava to Leadley in the Roviana language, Leadley used tomoko as the name for the war canoe in his translation for the museum (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 127). As a consequence of this it is possible that the canoe was misidentified at the time of acquisition as a scaled-down version or "model" of a tomoko since it was only 7.3 m long, almost half the length of the largest full-sized tomoko such as those in the Sydney and Melbourne museums. Subsequently the canoe was registered as a model tomoko E173.627 in the Canterbury Museum's acquisition register.

There is, however, a strong possibility that the canoe is not a model tomoko but a Choiseul Island sisira. The reasons for concluding that this might be the case is that the canoe builder, Rotoava, was a Choiseul Islander and the canoe was built on Choiseul Island, not Roviana in the New Georgia group. The Vatican Ethnological Museum Anima Mundi, in Rome, has a traditional full-sized Choiseul Island ceremonial (war) canoe (MV.125490) that is 9.4 m long (Musei Vaticani 2023). The Canterbury Museum canoe and the Vatican Museum canoe are therefore closer in size to each other than either of them are to the larger tomoko canoes in the Sydney and Melbourne museums or the niabara in the British Museum.

Figure 2. A port side view (bow to the left) of *Sareviala* taken from a three-dimensional model acquired using photogrammetry at the Canterbury Museum storage facility at Iron Mountain, Avonhead, June 2022.

Despite being an educated man and a minister of religion in the colonial system, Rotoava would have been bound by the protocols of his own cultural practice and those of his New Georgia neighbours. It is unlikely that he would have had the authority to build such a symbolic item as a war canoe from another's cultural precinct, present it as such and benefit financially from its construction. Further research and discussion with Choiseul Island and Roviana communities will hopefully resolve this question in the future.

In about 1905 Charles Woodford had a 7.3 m half-scale model of a tomoko built to order for Mr F.J. Wooton Isaacson. According to Woodford this was deposited in the Bethnal Green Museum collection in London (Woodford 1909: 511). The model tomoko (sisira) in the Canterbury Museum collection is approximately the same length as the Bethnal Green Museum canoe and would make an interesting comparative study, particularly as regards the length-to-breadth ratio.

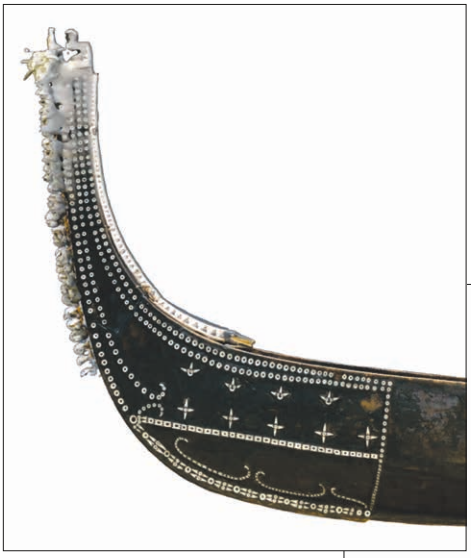

Figure 3 (left). A view of the shell inlay decoration on the port side bow of *Sareviala*. The bird feathers decorating the leading edge and the top of the crescent-shaped bow proved very difficult to capture photogrammetrically and appear blurred in the image.

Figure 4 (right). A view of the shell inlay decoration on the port side stern of *Sareviala* taken from the three-dimensional photogrammetric model.

Job Rotoava named the canoe *Sareviala* (Figs 2–4) after his paternal grandfather, a famous tomoko (sisira) builder from Vuranggo, Tavula, a region on the northeastern end of Choiseul Island. Sareviala, who lived during the mid-nineteenth century, was also a master carver of stone funerary urns and a powerful man who had killed many people during his time (Canterbury Museum 1968a: 127; Craven 2017 (2019): 53).

DELIVERY AND ARRIVAL IN CHRISTCHURCH

After the canoe was finished in April 1968, it was transported from Sasamunga to Munda in New Georgia on the AMMS mission boat. At Munda it was loaded onto the *Kuala Lumpur* (Captain O. James) and travelled as open-deck cargo to Auckland via Honiara. It arrived in Auckland Harbour on Saturday 28 September 1968 (Canterbury Museum 1968b).

The canoe was then unloaded by hand from the *Kuala Lumpur* at Auckland Harbour and transported by truck to Mangere (Auckland) Airport, where it was loaded onto a National Airways Corporation Bristol 170 freighter aircraft (Canterbury Museum 1968b). Before being loaded onto the aircraft, however, the canoe's high bow and stern projections were cut off, presumably so that it could fit into the aircraft. These bow and stern pieces were later reattached (*Press* 1968).

The following morning, on Sunday 29 September, the canoe was flown from Auckland to Blenheim. On Monday morning, 30 September, the canoe was then flown from Blenheim to Harewood (Christchurch) airport. It was unloaded from the aircraft and then delivered to the Canterbury Museum (Canterbury Museum 1968b; *Christchurch Star* 1968).

SOME CONSTRUCTION DETAILS

Rotoava leaves no information regarding trees that were selected or how they were harvested and shaped into planks for the building of the canoe. Nor is there data on any of the wood types used.

Hviding (2014: 105–8), however, provides a useful account of the construction of war canoes from the Marovo and Roviana language area in New Georgia together with a list of timbers and other materials used in their construction (Table 1).

A photograph taken in July 1967 shows the canoe being built under an elevated house on a raised platform 30–40 cm off the ground (Fig. 5). The picture shows a second plank being fitted to the garboard strake and a plank in the third strake being held in place by an upright post tied under tension. A vine stitching, possibly *Lygodium trifurcatum*, a trailing fern known as amasa in the Roviana language (Hviding 2014: 107; Waterhouse and Jones 1949: 157), is used to edge join (stitch) the strakes together.

Table 1. List of canoe timbers, vines and paint names with corresponding Roviana, Marovo, scientific and common names (where known) used in the construction of war canoes (Hviding 2014: 106–8).

Part name	Roviana/Marovo	Scientific name	Common name
planks (strakes)	toba	?	?
planks	palaoto	?	?
keel plank	chovuku	*Burckella obovata*	?
gunwales	chovuku	*Burckella obovata*	?
tall bow and stern pieces	tangovo	*Alstonia scholaris*	blackboard tree
frames (ribs)	buni	*Calophyllum inophyllum*	beauty leaf
frames	kivili	*Intsia bijuga*	merbau, kwila, kayu besi
paying (caulking)	tita	*Atuna racemosa* (*Parinari laurina*)	putty nut
stitching (edge joining planks)	amasa	*Lygodium* sp. (*trifurcatum*)	trailing fern
lashing (frames to lugs)	?	?	trailing fern?
black paint (charcoal)	natongo	*Rhus taitensis*	sumac
paint (varnish)	kepukepu	*Epipremnum* sp.	?

