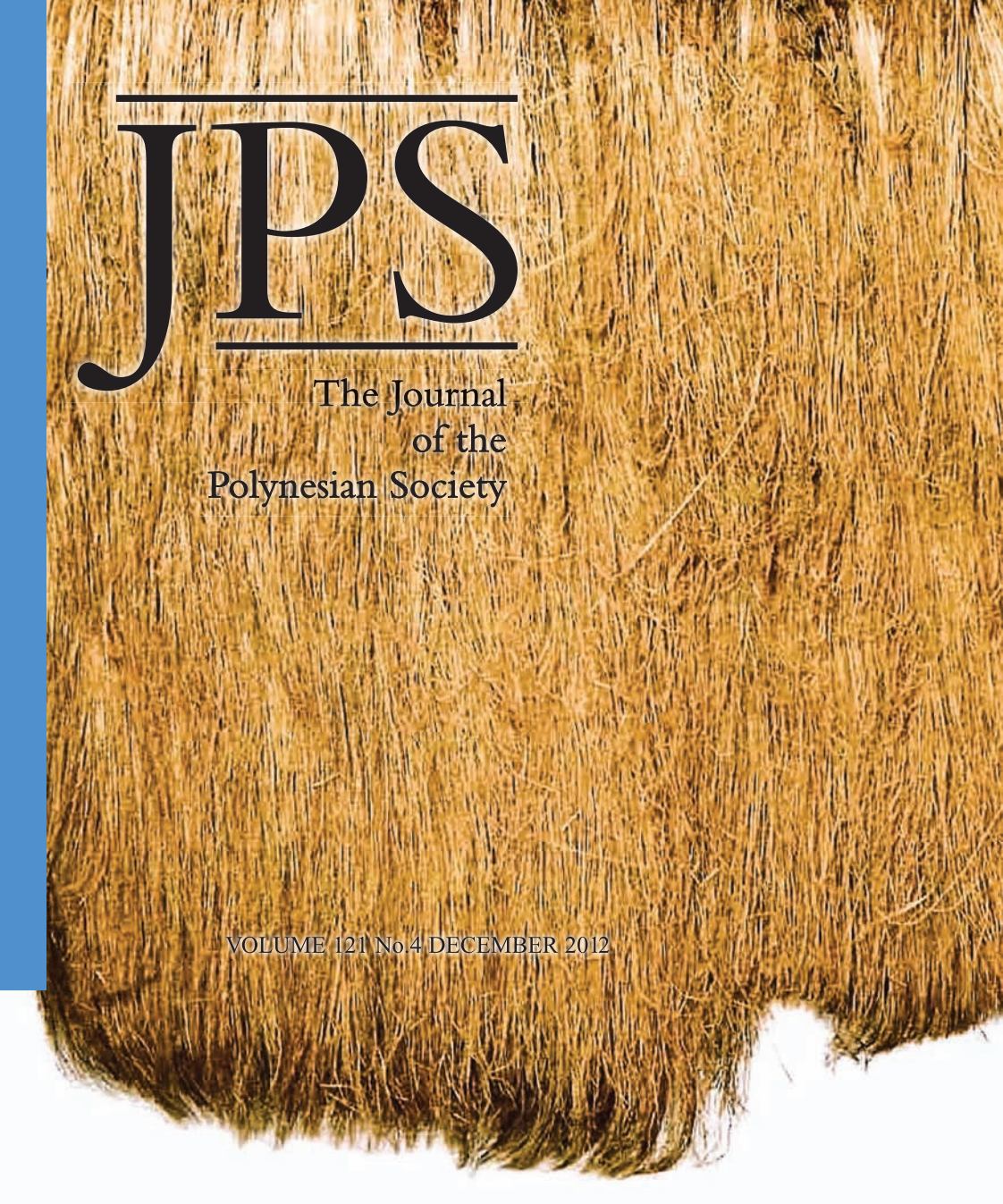

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The Journal of the Polynesian Society

VOLUME 121 No.4 DECEMBER 2012

THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY
THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

Volume 121 DECEMBER 2012 Number 4

Published quarterly
by the
Polynesian Society (Inc.), Auckland, New Zealand

Published in New Zealand by the Polynesian Society (Inc.)

Inquiries should be made to:

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The Polynesian Society
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Private Bag 92019, Auckland

ISSN 0032-4000 (print)
ISSN 2230-5955 (online)

Indexed in CURRENT CONTENTS, Behavioural, Social and Managerial Sciences, in INDEX TO NEW ZEALAND PERIODICALS, and in ANTHROPOLOGICAL INDEX.

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Volume 121 DECEMBER 2012 Number 4

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TONGAN WAYS OF TALKING

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Some excellent work has been published on Tongan speech levels from a sociolinguistic perspective (e.g., Philips 1991). The purpose of this article is to contribute to the literature by describing some important, not previously well-described features of ways of talking (WOT) in Tongan. I will use as my theoretical framework George Grace's theory of language; he argued that a language is "a generalized way of talking about things" (Grace 1987: 99), a device for saying things, and it is, in turn, made up of "conventionalized ways of talking about consecrated subject-matters" (p. 103). In this article I will distinguish the following "ways of talking" (WOT):[1]

WOT 1. *lea fakatu'i*—way of talking to or about the monarch/king (*tu'i)*

WOT 2. *lea fakahouhou'eiki*—way of talking to or about chiefly people (*hou'eiki*)

WOT 3. *lea fakamatāpule*—polite way of talking that is characteristic of titled orators (*matāpule*)

WOT 4. *lea fakatōkilalo* / *faka'aki'akimui*—self-derogatory way of talking when addressing those of higher rank

WOT 5. *lea tavale*—way of talking to a person with whom one is familiar or with whom one is socially equal, or way of talking to or about commoners (*tu'a*)

WOT 6. *lea 'ita*—abusive way of talking

Here I make four main claims about Tongan ways of talking:

- The number of registers described for Tongan has been underestimated. I distinguish six (above) instead of the three that are traditionally described: of king—*tu'i*, of chiefs—*hou'eiki*, of commoners—*tu'a*.
- Not enough attention has been paid to the interactional factors in operation in these ways of talking, including the fact that more than one way of talking may be used in an interaction. Complex and subtle social factors are involved.
- WOT 1-5 are used to a significant degree in non-interactional modes of expression, such as songs, poems, speeches, sermons and ceremonial orations in cultural gatherings. In particular, WOT 3 (*lea fakamatāpule*) can be viewed as a continuum, ranging from, for instance, a simple, polite, formal greeting to a more elaborate, oratorical, public speech.

- WOT 1-3 have the purpose of *fakalāngilangi* 'to raise, extol, praise, lit. make out to reach the sky', *fakahikihiki* 'to compliment, flatter, lit. make out to lift high', *faka'apa'apa* 'to show respect and support, lit. behave in a way that is characteristic of *'apa'apa*, name given to the occupants of the two positions immediately to the left and right of the monarch in the royal *kava* ceremony'. By contrast, WOT 4 and WOT 6 have the purpose of *tuku hifo* 'to lower, deprecate, lit. put down' but WOT 4 is self-derogatory while WOT 6 disparages others. WOT 5 is the neutral, everyday, familiar, equal-to-equal way of talking, and can be used either to praise or deprecate.

For instance, reference to the monarch in situations such as a cultural gathering or church service would use WOT 1 and 4, but in other situations, such as in violent protests or talk among people themselves, reference to the monarch could use WOT 5 and 6. Moreover, WOT 1 and 2 can be used to refer to people/things other than kings and chiefs, and kings and chiefs can be referred to using other ways of talking. The significance of WOT 3, and the fact that WOT 4 plays a stronger role in interactions that use WOT 1-3, have not been sufficiently acknowledged in the sociolinguistic literature.

It needs to be said at the outset that many Tongans do not interactionally use— or even know—WOT 1 and 2, and to some extent 3. A similar point was made by Churchward (1953: 304-5). Tongan culture does not normally provide opportunities for the bulk of commoner Tongans to interact with the monarch or chiefs. Moreover, because WOT 4 goes hand in hand with WOT 1-3, many Tongans are not accustomed to using WOT 4 either, at least in its stronger version (as in Text 1 below). Philips (2011: 250) makes the point that "[c]ontrol of lexical honorifics *is* a specialized form of knowledge…. The honorifics are not part of all Tongans' everyday use in the way that is true, for example, of Japanese honorification. Nor are they built into the constitution of kinship relations, as is true for example of Lhasa Tibetan (Agha 1993)". Furthermore, in these days of declining use of Tongan language in places like New Zealand, this situation has deteriorated further. Among the youthful population of NZ Tongans who have been raised in NZ and who have maintained fluency in Tongan, I would say WOT 1-4 are more or less absent. They speak mostly WOT 5, and research suggests that WOT 6 is also used widely (Fonua 2003, Morton 1996). According to language maintenance research, when a language declines it is the more formal ways of talking that are the first to go because language maintenance depends on use, and formal registers tend to be the least used (Davis 1998, Davis and Starks 2005, Otsuka 2007, Taumoefolau *et al.* 2004).[2] Because of the esoteric nature of knowledge of some of these honorific ways of talking, it is not easy to find examples of texts that would give a good indication of the range and scope of their use, and this has influenced my choice of texts (see my selection of

Text 1 and Text 8 below). The use of a passage from a national exam script also indicates that for some children, the opportunity to learn the honorific ways of speaking may only be through the school curriculum.

That said, WOT 1-4 are, to varying extents, features of oratory and speeches, prayer and sermons, poetry and songs. These uses, though not interactional (or less so), are nevertheless significant and for some Tongans may be the modes of expression from which they have acquired these ways of talking.

Relationships between the Levels of Society and the Ways of Talking

There is no one to one relationship between the three main levels of society (king, chiefly people and commoners) and the ways of talking, but they are related in the sense that WOT 1 is a way of referring to, but not exclusively, the king; WOT 2 is a way of referring to, but not exclusively, the chiefly classes; and WOT 5 is a way of referring to, but not exclusively, commoners. WOT 5 reflects the common situation when rank is not an issue, and therefore can be used by anyone regardless of their rank as long as that situation applies. The other three ways of talking are not aimed at any particular level of society but are used mainly in accordance with the speaker's purpose. WOT 3 is a polite way of talking which is characteristic of orators, hence its name *lea fakamatāpule*, and is used to address or refer to people who are not necessarily chiefly but who are respected in the society or at least by the speaker. WOT 4 is the humiliative way of talking and is therefore a necessary corollary of WOT 1-3, but it can be used by persons of any rank to show humility. WOT 6 bears witness to the situation in which the speaker wants to release their frustration about some subject matter.

Overlapping Ways of Talking

Although I am mainly concerned with ways of talking here, I also need to make the point that ways of talking overlap in both interactions and non-interactional modes of expression. Because of this, I have found it challenging to find appropriate examples of single ways of talking to put under the heading of a way of talking. In a public speech, for instance, one finds examples of WOT 1, 2, 3, 4 and even 5. It is therefore important to note at the outset that ways of talking are not discrete categories of speech modes or speech levels but rather mixed and include one another.

ON GRACE AND WAYS OF TALKING

A language, Grace wrote, consists of "conventionalized ways of talking about consecrated subject matters" (1987: 99). Ways of talking in his conception have distinctive patterns of performance in both form and content. He proposes that ways of talking exist

> … on a scale of generality from the most sharply focused (i.e. those with the most sharply focused subject matters) to the most general. As one proceeds on the scale from general to focused, each succeeding way of talking is a special development within a more general way of talking…. One can go on, in fact, to speak of an individual language… as a generalized way of talking itself. (Grace 1987: 101)

In the ways of talking I discuss in this article, WOT 5 is more general than the others, which have more focused subject matters. WOT 1-3, for instance, are used when the subject matter relates to a person (or kind of person or object) who/which is worthy of respect or worship.

According to Grace, ways of talking reflect the culture and thought of speakers since subject matters have their basis in speakers' experience of their environment. Writing about Grace's "subject matters", Pawley (1991: 341) noted that "[M]embers of a speech community will develop a body of subjects, topics or themes of discourse that reflect the conceptual worlds and concerns of its members". The ways of talking described in this paper are represented in texts which speak of subject matters that are in general conventional in and reflective of Tongan culture. Grace's characterisation of a language as a way of talking aligns the language with the culture of the speakers. "… a language is shaped by its culture, and a culture is given expression in its language, to such an extent that it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins, i.e. what belongs to language and what belongs to culture" (Grace 1987: 10).

Grace stated that translation reveals the importance of ways of talking about things. Ways of talking can be similar across languages that share subject matters. At the same time, languages can talk about different subject matters. Referring to Grace's "subject matters" Pawley (1991:341) wrote that "speech communities which have markedly divergent cultures will have rather different sets of conventional subject matters". When a way of talking in the Source Language (SL) is present also in the Target Language (TL), then translation will be relatively easy. "Translation will predictably be easy whenever the entire discourse to be translated falls within a way of talking that is common to both languages" (Grace 1987: 105). This view predicts that if the SL text to be translated contains a way of talking that is more or less absent in the TL, then the translation will be difficult. Taumoefolau (2004a) wrote that one of the difficulties of translating Queen Sālote's Tongan poetry into English is that English does not have honorific ways of talking. Some of Queen Sālote's poems contain honorifics. When Tongan is the TL, it is sometimes the case that honorific ways of talking appear in the translated text even though the SL lacks such ways of talking. The Moulton translation of the Bible into Tongan in the early 1900s is a case in point. The translators inserted

respectful ways of talking when they considered them to be appropriate in certain contexts despite the fact they were not so expressed in the SL text. To illustrate this practice, which shows the cultural significance of Tongan respectful ways of talking, I have included texts from the Bible (see Texts 2, 4 and 9 below).[3]

Grace noted (1987: 94) that "...our ways of talking about things are not completely accounted for by our grammars and our lexicons". We need to account also for idiomatology, which Grace defined as "a catchall term for everything that is necessary to know in order to speak a given language idiomatically, but which would not ordinarily be reported in a dictionary or grammatical description" (1981: 174). In describing Grace's ways of talking about things, Pawley (1991: 341) wrote:

> … there is more to speaking a language than just knowing the meanings of individual words and the rules of sentence formation. One such situation is when we come across a text produced by a foreigner that is perfectly grammatical but quite unidiomatic. Another is when, armed with a good dictionary and grammar book, we are unable to make sense of a piece of text in an exotic language.

Indeed, Grace wrote that "when people speak or write, they produce text to a pattern (or patterns). Linguistic description is an attempt to describe and account for the patterns exhibited by the texts…. However,… some of the patterning has been neglected (i.e. what I have called idiomatology)" (1981: 167). Using Grace's notion of idiomatology can illuminate in the texts analysed below the use of conventions that are idiomatic and "nativelike" (i.e., typical of the speech of native speakers [see Pawley and Syder 1983]), such as techniques of raising through contrasts provided by self-derogation (Text 1 below) or honorification through the personification of places (Text 7 below), conventions that would not ordinarily be brought out in a lexical or grammatical analysis. As Pawley (1991: 367) noted in his analysis of how to talk about cricket, "what is needed here is an analytic framework that is considerably richer than the conventional grammar-lexicon model".

Grace proposed that the most significant development in languages since the emergence of full-fledged language has been "the invention of new ways of talking… ways of talking about things (or subject matters) for which there was previously no way of talking" (1987: 97). "The basis for a new way of talking… is the principle of metaphor, of speaking of one thing in terms of another… as a subject matter becomes conventional, as a new way of talking begins to crystallize, the metaphoric base also becomes largely fixed and conventional. In due time, some of the terms used in the new way of talking will be thought of as being used 'literally'" (1987: 102).

New ways of talking would be expected to contain more metaphor and more multimorphemic vocabulary because new things are being talked about in terms of old things. In her analysis of metaphorical extension of everyday words in Tongan honorific speech, Philips (2010: 321) explained that her Tongan informants did not talk about honorifics as being metaphorical: "They do not seem to think of honorifics in such terms, perhaps because those that involve metaphors are 'dead metaphors' or 'frozen metaphors', so routinized that their metaphorical quality is not at a ready level of conscious awareness." Haugen and Philips' (2010) study investigating the formation of the Tongan honorific register found that the chiefly vocabulary (what is here called WOT 2) has developed more recently than the regal vocabulary (our WOT 1), and part of the evidence for this is that there are more metaphorical extensions of meaning of everyday words (our WOT 5) in the chiefly vocabulary. They argued that the regal vocabulary is older and was part of a regional honorific system associated with prehistorical Tu'i Tonga imperialism. These comments seem to be consistent with Grace's point about the use of metaphor in ways of speaking. It is interesting that there is significant metaphorical extension of WOT 5 concepts in WOT 1-4, the implication being that WOT 5 is older and a more basic way of talking. Grace (1987: 103) wrote:

> [W]ays of talking about things normally reflect assumptions which are often left unstated. Thus they often have deeper implications which may not be fully recognised by those acquiring the particular way of talking. For example,… the way of talking chosen for reporting a specific incident (as in news reporting) may reflect assumptions about the larger context—the political and economic forces at play.[4]

A speaker may say something in order to achieve an end that is not necessarily explicitly expressed. In Tongan, speaking in the self-derogatory way (WOT 4) has the purpose of expressing respect for the addressee, or a speaker may use the conversational way of talking (WOT 5) in order to develop rapport and solidarity with a high-ranking addressee. Some writers make the point that the use of honorific terms has the purpose of constructing hierarchy (Keating 2005, Taliai 1989). Taumoefolau (2004a) made a similar point about Queen Sālote's poetry, which uses a mix of regal, chiefly and orator language to reinforce the unity and loyalty of her subjects.

SOME COMMENTS ON METHODOLOGY

Early work on languages with honorific speech registers, such as Javanese, Japanese, Pohnpeian and Tongan, tended simply to match a speech level with a particular catagory of people in the society. But in more recent years there has been a trend for scholars to delve more deeply into the sociocultural

context to produce more explanatory accounts of the use of honorific registers. Methodologically these studies have been based more on observations of actual language use, rather than relying on information provided by native speakers. In general, more variation in the use of honorifics and more context-dependent factors have been discussed than were allowed for in the more simplistic earlier studies. Examples of these more socially-nuanced studies are Uhlenbeck (1970) on Javanese, Keating (2005) on Pohnpeian and Matsumoto (1989) on Japanese (see also Agha 1994 for reviews of various studies on different languages with honorific systems).

