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Cover image: A photographic replication of Wiremu Te Rangikāheke's handwritten Māori text from "Tama a Rangi", taken from a facsimile of the manuscript provided by Auckland Public Library (Grey Collection, GNZMMSS 43, dated 1849).

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WHAT DOES HINE-NUI-TE-PŌ LOOK LIKE? A CASE STUDY OF ORAL TRADITION, MYTH AND LITERATURE IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

SIMON PERRIS
Victoria University of Wellington

Missteps and controversies notwithstanding, the 2016 Disney film *Moana* sparked an unprecedented global interest in Polynesian society and culture, especially myth, and in particular the demigod Māui.[1] Since then, the announcement of a Tahitian-language version and the release of Māori- and Hawaiian-language versions have underscored the difference between pan-Pacific traditions, pan-Polynesian traditions and traditions unique to specific islands, regions, villages, tribes and individuals. To put it bluntly, though *Moana* has enshrined Māui (at least for the rest of the world) as *the* Polynesian hero, it remains an open question how useful the concept of a "Hawaiian Māui" is, let alone a "Polynesian Māui" or a "Pacific Māui". What is more, the Māori-language *Moana* offers those of us in Aotearoa (New Zealand) a timely reminder: Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga—Māui as he is often known here—is related to but different from Māui-ki'iki'i (Hawai'i), Ti'iti'i (Sāmoa) and the like (Luomala 1949).[2]

This difference is crucial. What most distinguishes Māui in New Zealand from Māui anywhere else is his final exploit: failing to overcome the goddess of the underworld, Hine-nui(-i)-te-pō ('Great lady of the night') and dying as a result. Despite being known to folklorists throughout the world (and described in manuscripts from around the archipelago of New Zealand), Māui's encounter with Hine-nui-te-pō is historically attested only in Māori oral traditions (Best 1982: 384; Luomala 1949). In this respect above all, the New Zealand Māui is unique and incredibly influential, with his attack on Hine-nui-te-pō now established as a fixture in world mythology, including elsewhere in Polynesia where she was not known historically (see below).

During the development of *Moana*, the volcanic goddess Te Kā ('Blazing', 'Burning') was originally named Te Pō ('Night', 'Darkness') in reference to Hine-nui-te-pō. In one story from New Zealand, Hine-nui-te-pō is also the one from whom Māui steals fire, rather than Mahuika, as is standard elsewhere (Te Rangikāheke in Thornton 1992: 38–42). At the end of the film, in turn, Te Kā turns out to be one and the same as the beneficent maternal deity Te Fiti, whose heart has been stolen by Māui. This recalls the Māori myth of Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō: like Te Kā/Te Fiti, Hine-nui-te-pō is a female supernatural figure, with two distinct personae, who has suffered mistreatment by a male figure—in this instance the *atua* 'deity' Tāne (see below)—and

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who becomes a major antagonist for Māui. Understanding the New Zealand Māui and his place vis-à-vis other Polynesian Māui traditions (including Te Kā and *Moana*) entails understanding Hine-nui-te-pō.

To the extent that there is a standard account, the main Hine-nui-te-pō episodes proceed as follows. Tāne, tutelary *atua* of trees, birds and the forest (and, in many traditions, a creation figure), shapes dirt into the first female, Hine-ahu-one ('Girl made from dirt'). He then mates with her; she conceives their daughter, Hine-tītama ('Shining girl', 'Dawn girl'). Tāne later mates with Hine-tītama. When Hine-tītama discovers that her husband is also her father, she flees to the underworld in shame, resisting Tāne's efforts to bring her back, whereupon she takes the name Hine-nui-te-pō. Some say that she also takes on a monstrous form and role as goddess of death and the underworld; others stress her beneficent and maternal aspect (Perris 2015: 88–89).

Māui eventually learns of the power of Hine-nui-te-pō, the underworld goddess (and in some accounts his ancestor) whose katabasis first brought death into the cosmos. He decides to defeat her and, in so doing, defeat death itself; he plans to crawl through her vagina, up into her body and out her mouth, thus reversing the pathway of birth. Māui instructs his companions—brothers or birds—to keep silent and not laugh. He crawls between Hine-nui-te-pō's thighs; they laugh; she wakes and crushes him. And with Māui's passing, mortality becomes permanent. That is: following a recurring interpretation offered by many Māori experts, Hine-nui-te-pō's katabasis is the ultimate cause of mortality, while Māui's death at her hands—thighs—is the proximate cause. As a famous *whakataukī* 'proverb' on life and death says: humankind creates, but Hine-nui-te-pō destroys.[3] Through Hine-nui-te-pō, Polynesian mythmakers in New Zealand gave Māui what one might call an unprecedented "tragic dimension" (Tremewan 2002: 97).

TE RANGIKĀHEKE, "TAMA A RANGI"

Numerous Māori sources (though not quite all) agree on the basic details of the above, and of Hine-nui-te-pō's nature. In particular, a group of 19th-century manuscripts from around the country echo each other with close parallels and similar phrasing: more precisely, manuscripts written by Mohi Ruatapu (Ngāti Porou), Hoani Te Whatahoro (Ngāti Kahungunu), Friedrich Wohlers (dictated to him on Ruapuke Island by people from Kāti Mamoe) and Te Rangikāheke (Te Arawa). Generally speaking, Hine-nui-te-pō lives in the underworld or on the horizon at the edge of the world; she is a humanoid female, typically denoted *ruahine* or *kuia* 'old woman'; her thighs or genitals flash or gleam like lightning as they open and close.[4]

Among these texts, however, one stands out for its historical and literary importance: that of Te Rangikāheke, first published by George Grey in *Ko*

Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori (The Traditional Chants and Songs of the Māori, 1853), then again in *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna Maori* (The Deeds of the Māori Ancestors, 1854), then in English in *Polynesian Mythology* (1855). Of this text, Katherina Luomala (an expert on Māui traditions throughout the Pacific) was moved to assert, "[Te Rangikāheke's] version holds a place comparable to that of Malory's 'Morte d'Arthur' in English literature. Sir George Grey is the Caxton to whom we owe gratitude for preserving this masterpiece of primitive literature" (Luomala 1949: 52). In fact, Te Rangikāheke's is the earliest published and most famous account of Hine-nui-te-pō, and the only early Māori account to describe her in any detail—memorably, influentially so. It is here for the first time, at least as far as the written record is concerned, that Hine-nui-te-pō's four canonical attributes are adumbrated: (i) greenstone eyes, (ii) kelp hair, (iii) obsidian teeth and (iv) barracouta mouth.

Te Rangikāheke, also known as Wiremu Maihi or William Marsh, came from the Rotorua area and was born into the Ngāti Kererū *hapū* 'clan' of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi *iwi* 'tribe' of the Te Arawa confederation (Curnow 1985; Loader 2008). He worked closely with Grey and wrote many manuscripts for him, including one especially famous manuscript which he himself entitled "Tama a Rangi" (Sons of Rangi, GNZMMSS 43), containing the story of Rangi, Papa and their children and the story of Māui and his exploits. Te Rangikāheke originally wrote "Tama a Rangi", however, along with another manuscript, "Tuupuna" (Ancestors, GNZMMSS 44), for the descendants of the ancient ancestors of the Māori people—that is, for indigenous people living in Hawai'i. Many at the time believed that Hawai'i was Hawaiki, the ancient Māori homeland (Curnow 1985: 120–22). And as we know from GNZMMSS 45 ("An Address to the Inhabitants of Hawaiki"), Te Rangikāheke wrote both "Tama a Rangi" and "Tuupuna" so that Hawaiian experts could check the accuracy of his history, down from the origins in Hawaiki (Curnow 2008: 30). One ought to keep in mind, therefore, that Te Rangikāheke's description of Hine-nui-te-pō is that of a single authority from a single *hapū* of a single North Island *iwi*, written for an expert audience of indigenous Hawaiians. All of this brings into sharp relief the particular qualities of "Tama a Rangi": Te Rangikāheke wrote this manuscript for feedback from other Polynesian experts not knowing himself that Hine-nui-te-pō is endemic to New Zealand. Nevertheless, this text soon became, and remains, the standard version of the myth and the standard description of Hine-nui-te-pō in New Zealand and worldwide. The Māori text, written in Te Rangikāheke's own hand in 1849, follows here with authorial orthography, punctuation and capitalisation; the original is one continuous paragraph with lines running to the edge of the page.

GNZMMSS 43 = Te Rangikāheke, "Tama a Rangi" (autograph MS, 1849: 908–9, retranscribed from a facsimile)

> Ka tahi ia ka mea atu, he pehea tona ahuatanga, ka mea ia, te mea e korapu mai ra, he huakanga no nga kuha, te mea e whero mai ra, he whero no roto i ona raho, te mea e auau ra te konapunaputanga he kotamutamutanga no tona hanga konapu raho, he koi mata tonu te ahua, ko te tinana, he tangata ano, engari nga karu he pounamu, ko nga makawe, he rimu-rehia, ko te waha ano he mangaa.
>
> Then he [Māui] said, "What does she look like?" He [Māui's father] answered, "That flashing over there is her thighs opening. The redness comes from inside her labia. The repeated shining is the flash of her brightly shining labia, which are in fact formed from sharp obsidian. Her body is indeed that of a person but her eyes are [as] greenstone, her hair is [as] sea-kelp, and her mouth is like a barracouta's."

Here, Hine-nui-te-pō (not to be confused with her earlier incarnation, Hine-tītama) is a humanoid female, and she may or may not be a giant of some kind. She is undoubtedly monstrous, as the *vagina dentata*—which is not figurative—indicates. In this specific context within Te Rangikāheke's narrative, moreover, she is marked as dangerous and indeed threatening. Māui's father, worried about his son's future, warns Māui of a premonition that his ancestor Hine-nui-te-pō will cause his death. Thereupon follows the above description.

It is important to note the unparalleled description, in this early text, of Hine-nui-te-pō's four canonical attributes: *pounamu* 'greenstone', *rimu-rehia* 'kelp', *matā* 'obsidian, flint' and *mangā* 'barracouta'. In addition to identifying the obsidian teeth in Hine's *vagina dentata*, Te Rangikāheke makes three comparisons: eyes–greenstone, hair–kelp and mouth–barracouta. Crucially, two of these comparisons can be read as figurative expressions, and one of them undoubtedly is figurative. The first two involve a classifying predicate with *he* (X belongs to the class Y). This construction indicates the composition of a thing (A is made of B), but it is also regularly used for metaphors (Joseph 2011: 101). That is: *nga karu he pounamu* could be translated 'her eyes are [made of] greenstone' or 'her eyes are [as] greenstone'; *ko nga makawe, he rimu-rehia* 'as for her hair, it is [as] sea-kelp'. (As in English, the distinction between metaphors and literal predicates can sometimes only be derived from context.)

In the third comparison, however, Te Rangikāheke combines the classifying predicate *he mangaa* 'is [that of] a barracouta' with fronted *ano* to form a figurative construction which grammars typically describe as a simile: *ko te waha <u>ano he</u> mangaa* 'as for her mouth, it is like [that of] a barracouta'. This construction, written *ānō he* in modern orthography, is regularly used

for figurative comparisons (Joseph 2011: 104–5), not unlike the construction *me he* or *me te* (Bauer 1997: 150).[5]

Accordingly, one natural reading of Te Rangikāheke's Māori, setting aside any distinction between a simile and a metaphor, is that Hine-nui-te-pō is a humanoid being with eyes *like* greenstone, hair *like* kelp and a mouth *like* a barracouta's. (We could of course allow a more cautious reading: she has eyes of actual greenstone, hair of actual sea-kelp and a mouth *like* a barracouta's. But more on that later.) The key point of course is that her eyes are green, her hair wavy and her teeth strong and numerous (and gleaming white?)—not to mention her *vagina dentata*, which is common to most other descriptions, too.

We will set aside for now the question of whether these are positive or negative attributes. It remains first to trace the textual history and literary reception of Te Rangikāheke's original Māori description. We will focus on quasi-formulaic descriptions of Hine-nui-te-pō's physiognomy which show clear influence from Te Rangikāheke. This influence is vicarious: Te Rangikāheke's Māori manuscript (held in the Auckland Public Library) is almost never the proximate source for reprints, translations, adaptations and the like; nor is Thornton's edition. What Te Rangikāheke actually wrote is not even the main source. That honour belongs to George Grey's *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna Maori* (1854), which is the de facto basis of all subsequent textual receptions in Māori, though publication in *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori* (1853) came first. In turn, Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* (1855) has long been the default English source. Not that Grey is a reliable witness; far from it, in fact (Simmons 1966). Curnow (2008: 36–37) lists both *Ko Nga Mahinga* and *Polynesian Mythology* under the heading "Adaptations". At any rate, it is not in doubt that Grey did violence to Te Rangikāheke's writings, in Māori and in English (Loader 2008).

George Grey, *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori* (1853: xlvi; Grey 1854: 29)

> Ka tahi ia ka mea atu, he pewhea tona ahuatanga? ka mea ia, te mea e korapu mai ra, ko ona mata [eyes]. Ko ona niho [teeth], kei te koi mata, ko te tinana, he tangata ano, e ngari nga karu, he pounamu, ko nga makawe, i rite ki te rimu-rehia, ko te waha, i rite ki te manga.

George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology* (first edition 1855; 1885b: 33)

> Then Maui asked his father, "What is my ancestress Hine-nui-te-po like?" and he answered, "What you see yonder shining so brightly red are her eyes, and her teeth are as sharp and hard as pieces of volcanic glass; her body is like that of a man; and as for the pupils of her eyes, they are jade [*pounamu*]; and her hair is like the tangles of long seaweed, and her mouth is like that of a barracouta."

Most egregiously, though unsurprisingly, Grey bowdlerises the *vagina dentata*. He splits the single image of a glowing-red, obsidian-toothed vulva across two new images not found in Te Rangikāheke's text: (i) red eyes, presumably irises; and (ii) teeth in Hine's actual mouth which are as sharp and hard as obsidian. (This despite printing the Māori reading *kei te koi matā* 'are sharp obsidian', alongside the confusing introduced reference to Hine's *mata* 'eyes'.) Attaching the red glow of the original description to Hine's actual eyes then leaves her pupils available to be compared to *pounamu*. Accordingly, Grey's Hine-nui-te-pō has *pounamu* pupils (i.e., pupils which are literally made of greenstone). The *rimu-rehia*, however, remains stubbornly figurative, as does the barracouta mouth. (It is as though actual greenstone eyes are acceptable but not seaweed hair.) Moreover, these two comparisons are explicitly presented as similes; the well-known construction *i rite ki te* 'just like' has long been considered a means of expressing similes in Māori and is less open to misinterpretation than the construction *ānō he*. The resultant image is thus overdetermined: Hine's mouth is both like a barracouta's *and* full of obsidian-sharp teeth. Overall, then, Grey has thoroughly rewritten Te Rangikāheke's Māori, not only censoring references to Hine's genitalia and introducing new imagery, but also rewording two comparisons to make them both unambiguously figurative.

The section of "Tama a Rangi" which deals with the demigod Māui was, finally, edited and translated in a scholarly edition by Agathe Thornton (1992) under the title "Ko Māui" (Māui). Thornton, formerly a classicist at Otago University, restored an excellent—though not error-free—Māori text (GNZMMSS 43: 896–913), accompanied by an English translation and commentary. When it comes to the description of Hine-nui-te-pō, however, Thornton (1992: 65) overcompensates for Grey's editorialising. She renders the crucial sentence, with its three comparisons, as follows: "Her body is human, but her eyes are greenstone, her hair is sea-grass and her mouth is a barracouta." Here, in contrast to Grey's texts (both English and Māori), and in contrast to my preferred reading of Te Rangikāheke's Māori, Hine's eyes are actually made of *pounamu* (as in Grey), her hair is actually *rimu-rehia* and—most bizarrely of all—her mouth *is actually* a barracouta. At this point, we must either read 'her mouth is [actually] that of a barracouta' (as Biggs 1964: 43 translates, for example) or else imagine some kind of hybrid creature with an entire barracouta grafted onto the jaw in place of a mouth. This second option, 'her mouth is [actually] a barracouta', seems prima facie unlikely. It is certainly out of step with conceptions of Hine-tītama and Hine-nui-te-pō expressed elsewhere in 19th-century Māori writings (see below). Nor is the first option, 'her mouth is [actually] that of a barracouta', the most natural reading of Te Rangikāheke's Māori. A more natural way of

expressing that idea in Māori would be something like *ko tōna waha anō, ko tō te mangā*, "her mouth itself *is* a barracouta's".

It has been quite rightly suggested (by one of the anonymous referees) that one can always read *ano* as Thornton does.[6] In modern orthography, that is: *ko te waha anō, he mangā* 'as to the mouth itself, it is that of a barracouta'. And indeed, one can read the text in this way. But a range of factors militate against doing so. For one thing, there is the word order. Earlier in the passage, intensifying *anō* follows the *he*-predicate: *ko te tinana, he tangata ano* 'as to her body, it is indeed that of a person'. Later, however, *ano* precedes the *he*-predicate: *ano he mangaa* 'is like [that of] a barracouta'. This inclines me to associate it with what follows. The use of *engari* 'but' likewise emphasises a contrast between Hine-nui-te-pō's *āhua* 'form, shape' and the figurative comparisons which flesh out the specific attributes of that form.

Tellingly, Te Rangikāheke himself used this same construction in a similar passage, again in association with the word *āhua* to denote the basic shape of a thing which is then described through figurative comparisons. In "Ko nga mahi a Tiki-Tawhito-Ariki" (GNZMMSS 79, written by Te Rangikāheke before 1854), Tiki is asked about a tattooed man and replies: *Kei te ahua o tona kanohi ano he houhounga na te tieke, kei ona papa ano he anuhe tawa-tawa.* That is, in Biggs's translation: "His face [lit. 'on the form of his face'] is as if (*ano he*) pecked by the saddle-back … and his thighs are marked like (*ano he*) a mackerel" (Biggs 1952: 184, Māori text at 188–89).

What is more, Te Rangikāheke repeatedly uses figurative *ānō he* in a similar narrative context elsewhere, in a sequence of stories about *taniwha* 'monsters'.[7] In one passage, warriors hunting a *taniwha* on land are terrified by *nga tuaitara e tutu haere ana mai, ano he urutira Taniwha Moana nui!* 'the spines getting closer and closer, like the dorsal fins of a great sea monster!' (Cooper 1851: 133). One *taniwha* is heard roaring from his den in a cliff-face, *ano he wheke rakau* 'like the creaking of a tree' (1851: 157, with corrections per Grey 1928: 134). Another *taniwha* is not only *ano he kiore e mau ana* 'caught like a rat' but also *ano he tohora kei te akau e takoto ana* 'lying on the shore like a whale' (1851: 161). He even uses *ānō he* to compare the eyes of a *taniwha* (reflecting the light) to *pounamu*, like Hine-nui-te-pō's eyes: *ano he pounamu kei nga karupango, e titiwha ana* 'it was as if there was greenstone gleaming in its pupils' (1851: 157, with corrections per Grey 1928: 134); one should note that the Māori text as transcribed by Cooper here reads *ano! He pounamu*.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly: we do in fact have a precise contemporary parallel for figurative *ānō he* describing Hine-nui-te-pō. In 1871 Mohi Ruatapu wrote that Hine-nui-te-pō "flashes (*kowhera*) on the horizon like lightning (*ānō he uwira*)" (Reedy 1993: 25). This lightning

is figurative; Hine-nui-te-pō is not a female personification like Whaitiri (Thunder). Ruatapu uses the figurative construction *ānō he* for Hine-nui-te-pō, and it makes sense to read Te Rangikāheke's *ano he mangaa*, in the same narrative context, in the same way.[8]

When interpreting Te Rangikāheke's simile *ano he mangaa* 'like [that of] a barracouta', Thornton would seem to have read *anō* in its intensifying adverbial role—something like "indeed", "actually" or "in fact"—and to have missed or at least ignored the use of *ānō*-fronted classifying predicates in figurative expressions, a usage known from elsewhere in Te Rangikāheke's oeuvre (as above).[9] Pressing a distinction between literal and figurative expressions in this way leads Thornton (1992) to give Hine-nui-te-pō greenstone eyes, sea-kelp hair and an actual barracouta for a mouth:

> Grey seems to have found the original text too stark. So he turned the original statement of identity into a comparison: 'her hair is like sea-grass, and her mouth is like a barracouta.' Grey does not alter the direct identification in the phrase 'the eyes were greenstone'. The composite nature of Hine-nui-te-pō is comparable to many composite creatures in ancient Near Eastern cultures and in early Greece. (Thornton 1992: 109)

Thornton is quite right that Grey read figurative expressions in Te Rangikāheke's text and rewrote the Māori to clarify that reading. As I see it, however, she has ignored the possibility (I would say near certainty) that Te Rangikāheke himself wrote figuratively in the relevant passage. This has led her to assume that Grey's more explicit figurative expressions (using the word *rite* in his Māori text) actively misrepresent—rather than clarify—the supposed "original statement of identity", that is, the sequence of supposedly literal predicates introduced by *he*. The impulse to preserve literal meaning from figurative impositions is laudable (e.g., Orbell 1985: 1–2). In this instance, however, the impulse is misguided: Hine-nui-te-pō does not have a barracouta instead of a mouth; nor indeed, I argue, does she have the mouth of an actual barracouta. At the same time, Thornton brings a classicist's background to bear on the content of the passage, implying that Hine-nui-te-pō is like Scylla, Medusa, the Sphinx or some other creature from world myth. Hence the strange notion that Hine's mouth "*is* a barracouta"; she thus becomes a monstrous female hybrid comparable to figures in Greek and Near Eastern myth.

Now one could say (as an anonymous referee suggested) that the *precise* meaning of the phrase *ano he mangaa* is not really important, and that what matters is the basic point, namely that Hine-nui-te-pō's mouth shares some salient quality with a barracouta. This would be an entirely reasonable

approach, but in my view it will not quite suffice here. Elsdon Best, for one, approaches Hine-nui-te-pō (in a manuscript completed around 1930 but unpublished for many decades afterwards) from a quite different angle, on both ethnographic and philological grounds. He first attributes to Te Mātorohanga—the famous Ngāti Kahungunu *tohunga* 'tribal expert' to whom much of Percy Smith's *Lore of the Whare-wānanga* is attributed—the following description (1982: 380):

> Now Maui-tikitiki consented to go and slay Hine-titama, she who is also named Hine-nui-te-po, she whose eyes gleam, whose teeth are white as those of the *mako* shark, whose hair resembles the *karengo* seaweed, whose strength is immeasurable, and whose smooth skin resembled the blushing cheek of a maid.[10]

Te Rangikāheke's *mangā* is typically understood to be *Thyrsites atun*, a fish found in Southern Hemisphere seas (known in South Africa as the "snoek" and in Australasia as the "barracouta"). Best's preferred alternative, *mako* 'mako shark', is typically understood to refer to the genus *Isurus.* One might well ask: what difference does it make? Best (1982: 384) later clarifies the point, namely, that *mako* teeth were used in Māori jewellery, and that Hine-nui-te-pō (Hine-tītama) is *beautiful*:

> The description of Hine-nui-te-po is spoilt in one published version by the statement that her mouth resembled that of a shark (*mango*), while in another it is said to have been like that of a barracoota (*manga*). The narrator or translator probably missed the point as it appears in other recitals, that the teeth of Hine resembled those of the *mako* shark [i.e., mako shark, genus *Isurus*], which are remarkably white and are much admired by the Maori and so used as ear pendants. Hine-nui-te-po is but another name of Hine-titama, the Dawn Maid, whose beauty has been acclaimed by man since the days of the gods.

Textual questions about the form of Hine-nui-te-pō's body are in fact crucial to what kind of *tangata* 'person, character' she really is, at least in Te Rangikāheke's estimation. All of which brings us back to that 1849 manuscript. What Te Rangikāheke himself wrote was: *ko te tinana, he tangata ano, engari nga karu he pounamu, ko nga makawe, he rimu-rehia, ko te waha ano he mangaa*. That is: 'Her body is indeed that of a person, but her eyes are [like] greenstone, her hair is [like] sea-kelp and her mouth is like [that of] a barracouta (*mangā*)'.

In *Nga Moteatea* (1853) and the first edition of *Nga Mahinga* (1854), Grey printed the correct reading *mangā* 'barracouta'. In the 1885 second edition of *Nga Mahinga* (titled *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*), however, he printed

mangō 'shark, dogfish' (*makō* in South Island dialects). The third edition, corrected by Williams, then restored *mangā* 'barracouta' (Grey 1885a: 30, 1928: 22). *Nga Moteatea* and the second edition of *Nga Mahinga* would thus appear to be the exact texts ("one published version", "another") which Best criticises for comparing Hine-nui-te-pō to a shark (*mangō*) and a barracouta (*mangā*). This leaves a third option: *mako* 'mako shark'. Best takes this to be the correct, traditional, authentic comparison, and not without some justification, given the well-attested use of *mako* teeth in Māori jewellery. It turns out, then, that the apparent confusion between these words for fish and sharks goes beyond orthography, lexicography or natural history and bears on two important questions: (i) What exactly does Hine-nui-te-pō look like? A barracouta (*mangā*), a mako shark (*mako*) or a dogfish (*mangō*/*makō*)?[11] (ii) Is she malevolent and monstrous or benevolent and beautiful?

AFTER-IMAGES OF HINE-NUI-TE-PŌ

With respect to those questions, it may surprise some to learn that earlier studies prefigure later progressive attitudes to Hine-nui-te-pō and Hine-tītama. In the same vein as Best's corrective quoted above, Alexander Reed (1963: 47) made the point again in 1963:

> Her place in Maori thought should be considered carefully. She is dreaded as the goddess of death, but must also be remembered as [a] young woman fleeing from her shame, yet imbued with love for her innocent offspring and their descendants. In the later legend of Maui and his attempted conquest of death, a picture is conjured up of the dread figure of night swallowing up mankind, but in the legend of creation she is a beneficent being devoted to the welfare of her children. ... Tane-matua is the protector of men in life, Hine-nui-te-po the guardian of their souls in death.

Not only that, but now, over a century and a half after Te Rangikāheke wrote, Hine-nui-te-pō has taken on a remarkable life of her own in numerous texts by Pākehā *and* Māori writers.[12] Most striking of all is the specific recurring description of Hine-nui-te-pō's physiognomy as described by Te Rangikāheke: (i) *pounamu* eyes, (ii) kelp hair, (iii) obsidian-toothed *vagina dentata* and (iv) barracouta teeth. Descriptions like this, especially in poetry or fiction, are typically not attributed to any one source. Yet there is an astonishing continuity between them, as well as a certain flexibility. Older accounts and versions for children usually omit the obsidian *vagina dentata* or substitute obsidian teeth in Hine's actual mouth (though see Hyland and Puru 2003: 34). One still finds confusion between "barracouta", "barracouda" and "barracuda"—not unlike the oscillation between *mangā*, *mangō* and *makō*

observed earlier. Alpers (1964: 67), Ihimaera (2007: 74), Jillian Sullivan (2007: 25) and others describe Hine-nui-te-pō's mouth as being the same as, or like, a "barracuda". But just as *pounamu* is not jasper (see below), *Thyrsites atun* and the tropical barracuda (*Sphyraena*) are different species.