The keel plank named by Rotoava as the kutakuta (see also Waterhouse and Jones 1949: 61) has four frames attached via lugs (Fig. 6). Numbered from the bow, the frames are two, three, four and five. The keel plank narrows to a point at each end and has a raised ridge that runs down its centre. The purpose of the centre ridges that are found on all the planks is to provide strength down the centre of an otherwise thin plank (Canterbury Museum 1968b; Woodford 1909: 508).

The keel plank, with its four frames attached via lugs, is clearly the foundation of the canoe's structure. The garboard strake (first strake) is com-

Figure 5. *Sareviala* under construction in July 1967 at Sasamunga on Choiseul Island, Solomon Islands. Photograph Job Rotoava, E173.627 Slide17, Canterbury Museum.

prised of three planks, each joined with a diagonal butt join. Each plank in the garboard strake has two frames attached. The other three strakes, second, third and fourth (top strake or gunwale), each have a plank with four frames attached via lugs.

This planking pattern provides a strong and ridged hull with longitudinal strength resistant to bending moments, even in the absence of stringers. A stringer, however, is usually attached on each side of the keel plank at a suitable height to provide support for a seating thwart for the paddlers (Woodford 1909: 514).

All the seams are payed with tita (*Atuna racemosa*) putty. The frames are solid curved timbers, grown and cut from selected tree roots. Hviding (2014: 107) states that tomoko frames are made from naturally curved roots of buni (beauty leaf, *Calophyllum inophyllum*) or similar curved pieces of kivili (merbau, *Intsia bijuga*). Woodford (1909: 508) also confirms that the "timbers [frames] are either naturally grown or shaped from the solid" and are not made from "bent [flexible] wood". Woodford (1909: 511–13) also provides an extensive list of war canoe part names in the Roviana language.

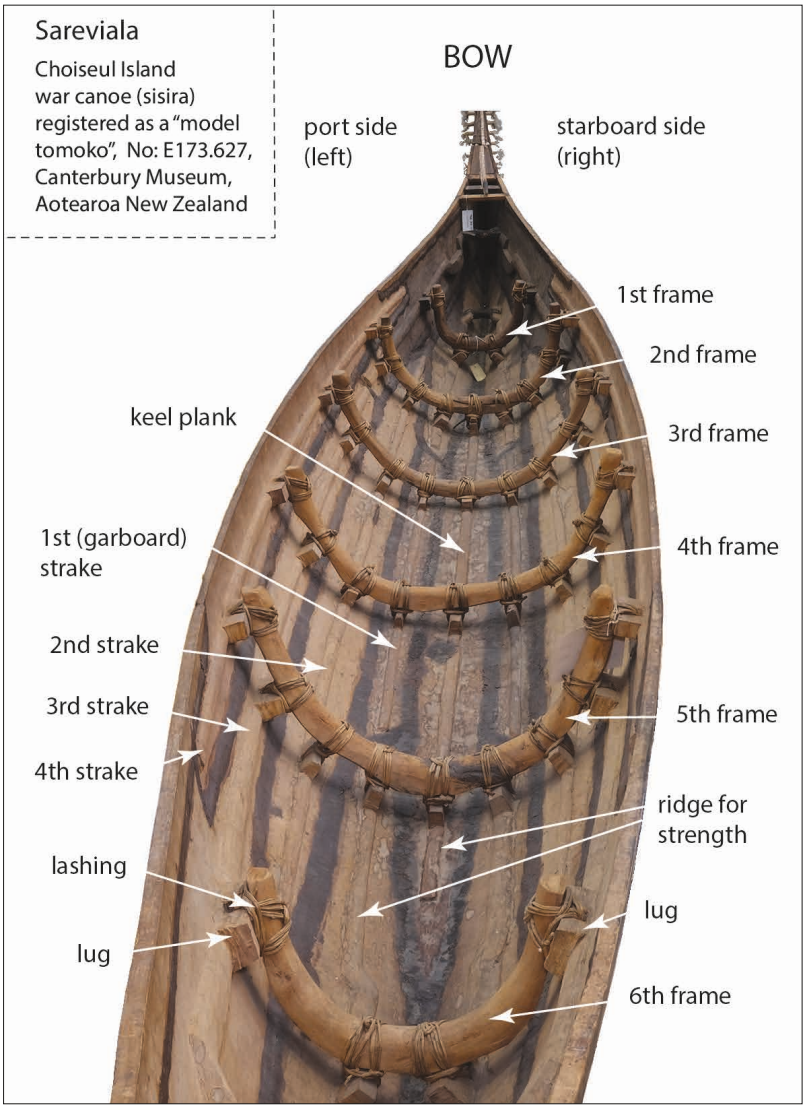

Figure 6. *Sareviala*, showing the plank and frame arrangement viewed from the stern.

A METHOD FOR CLASSIFYING PLANK-BUILT LASHED-LUG CANOES

Haddon and Hornell (1975, vol. II: 83, fig. 56) divide the Solomon Island plank-built canoe into four different types: mon, ora, lisi and binabina (Fig. 7). They are based on the style and appearance of the canoe's bow and stern profile, rather than any other characteristic or regional difference. Tomoko, magoru, niabara and sisira are all mon type canoes. While this nomenclature is adequate as a method for identifying the general geographical origin of each type, it does not allow for any analysis of size or function within each type.

Solomon Islanders were known to build a variety of plank-built canoes of various sizes and functions (Woodford 1909). The Choiseul Islanders built a canoe known as a mola gogora in the Babatana language. Similar in size to the sisira but without the upturned bow, it was used for catching turtles and dugong (Craven 2017 (2019): 55).

The proposal, therefore, is to develop a classification system that adds to Haddon and Hornell's visual identification, by adding an analysis of size and possible function within and between the regional groups. Haddon and Hornell defined a method for classifying the dugout canoe and the five-part dugout canoe (Haddon and Hornell 1975, vol. III: 5). Burningham (1993) extended Haddon and Hornell's description and described the seven-part dugout canoe of Indonesia.

