

JPS

The Journal
of the
Polynesian Society

VOLUME 125 No.4 DECEMBER 2016
THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY
THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND



NARRATIVE FEATURES AND CULTURAL MOTIFS IN A CAUTIONARY TRADITION FROM MANGAIA (COOK ISLANDS)

MICHAEL REILLY
University of Otago

In 1974 the Government of the Cook Islands initiated an ambitious project to record oral traditions told by cultural experts from the country's various islands. In June of that year the Government established the Cultural Development Division of the Ministry of Social Service whose officials began, almost immediately, to record traditions (Sissons 1999: 71-76).¹ A number of Mangaia's 'are kōrero 'experts in traditional knowledge' participated, producing between them some 65 oral traditions. Experts can be identified for 62 of these traditions, with the vast bulk of them coming from Tere'ēvangeria Aratangi and her brother, Iviiti 'Aerepō. Other participants included 'Akaiti Ponga, Ngātokorua or Ngā Kaokao, Ma'arona 'Okirua and Ravengenge Rakauraiti.² According to the lexicographer, Norio Shibata (1999: 104-5), three other experts contributed: Ave 'Ivaiti, Tangi'ānau Ūpoko and Tīriamai Naeiti. They may be the sources for the three anonymous traditions.

I was fortunate to meet one of the principal 'are kōrero, Tere'ēvangeria Aratangi, a few years before she passed away in 1992. Born in 1922 in Tamarua, a village well known for holding on to the older ways, Aratangi would have been a mature woman at the time of the recordings in 1974 and 1975. As she spoke to me in *te tara Mangaia* 'the Mangaian language' her voice rose and fell, her eyes lit up, her whole body animatedly caught up in the presentation of her narratives.³ Despite talking to her through an interpreter I could not help but be impressed by her dynamic presentation. For me, she remains an exemplar of the 'are kōrero's gift for storytelling.

Amongst the various traditions Aratangi provided officials was one entitled *Te Tua ia Kōtuku* 'The Story about Kōtuku' (Aratangi n.d.a). The title character is presented as a badly behaving father whose ill treatment of his daughter, Pataariri, brings about his death as a result of the intervention by a spirit being. In telling this story Aratangi intended to convey a moral message to her audience, articulating what were appropriate or inappropriate ways of behaving, and what sanctions might be imposed on erring community members. As an 'are kōrero she acted as the custodian of Mangaia's customary knowledge who utilised such didactic narratives to instruct each new generation on how they should behave as human people living within Mangaian society.

Other Mangaiaans I spoke to in 1988 referred respectfully to *'are kōrero* such as Aratangi, perhaps reflecting the pre-Christian status of this office as the especially favoured vessel of an *atua*, 'spirit being, spirit power'. For example, the *'are kōrero* Rautoa was described as being caressed by the spirit powers (*'e tangata miri atua*), especially his tribal spirit being, Tāne, who lived within him (*tei roto i a ia taua atua ra 'o Tāne*) (Hiroa 1971: 70). Their intimate connection to the sacred spirit world meant that people considered *'are kōrero* to be sources of knowledge and wisdom. They were sought out for advice, or as teachers for people's children in specialised subjects, including the art of war. They also acted as chiefly counsellors who spoke on behalf of the descent group's spirit beings (Aratangi n.d.b, Hiroa 1971: 148, Reilly 2001: 157-58). The equivalent Rarotonga Māori term *tumu kōrero* has been defined as "an historian or one who imparts or teaches tribal or historical knowledge; a tribal counsellor; one versed in all knowledge pertaining to tribal matters" (Savage 1980: 116). The *'are kōrero*'s spiritual authority would have allowed them to voice criticisms of inappropriate acts, especially by people of consequence. In doing so they ensured their descent group remained favoured by the spiritual world, an essential requirement in a society where physical well-being and prosperity depended on the spirit powers. Acting as a critical conscience for their community may have been the *'are kōrero*'s most important social role and responsibility.

These criticisms may well have been expressed indirectly through the medium of cautionary traditions such as this one about Kōtuku. The other known version of this work was recorded as a sermon in the mid-19th century by a Mangaian pastor who, like Aratangi, acted as a custodian of tribal historical knowledge. The details of his story demonstrate that the tradition had been passed down from the pre-Christian period (Reilly n.d.).

As custodians of knowledge the *'are kōrero* are skilled author-raconteurs whose artistry with words create anew older traditions in ways that entertain and inform a new generation of listeners. In doing so, the past is remembered as history for the present-day community. The stories of the ancestors are reworked to suit the particular cultural situation of the new audience. Words, episodes, even characters may change, although core elements persist through various reworkings, such as key sayings, songs, names and gestures associated with the ancestors being depicted (Denning 1996: 37, 41-42, 47-51, Huntsman 1981: 212-16, Junod 1927: 218-21, Radin 1915: 42-43, 47, Vansina 1985: 118-19, 161, 165-71). In recreating the past these raconteurs reflect the practices of any historian who fashions their narrative from "the fragments of the past" (White 1978: 106, 125; also see Vansina 1973: 99).

At the heart of this paper is Aratangi's own narrative of this cautionary story about the misbehaving Kōtuku. The discourse analyst, Barbara Johnstone

(2008: 71), observes: “Struggles over power and control are often struggles over whose words get used and whose do not and over who gets to speak and who does not.” All discourse is multi-voiced and it is critical that all the voices are heard and seen within any analysis of them. My own representation of them is not enough. As New Zealand historian, Judith Binney (2010: 81), reminds us: “In the oral form of telling history, the narrative *belongs* to the narrator” (emphasis in original). As an outsider historian my role is not to translate Aratangi’s words into my own but rather to juxtapose our voices, recognising the distinctive integrity of Mangaia’s own vernacular histories (Binney 2010: 83, 85).

To understand that indigenous form of history requires a detailed, particularistic analysis of it as discourse (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008: 10; Johnstone 2008: 4, 269). Such a close textual analysis includes features of the language, such as style and imagery, as well as key cultural ideas that Aratangi is alluding to in her story. This approach reflects older philological practices whereby significant motifs are drawn from the analysis of a more or less randomly chosen text from a particular historical period (Auerbach 1968: 548). To help illuminate this examination of the Kōtuku story, I have looked to scholarship concerning Aotearoa New Zealand Māori who are *whanaunga*, ‘relations, connections’, to other East Polynesian peoples, including those of Mangaia, especially Agathe Thornton’s important studies of oral features in Māori traditions (Thornton 1985, 1987, 2004).

Like all the traditions recorded for this Government project the original tape recordings were transcribed as typescripts and ultimately deposited in the National Archives of the Cook Islands, presumably following the closure of the Cultural Development Division in 1980 by the new Thomas Davis led Government (Sissons 1999: 87).⁴ The whereabouts of the tape recordings are unknown. The single-spaced typescript of the Kōtuku story runs for three quarters of a page, perhaps a little on the shorter side in comparison with her other recorded traditions.⁵ Aratangi’s family recall her stories as being longer when told orally. It is hard to say whether or not she deliberately limited the length of her narratives for this official project, although her Kōtuku story is certainly more truncated than the 19th-century version of this tradition (Reilly n.d.: 19).

In this article I have modified the *tara Mangaia* transcript of Aratangi’s story by dividing it into segments for ease of analysis and by inserting additional punctuation, as well as marking long vowels with macrons (e.g., ā) and glottal stops with hamzahs (‘). The translation has been made a little more literal to bring out the story’s oral features. The following textual analysis utilises examples from the Kōtuku story, and other traditions retold by Aratangi, to illustrate her creativity and intellectual concerns as

an author-raconteur. The analysis first examines her ideas about the past, the nature of Mangaian knowledge and her motivations for participating in the Government recording project. It then explores particular features of Aratangi's oral narrative style, notably expansions, repetitions, images and gestures. The concluding section reflects on certain cultural ideals underlying the Kōtuku story, notably relationships between parents and children, leaders and followers, spirit beings and their worshippers, and the deeper significance for Mangaians of caring for and protecting the vulnerable in their community.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Segment 1: Introduction of Characters and Task

Te Tua ia Kōtuku

'O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku, e no 'o ana aia i roto i te oire Tamarua, i te tuātau o te pō kerekere i A'ua'u 'Eua nei. 'O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku 'e tamā'ine 'akaungaunga tāna. Teia tāna 'anga'anga, e tiki vai, 'ei unu nō Kōtuku i te au rā katoatoa. Inārā teia te mea tangi i teia tamā'ine, ka 'aere rava aia i roto i te puna Kei'ā tiki ai i te vai 'ei unu nō Kōtuku. 'O teia tamā'ine teia tōna ingoa 'o Pataariri. 'Ua riro teia 'anga'anga tā Kōtuku i rave [--?] 'ei auē 'anga nō Pataariri i te pō ē te ao.

The Story about Kōtuku

This man, Kōtuku, he lived in the village of Tamarua in the era of intense darkness in A'ua'u 'Eua. This man, Kōtuku, he sent his daughter on errands. This was her task, to fetch water, so that Kōtuku could drink every day. And yet the sad thing for this daughter was she had to walk to Kei'ā district to fetch the water for Kōtuku to drink. This daughter's name was Pataariri. This work that Kōtuku required came about with much weeping and crying night and day from Pataariri.