Uhlenbeck (1970) pointed to flaws in the earlier work of Geertz (1960), who maintained that different levels of respect forms were used exclusively by persons of particular social status in Javanese society. Uhenbeck showed that it was possible for speakers to use different styles strategically depending on the social context. Moreover, Geertz had wrongly proposed that once a speech level was chosen by a speaker to use to an addressee, the speaker would need to keep to that style in future interactions. In addition to correcting these misleading statements by Geertz, Ulenbeck also criticised the fact that Geertz had relied too much on native speaker views instead of observing data of actual use.

Keating's (2005) study of the use of honorific speech levels in Pohnpeian used data consisting of everyday interactions to uncover subtle points in discourse that showed "the manipulation of status categories beyond simple dichotomies of high and low" (p. 25). Her analysis emphasised the importance of situational and contextual features as well as topic and stance in the choice of honorific register. Matsumoto (1989) challenged the theory of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) on linguistic politeness and Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, which, they maintained, were universal. Matsumoto (1989) demonstrated that the principles advocated by Brown and Levinson, and by Grice, were not applicable in Japanese. Matsumoto (1989: 219-20) maintained: "[I]n Japanese, social context seems to play a larger role than it is given in the theories of Grice or of Brown and Levinson."

This trend is also true of more recent work on Tongan speech levels. This is shown in the more analytical approaches of Churchward (1953), Taliai (1989), Völkel (2010, 2011) and Philips (1991, 2007, 2010 and 2011). Earlier writers, such as Mariner (1817), Gifford (1929) and the Free Wesleyan Education Office (n.d.) tended to classify the honorifics into static levels that corresponded to societal levels. Shumway (1971) showed some variations in the use of the speech levels. Most writers on Tongan, however, have accepted the traditional tripartite division of the speech levels, a point that the present treatment departs from. There has been a tendency to represent speech levels by listing words used for the king, for chiefs and for commoners in three columns. Völkel (2011: 173-74), for example, wrote: "[T]he honorific

system operates only at the lexical level, in a three-tiered structure of kingly, chiefly, and people." While listing words in columns may be a good way of summarising the speech levels, it can be quite misleading. First, it can give the impression that the only difference between speech levels is a lexical one; for instance, that by inserting a regal word in a sentence we make it appropriate for addressing the king. Much of importance can be omitted if we go by this assumption. Grace regarded ways of talking as embracing both the grammar and the vocabulary which, in tandem, express concepts, the learning of which "…transmits not only form but also preferred subject matters, attitudes toward them, beliefs, etc., i.e. not only forms of expression but also what is conventionally expressed" (1981: 69).

I should note that there are some things that are not said to the king, e.g., it is against protocol to ask the king to do errands or chores around the house. One might remark to a schoolboy,[5] "'*Alu-5 'o 'omai 'a e sofa mei he loki ko ē ke ke mohe-5 ai.*" 'Go-5 and fetch a sofa from that room and sleep-5 on it.' It is not likely that one could ever say to the king, "*Hā'ele-1 'o 'omai 'a e sofa mei he loki ko ē ke ke tōfā-1 ai.*" 'Go-1 and fetch the sofa from that room so you can sleep-1 on it'. The subject matter (content), not just form, is also part of the way of talking. Ervin-Tripp's point quoted in Grace (1981: 17) supports this: "...learning what is typically American content may be part of the competence acquired along with the English language itself." The fact that the example with the regal word substituted above does not make the sentence appropriate to address the king shows that WOT 1 is not a lexical system only. The regal words are couched in a sentence the meaning of which specifies that the modality of such an order is not part of WOT 1. Honorific lexical items occur in a context that is provided by larger linguistic structures, and without this context individual honorific words and expressions do not make sense.

In the "columns" approach, writers tend to list two or three synonyms under the commoner column. For instance, Völkel (2010: 210-13) listed under *kakai* 'people' words two synonyms alongside the ordinary *kakai* term. She acknowledged that these synonyms are described by Churchward as abusive and polite forms. For example, in the *kakai* column she listed the synonyms *mohe*, *po'uli* and *fokoutua* all meaning 'sleep'. Lumping together polite, abusive and ordinary terms obscures the fact that these belong to very different ways of talking that imply different social relationships and contexts of use. This means that the abusive form is not so much a *kakai* form but a form used when the speaker, regardless of his/her rank, has the purpose of abusing an addressee, regardless of the addressee's rank. In other words, it is not so much the rank of the persons involved in the interaction but the purpose and subject matter of the interaction that determine which way of speaking is selected. Studying ways of talking about things, rather than speech levels or

social registers, takes account of purpose and subject matter, and is a fuller, more rounded and inclusive approach to increasing understanding of the use of the speech levels in the language.

Finally, having lists of words under the headings of king, chiefs and commoners gives the impression that the words in each column are used only of the category of people in the heading of the column. This is not consistent with what we know of actual usage, as Phillips (1991, 2010) and Völkel (2010, 2011) also acknowledged. Not only can regal and chiefly vocabulary be used of God and modern elitist groups respectively, but they can also be used of other things. Each of the ways of talking can be used metaphorically in situations other than those specified in their names. This is illustrated by some of the texts given below.

To get a more complete view of the ways of talking, I provide texts and examine them for their main features and conceptual content. This approach embraces vocabulary, grammar and idioms. I examine the texts in terms of their purpose and subject matter, which in turn determine the selection of conceptual elements and their idiomatic and metaphorical nature. The texts provide a high number of conventional expressions that reflect Grace's "idiomatology" and Pawley and Syder's (1983) "nativelike selection". I have tried to make the translation of the texts as idiomatic as possible, but at the same time literal enough to indicate the idiomatology of the Tongan ways of talking. This framework of analysis would permit a much clearer recognition of the link between the Tongan language and Tongan thought and culture, though it is beyond the scope of this article to analyse this link closely. No text is limited to one way of talking, so in all the examples several ways of talking are encountered. I have avoided providing texts for the abusive way of talking for obvious reasons. However, most of the examples I give are authentic texts in the sense they are taken from the literature (Feldman 1981, Fonua 2003, Helu 1999a).

DIFFERENT WAYS OF TALKING

Lea Fakatu'i *'Way of Talking to or about the King' – WOT 1*

Lea fakatu'i is the phrase used here for the way of talking to or about the king, but it is also metaphorically applied to others who are regarded as having the status of king, e.g., God (Text 2 and 3 below) and the beloved in love songs and in situations of courtship (Text 5 below).

A major feature of WOT 1 (and WOT 2 and 3) is the simultaneous use of the self-derogatory WOT 4 in discourse where the speaker refers to himself/herself. It is the semantic contrast between the raising of the king and the self-lowering of the speaker that heightens the sense of sacredness afforded the regal addressee or referent (see Text 1 below).

The conceptual content of this way of talking is full of high and lofty ideas reflecting the king's *tapu* 'sacredness', *mana* 'underlying sense of power' and *molumalu* 'dignity, lit. shady, protected area of shade, a protective aura'. This leads to the use of metaphorical concepts with indirect and euphemistic reference. *Tapu mo e langí* 'lit. [I] acknowledge the sacredness of the sky' is an opening line of a speech acknowledging the king. *Fakamālū*, the regal term for bathing, is derived from *fakamālūlū* which means to make moist and soft—clearly euphemistic in nature. *Taumafa*, the regal word for eating, may be derived from *mafa*, the unreduplicated stem of *mamafa* 'heavy' and *maſamafa* 'moderately heavy', which may involve the idea of "becoming heavy" or "making heavy". Older expressions probably no longer used today are *vaotapu* 'lit. sacred bush' for toilet and *tā ki liku tā ki fanga* 'lit. hit towards cliff-bound coast, hit towards beach' for wiping the back and wiping the front. Philips (1991) gave the example of *mau fakateiapa'a ho takaſalú* 'lit. we huddle behind your royal-back [to address you]'. This is an expression that is also commonly used in reference to God.

The following three texts provide examples of the regal way of talking. Below each text is a brief analysis of the main features of the text.

Text 1. Commoner to king requesting a plot of land from the royal estate to use for gardening. This text was taken from a comprehension passage in a Tongan language paper in a national examination at Form 5 level in the early 2000s.

1. *'E Ho'o 'Afio-1, 'alo'ofa-1 mu'a kae matafi e tonga ho finangaló-1*

   Your Majesty-1, please be royally-kind-1 and may-the-[cold]-north-wind-be-swept away-from-your-royal-will-1

2. *kae fai atu e ki'i-4 fakahoha'a-4 fiematamu'á-4 ni.*

   So [I] can present this little-4 cause-for-worry-4 that presumes-to-be-important-4.

3. *Ko e tu'utāmakí mo e masivá kuo vivili-3,*

   [My] neediness and poverty have become so pressing-3,

4. *'o ne o'i-3 e motu'á ni-4 ke fakata'emālū'ia-4 ki he Feitu'úna-1/2,*

   they have compelled-3 this-old-man-4 to be–apparently-unheeding-of-the-dignity-4 of Yonder-Space-1/2,

5. *ka te-3 lele-4 mai 'o fakatangi-3 atu-3 na'a 'i ai ha'o 'ofa tōnoa-4,*

   so I-3 have run-4 here to cry-respectfully-3 in-your-direction-3 lest there be love-falling-incidently-4,

6. *kae afeitaulalo-1 mu'a e 'Afioná-1, 'o 'omi ha ki'i-4 tala'ivao-4*

   and turn-towards-the-lowly-1 Your Majesty-1, and bring a little-4 thorny-bush-4

7. *'i he tofi'a-1 'i Matatoá, ke fai ai si'a vavaku-4 'a e motu'á ni-4,*

   in the royal estate-1 at Matatoa, for this-old-man-4 to carry out a pitiful scratching-4,

8. *Ha ki'i-4 mohenga moa-4 ke tauhi'aki si'oto fanga 'uhiki-4.*

   A mere4 bed-of-chickens-4 to provide for my poor litter-of-animal-young-4.

9. *'Okú te-3 kōlenga-3 atu ke faka'atu'i-3 mu'a hoto-3 mā'ulaló-4 mo e 'ikai ha falala'angá.*

   I-3 beseech-3 your-direction to regard-with-sympathy-3 one's-3 lowliness-4 and [one's] not having someone-to-depend-on [meaning not having a spouse or being a widower].

10. *Ko e me'a pē 'okú te-3 lavá ko e hunuki-4 ha ki'i-4 fu'u manioke-4,*

    The only thing I-3 can do is poke-4 a little-4 stalk of cassava-4,

11. *ka 'oku 'ikai ha kelekele-5, pea ko ia 'oku tu'unga-3 ai*

    but there is no land-5, and that is the basis-3

12. *'a e kole fiematamu'á-4 ni. Ko e hā ha koloa 'e tō-1 mo'ó e motu'a me'avalé ni-4,*

    this request that-presumes-to-be-important-4. Whatever treasure-will-fall-1 for this-commoner-old-man-4,

13. *Te te-3 tali mo e fakafeta'i-1/2/3.*

    I-3 will accept with thanks-1/2/3.

Analysis: The immediate purpose is to praise and compliment the king while lowering the speaker in order for the speaker to respectfully make a request for a piece of land from the king's estate so that he can grow crops on it to feed his children. Because of the great difference in status, the speech needs to be expressed in the greatest respect possible. This is achieved through the use of a semantic contrast between complimentary concepts used of the king and self-derogatory concepts to describe the commoner speaker's perspective. Table 1 following shows this contrast of affective meaning.

Table 1.

Self-Derogatory	Other-Raising
1. Speaker apologises for disturbing other (*fakahoha'a* line 2)	1. Refers to addressee's presence as majestic (*Ho'o 'Afio* line 1)
2. Apologises for presuming that his request/ he himself is important (*fiematamu'a* line 2)	2. Asks addressee to be royally-kind (*'alo'ofa* line 1)
3. Rushes in without respect (*fakata'emālū'ia* line 4)	3. Asks that the addressee's "royal-will" (*finangalo* line 1) be warm and receptive (*matafi e tonga ho finangaló* line 1)
4. "Run" here instead of "come" here (*lele* line 5)	4. Avoids direct reference (You) so uses the phrase Yonder Space (*Feitu'una* line 4)
5. Not assume that any good coming his way is on his account (*'ofa tōnoa* line 5)	5. Asks addressee to "come down" from on high and consider the fallen / needy / poor (*afeitaulalo* line 6)
6. Asks for only a little thorny bush befitting his low status (dimunitive *ki'i tala'ivao* line 6)	6. Refers to addressee's land as royal-land (*tofi'a* line 7)
7. Can only scratch the soil with fingers (*vavaku* line 7)	7. Refers to addressee's reply as a treasure falling on the speaker (*ha koloa 'e tō* line 12)
8. Refers to himself as old-man (*motu'á ni* line 7)	8. Addressee is to be royally-thanked (*fakafeta'i* line 13)
9. Calls his garden a little chickens' nest (*ki'i mohenga moa* line 8)	
10. Calls his children his litter of animal young (*fanga 'uhikí* line 8)	
11. Asks to excuse his lowliness (*mā'ulaló* line 9)	
12. Says his only ability is to poke a little cassava plant [the lowest prestige food-crop] into the ground (*hunuki ha ki'i fu'u manioke* line 10)	
13. Refers to his request as cheeky because presumes to be important (*kole fiematamu'a* line 12)	
14. Refers to himself as old, foolish and a commoner (*motu'a me'avalé ni* line 12)	

Text 1 shows that when the purpose of the discourse is personal to the speaker who addresses the king, the self-derogatory way of talking is essential to the discourse. Yet the self-derogatory way of talking is traditionally left out, or hardly discussed in the literature on Tongan honorific speech levels.

Because the purpose of this speech is to make a request to the royal addressee, the discourse is very structured and formal with a clear introduction (line 1) and conclusion (lines 12-13). The introduction prepares the way for the request by using the idiomatic phrase: *matafi e tonga ho finangaló* (line 1). In Tonga when the wind blows from the south it usually brings cold air to the land, so this idea is used metaphorically, expressing the hope that the south wind would be swept away from the king's will so that he may look kindly on the speaker and grant his request. This phrase is commonly used of God as well. In the conclusion, the speaker uses another idiomatic fixed metaphor: *ha koloa 'e tō* (line 12) 'lit. a treasure that will fall' meaning that he will be blessed to receive a word of reply from the king whatever it would be. The idea of *tō* 'falling' reinforces the psychological space of high speaking to low, and the idea of the king's reply/words being *koloa* 'treasure, wealth' means that even a negative answer will still be treasured.

Litotes (i.e., understatement) is a common rhetoric device in the self-derogatory way of talking. The speaker describes his farming the land as merely *vavaku* 'scratching the soil with his fingers' (line 7), and his would-be garden as a *mohenga moa* 'hen's nest' (line 8). Examples of productive self-lowering expressions are the use of *mohenga moa* in line 8 and *tala'ivao* 'thorny bush' for a plot of land (line 6). Metonymy (i.e., use of a specific concept denoting something relatively small to represent a broader, bigger concept) is also used as in *hunuki ha ki'i fu'u manioke* 'poke [for planting] a little cassava plant [for growing crops]'.

Some self-derogatory expressions may not be self-explanatory, such as the use of *lele* 'run' for *ha'u* 'come' (line 5). 'Run' is considered to be a less dignified act than 'come' or 'walk', and usually describes an attitude of servitude, as servants 'run' to serve their master, whereas 'walking' tends to be more dignified and ladylike/gentlemanlike. *Motu'á ni* 'lit. this old-man' (line 8) is used derogatively no matter how young the person may be, and this is because the idea of 'old-man' is considered to be less pleasing to the sight, less strong and probably more helpless. The compound adjective *me'avale* (line 12) means 'commoner' but literally means *me'a* 'thing' and *vale* 'foolish'. The term *afeitaulalo* (line 6) is morphemically analysable into *afe-i-tau-lalo* 'lit. turn-to-those-below' and is used by speakers who acknowledge subordination to persons of high rank such as the king and chiefly people. It is also commonly used in prayers.

As Grace has pointed out, translation difficulties arise when the source language and the target language do not talk about the same subject matter, that is to say, do not have the same ways of talking about things. Because the subject matter and content is as much a part of the way of talking as the style or form used, the self-derogatory meanings and expressions that are idiomatic in Tongan would be likely to sound strange in an English translation except in a very free translation in which the details of the self-derogatory way of talking are neutralised or left out. Honorific and self-derogatory ways of talking, however, are culturally significant aspects of Tongan respect. The use of the inclusive, singular, first-person, subject pronoun *te* (e.g., in lines 9 and 13) is more formal and respectful than the use of the exclusive, singular, first-person, subject pronoun *u*. This difference in tone would probably be lost in translation.

It is likely that ways of talking that express rank—WOT 1-4—are grammatically more complex than ways of talking that do not—WOT 5 and 6. The effect on the grammar of the purpose of a commoner requesting land from the king is that there are some structurally complex constructions. Line 3-8 is a single complex sentence with eight subordinating conjunctions. The subordinate clauses convey the details of the request for land, many of which are self-derogatory assertions and emotionally loaded. The complexity of the sentence is partly due to the speaker referring to himself as though he were in the third person: *o ʻi e motuʻá ni* ʻcompelled this old-manʼ (line 4), *siʻa vavaku ʻa e motuʻá ni* ʻa pitiful scratching of this old-manʼ (line 7). The tentativeness of the speaker's message, such as *naʻa ʻi ai ha ʻofa tōnoa* ʻin case there is love falling incidentlyʼ (line 5), and the need for him to maintain an intensely humiliative stance, as in the appositional phrase *ha kiʻi mohenga moa* ʻa little hen's nestʼ (line 8) add length to the sentence. This text indicates that the kingly way of talking is grammatically complex owing to the presence of metaphor in both self-derogatory and honorific language.

Text 2. Matthew 26: 39. Extract from Ko e Taulua, the New Testament in modern Tongan, published by the Bible Society in 2006. This version is bilingual, with the Tongan on the left column and the English on the right. The English is from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, which is close to the Greek version. The Tongan version was modernised using Moulton's translation of the Bible into Tongan, which was translated from the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Bible with consultation of the King James Version in English (Jione Havea pers. comm., Aug. 2012).