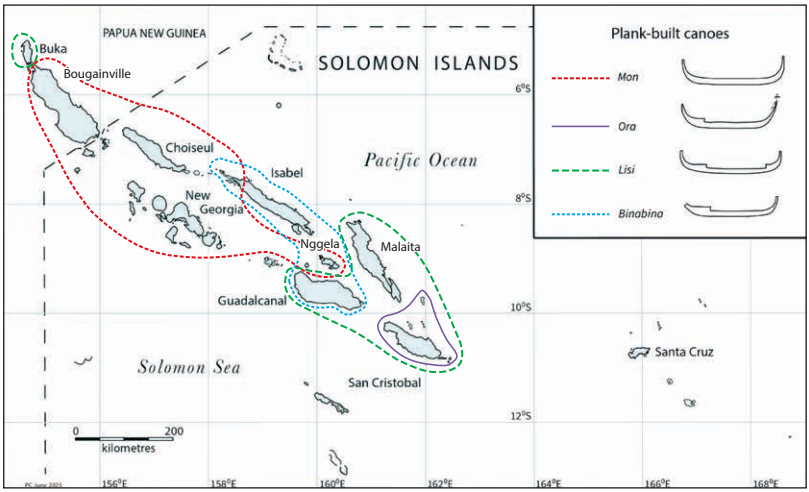

Figure 7. Map of the Solomon Islands, showing the distribution of the four main types of plank-built canoe (after Haddon and Hornell 1975, vol. II: 83, fig. 56).

The Solomon Island plank-built canoes, however, are far more complex than the five- or seven-part canoe. They can have several strakes (or planks) attached on either side of a keel plank. Strakes can be multipart with one or more planks, square end or scarf joined, to make up the length between bow and stern. In addition, the frames (ribs) that are attached to the strakes or planks by way of lugs can vary in number. Large canoes may have as many as ten to twelve frames, whereas small plank-built canoes have two or three.

The suggestion therefore is to classify plank-built lashed-lug canoes and boats in part by the number of frames and the number of strakes each side of the keel plank. For example, a large tomoko might be classified as a ten-frame four-strake canoe. Therefore, using this system, *Sareviala*, the Choiseul Island war canoe built by Job Rotoava and in the Canterbury Museum collection, could be identified as a six-frame four-strake plank-built lashed-lug canoe.

Simply counting strakes and frames, however, and relating them to length, breadth and depth measurements will only provide a proportional size differential with which to compare and order canoe types. What is also needed is identifiable structural features, such as planking patterns, keel plank arrangements, lug shapes and methods that close the ends at the bow and stern of different canoes. The presence or absence of such attributes, together with frame and plank numbers, may show sufficient variation to define more than one canoe type within a study group. The ability to identify unprovenanced canoes in museum collections based on typed attributes, for example, would be a useful tool to have. Although still a work-in-progress, this typology method for identification could equally be applied to other plank-built lashed-lug canoes and boats from other regions.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has presented a history of how, where and why a plank-built lashed-lug canoe from Choiseul Island was built and acquired in 1968 by the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, Aotearoa New Zealand. Identified and accessioned as a model tomoko war canoe, this work has questioned that identification and suggested that it may be a sisira war canoe. Answers to this question and to others regarding the provenance of plank-built canoes are likely to be answered in the future by museum- and university-based researchers engaging with the communities that created them.

The canoe has been in the custodianship of the Canterbury Museum for over 50 years, and its condition is a credit to museum staff, past and present, for the cultural care and attention it has received during that time. It may well be one of only two examples in existence.

This research has very briefly described the canoe's constituent parts and method of construction. It has also proposed a first attempt at developing a classification system or typology of Solomon Islands plank-built canoes from examples available in museum collections.

It has demonstrated the benefits of museum-based watercraft studies and validates the continued use of museum collections as places for education and research. Significance is often a benchmark used to measure a canoe or boat's relevance, and, in certain cases, continued existence in a museum collection may not be guaranteed without it (Clark 2014: 146).

There are many objects in museum collections whose stories have yet to be told, and large objects such as canoes and boats are especially vulnerable to this because they are difficult to display and present to the public. As Sheppard (2021: 242) has remarked, despite there being many plank-built canoes in museums around the world, most are in storage and not on display for the public or for Solomon Islanders whose ancestors created them.

This type of research and the information it produces has the potential to engage and provide a vehicle of opportunity for museums to reconnect with first-nation peoples and redress some aspects of their colonial past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Canterbury Museum and the Trust Board for allowing access to the canoe in June 2022, and Hatesa Seumanutafa and Neeha Velagapudi for facilitating the photogrammetric documentation process and for providing the opportunity to view the museum's acquisition register and file. In addition, the excellent services provided by the archivists, librarians and staff of the Macmillan Brown Library | Te Puna Rakahau o Macmillan Brown at Canterbury University are also gratefully acknowledged. Michael Gunn and Steve Farram read an early draft of this paper and made a number of useful comments for which I am also very thankful.

GLOSSARY

amasa	trailing fern (Roviana)
binabina	a type of Solomon Island plank-built canoe found around Isabel, Nggela and Guadalcanal (Gela)
buni	beauty leaf, *Calophyllum inophyllum* (Roviana)
kivili	merbau, *Intsia bijuga* (Marovo)
kutakuta	keel plank (Roviana)
lako	frame (Roviana)
lisi	a type of Solomon Island plank-built canoe found around Malaita, Guadalcanal and San Cristobal (generic name)
magoru	war canoe (Marovo)
mola	plank-built canoe (Roviana, Babatana (Choiseul))
mola gogora	plank-built canoe used for catching turtles and dugong (Babatana (Choiseul))
mola sisira	war canoe (Babatana (Choiseul))

mon	a type of Solomon Island plank-built canoe found around Bougainville, Choiseul, New Georgia and Nggela (generic name)
niabara	war canoe (Vella Lavella—generic name)
ora	a type of Solomon Island plank-built canoe found around San Cristobal (generic name)
sisira	war canoe (Babatana (Choiseul))
tita	putty nut, *Atuna racemosa* (Roviana)
tomoko	war canoe (Roviana)

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REVIEWS

ALIAGA, José Miguel Ramírez, Julio Hotus Salinas and Betty Haoa Rapahango: *El Manuscrito de Pua Arahoa* [in Spanish]. Viña del Mar: Rapanui Press, 2021. xx + 296 pp., ack., gloss., intro., lang. notes, photos. $16,000 Chilean pesos (softcover).

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In the early twentieth century, Rapanui produced manuscripts written in Roman script, some including Rongorongo signs copied from scholarly publications. These manuscripts, written by Rapanui for Rapanui, were intentionally hidden from the eyes of outsiders until the arrival of the Norwegian Expedition in 1955 (Heyerdahl and Ferdon 1965). They embody the core esoteric knowledge of the island that did not find its way into ethnographic descriptions.