Segment 2: Use of Specific Water Source

'O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku 'āre aia e unu i te vai nō tēta'i kauvai kē. Ka 'aere rāi i Kei'ā tiki ai tōna vai, ka kite aia ē nō tēta'i ngā'i kē teia vai. Me 'apai mai a Pataariri ka vāvā'i aia i te ururua vai. Ka 'oki 'aka'ou rāi teia tamā'ine ka tiki 'aka'ou i tēta'i vai.

This man, Kōtuku, did not drink from just any stream. [When Pataariri] was going to Kei'ā to fetch his water he would know which location this water came from. If Pataariri were carrying back [such water] he would break apart the water container. That daughter would once more have to return to fetch water once more.

Segment 3: Identification of Water Source

Teia te puna vai e tiki 'ua ana a Pataariri, 'o Mara. Tei Kei 'ā teia puna vai. 'O te apinga e tiki 'ia ana te vai i te tuātau ta 'ito i te 'enua o Mangaia 'e ururua. Ka 'aere Pataariri 'e 'ā ururua 'ua ka kave 'ia i te ka 'a.

Mara was the spring of water that Pataariri fetched from. That spring was in Kei 'ā. The thing used for fetching water in the olden days in the island of Mangaia was the *ururua* container [water containers made from coconut shells]. Pataariri would walk, carrying only four *ururua* containers [tied up] with sinnet.

Segment 4: Identification of Daughter Who Longs to Run Away

'O teia tamā 'ine 'o Pataariri nō roto aia i te kōpū o Te 'Akatauirā. 'O teia tamā 'ine 'o Pataariri e 'inangaro 'ua ana i te 'oro i te 'akaruke ia Kōtuku nō tōna matakū ra ia Kōtuku.

This daughter, Pataariri, belonged to the Te 'Akatauirā clan. This daughter, Pataariri, longed to run away and to leave Kōtuku on account of her fear of Kōtuku.

Segment 5: Coming of Drought to the Whole Island

'Ia tae i tēta 'i tuātau i muri mai 'ua marō te 'enua. 'Ua marō katoa te au kauvai. 'Āre 'e vai e 'aere 'aka 'ou ana i roto i te au kauvai takapini 'ua ake te 'enua.

Afterwards, a time came when the land was dry. All the streams were dry. The water was no longer running in the streams around the island.

Segment 6: Night-time Thirst

'Ia tae i tēta 'i pō, 'u[a] ara mai a Kōtuku nō tāna moe, 'ua kakī i te vai. 'Ua tū aia i runga, 'ua 'ā 'ā atu i te kāviri ururua. 'Āre rava 'e vai i toe i roto i reira. 'Ua tūoro atu aia ia Pataariri, " 'Ia 'aere viviki atu i roto i te Puna Kei 'ā 'ia 'akakī mai i te kāviri ururua i te vai." 'Ua rave mai a Pataariri i te ururua. 'Ua 'oro atu aia nā roto i te 'ina pōiri mā te auē. 'E pō pōiri 'oki taua pō rā.

One night, Kōtuku woke up from his sleep, thirsty for water. He rose up and reached out for the bunch of *ururua* containers. No water remained

in them at that time. He called out to Pataariri, “Go quickly to the Kei‘ā district and fill up the bunch of *ururua* containers with water.” Pataariri took up the *ururua* containers. She ran away crying in the moonless night. That night was a dark night indeed.

Segment 7: The Unavailing Search for Water and Threat of Death

‘Ia tae atu aia i Kei‘ā ‘ua pō ‘itirere tikāi aia i te kite ‘anga ē ‘ua marō te kauvai. ‘Āre rava ‘e vai. ‘Ua ‘aere atu aia i te kākaro ‘aere i te au kauvai i runga i A‘ua‘u ‘Enua. ‘Āre rava ‘e vai. ‘Ua marō katoatoa te ‘enua. ‘Ua tupu tikāi te matakū o teia tamā‘ine ia Kōtuku i reira. ‘Ua ‘okī atu aia i Tamarua. ‘Ia kite mai a Kōtuku ia Pataariri, ‘ua tūoro mai aia, e tāviviki mai teia tamā‘ine, ka mate aia i te kakī vai. Teia tā Pataariri i tūoro atu, “‘Āre ‘e vai, ‘ua marō te au kauvai i runga i te ‘enua.” Teia tā Kōtuku i tara atu i teia tamā‘ine, e tāviviki, e ‘aere, e kimi mai i tēta‘i vai, ‘ia unu aia. Me kore e rauka mai te vai, ka tā aia ia Pataariri, ka unu i tōna toto ‘ei vai. I reira, ‘ua ‘oro atu teia tamā‘ine i te kimi vai i roto i te au ana ē te au puta kō‘atu. ‘Āre rava ‘e vai. ‘Ia tae atu aia i roto i te ana i Taungakututu. ‘Āre rāi ‘e vai.

She reached Kei‘ā and she was very surprised to discover that the stream was dry. There was definitely no water. She went away looking as she walked at the streams on A‘ua‘u ‘Enua. There was definitely no water. The land was completely dry. This daughter’s fear of Kōtuku then really grew. She returned to Tamarua. When Kōtuku saw Pataariri, he called out to this daughter to hurry up as he was dying of thirst. Patariri called out, “There is no water, the streams on the island are all dry.” This is what Kōtuku said to his daughter, make haste, go, search for some water for him to drink. If she could not obtain any water, he would kill Pataariri, and drink her blood as water. Then this daughter ran away to search for water in the caves and in the stone cavities. There was definitely no water. She arrived at the Taungakututu cave. There really was no water.

Segment 8: The Encounter with Te Maru-o-Rongo and the Death of Kōtuku

‘Ua auē a Pataariri. ‘Ua kite atu aia i reira i tēta‘i tangata. ‘Ua matakū aia. Teia te tūoro mai a teia tangata, “‘Aua‘a e matakū e Pataariri, ‘o au teia ‘o te atua o te va‘ine, nāku i tamarō te au kauvai ‘ia mate a Kōtuku nō tāna au ākono ‘anga kino.” Teia tā teia tamā‘ine e pa‘u atu, “Ka mate au, ka unu a Kōtuku i tōku toto ‘ei vai nāna, me kore ‘e vai e rauka iāku.” Teia tā Te Maru-o-Rongo i tara atu iāia, “‘Aere mai, ka ‘apai au iā‘au i roto i te pā tīkoru ‘ia ora koe.” ‘Ua aru atu a Pataariri

ia Te Maru-o-Rongo i roto i te pā tīkoru, 'ua rauka tōna ora. 'O te tū tēnā i te tua o Kōtuku, 'ua mate aia i te kakī vai.

Tātāia e T. Aratangi, tumu kōrero.

Pataariri cried. She saw a man there. She was afraid. This is what this man called out, “Do not be afraid, Pataariri, I am the spirit being of the woman, I have made the streams dry in order to kill Kōtuku for his wrong courses of action.” This is what this daughter replied, “I will die, Kōtuku will drink my blood as his water, if I don’t obtain water.” This is what Te Maru-o-Rongo said to her, “Come here, I will take you into the sanctuary so that you may live.” Pataariri followed Te Maru-o-Rongo into the sanctuary; her life was saved. That is the nature of Kōtuku’s story, he died of thirst.

Recorded by T. Aratangi, *tumu kōrero*.

IDEAS OF PAST AND MOTIVATIONS

In Segment 1 Aratangi refers to “*te tuātau o te pō kerekere*” ‘the era of intense darkness’. Reference to an era of darkness appears in some of her other narratives: “*te tuātau pōkerekere*” (Aratangi n.d.c, n.d.d), “*te tuātau tei karanga 'ia ē 'e pōkerekere*” ‘the era of which it was said, an intense darkness’ (Aratangi n.d.e). Christian Māngaians came to associate *pō* ‘night, dark’, a name of the ancient spirit underworld, with the abandoned world of the ‘*ētene*’ ‘heathens’. During the 19th century, *pō* also became the name for Christianity’s ‘hell’. In contrast, *ao* ‘day, light’, traditionally thought of as the human world, was linked to the new Christian order and became the name for ‘heaven’ (Buse with Taringa 1995: 62, 350-51, Reilly 2007: 52). One of Aratangi’s stories develops the darkness idea, contrasting it with that of light: “*‘āre tō tātou ui tupuna i kite ake i te mārama, tē rave ra rāi rātou i te au 'anga'anga pōiri*” ‘our ancestors did not know [or see] the light, they were still doing dark deeds’ (Aratangi n.d.c). For modern Cook Islanders the word *mārama* ‘light’ came to be associated with ‘enlightened’ and ‘civilised’, traits associated with conversion to Christianity. Those who did not, came to be thought of as *pōiri* ‘unenlightened, ignorant’, a state that applied to pre-Christian ancestors, as Aratangi’s stories demonstrate (Buse with Taringa 1995: 227, 353).