1. *Pea laka siʻi atu-5 ʻa Sīsū ʻo tō foʻohifo-5. Peá ne toki fai leva ʻene lotu-5,*

   Then Jesus took a few steps farther-5, and fell with his face to the ground-5. And he then prayed-5,

2. *‘o ne pehē-3, “‘E Tamai-5, kapau ‘e ala lava-3, pea ‘oua te u inu-5 he ipú ni-3.*
   and he said-3, “Oh, Father-5, if it is possible-3, let me not drink-5 from this cup-3.
3. *Ka neongo ia, ‘oua ‘e fai-5 hoku lotó-5, kae fai ho finangaló-1.”*
   Yet, do not act according-5 to my will-5, but according to your will-1.”

Analysis: The most significant thing about this text is the contrast between Jesus’s use of the ordinary everyday concept loto ‘will’ of himself as the speaker and the venerated regal concept *finangalo* ‘royal-will’ applied to God. This fits with the underlying purpose of Jesus showing the utmost respect for God, praising God and asking God if it is possible for him not to be crucified. The contrast stands out even more, as the concepts are side by side, and especially as both Jesus and the narrator of the story (line 1) use the ordinary everyday way of talking (WOT 5, see below).

The cup is biblical metaphor, and drinking from it would be symbolic of his impending death. In this context Jesus is overwhelmed with a sense of his humanity, his mortality. He poses his question tentatively: if it is possible for him to live? He uses the ordinary word *inu* ‘drink’ and *tamai* ‘father’ in referring to himself, but when referring to God, his deference to the royal will of God is powerfully brought out by the contrasting concepts in his sentence: *‘oua ‘e fai hoku lotó kae fai ho finangaló* ‘not my will but your will be done’. This line (line 3) has become idiomatic in the language of prayer.

Text 3. Part of a recorded prayer to illustrate the use of WOT 1 for God.

1. *Ko e ‘ofa mai ‘a e ‘Afioná-1 ko homau langí-3 ia,*
   Your Majesty’s -1 love for us is our heaven-3,
2. *ko ‘emau mata‘ikoloa-3, ko homau tofi‘a-1/2, ko homau palataisí-3 ia.*
   It is the essence-of-our-treasure-3, our royal-land-1/2, our paradise-3.
3. *Ko ho taloní-1 ‘oku tu‘u he taukakapa fau-3.*
   Your throne-1 stands in infinite heights-3.
4. *Ongona-3 mu‘a ‘a e fakahikihiki-3 ‘a e kau tōkilalo-4.*
   Please harken-3 to the praises-3 by the lowly-4.
5. *‘E ‘Otua-1 ‘alo‘ofa-1, ‘okú ke tuai ki he houhau-1 kae fonu ‘i he meesi-3.*
   Royally-kind-hearted-1 God-1, you are slow to royal-anger-1 but full of mercy-3.
6. *‘Oku mau mapelu-4 ‘i he loto fakatomala mo‘oni-3 ‘o kole fakamātoato-3*
   We bend-4 with remorse-3 in earnest supplication-3

7. *mo vete-3 atu ki he 'Afioná-1 'a 'emau ngaahi talangata'a-5.*
   and confess-3 to Your Majesty-1 our disobedience-5.
8. *'Oku mau kōlenga atu-3 ki ho'o fakamolemolé-3,*
   We implore-3 [you] for your forgiveness-3,
9. *'a e efu-4 mo e me'anoa-4 ko kimautolu.*
   Dust-4 and nothing-4 that we are.

Analysis: This text has the purpose of praising and upholding God because He is regarded in Christiandom as the King of kings and Lord of lords. Although this way of talking is named after the king of Tonga, it is used metaphorically to talk about other subject matters, as in a prayer to God, the only essential requirement being that the purpose is to compliment and extol someone. Thus, a man courting his sweetheart may use this way of talking to address her (See Text 5 below).

Conceptually, this part of a prayer, like Text 1, is characterised by several regal concepts expressing veneration, such as *'Afiona* (line 1), *tofi'a* 'royal-land' (line 2), *taloni* 'throne' (line 3), *'alo'ofa* 'royally-kind' (line 5) and *houhau* 'royal-anger' (line 5). These are concepts used of the king. But there are also concepts that are associated with God more than with the king, for example, the English loanword *meesi* 'mercy' (line 5), *fakatomala* 'remorse' (line 6), *vete* 'confess' (line 7) and *fakamolemole* 'forgiveness' (line 8). These are ordinary concepts used in the everyday way of talking (WOT 5) but they are parts of the process of maintaining a relationship with God.

As with Text 1, self-derogatory concepts are also found here but not nearly to the extent they are found in Text 1. The reason for this is that a person relates to God as a friend or son or daughter rather than a commoner, so there is a closer relationship obtaining between God and humans than between the king and a commoner. The only two examples of self-lowering are *kau tōkilalo* 'the fallen ones' (line 4), which contrasts with *taukakapa fau* 'unfathomable heights' (line 3) in terms of location, and *efu mo e me'anoa* 'dust and nothing' (line 9).

This text, like Tongan prayers of Methodists, is highly formulaic. Many lines are based on well-known hymns or verses from the Bible. The metaphors of lines 1 and 2, and the sentence in line 5 are based on verses of hymns, and line 5 is from a verse in the Bible.

Lea Fakahouhou'eiki *'Way of Talking to or about Chiefs' – WOT 2*
Lea fakahouhou'eiki is the chiefly way of talking, used to address or refer to chiefly people. The word *fakahouhou'eiki* is the reduplication of *fakahou'eiki*, formed with the causative prefix and the stem *hou'eiki*. *Fakahou'eiki* means

pertaining to *hou'eiki*. *Hou'eiki* is the collective name of the chiefly classes, which comprise the king's immediate family and close relations (minus the king himself who makes up the highest level of *tu'i* all by himself), the 33 titled chiefs (nobles) and their immediate families and close relatives.

As with *lea fakatu'i*, *lea fakahouhou'eiki* can be regarded as metaphorical in two ways. First, it is used metaphorically to address or refer to people who are not actual chiefs but are regarded as being like chiefs. For example, a man may regard his sweetheart as chiefly and use *lea fakahouhou'eiki* to her (see text 5 below). Similarly, *lea fakahouhou'eiki* can be used of the persona in love songs and poems as a way of honouring them. Today, despite occasional programmes by Tongan authorities on the proper use of Tongan language urging the public to use chiefly language only to chiefs, many people are now using *lea fakahouhou'eiki* for their ministers, their managers, school principals and so on.

A second way in which *lea fakahouhou'eiki* is metaphorical is that it has many metaphorical concepts encoded in its vocabulary. The nature of metaphorical concepts vary. Some are metonymic, others are euphemistic, and yet others are simply derived senses of ordinary everyday words. But the primary reason for their selection seems to be to avoid the use of the ordinary everyday word. A metonymic example is the expression for headache—*mamafa hono fofongá* 'lit. his chiefly-head is heavy', but the *lea tavale* (WOT 5) form is the literal *langa hono 'ulú* 'his head is aching'. The word for burial chamber is *fonualoto* 'lit. land inside', compared to the regal word *fale* 'house' whereas the *lea tavale* is *luo* 'hole'. *Me'a*, the chiefly word for 'come, look, sit, stand and live', is the ordinary word for 'thing'. The use of *me'a* as a chiefly term is simply to avoid the use of the ordinary word. Völkel (2010) made the point that honorific language is a system of word avoidance; Clark (2010) made the same point about Samoan. The chiefly expression for bad smell, interestingly, is *namu kakala* 'lit. smelling of fragrant flowers', a euphemistic but completely antonymic (opposite in meaning) phrase.

In Tongan culture when one is addressing high-ranking people, it is disrespectful to speak directly, especially making references to body parts and bodily functions (but compare to *lea 'ita* WOT 6 below). In Tongan speaking directly impacts too abruptly and thereby lacks dignity of expression. Politeness requires round-about ways of speaking so that the impact of the message is gentle and pleasing. Thus, the regal and chiefly ways of talking tend to use *heliaki*—saying something in symbols, speaking metaphorically (see Taumoefolau 2004b). The chiefly word for 'die', for instance, is *pekia* 'lit. picked or plucked, as in flowers being picked'. The word for sleep is *toka* 'lit. to sink, to reach a calm or settled state'. When a chief eats, he is said to *'ilo* 'ordinary word for know' his food. These are examples of speaking in *heliaki*, in symbols.

The following texts, Texts 4-6, provide examples of *lea fakahouhou'eiki* and are followed by brief analyses.

Text 4. Luke 9: 38, 41-42 from the version of the Tongan Bible translated by Dr James Egan Moulton with a few Tongans (completed about 1902) showing *lea fakahouhou'eiki* (WOT 2), *lea fakatōkilalo* (WOT 4) and *lea fakamatāpule* (WOT 3). This translation is thought to have been from the Hebrew and Greek, with consultation of the English King James Version of the Bible (Jione Havea pers. comm., August 2012).

1. *Pea 'iloangé-3 na'e kalanga-3 ha tangata-3 mei he ha'oha'ongá-3, 'o pehē-5,*
   And it became known-there-3 that a man-3 in the crowd-3 called out-3, saying-5,
2. *Tangata'eiki-3, 'oku ou kole kiate koe-3, ke ke me'a-2 mai ki hoku 'uhikí-4...*
   "Sir-3, I beg of you-3 to aristocratically-look-2 at my animal-young-son-4...
3. *'oku 'i ai 'a e fa'ahikehe-3 'okú ne puke ia-3...*
   there is an evil-spirit-3 that is holding him-3...
4. *Pea tali 'e Sīsū-3, 'o ne pehē-3, ... Taki mai ki heni ho fohá-5.*
   And Jesus replied-3 and he said-3, "…Bring your son-5 here.

Analysis: This passage shows how *lea fakahouhou'eiki* and *lea fakatōkilalo* have been inserted into this part of the Tongan Bible because of the presence of rank marking in the Tongan language. These semantic elements of rank were not in the original source languages of the Bible.

There are three speakers in this passage: the narrator of the story, the man asking Jesus for help, and Jesus. Most significant are the words of the man needing help. In line 2 he addresses Jesus with the compound word *tangata'eiki*, which is polite and respectful especially with the second element *'eiki*, meaning chiefly and respectable. The element *tangata* is also a respectful concept connoting a man of consequence, perhaps of respectable breeding. The distressed man asks Jesus to *me'a* 'aristocratically-look' at his *'uhiki* 'young of an animal'. The translator selected the word *'uhiki* for son in order to emphasise the man's purpose of showing utter respect and the awe in which he holds Jesus, and this, in turn, lends force to the seriousness of the occasion—that he is begging Jesus earnestly to heal his son. The use of *'uhiki* also reflects the condition of the boy, who is said to be possessed by demons, and the uncontrolled movements brought about by his ailments are, in a way, animalistic. Thus, it is entirely appropriate that the translator has chosen to insert these Tongan language idiosyncratic concepts into the translated text. If Tongan was the original source language of the text and English the target language, it would not be appropriate to translate literally the Tongan metaphors into English.

The point that Grace (1981) made about translation is that if the target language and the source language have the same ways of talking, then translation between them would be easy. In the present case, the target language, Tongan, possesses rank marking not present in the source language, English. It was decided that the rank marking be inserted in the target language because they rendered the text more culturally appropriate.

Jesus' reply uses the ordinary *lea tavale* word for son (WOT 5): bring your *foha* here. This is because self-derogatory language can only be used by a speaker to describe himself or his close relations. If Jesus had used the word *'uhiki* to refer to the man's son, it would be described as abusive (WOT 6). The word *'uhiki*, among a number of other low-status words, can be used in WOT 4 to indicate great respect but it is used in WOT 6 to abuse and put down others.

The narrator of the story mostly uses WOT 3 *lea fakamatāpule*, the formal polite way of talking, and this is indicated by the use of several concepts such as *'iloange* 'lit. known there', line 1. It is not a word that is used in informal speech. The selection of the more formal word *kalanga* 'to shout out' rather than *kaila* 'to shout' or *ui* 'call out' is more respectful.

Text 5. Constructed text (by writer) of a conversation between a courting couple. This interaction shows the use of the kingly WOT 1 and chiefly WOT 2 by a courting couple.

1. Man: *'Oku hangē ho fofongá-2 ha langi ma'á-3 'ene hoihoifuá-1/2.*
   Your chiefly-face-2 is like a clear sky-3 in its regal/chiefly-beauty-1/2.
2. Woman: *Tuku ia-5 he 'oku 'ikai ko ha 'eiki-2 au!*
   Stop that-5 for I'm not a chief-2!
3. Man: *'Io, 'ai pē ha'o folofola-1, ta'ahine-1.*
   Yes, whatever you royally-say-1, royal-maiden-1.

Analysis: Because the purpose of the male speaker is to compliment his sweetheart, he uses concepts that are classified as chiefly concepts, such as *fofonga* and *hoihoifua* (line 1). There are also regal concepts. The word *hoihoifua* is an example of a word shared between the kingly, chiefly and orator ways of talking. The simile in line 1 is a common expression said by suitors. It is also used in popular lovesongs. The term *'eiki* in line 2 can refer to either male or female. The concept *folofola* is a regal one referring to the speaking of the king or monarch. It is the full reduplication of *fola* '(of book, etc.) to spread open, to unfold, to expose', thus revealing the content of what is being exposed, making it known. Thus, *folofola* is a metaphorical

concept that describes the speech of the king as being revealed visually. The sense of the word *ta'ahine* that is being used here is the regal one of a royal-blooded woman of any age, a term of polite admiration and respect. The use of these chiefly and regal terms is idiomatic in WOT 1 and 2. If this passage is translated into English the translator will need to look for complimentary and euphemistic terms to bring out the favourable connotations of the chiefly and regal expressions, e.g., such words as countenance or visage for *fofonga*.

Text 6. Opening line of late king's speech when the late king Tupou IV delivered a sermon at the Tongan Methodist church in Mangere in the early 2000s. He began his sermon by acknowledging the high rank of his consort the Queen.

King: *Tapu mo-3 Kuini Mata'aho-2 mo hou'eiki-2.*
My respects-3 to Queen Mata'aho-2 and the aristocracy-2.

Analysis: The purpose of the king here was to deliver a sermon to a large congregation in a church service. He opened his speech by acknowledging, first, the presence of his consort, Queen Mata'aho, as the highest of the aristocracy and, second, members of the aristocracy. This is significant from the point of view that although he has the highest rank in the society, he still needs to acknowledge the presence in the audience of the individuals with the highest rank and the aristocracy in general. In contrast, he speaks in *lea tavale* (WOT 5) in private conversation with his consort (Text 10 below). The contrast indicates that the selection of the ways of talking to use is governed by the purpose of the discourse, which is to send a message to a large body of hearers of different ranks and statuses. In that case, the speaker, irrespective of his own high rank, follows protocol and acknowledges the person with the highest rank in the audience, irrespective of the fact that she is his wife. We may say that in public, in the presence of many who are hearing and overhearing his speech, she is not his wife but Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga. The relationship between the speaker and the addressee/audience is thus very important.

Lea Fakamatāpule *'Way of Talking Characteristic of Orators' – WOT 3*
Lea fakamatāpule is the polite way of talking, used to address or refer to people who are respected but who are not necessarily chiefly, such as elderly people, ministers of religion, professionals like teachers, doctors, lawyers and so on, but it can also be used for persons whom one does not know well, or one whose status is unknown. In the latter case it is "safe" to use *lea fakamatāpule*. It is also the ceremonial way of speaking mostly because it is ceremonies

and cultural events that people such as those outlined above attend, being important parts of Tongan social life. *Lea fakamatāpule*, therefore, includes public speaking of any kind, such as sermons, speeches, ceremonial exchanges and prayers, and the term extends to features of the structure of those genres, as can be seen from the discussion of Text 7 below.

This way of speaking is named after the *matāpule*, orator or spokesperson of the chief. Respect is due to orators because they mediate between commoners, on the one hand, and kings and chiefs on the other. As orators, they are masters of the respectful ways of talking. The term *matāpule* therefore is associated with respectful speech, hence *lea fakamatāpule*.

So *lea fakamatāpule* has a wide scope of use and has the potential to be used in any situation provided that attention to politeness is maintained, even though the king or chiefs may not be present.

Scope of *Lea fakamatāpule*

From polite language_____to oratorical language

Two kinds of *lea fakamatāpule* each occupying the extremes of the continuum are: (i) the polite way of speaking to categories of Tongans who are not chiefly but deserving of respect, such as to an elderly person or to a stranger, and (ii) the genre of oratorical speech performed characteristically by, but not limited to, chiefs' *matāpule*.

The expression of respect in both kinds of *lea fakamatāpule* is largely figurative in nature, such that many existing words are applied to new (respectful) situations. In *lea fakamatāpule*, for instance, the word *tokoni* 'help' is used for eating. Instead of *ha'u 'o kai!* 'come and eat!', the *lea fakamatāpule* version is *afe mai 'o tokoni!* 'turn this way and help!'. *'unu atu* 'move over' is in everyday speech, but in *lea fakamatāpule* it is *ma'uma'u atu* 'close up the gap [by moving over]'. One would say in ordinary language *sio ki he peesi 2* 'look at page 2', but the use of the word *sio* 'look' would be inappropriate in a situation of, say, Bible reading with a congregation. In *lea fakamatāpule*, one would say *hanga ki he peesi 2* 'turn towards page 2'. When one says goodbye to an elderly person in *lea fakamatāpule*, instead of saying *'alu ā* 'go then' in ordinary everyday speech, one would say *faka'au ā* 'be gradually gone then'. With goodnight, instead of the everyday *mohe ā* 'sleep then', one would say *po'uli ā* 'have the night then'.