Eight manuscripts have been uncovered so far. The longest of them, Manuscript E, is 110 pages long. It was found by Chilean school teacher Lorenzo Baeza Vega, photographed by Gastón Bejarano and published in retyped version by Thomas Barthel (1974). According to the name repeated on every page, Manuscript E was composed by the birdman Araki Pua ʻa Rahoa ʻa Rapu (1840?–1912?) of the Tupahotu tribe. There are some uncertainties regarding how his name should be transcribed. He authored Manuscripts B, E and H sometime after Walter Knoche's expedition of 1911 (Horley and López Labbé 2014: 36, 44; 2015: 42). Manuscript E narrates the story of the discovery and settlement of Rapa Nui (Easter Island); its significance for Rongorongo studies is evidenced by its structural parallels with the text on the Large Santiago Tablet (Davletshin 2022: 204). It was published in German, Russian and Spanish (Barthel 1974; Fedorova 1988; Alarcón Frontier 2008); Barthel's work was translated into English (1978). Legible photographs of only six pages of the manuscript were previously published (Barthel 1974; Solsvik 2016). Barthel made his transcriptions on the photographs taken from the manuscript in the possession of Timoteo Pakarati in 1957. Subsequently, these photographs and the manuscript itself were believed lost. Translations by Irina Fedorova and Arturo Alarcón Frontier were based on Barthel's transcriptions. A rumour circulated in the Rapa Nui community that Barthel had fabricated them. Now, Aliaga *et al.*'s book presents photographs of 103 pages recently rediscovered in Chile, side-by-side with their transcription and translation into Spanish. These photographs pre-date the photographs published by Barthel, which show the name of the manuscript's author clipped.

The book under review includes an introduction by José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga; a two-page note on the Rapanui language by Jesús Conte Oliveros; a pronunciation guide by Margot Hotus Salinas; transcriptions and translations side-by-side with photographs by Margot Hotus Salinas, Julio Hotus Salinas, Lorenzo Morena Berroeta and Betty Haoa Rapahango; a chapter on Rongorongo signs by Paul Horley; and another on the correspondence between Thor Heyerdahl and Max Puelma Bunster by Reidar Solsvik.

The edition does not include palaeographic analysis or interlinear glosses, nor does it discuss obscure words and contexts. This makes it difficult to gauge how much of the translation is derived from the authors' personal knowledge. Fedorova's book (1988) remains unparalleled in this regard because it provides philological commentary, discusses problematic interpretations and takes into consideration lexical data from other islands of East Polynesia.

The authors rightfully emphasise the importance of glottal stops and long vowels in representing Rapanui (pp. 22–25). Nevertheless, these are not always indicated in the transcriptions, as can be seen from the following examples, among many others: *ariki* for *ʻariki* 'chief', *puoko* for *pūʻoko* 'head', *tatou* for *tātou* 'we (inclusive)', *uri* for *ʻuri* 'black' (see also *hoʻonu* for *honu* 'turtle'). Vowel length and glottal stops are not randomly distributed in Rapanui: (i) glottal stops cannot co-occur in lexical roots, (ii) lexical roots are at least two morae long and therefore monosyllabic lexical roots bear long vowels, (iii) long vowels cannot appear to the left of an odd number of morae in a root, (iv) prefixing reduplications of three-mora roots show long vowels in their first syllable, and (v) postposed grammatical markers are two morae long (Davletshin 2016; Kieviet 2017; see also Weber and Weber 1982). These rules are frequently violated in the transcriptions in this book: *pu* for *pū* 'hole', *ōho* for *oho* 'he goes', *kapuapua* for *kāpuapua* 'misty', *āi* for *ʻai* 'sequential, postposed', *no* for *nō* 'just, postposed', etc. Importantly, uncertain vowel length and glottal stops are not indicated. The use of accents is unjustified because stress is not phonemic in Rapanui.

I want to conclude by raising a few research questions. The diacritics of Manuscript E are intriguing and may mimic transcription systems employed by missionaries and early ethnographers. Punctuation marks would merit a study of their own. The text is full of words and place names unattested elsewhere (*kekepu* 'an animal', *tori* 'hundred', etc.). Some may be explained with lexical data from Polynesian languages: *ʻariki ʻiti* 'lesser chief' (see *ʻiti* 'small'); *ʻariki maʻahu* (sage, expert in star lore, see **maʻafu* 'Magellanic Clouds'); etc. Others, some descriptive, may be esoteric, invented ad hoc or obtained in dreams by the composer (*manu tara* 'tern' is used as 'bird, generic', etc.). A few neologisms and Tahitian loans may form part of the

ritual lexicon too (*manu va'e e hā* 'sheep', *pāta'uta'u* 'recitation', etc.). Finally, vowel shifts to "*o*" may reflect a poetic device documented in other Polynesian traditions (Moyle 2007: 174–76): *hoko'ou* for *haka'ou* 'again', *toko'a* for *tako'a* 'also', *ko roto ko* for *ki roto ki* 'inside', etc. These are but a few of the intriguing questions that can be addressed thanks to this book.

I wish to congratulate Rapanui and Polynesianists on the rediscovery and prompt publication of Manuscript E. *Māuruuru*—thank you—to the authors and the editorial house.

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EVANS, Jeff: *Ngātokimatawhaorua: The Biography of a Waka*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 2023. 264 pp., author bio, ack., appendix, gloss., index, notes. NZ$50.00 (hardcover).

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Jeff Evans's *Ngātokimatawhaorua* is an illuminating history of the 35.7-metre-long waka taua (war canoe) *Ngātokimatawhaorua*, which, for the most part, has stood quietly in the Treaty grounds at Waitangi, Aotearoa New Zealand. Sheltered under the waka (canoe) shelter Te Korowai ō Maikuku near Hobson's Beach, *Ngātokimatawhaorua* has long piqued the interest of visitors walking by, on their way to the Treaty House, the Te Whare Rūnanga meeting house and the spacious grounds overlooking Pēwhairangi Bay.

Built for the 1940 Treaty of Waitangi celebrations, this giant war canoe represents a "powerful symbol of Māori identity, strength and pride" (p. 8). Evans's engaging account contains "dual lines of history and significance for Northern iwi/Māori", writes Pita Tipene, chair of the Waitangi National Trust (p. 6). The first *Ngātokimatawhaorua* was an ancestral waka that journeyed to Aotearoa. It was re-adzed by legendary Polynesian explorer Kupe "to complete the return trip to Hawaiki" (p. 6). *Ngātokimatawhaorua*'s reincarnation in 1940 drew on these whakapapa (genealogical) and tūpuna (ancestral) connections, as does this first book on *Ngātokimatawhaorua*, which can therefore be seen "as a biography rather than a history" (p. 6).

This interesting point is not really developed here, though it recalls the work of scholars like Joseph Hetekia Pere of Te Aitanga a Māhaki who, in writing of his forebears and their egregious losses, framed his writing in order to honour those tūpuna, because they had left descendants with a "an obligation and an undertaking to faithfully preserve taonga [treasure] of the history of Mahakai iwi [tribe]" that included stories of important people, places and defining events across millennia (Pere 1991: 30).