According to another Aratangi narrative, Christian Māngai was also a land where peace had settled (*‘ua no’o ‘au te ‘enua*), creating a highly desirable life, or as she puts it, “*te ora 'anga nūmero ta ‘i*” ‘the number one way of life’ (Aratangi n.d.e). By contrast, she points out that the ancestral world was one filled with the violence of war, where the different descent groups struggled for control of the agricultural lands and authority over the people. These

ancestors also worshipped a multiplicity of spirit beings in the form of various land and sea creatures. These were all elements that set her ancestors apart from her own Christian society and marked her ancestors as ‘*ētene*’ ‘heathens’ (Aratangi n.d.c, n.d.e). This division also appears in her language: she uses third person plural, *rātou* ‘they, them’, for the ancestors whereas she uses *tātou* (first person inclusive plural) or ‘we’ for later Christianity-practising generations such as her own, a usage that of course includes the official who is recording her stories.

Aratangi qualifies this stark binary view of the past in some narratives, revealing a more complex and respectful attitude towards her ancestors, appropriate to someone who was a well regarded *‘are kōrero*’ in her day. In one story she remarks: “*‘o tō tātou ui tupuna ‘e aronga mārama rātou nāringa rātou ‘e ‘ētene’*” ‘our ancestors, they were a civilised people, notwithstanding they were heathens’ (Aratangi n.d.e). She goes further in another narrative describing Mangaia’s ancestors as “*‘e aronga kite rātou ē te karapē, noa [a]tu ē ‘e ‘ētene rātou’*” ‘they were a knowledgeable and clever people even though they were heathens’ (Aratangi n.d.c). She was quick to criticise those who suggested the ancestors ate the slain bodies on the battlefield, calling this “*‘e tara ‘amo’*” ‘a false story’ (Aratangi n.d.f.). She even expresses respect for the ancestors’ relationship to the numerous spirit beings of each descent group. She calls her ancestors a people who were faithful to these spiritual beings (‘*e aronga irinaki [...] i tō rātou atua*’) (Aratangi n.d.g). Elsewhere, she speaks of her admiration for the ancestors’ devotion (specifically *‘e mea ‘akaperepere*) which prompted them to give up (*‘akaruke*) their indigenous spirit powers (*atua idoro*) to worship the new god of Christianity (Aratangi n.d.h).

The ancient knowledge (*kōrero pakari*) that Aratangi and the other *‘are kōrero*’ inherited from the ancestral generations covered several distinctive categories. She describes them as concerning the land, including famous places (*te au ngā ‘i rongonui*); the districts where people lived and worked (*nō te au puna*); the people themselves (*te iti tangata*), and the gospel (*te ‘ēvangeria*) (Aratangi n.d.d, n.d.h). These categories would have included information about the pieces of food-producing land belonging to each family, land boundaries, genealogies and stories about key family ancestors and their conversion to Christianity. For her, the coming of Christianity was a key event for the island, bringing one era to an end and starting another.

Aratangi believes that the new generation (*te uki ‘ōu*) of her day should learn about all these domains of knowledge so that they did not become fools (*‘ia kore rātou e nēneva*), unable to properly manage the land or care (*tiaki*) for the people, and at risk of losing their land to strangers (*tēta ‘i iti tangata kē*) (Aratangi n.d.h). Aratangi may have been referring here to an apparent decline in traditional knowledge amongst some younger Mangaian landholders in the 1960s who worried they might lose their lands to other families with a greater

access to historical information (Allen 1969: 53). For this generation it was important they learned about the things preserved (*tāporo*) by the ancestors. Not surprisingly, she thought highly of the Government's recording of such knowledge by her and other *'are kōrero* (Aratangi n.d.h):

'Ua tu'era te 'anga'anga a te 'are kōrero tā teia kavamani i 'akatu. Nō reira e te au metua pakari, 'aere mai. [...] 'Aere mai 'ia kimi kapiti tātou i te au mea e tau nō te au uki i mua, 'ia kore rātou e nēneva, 'ia kore tō tātou 'enua e riro i tēta'i iti tangata kē. 'O teia tuātau [...] tuku i te au tara pakari i roto i te tamariki. 'Āpi'i i te tamariki i te au tuatua tupuna, te tuatua o tō tātou 'enua. 'Āpi'i i te au kōrero o tō tātou 'enua tikāi 'ia pakari tō rātou tūranga.

The work of the *'are kōrero* has opened which this government initiated [literal translation]. Therefore, o wise elders, come here. [...] Come here, let us look together for the appropriate things of the past generations, so that they [the new generation] do not become fools, so that our land is not acquired by strangers. This time [...] put the old stories in the children. Teach the children about the ancestral stories, the story of our land. Teach the traditions of our own land so that their dwelling place is strong.

This emphasis on educating the young fitted well with the Henry-led Government's stress on enhancing the teaching of Cook Islands culture in schools from 1974 as part of building stronger national pride (Sissons 1999: 76-80). Appropriately for an *'are kōrero* Aratangi closes this appeal to elders by quoting an old saying (*tara pakari*) from Mangaia uttered by a father to his two children: "*Kākarō tika e a 'u ariki me ta 'uri tei runga i te a 'i kīkau*" 'Be careful, o my senior-born sons [*ariki*] in case the coconut leaves fall upon the fire' (Aratangi n.d.h). The father was Mautara, the priestly medium of Ngāti Vara, who was warning his warrior sons, Te Uanuku and Raumea, to take care in the battle of 'Arerā (Reilly 2003: 62). In this context Aratangi reminds other *'are kōrero* that they should protect knowledge by sharing it with the young lest it be lost with their own passing. Her use of this saying highlights the continuing transmission of such cultural knowledge down through the generations.⁶

NARRATIVE FEATURES

In the first half of Kōtuku's story (Segments 1 to 5) Aratangi uses expansion, a basic tool in any oral storyteller's kit, to introduce important themes, explain ethnographic details, or zigzag between time periods and content (Thornton 2004: 210, Vansina 1985: 53). In Segment 1 Aratangi introduces two of the three characters, Kōtuku and his daughter, Pataariri, but in-between

she inserts explanations of the kind of work Pataariri was made to do and her emotional responses to her father's demands. Such expansions alert the audience to major story themes at the outset, so that they are already aware of what the story will be about. In Segment 3 Aratangi explains the number and type of containers Pataariri had to carry the water in for her father, a detail of ancient Mangaian life that she must have thought her listeners would not be familiar with. In Segment 4 Aratangi zigzags back to the type of content found at the very beginning of the story: the listener is told some more about Pataariri's identity and her feelings towards her father. Such incremental addition of fresh details would have helped build up an atmosphere of expectation while reminding listeners of some major themes. Segment 5 anticipates the occurrence of a drought affecting all fresh water sources which is elaborated on in subsequent segments. This resembles the "appositional expansion" described in Māori oral narratives by Thornton (1985: 156-57) where a raconteur "immediately indicates the *whole* of the story by telling the beginning and end of it" (emphasis in original). By quickly indicating what is to follow both parties can then enjoy the unfolding of the details as the performance carries on (Thornton 1985: 158).

The longer and more dramatic second half of Aratangi's narrative (Segments 6 to 8) is presented in a more straight-forward fashion. In this the text resembles some Māori oral narratives which Thornton (1985: 149) describes as proceeding "very simply in a stringing-along, linear sequence representing events as they would follow each other in actual life. The movement is swift and terse". The concluding segment is filled with direct speech and dialogue, a feature typical of the "full oral narrative" (Thornton 1987: 63). The deployment of speeches in the last segment brings the story to a dramatic end, with Pataariri safely under the protection of the spirit being, Te Maru-o-Rongo. Kōtuku's fate is alluded to in the final sentence which abruptly, even tersely, concludes the story; such endings again are a feature of oral narratives (e.g., Thornton 1985: 168-69).

One of the more significant tools in an oral storyteller's kit is the repetition, or repetition with variations, of words, phrases, sentence structures and story elements, both to keep a story going and to build up the dramatic tension or "emotional energy" for both author-*raconteur* and audience (Finnegan 1988: 78, Ong 1982: 39-41, Thornton 2004: 206, Vansina 1985: 69,76). Aratangi utilises this particular technique a lot in her Kōtuku story. The opening sentences in Segments 1 and 2 begin: "*O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku*" 'This man, Kōtuku'. The second sentence in Segment 1 adds a little more detail, "*O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku 'e tamā 'ine*" 'This man, Kōtuku, has a daughter' which is then picked up in a further statement: "*O teia tamā 'ine teia tōna ingoa 'o Pataariri*" 'This daughter's name is Pataariri'. This identifying information again appears in Segment 4 in a slightly different and twice repeated form:

“*O teia tamā ‘ine ‘o Pataariri*” ‘This daughter is Pataariri’. A looser example of this type of repetition also appears in Segments 1 to 3 when Aratangi describes Pataariri walking to Kei‘ā to fetch water for Kōtuku.

With each segment Aratangi adds further snippets of explanatory information until the reader has the full picture as to why this particular water source and what the consequences were for Pataariri if she disobeyed. In all these cases, Aratangi is identifying the key characters or locations before inserting further details in each sentence. Utilising the same or similar forms of words for part of a statement provides a structuring device: the raconteur relies on the same foundations to which they can then add on a particular elaboration of detail, rather like a musical theme and variations. Such techniques allow Aratangi to slowly build up both a solid narrative structure and a sense of movement towards the story climax.