Nevertheless, even allowing for differences of detail and interpretation, modern *descriptions* of Hine-nui-te-pō's physical form—as we shall see—are remarkably formulaic and textually close to that of Te Rangikāheke, allowing for the vagaries of translation, transmission, bowdlerisation, context and adaptation. It is beyond doubt that Te Rangikāheke's 1849 manuscript "Tama a Rangi" is the ultimate source for all the descriptions of Hine-nui-te-pō quoted below and indeed for the vast majority of instances in New Zealand literature, at least where *pounamu*, kelp, obsidian or barracouta make an appearance. As the following retrospect will bear out, Hine is typically described in New Zealand literature via a combinatory poetics, with four images (*pounamu*, kelp, obsidian and barracouta) figuratively or literally deployed, almost universally, to depict Hine's eyes, hair, genitalia and mouth.[13] To put it differently: thanks to Te Rangikāheke (and George Grey), *pounamu*, kelp, obsidian (or flint) and barracouta (or barracuda or even sharks in general) have been firmly established as synecdochic attributes of Hine-nui-te-pō.

John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions*, vol. 2 (1887: 106)

> Her eyes, which you see flashing yonder, are dark as greenstone; her teeth are sharp as obsidian; her mouth is like that of the barracouta; the hair of her head like the kelp of the sea: her body only is in human form.

James Izett, *Maori Lore: The Traditions of the Maori People* (1904: 76)

> Yonder two fiery clouds that shine so brightly yellow might be taken for her eyes were they set with pupils of burnished jasper; like to masses of long sea-weed and ocean tangle is her hair; like that of a barracouta is her mouth, arrayed with teeth as hard and sharp as rows of white volcanic glass; her figure partakes to that of a man, her arms being all embracing; her feet—.

Wilhelm Dittmer, *Te Tohunga: The Ancient Legends and Traditions of the Maoris* (1907: 62)

> Ah, my son, her eyes, which you see flashing yonder, are dark as greenstone; her teeth are sharp as obsidian; her mouth is like the mouth of the Baracuta [*sic*], and the hair of her head is the sea-weed; her body alone has human form!

James K. Baxter, "East Coast Journey" (1980: 273)

This brief poem from *Pig Island Letters*, written in 1962–63, concludes as follows:

> In great dryness of mind I heard the voice of the sea
> Reverberating, and thought: As a man
> Grows older he does not want beer, bread, or the prancing flesh,
> But the arms of the eater of life, Hine-nui-te-po,
> With teeth of obsidian and hair like kelp
> Flashing and glimmering on the edge of the horizon.[14]

A.W. Reed, *Treasury of Maori Folklore* (1963: 142)

> Maui was told that Hine-nui-te-po could be seen on the horizon of the underworld where the flashing lights came from her eyes. They were red and glaring like volcanic fire, with pupils cold and green like pounamu (greenstone); her hair was like long, tossing strands of seaweed; her body was that of a man; her mouth like a shark's, and her teeth like tuhua (obsidian or volcanic glass).

Antony Alpers, *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends* (1964: 67)

> What you see there is Hine nui, flashing where the sky meets the earth. Her body is like a woman's, but the pupils of her eyes are greenstone and her hair is kelp. Her mouth is that of a barracuda, and in the place where men enter her she has sharp teeth of obsidian and greenstone.

Bruce Biggs, "The Oral Literature of the Polynesians" (1964: 43)

> "The red glow of the western sky emanates from her," said the father. "Her body is that of a human being, but her eyes are greenstone, her hair is sea-kelp, and her mouth is that of a barracouta."

Bruce Biggs, "Maori Myths and Traditions" (1966: 450)

> "The red flashing in the western sky emanates from her," said the father. "Her body is that of a human being, but her eyes are greenstone, her hair is sea-kelp, and her mouth is that of a barracouta."

Witi Ihimaera, *Tangi* (1973: 93)

> As Hinetitama, you were the dawn. Now your mouth is that of a barracouta, your eyes flecked with greenstone. Your hair is sea-kelp still moist with the sea.

Hone Tuwhare, "Ron Mason" (1974, in Ihimaera and Long 1982: 47)

> my old lady, Hine-nui-te-Po, bless the old bitch:
> shrewd guardian of that infrequent duende
> that you and Lorca knew about, playing hard-to-get

Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa, *Wahine Toa* (1984: 58)

> My vagina, where he [Māui] must enter, is set with teeth of obsidian, and is a gateway through which only those who have already achieved death may freely pass.

Witi Ihimaera, *The Matriarch* (1986: 3–4, 233, 251; 2009: 10)

> Hine nui te Po, she with the human body, but whose eyes were greenstone, her hair sea-kelp, and her mouth that of a barracouta.[15]

> … Her mouth is that of a barracouta. Her eyes are flecked with greenstone. Her hair is sea-kelp, still moist from the sea.

> … Her eyes [i.e., those of the titular matriarch Riripeti "Artemis" Mahana] were wide and unseeing. They were no longer green. Within their depths a form was stirring. Hair like kelp. Teeth like the barracouta.

Patricia Grace, *Cousins* (1992: 155)
The first section ("Missy") of *Cousins* begins with this epigraph:

> Woman with
> Obsidian eye
> Made us mortal

Robert Sullivan, *Maui: Legends of the Outcast* (1996: n.p.)

> There at the rim of the Earth where it meets the sky. You can see the red glow as she opens and closes herself. She has the body of a woman but her eyes are stone, her hair is kelp and her teeth are those of the barracouda.

Queenie Rikihana Hyland and Patrick Puru, *Illustrated Māori Myths and Legends* (2003: 40; original 1997)

> Ah, my son, her eyes, which you see flashing, are dark as greenstone; her teeth are as sharp as lava rock; the opening between her legs is surrounded with volcanic flint rock; her mouth is like the mouth of a barracouta, and the hair on her head is seaweed. Don't be deceived because her body has human form!

Robert Sullivan, "*Weaving Earth and Sky: Myths and Legends of Aotearoa*" (2002: 75–76)

> She flashed red there on that western horizon. … her hair straggled like pieces of seaweed. When she opened her mouth I could see her teeth were made of black volcanic glass. Even through her closed eyelids I could see the red glow of her eyes. She had the body of a woman.

Witi Ihimaera, *The Rope of Man* (2005: 87)

In this revision of *Tangi*, Ihimaera retracted the description of Hine-nui-te-pō from the 1973 novel (quoted above):

> Some people consider that when she [Hine-nui-te-pō] transformed from Hinetitama, child of the dawn, she became a monstrous inversion of herself. Her eyes were said to be flecked with greenstone. Her hair was sea-kelp still moist from the sea. She was a fearsome apparition with a mouth like a barracouta. I like to think of her differently. Not as some Maori Medusa but, rather, as the Great Mother ….

Witi Ihimaera, "ask the posts of the house" (2007: 74)

> Malevolent Kali-like Goddess of Death? With eyes of paua, locks of hair—medusae of barracuda—and vaginal [*sic*] dentata? No. She is Great Mother of the Underworld. Hers is the redemptive role and it is through her that we achieve forgiveness.

Jillian Sullivan, *Myths and Legends: The Gift of Stories from Our Cultures* (2007: 25)

> Māui looked again to the flashing of light in the sky.
> "So what is she like, this goddess of death?"
> "That red is the shining of her eyes," his father said. "Her pupils gleam like pounamu. Her hair tangles and tosses like seaweed. Her body is strong like a warrior. Her mouth is vast like a barracuda, and between her thighs, her vagina is set with teeth of obsidian."[16]

Robert Sullivan, "Cassino Città Martire" (2010: 40)

The titular poem from Sullivan's collection *Cassino: City of Martyrs* refers to "Hine's / barracuda teeth smile".

Karen Healey, *Guardian of the Dead* (2010: 303–5)

> She was sleeping against the wall, her knees tucked firmly against her chest. Her black hair fell over her shoulders and coiled on the cavern floor in thick strands, gleaming like kelp. … Hine-nui-te-pō, guardian of the dead, once Hine-titama, the maiden of the dawn, first woman born of woman, and the mother of humanity, opened her greenstone-dark eyes and roared. … "Woman," she said, through a mouth filled with sharp obsidian teeth. "Why do you disturb me?" … There was another cave between her thighs, filled with a second set of obsidian teeth.

Here, in the climactic scene of Healey's award-winning young-adult urban fantasy *Guardian of the Dead*, the protagonist–narrator Ellie meets Hine-nui-te-pō (Healey 2017; Perris 2017: 191–93). In this syncretistic and fantastical

scene, we find represented all four of the standard physiognomic attributes, with obsidian teeth (rather than barracouta or shark teeth) in addition to the obsidian *vagina dentata*.

There are likely many more such descriptions of Hine-nui-te-pō in New Zealand literature. Even so, this survey already reveals a remarkable continuity and flexibility across numerous retellings, paraphrases, fiction and poetry. In any case, modern interpretations of Hine-nui-te-pō vary; reinterpreting her has become as much a political as a literary or mythopoetic act. Witi Ihimaera in particular has revised Hine-nui-te-pō's physical form and eschatological role in numerous successive descriptions, from *Tangi* in 1973 to "ask the posts of the house" more than 30 years later (Perris 2015). This revision was, at least in part, a response to Atareta Poananga's evisceration of *The Matriarch* in the feminist magazine *Broadsheet* (Perris 2015: 95–97). Robyn Kahukiwa's paintings and Patricia Grace's text in *Wahine Toa* (1984) likewise rescued Hine from patriarchal myth-making. In Apirana Taylor's 1990 short story *Carving up the Cross*, a special Catholic crucifix carved by Māori carvers is rejected by both a Māori elder and a Pākehā priest, specifically due to its graphic portrayal of Hine-nui-te-pō: the crucifix displays "the tara [vulva] of Hine nui te po right in the centre" (Taylor 1990: 122; see also Heim 1998: 205). In this story, the image of Hine-nui-te-pō comes to signify not only the potential for Māori–Christian syncretism, but also the vanishing point at which cross-cultural understanding is no longer possible. Most recently, Karen Healey (2017: 80–81) has outright disowned her own depiction of Hine-nui-te-pō in *Guardian of the Dead* (quoted above) as an act of Pākehā cultural appropriation, maintaining that Hine-nui-te-pō is a powerful, not villainous, symbol of female strength.

HINE-NUI-TE-PŌ AND WORLD MYTH

Hine-nui-te-pō lives on in a literary tradition which now—in an increasingly connected, globalised world—encompasses comparative or world literature, even "world myth". Barry Powell's *World Myth* (2014), a survey of world myth by a distinguished classicist, includes in a chapter on "Oceanic Myth" a modified extract from Grey's version of Te Rangikāheke's Māui story.

Barry Powell, *World Myth* (2014: 452–53)

> Then Maui asked his father, "What is my ancestress Great Hina of the Night like?"
>
> And he answered, "What you see yonder shining so brightly red are her eyes, and her teeth are as sharp and hard as pieces of volcanic glass. Her body is like that of a man, and as for the pupils of her eyes, they are jasper. And her hair is like tangles of long seaweed, and her mouth is like a barracuda's."

This is a long way off Te Rangikāheke's Māori, but it also departs significantly from Grey's English (compare Grey 1885b: 33). First, Powell writes not of Hine-nui-te-pō but of "Great Hina of the Night" (i.e., *Hina*-nui-te-pō), a subtly misleading error. Numerous Māori names of mythological figures are based on both roots, *Hine* and *Hina*. But *hine* and *hina* are different words. Māori *hine* 'girl, woman, female' derives from Proto-Polynesian (PPN) *-fine* 'female'. Cognates include *teine* (Samoan), *mahine* (Tahitian), *taahine* (Tongan), *wahine* (Hawaiian) and of course *wāhine* (Māori). Hine-nui-te-pō's Māori name, then, translates as 'Great woman of the night' or something similar; otherwise, one typically leaves her name untranslated. Māori and Hawaiian *hina* 'grey' derives from PPN *sina* 'grey', a connection which may have given rise to Hina's status as a moon goddess. Elsewhere in Polynesian myth the cognate figure Sina (Ina, Hina) is very well known as a deity, ancestor or archetypal woman, often the wife of Tinilau (Tigilau, Sinilau, Tinirau) (Tremewan 2002: 154–61). In Māori tradition, however, Hina is typically the name of Māui's wife or sister, much less often of Tinirau's wife (Orbell 1995: 53–54; Reed and Calman 2004: 145–60). The muddled-up name "Great Hina of the Night", used in reference to Hine-nui-te-pō, thus reinscribes Māui's final adventure back into the pan-Polynesian cycle of myths about Hina, to some extent occluding Hine-nui-te-pō's uniquely Māori identity.

So: Powell—or his copy-editor—has confused two names, Hine and Hina. These names have distinct PPN roots (*fine* and *sina*) but are particularly close in East Polynesian languages like Hawaiian and Māori. Indeed, oscillation between Hine/Hina is not entirely unprecedented. In Māori tradition, for example, Tinirau's wife, who is typically Sina (> Hina) elsewhere, is more often named *Hine*-te-iwaiwa 'Woman of the ninth month (of pregnancy)' (Orbell 1995: 53). Accordingly, Best considers Hine-te-iwaiwa, Hina and Hinauri to be one and the same (Best 1922: 17). In fact, John White's unpublished papers include an account of Māui's death inside "Hina nui te po" (Binney 2005: 231 n128). But still: Te Rangikāheke himself writes only of *Hine*-nui-te-pō; so does every other published Māori source I know of.

In that case, whence came Great Hina of the Night? Westervelt (1913 [1910]: 134–35), collecting stories about Māui from around the Pacific, called her "Hina-nui-te-po". In a 1924 collection of Hawaiian folklore, Padraic Colum (1924: 207) retold the story of Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō, this time explicitly as an import from Māori tradition, fumbling her name in the process: "The splendidly imaginative story of how Maui strove to win immortality for men is from New Zealand. The Goblin goddess with whom Maui struggles is Hina-nui-te-po, 'Great Hina of the Night,' or 'Hina, Great Lady of Hades'." A 1959 Hawaiian National Park guide booklet likewise speaks of Māui assaulting Hina-nui-ke-po ('Great Hina of the Night'), with Māori *te* 'the' replaced by its Hawaiian cognate *ke* (Ruhle 1959). These examples illustrate the transplanting of a localised Māori myth into a different Polynesian language context, with

Hine (PPN *-fine*) confused for *Hina* (PPN *sina*). Never mind that neither Beckwith (1940) nor Luomala (1949) nor Orbell (1995) mentions Hina-nui-te-po or Hina-nui-ke-po. By 1989, Robert Craig's *Dictionary of Polynesian Mythology* had cemented the Hine/Hina confusion in a print reference work: the index entry for "Hina-nui-te-pō" reads "same as Hine-nui-te-pō" (1989: 351). Powell's "Great Hina of the Night" is a folklorist's fiction.

Second: Powell gives Hine-nui-te-pō eyes of *jasper*. This may be a domesticating translation for North American audiences, or just possibly an echo of Izett (quoted above), but it is no less embarrassing for all that. "Jade" (as in Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*) is acceptable for *pounamu*. Nephrite jade is after all one of the materials denoted by the Māori word. But jasper (though found in New Zealand) is neither jade nor *pounamu*.

Third: like many other writers, Māori and non-Māori, Powell reintroduces the tropical barracuda (*Sphyraena*) to this South Pacific narrative in place of the local barracouta.

Fourth and finally: earlier in his account, Powell refers to Mahuika, a prominent guardian of fire in Māori myth, by her non-Māori cognate name Mafuike (Powell 2014: 451). This is the name by which she is known, for example, in Niuean and Tokelauan (Tregear 1891 s.v. Mahuika). But the modern Māori alphabet does not even contain the letter "f".[17] All in all, Powell's *World Myth* neatly illustrates the literary afterlife of Te Rangikāheke's Hine-nui-te-pō: widely known and influential but little understood; often paraphrased but rarely quoted; even more rarely *read*.

* * *

To conclude: most if not all descriptions of Hine-nui-te-pō written in English derive from Te Rangikāheke's "Tama a Rangi" via Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*. The four key attributes specified in the 1849 manuscript (greenstone, kelp, obsidian and barracouta) are now effectively invariant, reproduced or alluded to by writers who have possibly never read Grey and probably never heard of Thornton, let alone Te Rangikāheke. The result is a kind of recurring prose formula: "eyes of greenstone, hair of kelp, teeth of obsidian and a mouth like a barracouta's". Elsdon Best's challenging claim that *mangā* is the incorrect form (and that Hine's teeth shine bright like those of a *mako*) is all but forgotten, while other 19th-century Māori accounts of Hine-nui-te-pō (Hine-tītama) languish in obscurity.

There is a veritable cottage industry of Hine-nui-te-pō literature, and as far as print culture is concerned, it all started in one mid-19th-century handwritten Māori manuscript. And yet: Hine-nui-te-pō in New Zealand literature is no longer bounded by Te Rangikāheke's or even Grey's work. She is a multiform—not only a dangerous female ancestor and antagonist for Māui (as in Te Rangikāheke's manuscript) but also, at times, a hybrid monster

or a beneficent maternal deity. Such is the way of myths and mythmaking. It would be misguided to expect uniformity from modern descriptions of Hine-nui-te-pō, much as it would be misguided to expect uniformity from different accounts written by different 19th-century Māori authorities. Te Rangikāheke's Hine-nui-te-pō is canonical only by default (by virtue of having been selected by Grey); even that canonicity has been challenged by subsequent reinterpretations and retellings which, in turn, reinforce the centrality of Te Rangikāheke's Hine-nui-te-pō as a kind of straw-man argument. In this way, textual and hermeneutic controversies surrounding Hine-nui-te-pō are written onto and through literary history. The result is a kind of multilayered palimpsest that effectively blocks Te Rangikāheke's actual story from view, even as writers continue to preserve the kernel of his description in a flexible, recurring prose formula.

At the same time, copyright law and the vagaries of publishing history mean that Te Rangikāheke remains far less accessible an author of Māori than George Grey. He is effectively unknown among the general public despite having written what is perhaps the most famous single text of Polynesian myth anywhere, namely GNZMMSS 43 or "Tama a Rangi". On the one hand, Grey's *Nga Moteatea* and *Nga Mahinga* (which, as we have seen, do great violence to Te Rangikāheke's manuscript) are readily available online and in various reprints, along with the English-language volume *Polynesian Mythology*. On the other hand, GNZMMSS 43 is held in the Auckland Public Library, though a facsimile is available on request; printed editions of that manuscript (in part or whole) can only be found in obscure local periodicals or out-of-print books. Accordingly, I finish by adding my voice to the many who have for decades now been calling for Māori manuscripts to be preserved, copied, published and translated accurately in accessible venues, especially—though not only—those which have attained national or (as in this case) international prominence. Articulating who Hine-nui-te-pō was, where she came from and what she meant for 19th-century Māori writers is crucial to understanding who she is and what she might mean now, for Māori, Pākehā or anyone else. "Tama a Rangi" is a good place to start.

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NOTES

1. Māui is known outside Polynesia but best known from Polynesian myth. In *Moana*, he is essentially a pan-Pacific (and for the most part pan-Polynesian) demigod.
2. In Te Wai Pounamu (South Island) dialects this becomes, e.g., Māui-tikitiki-a-Te-Raka.
3. Mead and Grove (2001 #535): *He mahi atu tā te tangata, mā Hine-nui-te-Pō e kukuti mai* 'Humans may strive but Hine-nui-te-pō will cut off'. Compare Mead and Grove (2001 #349): *He ai atu tā te tangata, he huna mai tā Hine-nui-te-Pō* 'Humankind begets, but Hine-nui-te-Pō destroys'. The former is what Te Rangikāheke wrote at the conclusion of his Māui saga (GNZMMSS 43: 912; Thornton 1992: 44); the latter is attributed to George Grey's *Proverbial and Popular Sayings* (1857).
4. Ruatapu in Reedy (1993: 25, 88); Wohlers (recorded c. 1850) in Tremewan (2002: 80); Te Whatahoro in Smith (1913 [I]: 63–64); Te Rangikāheke in Thornton (1992). Ruatapu: Hine-nui-te-pō flashes (*kowhera*) on the edge of the horizon, like lightning (*ānō he uwira*). Wohlers: her vulva (*puapua*) is flashing (*nanamu*). Te Whatahoro: her thighs flash (*kohera*) and open (*tuhera*). Te Rangikāheke: she flashes (*kōwhakiwhaki*, *uira*). In a Ngāti Awa (Bay of Plenty) tradition, however, it is Hine-te-iwaiwa who becomes Hine-nui-te-pō (Orbell 1995: 64).
5. The Māori Bible regularly uses *ānō he* for similes, e.g., Ps. 92:7, Jer. 51:38. Of course, the metaphor/simile distinction in these constructions cannot truly hold for such *zero-copula* sentences (i.e., sentences in which subject and predicate are joined without any linking word like 'is'). In any case, whether simile or metaphor, *ānō he* is attested in classical Māori as a figurative construction. It is worth noting that opinions differ as to the correct vowel quantities of forms of *ano*, and that Te Rangikāheke himself writes the word with single vowels in this passage.
6. One anonymous *JPS* referee in particular asked a number of stimulating, probing questions about the Te Rangikāheke passage. Among them (I paraphrase): why not read *ko te waha anō, he mangā* 'as to the mouth itself, it is that of a barracouta'? How does Te Rangikāheke use the phrase *ānō he* elsewhere? Is the precise physiognomy of monsters and other creatures even a legitimate concern in Māori oral tradition? Isn't the point that Hine-nui-te-pō *is* a monster, and that Māui is brave to challenge her? Given the sketchiness of the evidence, can we rule out the possibility of *atua*, *taniwha* or *tipua* 'supernatural creatures' having hybrid or composite forms? I address the first three questions in the body of the essay. As to the other two questions, I can only agree: Hine-nui-te-pō's role in the story *is* that of the monstrous villain (after all, she has a *vagina dentata*), and we cannot categorically rule out her being a hybrid creature.
7. These stories were translated by Grey himself in handwritten notebooks (GNZMS 11, dated 1845–53; GNZMS 47, dated 1840–50). They were also transcribed and translated in Cooper (1851: 128–63). Cooper writes, "The following story

is translated from an original manuscript, given to me by a chief of the tribe inhabiting this side of the lake, called Te Rangi Kaheke, or William Marsh, a person of some repute in such matters … Without further preface I subjoin the story verbatim, as written down by Marsh, of which the following [English version] is a translation as nearly literal as it could be conveniently made" (1851: 28). A modified version of the Māori text was later included in *Nga Moteatea* (Grey 1853: lxxxiv–xcvi) and *Nga Mahinga* (Grey 1854: 149–63) as the bulk of "He Korero Patunga Taniwha" (Stories about Killing Taniwha). The manuscript itself is not in the Grey Collection of the Auckland Public Library (Curnow 1985: 102, 113). For the attribution, see further Simmons (1966: 186). It is worth noting that in this same sequence, Te Rangikāheke uses what would appear to be exclamatory *anō* when introducing a figurative construction with *me*: *ano te mangai o te tangata me te ia wai e tangi ana te umere* 'the people cried out and the noise was like the ocean's roar'; *ano te mahi a te ngako me te ngako poaka* 'it had a huge amount of fat, like the fat of a pig' (Cooper 1851: 161).

8. According to Thornton (1992: 107–9), Te Rangikāheke (unlike Ruatapu) depicts Hine-nui-te-pō literally emitting lightning: *e uira mai ra* 'flashing [as lightning] over there'.
9. I, too, missed this at first. Many thanks to Karena Kelly for gently pointing it out to me.
10. This description likely derives from one of the Te Whatahoro manuscripts, recording material attributed to Te Mātorohanga, which Best sighted at the Dominion Museum. I have been unable to locate this passage or a possible source for it. A thorough trawl through Best's notebooks, and indeed the Te Whatahoro material held by the Māori Purposes Fund Board (and to which access is restricted), remains a desideratum. For the Te Whatahoro manuscript and the attribution of material from *Lore* to Te Mātorohanga, see Smith (1913–1915), Simmons and Biggs (1970) and Simmons (1994).
11. The Approved Fish Names List from the Ministry for Primary Industries gives the following equivalents: *mangā* (also *makā*) = *Thyrsites atun*; *mako* = *Isurus oxyrinchus* ("mako shark"); *mango* and *mangō* (and compounds thereof) are used for various shark and dogfish species. Williams (1971) gives the following equivalents: *mangā* = "1. *Thyrsites atun*, *barracouta*; a fish. … 2. *Mustelus antarcticus*, gummy shark"; *mangō* (*makō* in South Island dialects) = "*Shark*, *dogfish*; a general name, but applied also to *Mustelus antarcticus*, *gummy shark*"; *mako* = "*Isurus glaucus*, *mako shark*".
12. I use the Māori word "Pākehā" (noun and adjective) in its modern sense to refer to New Zealanders of European (i.e., white or Caucasian) descent.
13. I owe some of these references to a list, compiled by Leonie McEwan (n.d.), which I discovered only after having completed this essay. Even so, my catalogue is likely far from exhaustive.
14. Cf. Baxter's 1966 poem "Kelp", comparing kelp to Medusa (Baxter 1980: 343). The kelp/Medusa parallel triangulates Hine-nui-te-pō's kelp hair and the recurring Medusa/Hine-nui-te-pō comparison favoured by, e.g., Witi Ihimaera (Perris 2015: 90–91).
15. In the revision of *The Matriarch*, Ihimaera (2009: 10) prints "barracuda". The latter two passages quoted from the first edition are omitted from the revision.

16. J. Sullivan (2007: 104) cites three of Alexander Reed's books: *Myths and Legends of the Pacific*, *Myths and Legends of Polynesia* and the *Reed Book of Maori Mythology* (i.e., the *Treasury of Maori Folklore,* revised by Ross Calman and published in 2004).
17. The following howler, from Powell's preliminary comments, takes the cake: "On New Zealand the native people are the Maori, who seem to have come to the island from the east in the 14th century; but an earlier population lived there, about whom we know very little" (Powell 2014: 441). This is so wrong (and so easily verifiable) as to be almost humorous, were it not for the way armchair archaeologists in New Zealand have long misappropriated Māori myth to challenge the historical facts of Polynesian discovery and settlement (Anderson 2016; Howe 2003).