This undoubtedly included, as Teurikore Biddle has written, the development of an organic expressional and material culture through which significant histories of voyage, discovery, adaptation and cultural integrity were enshrined and celebrated (Biddle 2012: 58)—waiata (songs), haka (posture dances), tauparapara (incantations to open a speech) and, not least, waka taua as commanding as—in this case—*Ngātokimatawhaorua*, itself grounded by Ngāti Rāhiri and Ngāti Kawa of Waitangi who, linked through Pouerua Pā, descend from that ancestral waka. *Ngātokimatawhaorua* is now the preeminent waka of Te Tai Tokerau iwi, adds Tipene, and, as the largest ceremonial waka in existence, is of national significance (p. 6).

The origins of the waka taua *Ngātokimatawhaorua* are interesting, recounted by Evans in a lively and compelling manner. Much of the credit is given to Te Puea Hērangi, who championed the construction of *Ngātokimatawhaorua* in the mid-1930s. Te Puea's original vision included several carved meeting houses and seven waka taua, each one representing one of the seven original waka of the major tribal groups. Waka taua sit at the pinnacle of traditional Māori waka design, writes Evans, a design and material adaptation made necessary because of the new terrain of Aotearoa, and made possible once tūpuna began exploring the primordial forests, isolating an abundance of "very large, very tall trees, particularly kauri and tōtara" (p. 9).

Ngātokimatawhaorua itself originates from the depths of Puketi Forest. Te Puea sought assistance to launch her vision from Piri Poutapu, a tohunga tārai waka (expert canoe builder). But because Piri was young, Te Puea turned to Rānui Maupakanga, who had once constructed a waka taua for her grandfather, the renowned King Tūkāroto Matutaera Pōtatau Tāwhiao. Rānui, now in his seventies, was possibly the last master waka builder of his generation. His formidable task was to locate at least two kauri trees suitable for the construction.

Ngātokimatawhaorua was carved as a partner to Te Whare Rūnanga at the Treaty grounds. Many of the same carvers who had devoted their expertise to Te Whare Rūnanga also worked on the construction of the new waka taua.

Ngātokimatawhaorua first appeared in 1940. Few gathered on the beaches that day, writes Evans, expected to see the beauty, grace and majesty of the waka taua crossing the harbour; "the crew aboard the giant waka revelled in the occasion, surging across the harbour as their ancestors once had, their white-tipped hoe [paddles] flashing against the calm blue water" (p. 126).

Following its grand display on 6 February 1840, *Ngātokimatawhaorua*'s future was far from assured. The waka was dismantled after the commemorations and relocated to the upper Treaty grounds beside Te Whare Rūnanga, where it would reside for the next 34 years. This all changed when kaumātua (elders) successfully argued for its restoration in time for Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1974. *Ngātokimatawhaorua* also attended the centennial celebrations in Whangaroa County in 1987.

Queen Elizabeth also visited Waitangi in 1990, as part of New Zealand's sesquicentennial celebrations. With 1990 proclaimed as the Year of the Waka, the New Zealand Kaupapa Waka Project was launched, inspired once again by Te Puea Hērangi, who, it was recalled, had wanted to restore and build waka taua as an expression of the tribal prestige of all Māori.

Now, on a scale much grander than Te Puea could have imagined, with toki (adzes) and whao (chisels) succeeded by steel tools and treated timber, waka were constructed by hapū (subtribes) and iwi all over Aotearoa for the

occasion. On 6 February 1990, alongside countless vessels, boats, yachts and pleasure craft, a flotilla of specially constructed waka from all over Aotearoa, led by *Ngātokimatawhaorua*, sailed across Pēwhairangi Bay. Such waka taua had become a symbol of Māori unity and pride in this important year of remembrance. According to some Māori, they were seen "as the vehicle which [would] carry the mana [spiritual power] of Maoridom into the new century" (Buddy Mikaere, cited in Keenan n.d.). Such was the legacy of *Ngātokimatawhaorua*.

Ngātokimatawhaorua provides a well-researched, multilayered and lavishly illustrated history of the waka taua and the exhaustive processes by which it was envisioned, designed, constructed, displayed and preserved. Evans's account of the commensurate traditional and ceremonial elements associated with all aspects of *Ngātokimatawhaorua*'s creation are adeptly compiled and especially compelling. Evans's style—and journey—is both historical and personal, much in the style of noted historians like Peter Wells, building on a polished proficiency, as seen in his previous works, including his accomplished biography *Heke-nuku-mai-nga-iwi Busby: Not Here By Chance* (Huia, 2015), *Waka Taua: The Maori War Canoe* (Oratia, 2017) and *Maori Weapons in Pre-European New Zealand* (Oratia, 2014).

As Pita Tipene correctly concludes, Evans "carefully binds together the different parts, people and time periods", exemplifying the way in which the waka builders and carvers themselves "worked to shape, bind and lash together" (p. 7) all of the elements that, when all fused together over time, created this astonishing cultural icon, *Ngātokimatawhaorua*.

Glossary

The terms included in this glossary are New Zealand Māori.

haka	posture dance
hapū	subtribe
hoe	paddle
iwi	tribe
kaumātua	elder
mana	spiritual power
tauparapara	incantation to open a speech
tohunga tārai waka	expert waka builder
toki	adze
tūpuna	ancestors, forebears
waiata	song
waka	canoe
waka taua	war canoe
whakapapa	genealogy
whao	chisel

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O'MALLEY, Vincent: *Voices from the New Zealand Wars | He Reo nō ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. 420 pp., author bio., ack., bib., ed. note, further reading, index, iwi and hapū names, map sources, timeline. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

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Voices from the New Zealand Wars | He Reo nō ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa is a book I have been excited to read as a historian, and as one of Pacific descent born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand it holds even more significance for me. History as a discipline has frequently marginalised the voices of those who are not part of the dominant culture, and even though many pay lip service to including those marginalised voices in their histories, often they are only peripheral to what is considered the "main" story. This book places the voices of those typically marginalised by history next to those of Pākehā (New Zealand Europeans), making them just as or even more important in the historical narrative of the New Zealand Wars between 1843 and 1872. It connects the reader to the personal stories of those who took part in a series of wars that, as O'Malley states in his introduction, have relevance for the present. Featuring the voices of the people involved and highlighting their stories makes a topic that many of us have studied at school or have some basic knowledge about much more personal in terms of who we are as a people—in O'Malley's words: "This history is not over and done with. It's the story of how we got to where we are today" (p. 4). It is intended as a textbook of sorts for students of history, but it is also a book for mainstream Aotearoa and should be gifted to all who would appreciate learning about the story of the New Zealand Wars through the voices of those who were there.