In between the identification sentences in Segments 1, 2 and 4 there are other repetitions that help link together further story elements. In Segment 1 Pataariri’s role is twice described as ‘*anga ‘anga* or ‘work’. Both descriptions of her work are associated with emotional terms: *te mea tangi* ‘the sad thing’ and *auē ‘anga* ‘weeping and crying’ respectively. These draw attention both to her suffering and Kōtuku’s unfeeling exploitation. Emotion words describing Pataariri’s experiences recur throughout the narrative, especially *auē* ‘weep, cry, lament’ (Segments 6, 8) and *mataku* ‘afraid, fear’ (Segments 4, 7 and 8). Two other repetitions help explain Pataariri’s emotional responses. In Segments 1 to 3 Aratangi keeps mentioning the destination of Kei‘ā which Pataariri had to walk to from her home in Tamarua in order to fetch water. In Segment 6, when Pataariri had to set off at night for water, Aratangi repeatedly plays on the words *pō* ‘night’ and *pōiri* ‘dark’: *te ‘ina pōiri* ‘dark night without moon’, *‘E pō pōiri ‘oki taua pō rā* ‘That night was a dark night indeed’.

A Manganian audience would understand why Pataariri was so upset, as Kei‘ā and Tamarua are miles apart, at opposite ends of the island. In Pataariri’s day the journey would have been over rough single-file tracks. Traversing them in the dark, especially on a night without the moon, would be challenging and scary for anyone but particularly a young, lone woman. Manganians talk about the potentially dangerous nocturnal presence of spirit beings, such as *aitu* ‘ghostly lights’ and *tūpāpaku* ‘ghosts, spirits of the dead’, while solitary women also faced the potential risk of sexual violence (Clerk 1995: 162-66; various personal communications, including Teariki No‘oroa and Mataora Harry). In addition, on return journeys, as Segment 3 explains, Pataariri was also carrying a heavy load of four full *ururua* ‘containers for water made from coconut shells’: pairs of *ururua* would be attached by *ka ‘a* ‘sinnet made from coconut husk’ to either end of a long pole carried over the shoulder (Apeldoorn and Kareroa n.d.: Part III Chapter 5, Aratangi n.d.i, Gill 1876a: 132). That she had to keep going back to fetch water was

stressed in Segment 2 by the repetition of *'aka'ou* 'once more, again' in the last sentence: "*Ka 'oki 'aka'ou rāi teia tamā'ine ka tiki 'aka'ou i tēta'i vai*" 'That daughter would once more have to return to fetch water once more'. Put together these various repetitions of words and information clearly engage the audience's sympathy for Pataariri while at the same time heightening suspense as listeners wonder what is going to happen next.

What comes next is a major ecological crisis as a drought of epic proportions takes hold throughout the island. Segment 5 stresses the effect of the drought through a couple of kinds of repetition. First, Aratangi repeatedly refers to the dryness of everything: "[...] *'ua marō te 'enua. 'Ua marō katoa te au kauvai*" '[...] the land was dry. All the streams were dry'. She then backs this up with an explanatory expansion that no water was flowing in the streams anywhere on the island (*'Āre 'e vai e 'aere [...]* 'There was no water running [...]'). The dryness and lack of flowing water are further repeated three times in very similar words in Segment 7:

'ua marō te kauvai. 'Āre rava 'e vai.

the stream was dry. There was definitely no water.

'Āre rava 'e vai. 'Ua marō katoatoa te 'enua.

There was definitely no water. The land was completely dry.

'Āre rava 'e vai. [...] 'Āre rāi 'e vai.

There was definitely no water. [...] There really was no water.

There are variations in the repeated statements, such as the use of the particles *rava* 'definitely' and *rāi* 'really' in the last sample, or of *katoatoa* 'completely', itself a partial reduplication of *katoa* 'all'. For the listeners the multitude of repetitions, aided by the various post-verbal particles, must have underlined the grave and all pervasive nature of the situation. This is high drama indeed. Everyone in Mangaia can relate to the hazards of drought and its effects on water supplies not just for drinking but also maintaining their important agriculture crops: a complex irrigation system is required to ensure plentiful supplies of the staple food, *māmio*, the local name for *taro* (*Colocasia esculenta*). Without water all life is at risk. The stakes could not be higher.

Aratangi brings her audience, through these well chosen repetitions, to the existential brink which Segment 8 finally resolves through a series of speeches, each of which is introduced by a particular pattern of words:

Teia te tūoro mai a teia tangata

This is what this man called out

Teia tā teia tamā'ine e pa'u atu

This is what this daughter replied

Teia tā Te Maru-o-Rongo i tara atu iāia

This is what Te Maru-o-Rongo said to her.

These utterances, as with the other repetitions and repetitions with variations, possess a kind of chanted poetic quality which must have been especially appealing and enthralling in the context of an oral performance. Thornton (1987: 61) observes a similar style of presentation for Aotearoa New Zealand Māori narratives: “In an oral performance, the literal repetitions, with their insistent rhythms, must have risen to a great climax, like a dramatic piece of music.”

Aratangi had several other tools in her raconteur’s kit. One of these was an aptitude for creating a vivid image that engages an audience’s emotional attention as well as revealing something of her own attitudes and beliefs concerning Mangaia’s ancestral world. In Segment 7 Aratangi reports Kōtuku’s threats to Pataariri if she cannot find him any water to drink, ending with the chilling words that he would kill her and then drink her blood as water (*ka unu i tōna toto ‘ei vai*). Juxtaposing Pataariri’s blood with the water she has been repeatedly fetching and then repeatedly searching for in the drought reveals, in just a few words, the extent of Kōtuku’s cruelty towards his daughter. For a committed church woman such as Aratangi, as well as for her listeners, that phrase summed up their view of Mangaia’s pre-Christian world as one that was violent and devoid of proper human feelings.

Aratangi’s skill at creating succinct but powerful images appears in some of her other stories too, suggesting this practice is a distinctive feature of her storytelling technique. No doubt they help retain the attention of audiences, a necessary element in any oral performance. Two examples appear in a story she tells about the assassination of an important chief during preparations for a feast while the assembled men busily grated raw *māmio* (*Colocasia esculenta*), an ingredient in *poke*, a baked pudding (see Reilly 2009: 209-16). Of the slain Aratangi states: “*‘Ua āite te kōpapa tangata mai te māmio tei oro ‘ia ‘ei poke’*” “The bodies of men became like *māmio* grated as *poke*” (Reilly 2009: 213-14). This simile is startling and compelling. Aratangi compares the distinguished victims to pieces of food lying in a pile on the ground ready for cooking. Such language recalls New Zealand Māori song images of the battle-dead lying heaped up like harvested fish (McRae and Jacob 2011: 84-85, Ngata 1972: 24-25, 256-57, Ngata and Te Hurinui 1970: 404-5). The simile suggests Aratangi understands older cultural notions found throughout Polynesia. In Mangaia, as elsewhere, the defeat and death of persons of *mana* ‘spiritually ordained power, authority’ renders them *noa*, ‘without *mana*, common, ordinary, profane’, just like food.⁷

In the same story Aratangi uses another imaginative simile to describe a brooding emotional response on the part of one of the assassins, Raumea, after being twitted by an ally, Kanune, for only killing one person. Aratangi remarks “*‘ua riro rava teia ‘ei ivi māngāika i roto i te ngākau o Raumea*” ‘this became like a fishbone in the heart of Raumea’. She adds that he became ‘*akamā*’ ‘ashamed’ on hearing the remark. Although her story does not take the incident further, other versions explain that Raumea later on killed Kanune for his jibe (Reilly 2009: 213-15). Anyone in Aratangi’s audience would have related to the pain of swallowing a fishbone. Through such an ordinary experience her listeners are brought to understand the intensity of Raumea’s feelings of hurt and shame. If they knew their history they might well have thought a retaliatory killing likely in the circumstances. Once again Aratangi shows her modern audience how men of *mana* in pre-Christian Mangaia acted: taunts wrapped up as light-hearted or teasing statements were intended to diminish someone’s *mana* which they could only restore through an appropriate, often violent response. Such attitudes were reflected in other East Polynesian societies, as revealed in Aotearoa New Zealand Māori sayings about the painfully penetrating power of words (see examples in Riley 2013: 210, 248, 250, 258). Aratangi herself was critical of the violent responses to hurtful language (see Reilly 2009: 212-13).