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ABSTRACT

This essay concerns Māui's famous, canonical encounter, known only from Aotearoa (New Zealand), with one of Māori myth's most important deities: Hine-nui-(i)-te-pō, 'Great lady of the night', queen of the underworld and, some would say, goddess of death. In particular, this essay traces Hine-nui-te-pō's literary afterlife, focusing on formulaic descriptions of her physiognomy from Te Rangikāheke's "Tama a Rangi" (an 1849 manuscript) through to Karen Healey's young-adult novel *Guardian of the Dead* (2010) and Barry Powell's *World Myth* (2014). After introducing Hine-nui-te-pō and her place in Polynesian myth, I detail the textual history of the standard (and, I would argue, now formulaic) description of Hine-nui-te-pō's physical form, comprising four recurring attributes: (i) eyes of, or like, greenstone (*pounamu*), (ii) hair of, or like, sea-kelp, (iii) teeth of, or like, obsidian and (iv) a mouth of, or like that of, a barracouta. First, I present a new transcription and translation of the relevant passage of Te Rangikāheke's "Tama a Rangi", taken from a facsimile of the manuscript. Then follows an account of the textual history of this passage, through George Grey's various publications to Agathe Thornton's 1992 edition and translation. I argue that subsequent editions and translations of this passage subtly misrepresent Te Rangikāheke's handwritten Māori text. Next, I survey scholarly and literary receptions of this formulaic description, revealing that descriptions of Hine-nui-te-pō derive from, develop and indeed at times depart from Te Rangikāheke's text; and that Hine-nui-te-pō has over time become a locus of progressive mythopoesis. On the one hand, she is a multiform from whom uniformity across different texts, genres, authors and languages should not be expected. On the other hand, I conclude, it is vital that we not forget Te Rangikāheke's important but little-known account.

Keywords: Māori, mythopoesis, Te Rangikāheke, oral tradition, Hine-nui-te-pō, Māui, myth, New Zealand

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THE NORTHERN OUTLIERS-EAST POLYNESIAN HYPOTHESIS EXPANDED

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The Northern Outliers–East Polynesian (NO-EPn) Hypothesis proposes the Northern Polynesian Outliers, especially the Central Northern Outliers, to be the homeland from which East Polynesia was settled. A considerable body of linguistic evidence has accumulated in support of the NO-EPn Hypothesis (Wilson 1982, 1985, 2012, 2014). That evidence has been evaluated as well supported by experts in Oceanic historical linguistics (Blust 2013: 724; Geraghty 2009; Marck 2000: 1–3, 129; Pawley 1996: 406). Provided here is an overview of previous and new evidence for the Hypothesis and against the common assumption that East Polynesia was settled from the Tonga–Sāmoa area (Kirch 2017; Montenegro *et al*. 2016; West *et al*. 2017; Wilmshurst *et al.* 2011). Added to the NO-EPn linguistic tree is a new Southeast Solomons Outlier–East Polynesian subgroup encompassing all previous languages covered by the Hypothesis as well as new ones in the Southeast Solomon Islands. Supporting evidence from natural history, ethnology and biological anthropology is provided. The possibilities of extensive borrowing and bifurcated settlement explaining the data are considered and shown to be untenable.

THE LOCATION AND SUBGROUPING OF THE NORTHERN OUTLIERS[1]

Among the Polynesian languages listed in Table 1, the Northern Outlier languages (NO) are quite small. Yet within the NO-EPn Hypothesis, they are important as the point of origin of the initial settlers of the huge East Polynesia region.

Figure 1 is a map of the Polynesian Outliers with geographic groups circled. The Northern Outliers (NO) are circled and contain three smaller, more tightly associated groups. At the far north are the Carolinean Outlier languages (CO): Nukuoro (Nko) and Kapingamarangi (Kap). The remaining NO languages are circled as the Solomons Northern Outlier languages (SNO), specifically Sikaiana (Sik) at the far south and then a smaller group, the Central Northern Outliers (CNO): Luangiua (Lua), Nukumanu (Nkm), Takuu (Tak) and Nuguria, or Nukeria (Ngr). To the immediate south of the NO languages are what are here called the Southeast Solomons Outliers (SSO), including Vaeakau-Taumako (Vae), Tikopian (Tik), Rennellese (Ren)

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and Anutan (Anu). As will be seen in Figure 2, some of these geographic groups also reflect settlement derived genetic subgroups. The languages of the "Other Polynesian Outliers" to the south of SSO are not discussed here other than to note that Pawley (1966) classified them as NPn.

Table 1. Some Polynesian languages and their abbreviations.

A. Subgroups and Their Proposed Proto-languages

CEPn	< PCEPn	Proto-Central East Polynesian
CNO	< PCNO	Proto-Central Northern Outlier
CNO-EPn	< PCNO-EPn	Proto-Central Northern Outlier–East Polynesian
CO	< PCO	Proto-Carolinean Outlier
EC	< PEC	Proto-Ellicean
EPn	< PEPn	Proto-East Polynesian
MQ	< PMQ	Proto-Marquesic
NO	< PNO	Proto-Northern Outlier
NO-EPn	< PNO-EPn	Proto-Northern Outlier–East Polynesian
NPn	< PNPn	Proto-Nuclear Polynesian
Pn	< PPn	Proto-Polynesian
SO	< PSO	Proto-Samoic Outlier
SNO	< PSNO	Proto-Solomons Northern Outlier
SNO-EPn	< PSNO-EPn	Proto-Solomons Northern Outlier–East Polynesian
SSO	< PSSO	Proto-Southeast Solomons Outlier
SSO-EPn	< PSSO-EPn	Proto-Southeast Solomons Outlier–East Polynesian
TA	< PTA	Proto-Tahitic
TO	< PTO	Proto-Tongic

B. Tongic Languages

Niu	Niuean
Ton	Tongan

C. East Polynesian Languages

Haw	Hawaiian	Man	Manihikian	Mao	New Zealand Māori
Mng	Mangaian	Mqa	Marquesan	Mva	Mangarevan
Pen	Penrhyn	Rar	Rarotongan	Rpn	Rapa Nui
Tah	Tahitian	Tua	Tuamotuan		

D. Northern Outlier Languages

Kap	Kapingamarangi	Lua	Luangiua	Ngr	Nuguria (Nukeria)
Nkm	Nukumanu	Nko	Nukuoro	Sik	Sikaiana
Tak	Takuu				

E. Southeast Solomons Outlier Languages

Anu	Anutan	Ren	Rennellese	Tik	Tikopian
Vae	Vaeakau-Taumako (Pileni)				

F. Other Nuclear Polynesian Languages

EFu	East Futunan	EUv	East Uvean	Nfo	Niuafo‘ou
Ntp	Niuatoputapu	Puk	Pukapukan	Sam	Samoan
Tok	Tokelauan	Tuv	Tuvaluan		

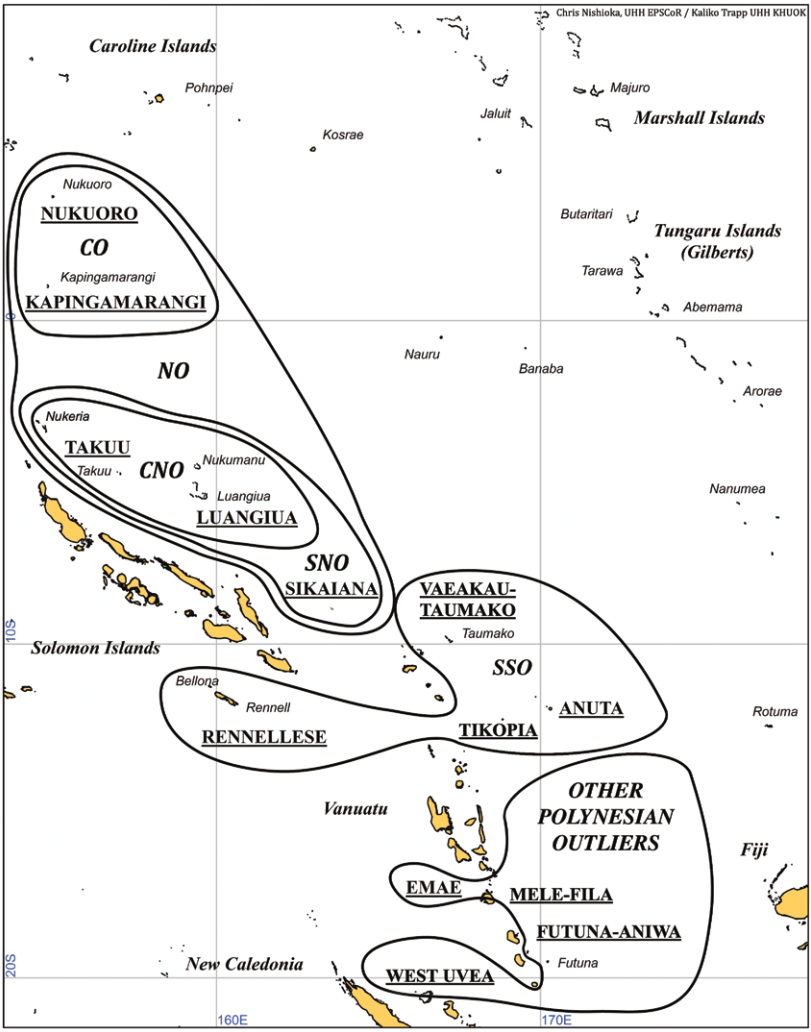


Figure 1. The Polynesian Outliers.

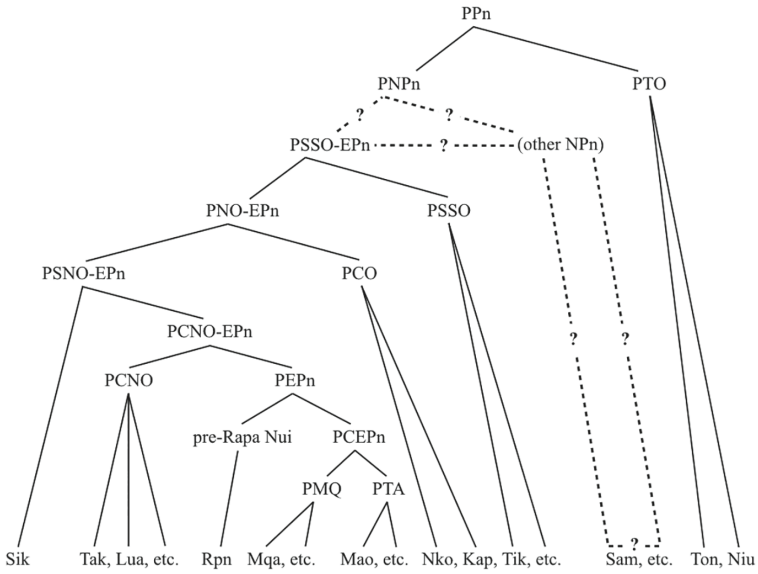


Figure 2. NO-EPn Hypothesis subgrouping of Polynesian languages.

Figure 2 shows my settlement derived genetic subgrouping of the languages of Figure 1 placed in a tree diagram that locates them within the larger Polynesian family including their relationship to East Polynesian languages (EPn) and long-accepted EPn subgroups. Note that Figure 2 also includes the new Southeast Solomons Outlier–East Polynesian (SSO-EPn) and SSO subgroups reconstructed later below. The languages of the "Other Polynesian Outliers" are unclassified in Figure 2 other than being placed with Sam under "Other NPn".

ARCHAEOLOGY, LINGUISTICS AND BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

There is a lack of archaeological research into the Central Northern Outliers, the departure point for the colonisation of East Polynesia proposed by the NO-EPn Hypothesis. More broadly, there are questions on how to archaeologically distinguish evidence of the earliest Polynesian settlers in the Outliers relative to non-Polynesian settlers (Davidson 2012: 1–2). While archaeological research into East Polynesia has progressed, there remain challenges relative to migration and colonisation in the region (Kahn and Sinoto 2017: 33; Kirch 2010: 140; Kirch 2017: 197–203). At this point,

therefore, excavated evidence to argue for or against the NO-EPn Hypothesis is minimal, except that proposed dates for the Polynesian settlement of some relevant Outliers are earlier than those for East Polynesia (Kirch 2017: 134, 161, 199). However, the considerable amount of linguistic data available does allow for expanded application of the comparative method of linguistics to further test the NO-EPn Hypothesis. That data provides a means to trace shared innovations through time and space to the probable location from which East Polynesia was colonised.

After attending to some basic evidence for the relationship between EPn and NO, this article will present arguments as to why here-listed shared innovations of EPn and NO are not due to borrowing or to simultaneous settlement from some third location. It will also provide evidence for a Southeast Solomons Outlier source for the settlement of the Northern Outliers and the establishment of a related new proto-language stage. That new proto-language is the basis for describing movement from the Southeast Solomons through the Northern Outliers and then from the Central Northern Outliers on to East Polynesia.

Two derivations of possessive morphology will illustrate finer steps that link the various proto-languages leading up to Proto-Central Northern Outlier–East Polynesian (PCNO-EPn), the immediate ancestor of Proto-East Polynesian (PEPn). Those derivations provide a basis for further understanding how borrowings among Outlier languages can be detected using the NO-EPn Hypothesis. Among newly identified innovations providing further support for the NO-EPn Hypothesis are some linked to distinctive East Polynesian cultural features. Combining ethnological and linguistic evidence follows the phylogenetic approach of triangulation seen as especially suited to the study of Polynesian history (Kirch 2017: 188, 191). Recent findings in the field of biological anthropology are an important addition to such triangulation. Researchers have now demonstrated distinctive genetic connections in mtDNA and Y-chromosome lineages between the contemporary peoples of the Central Northern Outlier Luangiua (Ontong Java) and the Society Islands in Central East Polynesia (Hudjashov *et al*. 2018).

HISTORY OF THE NO-EPN HYPOTHESIS

Over a half century ago, Elbert (1953: 169–70) proposed, albeit tentatively, that the NO language Kap was the closest external relative of EPn. Nearly 30 years later, in reconstructing the possessive system of Proto-Polynesian (PPn), I observed a distinctive set of shared innovations of EPn and the CNO languages located to the immediate south of Kap (Wilson 1982: 77–78). At that point, Pawley (1967: 284–86) had classified NO into three groups as circled in Figure 1 and noted that they "uniquely share certain features with each other" (Pawley 1967: 286).

Pawley (1966, 1967) and Elbert (1953) proposed an initial split in Polynesian (Pn) between the Tongic (TO) and Nuclear Polynesian (NPn) languages. That split strongly indicated the Tonga–Sāmoa region, or Central Western Polynesia, to be the Polynesian homeland. Pawley and Elbert differed, however, in their subgrouping of EPn.

Based on the many morphological features of EPn shared exclusively of the NPn languages of the Tonga–Sāmoa region, Pawley (1966: 59) established at the highest node under NPn a binary split between EPn and Samoic. Then he renamed Samoic as Samoic Outlier (SO) to subsume all languages of the Outliers, northern Central Western Polynesia and the Western Polynesian atolls (Pawley 1967). Pawley's placing of EPn at such a high node in the subgrouping tree and as a sister to SO implied that PEPn had split off at a quite early date from Proto-Nuclear Polynesian (PNPn) before any distinctive NPn languages had developed in Central Western Polynesia. Pawley's proposal contrasted with Elbert's analysis, which had seen EPn developing at a later date along with Kap.

Pawley's subgrouping implied direct colonisation of East Polynesia from the PPn homeland. Furthermore, the "striking number of innovations" of EPn languages indicated to Pawley (1967: 293–94) that "(t)he PEP[n]-speaking community was clearly isolated for several centuries before it dispersed" as a long period was required to develop those innovations. It has long been assumed that PEPn innovations developed in East Polynesia (Walworth 2014: 259).

Research into the human settlement of East Polynesia now indicates it to have been quite recent with rapid dispersal of the East Polynesian peoples throughout that huge region soon after initial settlement (Kirch 2010: 140; 2017: 199). This new chronology does not provide the amount of time in a compact PEPn homeland believed to be needed for the development of the many features of PEPn that distinguish EPn languages from the NPn languages of Central Western Polynesia (Marck 2000: 135–38; Walworth 2014: 259). An implication then of the new chronology is that a considerable amount of PEPn distinctiveness developed before East Polynesia was settled.

A proposal of the Central Northern Outliers as the homeland of the settlers of East Polynesia developed from Wilson (1982). It was formally supported with a detailed set of shared pronominal and possessive innovations of NO and EPn and reconstruction of a Proto-Northern Outlier–East Polynesian (PNO-EPn) language ancestral to PEPn (Wilson 1985).

In a move that would lead the NO-EPn Hypothesis along a diversionary trail, I (Wilson 1985: 129–30) added PNO-EPn to a tree proposed by Howard (1981) for a Proto-Ellicean language (PEC) ancestral to Tuvaluan (Tuv) and NO, and did so without investigating an implied relationship between Tuv and EPn. Marck (2000: 2–3, 7, 16) accepted my placement of PEPn under

Howard's PEC tree and, based on very limited data he had assembled, further modified the PEC tree to include Samoan (Sam) and Tokelauan (Tok). Marck's proposed PEC tree was then taken and even further modified without any linguistic data support in Kirch and Green (2001: 61). That PEC tree has since been repeated in Kirch (2017: 189).

An evaluation of Marck's expanded PEC in Geraghty's (2009: 446) otherwise positive evaluation of the NO-EPn Hypothesis showed major weaknesses in the three pieces of evidence upon which it was based. Subsequently, I (Wilson 2012: 340–46) evaluated Howard's PEC and the 39 lexical items upon which it was based, finding that Howard's unique similarities between Tuv and NO were not shared genetically by EPn. That evaluation also found evidence that borrowing, rather than a close genetic relationship, was the source of similarities between Tuv and NO languages, a proposal made earlier by Pawley (1967: 287). Also arguing against PEC, especially in its Marck (2000) and Kirch and Green (2001) versions that included Tok, is the fact that Howard (1981: 114) had himself evaluated Tok as external to his Ellicean (EC) subgroup.

In Wilson 2012, I strengthened the NO-EPn Hypothesis with a list of 73 lexical and grammatical innovations nested between PNO-EPn and PEPn in the manner illustrated in Figure 2 above. Then in Wilson 2014 I added 130 additional shared innovations in support of the NO-EPn relationships in Figure 2 while providing evidence against the possibility of a close genetic relationship of EPn and NO languages to Pukapukan (Puk), spoken on an atoll just outside the boundary of East Polynesia.

CONSIDERING DIFFERENT DEPARTURE POINTS

Eliminating Tonga and Niue

The possibility that Tonga was the departure point for the settlement of East Polynesia is implied by references to East Polynesians originating in the *Tonga–Sāmoa region*. The longstanding classification of Tongan (Ton) and Niuean (Niu) in a first-order TO subgroup of Pn in contrast to a first-order NPn subgroup (Marck 2000: 91–92, 126–28) represents the initial split of PPn and eliminates Tonga and Niue as the source of the initial settlers of East Polynesia. Innovations 1, 2 and 3 in Table 2 demonstrate how EPn languages share PNPn innovations to PPn not shared with Ton or its close relative Niu.[2]

The linguistic evidence therefore indicates that the settlers of East Polynesia had to have set out from an area where the language exhibited innovations 1, 2 and 3, and that that area could not have been Tonga or Niue.

With Tonga and Niue ruled out as the source of the settlers of East Polynesia, the potential sources remaining are the islands where NPn

Table 2. Tongan non-participation in Nuclear Polynesian innovations.

	PPn	PTO	Ton	PNPn	NPn
1. "a/an"	**sa*	**ha*	*ha*	**se*	Sam, Tak *se*; Rpn, Mao, Haw *he*; Tah *e*, Mqa *he/e*
2. "bone"	**hui*	**hui*	*hui*	**iwi*	Sam, Tak, Rpn, Tah, Mqa *ivi*; Mao, Haw *iwi*
3. "one"	**tasa*	**taha*	*taha*	**tasi*	Sam, Tak *tasi*; Rpn, Tah, Mqa, Mao *tahi*; Haw *kahi*

languages are recorded as spoken. Besides the languages of the Polynesian Outliers, those languages are in Central Western Polynesia, i.e., Sam, East Uvean (EUv), East Futunan (EFu), Niuafo'ou (Nfo) and Niuatoputapu (Ntp), and in the Western Polynesian atolls, i.e., Tok, Tuv and Puk. As can be seen in Figure 3, the NPn languages of Central Western Polynesia and of the Western Polynesian atolls are to the north of Tonga and Niue with the Tahitic (TA) languages of East Polynesia to the immediate east and the Marquesic languages yet further east.

Eliminating Northern Central Western Polynesia and Nearby Atolls as the Departure Point

Sāmoa is the most commonly assumed specific source of the settlers of East Polynesia other than a generic Tonga–Sāmoa region (Geraghty 2009: 446). Example innovations 4–15 in Table 3 demonstrate that Sam does not participate in EPn innovations shared with NO languages, nor do any of the NPn languages of Central Western Polynesia (Wilson 2012, 2014).

Innovations in Table 3 are also largely missing from Western Polynesian atoll languages near Sāmoa. A classification of EPn and NO as EC was based on shared innovations of Tuv and Tok with NO and EPn languages that were later shown to be borrowings (Geraghty 2009: 446; Wilson 2012: 322–23, 341–46.) The third Western Polynesian atoll language, Puk, has borrowed heavily from EPn languages (Clark 1980) and also somewhat from NO languages (Wilson 2014). Such borrowings are demonstrated in innovations 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 15 (Table 3). As a regular pattern of participation in innovations with EPn languages as exemplified in Table 3 is not found in the languages of Central Western Polynesia or of the atolls of Western Polynesia, the linguistic evidence does not support the departure of the settlers of East Polynesia from those two areas. Instead it directs inquiry some 3,000 kilometers northwest of Sāmoa to the Northern Outliers, where the local languages share many innovations with EPn languages.

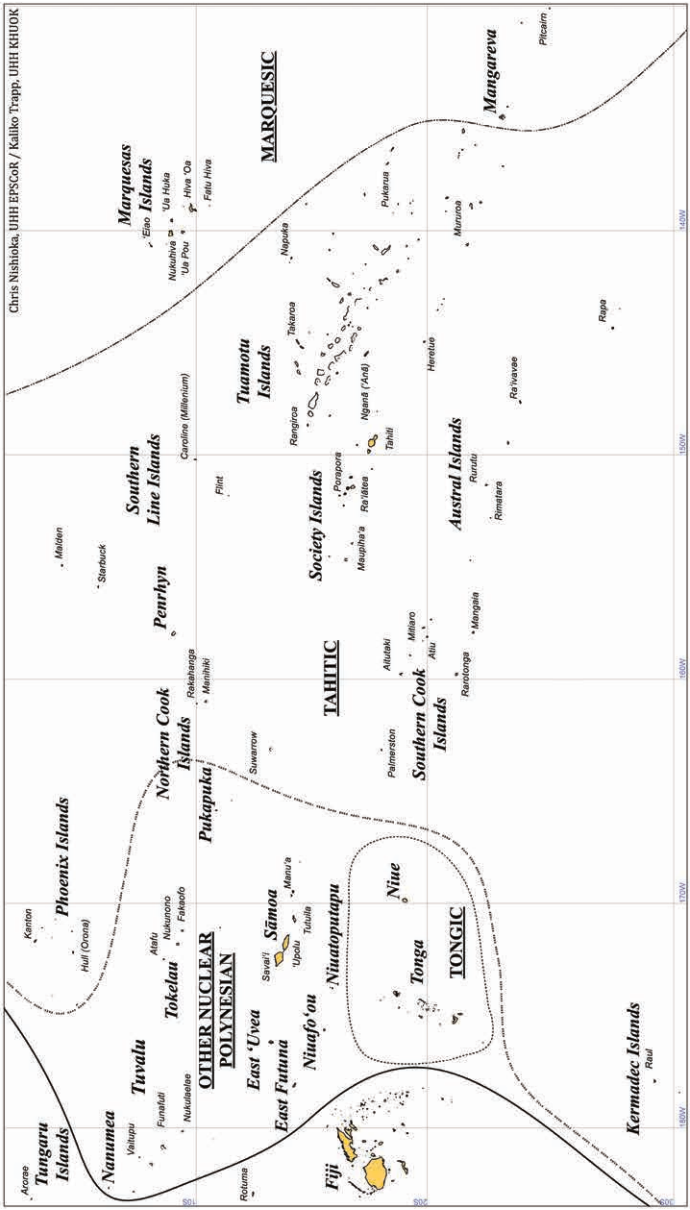


Figure 3. Language subgroups in Central Western Polynesia, Western Polynesian atolls and Central East Polynesia.

Table 3. Sāmoa-area languages' non-participation in NO-EPn innovations.

A. Irregular Phonological Innovations Including Additions and Deletions		
PNPn	Sāmoa Area	NO and EPn
4. **kawiki* 'ghost crab'	Sam *'avi'i*; Tuv *kaviki*	Sik *kaviti*; Mva *kavitiviti*; Tua *kohiti*
5. **kiu* 'curlew'	EUv, Nfo, Puk *kiu*	Nko *kivikivi*; Tak *kivi*; Mao *kiwi*; Haw *'i'iwi*
6. **taqe* 'faeces'	Sam, Tok, Tuv *tae*	Nko, Tak, Mao *tuutae*; Rpn *tuuta'e*
7. **manoko* 'blenny'	Sam *mano'o*; Tok *manoko*	Tak, Mao *panoko*; Rpn *paaroko*; Mqa *paoko*
8. **faasua* 'tridacna'	Sam *faaisua*; Tuv *faahua*	Nko, Pen *paasua*; Rar *paa'ua* (Puk *paayua*)

B. Semantic Changes, Expanded Meanings and Replacements		
PNPn	Sāmoa Area	NO and EPn
9. **sei*	Sam, Tok 'flower worn on ear'	Nko, Mqa, Pen, Tah 'garland' (Puk 'garland')
10. **pewa*	Sam, Tok 'sea cucumber'	Tak, Mqa, Pen 'tail of turtle or fish'
11. **(fo)fonu*	EUv, Tuv 'full'	Tak, Ngr, Mao 'deep' (Puk 'deep')
12. *neke	Sam, Tok (*nake*) 'lifted by water'	Nko, Tak, Mqa 'creep, move' (Puk 'move')
13. **qulupoko*	Sam, EUv, Tok, Tuv 'skull'	Kap, Ngr, Rpn, Mqa, Mao 'head' (Puk 'head')

C. Totally New Word Creation in NO and EPn	
14. **luafine* 'old woman, often a spiritual expert'	Sik *Te Luahine*; Rpn *nuahine*; Rar *rua'ine*
15. **funalua* 'second spouse'	Sik *funalua*; Mao *punarua* (Puk *punalua*)

DISCOUNTING BORROWING EXPLANATIONS FOR SHARED NO-EPN FEATURES

The NO-EPn Hypothesis is that a unique shared ancestry, as diagrammed in Figure 2, is the source of the vast majority of the large number of innovations shared by NO and EPn languages. However, before exploring the NO-EPn Hypothesis further, let us consider the possibility that borrowing is the source of their shared innovations.

Borrowing results from contact. One would expect that contact resulting in the sharing of some 200 innovations would be recorded in the oral histories. However, no such oral histories, or even evidence of mutual awareness, have been collected from either language area (Wilson 2012: 296–99). Furthermore, the great distances between individual NO and EPn languages—several thousand kilometres between even the closest of them—make extensive borrowing between them unlikely. Nevertheless, we will explore borrowings in NO languages in considerable detail below.

In his study of borrowing into Rotuman, Biggs (1965) coined the terms *indirect inheritance* for features borrowing from a related language that ultimately derive from a common ancestor and *direct inheritance* for those features inherited without borrowing from that common ancestor. Relative to indirect inheritance, Biggs's study of Rotuman drew attention to *doublets*—pairs of terms with similar but slightly different forms and meanings. Such doublets indicate borrowing when they can be arranged into different groupings with contrasting development of features such as phonology from the earlier common ancestor. Those different groupings also exhibit different geographical relationships with other languages. For Rotuman one set of terms grouped with Tongan-like Polynesian, another with Samoan-like Polynesian and still another with non-Polynesian Oceanic languages.