The reliance on firsthand accounts to guide the story of these wars is unique, especially as some of these have not been publicly shared before. As a historian who loves being in the archives, the hours and hours it would

have taken to gather these sources are not lost on me— nor the determination that would have been needed to dig deep and find the voices of Māori and women in amongst the louder voices of Pākehā men. Primary sources are vital to the way we practise history, and as a product of O'Malley's research expertise, in this book students of history can see demonstrated not only the importance of these documents but also the fallibility of the historical record by showing that the lines of history are drawn through people's perspectives. The decision not to shape the primary sources to the narrative but instead feature them in full (often alongside the full Māori text) is one of the reasons this book is so historically significant, as is its focus not just on the large questions of the wars but also, as O'Malley states, the more intimate episodes as "acknowledgements of a shared humanity" (p. 3). As readers we are able to trace this through the different types of primary sources—newspapers, government documents, diaries, memoirs and letters.

Voices of the New Zealand Wars is organised by nine of the key locations and conflicts of the wars between 1843 and 1872. The reader can navigate the book through these different chapters or can refer to the Voices listed across from the table of contents and flick from story to story. I tried the latter first, but the historian in me wanted to understand the overall narrative and context O'Malley gives to guide the reader from story to story; each reader will approach this differently. Due to space limitations I can mention only a couple of the many stories in this book that could be highlighted. The stories of women, especially Māori women, stood out to me as extraordinary: an account of a discussion between the artist Joseph Jenner Merrett and Hariata Rongo, the wife of Hone Heke, that took place in late 1846; the testimony of Koroneho Te Karipa detailing the active part women played in events surrounding the battle at Moutoa Island in 1864; the account written by Heni Te Kiri Karamu published in the *New Zealand Herald* in 1898 stating it was she who had given water to Lieutenant Henry Booth as he lay dying at the battle of Gate Pā in 1864 and not the previously claimed male figure; the account of the bravery of Ahumai Te Paerata, who incited the women of Ōrākau to refuse the offer to surrender the women and children and to stand together against the British in April 1864; the testimony of Maata Morewarewa and Mereana Matau to the parliamentary commission of inquiry on the attack led by Thomas McDonnell on Pōkaikai in August 1866; an account from Maraea Morete of Te Kooti's attack at Matawhero in November 1868; a letter in September 1870 to the government from the wives of the Pakakohi men convicted of treason (after their surrender) and sent to Dunedin to do hard labour; and a remarkable account from an unknown Māori woman of the attack on Rangiaowhia in February 1864 told through a letter written much later in 1991. The account of this horrendous and treacherous attack led by Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron aimed at weakening

the Kingitanga is told through the accounts of multiple people in this book, demonstrating one of the book's key strengths in the presentation of different perspectives of history, even from those who were there at the time. This is an important part of understanding the transmission of historical narratives and the role of the historian not in finding the "truth" but in presenting and assessing different perspectives. There are many other stories to be read in this book, some well known and some not, but these stories stood out to me as an example of why this book is significant.

This review would not be complete without mentioning the visual impact of the book. Aligning the voices to the pictures added a dimension to the storytelling that I appreciated as a reader and, by being able to read the words of those who were there and see that time brought to life through images, sometimes in horrid ways, I was able to connect to a vital part of Aotearoa's history. Anyone who wants to understand Aotearoa's past and how it continues to have impact today should read this book. In the foreword, Māori scholar Arama Rata writes of her hopes for this book beyond the significance of it as an important historical narrative, in words that I think are appropriate to conclude this review: "I hope … that by considering the voices of our past … you [the reader] come to a deep understanding that this history has never stopped repeating, and that you strengthen your ability to recognise its ever-evolving forms. Only then will we be able to write a new story" (p. vii).

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LOPESI, Lana: *Bloody Woman*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. Ack., essays, foreword, gloss., notes, preface. NZ$39.99 (softcover).

MELODEE PANAPA-LEILUA
Waipapa Taumata Rau | The University of Auckland

ASHLEY VAOTUUA
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Bloody Woman created quite the buzz within Pacific communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. It's not every day you get to see yourself written in text, especially if you're a Sāmoan or Pacific woman. This book makes visible the sacred experience of being a Pacific woman. Although this is clearly a tribute to Pacific women, it is highly beneficial for all to read, whether you're a Pacific girl dad,[1] a devoted husband, a flamboyant fa'afafine (third-gender or non-binary) or a friend of Pacific peoples. This review of *Bloody Woman* is a written talanoa (discussion) between two Pacific women who read this book as part of their PACIFIC 712 course in Pacific Studies at Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland under the guidance of Dr Emalani Case.

Melodee: In a collection of personal essays, Lana Lopesi gives voice "to the overlooked, to the underrepresented and to the exceptionally complex" experience of being a Sāmoan woman living in Aotearoa (p.12). She courageously writes on topics ranging from womanhood, motherhood, feminism and representation to menstruation, pregnancy termination, sexuality and sexual abuse. Lopesi is unbridled in boldness yet compassionate in tone. To reiterate Tusiata Avia's metaphor, there are many baskets of knowledge in this book, with Lopesi offering Pacific scholarship, Sāmoan Indigenous knowledge and a showcase of poetry that imparts an educational and evocative flair. Although this is predominantly Sāmoan-centric, as a mixed Cook Island and Tokelauan woman living in Aotearoa, I still resonated with these experiences and felt seen and understood. There were some dots that needed connecting, but overall, the book helped to make sense of the tensions and overlaps of my own womanhood. This book is for all those who are looking to honour "the fun, the ugly and the complicated" (p.15) nature of being a Pacific woman.

Ashley: Yes, on the subject of womanhood, Lopesi gracefully navigates the complexities of reclamation within the confines of hyperconservative Sāmoan societal structures. She interweaves her own experiences with stories of the Sāmoan war goddess Nafanua, Teine Sā (spirit women) and the pe'a (flying fox). Sāmoan womanhood has been associated with protecting virginity, represented in deflowering ceremonies and the symbolism of the taupou (village maiden). However, Lopesi emphasises in "Teine Sā, My Feminist Icons" that these practices were not rooted in an obsession with virginity but rather in a deep reverence for the mana (spiritual power) bestowed by Tagaloa, the supreme god or progenitor of other gods, through a woman's womb. She discusses colonial legacies of shame around womanhood in empowering women as *portals* of mana. As a tama'ita'i Sāmoa (Samoan woman), I am inspired to embrace being a portal of mana, to harmonise with my dual nature—both physical and spiritual. These essays serve as an empowering affirmation for Sāmoan women to persist in embracing their innate strength and spiritual significance.

Melodee: Reframing menstruation as an act of passing mana was challenging but liberating. I've often thought of a period as shameful or an annoyance, but for Lopesi it is the portal of life and mana, which is something to be cherished and celebrated. I found the essay "There Is a Vā Between My Thighs" equally enlightening. Inspired by Ria Masae's poem *My Vā*, Moemoe Malieatoa Von Reiche, and Lily Laita's work on vā (relational space), Lopesi explains the ways in which vā can open liberated discussions of sex and womanhood, which are normally considered tapu.