A prominent feature of oratorical *lea fakamatāpule* is the *fakatapu*. This is the formal recognition of the presence of high-ranking people in the audience. It is usually done at the beginning of public speeches (see Text 7 below). A second feature of oratorical *lea fakamatāpule* is the use of *laumātanga*, the

rhetorical device of reciting the names of beautiful or historical spots. Places in Tonga (villages, islands, etc.) have complimentary names that often consist of short descriptive phrases or multimorphemic words that describe beautiful or historical places (*mātanga*) in a village or island. Types of *mātanga* include *'esi* 'raised platform formerly used as playgrounds for the children of chiefs', *sia* 'hill or mound formerly for pigeon snaring', *mala'e* 'grave or tomb or cemetery', *vai* 'pond or stream', *liku* 'cliff-bound coast', *fanga* 'beach', *ava* 'channel or passage or strait usually between islands or islets', *hakau* 'reef', *maka* 'rock or bedrock', *taulanga* 'harbour or port', *'akau* 'tree or plant', *'api* 'tract or compound or home', or *'otu motu* 'group of islands' and others. The name of such a spot comes to represent the village in which it is located or with which it is associated, and in time each village has, as its ceremonial or honorific name, the name of its *mātanga* (see Text 7 below for examples). I argue that honorific place names are important parts of *lea fakamatāpule* and are part of an important area of inquiry that Besnier (1990) refers to as the role of affect in language.

Text 7. The beginning of a eulogy at a burial ceremony. (Extract from My Memories of David by 'Ilaisaane Kakala Taumoefolau 2009.)

1. *Tapu-3 pea mo e 'Afio-1 'a e Ta'ehāmaí-1 'i hotau lotolotongá-3.*
   In reverence-3 for the Omnipresence-1 of the Invisible-1 in our midst-3.
2. *Tapu-3 mo e faka'eikí-2.*
   In deference-3 for the spirit-of-the-departed-2.
3. *Tapu-3 mo e 'Eiki Nōpelé-2 Fulivai-2,*
   My respects-3 to the Honourable Noble-2 Fulivai-2,
4. *'uma'ā 'a Siaosi Tu'itavake Sūnia Mafile'o-2 mo Hou'eiki-2.*
   and also Siaosi Tu'itavake Sūnia Mafile'o-2 and the aristocracy-2.
5. *Fakatapu atu-3 kia 'Aholoka-i-Fangalei-3 mo ha'a matāpule-3.*
   My respects-3 to 'Aholoka-i-Fangalei-3 and the class of orators-3.
6. *Tapu-3 mo e tangata'eiki faifekau-3 'a 'Ene 'Afió-1, Sekelitali 'o e Konifelenisí-3,*
   My respects-3 to the High Priest-3 of His Majesty-1, the Secretary to Conference-3,
7. *kau faifekaú-3, kau taki lotu-3 'o e ngaahi siasí, uītoú-3, mo e fānaú-3.*
   Ministers-3, leaders-3 of the churches, and to the bereaved widow-3 and the children-3.
8. *Tapu-3 mo e mala'é ni-2 'oku toka-2 ai 'a e kau mā'oni'oni-3 mo e hou'eiki-2 'o e fonuá-3.*

My respects-3 to these burial grounds-2, where rest-2 holy men-3 and aristocrats-2 of the land-3.

9. *Talangata ʻiate au ʻo fai ki tuʻa-3 kae ʻatā-3 ke fai ha fakamāvae-3.*

   I apologise if I should cause offence-3, and allow [me]-3 to perform the last farewell-3.

10. *Fakafetaʻi-1/2/3 mo tuku kolōlia-3 ki he ʻOtuá-1 ʻi Langi Taupotu-3 koeʻuhí ko e ʻaho ko eni,*

    Thanks-1/2/3 and glory-3 be to God-1 in Heaven-3 for this day

11. *ʻaho fakaloloma-3 kiate kitautolu kotoa pē, ʻa e kaungā fononga-3, kaungā lotu-3,*

    be it a day of desolation-3 for us all, fellow pilgrims-3, fellow worshippers-3,

12. *kaungā ngāue-3 mo e Faifekau Sea Mālōlō-3 ko Tēvita Tuʻipulotu Taumoefolau-3.*

    fellow workers-3 of the Retired District Chairman-3, the Rev T. T. Taumoefolau-3.

13. *ʻAho ʻo e masiva-3 ko e ʻahó ni, Fulivai-2. Feʻekeaki-3 ʻe he fanga hakeʻangá-3, Fangalei-3,*

    A day of poverty-3, this day, Fulivai-2. The landing site-3 of Fangalei-3 wonders-3,

14. *mo e tōfāʻangá-1, Sakamoana-1, pea ʻoku faofao mai-3 ʻa ʻAlepea-3 ʻo fakasio mai-3.*

    and the regal-burial grounds-1, Sakamoana-1, and ʻAlepea-3 is straining to see-3.

15. *Pea ʻoku fehuʻi-3 ʻe loto Neiafu-3, ʻe he fuʻu Fā ko Fiemeʻá-3,*

    And the township of Neiafu-3 seeks to know-3, the Pandanus-called-Fiemeʻa-3,

16. *mo e Vai ko Lēleá-3, pea ʻoku ʻeke-3 ʻe he Falelotu ko Laumālie Māʻoniʻoní-2,*

    and the Pond-called-Lēlea-3, and it is asked-3 by the Church called Holy Spirit-2,

17. *Puatalefusi-3, Lolo-ʻa-Halaevalú-3. Feangiʻaki-3 ʻa e matangi ʻe fitú-3*

    Port-of-Refuge-3, Perfume-of-Halaevalu-3. The seven winds-3 blow back and forth-3

18. *ko e hū mai mei Faʻihava-3 mo Pulepulekai-3. Pea ʻoku ʻeke-3 ʻe he Fale-o-Valú-3*

    out of Faʻihava-3 and Pulepulekai-3. The House-of-Valu-3 sends to know-3

19. *kae ʻumaʻā ʻa Tuʻungasika-3 mo e ngaahi fakaʻilonga ʻo e hakaú-3.*

    And so does Tuʻungasika-3 and the markers on the outlying reefs-3.

20. *Ko e fē homau fohá?-3 Ko e fē homau fohá?-3*

    Where is our son?-3 Where is our son?-3

21. *'Uhinga ia e fakaloloma e 'aho ní-3. Sakamoana ē-3, Pouono ē-3,*
    Such is the desolation of this day-3. Behold Sakamoana-3, behold Pouono-3,
22. *ne 'i ai pē hono mohenga-3 ai. Kae fiefia 'a Siaosi-2*
    his yonder resting places-3 there. But happy are Siaosi-2,
23. *mo e hou'eiki-2 'o Kolomotu'á-2 pea mo 'Ene 'Afió-1,*
    and the chiefly people-2 of Kolomotu'a-2, and His Majesty-1,
24. *kuo 'omi 'a e efuefu koulá-3 ke fakalahi'aki-3 'a e kelekele 'o Tongatapú-3.*
    That the golden dust-3 has been brought to enrich-3 the soil of Tongatapu-3.
25. *'Ofa pē mu'a-3 ke hōifua mai-1 'a e 'Otuá-1, 'uma'ā 'a e kau faifekau-3*
    May-3 God's pleasure-1 be upon us, ministers-3
26. *kau mateaki lotu-3 'oku tatoká-2, fakamolemole kae 'atā-3 ke fai mu'a-3*
    and fellow pilgrims-3 who here rest-2, to graciously allow-3 this unworthy old-man-4 to carry out if [you] please-3
27. *ha ki'i-4 laulaunoa-4 'a e motu'a mā'ulalo-4 ko eni he 'aho ko eni-3.*
    A little-4 nonsense-4 on this day-3.

Analysis: The purpose of this speech was to eulogise the deceased, and as *lea fakamatāpule* WOT 3 is the ceremonial language, this style predominates in the speech. However, there was also *lea fakahouhou'eiki* (WOT 2) on account of the *hou'eiki* present (e.g., lines 3 and 4), and also the fact that when a Tongan dies, the deceased is always regarded as chiefly (e.g., lines 2 and 8). *Lea fakatu'i* (WOT 1) was used in reference to the late king (Tupou IV) (lines 6 and 23) and in reference to God (lines 1 and 10). It was also used in reference to the cemetery Sakamoana which was described as *tōfā'anga* 'royal-resting place', referring to the burial place of sacred ancestors of regal standing.

As this is a public speech, the text is highly structured according to the specific purposes of the lines. Lines 1-9 consists of the *fakatapu*, the acknowledgement of the revered persons present in the service. Lines 10 – 13 introduces the subject matter: it is the parting oration for the *pekia* 'chiefly term for the dead' before the body is interred. Lines 14 -25 consist of the *laumātanga*, then in lines 26-28, the speaker entreats the blessing of God and abases himself to the audience, apologising for his lowliness.

The discourse opens with the *fakatapu*, the formulaic speech act that most saliently identifies oratorical *lea fakamatāpule*. The opening *tapu mo*, or the variation *fakatapu kia*, is a public declaration along the lines of "I pledge herewith to keep sacred my relationship with so and so". The observance of the *tapu* consists of ensuring that everything the speaker is about to say will

be appropriate and befitting the circumstances of the sacred presence of so and so. The *fakatapu* bears witness to the importance of *tauhi vā* 'nurturing relationships' and *tauhi 'eiki* 'upholding chiefly people' in Tongan culture. The order of the *fakatapu* is important, beginning with the highest to the lowest rank. It is significant that the spiritual sphere is acknowledged first, then members of the aristocracy, then members of the class of orators. 'Aholoka is one of the *matāpule* titles of Hunga, home island of the deceased. Next is acknowledgement of leaders of the churches and the family of the deceased (lines 6 and 7). Line 8 acknowledges the burial grounds, referring again to the spiritual sphere, and line 9 is a fixed idiom, which is often said last to cover anyone else not mentioned. An apology for the lowliness of the speaker is also idiomatic, in which the speaker asks for forgiveness in case he/she unwittingly says something inappropriate.

The concept *laumātanga* consists of two words—*lau*, 'to recite, to chant, to verbalise' and *mātanga*, 'scenic spot, a beautiful place'. Helu (1999b: 272) defines *laumātanga* as "to verbalise a beautiful place" and Māhina (1993: 113) as "enumerate beautiful spots". *Mātanga* are geographical features of the land, whether natural or man-made, that have names, and these names are projected onto villages, districts or islands. These names become honorific names of the villages or islands, and are used honorifically to praise the villages of the people of a place. The names carry affective meaning in that they often conjure up feelings of nostalgia and homesickness—strong yearning for home among people who come from the place in question. The names become metaphors for the places of origin of a person, which are linked to memories of the ancestors and genealogical associations of a place.

In this text, the speaker personifies the places of origin of the deceased. Beginning on line 13, they are said to be asking for his whereabouts on this day of his burial: why is he not where he belongs? *Fangalei* 'name of the beach at Hunga island' and *Sakamoana* 'name of the cemetery of the ancestors at Hunga' are asking of each other where he is. These places are symbols of identity for the deceased. *'Alepea* 'name of the Methodist college compound where the deceased once worked as chaplin and teacher' is described as looking around for him (line 14). The *Fā ko Fieme'a* 'the legendary Pandanus Tree at the harbour of Neiafu, capital town of the Vava'u Group' and the *Vai ko Lēlea* 'name of a little pond near the waterfront of Neiafu' are metaphors for Neiafu, and they are asking for him. They are potent expressions of identity for the people of Neiafu. The deceased grew up in Neiafu where his grandparents lived. *Lolo-'a-Halaevalu* 'Perfume of Halaevalu' refers to the beautiful natural harbour of Neiafu, also known as Port of Refuge, a name given by Spanish explorers, and Tonganised as *Puatalefusi*. *Lolo-'a- Halaevalu*, shortened to *Lolo*, has become a metaphor

for the entire Vava‘u Group. Even the seven winds were searching for any sign of “their son” at *Fa‘ihava* Strait and *Pulepulekai* Channel (see Gifford 1929: 46, 197). Boats going from Neiafu to Hunga pass by *Fa‘ihava*, where the island of Tu‘ungasika is situated, and travel through *Pulepulekai* into the bay of *Fangalei*. When these names are mentioned, sometimes in songs or poems, Vava‘u people who are away from Vava‘u or Tonga are sometimes reduced to tears of homesickness because the *mātanga* names of Vava‘u carry people’s attachment to and sense of belonging to their former homelands.

So when these names were recited in the sermon, the audience was gripped by a powerful sense of loss. For these places are not simply places but are the niches of kin groups and ancestors whose livelihoods for centuries have been tied inextricably to the land and sea of Vava‘u. *Laumātanga* is a rhetorical and poetic device that stirs the spirit to a plane of intense feeling and appreciation of their Vava‘u-ness and Tongan-ness. Thus, the name *Lolo-‘a-Halaevalu* carries positive regard and affect for Vava‘u. One may say that in Tongan, honorific names of places lift those places to a higher level of meaning that is associated with people’s pride in their identity in the same way that kingly and chiefly and orator words can have more favourable meanings than ordinary everyday words for the same activities, states or objects. This is hardly surprising given the emphasis placed on rank in Tongan culture. Apart from *laumātanga*, there are also other forms of *heliaki* called *laukakala* ‘reciting fragrant flowers’, *laukaveinga* ‘reciting guiding stars’, *laumatangi* ‘reciting winds’. These are the stuff of Tongan classical poetry, such as Queen Sālote’s poetry and oratory (see Taumoefolau 2004b, also Helu 1999b, 1999c, 2003, 2006 and Māhina 1993).

Laumātanga has the effect of reinforcing and consolidating the oneness and togetherness of Tongans by extolling ancestors and places of origin and through the use of an abundance of positive concepts, many contained in metaphor. Some of these metaphors are fixed, but because metaphor is also a way of relating prior knowledge to new subject matter, it has a creative aspect that makes it capable of being productive. In the text, fixed idioms are in the *fakatapu*—the repeated use of *Tapu mo* or *Fakatapu*, and the first part of line 9. But fairly novel is the technique of personifying places, such as line 14 about *‘Alepea* sitting up searching, and the seven winds searching the passage and islands between Neiafu and Hunga (line 17). So expressions become fixed, but the techniques are open-ended and lead to the use of language productively. The text ends with the speaker using self-derogatory language of his message.

Lea Fakatōkilalo/Faka'aki'akimui *'Self-derogatory Way of Talking' – WOT 4 Lea faka'aki'akimui* or *lea fakatōkilalo* is the humble way of talking, which is a way of talking in which a speaker deliberately uses words and expressions that lower himself/herself in order to elevate the addressee or audience. This way of talking is used when the addressee is perceived to be of much higher rank than the speaker. The Tongan words for humility are *faka'aki'akimui* 'lit. to keep back, to stay at the back', or *fakatōkilalo* 'lit. to let [oneself] fall down'. This way of talking is sometimes referred to as humiliative or self-lowering (Keating 2005), but I tend to use Churchward's term "self-derogatory" because some words/expressions are not just modest or humble but actually abusive and insulting, such as the use of the word *'uhiki* 'animal young' of one's children. So one humiliates oneself (or one's family or possessions) by disparaging oneself in order to bring out the contrast with the addressee who is thus twice elevated—by the high language used of him/her, and the low language used of the speaker.

This way of talking is used most when addressing the king and less so to chiefs and similar others. Thus, WOT 4 accompanies WOT 1-3 (see Text 1 above). The higher the person being addressed, the more lowering the level of self-disparagement. If the king is being addressed, then WOT 4 is more likely to use animal related words, such as in Text 1 line 8 *mohenga moa* 'meaning garden, lit. bed of chickens' and *fanga 'uhiki* 'meaning his children, lit. litter of animal young'. Supposing the speaker in Text 1 was asking another commoner landowner for a piece of land, he is not likely to use those words. Instead he may use just the dimunitive word *ki'i* 'little' in *ki'i ngoue* 'little garden' and a phrase like *ki'i fānau paeá* 'lit. little motherless children' to refer to his children.

There is also a continuum of honouring: in *lea fakatu'i* (WOT 1), *fakalāngilangi* 'lit. hold up to the sky' or *fakahikihiki* 'lit. to lift up high' gives the greatest degree of honouring, then *lea fakahouhou'eiki* (WOT 2), then *lea fakamatāpule* (WOT 3), and finally *lea tavale* (WOT 5). So the greater the honouring, the greater the self-lowering (as Text 1 above). The same thing is said to be true also of Samoan, though perhaps less pronounced. Shore (1982: 263) wrote, "In addition to a positive signaling of respect by the use of respect terms in Samoan, there are several forms that indicate respect by humbling the speaker."

The following diagram shows that during interactions, the higher the rank of the addressee from that of the speaker, the stronger the self-lowering, the steeper the line representing the degree of self-lowering (*fakatōkilalo*).

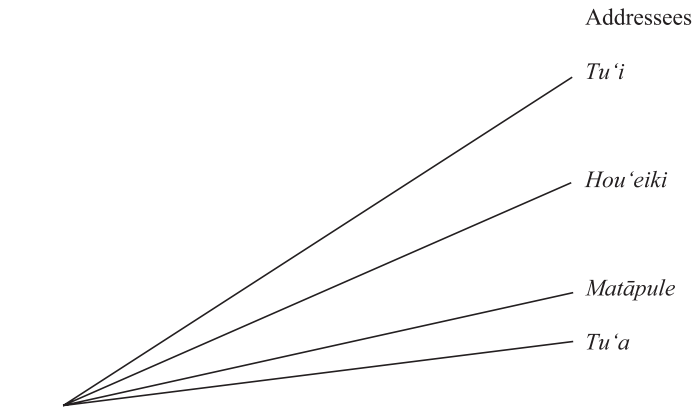

Diagram showing the degree of self-lowering in WOT 4.

Texts 8 and 9 below give further illustrations of self-derogatory language.

Text 8: In the 1980s the Tongan government established a high level committee called *Kōmiti Fakahinohino Lea Faka-Tonga* 'Advisory Committee on Tongan Language'. It was chaired by the then Deputy Premier, the late Hon. Baron Tuita, and the membership included prominent local Tongan language authorities, representatives of the media, representatives of government departments and churches, and other organisations. As Head of the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Development Unit at the time I was appointed secretary of the committee. The committee used to produce examples of appropriate use of Tongan which were sent to the media, government departments, and other organisations to advise on their use of the language. Below are some examples of *lea fakatōkilalo* listed by the committee (*Kōmiti Fakahinohino Lea Faka-Tonga* n.d.). The context is a commoner female speaker conversing with the monarch. Note that the examples are separate (constructed) utterances, not part of a connected discourse, and for this reason are separated by a line space.