Another effective simile appears in a story about the priestly medium, Mautara, who defeated his enemies and became the longest reigning *te Mangaia* ‘high chief’ in the island’s history (Aratangi n.d.j). Near the end Aratangi comments: “*‘O te tangata ‘okota’i ‘ua teia tei ‘akatau i tōna māro ‘iro ‘i i te tū o tēta’i ngaru ririnui i runga i A’ua’u ‘enua*” ‘This one man’s energetic vigour alone resembles a mighty wave that lands on [the coast of] A’ua’u [an ancient name for Mangaia]’. She then sang an extract from an old *pe’e* ‘chant’ referring to Kororāreka, a place on the island’s southwestern shoreline well known for its rough seas (Shibata 1999: 105). Aratangi draws on the familiar experience of powerful waves pounding the coastline to illustrate for her listeners the strength of mind and body that Mautara must have possessed to succeed as he did first in battle and then in government. Aratangi establishes the connection by deploying the synonyms *māro ‘iro ‘i* ‘strong, healthy, vigorous, energetic, hard working’ and *ririnui* ‘powerful, violent, strong, energetic, mighty, indefatigable’ (Buse with Taringa 1995: 231, 395, Savage 1980: 310, Shibata 1999: 130). The late Teariki No’oroa, a Mangaian practitioner of the performing arts, once contrasted *mana* with *ririnui*, the former representing spiritual power and the latter physical strength (Reilly 2003: 87, 102). In this context, *māro ‘iro ‘i* and *ririnui* should be understood as physical manifestations of Mautara’s *mana*.

One further tool in Aratangi’s storytelling kit is gesture. By this I mean passages in her narratives dominated by a character’s gestures or actions,

usually described in a precise sequence and often including various kinds of repetition and expansion. These passages create a strongly visual experience that catches up an audience, as if the actions are unfolding in front of them. Such experiences resemble the kind of intense physical and emotional participation observed in audiences at 19th-century Māori oral performances (Thornton 1985: 155-56). After introducing the severe drought in Segment 5, Aratangi commences Segment 6 by describing Kōtuku's actions one night:

'u[a] ara mai a Kōtuku nō tāna moe, 'ua kakī i te vai.

Kōtuku woke up from his sleep, thirsted for water.

'Ua tū aia i runga, 'ua 'ā'ā atu i te kāviri ururua.

He rose up, reached out for the bunch of *ururua* containers.

The translations for this passage and the other examples of gesture below are more literal, intended to give English-only readers a better sense of Aratangi's actual language. Each of the four related utterances in the above quotation are marked by the perfect verbal particle *'ua*, establishing a repetitive structure. The limited conjunctions and pronouns create a faster-paced sequence where the listener's attention is entirely focused on the character's actions. The audience becomes immersed in the performance.

A second example of gesture appears in a story about the assassination of Te Uanuku, the *mangaia* 'high chief' of the island (Reilly 2009: 224-27). The conspirators lured him into a competitive game of *tupe* 'pitching discs' which they played for three days, at which point Te Uanuku decided to go to an *'are va 'ine* 'women's house' to rest. Knowing he would be alone, the conspirators prepared to strike. One of them, Kikau, went and waited for Te Uanuku at the side of a stream.

'Ia tae atu a Te Uanuku i te pae kauvai 'ua 'eke aia i raro i te kauvai. 'Ua tāipu mai aia i te vai i roto i tōna kapu rima. 'Ua unu aia nō tōna kakī vai. I taua taime rāi 'ua patia atu a Kikau i tāna taiki nā muri i tōna tua, pupū rava i mua i te ate o Te Uanuku. 'Ua mau mai a Te Uanuku i te taiki a Kikau, 'ua kiriti nō roto i aia, 'ua 'ati'ati 'e toru potonga. 'O tōna māro 'iro 'i openga rāi tēnā. 'Ua topa aia i raro, 'ua mate rava.

When Te Uanuku reached the stream's edge he descended into the stream. He scooped out the water in the palm of his hand. He drank on account of his thirst. At that moment Kikau thrust his spear from behind into his back, definitely erupting in front of Te Uanuku's liver. Te Uanuku got hold of the spear of Kikau, pulled out from within himself, broken into three pieces. That was undoubtedly his last strength. He fell down, quite dead.

These gestures are retold in a rhythmic sequence mostly marked by the perfect particle. As in the previous example, some conjunctions and pronouns are left out, so that the narrative has a more dynamic pace and concentrates on Te Uanuku's actions. When the spear entered Te Uanuku, Aratangi chooses a characteristically vivid word to describe its exit from his body: *pupū* 'gush out (as water from underground spring), erupt (as pimple on skin)' (Savage 1980: 281, Shibata 1999: 233). When Te Uanuku courageously extracted the spear, Aratangi refers to his *māro* 'iro' *i* which, as in the story of Mautara's victories, is implicitly linked to the *mana* of such great leaders. The swift, action-oriented narrative, told with such graphic words, leaves a deep impression, allowing the audience to visualise what is happening in very precise detail, almost as if they were at the stream witnessing the acts as they unfolded.

A third story relates how a woman forgot the 'ākono'anga 'custom, procedure' performed on encountering a shark, Vari-mangō, considered a spirit being by her clan (Aratangi n.d.k). The following edited passage recounts the sequence of actions that followed on from this serious omission as the woman was pursued by the shark using inland water channels.

'Ua 'oro 'ua aia mai roto mai i te tai e tae 'ua [a]tu i uta i te puna [...]. 'Ua kite atu aia i te mangō [...]. 'Ua topa teia metua va 'ine i raro. 'Ua pou tōna a 'o ē nō tōna mataku. 'Ua tū 'aka'ou aia i runga, 'ua 'oro. Ka 'oro rava 'oki aia i te tapere 'o Ka'au-uta [...]. 'Ua kite 'aka'ou aia i teia mangō. 'Ua topa katoa aia i raro. [...] 'Ua tū teia va 'ine i runga. 'Ua oro 'aka'ou rāi aia ma te tūoro atu i tāna tāne.

She ran alone from the sea, just reaching the district inland [...]. She saw the shark [...]. This mother fell down. Her breath was exhausted on account of her fear. She stood up again, ran. She was certainly running to the sub-district, Ka'au-uta [...]. She again saw this shark. She fell down as well. This woman stood up. She certainly ran once more, calling out to her husband.

The story goes on to explain how the woman's husband observed what was happening, remembered the appropriate ritual and performed it, thereby saving his wife from the shark's retaliation. In concluding the story Aratangi describes the animal's *māro* 'iro' *i*, a quality she consistently associates with anyone or anything possessing *mana*. In the transcript of this segment Aratangi includes additional expansions about place names which have been excluded to keep the quoted passage reasonably short. These expansions, along with the repetitions, both of sentence structure and of the actions (seeing the shark and falling down), highlight for listeners the distance and the duration of the woman's run, thereby contributing to the building up of suspense. The

identification of places in the full narrative would enhance the suspense and excitement for a knowledgeable Manganian audience familiar with the time it takes to get to such locations from the coast. The complete tradition also reminds locals of the importance of performing the appropriate rituals in respect of creatures of *mana* and of having a good memory in an oral world. In common with the other gestural examples this segment leaves out some conjunctions and pronouns, helping turn the listener's attention to the core actions of the fearful, fleeing woman.

In her analysis of Māori oral narratives Thornton (1985) describes their style as “in the main paratactic”, that is, the performers do not use conjunctions but rather string a series of statements one after the other. By so doing the narrators create a sequence of events in language that is “exciting through its simplicity and speed” (Thornton 1985: 173). Aratangi achieves even more compression, greater speed and excitement for the audience by adopting an asyndetic style in places, where not only conjunctions but even pronouns are left out. Not surprisingly, this style is used by other Manganian narrators of oral tradition, even when they are writing out stories on paper, as shown by the works of the 19th-century tribal historian, Mamae (e.g., Reilly 2015: 148-49).

RELATIONSHIPS AND PRINCIPLES OF CARE AND PROTECTION

This final section looks at the cultural ideals which lie beneath the particular details of the Kōtuku story. For an *‘are kōrero* like Aratangi this was almost certainly the most important layer of meaning to be discovered flowing through her story. The young, dutiful daughter, Pataariri, was expected to carry out errands as instructed by her father, Kōtuku. In this story, she had to fetch and carry his supplies of drinking water at any time of the day or night. Despite fearing her father's wrath if unsuccessful, she still carried out this task, even when the drought meant there was no water to be found. In earlier times, when Manganians accessed their drinking water supplies from the inland streams and ponds in each district, girls and young women were expected by their parents and elders to fetch the water for them (Aratangi n.d.i, Lamont 1994: 87). Behind this mundane daily practice lies an important cultural expectation concerning the authority an older and more senior person has over someone subordinate to them, such as a child.

In Segment 4 Aratangi explains that Pataariri is from the Te ‘Akatauirā clan. Although she says nothing about Kōtuku's own affiliations it seems reasonable to assume he belonged to that group too. In a 19th-century version of this tradition he is described as a chief (Gill 1876a: 141). Te ‘Akatauirā was a significant descent group in pre-Christian Mangania, being one of the *kōpū tangata* ‘clans’ from which the *ariki* ‘high priests’ were chosen to serve as mediums for the island's pre-eminent spirit being, Rongo. These mediums were extremely *tapu* when performing their priestly functions. Reflecting their

enormous ritual and social prestige they controlled large estates and often became key players in the chiefly politics of their day (see Reilly 2003). For Aratangi, Pataariri belongs to a prestigious clan. Other evidence indicates that Kōtuku had a high social status, as therefore did his daughter. Within the family he possessed the parent's authority over a child or young person: within the descent group, as a chief, he was used to telling subordinate people what to do.