The essays "Brown & Bougie" and "Creative Representations of Joy & Hyena Laughs of Resistance" had me feeling all sorts of validation. I've always struggled to express the duality of my Pacific and Western identity through my image, perpetually dressing to suit the occasion. I always ensured I wasn't too Pacific in Western environments and not too Western in Pacific environments. My behaviour in these spaces often mirrored my dress. Lopesi brilliantly illuminates the ongoing colonial legacies that underpin these tensions and encourages interrogation of society's reluctant acceptance of diverse Pacific representation. Lopesi poses the question of why, instead of either being vibrantly dressed hyena-laughing rebels or quiet business-wearing intelligent lawyers, we can't be accepted as both. It really inspires me to query the basis of my own code-switching, and I feel encouraged to be authentically myself in any context.

Ashley: I was also intrigued by "Pacific Cyberbunnies & the Digitisation of Care", which presents social media as a platform for the digitisation of carework and immaterial labour in the ways Pacific women use their platforms to contribute to greater society. Carework is so deeply ingrained in Pacific cultures. I've seen many women in my family take on the role of carers as a form of tautua (service) or tausi matua (caring for your elders). It's a role that I know one day I will take on. Lopesi speaks to how these representations of being a woman have manifested themselves within the digital realm too.

Melodee: I had been told to read *Bloody Woman* quite a few times by some of my friends, all with the widened eyes and raised brows that us girls make when there's a secret involved. However, in the essays "Swimming in Circles", "Eighty-Three Mostly Babies & Children" and "An Open Letter to My Future Adult Children", Lopesi unashamedly makes space for dialogue on pregnancy termination and the deaths of babies in the Sāmoa measles outbreak of 2019 and for having transparent conversations with children about parenting and family. Lopesi compassionately voices these experiences in hopes of giving others courage to talanoa, mourn and heal. Growing up, there was a lot of shame around women and motherhood issues, and publishing these experiences will help to break that cycle for the next generation.

Ashley: While I enjoyed reading the chapters on motherhood, I struggled to connect with these experiences and their real impacts beyond the pages, as I haven't experienced the stages of parenthood in my journey yet. But from my perspective, I agree, these stories are so important in breaking the cycle, so I take comfort in and inspiration from Lopesi's stories, which act as a bridge for paths that I haven't yet walked; they connect me to the shared identity of being a "bloody woman".

Feminism for Pacific women has been critiqued for perpetuating colonial agendas. In "Becoming a Bloody Woman", Lopesi addresses the disconnect between Western feminism and the realities of Indigenous and racialised women. She explores the term tautalaitiiti (talking above your age, status, experience), reframing it as a sense of empowerment in the face of issues surrounding gender, power imbalances and cultural identity. While I understand how this can bring a sense of empowerment, we need to navigate such discussions with care for the safety and wellbeing of tautalaitiiti girls who seek to challenge these issues within cultural contexts. As part of growing up in a family that heavily values fa'a-Sāmoa (the Sāmoan way), I don't think I'd be able to be as tautalaitiiti as one dreams to be. Lopesi boldly declares that being a tautalaitiiti girl is, in itself, a feminist act. Lopesi's work is a testament to the importance of reclaiming cultural narratives, challenging gender norms and fostering a feminist consciousness rooted in Indigenous wisdom.

Melodee: I get what you mean, Ash—reframing tautalaitiiti as a feminist act of empowerment seems appealing, but there are real consequences that may follow. In my Cook Islands community, I connect tautalaitiiti to what my nana would call a māpū (young woman), and if you were brave enough to act up, you had better be brave enough for the kīkau (coconut frond) broom to be wrapped around your legs. There is an upside to stepping into your female power, but it will be challenging, as not everyone in our communities is able to.

Ashley: This book has helped me to make sense of my journey through womanhood. Each page evokes memories of heartfelt conversations with my mother, valuable lessons passed down from my grandmothers and aunties, the laughter shared with my sisters, girl cousins and friends, and the profound love I hold for my younger sisters and cousins. Aligning with Lopesi's own sentiments, this book is a tribute to all the tautalaitiiti girls—those from the past and present, and those yet to emerge.

Notes

1. "Girl dad" is a term used to capture the love between fathers and their daughters. The following definition is offered on the online Urban Dictionary: "A girl dad is a father who wants his daughter(s) to have the same rights, opportunities, and privileges as any boy." Posted by user "Swhelper", 4 February 2020, https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=girl%20dad

Glossary

The terms included in this glossary are Sāmoan unless otherwise stated.

fa'a-Sāmoa	the Sāmoan way
fa'afafine	people who identify as having a third-gender or non-binary role

kīkau	coconut frond (Cook Islands Māori)
mana	spiritual power
māpū	young woman (Cook Islands Māori)
peʻa	flying fox
talanoa	discussion
tamaʻitaʻi Sāmoa	Sāmoan woman
taupou	village maiden
tausi matua	caring for your elders
tautalaitiiti	talking above your age, status, experience; implies a form of rebellion or independence, suggesting a departure from expected norms and a willingness to assert one's own thoughts and opinions
tautua	service
Teine Sā	spirit women
vā	relational space

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MACKINTOSH, Lucy: *Shifting Grounds: Deep Histories of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. 300 pp., ack., ed. notes, gloss., illus., image sources, index, maps, notes. NZ$59.99 (hardcover).

HONE THORPE
Nō Puketapu o Te Āti Awa ki te Tonga
Waipapa Taumata Rau | The University of Auckland

Shifting Grounds by Lucy Mackintosh is a meticulously crafted exploration of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland's history that delves into intricate layers of detail and nuance. Mackintosh adroitly unwraps the complexity within the interactions between Māori, missionaries and colonisers, revealing a narrative that evolves over time. The initial optimism of the meeting between colonisers and tangata whenua (Indigenous people) transforms into a web of challenges and conflicts, leaving a lasting imprint on the landscape, both obvious and subtle.

The book conveys a profound theme of interconnectedness, aptly echoed by a tauparapara (incantation to begin a speech) shared by Rāpata Newson, a respected figure at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum. The essence of "tūī tūī tui-tuia / tuia i runga, tuia i raro / tuia i waho, tuia i roto" (sew, sew, sew-to be sewn / to be sewn above, to be sewn below / to be sewn from the outside, to be sewn from the inside) reflects the binding thread that ties all individuals and communities to the historical fabric of Auckland. This theme resonates as Mackintosh expertly exposes the many

narratives concealed within the layers of the city's history, voices left behind by generations etched into the land itself.