1. *Tapu-3 mo e Feitu'una-1/2, na'e motu-4 hoku kakaó-4 ka ne faito'o fasi pē pea toe tākalo-4.*

   My respects-3 to Your Highness/Majesty-1/2 'lit. That-space-yonder', my leg-4 'lit. crab or lobster leg' was fractured-4 'lit. severed' and it was treated for fracture and now it is well-4 'lit. waving about' again.

2. *'Oku langa pē 'anepō hoku fo'i huimokó-4, pea 'ikai te u lava 'o lele-4 mai.*

   My back-4 'lit. lizard-bone' ached last night so I could not come-4 'lit. run' here.

3. *Kuo hinehina-4 ʻatā e takale-4 ia e motuʻá.*

   The man's-4 'lit. old-man, referring to husband, son, or person close to the speaker' head-4 'lit. from *takalekale*, dry empty coconut' is completely white-4 'lit. the colour white'.

4. *Ne mau mama-4 mo e finemātuʻa-4 ʻa e Feituʻuna-1/2.*

   We ate-4 'lit. chewed' with Your /Majesty's /Highness's-1/2 female-attendants-4 'lit. old-women'.

5. *Naʻe ʻosi pē ʻenau mulumulú-4 pea nau felelei-4 mai.*

   When they finished their bath-4 'lit. repeated stripping movements of the hand' they came-4 'lit. ran-plural' over.

6. *Fakafetaʻi-1/2/3 e maʻu koloa-3 ke pūlou-4 e motuʻá-4.*

   Thanks-1/2/3 for the valuable bark-cloth-3 for the old-man's-4 blanket-4 'lit. head covering'.

7. *Ko ʻeku tuai ko e oloʻi-4 e kakeʻi-4 e kiʻi-4 finemotuʻa ako-4.*

   The reason for my lateness is that I was ironing-4 'lit. rubbing' a dress-4 'lit. leaf-wrapping of food' of a little-dimunitive-4 schoolgirl-4 'lit. school old-woman'.

Analysis: The texts show that in this way of talking, culturally low-status metaphorical concepts relating to animals (*ʻuhiki* 'animal young', for children, Text 1 line 8), birds (*mohenga moa* 'chicken nest', for a garden, Text 1 line 8) and sea creatures (*kakao* 'crab and lobster legs', Text 8 line 1) are used to lower the self. Animal-related concepts are self-derogatory because they denote less than human looks. In the case of *mohenga moa* for a plantation or garden, there is a suggestion of clumsiness and lack of skills in growing crops.

Other derogatory concepts include the idea of being old and therefore less dignified or pleasing in appearance, such as in the use of *finemotuʻa* 'lit. old-woman' for a schoolgirl (line 7) and *motuʻa* 'lit. old-man' for the speaker's male relative (line 6). It is possible to include here the concept of *pūlou* 'head covering' to refer derogatively to the use to be made of the *ngatu* 'barkcloth', a category of *koloa* 'treasure, wealth' that was gifted by the chief to the commoner speaker (line 6).

Derogatory concepts also include undecorated, unmetaphorised, undisguised acts or states that are given metonymically, as in *motu* 'severed' for fractured (line 1), *mama* 'chewed' for ate (line 4), *mulumulu* 'stripping movement of hands' for bathing (line 5), *oloʻi* 'rubbing movement' for ironing (line 7) and *tākalo* 'waving about' for being well again (line 1).

It seems that self-derogatory concepts are metonymic as compared with the metaphorical concepts that praise and compliment in WOT 1, 2 and 3 (see

texts above). This difference shows the importance of function in the selection and application of ways of talking. The ways of talking differ functionally and conceptually, thus determining their formal differences.

Text 9. This passage of Matthew 8: 5-8 is taken from Moulton's translation of the Bible which was completed in 1902.

1. *Pea ʻi heʻene aʻu-5 ki Kāpaneumé, naʻe haʻu-5 kiate ia ha senituliō, ʻo kole-5 kiate ia,*

   When Jesus reached-5 Capernaum, a centurion came-5 to him, and asked-5 him,

2. *ʻEiki-2, ko siʻeku tamaioʻeikí ʻoku fokoutua-4 ʻi ʻapi, kuo puke-5 ʻi he mamateá-5...*

   "Lord-2," he said, "my servant lies-4 'lit. derogatory for lying' at home suffering-5 from paralysis-5…

3. *Pea pehē-3 ʻe ia ki ai, "Te u ʻalu-5 atu ʻe au, ʻo faitoʻo-5 ia."*

   And he said-3 to him, "I will go-5 there and heal-5 him,"

4. *Ka ka tali-3 ʻe he senituliō, ʻo ne pehē, ʻEiki-2, ʻoku ʻikai te u taau*

   The centurion replied-3, "Lord-2, I do not deserve

5. *ke ke hū mai ki hoku pokoʻi falé-4*

   to have you come under my roof-4 'lit. my skull-of-a-house',

6. *ka ke fai pē ha foʻi folofola-1, pea ʻe moʻui ai ʻeku tamaioʻeikí.*

   but just say the royal-word-1, and my servant will be healed.

Analysis: Ordinary everyday concepts are used by the narrator (underlined in line 1) and also by Jesus of himself (underlined in line 3). But it is the centurion who uses the self-derogatory way of talking to Jesus to show his purposes of begging for help and recognising the high status of Jesus. So he uses the words *fokoutua* (line 2) and *pokoʻi fale* (line 5) when referring to his servant and his house. He uses high concepts when referring to Jesus—the regal word *folofola* in line 6.

It has been asked whether the use of *lea fakatōkilalo* (WOT 4) by Tongan people clashes with notions of self-esteem and makes Tongan people feel inferior in general. I would say that the use of the self-derogatory way of talking should not be taken to imply that the speaker really believes he/she is inferior *in general*. The use of WOT 4 simply indicates the speaker's awareness of the difference in status between the speaker and addressee. Clearly also some concepts are examples of litotes and they are used to underline a point, not to be taken as literally true. In the early1970s the late noble Veʻehala hosted

a radio programme for the Tonga Traditions Committee to advise Tongans on respectful speech. He said that according to Tongan custom, the appropriate words to give when one is presenting a *kau ʻufi* 'twenty yam tubers' and a *puaka toho* 'largest-sized pig, lit. dragged pig' is to say one is presenting a *konga ʻufi hamu* 'a piece of yam without any accompanying meat' (Veʻehala n.d.). Even if one's table is laden with a feast of the best possible food, as host one refers to it as *foʻi pateta* 'a mere potato' or a *konga manioke* 'a piece of cassava', the lowest-ranking foodcrop.

We may assume that such uses of the language to express respect establish it as a way of life, a significant trait of the culture and, therefore, a very important part of the Tongan worldview. It would seem, however, that this way of talking is lost to the younger generation of Tongans as Tongans go overseas, lose their familiarity with the language, and become less respectful in the Tongan meaning of respect.

It is worth noting that WOT 4 can be used with WOT 5 among commoners for example. This is because humility is greatly valued in Tongan culture and people who use WOT 4 in their speech are regarded as *poto he anga* 'clever in behaving'. Consider this exchange between friends. Mele has just graduated with a degree in economics and Sione is congratulating her.

1. Sione: *Mālō muʻa-5, Mele, ʻa e ako-5!*
   Congratulations-5, Mele, on your success-5!
2. Mele: *Fai pē tātāsipá-4 pea ʻohovale-4 pē kuo lava-5!*
   Just kept on staggering-4 and suddenly-4 it was done-5!
3. Sione: *Fanongo te tau kaipola-5.*
   Heard we'll have a feast-5.
4. Mele: *Ko e kiʻi-4 fakaoli-4 pē.*
   It's just a little-4 joke-4.
5. ʻAlu-5 ange mo e kau leká-5 ke tau inu vai-4.
   Come-5 over with the kids-5 so we can drink water-4.

In line 2 Mele is saying that her success was not due to her intelligence. It was more like she had tumbled accidently upon her success. In line 4 she refers to the feast to be held in her honour as a 'little joke', something of little significance and not what one might expect of a celebration. Then, eating good food at the feast (line 5) is nothing more than just 'drinking water'.

Lea Tavale *'Ordinary, Everyday Conversational Way of Talking'—WOT 5*
Lea tavale is the main way of talking about things in Tongan, used by everyone in ordinary, everyday life. It is the conversational language used by equals. It is used when the speaker is familiar with the addressee to the extent that they can talk *tavale* —in any old way. This is the variety of language most often described in grammars, and the one which the majority of Tongans know and use in everyday life. It is the level of use that is to be maintained if the language is declining. Studies show it is the last of the registers to be lost because it is the "unmarked" level of use (Otsuka 2007, Taumoefolau *et al.* 2004). With regard to rank, we can call it the neutral way of talking, used by a speaker to address their social equal in a way in which rank imposes no restriction because it is irrelevant at the time in question.

The word *tavale*, when applied to speaking, means freely, not subject to any rules or constraints, 'to speak in any old way' (Churchward 1959), so speaking everyday Tongan (WOT 5) is really speaking carelessly or freely, as though the status or rank of the addressee did not matter. Thus, when a speaker chooses to use this way of talking to someone of high status, it becomes a statement to the addressee because it sends a message that the addressee's rank does not matter. For this reason, I argue that *lea tavale* is a level of speech that has its place in a hierarchy of ways of talking in Tongan. Thus, the term "neutral" is appropriate only when *lea tavale* is used between speakers of more or less equal rank because it is indifferent to rank. It is possible to regard it as slightly disrespectful, in that a speaker, having the freedom of expression, also has access to informal, colloquial expression, even slang. But this derives from the situation of relative freedom from the expression of rank.

Lea tavale has often been described in the literature as the *kakai* 'people' level of speech or *tu'a* 'commoner' speech level (see, for example, Völkel 2010), but this can be misleading since it implies that only commoners use this level of speech and also that it is used only in reference to commoners. In fact, anyone can use this way of talking in reference to anyone at all depending on the purpose of the talk. Moreover, it is quite common for commoners to use other ways of talking, in particular, WOT 3 *lea fakamatāpule*, and use this to address other commoners with whom a relationship of respect obtains at any particular time. Furthermore, high-ranking people frequently use WOT 5 when the need calls for it. For example, if the king and queen are talking, as long as they are aware of their more or less equal high status, their closeness as husband and wife, and as long as they are talking about ordinary everyday things, they are likely to use *lea tavale* (as in Text 10 below). However, if others are present, as in a speech to the public, formal *lea fakamatāpule* is used rather than *lea tavale* (as in Text 6 above). If two *'eiki* 'chiefly people' of more or less equal rank are talking privately, provided they are at that time treating each other as friends or acquaintances, or are familiar with each other, they will be using *lea tavale*.

Sometimes WOT 5 is used as a strategy to be inclusive. It is used for the purpose of honouring in a somewhat different sense. In some situations a speaker might deliberately use WOT 5 in order to show empathy and develop solidarity with an addressee. It makes the addressee feel he is part of the speaker's in-group. For example, a speaker may use WOT 5 to invite a person to the school anniversary: *'Ei, te ke 'alu ange ki he'etau me'á?* 'Hey, are you coming to our-plural-inclusive do?'

Several features of informality and personal tone are exemplified here, and there is no hint of any representation of rank. The use of *'ei* instead of the addressee's name may be slightly disrespectful in other circumstances but here it emphasises the closeness of the relationship between speaker and addressee. The use of personal pronouns particularly the inclusive plural possessive *he'etau* adds a personal feeling to the rhetorical question. The use of the word *me'a* 'thing' instead of specifying the actual function adds a colloquial touch. All these are features of the familiar everyday way of talking.

The WOT 5 message above can be contrasted with its equivalent below in *lea fakamatāpule* WOT 3:

'E Seini, te ke lava ange mo e fine'eiki

Seini, would you be able to come with the old lady

ki he fakamanatu 'o e ta'u 68 'o e kolisi?

to the 68 years celebration of the school?

And the same message in WOT 2 *lea fakahouhou'eiki* may be:

Ta'ahine pilinisesi-2, 'e hakailangitau-3 'a e finemātu'a-4 kolisi tutukú

Your Highness-2, the old-women-4 of the ex-student association will dance-with-joy-3

'i ha afeitaulalo-2 'a e Feitu'una-2 'o me'a-2 ange 'o fakakoloa-3

if Your Highness-2 turns-to-the-lowly-2 and aristocratically-attends-2 thus enriching-3

'a hono fakamanatua-3 'o e ta'u onongofulumāvalu-3 'o e Kolisi Kuini Sāloté-3.

the commemoration-3 of the sixty-eighth-3 anniversary-3 of Queen Sālote College-3.

An invitation to the king and queen may require a whole event. A party consisting of the President of the Old Girls Association and other office bearers and a *matāpule* to speak on their behalf may seek an audience with the queen (who will then relate it to the king). The party may make a traditional presentation before the *matāpule* articulates the invitation on their behalf.

One can use WOT 5 to refer to royalty or chiefs as a strategy to show negative sentiments. The use of *lea tavale* to refer to or address chiefly people sends a message that the speaker is showing disrespect to the chiefs in question. In 2004 I attended a function in Tonga—the launch of the book *Songs and Poems of Queen Sālote*. Many aristocrats were present, and the book was being launched by a princess, grand-daughter of Queen Sālote. There was an awkward silence when the commoner MC greeted the gathering and chatted away in WOT 5, "*Mālō ho'omou-5 lelei-5...!* '[I'm] grateful for your-5 wellness-5…' " To this day I still do not know if the speaker did this deliberately or just committed a *faux pas*. When that sort of thing happens, the speaker is frowned upon as *fakataau* 'presuming to be of equal rank'. The appropriate way to begin was to start with the *fakatapu* (WOT 3) acknowledging the presence of prominent aristocrats as well as the aristocracy in general (WOT 2).

The level of language used by a speaker in conversation can switch to another level immediately if the speaker, for instance, suddenly becomes angry. Their speech can shift to WOT 6. Similarly, the speaker can shift the level of use to WOT 3 *matāpule* level if, for instance, someone of higher status joins the conversation. If the newcomer is a chief, the speaker needs to speak using WOT 2: vocabulary and expressions typical of the chiefly language (assuming that the speaker knows how to speak WOT 2). If the newcomer is a stranger who is making enquiries about something, being a stranger to the place, the level of use may shift to WOT 3: *matāpule* vocabulary and expressions. If, for some unforeseen reason, the king enters the room, then the level of use will shift to WOT 1: the regal way of talking. Everyone present will act in the conventional way of behaving that is fitting protocol for the presence of the king. For instance, the conversationalists may immediately put on their shirts, if they were relaxing with only their singlets on owing to the heat of the day. They would, if they were sitting on chairs, now get up and sit down on the floor. They would cast their heads down to the floor, and one of them will speak, slowly, loudly, and deliberately (again assuming the speaker can speak WOT 1) and if the king is being accompanied by his particular *matāpule*, the speaker would address the *matāpule* instead of the king as is the custom, and the *matāpule* would respond on behalf of the king. The conversation would turn very formal and ritualistic.

It seems then that the levels of use, accompanied by non-verbal conventional behaviour appropriate for each level, can be described as constant, while the situations may vary. So we can say that speakers and addressees may find themselves in a situation which calls for a particular level of use, and may then revoke that level of use.

Text 10. King and Queen in private using WOT 5. This episode was reported by the queen to my mother in a conversation they had about a year ago.

The King had been having long conversations with Tavi, a Danish man who lived in Tonga for a long time and was well-known for his esoteric knowledge about nature such as the nutritional and medicinal properties of plants considered useless by Tongans—he would cook and eat leaves of shrubs that Tongans do not eat. The Queen considered that she did not know enough about their topics of conversation to be able to contribute to their sessions. One day after Tavi left, this interaction took place.

1. Queen: *Peheange mai na'á ku poto-5 ke u tokoni-5 atu 'i he lahi ho'o ngāué-5*.

   If only I was clever-5 so I can help-5 you with your work-5 [considering how much work you do].

2. King: *Me'a mālie ho'o valé-5! Kapau 'oku fakakina pē ho'o valé-5, huanoa kapau na'á ke poto-5*!

   How fortunate that you are foolish-5! If your foolishness-5 is a nuisance, how much more if you were clever-5!

Analysis: Text 10 is a private conversation between the two most high-ranking people in Tonga in their time—the late King Tupou IV and his consort, Queen Mata'aho, now the Queen Mother. Because the subject matter of the text is a private one, and as the speakers are husband and wife, they are using WOT 5. The specific purpose of the queen was to express a desire to help the king with his work, but the king's purpose was to tease her. They are, therefore, using the way of talking (WOT 5) of people who are familiar with one another and who are more or less equal in rank. This kind of subject matter has no requirement for the expression of respect. In fact, teasing and making fun of someone or something is probably not compatible with complimentary ways of talking, such as WOT 1, 2 and 3, let alone the self-derogatory way of talking WOT 4, which is a serious way of expressing respect. It seems that teasing and joking may best be done using the equal-to-equal way of talking.

Lea 'Ita *'Abusive Way of Talking' – WOT 6*

Lea 'ita is the angry or abusive way of talking about things. The general purpose of WOT 6 is to explicitly and verbally violate and shame others. This way of talking is often characterised by three kinds of concepts: (i) *kapekape* 'swearwords' which are words with sexual denotations and connotations because they are words for sexual parts or related to the sexual parts; (ii) insults about someone's appearance or about shameful things associated with the addressee in question, and (iii) strong, abusive words (not swearwords) that are used as insults or as warnings.

Swearwords in (i) are seriously taboo and obscene in themselves, with or without a context. Some words in (ii) and (iii) are rude in themselves, with or without a context, but they are not taboo or obscene. Examples are most of the words in the middle column of Table 3 below with the exception of the last two—*mulumulu* 'self-derogatory and abusive for bathing' and *afi* 'fire, abusive for eyes' which have senses that are not abusive. Some words in (ii) and (iii) are abusive only when the context is abusive. Examples are *taa'i* 'hit' and *paa'i* 'slap', which can occur in non-abusive contexts.