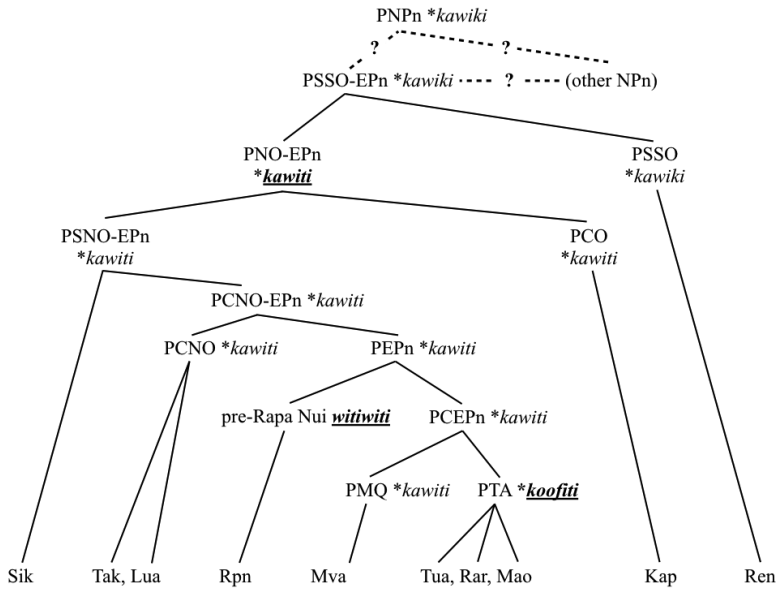
Relative to *direct inheritance*, Biggs's study drew attention to the fact that pronouns and grammatical function words tend not to borrowed, although he did provide a few exceptions in the case of Rotuman (1965: 7, 29). Arguing against borrowing between EPn and NO languages is the large number of pronominal and grammatical innovations that they share (Wilson 1985, 2012, 2014). In Figures 6 and 8 we will examine the derivation of certain pronominal innovations marking the NO-EPn relationship.

Biggs's study of Rotuman was based in the fact that innovations can be traced through historical splits producing lower-order sister proto-languages, e.g., Proto-Austronesian to Proto-Malayo-Polynesia. Such splits are followed by still-later splits, e.g., Proto-Oceanic to Proto-Central Pacific, nested under immediately preceding proto-languages, in the manner illustrated in Figure 2.

Moving from one proto-language to another can include *step innovations* where a new innovation involving slight changes to an earlier innovation

allows close identification of historical movement through language stages. Step innovations identified as moving through nested proto-languages indicate direct inheritance and have played a major role in identifying the NO-EPn relationship.

Step innovations can be seen in the derivation of Proto-Tahitic (PTA) *koofiti* < PPn **kawiki* 'ghost crab' (innovation 4), diagrammed in Figure 4 below. As in other chronological tree representations later in this article, solid lines indicate direct relationships involving movement downward through time, with a broken unfinished line indicating other NPn languages not being considered here. Example contemporary languages are also included at the bottom of trees. Descendant terms in the example languages are given below trees in the left-to-right order that they appear in such trees. Innovations are underlined and made bold at their first occurrence in a derivation but no longer so marked in later stages of derivation.



Sik *kaviti*; Tak (same as Sik); Lua *aviki*; Rpn *vitiviti*; Mva *kavitiviti*; Tua *kohiti*; Rar *koo'iti*; Mao *koowhitiwhiti-moana*; Kap *kawiti*; Ren *kabiki*

Figure 4. Derivations from PNPn **kawiki* 'ghost crab' (innovation 4) in SSO-EPn.

Note that in Figure 4 the irregular phonological innovation **-k-* to **-t-* to produce PNO-EPn **kawiti* occurs at a very early stage in the derivation. The innovated form **kawiti* then serves as input into a much later irregular phonological change step innovation **-aw-* to **-oof-* to produce PTA **koofiti*. Huge geographic distances make it highly unlikely that contemporary NO terms of the form /*kaviti*/ were borrowed from the sole EPn language that demonstrates a contemporary form close to /*kaviti*/, i.e., Mangarevan (Mva *kavitiviti*). For the same reason, it is highly improbable that EPn terms Mva *kavitiviti* and Rpn *vitiviti* resulted from borrowing from an NO language.

Note also that if an EPn term for ghost crab was borrowed into NO languages it would likely be a descendant term of widely reflected PTA **koofiti* rather than much rarer Mva *kavitiviti*. Conversely, if there was a borrowing into one or more EPn languages from NO it would likely be into the closest EPn languages geographically, i.e., Penhryn (Pen) and Manihikian (Man). However, Pen *koohitihiti* and Man *kohiti* reflect PTA **koofiti*, not a borrowing of NO /*kaviti*/.

A Rare Case of a Possible Borrowing between NO and EPn

Close examination of Outlier and EPn languages indicates that there has possibly been borrowing of a very limited extent between individual EPn languages and individual Outlier languages (Wilson 2012: 319–21). Phonological and semantic features as well as geographical patterning provide the means for identifying such borrowings, much as they did in the study of borrowings in Rotuman by Biggs.

Some EPn terms appear to have been spread into NO languages after European contact, e.g., Sik *hula* ‘to dance in European style’ (said to be borrowed from Lua) likely ultimately from Hawaiian (Haw) *hula* ‘dance’, which has also been borrowed into English.

An example of possible pre-European contact borrowing between NO and EPn involves terms for the slate pencil urchin, the colour of which ranges from reddish brown to red and purplish red. Note the following cognate set: Kap *matuke* ‘slate pencil urchin’; Mqa *matuke*, *matu‘e* ‘sea urchin’, also Mqa *matuke* ‘brown, as brown skin’; Haw *maaku‘e* ‘brown, purplish red, associated with skin’. Furthermore note that /*matuke*/ appears to be an irregular development from PSNO-EPn **fatuke* ‘slate pencil urchin’ for which there are regular EPn reflexes in Mqa *hatuke* ‘sea urchin with big spines’ and Haw *haaku‘eku‘e* ‘slate pencil urchin’ as well as in CNO languages spoken near Kapingamarangi, e.g., Ngr *hatuke* ‘slate pencil urchin’.

The replacement of reflexes of **f* with reflexes of **m* is unusual and not likely due to parallel innovation. The distribution of */matuke/* in place of **fatuke* is geographic and not genetic. There is no reflex in Marquesic Mva with an initial */m/*. Mva *etuke* ‘sea porcupine, spines of the sea porcupine’

reflects PEPn **fatuke*, as do terms in both Mqa and Haw. There is also no form */matuke/* or */fatuke/* recorded from Nko, the language most closely related to Kap.

Doublets and geographic-based distribution that does not follow genetic subgrouping is indicative of borrowing. While the direction of borrowing is not absolutely clear, Kap lacks a doublet with the earlier form. Furthermore, the lack of the colour meaning in Kap and the lack of the colour meaning for the Mqa and Haw regular reflexes of **fatuke*, e.g., Haw *haa'uke'uke*, suggests that the colour meaning is a secondary development involving only Mqa and Haw that occurred after the initial borrowing.

EVIDENCE AGAINST BIFURCATED SETTLEMENT FROM A MYSTERY ISLAND

In describing the archaeology of Tikopia, Kirch and Swift (2017: 333) referenced Wilson (2012) as possibly supportive evidence for their suggestion that both East Polynesia and Outliers such as Tikopia may have been settled at the same late date from Central Western Polynesia. As shown below the linguistic evidence does not support a bifurcated settlement scenario.

Referred to here as *the Mystery Island,* a source location for simultaneous, or near simultaneous, settlement of the Outliers and East Polynesia would likely have had its own distinctive language developed over the "long pause" of at least 1,000 years from the original settlement of Central Western Polynesia to when East Polynesia was settled (Kirch 2010: 140; 2017: 194–99; Marck 1986). Within Marck's (1986) Overnight Voyage Hypothesis the distances of the five northern Central Western Polynesian island areas from each other predict that each would have developed its own separate language by the end of the long pause.

A very basic bifurcated settlement scenario could have the Mystery Island serving as the homeland from which early Polynesians set out for two areas: one the first settlement site/homeland of the Outlier languages (which we shall assume to be Tikopia based on Kirch and Swift 2017) and the other the first settlement site/homeland of PEPn (which we will assume to be the Society Islands based on Kahn and Sinoto 2017: 33; Kirch 2017: 199; Wilmshurst *et al*. 2011). Those settlers would all speak the same language as the people they left behind on the Mystery Island when they set out for Tikopia and for the Society Islands. Over time three new languages would develop in the three areas separated from each other by space and time.

The Mystery Island scenario faces the same problem as borrowing proposals in explaining the step innovations connecting EPn with the SSO and NO languages. Recall that EPn innovations are at the bottom of a series of nested innovation steps while SSO languages reflect the very beginning steps and NO languages reflect intermediate steps. Regardless of whether

settlers from the Mystery Island arrived in Tikopia and the Society Islands at the same time or at different times, all post-settlement innovations in the Outlier languages descended from that initial settlement in Tikopia (e.g., Tik and at least the NO languages) should move from the same linguistic base but in their own direction distinct from that of innovations of the EPn languages postdating the initial settlement in the Society Islands. That predicted outcome is contrary to the actual linguistic evidence, as illustrated in the derivation in Figure 4 and other figures and tables below. Those derivations indicate that innovations originating in the Northern Outliers feed by chronologically ordered steps into innovations found in languages in East Polynesia.

There is a further problem with a bifurcated-settlement hypothesis. A bifurcated settlement would result in a *three-way division* from an original Proto-Mystery Island Outlier–East Polynesian. The immediate three descendants would be PEPn, a *Proto-Outlier* and a *Pre-Mystery Island.* Later descendants from those initial three would be the contemporary EPn languages, the contemporary NO and SSO languages and the contemporary language of the Mystery Island. The contemporary language of the Mystery Island should therefore share distinctive innovations from the initial Proto-Mystery Island Outlier–East Polynesian stage with contemporary EPn and all descendant Outlier languages.

Sāmoa is the standard candidate as the point from which settlers departed for East Polynesia (Allen 2010: 152; Geraghty 2009: 446), yet Sam has not participated in innovations 4–15, nor in any others of the some 200 such innovations identified in Wilson (2012, 2014). Sāmoa therefore could not be the Mystery Island. Similarly none of the three other contemporary NPn languages of northern Central Western Polynesia, EUv, EFu and Nfo, have participated in those distinctive innovations, thus eliminating their homelands as the Mystery Island.

We might consider the possibility that Niuatoputapu was the Mystery Island. It is known that Ntp, a NPn language now extinct and poorly recorded, was once spoken there (Biggs 1971). A proposal that Ntp closely resembled PEPn would have to explain how Ntp could come to be so different from languages of nearby islands, especially that of its closest neighbour, Nfo (Dye 1980).

No matter what island is proposed as the Mystery Island, the same major challenges from the linguistic data remain. At present there is no body of linguistic evidence for any other hypothesis regarding the immediate origins of the EPn-speaking peoples anywhere as extensive as that supporting the NO-EPn Hypothesis.[3]

THE SOURCE OF PNO-EPN: PSSO-EPN SPOKEN IN THE SOUTHEAST SOLOMONS

Accepting that East Polynesia was settled from the Northern Outliers raises the question as to the source of the Northern Outlier languages themselves. A relationship to nearby Polynesian Outliers in the Southeast Solomons has been suggested (Wilson 2012: 346) and is now formally proposed with the first cognate sets of PSSO-EPn.

PSSO-EPn is seen as having split into PNO-EPn and Proto-Southeast Solomons Outlier (PSSO), the ancestor of Tik, Ren, Vae and Anu. As shown in Figure 2 by dashes between PSSO-EPn and PNPn, the question of a distinctive history between PSSO-EPn and any NPn language outside the NO-EPn subgroup is left open.

Table 4 below is a sample list of PSSO-EPn innovations and derivations, numbered 16–24. Those innovations include totally new words (17, 18), semantic extensions (16, 19, 20), phonological changes including additions and deletions (19, 20), and compounding or the addition of affixes (16, 20–24). Symbols in derivations include ">", indicating descent through time; "[[ ]]", enclosing a side branch away from the derivation directly to EPn languages as illustrated in Figure 2, and "( )", enclosing additional information.

Table 4. Some initially identified innovations of PSSO-EPn.

16. PNPn **kakai* 'sharp', **faka-kai* 'to sharpen' > PSSO-EPn **fakakai* 'bore a hole in the ear' [[> PSSO **fakakai* > Ren *hakakai* 'bore a hole in the ear']] > PNO-EPn **fakakai* 'ear ornament' [[> PCO **hakkai* > Nko *hakkai* 'earring']] > PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn, PEPn **fakakai* > Mao *whakakai*; Tua *fakakai*; Mqa *hakakai, ha'akai* 'ear ornament'.

17. PSSO-EPn **taatai* 'sling for water bottle' [[> PSSO **taatai* > Ren *taatai* 'sling as for a coconut water bottle']] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn **taatai* [[> Sik *taatai* 'string used to hang bottles']] > PCNO-EPn, PEPn **taatai* 'suspensions for various containers' > Rar *taatai* 'handle of a bucket, basket or cup'; Mqa *tatai* 'a belt from which to hang an item'; Haw *kaakai* 'strings by which a netted calabash is hung, bucket handle'.

18. PSSO-EPn **qaapulu* 'sink, drown' [[> PSSO **qaapulu* > Ren *'aapugu* 'sink, drown']] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **qaapulu* 'sink, especially of an overloaded canoe' [[> PCNO **qaapulu* > Tak *apuru* 'for a canoe to be full, have little freeboard, sink']] > PEPn **(q)aapuru* 'suffer from being crowded together, partially under water' > Mva *apuru* 'suffocated or smothered by pressure of a crowd'; Mao *aapuru* 'crowd together, overwhelm', Mao *kau aapuru* 'swim with the breaststroke' (Mao *kau* 'swim').

19. PNPn **lotu* ‘beat with a stick or hand on the surface of the sea’ > PSSO-EPn **lotu*, **lolotu* ‘downpour of heavy rain’ [[> PSSO **lolotu* > Ren *gogotu* ‘fall as a sudden straight rain’; Tik *rrotuu* ‘heavy, of rain’]] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn **lotu*, **lolotu* [[> Sik *llotu* (*te ua e llotu*) ‘to rain hard’)]] > PCNO-EPn **lotu*, **lolotu* > [[> PCO **lotu* > Lua *lo‘u* ‘pour with rain’ (*t > Lua /‘/ is irregular)]] > PEPn **rotu*, **rorotu* > Mqa *‘otu* ‘heavy rain’; Tah *rotu* ‘heavy rain of one day’s continuance’; Haw *loku*, *loloku*, *lokuloku* ‘downpour of rain’.

20. PPn, PNPn **laqofie* ‘good weather’ > PSSO-EPn **laqoi* ‘good’ [[> PSSO **laqoi* > Tik *laui*; Vae *lavoi*; Ren *gaboi* [4]]] > PNO-EPn **faka-laqoi* ‘cause goodness, improve’ > PSNO-EPn **faka-laqoi* ‘bring together people on bad terms to make their relationship better’ [[> Sik *haka-laoi* ‘bring together people to make their relationship better’]] > PCNO-EPn **kalaqoi* ‘make love magic, love magic’ (via back formation of **faka-laqoi* to **fa-kalaqoi*) [[> PCNO **kalaqoi* > Tak *karaoi* ‘love magic’]] > PEPn **kariqoi* ‘live a life of free sexual intercourse’ > Tua *karioi* ‘young person at period of free sexual intercourse’; Mqa *ka‘ioi* ‘lustful, sensual’.

21. PNPn **qafa* ‘tree species, *Neonauclea forsteri*’ (PPn **tea* ‘white’) > PSSO-EPn **qafa-tea* ‘type of high island tree’ [[> PSSO **qafatea* > Tik *afatea* ‘tree in hillside forests, *Nauclea orientalis*, *Neonauclea forsteri*’]] > PNO-EPn **qafatea* [[> PCO **qahatea* > Nko *ahatea* ‘driftwood species’]] > PCNO-EPn **qafatea* [[> PCNO **qafatea* > Tak *afatea* ‘a tree that drifts to Takuu’]] > PEPn **qafatea* > Tah *ahatea* ‘name of a tree used for keels of boats, *Nauclea* species’; Haw *‘ahakea* ‘inland tree, *Bobea* species’.

22. PSSO-EPn **k/qolo-pua* ‘tree species’ (PPn **pua* ‘tree with showy flowers’) [[> PSSO **kolopua* > Ren *kogopua* ‘a *Ficus* tree with heavy wood used for axe handles’]] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **k/qolopua* > PEPn **k/qoropua* > Haw *olopua* ‘a large native tree, *Osmanthus sandwicensis*’; Mao *koropuka* ‘a shrub, *Gaultheria antipoda*’ (epenthetic */k/* before final vowel).

23. PSSO-EPn **k/qolo-mea* (PPn **mea* ‘red’) ‘shrub species’ [[> PSSO **kolomea* > Ren *kogomea* ‘coral hibiscus’]] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **k/qolomea* > PEPn **qoromea* > Haw *olomea* ‘an inland shrub, *Perrottetia sandwicensis*’; Tah *oroea* ‘the name of a tree’ (irregular loss of */m/*); Mao *horoeka* ‘lancewood, *Pseudopanax crassifolius*’ (irregular loss of */m/*; epenthesis of */k/* before final vowel; irregular replacement of PPn **q* > reflex of **s*).[5]

24. PSSO-EPn **pae* ‘species of freshwater shrimp’ [[> PSSO > Ren *pae* ‘kind of freshwater shrimp, *Macrobrachium* species’]] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **pae* > PEPn **koo-pae* (PEPn **koo-* prefix added in creating species names) > Haw *‘oopae* ‘shrimp, especially freshwater species’.

Of unique interest among terms in Table 4 are 21–24, which involve high-island natural history. Geraghty (2009) investigated continuation of PPn terms for high-island flora relative to the NO-EPn Hypothesis, as one might not expect those living on atolls to know the names of high-island flora. However, regular voyaging to Tikopia was part of the traditional culture of NO-speaking peoples. Furthermore high-island tree logs that drifted to their home islands were known by species name and highly valued as material for canoe making (Moyle 2018). These NO cultural connections to high islands explain the continuation of PPn terms for high-island natural history into East Polynesia (Wilson 2012: 335–37). Uniquely shared terms for flora such as 21–23 and for freshwater fauna such as 24, not found in TO and Central Western NPn languages, are distinctive natural-history evidence of the source of the EPn-speaking peoples in the Southeast Solomons Outliers and their culturally associated neighbours in the Northern Outliers.

Moving from the Southeast Solomons through Atolls and on to East Polynesia

Innovations shared by the SSO, NO and EPn languages are not all reconstructed as initiated at a single time period or proto-language. Instead, they are ordered in Wilson (2012, 2014) under the series of named proto-languages given in Figure 2 as both evidence for and a model of important historically ordered points in the early settlement history of the Northern Outliers and then, at a later point, movement on to East Polynesia. Before examining examples of such proto-steps, provided below are implications of the NO-EPn Hypothesis regarding how the Northern Outliers were themselves settled and then served as the point from which settlement of East Polynesia occurred.

The evidence for PSSO-EPn indicates that the settlers of the Northern Outliers derived from a population speaking a distinct NPn language that had developed over a period of time somewhere in the Southeast Solomons. Initially a single early NO language derived from PSSO-EPn moved into the Northern Outliers and spread all the way through to Nukuoro. Its first linguistic split, marked by the immediately preceding PNO-EPn, occurred when the ancestor of the northernmost languages differentiated from the rest. That ancestor itself later split at the Proto-Carolinean Outlier (PCO) stage into Nko and Kap. The remaining early NO language split at a Proto-Solomons Northern Outlier–East Polynesian (PSNO-EPn) stage between what was to become Sik and a unified language ancestral to the CNO and EPn languages.

The PCNO-EPn stage marks the point when the early East Polynesians separated themselves from their relatives in the Central Northern Outliers by settling new lands to the east. A PCNO stage represents shared innovative developments of the CNO languages that occurred after the departure of the settlers of East Polynesia.

PEPn represents the shared innovative developments that occurred in East Polynesia before the breakup of that unity somewhere in East Polynesia. Green (1966) proposed that PEPn split between pre-Rpn (which developed into contemporary Rpn) and Proto-Central East Polynesian (PCEPn). Green then split PCEPn between Proto-Marquesic (PMQ) and Proto-Tahitic (PTA). Green proposed Mqa, Mva and Haw as the descendants of PMQ. His descendants of PTA are the remaining EPn languages, e.g., New Zealand Māori (Mao) and Tahitian (Tah). Features of Haw shared with TA languages were seen by Green as due to borrowing, although others have seen a likely Haw membership in TA (Elbert 1953: 169; Wilson 2014: 405, 408).[6]

We will now proceed to aspects of the derivations of grammatical constructions of NO and EPn and how they provide evidence for the above settlement history.

DERIVATIONS WITH STEP INNOVATIONS ILLUSTRATING CHRONOLOGY

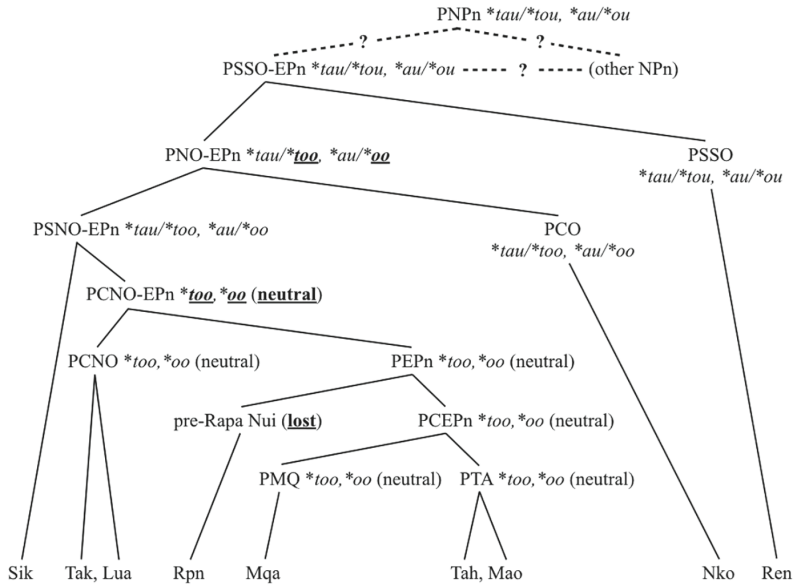
Proto-Nuclear Polynesian A/O Possessive Contrast Neutralised over Time

Figure 5 and especially Figure 6 illustrate detailed stages in the development of some of the possessive pronouns of NO and EPn (Wilson 1985; 2012: 303, 324–25). Figures 5 and 6 begin by illustrating how PNPn preposed definite pronouns marked the A/O contrast, e.g., **tau waka* 'your canoe (you built)' versus **tou waka* 'your canoe (you ride)' and also a contrast between singular and plural in possessed items, e.g., **tou waka* 'your canoe' versus **ou waka* 'your canoes'. Derivations then move downward through ordered innovations. The result is neutralisation of the A/O contrast reducing the number of possessive words in NO and EPn languages.

The innovations illustrated above include first an irregular phonological change of **-ou-* to **-oo-* at the PNO-EPn stage to produce the O-forms **too, *oo* 'your'. Later at the PCNO-EPn stage, a second step results in the former O-forms, **too, *oo* 'your', being chosen as new forms neutral for the A/O contrast, thus eliminating A-forms **tau*, **au*.

Related innovations not illustrated in Figure 5 eliminated the A/O contrast in the words for "my" and "his/her". However, in those cases the former A-forms **taku*, **aku* 'my' and **tana*, **ana* 'his/her' are chosen to be the new neutral forms, e.g., **taku waka* 'my canoe (which I built or ride)', **aku waka* 'my canoes (which I built or ride)'.

The arbitrary derivation of neutralised forms from former O-marking in one case and former A-marking in the other two cases was what first drew my attention to the Central Northern Outlier–East Polynesian (CNO-EPn) relationship (Wilson 1982). As illustrated in Table 5, out of eight choices for the set of three neutralised possessives, the same set (Set v below) is found in both CNO and EPn languages in innovations 25–27, e.g., Tak, Mao *taku*, *aku* 'my', *too*, *oo* 'your', *tana*, *ana* 'his, hers' (Wilson 2012: 318).



Sik *tau/too*, *au/oo*; Tak *too*, *oo*; Lua *koo*, *oo*; Rpn (lost); Mqa (same as Tak); Tah *too*, *too*; Mao (same as Tak); Nko (same as Sik); Ren *tau*, *teau/tou*, *teou*, *au/ou*.

Figure 5. Derivations from PNPn **tau/*tou*, **au/*ou* 'your' (you singular) in SSO-EPn.

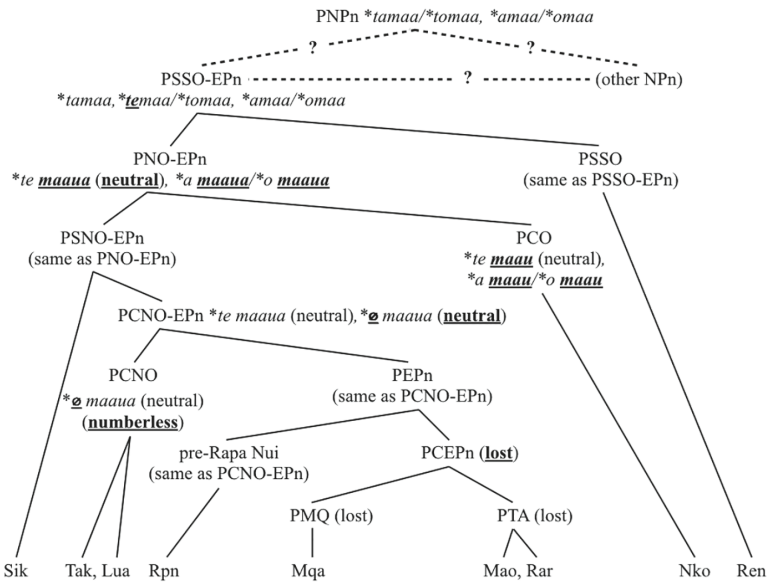
Table 5. PCNO-EPn singular pronoun neutralised possessives.

PSNO-EPn	PCNO-EPn	Possible Versus Actual Outcomes							
		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii
25. **taku/*toku*, **aku/*oku*	> **taku*, **aku* 'my'	A	O	O	A	[A]	O	A	O
26. **tau/*too*, **au/*oo*	> **too*, **oo* 'your'	A	O	A	O	[O]	A	A	O
27. **tana/*tona*, **ana/*ona*	> **tana*, **ana* 'his/her'	A	O	A	O	[A]	O	O	A

A More Complicated Neutralisation of the A/O Contrast

Four additional prenominal innovations among several more shared between the CNO and EPn languages (Wilson 1985) are illustrated in the derivations in Figure 6 resulting in PCNO-EPn innovations 28 **te maaua* 'our' (singular possessum) and 29 **θ maaua* 'our' (plural possessum). The derivation of innovations 28 **te maaua* and 29 **θ maaua* began in PSSO-EPn where the **-a-* possessive marker of **t-a-* came to have a phonological alternate **-e-*, producing **t-e-* before certain pronominal morphemes (e.g., **-maa* 'we exclusive dual').