From the ancient terraces and rock walls to the stories and artefacts that echo through time, Mackintosh reveals the silent voices of successive communities spanning seven centuries. Each layer tells a story of survival and adaptation within the volcanic landscape of Tāmaki-makau-rau. While some tales are uplifting, others carry a sombre note, unveiling the struggles faced by marginalised communities that didn't neatly fit into Auckland's collective identity.

The narrative follows key figures such as Te Rangitāhua Ngāmuka, a highly respected chief from the Ngāti Tamaoho tribe who moved from the far shores of the Manukau Harbour to Ihumātao and welcomed Wesleyan missionaries to set up their village. He was christened Jabez Bunting or Ēpiha Pūtini. His ethical leadership and commitment to justice reveal a complex and compassionate approach to navigating colonial influence. Mackintosh takes the reader through pivotal moments, such as the use of Christianity for personal dignity and empowerment and the gradual disillusionment of Māori leaders like Pūtini with the colonial promises of unity.

Pūtini saw the Queen (Victoria) as being from a "straight" place but her children, the colonial administrators, as being from a "crooked" place. He had personally experienced the breaking of te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) on more than one occasion. Initially hopeful, his aspirations of harmony and oneness with the colonisers were dashed.

The book also poignantly highlights the gradual erosion of te Tiriti on Auckland's very soil. The breaches of the treaty are engraved into the land, where promises were broken and attitudes toward Māori reflected in the later treatment of the Chinese community. Mackintosh masterfully weaves these layers, uncovering a profound and interconnected history.

Numerous other prominent individuals lend their weight to the diverse array of narratives within this historical tapestry. Among them are figures of considerable significance, including governors Fitzroy and Grey and esteemed chiefs like Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, Āpihai Te Kawau and Pāora Tūhaere. Noteworthy contributions also stem from individuals such as market gardener Chan Ah Chee, whose legacy extends through a descendant who laid the foundation for the renowned Foodtown supermarket chain, and the enterprising property developer John Logan Campbell. This is but a mere glimpse into the constellation of influential figures. Many more iwi (tribal) representatives and settlers also play pivotal roles in shaping the intricate stories that unfold.

The production quality of the book itself is exceptional, mirroring the depth of its content. The sturdy paper and intricate maps not only support the

narrative but serve as treasures in their own right. The photographs punctuate the historical journey, capturing the essence of the eras they represent.

Shifting Grounds is a captivating read that demands revisiting. Each reading uncovers new layers and nuances, enriching the understanding of Auckland's intricate tapestry of history. Lucy Mackintosh's work stands as an enduring resource for scholars, educators, local historians and policymakers alike. Through her meticulous research and thoughtful presentation, she has created a work that will undoubtedly educate and enlighten generations to come. This book is a must-have for all bookshelves.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED *

October to December 2023

CUNNINGHAM, Matthew, Marinus La Rooij and Paul Spoonley (eds): *Histories of Hate: The Radical Right in Aotearoa New Zealand.* Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2023. 444 pp., ack., bib., index, intro., notes. NZ$50.00 (softcover).

DAVIDSON, Jared: *Blood and Dirt: Prison Labour and the Making of New Zealand*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2023. 296 pp., ack., bib., ed. note, images, index, notes, prologue. NZ$49.99 (hardcover), e-book.

GREEN, Alison and Leonie Pihama (eds): *Honouring Our Ancestors: Takātapui, Two-Spirit and Indigenous LGBTQI+ Well-being*. Wellington: Te Herenga Waka University Press, 2023. 376 pp., contrib. auth., he mihi, intro., index. NZ$35.00 (softcover).

KAKE, Jade and Jeremy Hansen: *Rewi: Āta Haere, Kia Tere*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 2023. 456 pp., about auth., ack., he mihi, index, intro. NZ $75 (hardcover).

LOPESI, Lana (ed.): *Pacific Arts Aotearoa*. Auckland: Penguin Books, Creative New Zealand, 2023. 544 pp., ack., afterword, contribs, foreword, gloss., index, intro., notes, timeline. NZ$65.00 (hardcover).

ORANGE, Claudia: *The Story of a Treaty | He Kōrero Tiriti*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2023. 258 pp., afterword, ed. note, further reading, illus., illus. credits, index, quotation sources. NZ$35.00 (softcover).

SALMOND, Anne: *Knowledge Is a Blessing on Your Mind: Selected Writings, 1980–2020*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2023. 608 pp., bib., gloss., index, notes, preface, refs. NZ$65.00 (hardcover).

SCHULZ, Joy: *When Women Ruled the Pacific: Power and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Tahiti and Hawai'i*. Studies in Pacific Worlds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2023. 166 pp., ack., appendices, bib., illus., index, notes. US$50.00 (hardcover, e-book).

SISSONS, Jeffrey: *The Forgotten Prophet: Tāmati Te Ito and His Kaingārara Movement*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2023. 204 pp., ack., ed. note, foreword, illus., index, notes. NZ$49.99 (softcover), US$13.68 (e-book).

TE RANGI HĪROA (Sir Peter Buck): *Vikings of the Sunrise*. New Zealand Classics, enhanced facsimile edition (first published 1938). Oratia: Oratia Books, 2023. 392 pp., foreword, images, maps. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

WANHALLA, Angela, Lyndall Ryan and Camille Nurka (eds): *Aftermaths: Colonialism, Violence and Memory in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific.* Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2023. 312 pp., ack., bib., contribs., index, notes. NZ$50.00 (softcover).

WEBBER, Melinda and Te Kapua O'Connor: *A Fire in the Belly of Hineāmaru: A Collection of Narratives about Te Tai Tokerau Tūpuna*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2022. 192 pp., ack., artist's note, bib., concl., foreword, index, intro., notes, preface. NZ$59.99 (hardcover), e-book.

WEBBER, Melinda and Te Kapua O'Connor; Nā Quinton Hita i whakamāori (translated by Quinton Hita): *Ka Ngangana Tonu a Hineāmaru: He Kōrero Tuku Iho nō Te Tai Tokerau*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2022. 192 pp., he kupu nā te kaiwhakamāori, he kupu nā te ringa toi, he kuputohu, he whakamihi, kupu mātāmua, kupu mātāmuri, kupu whakataki, kupu whakatūwhera, ngā tohutoro, pitopito kōrero. NZ$59.99 (hardcover), e-book.

* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

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Information for Authors

Since 1892, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, renamed *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society in 2023,* has been a major forum for the discussion of cultural and social aspects of the past and present lives and cultures of New Zealand Māori and all other peoples of Pacific/Oceanic heritage, including those of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. The Editors welcome submissions of manuscripts in the areas of archaeology, biological and medical anthropology, cultural/social anthropology, ethnomusicology, material culture studies and art history, ethnology, history, linguistics, political studies, indigenous law and sociology. *Waka Kuaka* especially encourages manuscripts that cross-cut disciplinary boundaries and are likely to be of broad interest.

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