(i) *Kapekape 'swearwords':* Some swearwords are names of bodily parts spoken in anger, for example, *lemu* 'part just inside the anus', *'usi* 'anus'. Helu (1999a: 132) tells an incident about Tuku'aho, an heir to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, who returned from 'Eua on hearing that his female cousin, Tupou Moheofo, had made herself Tu'i Kanokupolu. He "ended his invective by angrily shouting to her face—*pali fie ule!* 'vagina presuming to be penis'". This is an example of the use of WOT 6 by a chief to another chiefly person. Short descriptions are sometimes used—*'usi ta'ea* 'faeces-smeared anus' usually used for younger persons, *lohofua* 'enlarged testicles' usually directed at older males. Some swearwords are words or phrases for sexual activities such as *fule'i* 'short for *tukufule'i*—male masturbation' while others, regarded as less offensive, are references to bodily functions, such as *mohe mimi* 'urinating while sleeping' often said to a younger person, and *vale kai ta'e* 'faeces-eating idiot'.

(ii) *Insults:* 'Ungatea Fonua's PhD thesis (2003) details the learning language practices of five-year-old children in Tonga who were in transition from home to school. She recorded their language practices a significant number of which can be classified as WOT 6. Following are some insults used by them: *te'epilo 'elo* 'stinking fart', *siko* / *ta'e* 'shit', *fo'i tula* 'bald-headed – reference to addressee's father', *telinga supo* 'ears full of soup, i.e., wax', *fo'i peka* 'smell like a flying fox', *mata'ivale* 'face like an idiot', *mata'i nana* 'face like a despicable deaf person', *mata'i tēvolo* 'face like a devil/ ugly face', *mata'uli* 'black/ dirty face', *mata'i kulī* 'face like a dog's face', *nifo'i hoosi* 'teeth like a horse's teeth—very large', *pokua* 'sore marks', *'ulu pala* 'head full of sores', *'ulu kutua* 'head full of lice', *nifo ava* 'teeth with holes', *tanea* 'skin suffering from skin disease', *mata kikila* 'prominent eyes', *fo'i puho* 'lit. fish eyes, prominent eyes', *timi e maama* 'dim the lights, i.e., prominent eyes', *afi ulo* 'lit. glowing fire, meaning prominent eyes'. A person can be taunted for their family members, such as *fielau he ko e hako 'o 'Ofa* 'no wonder you are a descendant of 'Ofa, implying that 'Ofa has some shameful characteristic'. Sometimes an insult can be about

where a person comes from e.g., *mata'i Paenga* 'face typical of (ugly) faces of people from Paenga village'. Sometimes an insult is a thinly disguised metaphor used pointedly, such as *mata'ihuelo* 'eyes like rays' for someone with extra prominent eyes. A common insult used by the children is *kai ho'o tamai/fa'ē/ kui* etc. 'eat your father/ mother/ grandfather, etc.'. It is not clear why it should be insulting—perhaps because it may have a sexual meaning (see also Feldman 1981), or it may be a reference to cannibalism.

(iii) *Strong, abusive words:* Fonua (2003) also documented how adults used strong words to shame, reprimand and warn the children. Fonua wrote that the most common warnings were the utterances *taa'i koe* 'hit you' and *paa'i koe* 'slap you'. Longer versions are *taa'i koe ke ke kai vevela* 'hit you till you eat burning pain', *paa'i ho ngutú* 'slap your mouth', *paa'i ho matá ke ke kui* 'slap your face till you're blind', *sipi koe* 'slap you hard [with my palm]', *hapo'i koe* 'slap you [can be with something]', *uipi kimoutolu* 'whip you all', *ngaahi'aki koe e va'a papá* 'treat you to the piece of timber', *toesi'i pea u 'ai e hiná ho 'ulú* 'soon I'll hit the bottle on your head', *'ai e fu'u kafá* 'hit [you] with the sennit', *kape'i e fo'i matá* 'gauge the eyes out', *fakaava'i hake e me'á na'u taa'i koe ke ke mahaki* 'open it or I'll hit you till you die'.

Table 2 below shows abusive concepts (WOT 6) and their equivalents in ordinary Tongan (WOT 5).

Table 2

Ordinary form	Strong/Impolite forms	Meaning in English
tangi	*kokō* 'loud cry', *kovaho* 'loud angry cry'	cry
'alu	*mafuke* 'opened, parted', *mahae* 'torn', *maafi* 'spread', *'ohua* 'burnt'	go
loi	*loi'elo* 'stinking lie'	tell a lie
tangutu	*fa'utu* 'rude for sitting'	sit
angakovi	*anga'elo* 'stinking behaviour'	bad behaviour
sio	*kikila* 'rude for see'	look
tuli	*nana* 'rude for deaf'	deaf
mata	*afi* 'fire, rude for eyes'	eyes
kaukau	*mulumulu* 'stripping movement of the hand'	to bathe

It appears that there is a continuum of positive and negative meaning in some concepts. The most positive and complimentary meaning is in WOT 1, then 2, then 3. The neutral meaning is usually 5, but negative meanings are to be found in WOT 4 especially WOT 6. Table 3 shows how various concepts (in the right column) are expressed in the various ways of talking. Note that the underlined words in the WOT 6 column cannot be used in the self-derogatory WOT 4.

Although *mate* is the everyday word for dead, because of the great respect afforded the dead in Tongan culture, it is probably more common to use the *lea fakamatāpule- mālōlō* and *hiki*. It is also conventional to use the chiefly term *pekia* for deceased, regardless of whether the dead person is a commoner. This is because once a person dies, they assume a higher status than they enjoyed while they were living.

Within the abusive WOT 6, the word *mahaki* 'emptied, diseased' can be used in the self-derogatory WOT 4: *Kuo mahaki-4 'a e si'i motu'a 'eku fa'ētangatá* 'The poor old-man who is my mother's brother has died-4 '(lit. been-emptied)'. As noted above, the self-derogatory way of talking is used by a speaker of himself and his close relatives and possessions, hence the use of the derogatory senses of *mahaki* 'die' and *motu'a* 'old-man' of the speaker's maternal uncle. Also, culturally the mother's brother is of low rank compared to the speaker, so it is very appropriate that the speaker use self-derogatory language in reference to him. The other four words are too abusive to be used in self-derogatory language, so they can only be used abusively.

Sometimes some words that can be used in both WOT 4 and WOT 6 are confused by some speakers. For example, the words *fokoutua* and *mama*, when used in WOT 4, are polite and respectful because they are applied only to the speaker, who uses them in the first person: *hoku fokoutua* 'my illness', *'eku mama* 'my eating' to bring out the contrast with honouring the other person, who is the addressee or the referent. When the words are applied to someone else, i.e., when they are used with either the second person or third person, as in *ho fokoutuá* 'your illness', *ho'o mamá* 'your eating', *honau fokoutuá* 'their illness', *'enau mamá* 'their eating', they take on an abusive meaning. It is becoming more common now to hear in the radio (and elsewhere) utterances such as *ko kinautolu 'oku mama tapaká...* 'those who smoke (lit. eat-derogatory) cigarettes...', or *ko kimoutolu 'oku fokoutua he suká ke mou lava mai ki he fakatahá.* 'those of you who are suffering (lit. being ill-derogatory) from diabetes please attend the meeting'. Speakers who do not know the difference between the two uses are not aware how offensive their words are to hearers who do know the difference. There have been cases in Auckland of Tongans calling the radio station and complaining about the offensive language of some announcers. The message here is that words like *mama* and *fokoutua* are not *kakai* words 'people words' or *tu'a* words 'commoner words', and

Table 3

WOT 1	WOT 2	WOT 3	WOT 5	WOT 4	WOT 6	Concept
hala 'royally-die, lit. to err, to be wrong' *tō e la'ā* 'lit. sun has set' *unga fonua* 'lit. hide behind the land'	*pekia* 'aristocratically-die, lit. from *pakia*, be picked, plucked'	*mālōlō* 'lit. rested' *hiki* 'lit. shifted' *tali hono uí* 'lit. answered their call' *folau* 'lit. set sail' *mole 'ene mo'uí* 'lit. lost life'	*mate* 'die' *'alu* 'go'	*mahaki* 'finished, emptied, diseased'	*'ukaka* 'stiff' *fefeka* 'hard' *'elo / 'eho* 'stink' *mahaki* 'finished, emptied, diseased'	Death
hā'ele 'royally-go, probably from *ha'ele*, "to toddle"'	*me'a* 'aristocratically-go, lit. to thing'	*faka'au ā* 'lit. move gradually', *mole mai/ atu* 'lit. move smoothly' *lava mai/ atu* 'lit. able to go/ come' *kātaki mai/ atu* 'lit. please go/ come'	*'alu*	*lele* 'run' *felelei* 'plural-run' *fekalei* 'derogatory for go'	*'ohua* 'burnt' *mahae* 'torn' *mafuke* 'parted' *maafi* 'spread' *puna* 'fly' *lele* 'run' *felelei* 'plural-run' *fekalei* 'derogatory for go'	Going
taumafa 'royally-eat'	*'ilo* 'aristocratically-eat, lit. to know'	*ma'u* 'lit. get', *tokoni* 'help'	*kai* 'eat'	*mama* 'lit. chew'	*fafa'o* 'to pack roughly' *'upopi* 'to stuff into the mouth' *mama* 'lit. to chew'	Eating

– *continued over page*

WOT 1	WOT 2	WOT 3	WOT 5	WOT 4	WOT 6	Concept
fale'alo 'lit. house-of-royal-children'	*fale'alo* 'lit. house-of-chiefly-children' *tamaiki* 'children'	*fānau* 'children' *tamaiki* 'children'	*fānau* 'children' *kau leka* 'lit. dwarves'	*'uhiki* 'lit. animal young' *pikilau* 'lit. small kumara tubers growing on adventitious roots' *fanga ki'i mātu'a mo e fīnemātu'a* 'little old-men and old-women'	*'uhiki* 'lit. animal young'	Children
fakamālū 'royally-bath, lit. to make moist'	*tākele* 'aristocratically-bath, lit. hit soil)	*kaukau* 'to bathe'	*kaukau* 'to bathe'	*mulumulu* 'lit. stripping movement of hand'	*mulumulu* 'lit. stripping movement of hand'	Bathing
langi 'royal-face/ eyes, lit. sky'	*fofonga* 'aristocratic-face/ eyes'	*tau'olunga* 'respectable-face/ eyes, lit. hanging-above'	*mata* 'eyes /face'	*poko'imata* 'lit. skull-eyes/ face'	*afi* 'lit. Fire' *fela* 'eyes' *poko'imata* 'lit. skull-eyes/ face'	Eyes/ Face
tōfā 'royally-sleep'	*toka* 'aristocratically-sleep, lit. (of boat) to run aground, to reach a calm or settled state' (Churchward 1959)	*po'uli* 'lit. to have the night'	*mohe* 'sleep'	*fokoutua* 'self-derogatory for sleep, lit. to be tall, erect, obvious'	*fokoutua* 'abusive for sleep, lit. to be tall, erect, obvious' *pipiki* 'abusive for sleep, lit. (of eyelids) to stick'	Sleeping

they are not supposed to be used with people in general. These words should only be used in situations that call for either WOT 4 or WOT 6, regardless of the rank of the person being addressed. However, in the case of their being used, say, between friends, I would say they are being used deliberately for a special purpose, such as to make a joke or to tease.

* * *

The six ways of talking discussed above have different purposes. These purposes largely determine the choice of a way of talking. Yet, in actual use, ways of talking 1-5, as illustrated in many of the texts above, are overlapping and inclusive of one another in an interaction. This is especially true of longer non-interactional pieces such as public speeches and prayers. These contain a mix of features from the various ways of talking.

It is interesting to note that WOT 4-6 seem to be paradigmatically opposed to WOT 1-3. The latter make use of positive, favourable *heliaki* (indirectness through metaphor) hence avoidance of direct reference to body parts, excretion and sexuality. WOT 4-6 have a preference for direct mention, sometimes metonymically. WOT 6 in particular thrives on direct mention.

The use of the tripartite labelling of the speech levels commonly found in the literature needs to be reassessed for its effectiveness in giving us an understanding of the Tongan ways of talking about things. The lumping together of the abusive form, the polite form and the ordinary conversational form as synonyms under *kakai* words obscures the fact that these words are very different in terms of use, belonging as they do to different ways of talking which differ functionally as well as formally. Moreover, they are not simply *kakai* words but any speaker's words regardless of their rank. Also, addressees or referents can be anyone, again regardless of their rank. For the ways of talking are selected by a speaker depending on their purpose, e.g., if a speaker is angry with the king or chiefs, he may choose to use the abusive way of talking (WOT 6); if he wants to flatter his sweetheart, he may use the regal or chiefly way of talking (WOT 1 and 2); if he wants to develop solidarity with his *kāinga* 'extended family', he would use *lea fakamatāpule* (WOT 3); and *lea tavale* (WOT 5) can be used of and by the king and chiefs when they are regarded—or they regard themselves—as ordinary human beings. The six ways of talking discussed here are linguistic resources to be used when the need for them arises—when and if they are known.

I have used the phrase "ways of talking" to suggest that the distinctive resources of these six linguistic genres constitute full expressive subsystems in the way that Grace explicates them. "Talking" suggests open-endedness. Not only are the ways of talking "idiomatic" but they are also "productive" through the creation of new metaphor, hence new combinations of forms.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Robin Hooper for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. I would also like to thank Judith Huntsman and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable insights into an earlier version of the manuscript. Any remaining errors and omissions remain my responsibility.

NOTES

1. Note on the spelling of Tongan: The glottal stop is represented by an inverted apostrophe. It is a consonant and can make a difference in the meaning of words, e.g., *tu'i* 'king' and *tui* 'knee', *'uma* 'to kiss' and *uma* 'shoulder'. The macron over a vowel represents a long vowel. It can make a difference in the meaning of words, e.g., *kaka* 'to climb', *kakā* 'parrot', *kākā* 'to cheat'. A stressed final vowel in a noun means it is definite, e.g., *falé* 'the house', but *fale* 'a house'. A stress placed on the final vowel of a word preceded by an enclitic or one-syllable word indicates that the final vowel of the word is pronounced together with the enclitic, e.g., *motu'á ni* 'this old-man' is pronounced /*motu 'ani*/.
2. In the case of Māori, however, the ability to speak formally on the *marae* remains a central skill even among those who hardly ever use Māori conversationally. Perhaps Māori society is exceptional in Polynesia in that *whai koorero* is a democratic skill—any Māori man, at least, can set his sights on becoming an orator.
3. In the re-translation of the New Testament /*Ko e Taulua* (Kōmiti Pulusi Tohitapu 'a Tonga 2006) most honorific and self-derogatory terms have been removed (from the earlier Moulton translation) in an effort to simplify the text to make it easier for younger Tongans growing up overseas to understand the Bible.
4. Considerable work has been done on the possible gulf between what is said and its function/purpose in the area of philosophy of language and in formal pragmatics, as in Archer, Aijimer and Wichmann 2012.
5. Notations used in examples and texts: A Tongan word followed by a hyphen then a number, e.g., *'Afio-1* means the word belongs to WOT 1. Its translation also has the dash and the number, e.g., Majesty-1. Both the word and its translation are underlined so that the reader can more easily connect the two and understand the literal meaning of the Tongan word.

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ABSTRACT

In this article I distinguish six different "ways of talking" (after Grace 1981, 1987) in Tongan: kingly, chiefly, polite, self-derogatory, everyday and abusive ways of talking. I address the problem of words being traditionally ascribed to three speech levels of king, chiefs and commoners by recognising the existence of ways of talking

in which the three categories of words are re-distributed. Ways of talking are not just "lexical" but full expressive systems about conventionalised subject matters. They are linguistic resources to be selected for use depending on the speaker's purpose and the social context.

Keywords: Tonga, sociolinguistics, speech levels, metaphor, self-derogatory and abusive speech

MR COCKER'S BENGER BURN DISCOVERIES: A TUSSOCK RAIN CAPE FROM CENTRAL OTAGO, NEW ZEALAND, RE-EXAMINED

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When Te Rangi Hiroa published "The evolution of Māori clothing Part IX" in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, he wrote of a then recent visit to the Otago Museum (1926a: 111):

> … the author had the good fortune to examine a unique garment in the Otago University Museum. It was a very old South Island rain cape with tags of tussock grass, *Poa caespitosa*.
> There were two rain-capes in the Otago University Museum with old labels stating that they were made of tussock grass. On examining the first, it was obvious that tussock had not been used for the rain tags.... It was therefore with feelings of suspicion that the second cape was examined. Here, however, all doubt was happily dispelled, for whilst the warps and wefts were of dressed flax-fibre, the rain tags throughout were of tussock.... The garment was found in a cave on Mount Benger in Central Otago.

Recent re-examination of this rain cape (Fig. 1) has confirmed Te Rangi Hiroa's identification of the "tags" (the elements attached to the outside of the cape to deflect the rain) as tussock, but has shown that he mis-identified the species. This article reviews the significance Te Rangi Hiroa attributed to the cape and considers possible implications of the new botanical identification.