The next two innovations are found at the PNO-EPn stage. First the short dual pronominal morpheme PSSO-EPn **-maa* is replaced with a longer form PNO-EPn **-maaua* 'we exclusive dual' (Wilson 1985: 116.) As a step innovation from PSSO-EPn, the earlier phonological alternative **t-e-* to PSSO-EPn **t-a-* comes to be identified with the singular definite determiner PNO-EPn **te* 'the'. It then replaces both **ta-* and **to-*, thus resulting in A/O neutralisation. The A/O contrast is still made in the plural, i.e., PNO-EPn **a maaua waka* 'our canoes (we built)' versus **o maaua waka* 'our canoes (we ride)' with A/O neutralisation solely in the singular, i.e., **te maaua waka* 'our canoe (which we built or ride)'.



Sik *te maaua*, *a maaua/o maaua*; Tak *maaua* (marks singular and plural possessums); Lua (same as Tak); Rpn *te maaua*, *maaua*; Mqa (lost); Mao, Rar (same as Mqa); Nko *te maau*, *amaau/omaau*; Ren *tamaa*, *temaa/tomaa*, *amaa/omaa*

Figure 6. Derivations from PNPn **tamaa/*tomaa*, **amaa/*omaa* 'our' (we exclusive dual) in SSO-EPn.

Table 6. Innovative PCNO-EPn first person dual exclusive pronominal possessives

28.	PNPn **tamaa/*tomaa* (thru PSSO-EPn) > PNO-EPn **te maaua* 'our' (single possessum)
29.	PNPn **amaa/*omaa* (thru PSSO-EPn) > PNO-EPn **θ maaua* 'our' (plural possessum)

At the PCNO-EPn stage, two new step innovations occur. First, for forms with **te* when used with a singular possessum there is now an extension of neutralisation to their equivalent with a plural possessum. This is accomplished by dropping the A/O morphemes **a*, **o* before the pronominal element **-maaua* 'we exclusive dual' (That deletion is indicated by a *θ* in Figure 6.) The result is PCNO-EPn **θ maaua waka* 'our canoes' versus PCNO-EPn **te maaua waka* 'our canoe', neither of which makes an A/O distinction.

More Innovations Occur after the PCNO-EPn Stage

The PCNO-EPn innovations illustrated in Figures and Tables 5 and 6 are taken as is into East Polynesia. Later pre-Rpn loses the neutral preposed possessives incorporating the singular pronominal morphemes, e.g., **too*, **oo* 'your*'* of Figure 5 and Table 5, while PCEPn loses the neutral preposed possessives incorporating the non-singular pronominal morphemes, e.g., **te maaua, *θ maaua* 'our' of Figure 6 and Table 6.[7]

In the Central Northern Outliers after the break-up of PCNO-EPn, a further innovation occurs at the PCNO level. For those preposed possessives incorporating non-singular pronominal elements, PCNO-EPn **te* is dropped. This results in some, but not all, A/O neutral possessives collapsing the distinction between singular and plural possessed nouns, e.g., PCNO **θ maaua waka* 'our canoes (also our single canoe)' versus PCNO **taku waka/*aku waka* 'my canoe'/'my canoes' (Wilson 1985: 112–14) .

Each and every one of over 200 innovations shared by EPn and NO languages can be plotted similarly to what is done in Figures 4, 5 and 6. The resulting dominant pattern produced is as in Figure 2, the genetic tree proposed as mapping over relative time and space the developments that lead to the distinctive pre-EPn language that the settlers of East Polynesia took with them from a departure point in the Central Northern Outliers. At each proto-language point innovations flow downward to the next descendant proto-language and eventually to a contemporary language.

Note that languages outside the direct line of descent to PEPn have their own distinctive step innovations outside of PEPn. For example, PSSO, the ancestor of Ren, diverges from the direct line of descent to PEPn right after the PSSO-EPn level. In Figure 5, the innovation Ren *teau* 'your' as a variant

of Ren *tau* 'your' < PNPn **tau* is highly distinctive and likely resulted from a local expansion of the PSSO-EPn **temaa*, **tamaa* alternation to use **t-e-* as a unit A-form possessive marking. However, the PNO-EPn innovation **t-e* > **te* as an A/O neutralising marker is at a lower level and flows into PEPn by way of PSNO-EPn and then PCNO-EPn, affecting such PCNO-EPn descendants as Nko, Sik and Rpn. The variant Ren *teou* for Ren *tou* < PNPn **tou* was likely later innovated based on innovative Ren *teau*.

MORE ON BORROWING: CONTACT SPHERES AND THE NORTHERN OUTLIERS

As reflected in their oral traditions, the Northern Outliers have clearly been part of a contact sphere with each other and with other Outlier and Western Polynesian atoll islands. Contact extended on to Central Western Polynesia (Bayliss-Smith 2012; Moyle 2007, 2018). Post-settlement borrowing across low-level genetically inherited subgroup lines clearly occurred within this contact sphere. One result when there is extensive borrowing over time is geographical groupings such as NO and SNO illustrated in Figure 1. These geographical groupings are akin to the development of a distinctive Eastern Fijian group of languages resulting from the split of Proto-Tokalau Fiji Polynesian after the settlement of Central Western Polynesia from Eastern Fiji (Geraghty 1983: 382–86; Wilson 2012: 324–325). Post-settlement borrowing can often be detected, however, by following innovations that cross over what are otherwise marked as lower-level settlement derived genetic subgroups and by noticing irregular groupings, which often form a variety of geographical patterns.

A Borrowing Involving Tuvaluan

An example of post–East Polynesian settlement borrowing among NO languages and a Western Polynesian atoll language is PPn **paqikea* 'type of crab' > */kaipea/*. This innovative metathesis is reflected in the doublet Tuv *kaipea*, *paikea* and in the CNO languages Tak, Nkm *kaipea* and Lua *aapea* but not in Ngr *paekea* (Howard 1981: 112). Thus Ngr, the CNO language furthest to the west, retains the older form */paikea/*, while an irregular group of languages located in the southeast reflect the more recently created and borrowed metathesis */kaipea/*. Following PPn **paqikea* through the descent lines into EPn reveals solely cognates parallel to Ngr *paekea*, that is, without the metathesis, e.g., Tuamotuan (Tua) *paikea*, Rpn *pikea*. This distribution indicates that PCNO-EPn, the immediate ancestor of PCNO, retained **paikea* parallel to Ngr *paekea*.

A Borrowing Involving Kapingamarangi

An example of *grammatical* borrowing in Kap further illustrates how following dominant patterns indicating lines of descent are useful in determining borrowing. As a descendant of PCO with Nko, Kap is expected to share forms with Nko. However, Kap *ti mau*, *θ mau* 'our (we exclusive dual)' contrasts with Nko *te maau, a maau/o maau* 'our' < PCO **te maau*, **a maau/*o maau* < PNO-EPn **te maaua*, **a maaua/*o maaua.* Comparison with other NO-EPn languages shows pre-Kap *ti mau*, *θ mau* to be a borrowing of a pre-CNO continuation of PCNO-EPn **te maaua*, **θ maaua*. As seen in Figure 1, Kap is spoken on an island near the CNO languages, providing Kap access to borrowing from those languages.

Note, however, that the borrowing was not from contemporary CNO languages but from a pre-CNO language with the same possessives as PCNO-EPn. Figure 6 illustrates that PCNO collapsed PCNO-EPn **te maaua*,**θ maaua* as PCNO **θ maaua*, the direct ancestor of contemporary CNO possessives. Because the borrowing Kap *ti mau*, *θ mau* occurred at an earlier time, it is the only contemporary witness among NO languages of the stage PCNO-EPn **te maaua*, **θ maaua* and its continuation for a period in pre-CNO. Due to other developments in the core proto-language line, the only other contemporary witness is Rpn *te maaua*, **θ maaua*, found thousands of kilometres to the southeast of Kap.

A Borrowing Involving Tokelauan

Yet another example of borrowing within the contact sphere in which NO languages participated involves Tok and the name of a fish. The origin of that name is a semantic expansion from the newly reconstructed PSSO-EPn innovation below, 30 PSSO-EPn **ngangafu* 'bite'.

30. PPn **ngafua* 'free from taboo' [[> PTO **ngafua* > Ton *ngofua*]] > PNPn **ngafua* [[> Sam *ngafua*]] > PSSO-EPn **ngafua* 'free from taboo with reference to food' and its derivatives **ngafu*, **ngangafu* 'bite' [[> PSSO **ngafua* 'free from a food taboo'; **ngafu*, **ngangafu* 'bite' > Ren *ngangahu* 'bite'; Tik *ngafua* 'licit, appropriate, usually of food, opposite of *tapu*, hence edible', Tik *ngafungafu* 'food in famine, though not good, kept for children to chew on as snacks, and revive them']] > PNO-EPn **ngafu*, **ngangafu* 'bite' [[> PCO *reflex uncertain* > Nko *ngngahu* 'damselfish' (possible borrowing from Tak)]] > PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **ngafu*, *ngangafu* 'bite' [[> PCNO *reflex uncertain* > Tak *nnahu* 'damselfish, not eaten or used as bait' (possible borrowing from Nko)]] > PEPn **ngafu*, **ngangafu* 'bite' > Haw *nahu*, *nanahu*, *nahunahu*; Mqa *kakahu*; Tah *'aa'aahu*.

The semantic expansion of a reflex of PNO-EPn ***ngangafu*** 'bite' to mean 'damselfish' can be related to damselfish being considered worthless fish which *bite off* bait. The distribution of this semantic expansion is geographic, not genetic, and also involves doublets with reflexes of PPn ***tukuku*** 'small reef fish' in both Tak and Nko. Because ***ngangafu*** 'damselfish' is not found in EPn, Sik or SSO languages, this innovative semantic expansion must have surfaced in Nko or Tak after the settlement of East Polynesia. Although derived from PNO-EPn ***ngangafu*** 'bite' it is not clear whether ***ngangafu*** 'damselfish' was innovated within the CO subgroup {Nko} or in the CNO subgroup {Tak}, but it was borrowed between these nearby languages from different subgroups. It was then borrowed beyond NO into Tok as Tok *ngangafu* 'damselfish'.[8]

Tracing Borrowing Through Both Meaning And Form

Another example of borrowing involves a late change in meaning from 'wrist' to 'elbow' in reconstruction 31 PNO-EPn ***puku-lima*** below. This new meaning spread among SNO languages Ngr, Tak, Lua and Sik and from them to Vae. An older term for 'elbow', PPn ***tuke-qi-lima***, is reconstructed as continuing through PSSO-EPn, PCNO-EPn and PEPn based on Tik *tukerima*, Nko *tukilima* and Mqa *tuke'ima*.

31. PNO-EPn ***puku-lima*** 'wrist' (PPn ***puku*** 'protuberance, lump, swelling'; PPn ***lima*** 'hand, arm') > [[PCO ***pukulima*** > Kap *pukulima*; Nko *kupulima* 'wrist' > PSNO-EPn ***pukulima*** [[> Sik *pukulima* 'elbow' (possibly a borrowing from a CNO language)]] > PCNO-EPn ***pukulima*** [[PCNO ***pukulima*** (meaning uncertain) > Tak *pukurima* 'elbow' (possibly a borrowing from Sik)]] > PEPn ***pukurima*** 'wrist' > Rpn *pukupuku rima*; Haw *puulima*.

ETHNOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR AN OUTLIER SOURCE FOR EPN SPEAKERS

Shared innovations in language, while very significant,[9] are not the sole distinctive features linking the Central Northern Outliers to East Polynesia. Kirch and Green (2001: 72) provide a list of cultural traits distinguishing East Polynesia from (Central) Western Polynesia. Several of the traits listed as East Polynesian are also characteristic of the Central Northern Outliers. Among those traits are stone or wooden food pounders, large anthropomorphic carved god figures, *Ruvettus* hooks and upturned canoe ends (Parkinson [1907] 1999: 229, 234–37). There are other shared distinctive cultural traits, some marked by linguistic innovations. For example, Parkinson ([1907] 1999: 229) lists among the gods of Nuguria (Nukeria) one named *Atea*, who "has his position

in the morning star and makes sunshine and good weather". This term has East Polynesian cognates allowing for PCNO-EPn reconstruction 32 below:

32. PCNO-EPn **Qaatea* 'male spiritual being associated with the sky' [[> PCNO **Qaatea* > Ngr *Atea* 'god associated with the sky']] > PEPn **Qaatea* 'male ancestor and creator often associated with the sky' > EPn: Mqa *Atea*; Tah, Pen *Aatea*; Rar, Tua *Vaatea* (Marck 1996, 2000).

There is the possibility that the Nukeria god's name *Atea* was borrowed from an EPn source. However, another shared spiritual belief found in both areas, listed as reconstruction 33 below, is highly unlikely to have been borrowed. Parkinson ([1907] 1999: 229) describes this belief relating to Nkm *vaelani* as follows: "On Nukumanu they know higher spirits that live in Ba e lagi. Ba e lagi is an indefinite concept; it signifies both the residence of the spirit and the spirit itself … the souls of the dead strive to reach [Ba e lagi]."

33. PSSO-EPn **waqe-langi* 'horizon' (PPn **waqe* 'leg'; PPn **langi* 'sky') [[> PSSO **waqelangi* > Ren *ba'egangi* 'horizon'; Tik *vaerangi* 'sky; weather; foreign parts']] > PNO-EPn, PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **waqelangi* 'horizon, spiritual place' [[> PCNO **waqelangi* > Tak *vaelani* 'horizon'; Nkm *vaelani* 'heaven']] > PEPn **feqerangi* 'horizon, spiritual homeland' > Haw *Hoolani* 'mythological land of gods'; also Haw *Kuaihelani* (*kua-i-helani*, lit. 'beyond-at-*helani*) 'mythological land of gods'; Mva *Erangi* 'Pitcairn Island'; Puk *welangi* 'horizon' (archaic form marked phonologically as a borrowing from EPn).

The derivation PCNO-EPn **waqelangi* > PEPn **feqerangi* involves irregular phonological changes in PEPn attested in the history of other PEPn terms.[10] The difference in phonological form and the geographic spread of this term in EPn, CNO and SSO makes it an unlikely borrowing in either direction.

A distinctive Central Northern Outlier artefact that links closely with East Polynesia is a type of whalebone hand club from Nukumanu and Takuu called Nkm, Tak *paraa-moa* (lit. 'chicken feather/wing') (Moyle 2011; Parkinson [1907] 1999: 237). This club has a form similar to a weapon diagnostic of early East Polynesian cultural sites (Allen 2010: 152; Kirch 1986). The term for this weapon in Mao is *patu* or *mere*, but when made of whalebone, it is also called a *paraaoa*, the same term as Nkm, Tak *paraamoa* minus its */m/*. As shown in reconstruction 34 below, Mao *paraaoa* has widespread EPn cognates.

34. PCNO-EPn **palaamoa* 'whalebone club' [[> PCNO **palaamoa* > Tak, Nkm *paraamoa* 'fighting club often made of whalebone']] > PEPn **paraaoa* 'whalebone club; whalebone; whale' (irregular loss of */m/*) > Mao *paraaoa* 'whalebone club, whalebone, whale'; Mqa *pa'aoa* 'porpoise, whale'; Tua *paraaoa* 'whale'.

The correspondence between Nkm *paraamoa* and PEPn **paraaoa* is highly unlikely to represent some chance parallel word compounding. PCNO-EPn **paraa* has been replaced as the word for "wing" throughout EPn, and PEPn **-oa* < **moa* 'chicken' is meaningless without the */m/*.

In discussing East Polynesian archaeology, Allen (2010: 152, 159–61) and Sinoto (1983) have noted that the earliest material culture assemblages from the area include features such as the short hand club of the sort described above and highly developed fishing technology. Kirch 2017 (202–3) has reiterated that the fishing technology of early East Polynesian peoples as revealed in archaeological research includes "a wider range of fishing gear than had been present in immediately preceding Ancestral Polynesian communities in Samoa or Tonga".

Atolls like the Northern Outliers which depend more upon the ocean for their sustenance than do high island areas such as Sāmoa can be expected to have a more developed level of fishing technology than Sāmoa (Wilson 2012: 354). The NO-EPn Hypothesis predicts that if excavations are carried out in the Central Northern Outliers, they should produce material culture, including fishing technology, similar to the earliest material culture excavated in East Polynesia. A PNO-EPn lexical innovation relating to fishing is given below as reconstruction 35.

35. PNO-EPn**kawiti* 'barb lashed onto a bonito lure and its distinctive lashing typically involving two holes' > [[PCO **kawiti* > Nko *kaviti* 'barb on a pearl-shell hook']] > PSNO-EPn, PCNO-EPn **kawiti* [[> PCNO **kawiti* >Tak *kaaviti* 'pattern of alternating holes and crossbars carved on the end of a traditional canoe and under the seats of some wooden stools']] > PEPn **kawiti* > Tua *kaviti* 'the complete pearl-shell bonito lure'; Rar *kaviti* 'barb of the pearl-shell hook, also cord used to tie bait on a hook'; Mqa *keviti* 'human bone hook for bonito'.

Besides distinctive expertise in fishing, the early peoples of the Central Northern Outliers appear to have been expert navigators. Mastery of long-distance voyaging to Tikopia was evident among their descendants living in the Central Northern Outliers at initial European contact (Bayliss-Smith 2012). There are also Takuu traditions of travel to Fiji and Sāmoa (Moyle 2007: 22–30; 2011; 2018). While other Polynesian peoples have traditions of long-distance navigation and might have been able to travel to East Polynesia and settle that huge area (Montenegro *et al.* 2016), the peoples of the Central Northern Outliers stand out from all others in the distinctive connection between their languages and the languages of East Polynesia.

Figure 7 illustrates the locations of Central Western Polynesia, the Western Polynesian atolls and the Outliers along with the huge East Polynesia area.

* * *

The NO-EPn Hypothesis that East Polynesia was settled from the Central Northern Outliers has been strengthened here with several newly identified shared CNO-EPn linguistic innovations, some of which can be related to distinctive shared cultural features. Besides linguistic, natural-history and ethnological evidence in support for the NO-EPn Hypothesis, there is also recent support from biological anthropology in the form of shared distribution of mtDNA and Y-chromosome lineages between the current populations of Luangiua and the Society Islands.

Expansion of the NO-EPn Hypothesis is linguistically supported to include a new higher-order subgroup and proto-language: Proto-Southeast Solomons Outlier–East Polynesian with eleven initial PSSO-EPn reconstructions (16-24, 30, 33). Besides the Northern Outlier and East Polynesian languages, descendants include Tikopian, Anutan, Vaeakau-Taumako and Rennellese.

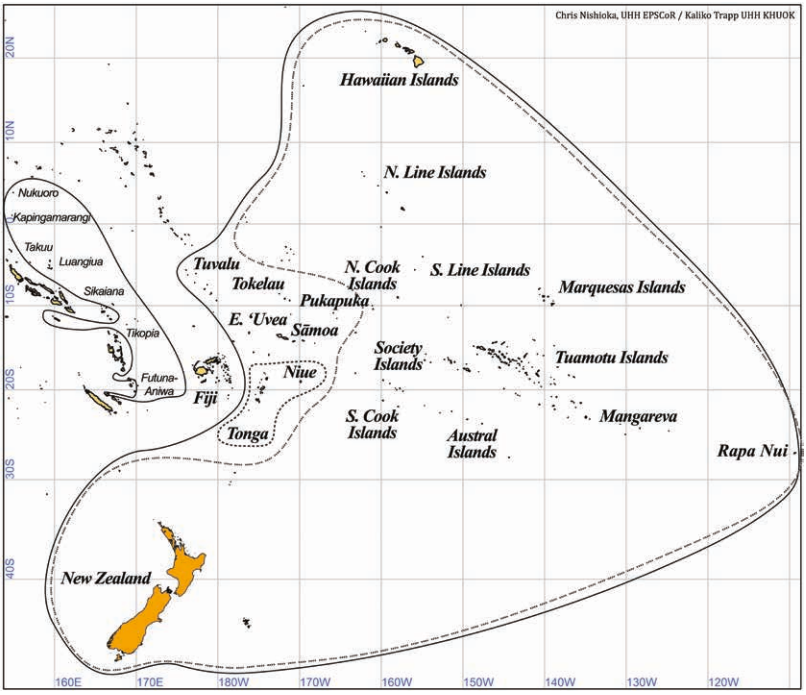


Figure 7. Triangle Polynesia and the Outliers.

Neither borrowing nor bifurcated settlement from some location in Central West Polynesia provides an adequate alternative to the NO-EPn Hypothesis to explain the over 200 distinctive innovations shared by NO and EPn languages. The distribution of those innovations in nested subgroups indicates linguistic and cultural development over a considerable period of time in a region far to the northwest of Tonga and Sāmoa followed by movement out to settle East Polynesia.

The NO-EPn Hypothesis aligns with the recent consensus among archaeologists that East Polynesia was settled quite late in history relative to the settlement of Central Western Polynesia. Furthermore, it provides a means for the many innovations distinguishing East Polynesian languages from those of Central Western Polynesia to develop before a rapid dispersal of East Polynesian languages not long after initial colonisation of East Polynesia.

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NOTES

1. All Polynesian language data used is taken from Wilson (2012, 2014) and POLLEX (Greenhill and Clark 2011, accessed 26 June 2018), and supplemented by sources listed in Appendix 1. The unified spelling system used here for that cited data indicates long vowels and consonants through letter doubling, the velar nasal with an [*ng*] digraph, and the glottal stop with a single open quotation mark [‘] for modern languages and a [*q*] for proto-languages. Other than the above and using [p], [t] and [k] for short consonants in CO languages, spelling follows the orthographies of individual languages. Abbreviations used for proto-languages, language families and languages are taken from Wilson (2014) with the addition of PSSO-EPn and PSSO. Readers unfamiliar with contemporary reflexes of PPn phonemes in various Polynesian proto- and contemporary languages are directed to Marck (2000: 23–24).
2. Reconstructions central to the core arguments of this article are numbered as part of a single series to provide ease of cross-reference.
3. Other explanations for the shared innovations of EPn and NO languages, such as settlement of the Northern Outliers from East Polynesia, also face major challenges from the nested nature of the data (Wilson 2012).
4. There is an irregular change **q* > **w* in Ren *gaboi* < PSSO-EPn **laqoi* ‘good’ (innovation 20). That same change also occurs in PPn **quti* ‘bite’ > Ren *buti* ‘nibble’ and in PPn **laqu* ‘get by hooking’ > Ren *gabu* ‘catch, also entwine as a vine’.

5. A number of irregular phonological changes are found in innovations 21–23 and discussed here. Irregular loss of */m/* is not uncommon in EPn languages, e.g., PPn **kumete* 'wooden bowl' > Mangaian (Mng) *kuete* and innovation 34 PCNO-EPn **palaamoa* 'fighting club often made of whalebone' > PEPn **paraaoa* 'whalebone club, whalebone, whale'. Similarly not uncommon in EPn is the empenthasis of a reflex of PPn **k* before a final vowel, e.g., PEPn **teeraa* 'that' > Mao *teeraka*; Haw *pololei*, *polole'i* 'correct'. Less common but still irregular changes in EPn languages are PPn **q* > reflexes of **k*, and PPn **q* > reflexes of **s*, e.g., PNPn **mata-qara* 'alert' > Haw *maka'ala*; PPn **qatule* 'a mackerel-like fish' > Mao *hauture* 'jack mackerel'; PPn **qafa* 'net spacer' > Haw *haha*.
6. While I have some of my own ideas on the subject of EPn subgrouping, I follow Green (1966) here rather than Walworth (2014). EPn evidence provided in innovations 4 and 7 argues against Walworth's complete elimination of Green's TA and Marquesic (MQ) subgroups.
7. A PEPn innovation allowed the optional substitution of elliptical possessives (e.g., PNPn, PEPn **taqau/*toqou* 'yours' > Mao *taau/toou* for the A/O neutralising preposed possessives (e.g., PEPn **too* 'your' > Mao *too*). Elliptical possessives then completely replaced different preposed possessives in different EPn languages (Wilson 1985; 2012: 315).
8. Doublets in the Tok possessive system also suggest NO influence. Some Tok possessives look like reconstructed PNPn forms and others like NO forms.
9. Space limitations preclude including all newly identified innovations shared by EPn with NO and SSO languages. Within this article innovations 16–24 and 30–35 are either newly discovered or newly integrated into the NO-EPn Hypothesis. Innovations 16, 17, 18 and 20 have been moved up to PSSO-EPn from lower-level proto-languages identified in Wilson (2012, 2014).
10. The irregular changes found in innovation 33 PSSO-EPn **waqe-langi* 'horizon' > PEPn **feqerangi* > Haw *hoolani* occur in other EPn terms. For **-aqe-* > **-eqe-*, note PPn **taqe* 'not' > Mao *tee*; PPn **saqele* 'walk' > Haw *hele.* For **w* > **f*, recall innovation 4 PNO-EPn **kawiti* 'ghost crab' > PTA **koofiti*. The change **-fe-* > Haw *ho-* is also found in PNO-EPn **fenua* 'land' > Haw *honua*.

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APPENDIX 1: DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS CONSULTED

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ABSTRACT

The linguistics-based Northern Outliers–East Polynesian (NO-EPn) Hypothesis contrasts with the commonly held view that East Polynesia was settled from the Tonga-Sāmoa region. It proposes the Northern Outliers, especially the Central Northern Outliers, to be the homeland from which East Polynesia was settled. Added here to the three nested subgroups of the NO-EPn linguistic tree is a new Southeast Solomons Outlier–East Polynesian subgroup encompassing all previous languages

covered by the Hypothesis as well as certain other Outliers to the south. Recent evidence from ethnology, natural history and biological anthropology is provided in further support of the NO-EPn Hypothesis. The possibility of borrowing between East Polynesian and Northern Outlier languages explaining the over 200 linguistic innovations uniquely shared by them is shown to be untenable. Also shown to be untenable is the possibility of simultaneous bifurcated settlement of East Polynesia and the Outliers from a source in the Tonga-Sāmoa area.

Keywords: Polynesian origins, East Polynesia, Polynesian Outliers, Oceanic migrations, historical linguistics

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UNEAPA ISLAND SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY: A RECONSTRUCTION

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> This is what used to happen before. You didn't just make anyone the leader of a community. The path from the ancestors was marked. Their name in our language is *tumbuku*. If you call the genealogies you will find them. In the old system everyone in the community had their place, but now we have elections and make our selection in terms of ability. (Robert Bate, Penata, Uneapa, 1986)

The Vitu (Witu) Islands lie 60 km northwest of the Willaumez Peninsula, West New Britain, Papua New Guinea. Five of the eight largest islands are inhabited. Uneapa, also called Bali or Unea, is the southernmost of the group. Almost circular and 30 km^2 in area, it is the second-largest but most populous of the islands. The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct Uneapa society as it existed at the end of the 19th century before intensive European contact. I argue that in pre-contact times Uneapa was a ranked society with hereditary chiefs, but that 120 years of internal and external change have transformed it. I describe the historical society, including a war involving the whole island that illustrates its dynamics, discuss transformations that occurred following intensive European contact and briefly note the significance of a hierarchical society in the island's location.