The descriptions of Pataariri's extreme emotional upset and fear, along with the intervention of a spirit power which caused Kōtuku's death, suggest, however, that his words and actions did not reflect the kind of behaviour expected from a father. A survey of historical evidence for parent and child relationships in Mangaia helps establish more clearly what was considered appropriate or inappropriate behaviour.

According to the anthropologist, Te Rangi Hiroa, adult Mangaiaans showed a "great affection" for children. This fondness prompted many older relations to claim a child from its *metua* 'ānau 'birth parents' and raise it as a *tamaiti* 'āngai 'foster or feeding child' (Hiroa 1971: 97, see also Buse with Taringa 1995: 8, 248). Young or disabled children were especially well treated by parents. When able children got older they were expected to do various tasks. The missionary, William Wyatt Gill, who lived in Mangaia between 1852 and 1872, thought these older children could have "a very hard life". He went on to note (rather disapprovingly) that a feeding child if reprimanded by its birth parents would run away to the sympathetic arms of their *metua* 'āngai 'foster or feeding parent/s'. The birth parents had to visit with presents and "humbly entreat" the child to come back with them. Often the child opted to remain with their feeding parents (Gill 1979: 2, 4, Savage 1980: 27).

The first-born male or female child in a high status family had a particularly privileged situation. In pre-Christian times they were considered "especially sacred" and were treated as a "favoured child". They ate separately from the rest of the family and entered their parents' dwelling through a separate and sacred entrance. First-born sons were called 'chief' (in the saying quoted by Aratangi the medium, Mautara, calls his older sons by the honorific *ariki*), or, 'the land-owner'. Nor did such "pet" sons carry any burdens; that was the task of their fathers. Upon the father's death, the eldest son inherited the largest portion of land and had authority over his younger brothers. Even in Gill's day, a first-born son or daughter, when they married, often took over the house of their parents who moved to a smaller one nearby. The marriage of the first-born son or daughter was also marked by distinctive cultural practices, including presentations of vast amounts of *tapa* and food as well as the performance of the *maninitori*, which involved affines presenting themselves as an *ara tangata* 'path of people' to be walked over by the partner marrying-in to their descent group (Gill 1876a: 46, 59-63, 132, Hiroa 1971: 90-91).

Traditions provide further insights into the dynamics of Manganian parent and child relationships. In one the twin children, Piri-‘ere-‘ua and her brother, were frequently told off and thrashed by their mother. One night she cooked some fish she had caught, but would not wake the children to partake in the meal, despite her husband suggesting it. Deeply upset at this neglectful treatment the twins decided to run away. Discovering their absence the “sorrowing parents” searched everywhere until observing them far up in the sky in the Scorpius constellation (Gill 1876b: 42, 1885: 111-13). In another tradition Te Ora decided to save the life of her only surviving son, Mana‘une. Hidden in a refuge cave watched over by warriors and chiefs, the two escaped across the strife-torn island to the defended camp of their opponents where she sought out her nephew, Mautara, the powerful medium. She asked him to adopt her young adult son into his clan as a feeding child to which he agreed, thus saving Mana‘une’s life (Gill 1984: 193-7). In a third tradition, Temoakau and his son, ‘Uri-i-te-pito-kura, fled into hiding after their side was defeated in battle. Both men were skilled craftsmen and spent their time creating feather cloaks, headdresses and finely woven fishing nets, all objects of great value. Concerned to secure his son’s future, Temoakau developed a plan whereby his son was able to use the attraction of these abundant and valuable goods to secure protection from a wife of high status whose family belonged to the victorious ruling party (Gill 1984: 24-31).

Two accounts of father and daughter relationships give insights into this particular dyad. In one tradition, an older man called Mokotearo was, like Pataariri, struggling to carry a heavy load of coconuts. A young man, Tekaire, took up his load and carried it across the hilly divide in the centre of Mangaia to Mokotearo’s home. In recognition of this kind gesture, Mokotearo reciprocated with an even more generous response, by giving his “beloved daughter”, Tanuau, to the young man. He first told Tekaire that she was to become his wife, and then told her to accompany her new husband home which she did (Gill 1876a: 132-33). In about 1815 the teenage ‘Enuataurere, the eldest daughter of the warrior leader, Rako‘ia, drowned accidentally. As part of the formal mourning he organised a recital of songs in remembrance of her. Many years later, as an elderly man, he formally adopted Gill’s only daughter, Honor Jane, as a feeding child and named her ‘Enuataurere. Periodically, he would make the long walk from Tamarua to Kei‘ā to present food to her. On these occasions he would chant a song he had composed for his daughter’s commemorative recital (Gill 1979: 28, Rako‘ia n.d.):

*Ta‘u tama nei, e a‘a rāi ē!
 ‘Uri mai koe i te ‘inangaro kimikimi,
 Kie ‘akata‘ata‘a, e ta‘u ariki. [...]
 Tei ‘ia ‘oki tō‘oku ‘inangaro,*

Tei pau atu nā iā 'au. [...]
E mānea metua i te tupu'anga i te tama ē! [...]
Auē ē! 'Enuataurere! 'Enuataurere!

My child, where are you really!
 You turn from the longing that occupies the mind,
 [I am] proud of you, o my chief. [...]
 Where is my beloved [child]?
 You are gone [from me]. [...]
 Fortunate [is the] parent [who watches] the child's growing up! [...]
 O alas! O 'Enuataurere! O 'Enuataurere!⁸

In the opening song lines Rako'ia stresses the intensity of his loss: Gill translates "*te 'inangaro kimikimi*" in line two as 'my wild grief'. Significantly, like Mautara, Rako'ia calls this child his *ariki* or chief, a mark of her respected position as his eldest daughter. While he longs for her to come back, he knows that she has already left him to travel to 'Avaiki, the land of the dead. In the last line the intensity of his grief is revealed by the repetition of his daughter's name. Perhaps for Rako'ia, Honor Jane (alias 'Enuataurere) gave his lost daughter a continuing presence in the land of the living, allowing him another chance to care for her and to see her grow up.

What does this varied historical evidence indicate about the kind of relationships that existed between a parent and their child in ancient Mangaia? Clearly, individual parents did treat their offspring harshly. Children responded by running away to seek solace elsewhere. This response parallels wider Polynesian practices whereby a person in harm's way removed themselves from the threat, often seeking out protection from more distant relations elsewhere (Reilly 2010: 133, Schrempf 1985: 30). As an aside, Gill's description of the process for asking a child to return to its birth parents suggests a strongly child-centred outlook operated in society generally. Certainly, it contrasts greatly with Gill's own attitudes. His remarks show he thought Mangaian children were often treated too indulgently by parents who ought to have used greater discipline on them (see Gill 1979: 4), an interesting reflection of the differences between Polynesian and European ideas of how to raise children. As a general rule older children and *māpū* 'young unmarried adults', like Pataariri, were expected to carry out the instructions of their parents. However, parents like Te Ora and Temoakauai cared a great deal for their offspring and went to enormous lengths to ensure their present and future well-being. In telling offspring what to do parents treated them with respect and consideration. While Mokotearo followed customary practice when choosing a husband for Tanuau there was no suggestion that she went with Tekaire unwillingly; as Gill observes, "Marriage never occurs by

force” (Gill 1979: 5). The weight of evidence suggests that Kōtuku’s abusive remarks and threats would not have been viewed as normal or appropriate parental behaviour.

This conclusion is further strengthened by evidence for the strong social valuing of principles of generosity, care and protection towards others. Polynesian chiefs always protected strangers who came to their islands although Gill, perhaps not surprisingly, thought matters greatly improved once Christianity had been embraced, when all visitors were welcomed, fed and looked after by everyone they met; as he puts it, “The generous man is the ideal good man yet” (Gill 1979: 12). Aotearoa New Zealand Māori describe this demonstration of liberality, hospitality and compassion as *atawhai tangata*, *manaakitanga* and *aroha ki te tangata* respectively, attributes they historically associated with people of *mana* (see Shirres 1997: 55). The evidence below indicates such precepts were also valued in Mangaian society.

The care and protection of vulnerable individuals frequently appears in Mangaia’s history. Gill records at least 21 such instances of which the following summary of cases is a sample, suggestive of the pervasiveness of this core cultural value. A warrior, Katia, saved several young people from death as human sacrifices. Gill, who got to know him as an older man, describes him as hiding a “tender heart under a most rugged exterior”. He saved two distant relatives by sending them off to their aunt, Tama-‘ū‘ā, and her chiefly husband, Matapa. To fool the rest of the escort party when they reached the scene he pretended he had been overpowered by the two youths. The other men would not have appreciated his gesture because those who brought in the sacrificial victim received rich rewards (Reilly 2009: 262-64). Nor were these other escorts relatives of the victims. Meanwhile Matapa stood fully armed before his house in order to prevent the boys being recaptured. Gill (1876a: 345) explains: “Matapa was bound to protect his wife’s relatives when on his own lands, or else forfeit his dignity as chief.” When the hue and cry had died down, Matapa escorted the boys back to their overjoyed parents who were hiding in a refuge cave on the other side of the island (Gill 1876a: 344-46). Other well known male protectors include the medium, Mautara, who saved several prominent men, including the two mediums, Te Vaki and Namu, as well as the young man of rank, Mana‘une (Gill 1984: 70-71, 156, 193-96). Mana‘une himself later extended his protection to a kinsman and famous artist, Rori, setting him up on his lands (Gill 1984: 233-35).