HISTORY OF THE CAPE

Between the townships of Ettrick (in the location previously known as Benger Burn) and Roxburgh in Central Otago, South Island, New Zealand, Mt Benger rises from Moa Flat. It is in this area that the cape was found. The donor attribution in the Museum Register is given only as "Cocker". Two separate reports of a Mr Cocker's interest in the prehistory of the area near Mt Benger were published in a local newspaper in 1875. In July there was news that "large discoveries of Maori relics continue to be made at Benger Burn" and that these had been placed in the care of Mr Kitching of Moa Flat Farm "previous to being forwarded to the Dunedin museum" (*Tuapeka Times*,

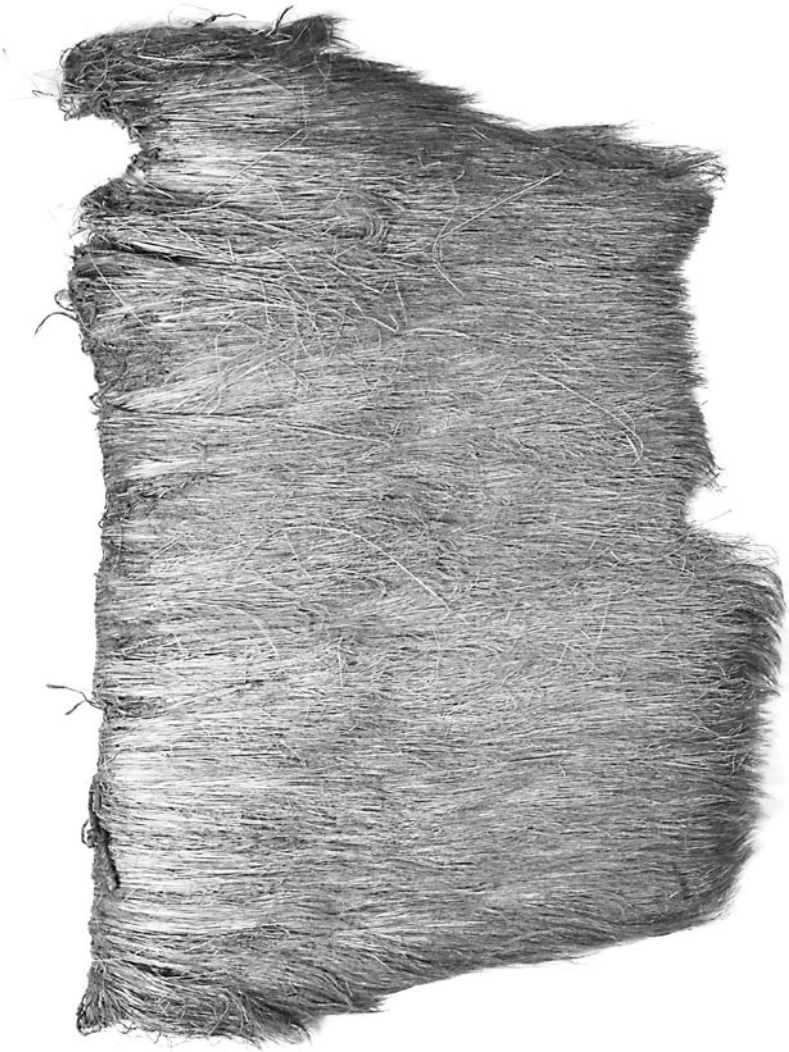

Figure 1: D31.1339. Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand.

7 July 1875: 2). Another report a few months later told readers: "Interesting Maori relics continue to be found by Mr. Cocker near to the Ettrick township." It described them as "relics of the once powerful Middle Island natives" and noted that Mr Cocker was "in hopes of finding the skeleton of some of the original owners of the property discovered, and is prosecuting his researches vigorously" (*Tuapeka Times*, 30 October 1875: 2).

A *Southland Times* account of the first group of finds (27 July 1875: 2) mentioned "clothing" and "feathers of birds that are now extinct". The second report in the *Tuapeka Times* (30 October 1875: 2) noted that among artefacts

> ... lately unearthed there is a greenstone adze of rather a curious shape. Wearing apparel, manufactured from flax, feathers, and grass combined, has also been found in various stages of preservation. We were shown cloaks that would reach from the shoulders to the heels of any ordinary sized individual, also fragments of other garments manufactured in a most ingenious manner, and ornamented with feathers of birds now supposed to be extinct.

Although these reports of Cocker's investigations lack sufficient detail for individual object identification, and none specifically mentions the tussock cape, one can easily imagine it being included among the general mention of "clothing", "garments" or "wearing apparel", particularly any that combined flax and grass.

The cape probably made its way to Dunedin within a year of its discovery. Frederick Wollaston Hutton reported to an Otago Institute meeting on 7 August 1877: "Last June the Museum received from Mr. Cocker a dried specimen of a rat found by him in a cave, along with some old Maori mats, etc., on Mount Benger" (Hutton 1877: 288). According to the press, this material was also on display:

> Professor Hutton then gave some very interesting remarks on the "Maori Rat,".... A specimen, dried to a mummy, which was found in a cave at Mount Benger, along with some matting, &c., was exhibited to the meeting. (*Otago Daily Times*, 8 August 1877: 2)

The cape was described in more detail by Augustus Hamilton two decades later:

> In Central Otago shoulder capes were sometimes made by fastening on tussock grass in small tufts, as pulled up (the roots being cut off), to a flax foundation, the root end of the grass being uppermost. There is a specimen of this kind in the Otago Museum. (Hamilton 1899: 281)

In 1920, H.D. Skinner, then Assistant Curator at the Otago Museum, displayed it as part of a lecture at the Dominion Museum, Wellington.

> Mr H. D. Skinner gave a lecture on anthropology at the Dominion Museum recently, taking as his theme the subject of personal decoration among the Maoris.... He illustrated first of all the characteristics of Maori dress.... He showed several beautiful examples of Maori mats.... There was... a substantial tussock mat of a kind known only in Otago. (*Hawera & Normanby Star*, 31 August 1920: 8)

Associated individuals

Although neither the Museum Register nor the original reports give a first name for Mr Cocker, five years later the *Tuapeka Times* (7 January 1880: 3) offered more specific identification:

> In a cave in the mountain which overhangs the township of Ettrick Mr Richard Cocker, an old and respected resident of that place, discovered a number of articles wrought in flax and other material in a good state of preservation, showing that not many years ago the Natives had inhabited that region....

Richard Parks Cocker lived in the area from at least 1867 although he moved to Dunedin near the end of his life. The *Tuapeka Times* (24 January 1885: 3) described him as having "lived at the Benger Burn for a great many years, and followed the business of ginger-beer and lemonade maker".

John Fry Kitching, in whose care Mr Cocker's discoveries were said to have been temporarily left, was appointed manager of Moa Flat Station by the Australian grazier and land owner, William John Turner Clarke (widely known as "Big" Clarke or "Moneyed" Clarke) in 1868 (Kiddle 1983: 277). When Clarke died in 1874, his youngest son Joseph's inheritance included 50,000 acres (20,235 ha) in New Zealand (H. Anderson, n.d.). At this time or soon after Kitching was able to lease the property himself for some years (Webster 1948: 18-19). He left Moa Flat Station in the early 1880s and died at Roxburgh in 1898.

Wider context

Despite the quantity of material referred to in the newspaper reports, only one item in the Museum collection is linked to the name Cocker. There are no objects linked to the name Kitching, and the only artefact with a record referencing Moa Flat Station is a godstick. Two adzes from Moa Flat (D46.27 and D46.28) were donated to the Museum in 1946, but no history was given with them. The oft-named Moa Flat godstick, D24.1260, was donated to the Otago Museum with a note that it was one of two found in a cave with

some Māori baskets by a station-boy, who gave them to Mrs Langmuir on Moa Flat Station in the 1880s. H.D. Skinner (1952: 135) also described a wooden bowl he had been shown in the early 1920s, "now lost, which was circular in cross-section and about 9 inches in diameter... found on Mt. Benger, Central Otago".

That there was general knowledge of Māori archaeological sites in the area, however, seems evident. James Hector (1871:115) wrote:

> Under some overhanging rocks in the neighbourhood of the Clutha river, at a place named by the first explorers "Moa Flat," from the abundance of bones which lay strewn on the surface, rude stone flakes of a kind of stone not occurring in that district, were found by me in 1862 associated with heaps of moa bones.

One report of Richard Cocker's activities (*Tuapeka Times*, 30 October 1875: 2) said:

> It is evident from the appearance of the Maori camp that a large number of people were once congregated there, as the ovens used by them are of the largest description, and there are numerous places in the vicinity, extending to the banks of the Molyneux, which show signs of having been at one time frequented by the now almost extinct Middle Island native.

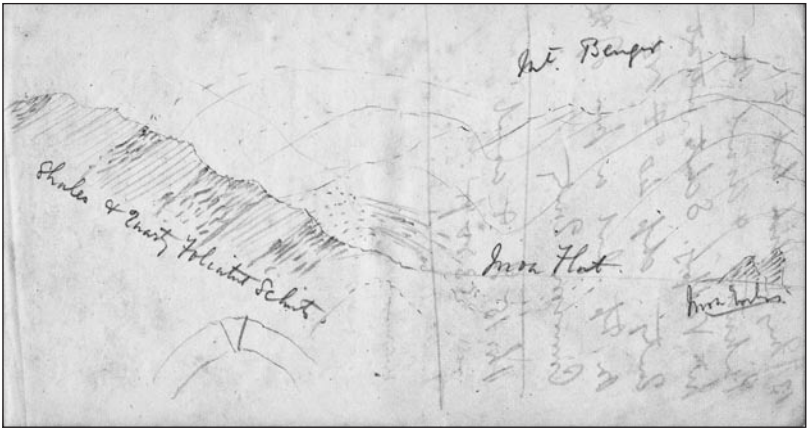

Figure 2: Sketched landscape showing Moa Flat and Mt Benger, 1862. 'Otago Geological Survey I', Sir James Hector's Notebooks, 1862-1863 [MS-00443-1/020 Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago]

Beattie (1997:31) quoted "Otago old settler" Jas. Robertson writing in 1904 of having sighted large numbers of moa bones and nearby ovens in the 1850s; and the *Tuapeka Times* (7 January 1880: 3) also characterised Moa Flat as well-named since "a large number of Moa bones and what are termed Maori ovens have been found in its vicinity".

The New Zealand Archaeological Association Filekeeper for Central Otago has noted that no records have been filed with the NZAA Site Recording Scheme for the ovens in the Ettrick area (Jill Hamel, pers. comm. 9 December 2011) but suggests they are most likely to be *umu-tī* 'large earth ovens' for the preparation of *kāuru* "the edible stem and rhizome of *tī kōuka* (cabbage trees, *Cordyline australis*)" (Anderson 1998: 145, Beattie 1994: 297, Fankhauser 1987, Hamel 2001: 42-48).

MĀORI USE OF TUSSOCK

Tussock has most often been described in the literature as used by Māori for padding or roofing material. Sinclair (1940: 138-39), for example, interpreted it as bedding material at Wickliffe Bay, as did Duff (1952: 93) in the rock shelter at Notornis Valley. Alexander Don (1936: 54) quoted Alexander Petrie describing tussock-roofed round huts in the Maniototo in 1858, and Beattie (1994: 175) described temporary camp-shelters made of tussock and grass plaited over sticks by Otago Peninsula Māori travelling inland to hunt *weka* (*Gallirallus australis*) in the winter months. Some mention, however, was made of its use in clothing. Skinner (1912: 144) described "socks or leggings made of different materials" being worn on the west coast of the South Island. He said they "were generally made of tussock-grass or of the native grass off the hilltops". Beattie (1994: 237) also suggested that in the South Island, among other materials, tussock would probably have been used to make leggings (*taupa*). Te Rangi Hiroa (1924: 307) compiled a list of Māori garments, then added: "There are other sub-varieties and local differences such as in those of the South Island where tussock grass has been used as thatch and strips of birdskin used for adornment." Beattie (1994: 43) defined "patiti" as white tussock and gave the name "pokeka-patiti" to a form of rain cape (1994: 47): "[A] waterproof cloak of whitau laid over with layers of tussock (patiti)." Beattie wrote: "Patiti (tussock) was a fine thing to put in the paraerae [sandals] to keep the feet warm and if one was wading it was warmer with patiti round the feet than without it" (1994: 236). Its insulating properties may have been relevant to its use in the cape, D31.1339.

Williams did not mention tussock in his recent analysis of 19th century South Island lists of *mahika kai* 'places at which resources—particularly but not only food—were collected or harvested'. He does (2010: 176) refer

to one set that includes two vegetable resources that are not foods (*taramea* 'speargrass *Aciphylla spp*' and *tikumu* 'mountain daisy, *Celmisia*') and to a second set that includes some non-food resources, although he suggests they are included because there is food in their vicinity—the primary focus. The absence of tussock does not therefore prove that it was a plant of no value to Kāi Tahu. Nevertheless, given the possible link between the cape and the nearby ovens, it might imply that tussock was not a material sought on a regular basis, even when people were travelling to a location for some other, primarily food gathering, purpose.

CENTRAL OTAGO

Late 20th and early 21st century scholarship has offered us a clearer and more detailed picture of Māori use of the Otago interior than Mr Cocker is likely to have understood. Hamel (2001: 89) summarised inland Otago archaeological sites within the period AD 1150-1550 as including many moa hunting sites; other less specialised sites where both *tī kōuka* and moa were cooked; and still others that evidence use of rock sources. Later, when moa became rare or extinct and seal numbers dwindled, the pattern changes. Mobility, exploitation of "smaller" seasonal resources, such as eels, lamprey, *weka* and *aruhe* 'edible fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum* var. *Esculentum*)', preservation and food exchange became more important. The production of *kāuru* seems to have occurred in this phase as well and Williams (2010: 158) noted that *kāuru* and *aruhe* are often mentioned together in the *mahika kai* lists compiled from information given by Kāi Tahu elders in the late 19th century.

Anderson (1982: 72) wrote of the late prehistoric period: "it seems quite clear that Waitaha and Ngatimamoe had abandoned the interior as far south as Wakatipu by about 1780... [then] there is a gap of more than 50 years before glimpses of settlement history reappear in the recollected information." He noted (1998: 176) that historical observations concerning Māori occupation of the interior are comparatively late; and that although it was difficult to tell "when Ngaitahu first began to occupy the interior.... It... may not have begun much before the 1830s..." (Anderson 1982: 73). Further, the lack of Māori in the interior, when runholders and gold prospectors spread through it in the 1850s and 1860s, did not provide an accurate reflection of its place in early 19th century Ngāi Tahu settlement and subsistence patterns (Anderson 1998: 178). The archaeological record for the later period comprises a number of rock shelters and clefts with material remains concentrated in the Strath Taieri and Maniototo area but also "scattered sites all along the Clutha from Beaumont west to around the western lakes" (Hamel 2001: 80).

NEW INFORMATION

Botanical identification

Te Rangi Hiroa identified the grass attached to the outer surface of the cape as *Poa caespitosa* (*P. cita*) which is widespread throughout the low to mid altitude South Island mainly in moister fertile areas. At that time his was the most specific identification made, other writers having described it merely as grass or tussock. This grass was examined in 2011 by Dr Janice Lord and identified as *Festuca matthewsii* subsp. *latifundii* (Fig. 3), not *Poa caespitosa* (syn. *P. cita*) as Te Rangi Hiroa had suggested.

The leaf blades of *Festuca matthewsii* subsp. *latifundii* are approx 80 -300 mm in length and the undersides have short antrorse prickle-teeth (Fig. 4) on the ribs, upper surface and margins. Another distinguishing feature is a characteristic ligule (Edgar and Connor 2000) found at the inner base of the leaf, between where the leaf attaches to the main stem and the stem itself (Fig. 5).

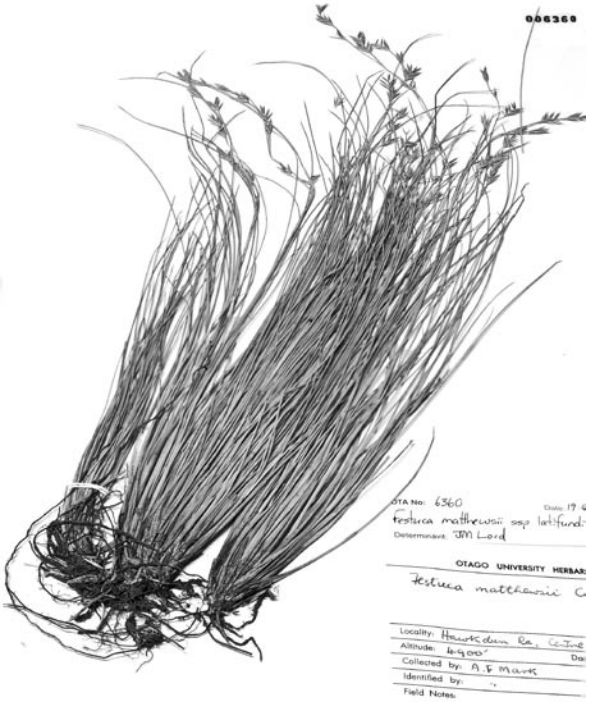

Figure 3. Otago University Herbarium sample of *Festuca matthewsii* subsp. *latifundii*.

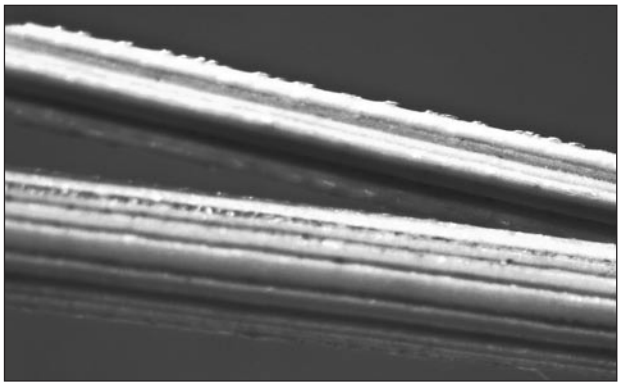

Figure 4. Leaf blade from D31.1339 showing prickle teeth closeup grass from cape.

Figure 5. Leaf blade from D31.1339 showing characteristic ligule.

Festuca matthewsii subsp. *latifundii* has a very much more restricted habitat than *Poa cita*. It is endemic to the Waitaki Basin and Central Otago, excluding the Dunstan, Pisa and Old Man Ranges, growing in sub-alpine to alpine areas and in inter-montane basins (NZ Plant Conservation Network website). This amended botanical identification has clear implications for the cape's provenance, greatly increasing the likelihood that at least some of the materials from which it was constructed were collected locally, and that it was made near the place where it was found.

C14 dating results

A detached sample from one of the tags was submitted to the commercial provider DirectAMS at the Accium BioSciences Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory in Seattle, Washington. The results indicate an early 19th century date for the cape is most probable (Hugo Zopi, pers. comm. 16 June 2012).

Table 1. AMS dating results

Lab. No.	Δ13 per mil.	Fraction of modern		Radiocarbon age	
		pMC	1σ error	BP	1σ error
D-AMS 1217-225	-18.8	98.12	0.30	152	25

The calibrated AMS results indicate that at two sigma there is a 0.754 probability that the cape dates to sometime between AD 1803 and 1951, but it could be as early as AD 1683. Other evidence (date of find, dates of the finder's residence in the area in which the cape was found and historic records of traditional subsistence patterns) helps narrow the age to the late 18th or, more probably, early 19th century. Overall the result allows a confident identification of the cape as late prehistoric to early historic in age.