Although Sahlins (1963: 287) admitted that not all Melanesian societies were "constrained and truncated in their evolution" and that chiefly systems existed in the region, his analytical model identifying big-men with Melanesia and chiefs with Polynesia has often been accepted as definitive. Authoritative studies of Melanesian societies led by big-men encouraged researchers to expect big-men and to characterise leaders as such even if they did not entirely fit Sahlins's model. Latterly, more attention has been paid to the apportionment of ascription and achievement in Melanesian and Polynesian societies as, in varying degrees, all societies include both. As Marcus (1989: 176) explained, even Polynesian chiefs had to satisfy their subjects' expectations as exemplary as well as sacred beings. In Melanesian societies, hereditary leaders of local descent groups, experts such as warriors and ritual specialists, and the children of big-men made use of their positions to achieve big-man status. Even Siuai *mumi*, the prototype for Sahlins's big-man, required membership of a powerful matrilineage and high-ranking sponsors to achieve success (Oliver [1955] 1967: 441).

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It has been argued, based on linguistic reconstruction and ethnography, that when Austronesian speakers arrived in Melanesia their societies were ranked and were led by chiefs (Pawley 1982; Scaglion 1996). Although Chowning (1991: 63) and Lichtenberk (1986) expressed reservations about whether chiefs existed in this early period, many societies certainly possessed them at a later date. Ethnographic and archaeological evidence for religious sites, horticultural intensification, fortifications and regional trading suggests that complex societies were common (Sand 2002). Hierarchies appeared most developed in Vanuatu and New Caledonia where Austronesians were the first settlers (Stevenson and Dodson 1995), and Bellwood (1996) suggested that these evolved further during migration to Polynesia. In contrast, migrants remaining in Western Melanesia created societies that emphasised achievement due to the "strong influence and even cultural take-over of social networks by Papuan-speakers" (Bellwood 1996: 23). An alternative argument is that originally, neither Austronesian nor non-Austronesian speakers lived in societies led by big-men, and the big-man role developed later when ambitious men took advantage of new opportunities and resources brought by outsiders and consolidated sufficient power to replace traditional leaders.

There is considerable disagreement about how indigenous societies were influenced by innovations introduced by Austronesian speakers at first settlement (Specht *et al*. 2014), but two later stimuli encouraging achieved leadership have been proposed. In both cases, new resources and knowledge moved through local networks even before intensive contact (Spriggs 2008). When the sweet potato arrived in the New Guinea Highlands from Indonesia in the 18th century, Strathern (1987, 1993) suggested that exploitation of this new resource led to the emergence of big-men who displaced great men, leaders with ritual or martial expertise. Referring to coastal and island Melanesia, Keesing (1992: 187) argued that "processes that produced the Melanesian big-man had in fact been operating through the millennium preceding European invasion, as an older system of hereditary chiefdoms".

In the 19th and 20th centuries, blackbirding and introduced diseases led to depopulation in these regions, opening communities to radical political change. Later, colonial governments both hindered traditional routes to power and created new ones that favoured non-traditional leaders (Sand 2002; Spriggs 2008). Thurnwald (1951) personally observed a decrease in social differentiation in Buin between 1907 and 1934. Keesing (1992) demonstrated how one 19th-century Malaita big-man, Kwaisulia, had exploited both his traditional status and new opportunities to achieve prominence. Besides human agency, it is likely that over the centuries, tsunamis and volcanism, typical of this area, have precipitated social change favouring innovative leaders. Due to these various processes, emphases on

ascription and achievement in some Melanesian societies now differ more or less radically from the past (Douglas 1979: 5).

While some hierarchical societies were transformed, others, both Austronesian- and non-Austronesian-speaking, persisted in Northwest New Guinea, including the Sepik, offshore islands such as Manam and the Schoutens, the south-central and southeastern coastal regions of Papua, including the Trobriands, the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands (Allen 1984; Hau'ofa 1971; Lutkehaus 1990; Malinowski [1922] 1961; H.M. Ross 2005). Even where big-men came to dominate, positions supported by ascription continued (e.g., Blythe 1979; Epstein 1969; H.M. Ross 2005).

CLUES TO THE PAST

Historical accounts, recent archaeological research and oral history collected during fieldwork in 1975 and 1986 provide clues to Uneapa's past. Abel Tasman discovered the Vitu Islands for Europe in 1643 and D'Entrecasteaux visited in 1793, but neither landed (Bodrogi 1971: 47). Captain John Hayes of the British East India Company may have passed the islands in 1793 (Griffin 1990: 165). In 1830, Captain Benjamin Morrell abducted a young man from Uneapa, Dako, after his canoe capsized during an offshore engagement of cannons against slingshots (Fairhead 2015: 7; Keeler 1828–31: Log No. 339; A.J. Morrell 1833: 205; B. Morrell 1832: 466). Dako and a captive from Ninigo were taken to the USA and displayed as cannibals in popular shows. An early ethnographer, Theodore Dwight, who wrote two short articles (Dwight 1834, 1835) based on conversations with Dako, reported that Uneapa was composed of chiefdoms that warred within the island but traded peacefully with the other Vitu Islands and mainland New Britain. He identified Dako as the son of a chief living on one of Uneapa's three mountains.

Morrell, who had visions of establishing an American colony in the Vitu Islands, took Dako home in1834 (Fairhead 2015: 160). Selim Woodworth (1834–35) and Thomas Jefferson Jacobs (1844), who served on Morrell's ship, the *Margaret Oakley*, described their exploration of the Vitu Islands, the New Britain coast, the Vitiaz Strait and Northeast New Guinea. Jacobs's (1844) report included fantasy elements such as ruined cities and a snarling panther and erroneously reported that Dako became king of Uneapa. However, local accounts do confirm that Dako succeeded to his father's chiefdom in the south of the island. Jacobs describes how Dako led him through "a handsome garden with walks of coral sand and fences of bamboo worked with the form of diamond lattices and then into his palace where he introduced me to his two wives" (Jacobs 1844: 272). Discounting the royal terminology, it appears that Dako had a superior house and sufficient status to practice polygyny. Later literature gives minimal information about Uneapa social structure.

Parkinson ([1907] 1999) described material culture, and German records briefly document land alienation, development of commercial plantations and the establishment of government administration. Among more recent writers, Blythe (1992, 1995) discussed mythology, Lattas (2001, 2005) described the local cargo cult and Fairhead (2015) and Blythe and Fairhead (2017), first contact with Europeans.

Archaeological surveys (Torrence *et al*. 2002; Torrence and Neall 2004) revealed several defensive works and re-examined the anthropomorphic stone carvings in Malangai Village previously described by Riebe (1967). These could be considered signs of social differentiation, but during further archaeological investigation Byrne (2008) suggested that pre-contact Uneapa was egalitarian. She disagreed with "the social evolutionary perspectives that monument-building equates with chiefdoms" and noted that "Uneapa's monumental landscape could have been built up over time by a non-hierarchical, egalitarian society" (p. 279). Nevertheless, she pointed out that archaeological evidence did not support Sahlins's (1963: 287) contention that big-man systems were made up of "small, separate and equal political blocs" or that "the tribal plan is one of politically unintegrated segments" (Byrne 2008: 243). She argued that since locale patterning was unique within each clan, clans might have different roles, and that while big-man status is not usually inherited, control of meeting places "was perhaps inherited from ancestors, as suggested by named [stone] seats associated with lineages" (p. 245). The implications were that ascription did play a significant role in Uneapa society and that there were more inclusive political units than the clan.

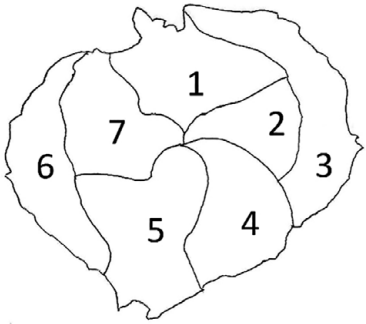
UNEAPA SOCIETY

During fieldwork in 1975 and 1986, my doubts about whether Uneapa society had been egalitarian were aroused because some people were excellent genealogists who had learned *nanata* 'stories of families' from their parents and were knowledgeable about traditional culture and island history while others knew very little about their forebears. The experts proved to be men and women with high rank in their descent groups. They described a society led by *tumbuku*,[1] who were hereditary chiefs rather than big-men. Good genealogists could recall 8 to 22 generations of hereditary leaders. In Tok Pisin, they often called these leaders big-men, the generic term for anyone with high social status, but referred to senior *tumbuku* as kings and queens. Their information revealed that three major elements factored into Uneapa social organisation: locality, descent and rank. Each was relevant to the political strategies pursued by individuals and groups.

Location

Uneapa was well populated in the 19th century, but it is hard to estimate numbers. The death toll from disease, including the 1897 smallpox epidemic that devastated Garove and Mundua, the largest and third-largest of the Vitu Islands (Groves 1925: ch. 13 p. 5; Parkinson [1907] 1999: 49), is unknown. A 1901 Malaria Patrol placed the population of Uneapa between 1,000 and 3,000 (Bodrogi 1971: 49). Given the complexity of Uneapa social organisation and the number of settlements named, the population was perhaps over 1,500.

Uneapa's encircling crater wall and the three mountains that rise within —Kumbu, Tamongone and Kumburi—form natural boundaries that likely influenced the formation of local groups. The building blocks of Uneapa society were the territories of the descent groups that Byrne (2008) called clans. These were subdivided into sub-clan or lineage territories, and within these, extended families lived in scattered hamlets. Several clans, considered descendants of common ancestors, united in regional alliances named for their combined fighting forces (Fig. 1). Modern Uneapa oral historians described them as armies or police forces. The seven alliances included inland and coastal areas, and landlocked clans had access to the sea, with permission, through the territory of allies.



1. Vundakumbu (north face of Mt Kumbu)
2. Tanekare (Mt Tamongone)
3. Vundapenata (north and east crater wall and Mt Kumburi)
4. Tsinegaro (east face of Mt Kumburi)
5. Magarogaro (south face of Mt Kumbu)
6. Givololo (western crater wall)
7. Nalokaloka (west slope of Mt Kumbu and valley floor).

Figure 1. Regional alliances.

Conventionally, West and East Uneapa were considered rivals with Vundakumbu, Vundapenata and Tanekare opposing Givololo, Tsinegaro, Magarogaro and Nalokaloka. In practice, island politics were more complex. In modern Uneapa, a division into West and East Uneapa remains, but alliances no longer exist. The administration recognises 13 communities. These usually consist of a large nucleated village and several hamlets. The Seventh Day Adventist villages of Nidoko and Nigilani and the Kalt Misin (Cult Mission) village at Nikalava are associated administratively with Rukaboroko, Penata and Monopo respectively.[2] Table 1 lists the modern villages included in the old alliance territories.

Table 1. Alliances and modern villages.

Alliance	Modern villages
Vundakumbu (north face of Mt Kumbu)	Makiri, Rukaboroko, Nibonde, Nidoko
Tanekare (Mt Tamongone and land to the north)	Tamongone
Vundapenata (north and east crater wall, east face of Mt Kumburi)	Kumburi 2, Navandau (aka Paliankumburi or Matapupuro), Penataketinerave
Tsinegaro (east face of Mt Kumburi)	Malangai
Magarogaro (south/southeast face of Mt Kumbu)	Penatabotong, Kumburi 1, Nalagaro
Givololo	Penata, Monopo, Nigilani, Nikalava
Nalokaloka (The Airfield; west slope of Mt Kumbu and valley floor)	There are no major settlements. The majority of the land was alienated for the Bali plantation.

A problem in reconstructing the past is that modern villages only partly replicate alliances. As Byrne (2008) noted, at least seven clans were displaced by the Bali plantation, forcing resident members to relocate. Modern nucleated villages are usually composed of members of clans that would previously

have belonged to the same alliance, but sometimes clans that supported different alliances moved in together.[3] As well, some modern villages have shifted their locations since they were first established. The ancestors of Tamongone residents were allies in Tanekare but the modern village is in Vundakumbu territory. Today, unless prompted, islanders casually use the names of modern villages rather than those of alliances or local clans when discussing historical events.

Descent

Regional and clan territories were owned by kin groups thought to be descended from powerful pre-humans called *vuvumu*. Regional founders were usually beyond the range of genealogical memory, but their stories structured social geography, including hierarchy at the most inclusive level. Vundakumbu, the alliance located on the north face of Mt Kumbu, had precedence. Its founders, Puruele and his wife Gilime, who resided at Vunakambiri, a settlement in Niparaha, literally 'The Place of the Big-Men', were considered to have originated Uneapa society because they divided the island among their children. Bito Rave explained, "It [Niparaha] is the father of all Bali because the ancestors spread from there and filled the island."

Within regions, clans and sometimes sub-clans were considered to have supernatural origins. Pulata, "the king of everyone", Puruele's firstborn in some accounts, is said to have assigned his children to various parts of Mt Kumbu, directing his firstborn, also called Pulata, to remain at Vunakambiri as *tumbuku vindika* 'chief of the family'. A younger son, the snake *vuvumu*, Mataluangi, whose story is central to the Kalt Misin, Uneapa's cargo cult, originated the Tanekulu clan (Blythe 1995). Neighbouring Lovanua was the territory of Puruele's daughter Baru, who took the form of a bird. Other children settled elsewhere on the mountain. Later, dynasties were founded through the marriages of Puruele's descendants and *vuvumu* migrants from Northwest New Britain, the Willaumez Peninsula and other Vitu islands. Some sub-clans also had origins in human–supernatural marriages. For example, a major sub-clan within Tanekulu was reputedly founded when a high-ranking human, Vagelo Niduru, abducted and married a *vuvumu* woman called Mangu who lived beneath Koa Bay.

Uneapa descent groups (*habu turanga*) were ramages or conical clans. Individuals claimed descent from founders through any combination of male and/or female links. They belonged to the descent group of both parents and other lineal kin as far back as they could remember. Descent groups were not exogamous, and second-cousin marriage was permitted, allowing some women to marry locally. However, groups residing on ancestral land resembled localised patrilineages because men usually remained on their fathers' land and women, who were not considered to own land, moved to

their husbands' residences. Women and the minority of men who married away remained descent-group members, as did their descendants. Women could return after failed marriages and refugee kin were welcomed. Non-residents preserved relations with ancestral groups by attending their rituals, supporting them in warfare and sending female descendants back in marriage. The integrity of dispersed clans was key to Uneapa social dynamics.

Ranking

In Uneapa, ranking was based on the birth order of siblings, with the firstborn having precedence irrespective of gender. At each segmentary level groups were led by a *tumbuku* descended from the group founder through a line of firstborn children. An expert genealogist placed individuals in a *habu turanga* by starting with the founder and establishing a series of firstborn descendants including the current *tumbuku*. He or she then called the descendants of the founder's other children in birth order. The closer descendants were genealogically to the founder, the higher their status and the better remembered the links.

As firstborn children matured, their childhood achievements were publicly celebrated. The higher their status, the more it was validated through ceremony and the more respect they received.

> I would sit down. I wouldn't be able to walk around in front of him. He is a big-man. He walks around due to pigs. If you contradicted what he said, people would tell you, "You aren't honouring this man. Haven't you seen that everyone's pigs have been exhausted for him? Why are you behaving toward him like this?" They would be angry with him and strike him. This is the meaning of the firstborn child. … If he came to you and said, "Sister, I want your child to marry", you couldn't object. He is our leader. He has had pigs killed for him. He might say, "I would like this pig." One, two, the pig would be his. He is a big-man. He has had pigs killed for him. (Bambala, Makiri)[4]

Firstborns grew up expecting to lead. Boys lived in young men's houses with hamlet-mates. Girls slept in their parents' houses until marriage. Nevertheless, young men's houses were named for high-ranking firstborns of either gender.

Important *tumbuku* enjoyed certain privileges based on their status. For example, Laupu, who ruled Vundakumbu in the mid-19th century, and his highborn wife, Mangu Turanga, did not work.

> Mangu just sat at home and the [other] women that Laupu married looked after her. They would bring everything she needed to the village and give it to her. She did not walk about collecting things from the bush, like coconuts or firewood or water. All the women would go and get things for her, bring

> them to her, put them in her hand. If she wanted to chew betel nut they would take the skin and throw it away, and if she wanted to eat the meat with pepper and lime she did not take it in her hand and eat. The women would prepare it and put it in her mouth and she would eat. She would not hold it in her hand. They would put the lime stick into the lime and put it into her mouth for her to eat. She did not hold out her hand. They would cut her drinking coconut and she would drink. She was an important person. … She was a queen like Queen Elizabeth. (Pengetsi, Tamongone)

Within alliances, the highest-ranking descent group specialised in government. Those led by little *tumbuku* descended from younger siblings of founders took orders from them but also had specialties.[5] For example, in the Vundakumbu alliance, the Lovanua clan were peace-keepers/facilitators, Makiri Bakanaralo were *bambabamba* 'warriors', and Tanekulu knew the magic for crop fertility.

To profit from connections throughout and beyond the island and to preserve their social status, high-ranking individuals ensured that their children learned about their ancestry. Kavulio of Kumbu Village recalled that when his parents

> told their stories they would encompass Bali, and I thought that I originated from all over Bali. But afterwards I was surprised again. My mother varied her story so that I originated from the mainland and my father told me how his family came from Point Bulu, from Nalave.

This knowledge was vital because occasionally, an incompetent *tumbuku* was usurped by a kinsman with more knowledge or greater ability to leverage connections. Marriages between high-ranking men and women consolidated power, reconciled enemies and created new alliances and trade relations. For example, Pulata of Niparaha (Vundakumbu) consolidated ties with Vundapenata when he married Kondo, a high-ranking woman from Kumburi (Vundapenata). The marriage is memorialised in a large stone, Vatukemango, which Kondo brought to Vunakambiri.

Important marriages sometimes generated new descent groups:

> The firstborn child of Tambato, founder of Davalivali [Penataketinerave, Vundapenata alliance], was Rave and he was the father of Baule and Vakale and we are descended from them. His [Baule's] sister originated Vangavaralei at Penata [Goloki clan, Givololo alliance] and we are Davalivali here. For Vakale married and is the ancestor of everyone there and Baule married and is the ancestor of everyone in Davalivali. They are called Vangavaralei because Vokale and Baule took their canoe and poled round the coast. … They came to the beach and his sister married at Penata and he married here. (Takaili, Penataketinerave)

Vundapenata and Givololo belonged respectively to the traditionally hostile east and west divisions of Uneapa, but such marriages ensured that enmity was never absolute. Since descent was cognatic, *tumbuku* headed both their local descent group and descent group members in other communities. Intermarriage among high-ranking members of Uneapa society led to the emergence of an elite with common interests. A class system did not develop as in some Polynesian societies, but the elite collaborated when it was to their mutual advantage. For example, they worked together to ensure that minor conflicts did not escalate.

WAR AND PEACE

War

Hostilities occurred most frequently between West Uneapa and East Uneapa, and in 1986, this division still marked village football team rivalries. Boundaries between these two areas were indicated by defensive ditches, including those identified by Byrne (2008: 517, 525) and Torrence *et al.* (2002). There were also designated battlegrounds.[6]

An alliance's army was formally commanded by the *tumbuku*, and his permission was required for major undertakings. However, in practice, the decision to fight depended on consensus among clan leaders. The *tumbuku* "shouldn't talk but stand there while his group surrounds him and all the seniors advise him" (Robert Bate, Penata). Pengetsi, of Tamongone Village, noted that a *tumbuku* himself did not bear arms or attend battles "but would sit there like a government [ruler]. He just stayed there and only his police went to war." As well, care was taken to keep the elite safe. Kavulio of Kumbu related that when his ancestor, Galiki, was queen in Givololo, warriors would surround the seniors "so that they would not be troubled by the fighting".[7]

Tumbuku found other ways than fighting to be feared. Tatau of Rukaboroko said that his Kumbu ancestors were called *Vuhuku* Kumbu and his immediate ancestor, the *tumbuku* Laupu was called Tanepuka *Vohuku*.[8]

> If the ancestors killed a man and brought him back and he [Laupu] heard them carry him to the community he would run down because he wanted to drink his blood. He carried a coconut shell. He made a spoon and he would shovel up the blood and pour it into the coconut shell and drink. He would drink the blood of the man they had killed. He was a man for drinking blood! He was a man for eating people, this man they called the first of them all!

In a fight, the main combatants could expect support from relatives in other regions, and oral history suggests that young warriors took advantage of these opportunities for combat. If allies killed an enemy, they would present the body to the main combatants and receive a reward. However, there were

constraints on violence. As well as dynastic marriages between high-ranking people in different regions, ordinary marriages occurred across boundaries, and consequently borderlands were settled by people with dual loyalties. Kin should not harm one another and, theoretically, were able to visit one another even when their communities were at war. Rules of engagement recognised that many people had kin among the enemy. So, for example,

> If someone from Kumbu attacked a man and he said "*Pulata Vunakambiri au*", "I descend from Pulata of Vunakambiri", we would stop fighting him. In Penata, someone might say "*Ulevuvu au*", "I descend from Ulevuvu", and the lineage of Ulevuvu would not attack him. (Kavulio, Kumbu)

The closer the relationship among opponents, the less extreme the conflict. Clans on the Tanekare-Vundapenata border supported their respective alliances but being *wanpissin* 'kin' only engaged in minor skirmishes at their battleground, Naputa, on their common boundary. Vundapenata and Tanekare were likewise intermarried across their boundaries with Vundakumbu. On occasions, all three allied against Givololo and Tsinegaro.

Intra-regional boundaries were relatively peaceful. For example, in Vundapenata, "There was a boundary between Palianikumburi and Penataketinerave, but it wasn't a hostile boundary. … People went as far as their own boundaries. It wasn't for fighting—just we lived here and they lived there" (Nate, Navandau).

Small-scale fights and feuds were more common than wars. Strategies to prevent the escalation of violence ideally involved the death of the perpetrator. Vambura of Makiri maintained,

> If you broke the law no one else would suffer in your place. They would punish you by killing you. There was no other way. It wasn't like today. … If we do wrong, the government says, "We will punish you. Then you will learn and understand and behave in a different way." Before it wasn't like that. If you did something wrong, then you would be speared. … There would be no more anger or fighting and everyone would be content.

Frequently, abduction of women led to feuds. Serial revenge killing could best be contained if a relative could be persuaded to exact justice. For example,

> Devoko, a warrior, had a brother called Labongi who abducted the wife of a man called Kamboro. The two of them went to Kumbu. … On one occasion he [Labongi] left Kuendi [the abductee] on Kumbu and came down to hear the news. His brother said, "You people kill Labongi. We don't want him alive. The women's people will come and kill us." They got their spears and began to fight, but he was a strong, tall man. They threw their spears but he dodged them and had his spear to pay them back. He chased them away. They told

> his brother, "We will give you two bundles of *tambu* ['cassowary bone and quill money'] if you help us." "Where did he go?" His brother walked by. … [Devoko] came up behind him and cast his spear and it lodged in his back. He took his spear and killed him. [Devoko] went up the hill. "You people take this man and bury him. I have killed him." So now the relatives of the couple stopped being angry. (Vunga Lingei, Penataketinerave)

Alternatively, a *bamba* 'warrior' from another group could be hired for cassowary bone money to avenge a death. However, this strategy did not always prevent retaliation.

Tumbuku attempted to contain conflict. If they felt that one of their own people had behaved badly, they could sanction a death to avoid retaliation and the deaths of innocent people. *Tumbuku* from different regions sometimes collaborated to prevent feuds from escalating.

> If the people of the short posts [i.e., low-ranking groups] were fighting they would come and talk to us [*tumbuku*]. We would sanction revenge. If they [i.e., Vundakumbu] fought with Penata [Givololo] and someone was killed they would appeal to the big-man there, and then they would go and kill someone in Penata. They couldn't stop them or object. It was our blood, and the fights would stop. (Bambala, Makiri)

Possibly the *tumbuku* of Vundakumbu had special privileges since:

> All the big-men of Vunakambiri just stayed there. All the young men would go and fight either at Penata [Givololo] or Palianikumbu [Magarogaro]. … If they killed someone from here or someone from Palianikumbu they would go to Vunakambiri so that the big-men could avenge it. It was the most important place on Bali. All the big-men lived there and all their police went round Bali. (Bambala, Makiri)

Peace

Byrne (2005, 2008) surveyed gathering places throughout the island. She noted public meeting places varying in size, function and the scale of ceremonies enacted. Oral history confirms that sub-clans, clans and regions had increasingly bigger, more organised spaces where *rogomo* 'spirit houses' were built, dances performed and guests from all over Uneapa received. Other spaces included shrines, where magic was performed and offerings made to *vuvumu*, and bush or beach areas, off-limits to women, where men constructed canoes, prepared artwork, initiated young men, practised performances and carried out preliminary rituals before public ceremonies.

War ceremonies were more spontaneous and less elaborate than peace ceremonies. They included making offerings to ancestors for victory and

celebrations after killing enemies. Typically, victims were brought by singing and dancing men to a butchering table situated away from the centre of a major meeting place.[9] Opinions differ as to whether women cooked human flesh, but it was agreed that they were banned from observing the butchering process.

Rogomo and large decorated canoes were constructed in peacetime. They involved the production of additional pigs and other food and extensive collaboration. Major ceremonies were held at designated sites sponsored by a senior *tumbuku* and authorised by a holder of a drum with a name.[10] Only about a half dozen of these drums existed, so even a major *tumbuku* might pay an owner to "prepare his drum so that people would behave in an orderly way" (Bito Rave, Kumbu). For example, Laupu made use of the drum associated with Nabuo in Lovanua clan territory. I was told,

> If a big-man wanted to make ready a *kundu* ['drum'] and he wanted to do it at … Nabuo, he had to kill a pig for us, the lineage of Tangava. This cleared the place to make a *hous malagan* [*rogomo*]. … First he had to give a pig for the land, to clear the place so that he could start work. My ancestors took this pig and cooked it. They knew all the parts of the family that lived in different places and would send a leg to Penata, Makiri, Rukaboroko or wherever. If the people of Tangava were there, some of the pig would go to them. This would inform them that Nabuo had been cleared. (Bambala, Makiri)

Readying the drum inaugurated a ban on fighting. Given the ubiquity of major ramages and the intermarriage of high-ranking families, truces encompassed most, perhaps all, of the island. Any dissension led to the silencing of the drum until the offender had paid a pig. Theoretically, his life could be taken instead but in reality, there was some latitude. During a dance at Vunakambiri, a woman stabbed a rival with whom her husband was having an affair. She was not punished because the *tumbuku*, Panga, the grandson of Laupu and Mangu, judged, "The drum must not die. The woman was injured because of her own bad behaviour. She was running around and being promiscuous" (Takaili, Penataketinerave).

Rogomo honoured the dead and united ramage members throughout the island with their ancestors. Pulata (1974) translated *rogomo* as 'house of respect' in an account of his own ancestor's memorial ceremony. Several allied clans collaborated in their construction.