Tama-‘ū‘ā’s role in protecting male kin is not unique. A number of women obtained protection for family members with the support of male agents. Tanga obtained protection for her brother from two successive husbands, including Pa‘a. He was approached several times to hand over his brother-in-law but consistently refused to “put his wife in mourning”, even when asked by his close friend, Makitaka, the ruling *mangaia* (Gill 1876a: 324-27). Te

Tui got her father, medium of his clan's spirit being, to protect her husband, Namu, by placing him within the *pā tīkoru*, the curtain of thick white *tapa* 'barkcloth' forming the spirit power's sacred space in the medium's house. This act is more remarkable since Namu's descent group was particularly loathed by Te Tui's people (Gill 1984: 152-53, Hiroa 1971: 173). The image of the *pā tīkoru* as a protective sanctuary is picked up in Segment 8 of Kōtuku's story, showing how these older ideas were sustained by generations of 'are *kōrero*. Later on, Te Tui saved two female relations by obtaining her husband's agreement to protect them. Namu guarded the women at his home, steadfastly refusing any requests to hand them over, even when asked by Mautara who shortly before had secured Namu's own life. He told them Te Tui had threatened to kill herself if he surrendered her relations (Gill 1984: 189-91). Te Kō wanted to save two refugee relations who had been caught stealing food. She asked her son, the *mangaia*, Te Uanuku, to go and save them from a threatening crowd which he did (Gill 1984: 202-3).

Not all gestures of protection ended happily. Mautara attempted to protect two distant relations but they were slain by warriors from a hostile descent group (Gill 1984: 116-18). Katia set free a captive boy only to see others find and catch him again (Gill 1876a: 40). The medium, Mā'ue'ue, tried to protect a brother-in-law only for his son to betray him. Mā'ue'ue cursed his son and drove him from his lands, a response some thought a little extreme (Gill 1876a: 42-43). The leader, Metuatīpoki, surrendered a person he was sheltering when requested by the party hunting for a sacrificial victim (Gill 1885: 106). When the leader, Va'angaru, gave up one of his junior wives to such a group his own mother soundly criticised him in public: "*E pā kikau ng[a ']aeng[a ']ae koe, e ta'u ariki*" 'You are a tattered screen of coconut leaves, o my chief', meaning he resembled a dilapidated roof of coconut leaves unable to provide shelter from the elements. Conversely, those men and women who sheltered others were complimented as "*Te 'are rau maru*" 'the house of sheltering leaves' (Gill 1885: 229-30, Reilly 2009: 235).

The principles of care and protection were widely valued in Mangaian society, although some failed to follow them in practice. Those who chose to shelter others did so despite much pressure from friends and influential leaders to give the protected persons up, an indication of the protectors' commitment to this cultural principle. Te Tui's suicide threat was a courageous tactic: if she had killed herself then the resulting scandal would have affected the reputations of those requesting her brother's surrender; little wonder they backed away from pursuing the request. The diligence with which husbands protected their wife's relations reveals the nature of their marriages: these women were equal partners, respected by their men. The example of Mā'ue'ue's failure underscores just how emotionally invested leaders were

in protecting others. The ethic of protection extended even to one's enemies, although this did not prevent others trying to kill such protected individuals; for example, clan members even invaded their medium's *pā tikoru* in an unsuccessful attempt to catch and kill Namu (Gill 1984: 153-54). Giving others food, shelter and even their lives back were all acts of Gill's ideal generous person. In this light, Kōtuku can be seen as a morally bad leader who failed to behave according to these cultural precepts.

In Segment 8 of the Kōtuku story, Pataariri is saved from death by the intervention of a spirit being, Te Maru-o-Rongo. That being not only saved her but brought about the death of Kōtuku himself for *tāna au ākono 'anga kino* 'his wrong courses of action'. The word *ākono 'anga* is similar in meaning to the New Zealand Māori key word, *tikanga*, and means 'customs, usual procedure, way of doing things' (Buse with Taringa 1995: 55). As Aratangi's other story about the shark Vari-mangō demonstrates, following the right procedure was an absolute imperative. Not to do so risked a response from the spirit powers in order to set matters to rights.

Spiritual beings, including the spirits of dead relations, intervened in the affairs of people in order to protect the living, especially the vulnerable. The spirits of the dead (the *tūpāpaku*), although normally well disposed towards their living relatives, could become "vindictive" if a pet child was being ill-treated by someone in the family (Gill 1876b: 157, 1979: 20; Shibata 1999: 349). In one tradition, a thief tricked a young woman, 'Ina, into giving up all her family's treasured goods. When her parents discovered what happened 'Ina's mother and then her father angrily beat her across the back with coconut tree branches. Their daughter all of a sudden became possessed by a *manu* 'spirit messenger' and began chanting in a strange voice that her skin was intensely sacred (*kiri taputapu*) and that only the spirit being, Tinirau, could hit her. Her parents stopped thrashing her. 'Ina then ran away and eventually became Tinirau's wife (Gill 1876b: 88-93, 268). The pattern of parental abuse followed by escape resembles the Piri-'ere-'ua tradition: marriage to a powerful being, like Tinirau, is another classic protective response.

The depth of this divine form of intervention in human lives is demonstrated by its persistence in today's society. A *tūpāpaku* may return to punish a wrong-doer, including causing their death, when the victim is someone who had a close relationship to the deceased during their lifetime. For example, if someone mistreats a family member, like a spouse, a deceased relation who was close to the victim in life, may return to the wrong-doer in their sleep, and even cause them uncomfortable physical sensations, in an effort to make them stop their inappropriate behaviour. Sometimes a victim may become possessed by a spirit in order to change a wrong-doer's behaviour

(Apeldoorn and Kareroa n.d.: Part I Chapter 4, Clerk 1995: 168, various personal communications).

The protective relationship between spiritual beings and people reveals the intimate ties that bind these two dimensions of the universe together. Gill describes Mangaia's human domain as being simply a "gross copy" of the corresponding spiritual world (Gill 1876b: 54). There was a constant traffic of spiritual beings and humans between Mangaia and 'Avaiki. For example, a man named Eneene, with the assistance of his spirit being, Tumatarauua, brought his wife back from 'Avaiki (Gill 1876b: 221-24). All of human culture was acquired from the various spirit powers, as when the culture hero, Māui, travelled down to 'Avaiki and returned to the district of Kei'ā with the secrets of firemaking (Gill 1876b: 51-58). This important conceptualisation of the universe appears elsewhere in Polynesia. Māori Marsden (1992: 134) describes the universe "as a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world". In this world, people and what they do comes "under the influence of the spiritual powers" (Shirres 1997: 26, 34).

* * *

Arguably for Aratangi, the interventionist role of spiritual beings in protecting vulnerable people was the most important lesson she wished others to take from her story about Kōtuku. Awareness of the influence of such spirit powers affected people's behaviour in the physical world. The abuser could never be certain that their actions might not result in reciprocal harm to themselves. The spirit beings in effect acted as a kind of supernatural police force or moral governor of Mangaian society. Those who possessed *mana* over others in the human world were answerable to the spirit powers from whom that authority came. Any failure to act as a person of rank should do, that is, with generosity, liberality and kindness towards others, might result in that person's demise.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks to George Paniani, formerly the archivist at the National Archives of the Cook Islands, who first told me about the Mangaian *Kōrero* Series and allowed me access to them; to Paula Paniani, Acting Archives Manager, Ministry of Cultural Development, for permission to publish Aratangi's story; and, to Tere Atāriki, Mayor of Mangaia, for his support and approval of my publishing of these traditions so that Mangaians can read them in their vernacular. Particular thanks to the reviewers who suggested many helpful improvements: an anonymous reviewer and Roderick Dixon who consulted with Mrs Ina Papatua, Mr Michael Papatua and Mr Vae Papatua (the daughter and grandsons respectively of Tere'ēvangeria Aratangi). Observations from Aratangi's family have been gratefully incorporated into my text. Any remaining errors and omissions are entirely my own responsibility.