> The first post in the *hous malagan* is for the senior clan, the second for the second clan, and the short posts for the other clans. Each area of the house belonged to a particular group, and each had their own *matambubu* ['design'] on it. (Vambura, Makiri)

Each post was brought to the building site with special songs. Different clans had specific roles in the construction of the *rogomo*. In Tsinegaro, where Durapenata ranked after Malangai and Paravulu,

> [t]hose [higher-ranked] two groups knew all about the important work but they couldn't make designs. They could use drums. They could make a *hous malagan* but they could not decorate it. Only Durapenata could do that. If they wanted to perform a ceremony, they would discuss it with Durapenata. Durapenata would ask the chief [*tumbuku*], "What would you like?" "I want to do this". So he would instruct Durapenata and they would come and decorate [the *rogomo*]. Only Durapenata could paint the *matambubu*. They were the carpenters. They were not big-men, but if the big-men wanted something, they could do it. (Bito, Malangai)

Later stages included creating costumes and decorations, rehearsing performances, revealing the completed *rogomo*, and finally, ceremonies featuring singing, dancing, masking and the exchange of pigs and other food.

THE WAR AT MALANGAI

A 19th-century war illustrates the dynamics of Uneapa society. Beginning as an intra-alliance quarrel, it ultimately involved the entire island. The Tsinegaro alliance included three clans located on Mt Kumburi: Malangai, Paravulu and Durapenata, descended respectively from Kolokolo, Kalago and Rave, the three sons of a founding couple, Bito and Buaka. Saropo, the current *tumbuku* of the senior lineage (Malangai) and his eldest son Bito, who were 13 and 14 generations below the ramage founder, told the story, and others added details.

Vorai, a sixth-generation descendant of Kolokolo, the firstborn of Bito and Buaka, was the *tumbuku* of the three lineages. Conflict began when Vorai's third son, Pilapila, misbehaved with a Durapenata woman. The woman's family were furious. As *tumbuku*, Vorai should have punished the crime, perhaps even had his son killed, but he tried to save him, instructing his other sons to take him to the mainland because "he has done wrong and we are ashamed of him". The brothers left him with Kove relatives on Kapo Island.[11]

With Pilapila unreachable, Durapenata hired an assassin to kill Vorai, although he was both a kinsman and their *tumbuku*. They invited him and his wife, Kumui, to collect pandanus north of Malangai territory. While Kumui gathered the fruit, Vorai stayed with the canoe. On her return she found him dead. She took him home, then sought refuge with her brother in Givololo. On their return from Kove, the brothers discovered that their father's *rogomo* had been burned, an insult to both the living and the dead of the senior lineage. Durapenata's actions enraged the descendants of Kolokolo not only in the alliance but throughout the whole island. Baule, Vorai's second son, met with

Lepani from the neighbouring community, Palianikumburi (Vundapenata alliance), about countermeasures. Bito recounted,

> *E vovo tupi*. That is to say, they went about down below to Penataketinerave, Penata, Makiri and the other Penata, Nivoroko [Monopo] over there, Penatabotong and Palianikumbu. They went around to all of them. They went to the two Kumburis. They followed the beach and visited Matapupuru and Tamongone and Kumbu up above. They all met together and set the law in motion.[12]

Members and allies of Malangai lineage from all over the island met between modern Tamongone and Kumburi and surrounded the hill at Durapenata.

> Together, they destroyed Durapenata. They burned all the houses and killed all the dogs. There was nothing left. The people who lived there later were half-castes of Malangai and Kumburi, and some were half-castes of Matapupuru and Penataketinerave.

Bito added that the people who participated in the attack carved the smaller stones at Malangai as memorials to the war while they waited for the feast at which they received payment from the lineage of Kolokolo. The large stone, Vatutianga, carved by an ancestor called Tiapo, was already in place.

Vorai's kin now pursued his suspected assassin, Puto, a high-ranking man from Lekavungo (modern Penatabotong) in the neighbouring Magarogaro alliance[13] who had either carried out or arranged the killing. He was married to Galiki, who was either the current or designated *tumbuku* of the senior lineage in Givololo. After the assassination, Puto retreated to Narandadeko on Mt Kumbu in fear for his life, but soon joined his wife's kin in Givololo.

Hostilities between Tsinegaro and Magarogaro continued. When Morrell returned Dako to Uneapa in 1834, they were ongoing (Jacobs 1844: 102). There was also conflict within Givololo because both Puto and Vorai's wife, Kumui, had found refuge there. Kumui encouraged her kin to take revenge on Puto and his kin and perhaps fomented too much dissension. Finally,

> One big-man [perhaps Puto himself] saw that his men were being killed, and so he put on all his beads and his pig tusks. He put *marangingi* ['decorations'] on his head. At Nikalava [a formal battleground], he saw a big stone that looked like an umbrella and sat on it. They said, "Go back! The enemy will see you." They gave him all kinds of inducements, but he kept sitting there. What could they do? They said, "Kumui, come and see this areca palm." … They marked the areca palm and threw their spears. She fell down and died. They carried her away. (Tsigomuri, Penatabotong)

Despite entering Givololo as a refugee, Puto prospered. His descendants became *tumbuku* of the senior line of Givololo through his wife, Galiki.

AFTERMATH

When I first visited Uneapa in 1975, the society appeared egalitarian. Local government councillors and their deputies provided formal leadership. Traditional leaders spoke sparingly at public meetings, although they continued to be respected. Big-men resembling Sahlins's (1963) model were absent. Entrepreneurs ran copra businesses, but they did not overtly compete for renown.

To some extent, the ranking system and the position of *tumbuku* appeared obsolete because there were fewer institutions to give it meaning. Warfare had ceased before intensive European contact and was not resumed. Magarogaro and Givololo agreed to substitute canoe races for armed conflict, and Magarogaro sent two women in marriage to Givololo "so if anyone in Penata started making trouble then the women could stand up and prevent it". Givololo and Vundapenata also made peace. Finally, storytellers relate that the west and the east of the island made a general peace, perhaps a strategic reaction to an increasing German presence. Combatants met at Namanekambaka, a battleground near modern Nigilani Village, for one last fight, but oral historians said that the warriors were distracted by a beautiful bird that displayed before them and so entranced them that they went home without fighting.

Conversion to Catholicism took place in the 1930s. In 1975, islanders were Catholics, cargo cultists or Seventh Day Adventists. Superficially there was little sign of the old religion as overt ancestor worship and men's-house ceremonies had ceased. Houses of respect (*rogo*) continued to be built in Garove and Mundua, but on Uneapa the last traditional *rogomo* was built before World War II (Fig. 2). A few were attempted later, but they were "different from the old ones". Large-scale ceremonies were rare although smaller celebrations were held. Traditional currency was occasionally used as a component of bride price.

The German authorities, and later the Australian, encouraged settlement in large nucleated villages rather than hamlets. People identified increasingly with their local communities. It was suggested that if there were warfare today, visiting relatives would be associated with their village rather than their family and might be killed. The Bali-Vitu Local Government vice-president noted that rank became less important as "the eldest used to be boss of all the family property and could divide it up. Now this doesn't work well because the younger brothers don't obey him and the family breaks up."

As Scaglion (1996) argued, the *luluai* system imposed by the German colonial administration suited hierarchical societies because traditional leaders were appointed. This occurred in Uneapa, but as a result, the latter became agents of the government rather than rulers in their own right. Kumbu lost its primacy. Then, in 1967, when Local Government Councils

Figure 2. *Rogo*, Koravu Village, Mundua, 1975.

were established, younger men with more formal education but sometimes lower hereditary status became councillors. The council vice-president noted there was disenchantment with the "mixed" leadership in the island, but that if today they were to try to reorganise Uneapa on traditional lines, the cargo cultists, who had rejected the Local Government Council, would say, "I told you so". In fact, the Kalt Misin blended traditional and innovative strategies. Its leader, Cherry Dakoa Takaili, was primarily affiliated to the Goloki clan (Givololo alliance), which specialised in peacemaking and facilitation. He was a self-made man who had come to prominence through his business enterprises, including the Kalt Misin's copra business, Perukuma. Traditionally, he would have been a leader but not of the highest rank, and, like Kwaisulia, he had made the most of both modern and traditional avenues to power. Nevertheless, the cult supported the traditional system and also adopted its symbolism (Fig. 3). Kalt Misin churches were adorned with the barracuda ridgepole and artwork typical of *rogomo* and were built on ceremonial sites that included Vunakambiri, where Panga's *rogomo* had stood. As well, the family heads who represented villages supporting the cargo cult notably included ex-*luluai* and other traditional leaders.

Council supporters too had not entirely abandoned the old order. Some *tumbuku* had been able to reinvent themselves. Administration-inspired business groups were organised on traditional principles, and some high-

Figure 3. Cargo Cult Church, Uneapa.

Figure 4. *Rogomo* adapted for Alois Tailo's First Mass, 1975.

ranking men became entrepreneurs, directing copra and cocoa businesses. Where expedient, a distinction was made between official leaders, the genealogically senior men, and those who provided practical business leadership. Lineage-owned designs (*matambubu*) were painted on trade stores. It was also significant that Alois Tailo, the first ordained Catholic priest from Uneapa and a lineal descendant of Puto and Galiki, held his first mass in a Christian adaptation of a *rogomo* (Fig. 4).

* * *

The Vitu Islands form one point in the triangle defined by M.D. Ross (1988) as the area from which the Lapita culture dispersed into the Melanesian Islands and the central Pacific about 1000 BC (Sheppard *et al*. 2015). Little is known about the Vitu Islands at this time, although preliminary archaeological studies speculate occupation for perhaps 6,000 years (Torrence *et al*. 2002: 7). Unlike the mainland, there has been no volcanism in recent millennia on Uneapa, and the external crater wall provides some protection against tsunamis. In contrast, the traditions of the island's trading partners tell of social disruption in recent centuries. The Bulu people migrated from Nakanai (Muku), the Bakovi moved up from the base of the Willaumez Peninsula (Specht 1980) and the Garove people migrated from the Willaumez Penninsula (Specht 1980). Thurston (1987) suggested that the coastal peoples of West New Britain (Kove, Kaliai, Bariai) migrated from the Siassi region in the late 18th or early 19th century. Oral history indicates that Uneapa has received immigrants from Garove, Mundua, the Willaumez Peninsula and northwest New Britain, including refugees from volcanic activity. Effects on the island's culture are unknown.

Uneapa Islanders appear exceptional in West New Britain in their emphasis on hierarchy. In the other Vitu Islands, matrilineage leadership was based on genealogical seniority, but matrilineages are not ranked within clans (Blythe 1979). Among the Lakalai, Kove, Kaliai and Bariai on the mainland leadership is achieved, although, among the Kove, being the child of a big-man was an advantage (Chowning 1979: 70–71). Along the north New Britain coast firstborn children were celebrated as in Uneapa, but here more prestige accrued to the child's sponsor than his protégé (Chowning 1979; McPherson 2007: 139). Perhaps in the past the custom was associated with ranking. Uneapa's deep genealogies imply social continuity for the past several hundred years, and this stability may factor in both its hierarchical social organisation and its conservative language (M.D. Ross 1988: 263).

Traits shared with other ranked Oceanic societies included leaders who managed war and peace, dispensed justice and oversaw the building of large canoes and ceremonial and defensive structures. Uneapa chiefs did not receive tribute, but they could leverage the labour of the "people of the

short posts". Vitu Islanders had excellent canoes (Parkinson [1907] 1999: 104), cultivated trade partnerships in communities from the Willaumez Peninsula to Kilenge and sometimes travelled further. Whether hereditary leadership and ranking in 19th-century Uneapa are survivals from Lapita times or later developments is uncertain. However, there are some indications that the island's social organisation may have changed. It is considered that proto-Oceanic societies had matrilineal descent (Hage 1999; Marck 2008), and there are clues that Uneapa, like the other Vitu Islands, may once have done so.[14] Bifurcate merging kinship terminology (Marck 2008), ideas about heritable totems, and moieties diagnosable through lines on the hand support this. Legacies of Lapita times may remain, but other aspects of Uneapa society as it existed in the 19th century may have developed *in situ*.

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NOTES

1. Chiefs or high-ranking persons were referred to as *tumbuku*. *Turanga* was also used as a title, e.g., Mangu Turanga. *Paraha* signified a prominent person, an adult or an older person compared to a younger. *Tamahane kapau* 'big-man' was sometimes used to describe a leader.
2. After Local Government Councils were set up in 1967, some people moved to hamlets on family-owned land, leaving the nucleated villages favoured by the colonial powers. New communities were also established by religious minorities. Seventh Day Adventist families from Rukaboroko and Penata, where most people supported the Kalt Misin, moved respectively to Nidoko and Nigilani, where they had land rights. Nikalava was founded by cargo cultists from predominantly Roman Catholic Monopo.
3. Alliance boundaries indicated in Figure 1 are approximate only. Byrne's (2008: 406) map shows clan territories in the west of the island but similar data are not available for the east. It is difficult to establish the alliance affiliations of clans whose lands were alienated for the plantation. Since members of Kulubago and Vunaloto moved to Nalagaro village, these clans were probably part of the Magarogaro alliance together with Lekavungo (modern Penatabotong) and Mororoa (Bali Harbour area). Nalokaloka, often referred to as "The people of the airfield", included Rulakumbu and most probably Vunidiguru, clans located on the northwest slope of Mt Kumbu and the valley floor. This alliance was aligned with Givololo, and when their land was alienated for the Bali plantation, members moved to Monopo. Vunemaliku, not included in Byrne's map and described to me as part of Nalokaloka, was possibly a sub-clan of Vunidiguru located near the Givololo border.
4. Malinowski ([1922] 1961: 52) described a similar pattern of deference in the Trobriand Islands.

5. Specialisation existed in hierarchical Melanesian societies both within and between descent groups. Among Mekeo- and Roro-speaking people in Central Papua, there were two chiefs in each clan, the high chief and the war chief, and departmental specialists, such as war magicians (Seligman 1910: 342). In the Trobriands, regions had different specialties, partly based on local resources (Malinowski [1922] 1961: 67–68). In Fiji, clans within each political group specialised, for example, in fishing and carpentry (Deane 1921: 2019–20; Hooper 2006: 7).
6. > There was a battleground at Vatu Kapau—where Mororoa (Magarogaro) fought with Tamongone (Tanekare), Kumbu (Vundakumbu), Kumburi (Vundapenata) and occasionally Penata (Givololo). Malangai (Tsinegaro) fought at Nalagudupu, the place for fighting and dying. Vatukele was their boundary. If a man from Palianikumburi or Kumburi (Vundapenata) crossed the boundary at Vatukele he would die. And if men from above (Tsinegaro) crossed the boundary they would die. (Koroi, Penatabotong)

   Formal battles seem to have resembled extreme sport, with posturing and mutual insults as a major component. They contrast with serious conflicts, such as the Malangai War, and assassinations where particular victims were targeted.
7. Close kin of *tumbuku* did fight. When Uneapa warriors attacked Morrell's ship, Dako, the son of the Magarogaro *tumbuku* Tupi (Mogagee), led the attack (A.J. Morrell 1833). The sons of Vorai, *tumbuku* of Malangai (Tsinegaro), were famous fighters.
8. *Vohuku* were the cannibal monsters of West New Britain folktales. Tanepuka means Father of Puka. The latter was Laupu's fourth son.
9. The butchering table at Vunakambiri appears to be in a prominent position, but this part of the site may have been included in the *mamada*, the enclosure behind the *rogomo*, which was off-limits to women and the uninitiated.
10. If a drum was inherited by a high-ranking woman or given to her as dowry, she would take it when she married. Mangu Turanga, who held the drum associated with Nitombo (Vundapenata), lived with her husband Laupu at Nabare (Vundakumbu).
11. There were occasional marriages with people from West New Britain. Kove survivors of a wrecked canoe also settled in West Uneapa, probably in the 19th century.
12. Note use of modern village names.
13. Lekavungo (modern Penatabotong) and Mororoa (Bali Harbour area) were part of the Magarogaro alliance, but Puto likely had kin in the Tsinegaro alliance. Byrne (2008) noted the lack of stone features in Magarogaro. According to Tsigomuri of Kumburi, "There were stones with names at the station. When they cut the plantation they removed all the stones. They broke them and took them away."
14. The Vitu Islands other than Uneapa have dispersed matrilineal clans, *hahaka* 'creepers', and local lineages, *dananga* (branches). In Uneapa, kinship terminology is bifurcate-merging, as elsewhere in the Vitu Islands, suggesting that descent was previously unilineal (Marck 2008). In Uneapa *habu turanga* refers to all cognatic descendants of a descent group ancestor. In the other Vitu Islands, it refers to the cognatic descendants of matrilineage men, inclusive of their great-grandchildren.

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ABSTRACT

Although chiefs are frequently associated with Polynesia and big-men with Melanesia, ascription and achievement are relevant to leadership in both regions. Hierarchical societies with ascribed leaders occur throughout Melanesia and, based on archaeological and ethnographic evidence, were more common in the past. In recent centuries, external influences have provided opportunities for achieved leadership. The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct Uneapa society as it existed at the end of the 19th century before intensive European contact. Historical accounts, recent archaeological research and oral accounts indicate that prior to the 20th century, Uneapa consisted of a number of chiefdoms. Location, descent and ranking were integral to social organisation, including institutions of war and peace. A 19th-century conflict that involved the whole island and resulted in the destruction of a community illustrates how these elements intersected. Internal and external change over 120 years have transformed Uneapa into a more egalitarian society, but traces of the old order remain. Uneapa is situated to the north of the Willaumez Peninsula, within the Proto-Oceanic triangle (as defined by Malcolm Ross), the likely dispersal centre for Western Oceanic languages. In a seismically active region, Uneapa differs from the Willaumez Peninsula and coastal West New Britain in terms of residential continuity. However, there are clues suggesting that social change has occurred since settlement.

Keywords: big-men, chiefdoms, hierarchy, Melanesia, social history, Uneapa, Vitu Islands

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"KO TE HAU TĒNĀ O TŌ TAONGA…": THE WORDS OF RANAPIRI ON THE SPIRIT OF GIFT EXCHANGE AND ECONOMY

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In the service of *hau* 'the spirit of the gift', this paper traces the exchange of ideas between people and cultures that led to Māori concepts of reciprocity being enshrined by Marcel Mauss (1923–24; 1950) in his seminal work, *The Gift*, and debated ever since. Most importantly, it identifies an error of transcription and translation that has considerable impact for understandings of the teachings of Tāmati Ranapiri as received by Elsdon Best and utilised by Mauss. By correcting this error we get closer to the meaning of Tāmati Ranapiri's writing and can demonstrate that Mauss's (1923–24; 1950; [1954] 1967; 1990) intuitive explication of the meaning and significance of *hau* was not an inappropriate conflation of French spirituality with Māori metaphysics. This paper emerges from the author's doctoral work, "The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society—From Tribes to Nation", completed in 2003 at Victoria University, Wellington. *Tikanga hau*, the spirit of gift exchange or the ethic of generosity and its associated values, including *mana* (understood as 'status, prestige and credibility'), is identified in this study as a principal motivation of Māori leaders or *rangatira* from ancestral times until today.

A focus on the metaphysics of things, in particular the politics and economics of reciprocity in early to mid-19th-century Māori society and the layers of meaning in gift exchange, is instructive for understanding and interpreting the ethic of generosity as practiced by 19th-century Māori leaders and their people. In anthropology, exchange theory and gift exchange are often presented in the form of the following propositions: that exchange is a fundamental social system; that gift exchange is a system prior to capitalism; that a gift economy is animated by the spirit of the gift (*hau*); that the spirit of the gift creates an indissoluble bond between persons engaged in the exchange; and that Anglo-Western societies were responsible for the separation of persons and things (Mauss 1923–24: 30–186; 1950: 143–279; [1954] 1967; 1990; Schrift 1997).[1]

These propositions are especially associated with the work of Marcel Mauss, who gained his understandings of Māori thinking from Tāmati Ranapiri, a Māori of Ngāti Raukawa descent, through the writings of Elsdon Best. Mauss did not correspond with Ranapiri, but rather used Ranapiri's letters to Best in their English translation, setting in motion a veritable

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exchange economy of ideas in the disciplines of anthropology and economics, and beyond. Yet in my analysis of the Ranapiri letters, Mauss remained close to Ranapiri’s metaphysics and indeed was informed by it—a point to which I return below. Still, his work attracts commentators who have concentrated instead on the material and social aspects of gift exchange, disputing the relevance of any metaphysical explanation. Consider the severe critiques by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1997), Raymond Firth ([1929] 1972) and Marshall Sahlins (1997) of Mauss’s hermeneutics and discussion of *hau*. These reflect utilitarian, materialist, secularist, psychological and rationalist critiques of Māori metaphysics as understood by a French scholar. Such a focus on the material and cognitive anthropology of Māori gift exchange and generosity without recourse to its metaphysics is not adequate, however. Nor is their continued reliance, after Mauss, on working with Ranapiri’s letters in English (or French) translation. The only ethnographer to have worked with the original letters in Māori was Elsdon Best, with whom Ranapiri corresponded. As far as I know, none of the commentators listed above has read Tāmati Ranapiri’s original letters in Māori. They have relied upon the accuracy and insight of Elsdon Best, an Anglo-New Zealand ethnographer and the author of many books about Māori, in transcribing and translating the letters.

By returning to the primary sources (see Table 1) I found that in the process of transcribing the letters and preparing various extracts for publication in “Māori Forest Lore”, Best (1909) made significant changes to key phrases. The effect of these changes was to transform Ranapiri’s hermeneutics about Māori metaphysics into a secular materialist version, thus reflecting Best’s views rather than Ranapiri’s own understandings. The error was partly rectified by Mauss, albeit somewhat intuitively, but Firth, Lévi-Strauss and Sahlins followed Best’s edited translation of the Ranapiri letters, and his materialist approach, challenging Mauss’s interpretation and his idea of the ‘spirit of the gift’ itself. Most others have followed suit (see Forge 1972; Frame 1991; Gathercole 1978; Godbout with Caillé 1998; Godelier [1996] 1999; McCall 1981–82; Parry 1986; Weiner 1985, 1992). According to Firth (1972: 418): “When Mauss sees in gift exchange an interchange of personalities, a ‘bond of soul,’ he is following not a native belief, but his own intellectual interpretation of it.” Claude Lévi-Strauss (1997: 55–56) wrote: “Hau is not the ultimate explanation for gift exchange; it is the conscious form whereby men of a given society, in which the problem had particular importance, apprehended an unconscious necessity whose explanation lies elsewhere.” Finally, Marshall Sahlins (1997: 93) presents a rationalist utilitarian critique: “Since Mauss … anthropology has become more consistently rational in its treatment of exchange. Reciprocity is contract pure and mainly secular, sanctioned perhaps by a mixture of considerations of which a carefully calculated self-interest is not the least.”

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL FORCE OF HAU

This paper offers a Māori view of exchange and the moral bases of *the human action that matters*. Here, exchange, spirituality and morality are part of a moral system based on a plurality of ethics. Sen (1985: 176) makes a convincing distinction between pluralism as a plurality of ethics and its "claim about the form of moral structures", and pluralism meaning "intuitionism", which, he says, is a "claim about how the moral structure may be *derived and supported* (i.e., whether by intuition only)" (Sen's italics). The form of Māori moral structures is central to this paper. Rev. Maori Marsden, a leading philosopher on traditional *tikanga* Māori 'ancestral ways of being; ancient virtue ethics' and an evangelical Christian theologian, makes an argument similar to Sen's when he contends that the cardinal spiritual values of *tapu* 'ritual restriction; ancestral presence', *hau*, *mauri* 'life force' and other spiritual properties "…form a powerful interlocking system which provides socio-cultural mechanisms of control in regulating behaviour, motivating, guiding and managing corporate activities; stressing the importance and the necessity for concentrated effort to be applied to different activities, or phases of it" (Marsden 1999).

Understanding the moral system at play among Māori in the 1830s–1840s is important to present-day Aotearoa New Zealand, because a contrast needs to be made between the ancient ethical pluralism of Māori leaders and the monist utilitarian tendencies of Anglo-Pākehā agents and their moral structures, as reflected in the construction of Te Tiriti o Waitangi 'the Treaty of Waitangi', an international treaty of relationship between Māori leaders and the British Crown signed in 1840. In this way, it is possible to consider and understand the motivation and intentions of Māori and the British Crown and the Anglo-settler government that followed the signing of Te Tiriti. *Tikanga hau*, 'the virtue of *hau*', is evident in the politics leading to the 1835 Māori Declaration of Independence, known as He Whakapūtanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, and the cautious willingness of Māori leaders to be party to the so-called "founding document" some five years later. The view taken here is that the Māori metaphysics and ethics that informed Māori leaders at that time focussed on the principles of *mana* retention, *mana* enhancement and *mana* consolidation. They did not consider ceding the *mana* of their people, *kāinga* 'settlements,' *whenua* 'land', *ngāhere* 'forests' or *moana* 'sea' to another authority under duress, fear of death or some cataclysmic circumstance. The idea that *rangatira* and their people freely and consciously ceded their *mana i te whenua* 'power, authority endowed in the *rangatira* from the land' and therefore sovereignty to the British has been challenged by Māori ever since Te Tiriti was signed in 1840, and this challenge has recently been upheld by the Waitangi Tribunal (2014), a Court of Enquiry, established to interpret principles associated with the relationship between Māori and the Crown.[2]

TĀMATI RANAPIRI, ELSDON BEST AND *TIKANGA HAU*

In October and November 1907 Elsdon Best, known by Māori as Te Peehi, received two letters written in Māori from Tāmati Ranapiri of the Ngāti Raukawa people of Manakau, near Otaki. In these letters Ranapiri shared information with Best about Māori forest lore and related oral traditions of creation, rites and customs, which Best (1909) later described as "superstitions" and "the art of the fowler". Between 1894 and 1907, Ranapiri and Best corresponded with each other about various matters related to customary practices for bird snaring and killing (Ranapiri 1907a, 1907b). With the assistance of Rev. J. McWilliam of Otaki, Ranapiri had already published a major piece in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* titled "Ngā ritenga hopu manu a te Maori, o mua" (Ranapiri 1895a: 132–42) with four pages of illustrations, translated by S. Percy Smith (Ranapiri 1895b: 143–52) in the same issue under the title "Ancient methods of bird-snaring amongst the Maoris." The article contains details of methods for catching such birds as *kererū*, *kākā*, *tūī*, *kākāriki*, *pārera*, *kiwi* and *kokomako* (in English, respectively, wood pigeon, bush parrot, parson bird, New Zealand parakeets, grey duck, kiwi, and bell bird) In January 1895, Ranapiri discussed the origins of life forces and life itself with Best, using Māori concepts such as *mauri* and *mauri ora* 'potent life force'. Significantly, he also posed an ancient metaphysical question: was the *mauri* a stone or some other thing? (Ranapiri 1907a). Here Ranapiri was articulating a Māori metaphysics that can be traced through East Polynesia back to Austronesia, in which all things of creation have a *mauri* or life force that determines the nature of their being.

These exchanges with Ranapiri prompted Best to seek clarification on the religious aspects of bird-catching in the forest. In response to a letter from Best dated 13 September 1907 in which he asks Ranapiri to explain the difference between *te mauri o te ngāherehere* 'the *mauri* of the forest' and *te hau o te ngāherehere* 'the *hau* of the forest', Ranapiri (1907a) answered seven questions. In his answer about the *mauri* and the *hau*, Ranapiri (1907a) notes the question as follows: "Patai 1. Te mauri o te ngaherehere, me te hau o te ngaherehere." Ranapiri's initial explanations in response to Best's September letter contain his brilliant and tantalising explication of *mauri* and *hau*, which I gloss as two life forces recognised as separate realities, which are yet so closely linked in effect and power that they are symbiotic.

In describing the two life forces of the forest or *ngāherehere*, Ranapiri (1907a) refers first to the *mauri o te ngāherehere* as a *karakia* 'ritual prayer', *ko te mauri he karakia*, chanted by a *tohunga* 'a religious specialist, male or female, akin to a high priest' at a special place in the forest.[3] In this explanation, Ranapiri writes of a physical *mauri* recognised as a rock, a tree or a hill in which the *mauri*, the life force, resides, and which is to be protected from malevolent actions.

Secondly, Ranapiri (1907a) addresses the *hau* of the forest and instructs Best about two customary practices, "e rua ritenga o te hau o te ngaherehere". Ranapiri's musings about the metaphysics of the *hau* of a person's *taonga*, glossed as a gift, or a valuable item given to another, are introduced in his second letter to Best, dated 23 November 1907. Later, Best translated these explanations of *hau* into English, and these translations were to be influential in shaping Marcel Mauss's theories on the spirituality integral to gift exchange and reciprocity. Mauss refers to Ranapiri's writings as a *texte capital* 'text of paramount importance' (Mauss 1950: 157–61; [1954] 1967; 1990).

In his correspondence with Best, Ranapiri responds to many questions about life forces and vital essences such as *mauri*, *hau* and *tapu* in the forest environs; and about associated sacred places and rituals, as well as the role of religious experts such as *tohunga*. Further letters detail the potency of women and cooked food in affecting the vital forces in animate and inanimate things of the forest; the ancient art of felling trees, including appropriate *karakia*; and catching *kiore*, the native rat of Polynesia. In succinct explanations, Ranapiri instructs Best about the *mauri* and the *hau* of the forest; the *manea*, rendered as sacred places, where food is placed for *atua* 'spiritual powers', often with the expectation of continued well-being; the *ahurewa*, rendered as a sacred place for the performance of a religious ceremony; and the *ika purapura*, the practice of feeding the life force of the forest (or lands or oceans) to retain its efficacy.

While preparing his texts on Māori lore of the forest, however, Best constructed another version of Ranapiri's account of *hau* with some injudicious and judicious editing, cutting and pasting of extracts. In effect he created another letter, which—while attributed to Ranapiri—helped Best to present his own version of traditional Māori thought in the late 19th century. This was published in a series of articles under the general title "Maori Forest Lore: being some Account of Native Forest Lore and Woodcraft, as also of many Myths, Rites, Customs, and Superstitions connected with the Flora and Fauna of the Tuhoe or Ure-wera District" (Best 1909). The Ranapiri material was quoted in the section titled "The Mauri of the Forest", which was read before the Auckland Institute on 22 November 1909 (Best 1909: 440–41). However, nowhere does Best inform the reader that he had edited Ranapiri's letters, nor does he mention the significant changes he made to Ranapiri's grammar. Best's translations have confused scholarly discourse on Ranapiri's texts ever since.

In his 23 November letter, when Ranapiri (1907b) explained the relationship of the donor's *hau* to the *taonga*, the consequence of this relationship for the recipients of the *taonga*, and their ongoing obligations over time, he did this in two key sentences:

> Na, ko taua taonga i homai nei ki a au, ko te hau tena o to taonga i homai ra ki au i mua. (Ranapiri 1907b: 2; underlining for emphasis, mine)
>
> Now that gift which was given to me is your life force in your gift given to me before. (translation and underlining for emphasis, mine)
>
> No te mea he hau no to taonga tena taonga na. (Ranapiri 1907b: 2; underlining for emphasis, mine)
>
> This is because your life force [*hau*] remained in your gift given to me. (translation and underlining for emphasis, mine)

In his transcription, however, Best made changes to key pronouns, replacing “*to taonga*” with “*te taonga*” in both sentences. He then translated these as follows:

> Na, ko taua taonga i homai nei ki a au, ko te hau tena o te taonga i homai ra ki a au mua
>
> Now, that article that he gives to me is the *hau* of the article I first received from you and then gave to him. (Best 1909: 439)
>
> Notemea [*sic*] he hau no te taonga tena taonga na. (Best 1909: 441)
>
> … because they are a *hau* of the article you gave me. (Best 1909: 439)

I do not know why Best edited those letters as he did. It may have been a mistake in his transcription of Ranapiri’s letter into his notebook, or he may have misread his own writing. These explanations are unlikely because the two changes occur in the same paragraph of the November letter, and are consistent from Best’s point of view. Using the definitive article *te* ‘the’ to define an object is natural to an English-speaking person. Best may have had this in mind, and decided to replace Ranapiri’s *to* [*tō*] ‘your’ with *te* ‘the’ in his transcription (see Table 1). Whatever the reason, the change highlights the problematic nature of many early Anglo-Western interpretations of Pacific rituals and their meanings.

According to the linguist Winifred Bauer (pers. comm., 1992; 1997: 397–99), Māori make a fundamental distinction between ownership and what is considered temporary possession by using two versions of the possessive particle—either *tō* and *tā* in this case. By using *tō*, Ranapiri signals possession or ownership, rather than the alternative form *tā*, which signals temporary possession, which is expressed as location. Ranapiri’s use of *tō taonga* in the text implies that the *taonga* is still in the possession of (still belongs to)

the original donor, even though the physical location of the *taonga* may be elsewhere. This distinction between ownership and location, which is not made in English, is lost in Best's transcription and translation.

It seems to me that in these two key sentences, Ranapiri is alluding to two distinct *hau* associated with the *taonga* in question. The first is the *hau* intrinsic to the *taonga* itself, which is the *hau* infused at its creation. The second *hau*—and this is what Ranapiri refers to specifically—is the original donor's *hau* that is associated with his possession or ownership of the *taonga*. I therefore argue that Marcel Mauss's (1923–24; 1950; [1954] 1967; 1990) intuitive explication of the meaning and significance of *hau* has been correct all along and is close to Ranapiri's meaning, whereas Best's editing out of Ranapiri's possessive pronouns "*tō*" places emphasis on the *hau* of the *taonga* itself rather than the *hau* of the possessor, and is the cause of confusion and debate among international scholars.

Ranapiri's texts reflect the metaphysics of a world that includes Te Pō, the ancestral realm inhabited by a Supreme Being (Io Matua Kore), Mother Earth and Father Sky (Rangi and Papa) and other *tūpuna* 'ancestors', and the Te Ao Mārama, the visible, material world of *tāngata* 'humans', and exchange and reciprocity between the two. I have transcribed both of Tāmati Ranapiri's letters in full, and followed Best in terms of adding full stops and paragraphs. This helps in the reading of the letters and provides a more complete context in which to understand Ranapiri's narrative on the spiritual and moral dimensions, both implicit and explicit in obligatory reciprocity in gift exchange, trade and labour, and in locating the ownership or source of the *hau* in the *taonga*.

Ultimately, Ranapiri is articulating a notion of economy described elsewhere as an economy of affection, or an economy of *mana*, which exists to maintain the four well-beings of Māori and the Pacific—spirituality, environment, kinship and economy. Elsewhere (Hēnare 2011; Hēnare *et al*. 2017; see also Merrill 1954) I have proposed that these well-beings establish four types of capital of economic significance—spiritual capital, ecological and environmental capital, kinship as human capital and economic capital. In combination they instantiate levels of reciprocity: of the spiritual with humanity; of humanity in ecological systems; of humans with other humans; and economies embedded in the spiritual, ecological and human societies in which they are located (Hēnare 2001, 2003: Roberts *et al*. 2004).

Table 1. Ranapira's original Māori text and subsequent translations.[1]

Ranapiri (1907b), letter of 23 November 1907	Best's (1909) translation of Ranapiri's two letters, edited as one letter	Mauss's (1950: 158-59) French translation of Best's translation	Biggs's translation of Best's version (for Sahlins 1972: 152; 1997)	Hēnare's (2003) translation of Ranapiri's original text
Na, mo te hau o te ngaherehere (Whangainga o te hau ngaherehere.)	I will now speak of the hau, and the ceremony of whangai hau	Je vais vous parler du *hau*…	Now concerning the hau of the forest.	Now about the life force '*hau*' of the forest, and the feeding of the forest life force.
Taua mea te hau, ehara i te mea ko te hau e pupuhi nei	That hau is not the hau (wind) that blows	Le *hau* n'est pas le vent qui souffle.	This hau is not the hau that blows (the wind)	That aforementioned force '*hau*' is not the wind that blows
Kaore. Maku e ata whakamarama ki a koe. Na, he taonga	Not at all. I will carefully explain to you. Suppose that you possess a	Pas du tout. Supposez que vous possédez un	No. I will explain it carefully to you. Now, you have something	Not at all. I will explain it carefully to you. Now, supposing you have a certain
tou ka homai e koe moku. (Kaore a taua whakaritenga utu mo to taonga).	certain article, and you give that article to me, without price. We make no bargain over it.	article déterminé (*taonga*) et que vous me donnez cet article; vous me le donnez sans prix fixé.[6] Nous ne faisons pas de marché à ce propos.	valuable which you give to me. We have no agreement about payment.	gift, which you give to me. (We have no agreement about a payment for your gift.)
Na, ka hoatu hoki e ahau mo tetehi atu tangata, a, ka roa	Now, I give that article to a third person, who, after some time	Or, je donne cet article à une troisième personne qui, après qu'un certain temps	Now, I give it to someone else, and, a long time	Now, I give it to someone else, and, after a long time

Ranapiri (1907b), letter of 23 November 1907	Best's (1909) translation of Ranapiri's two letters, edited as one letter	Mauss's (1950: 158-59) French translation of Best's translation	Biggs's translation of Best's version (for Sahlins 1972: 152; 1997)	Hēnare's (2003) translation of Ranapiri's original text
pea te wa, a, ka mahara taua tangata kei a ia ra taua taonga	has elapsed, decides to make some return for it, and so	s'est écoulé, décide de rendre quelque chose	passes, and that man thinks he has the valuable,	passes, that person remembers that he has the gift,
kia homai he utu ki a au, a, ka homai e ia. Na, ko taua taonga	he makes me a present of some article. Now, that article (taonga)	en paiement (utu),[6] il me fait présent	he should give some repayment to me, and so he does so. Now that valuable	and should give some reciprocity '*utu*' to me, and so he does. Now that gift '*taonga*',
i homai nei ki a au, ko te hau tena o to taonga i	that he gives to me is the hau (te hau) of the article I first received from	de quelque chose *(taonga)*. Or, ce *taonga* qu'il me donne est l'esprit *(hau)* du *taonga*	which was given to me, that is the hau of the valuable	which was given to me, is your life force '*to hau*' in your gift
homai ra ki a au i mua. Ko taua taonga me hoatu e ahau ki	you and then gave to him. The goods that I received for that item I	que j'ai reçu de vous et que je lui ai donné à lui. Les *taonga* que j'ai reçus pour ces *taonga*	which was given to me before. I must	given to me before. The aforementioned gift I must
a koe. E kore rawa e tika kia kaiponutia e ahau moku;	must hand over to you. It would not be right for me to keep such goods for myself,	(venus de vous) il faut que je vous les rende. Il ne serait pas juste (*tika*) de ma part de garder ces *taonga* pour moi,	give it to you. It would not be correct to keep it for myself,	give it to you. It would not be correct to keep it for myself

– continued over page

Ranapiri (1907b), letter of 23 November 1907	Best's (1909) translation of Ranapiri's two letters, edited as one letter	Mauss's (1950: 158-59) French translation of Best's translation	Biggs's translation of Best's version (for Sahlins 1972: 152; 1997)	Hēnare's (2003) translation of Ranapiri's original text
ahakoa taonga pai rawa, taonga kino ranei, me tae rawa	whether they be desirable items or otherwise. I must	qu'ils soient désirables (*rawe* [*sic*]), ou désagréables (*kino*). Je dois	whether it be something good, or bad, that valuable must be	irrespective of whether it is something good, or bad, the gift must be
taua (taonga) i a au ki a koe. No te mea he hau no to	hand them over to you, because they are a hau (te hau) of the	vous les donner car ils sont un *hau*[8] du	given to you from me. Because that valuable is a hau of the	given to you from me. This is because your life force (*he hau*) belongs to your
taonga tena taonga na. Ki te mea ka kaiponutia e ahau taua taonga	article you gave me. Were I to keep such equivalent	*taonga* que vous m'avez donné. Si je conservais ce deuxième *taonga*	other valuable. If I should hang onto that valuable	gift (*tō taonga*) given to me. If I were to keep that gift
moku, ka mate ahau.	for myself, then some serious evil would befall me, even death.	pour moi, il pourrait m'en venir du mal, sérieusement, même la mort.	for myself, I will become mate [sick].	for myself, I could as a consequence die.
Koina taua mea te hau, (hau taonga, hau ngaherehere).	Such is the hau, the hau of personal property, or the forest hau.	Tel est le *hau*, le *hau* de la propriété personnelle, le *hau* des taonga, le *hau* de la forêt.	So that is the hau—hau of valuables, hau of forests.	So this thing the life force that generates/motivates reciprocity is the force of valuable things, it is the life force of forests.
Kati ena.	Enough on these points.	*Kali* [*sic*] *ena.* (Assez sur ce sujet.)	So much for that.	So much for that.

[1] Numbers in Mauss quote refer to his footnotes.

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NOTES

1. My thanks to Amiria Salmond, then in the Anthropology Department, Cambridge University, England, for discussions on these points in 1999 and in New Zealand in 2000.
2. The British Crown being the symbol and power of the British monarchy.
3. *Karakia* are the means by which people communicate with spiritual powers and spiritual beings such as *atua* and ancestors. At least 19 types of *karakia* can be identified that speak to diverse major and minor situations of daily life.

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ABSTRACT

In the 1890s, a dialogical exchange of ideas of people and cultures started with Tāmati Ranapiri, a Māori scholar of Aotearoa New Zealand, and Elsdon Best, an Anglo-New Zealand ethnographer. Their exchange of letters, in Māori and English, impacted profoundly on the nascent discipline of sociology, and the spirit of the gift in rituals of gift exchange. This paper traces an extraordinary cross-cultural Pacific-Europe dialogue that led to Māori concepts of reciprocity being enshrined by French sociologist Marcel Mauss. According to Mauss's sociology, exchange theory and gift exchange present themselves in the form of a set of propositions: that a gift economy is animated by *hau* 'the spirit of the gift'; that exchange is a fundamental social system; that gift exchange is a prior economic system; the effect of the spirit of the gift creates an indissoluble bond between persons engaged in the exchange; and that it was Anglo-Western societies who were responsible for the separation of persons and things. The propositions are particularly informed by Māori thinking as articulated by Ranapiri, whose texts reflect the metaphysics of a spiritual world of the South Pacific Islands. By returning to the primary sources in Māori language, I find Best both mistranslated and misinterpreted the hermeneutics of Ranapiri. In effect, Best reduced Māori metaphysics to a secular materialist's explanation, thus reflecting his Anglo-world view more than that of Māori. Ultimately, Ranapiri articulates a Māori notion of economy described elsewhere as an economy of *mana*, or economy of affection, which exists to maintain the four well-beings of Māori and the Pacific—spiritual, environmental, kinship and economic.

Keywords: exchange theory, gift exchange, *hau*, *mana*, *mauri*, Mauss, Ranapiri, *tapu*, *wairua*

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REVIEWS

McCarthy, Conal and Mark Stocker (eds): *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2017. 322 pp., biblio., illus., index. NZ$ 80.00 (softcover).

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> *Ka tangite titi, ka tangite kaka, ka tangihoki ahau, tihei mauri ora.*
>
> Hear the cry of the *titi*, hear the cry of the *kaka*, hear also my call, behold there is life.

Everyone remembers the moment when important people have died: Elvis (Hawai'i), Princess Diana (Auckland waterfront) and Jonathan (packing to fly to London). It was not as if it was unexpected—I knew he was in hospice from my friend Deidre who had visited him there and given our warm hugs to him and Paul. But the fact that he was really gone now overwhelmed me. He had been part of my life as a Māori art historian for many years, initially as a hallowed figure presenting at conferences, and more recently as a dear colleague who had humbled me by inviting me to generate this new project he and Deidre were cooking up. I was very aware that Jonathan had not published a large-scale book before our project, despite a prolific and extensive bibliography to his name. *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance* is a *koha* 'gift' by determined colleagues and friends to change this, as indeed it has.

The book was launched, appropriately, at the end of a full day of papers for a symposium just focused on the life and work of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki at Victoria University on 29 August 2017. The launch was gracious and attended by people from so many facets of his life. The book reflects these facets, and his multi-dimensional research, writing and speaking careers, drawn together by two colleagues who Jonathan highly respected, Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker, who pitch this as a Gedenkschrift or memorial volume. There are so many great art historians working in Aotearoa New Zealand today, whose work deserves books like these that would influence not only readers and researchers here but also those overseas. Why are our art historians left out of major international art historian databases? How can we promote them and their thinking? *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance* sets a new standard here.

McCarthy and Stocker have organised the book into four sections, with a Foreword by Deidre Brown (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Kahu), an overview by McCarthy, an Afterword by Caroline Turner, and 15 chapters by friends, colleagues and ex-students. McCarthy's chapter provides an excellent pathway into the book. He describes bumping into Jonathan in mid-2013 and the seed being sown about this book. Conal provides an overview of Jonathan's work and life, and locates him firmly with one leg in a Victorian Christchurch, and the other in a global Māori world. He notes how Mane-

Wheoki's career shifted from away from academia towards the public manifestation of art history in museums and art galleries. He also confronts some of the niggles that peppered Jonathan's career; the "Māori come lately" argument made by some was unfair, while his support of aspects of Gordon Walter's work remains a challenging prospect to think about. McCarthy notes other failings, and in this way the book is not a mere "uff piece" and does not shy away from acknowledging these.

The first Section features two essays by Jonathan himself, each one a key angle of his practice as an art historian. They demonstrate his intimate knowledge of Victorian architecture and the church on the one hand, especially in his early career, and contemporary Māori art on the other. His attention to detail in the first essay stands out as an example of best practice, while the second essay highlights his role as a critic and commentator in relation to a field by which ultimately he was to find his way back to the *pa*. Given that Anna-Marie White identified 144 different essays and speeches (I counted), it is surprising, and just a little disappointing, that not more space in the book was given to his voice. Many of these 144 have become required reading for anyone keen to understand the nature of the contemporary arts scenes in New Zealand from the 1980s, and even earlier for Māori art.

Section Two was entitled "Victorian Art and Architectural Heritage", with five essays featured. Jonathan's colleague Ian Lochhead uses Jonathan's 1983 article on "pilgrim churches" as a starting point to examine the life and history of the church at Lyttleton, from its colonial beginnings, through the catastrophe of the Christchurch earthquakes, to Cathedral Grammar Church now replacing the fallen down structure. Another historical church study is provided in the next chapter. Here Jenny May pays homage to the solace Jonathan found inside St Michaels and All Angels Church in Christchurch, her introduction to it through his teaching and being a fellow parishioner later on. She describes the church as "Jonathan's spiritual home", reflecting the warm place that it held for him (p. 72). The third chapter shifts to look at a much larger architectural site, this time Christ's College in Christchurch. Robyn Peers, a former student of Jonathan's, charts the history since the first building of 1863, through the many renovations and extensions. What comes through clearly in this essay and May's is a deep sense of physical and spiritual loss caused by the earthquakes, and also the tenacity and sense of stoicism by so many to retain and rebuild their landscape.

From here the book shifts to focus on art history, starting with an essay wittily written by Mark Stocker on a single painting (*Idlesse* by Thomas Benjamin Kennington), prompted by Jonathan's enthusiasm for the topic when it was a blog post. Why were not more essays spurred by such moments? At times it seemed that a brief two or three lines introduced a topic when in fact the opportunity here was to engage with Jonathan's scholarship throughout the text of each chapter. Katharine Lochnan's chapter ends this section. Just as Mane-Wheoki sought to re-assert Māori art into the mainstream in this country, so too does Lochnan here make a case for Evelyn Underhill to be placed as one of the key writers and thinkers about mysticism alongside Roger Fry and Clive Bell. This parallel in methodology and indeed any mention to Jonathan is sadly avoided.

Section Three is entitled "New Zealand Art and Art History", with four chapters picking up on different areas of this field that fascinated Mane-Wheoki. Linda Tyler, an ex-student, writes about the hugely popular 1906 Exhibition held in Christchurch,

reviewing the ways in which Pakeha 'non-Māori' artists such as Henry Kennett Watkins were promoted to sell New Zealand as having its own distinct identity. Peter Simpson, Jonathan's colleague at Canterbury University and the University of Auckland, uses the chapter as a way to complement Mane-Wheoki's 2010 Hocken Lecture. Here he looks at the nature of the connection between the patron Charles Brasch and artist Colin McCahon. Simpson has drawn heavily from Brasch's personal journals to show us their evolving relationship, and its rocky path after 1958. Such first-person insights can be powerful, and allows the reader to make their own judgements about matters.

Lara Strongman draws on her MA thesis on Fomison, supervised by Mane-Wheoki, to consider the relationship of the artist with Philip Claremont beginning with in 1969 in Christchurch. Their story is fascinating as it changed over the years and their art became important protests in themselves. Sarah Farrar's essay rounds off this Section. As testament to Jonathan's mentoring, she moved from student (at Canterbury) to colleague (at Te Papa)—indeed many of the writers in the book were former students and have now made significant career paths which reflects the time and energies that Mane-Wheoki put in to mentoring his students. She writes about his challenges as Head of Art and determination to keep all sides happy in the creation of *Toi Te Papa: Art of the Nation*, arguably his major contribution at Te Papa. This set the bar for later iterations, and while the narrative format was challenged by some, it was a legacy from his many years as a lecturer in Art History.

The last Section is "Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Art". Roger Blackley writes about the Māori-commissioned portraits of Gottfried Lindauer, arguing that this Māori patronage, "offers a distinct point of difference within the art histories of the British settler colonies" (p. 200). Anna-Marie White (Te Atiawa), an ex-student, tackles the breadth of his archives, celebrating the oral nature of the majority of the documents, and the ways in which his role throughout was based on his extensive knowledge of both Māori and New Zealand art history, a background few have. Chloe Cull (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki) then takes us into the workshop of Emily Karaka, based on a chapter from her MA thesis. She uses interviews with the artist to let us hear Emily's own words, in doing so following one of the core values of *kaupapa* Māori research, where the voices of individuals have priority. She ends most appropriately with one of Emily's poems. Karen Stevenson's chapter uses Jonathan 2008 CIHA speech to tease out the ways in which Pacific art has found its place through the advocacy of people like Jonathan, but also institutions around the Pacific. She introduces us to three artists whose work has become globally known through their engagement with different exhibitions, at all times maintaining their role as advocates of key issues for Pacific peoples through their art. The final essay here is an interview by Martin Bryant of Huhana Smith (NgātiTukorehe, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga) and Penny Allan about their collaborative design, science and *matauranga* 'understanding' Māori work on a Horowhenua–Kapiti coast project. While it provides a fascinating insight into some of the tricky issues of working cross-culturally, it was difficult to figure out just why the essay was chosen for the book, interesting though it was, and perhaps some stage-setting in the introduction might have been useful here.

The chapters are rounded off with an Afterword by Caroline Turner who shares some of the work that Jonathan undertook as part of the Asia Pacific Triennials

(APT). His work, particularly in relation to the 1996 APT that he co-curated with Jim Vivieaere and Margo Neale, signalled a new direction both for the APT and in many ways his own practice as an art historian. She ends with the kindest of words: "He was a fearless intellectual voyager, inspiring others to conceive of new horizons while travelling, as his courageous ancestors had done, to new worlds on an ocean with no horizon" (p. 252).

The last essay is an annotated bibliography by Anna-Marie White, a PhD student now at Victoria University after many years curating at the Suter. She meticulously lists Mane-Wheoki's 144 works, revealing the breadth of his research, writing and speech-making, though some more critical comment on the sources would have been useful for future budding researchers. The bibliography is also not chronological, which was irritating. Based on this, a timeline of his life and work would have been really useful to understand the shifts in his practice.

The focus on Christchurch in many of the essays is a beautiful way of paying homage to Jonathan and the many years he spent around the city, not only in university classrooms, but in the church, giving public talks and supporting the city through its most difficult times by advocating for the retention of its architectural distinctiveness.

The quality of the book is unparalleled. The hard cover has boldly used an abstract portrait of Jonathan by Shannon Novak, who was mentored by Mane-Wheoki at Elam School of Fine Arts, "and was a very significant influence on his work and career" (Paul Bushnell, pers. comm., 3 July 2018). It glows with its bright pinkness, standing out on the bookshelves. Printed on thick glossy paper, and filled with stunning colour images throughout, the attention to detail is clear from the first page. It certainly sets a new standard for publishing.

As an architecture aficionado it is only right that we think of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki's writings as a *whare* 'house': all his many writings provide the foundation stones, the essays in *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance* can be conceived of as *poupou* "supports", as they build layers onto Jonathan Mane-Wheoki's own work—so what is built next? Perhaps his project *Toi Te Mana* might be able to add something here. While Jonathan may no longer be with us, his *whakairo* 'thoughts' and his *moemoea* 'dreams' continue on as Deidre Brown and I complete the first draft. In *Toi Te Mana* we will be including his own writing, some of which he left us just for the project, and others sections taken from those 144 resources. These have become *taonga tukuiho* 'heirlooms' for us, as they will for others.

Ultimately, Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker must be applauded for their tenacity in gathering and editing all the material in *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki.* It truly is a symbol of the *aroha* 'love' that they had for Jonathan, as he had for them. *Moe mai, e* Jonathan.

> *Kia torotouao, me temarakumara, Awhimaiou aka, iterawakore, kia puta maitou whanau, tipuake, heiputiputipuawai, moteaowhanui*
>
> May your world flourish, like a garden of kumara, and your vines reach out to, those in need, may your family grow, and emerge, like flowers blossoming, over the wide world.
>
> Arapera Blank, *Kitetahitangata kai-ngakau. To a Sensitive Person*, from her book *For Someone I Love.*

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

August to November 2018

Crowe, Andrew: *Pathways of the Birds: Achievements of Māori and their Polynesian Ancestors*. Auckland/Honolulu: Bateman/University of Hawai'i Press, 2018. pp. 288, biblio., illus., index, notes, plates. NZ$ 49.99 (soft cover).

Frost, Alan: *Mutiny, Mayhem, Mythology: Bounty's Enigmatic Voyage*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2018. 336 pp., biblio., illus., index, notes, plates. A$40 (soft cover).

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