NOTES

1. One of the transcripts of the recorded traditions is stamped as being received by the Cultural Development Division in June 1975.
2. Aratangi contributed 29 traditions (four with a second *'are kōrero*), *'Aerepō* 26, *'Akaiti Ponga* six (two with Aratangi), *Ngātokorua* three (one with Aratangi), *'Okirua* one, *Rakauruaiti* one (jointly with Aratangi).
3. These comments are based on notes of the conversation with her at her home in Ivirua, Mangaia, on 28 April 1988, assisted by Īana A'ita'u who translated for us, as well as conversations in the village of Oneroa with *'Atingākau Tangatakino*, 26 April 1988, and *Pōkino Āperahama*, 2 May 1988. Additional information came from Shibata (1999: 104-5, 313). I also benefitted from a later conversation with her son, *Pāpā Aratangi*, 12 December 1995, in Rarotonga.
4. Some typescripts of traditions were subjected to minimal corrections, mainly to capitalise names and to separate words that had been run together by the typist.
5. The page length of Aratangi's typescripts vary: less than three quarters of a page (4), three quarters of a page (10), one page (6), more than a page (9). Other typescript traditions: less than three quarters of page (8), three quarters of a page (7), one page (11), less than two pages (8), two or more pages (6).
6. This same proverb appears in a manuscript written by Mamae (c. 1810–1889), a pastor well versed in tribal knowledge, which was later transcribed by colonial official and lexicographer, Stephen Savage (1875–1941), before being microfilmed in Rarotonga by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (see Reilly 2003). It seems unlikely that Aratangi was familiar with these documents. This is an excellent example of how oral traditions were transmitted and drawn on by different generations of *'are kōrero* in Mangaia.
7. Instructive insights about Manganian ideas of *mana* can be found in the story of their local culture hero, *Ngaru* (see Reilly 2015: 178-79).
8. Elements in the Manganian text are changed slightly from the published text to reflect the manuscript copy, see lines 3, 6 and 7. Parts of the translations follow marginal notes, probably by Gill: *Kie 'akata 'ta 'a* 'Proud of you', *Tei 'ia* 'Where'. Readers interested in looking at the original can see it in full at Auckland Council Libraries, Manuscripts Online, GNZMS 45.

REFERENCES

- Allen, Bryant James, 1969. *The Development of Commercial Agriculture on Mangaia: Social and Economic Change in a Polynesian Community*. Unpublished MA thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Apeldoorn, Jeanne Van Loon and Ngametua Kareroa, n.d. *The Last Peacemakers?* [Manuscript in author's possession.]
- Aratangi, Tere'ēvangeria, n.d.a. *Te Tua ia Kōtuku*. Manganian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.b. *Te Tua i te Mate'anga o Uakoe*. Manganian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.

- n.d.c. *Te Umu Tangata Mua i runga ia A'ua'u 'Enea*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.d. *Te Paopao*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.e. *Tua'anga Mua: Te Ora'anga o te ui Tūpuna, tā rātou 'Anga'anga ē te Pu'apinga tei rauka i te 'Uānga*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.f. *Te Tua i te Va'arua ia tō Ruapuru ē te Va'arua o Te Ngāriki i 'Okiva'a*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.g. *Te Mana o te au Atua o tā tātou ui Tūpuna*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.h. *Tu'anga Rua: Tō tātou Ora'anga i teia Tuātau nei ē tā tātou 'Anga'anga e rave nei*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.i. *Te Puna Kei'ā*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.j. *Te Puruki'anga a Mautara ē Raci ē tōna Pupu*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- n.d.k. *Te Tua ia Vari-mangō*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
- Auerbach, Erich, 1968 [1953]. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Translated from the German by Willard R. Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Binney, Judith, 2010. *Stories Without End: Essays 1975–2010*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Buse, Jasper with Raututi Taringa, 1995. *Cook Islands Maori Dictionary*. Edited by Bruce Biggs and Rangi Moeka'a. Rarotonga: The Ministry of Education, Government of the Cook Islands.
- Clerk, Christian, 1995. "That isn't really a pig": Spirit traditions in the Southern Cook Islands. In Ruth Finnegan and Margaret Orbell (eds), *South Pacific Oral Traditions*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 161-76.
- Dening, Greg, 1996. *Performances*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Eisenhart, Christopher and Barbara Johnstone, 2008. Discourse analysis and rhetorical studies. In Barbara Johnstone and Christopher Eisenhart (eds), *Rhetoric in Detail: Discourse Analysis of Rhetorical Talk and Text*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, pp. 3-21.
- Finnegan, Ruth, 1988. *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Gill, William Wyatt, 1876a. *Life in the Southern Isles*. London: The Religious Tract Society.
- 1876b. *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*. London: Henry S. King.
- 1885. *Jottings from the Pacific*. London: The Religious Tract Society.

- 1979 [1892]. *Cook Islands Custom*. Reprint edition. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- 1984 [1894]. *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*. Reprint edition. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Hiroa, Te Rangi, 1971 [1934]. *Mangaian Society*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 122. New York: Kraus Reprint.
- Huntsman, Judith, 1981. Butterfly collecting in a swamp: Suggestions for studying oral narratives as creative art. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90 (2): 209-18.
- Johnstone, Barbara, 2008. *Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Junod, Henri A., 1927. *The Life of a South African Tribe*. Vol. II: Mental Life. 2nd edition. London: MacMillan.
- Lamont, E. H., 1994 [1867]. *Wild Life among the Pacific Islanders*. Reprint edition. Rarotonga and Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
- Marsden, Māori, 1992. God, man and universe: A Maori view. In Michael King (ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*. Auckland: Reed, pp. 118-37.
- McRae, Jane and Hēni Jacob, 2011. *Ngā Mōteatea: He Kupu Arataki: An Introduction*. Polynesian Society Memoir No. 56. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Ngata, Apirana, 1972. *Nga Moteatea: The Songs*. Part I. Facsimile edition. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed for the Polynesian Society.
- Ngata, A. T. and Pei Te Hurinui, 1970. *Nga Moteatea: The Songs*. Part III. Wellington: The Polynesian Society.
- Ong, Walter J., 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Radin, Paul, 1915. *Literary Aspects of North American Mythology*. Canada Department of Mines Geological Survey, Museum Bulletin No. 16, Anthropological Series No. 6. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.
- Rako'ia, n.d. 'E Apeape nō 'Enuataurere. Grey New Zealand Manuscripts 45. Auckland Council Libraries Special Collection. [A collection of songs written out by various Mangaiaans for William Wyatt Gill].
- Reilly, Michael, n.d. Talking traditions: Orality, ecology and spirituality in Mangaia's textual culture. [A revised version of a paper originally presented at the Centre for Research on Colonial Culture, Indigenous Textual Cultures Symposium, University of Otago, Dunedin, 2014].
- 2001. Women in Mangaian society: A historical portrait. *Journal of Pacific History* 36 (2): 149-61.
- 2003. *War and Succession in Mangaia from Mamae's Texts*. Memoir No. 52. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.
- 2007. Transforming Mangaia's spiritual world: Letters from the early Christian community of Oneroa. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116 (1): 35-57.
- 2009. *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. Memoir No. 54. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.
- 2010. Rediscovering the hidden heritage from ancient Mangaia. In Brendan Hokowhitu, Nathalie Keramoal, Chris Andersen, Michael Reilly, Anna Petersen, Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez and Poia Rewi (eds), *Indigenous Identity and Resistance: Researching the Diversity of Knowledge*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, pp. 125-35.
- 2015. Ngaru: A culture hero of Mangaia. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 124 (2): 147-87.

- Riley, Murdoch, 2013. *Wise Words of the Māori*. Paraparaumu: Viking Sevenses.
- Savage, Stephen, 1980 [1962]. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga*. Reprint edition. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific and Rarotonga; Ministry of Education, Government of the Cook Islands.
- Schrempp, Gregory, 1985. Tū alone was brave: Notes on Maori cosmogony. In Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. Memoir No. 45. Auckland: The Polynesian Society, pp. 17-37.
- Shibata, Norio, 1999. *Part 2. Mangaian-English Dictionary*. Cook Islands Library and Museum Society Occasional Publications. Rarotonga: The Cook Islands Library and Museum Society.
- Shirres, Michael P., 1997. *Te Tangata: The Human Person*. Auckland: Accent Publications.
- Sissons, Jeffrey, 1999. *Nation and Destination: Creating Cook Islands Identity*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific and Rarotonga: University of the South Pacific Centre in the Cook Islands.
- Thornton, Agathe, 1985. Two features of oral style in Maori narrative. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 94 (2): 149-76.
- 1987. *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- 2004. *The Birth of the Universe: Te Whānautanga o te Ao Tukupū: Māori Oral Cosmogony from the Wairarapa*. Auckland: Reed.
- Vansina, Jan, 1973. *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*. Translated by H.M. Wright. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- 1985. *Oral Tradition as History*. London: James Currey.
- White, Hayden, 1978. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

ABSTRACT

A cautionary narrative taken from a 20th-century collection of Cook Islands oral traditions recounts the mistreatment of a daughter, Pataariri, by her chiefly father, Kōtuku, and his consequential death caused by a spirit power putting matters to rights. This paper highlights narrative features such as repetition, expansion, images and gestures, as well as the cultural valuing of the protection of vulnerable people by those in authority. Failure to look after others could result in spiritual interventions that admonished or even killed the perpetrators, a cultural form of policing behaviours that still operates today.

Keywords: Kōtuku, Pataariri, oral traditions, narrative features, protection of vulnerable people, Mangaian *‘are korero*, Cook Islands

CITATION AND AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Reilly,¹ Michael, 2016. Narrative Features and Cultural Motifs in a Cautionary Tradition from Mangaia (Cook Islands). *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 125 (4): 383-410; DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.125.4.383-410>

¹ Correspondence: Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin 9054, New Zealand. Email: michael.reilly@otago.ac.nz