TE RANGI HIROA AND THE TUSSOCK CAPE

When he examined the cape at the Otago Museum, Te Rangi Hiroa's expertise in Māori textiles was well-established. G.S. Roydhouse (1951: 249) summarised this early interest in a tribute recollection and essay:

> Peter was conscious of the great and important need for the recording of Maori culture... The *Journal of the Polynesian Society...* published his *Evolution of Maori Clothing* (1926a) as a memoir. This study was an elaboration of a paper read... in Wellington in 1923. The foundations for the study were laid in 1908 when he wrote his first ethnological paper, "The Maori Art of Weaving" *(Dominion Museum Bulletin No. 3)*.... "We thought things over affecting our Maori people, their historical traditions and their culture," said Peter "...I started off on the arts and crafts. It was a field that was neglected.... I began with the process of weaving that I learned from Tira Hori, one of the Whanganui women who was a skilful weaver...."

In the 1920s he had a broad knowledge of other museum collections and of technical matters. While noting that at first sight it appeared much as other rain capes made from *harakeke* '*Phormium tenax*', or *kiekie* '*Freycinetia banksii*', he selected some aspects of the tussock cape's construction for particular comment (Hiroa 1926a: 116):

> The commencement or setting up of the warps by doubling them over two horizontal cords is unlike any method seen in the developed craft of the North Island.... The finish at the neck border is about as simple as it could possibly be, and again finds no resemblance in the technique of the North Island.... The method of attaching a separate neck fringe by a knotted cord is somewhat crude and primitive. The absence of any attempt at an insert also adds to the more primitive nature of the technique of the garment....

He asked: "The question to decide is whether the more primitive characteristics of technique enumerated above are really old or whether they are due to the work of an unskilled and inexperienced craftswoman" (Hiroa, 1926a: 116). Despite acknowledging that some features would mark contemporary work as unskilled (particularly the lack of inserts and poor finish about the neck band), he nevertheless concluded, "the preparation of the warps, the regularity of the weft rows, and the neat fixation of the tags, show that the garment was carefully made by an experienced craftswoman and could not have been the amateur attempt of a modern tyro" (Hiroa, 1926a: 116-17). Analysis of textile fragments from archaeological excavations in recent decades has documented detached neckline fragments from other sites with 19th century dates elsewhere in New Zealand (Lander 1992: 14, Lawrence 1989: 106). Nor was shaping always employed.

Te Rangi Hiroa recognised the apparently unique use of tussock for the tags but said (1926a: 116) this was "the least important feature of the cape" and that the "unique features are the commencement, the finish, and the neck fringe". Based on these features, he assessed the construction technique as simple. He noted that the cape's primary purpose was protection from the elements, and cited these two points in support of his suggestion that it demonstrated an early style of New Zealand cloak manufacture. He offered three general principles (1926a: 147-48):

> Firstly, the simplest technique is found in the simplest garments.... Secondly the order of complexity in technique coincides with what we regard as the order in which the need for the various garments occurred during the period that the Māori was perfecting the clothing craft…. Lastly, the use for particular garments did not cease when a superior garment with an improved technique was evolved.

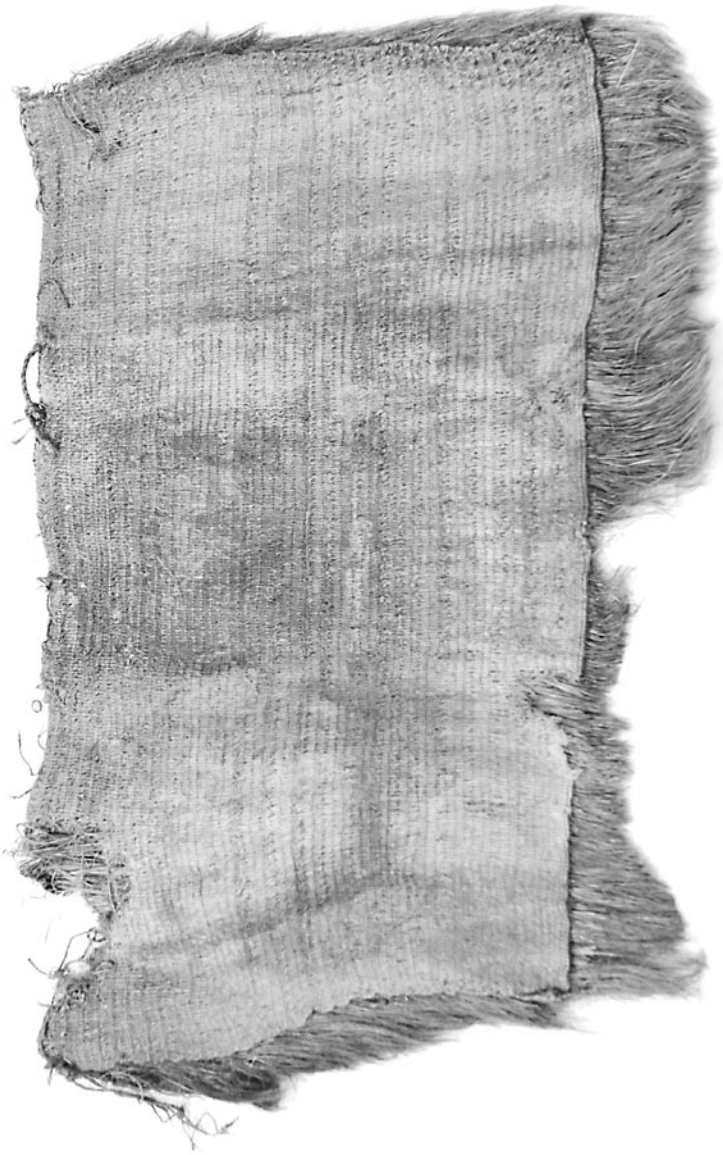

Figure 6: Reverse of D31.1339 showing weft rows and neck details. Otago Museum, Dunedin.

Te Rangi Hiroa outlined an essentially age-area hypothesis of South Island settlement in which successive northern populations moved south, and the existing southern populations moved to more remote areas in the face of these later incursions. As he described it (1926a: 117):

> Each wave has pushed the previous one further south.... The Ngaitahu tribe, which formed the last wave, permanently occupied the east and south coasts of Otago and must have pushed the surviving remnants of their predecessors into Central Otago and the fastnesses of the west.

Te Rangi Hiroa obviously considered Mt Benger to be within the area to which these earlier South Island populations had retreated, and his hypothesis meant he assumed the cape was therefore associated with pre-Kāi Tahu *iwi* 'tribes'. This link both reinforced and was reinforced by positioning the cape early in his evolutionary sequence of textile development. He summarised it thus,

> We must therefore regard the tussock cape found in Central Otago as an important link with the past. Its peculiarities in technique are thus due, not to degeneration or defective craftsmanship, but rather to retention of methods marking the earlier stages in the evolution of clothing technique. (Te Rangi Hiroa 1926a: 118)

He also referenced H.D. Skinner's (1923) work in which "the material culture of the Moriori of Chatham Islands has been shown... to have affinity with that of the southern portion of the South Island of New Zealand" (Te Rangi Hiroa 1926a: 117). It is unclear whether he had seen Alfred Martin's 1877 photographs of Moriori. He continued (1926a: 118):

> Regarding the Chathams as a remote area, we would expect Moriori clothing to shed some light on the technique used in New Zealand before the coming of the Hawaikians. Unfortunately exact details are lacking... there seems little prospect of learning what the original Moriori technique was.

When *The Coming of the Maori* (1949) was published just over two decades later, he had access to new information. His principal example of early forms of Māori garments then was not the tussock cape in the Otago Museum, but a rain cape in the Canterbury Museum collection (E109.7, Roger Fyfe, pers. comm. 23 November 2011). Single pair twining had become stage three of a sequence in which plaiting was stage two, following the introduction of bark cloth. The logic for his assessment of its place in the sequence, however, was similar. If the garment was Moriori, and if one assumes Moriori retreated to the Chatham Islands owing to northern Māori arrivals in the South Island, then a Moriori garment could be claimed to represent, or stand in for, an early Māori form:

> It is probable, therefore, that the early rain capes were made of undressed flax by the current technique of plaiting. Here again, we have supporting evidence from the isolated Moriori who, according to early visitors to the Chatham Islands, wore shoulder mats made of flax with the ends hanging down on the outer side to shed the rain. No indication is given as to technique but fortunately a rain cape in the Canterbury Museum was identified from the Museum records as probably Moriori. From the description and photographs sent to me by Roger Duff, the cape shows a more primitive technique than any of the known types of Maori rain capes. Instead of being woven with a body of dressed flax fibre, it is plaited in twilled-twos with wefts of unscutched flax.... This form of plaited rain cape could well conform to the original type of rain cape referred to by Turaukawa as the *pake* of the early settlers. (Hiroa 1949: 161)

Interestingly, Te Papa Tongarewa has in its collection a black-dyed, plaited *kākahu* 'cloak', (registration number ME001685) described as a *kahu raranga pūputu* 'closely plaited cape' or *kōnunu* 'black flax cloak', for which the main pattern is *tōrua whakatakoto* 'an over-two under-two horizontal twill'. It was deposited in the then Colonial Museum by Augustus Hamilton around 1905. There is no associated provenance but a date of AD 1800-50 has recently been suggested (Tamarapa 2011: 156-57). It seems surprising that Te Rangi Hiroa would not have been aware of this garment, given his acknowledgment of the "kindly encouragement of the late Augustus Hamilton" in his work (Hiroa 1926b: xvii) and his association with the Dominion Museum. It does not, however, appear to have been published by Hamilton, although that might mean only that he acquired it after "The dress and clothing of the Maori" (Hamilton 1899) appeared in print.

In both 1926 and 1949 Te Rangi Hiroa acknowledged the importance of considering material culture adaptation to local environments. In his 1926 paper he noted, "we have concluded that the use of the spaced single-pair twine was brought to New Zealand from Eastern Polynesia. Its more extended use in the rain-cape and rain-cloak and in close twined work was stimulated by local conditions" (1926a: 148). Skinner (1924: 232) quoted Te Rangi Hiroa on the subject: "Dr Buck has shown that environment was actually responsible for new developments in clothing, as seen in warm garments of dogskin and flax, and the evolution of a technique whereby the latter material was effectively utilised." The main point of interest, however, seemed to be at a level that differentiated New Zealand from warmer Polynesian environments as part of the narrative of first settlement of Aotearoa not, despite Skinner's culture area work (Skinner 1921), climate variations within New Zealand.

Te Rangi Hiroa and David Simmons (1968) both proposed models for a developmental sequence of Māori clothing in which single-pair twining used in rain capes was somewhere near the beginning. Jacomb *et al.* (2004)

have recently cast doubt on the models' validity, noting that evidence for the antiquity of the single-pair twine need not also support the notion of an evolutionary sequence trending towards increasingly fine manufacturing methods and artistic sophistication. In addition, the widespread and continuing use of single pair twining for the manufacture of rain capes before and after European contact means it is of little help as a guide to age.

DISCUSSION

Historical reportage makes the identification of Mr Cocker as the finder of the tussock cape in the late 19th century highly probable. His discovery of it was at a time when Māori use of the Otago interior was not highly visible to European settlers. It was examined at the Otago Museum by Te Rangi Hiroa in the 1920s and discussed by him in some detail in "The evolution of Maori clothing" in 1926. The cape has an unusual and unsophisticated construction technique at some points but authoritative assessments recognise its maker as competent (Hiroa 1926a:117, Patricia Wallace, pers. comm. 27 July 2010). Recent expert botanical examination has identified the tags on this garment as *Festuca matthewsii* subsp. *latifundii*, a species of tussock with a very limited distribution but at present one that includes the area of the reported find. Submission of a sample from one of the tussock tags for AMS dating in 2012 indicates there is a high probability that the cape most likely dates to the 19th century.

Attempts to imagine why and how the cape was in the place where Richard Cocker vigorously undertook his investigations, or to understand the ideas of those closest to its discovery and subsequent examinations are all speculative. However, the AMS results mean that we can now effectively rule out the possibility that the cape was associated with the people or activities related to the earlier moa-hunting phase of Central Otago archaeology. In the 19th century it was less easy to discount this possibility. The *Tuapeka Times* reports seem undecided in their estimate of the age of Mr Cocker's finds. In 1875 they were described as "relics of the once powerful Middle Island natives" and later made reference to the "now almost extinct Middle Island native" (*Tuapeka Times*, 30 October 1875:2). The description seems to imply a reference to Kati Mamoe or Waitaha. Five years later, however, the same newspaper described the artefacts as "showing that not many years ago the Natives had inhabited that region" (*Tuapeka Times*, 7 January 1880:3), which could mean they fitted within a Kāi Tahu lifeway and timespan. To Skinner in 1920, with an interest in establishing and delineating the art and material culture traditions of Māori in the southern South Island of New Zealand—Murihiku—and gathering data that could be used in his culture area work (also allied to theories about

the settlement of New Zealand) it offered another example of a point of difference between Otago and other parts of the country.

When he examined the cape, Te Rangi Hiroa's ideas about the prehistory of New Zealand still included the possibility of initial settlement by a non-Polynesian population. The assumptions he made then about the nature and extent of Waitaha, Ngāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu use of the interior of Otago have also been superseded (e.g., Anderson 1998). He described the tussock cape as very old (although there are very few early rain capes in museum collections for comparison) but even his arguments permit an interpretation that it is of recent date, since he allowed the possibility that an early style of garment (simple and practical) might continue to be made if it still suited its purpose well. Te Rangi Hiroa was perhaps also unaware of the possible association of the cape with a reputed greenstone adze—often seen as an indicator of a later date. There is no record of this adze in the Otago Museum collection management system but knowledge of such an item would not necessarily have influenced Te Rangi Hiroa's interpretation. Moreover, the identification of the adze material as nephrite is not proven; the lack of detail in accounts of Mr Cocker's work means the physical relationship between the two is vague—they might have come from separate sites or chronological layers. And, even if they were scarce until the late period of prehistory, nephrite implements occasionally occur in early New Zealand sites (Anderson 1998: 208).

One of the *Tuapeka Times* articles (30 October 1875: 2) also made particular reference to the large size of the garments. This might indicate that the finds included cloaks, as well as shorter capes; it might be exaggeration; or—highly suppositional—it might be a faint allusion to myths of the *Kahui-tipua* 'first and giant occupants of the South Island' (see White 1887: 189). John White's official collection of Māori myths was not published until the late 1880s but there were earlier versions and this aspect of the legends was probably well-known.

The *muka* 'prepared *harakeke* fibre', used for the body of the cape, could have been produced in Central Otago or elsewhere and prepared at the time of the cape's construction or at some slightly earlier date. Neither its manufacture nor that of the cape could have occurred at short notice for an immediate need. From what we know of Kāi Tahu's use of Central Otago in the 19th century one might postulate that this fits with the harvesting and/or preparation of some time-consuming seasonal resource. Anderson (1998: 145) noted, for example, that the *kāuru* season ran from October through December, while a second cutting occurred in the autumn. Hamel (2001) noted the winter hunting of *weka*. *Festuca matthewsii* subsp. *latifundii* flowers from October and the seed heads are normally conspicuously present from December to March,

and can persist longer. No seed heads have been observed on the cape but their absence cannot be seen as proof of collection in the intervening months since, even if present when gathered, they might have been broken off during construction or later handling of the cape.

* * *

Te Rangi Hiroa assessed the significance of this garment in terms of its possible contribution to an outline for the evolution of Maori textile working and a narrative of the settlement of New Zealand. He emphasised the implications of its unusual construction over a consideration of the materials used. His conclusion about its significance was then amplified by interpreting the location where it was found within a scenario that supposed Central Otago could best be understood as an area to which pre-Kāi Tahu South Island *iwi* had retreated, and which allowed for the peripheral survival of older forms of artefacts.

The results of recent botanical examination and C^{14} dating point to weaknesses in both Te Rangi Hiroa's choice of analytical priorities and his interpretation. The restricted area in which the species of tussock used for the cape's tags grows means that by deciding to emphasise construction technique over material identification he missed an opportunity to gain information of consequence. In addition, the C^{14} date probably links the cape to a period of Central Otago's history when it was part of Kāi Tahu's seasonal subsistence pattern, but this was not included in the narrative on which Te Rangi Hiroa drew.

From the perspective of this investigation the distinctive feature of the cape is the apparently unique use of one particular species of tussock in a Māori garment. The implications of the revised botanical identification, allied to the AMS dating result, raises a number of questions about earlier interpretations of the cape's significance. The context for Te Rangi Hiroa's initial evaluation of the cape's importance, and his apparent modification of that standing some years later, are of interest in charting the changing ideas of a significant early scholar working with Māori textiles. The cape's neckline and neck attachment are unusual and may represent a personal choice by the maker but do not indicate antiquity in light of our radiocarbon results. A broader scenario in which a group of coast-based Otago Kāi Tahu had travelled to the Ettrick area in the early 19th century for the harvesting or production of food items such as *weka* or *kāuru*, or some other purpose; stayed for a period of time; and included among their number a weaver who while there used a locally available tussock in the construction of a rain cape, is suggested as one of the possible alternative hypotheses.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our grateful thanks to Janet Davidson for her valuable comments on a previous draft of this paper. Thanks also to Jill Hamel, New Zealand Archaeological Association filekeeper for Central Otago, for a discussion of NZAA site records in the Ettrick area; to Roger Fyfe, Senior Curator of Anthropology, Canterbury Museum, for details of E109.7, the rain cape in the Canterbury Museum collection; Awhina Tamarapa, Curator Māori, Te Papa Tongarewa, for answering questions about ME001685; and Huhana Morgan, weaver, for comments on the preparation of *muka*. The Otago Museum's Māori Advisory Committee kindly supported the AMS dating of a detached fragment of a tussock tag from D31.1339. Chris Jacomb and Emma Brooks, Southern Pacific Archaeological Research (SPAR), advised us of DirectAMS, who undertook the laboratory dating of the tussock sample. Melinda Allen's input regarding the interpretation of the dating result is much appreciated and the helpful comments of two anonymous referees are acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The recent botanical examination and dating of a tag from a South Island rain cape in the Otago Museum collection has lead to an examination of the circumstances surrounding its discovery, and an analysis of the significance accorded it by early researchers.

Keywords: Tussock, Otago Museum, Te Rangi Hiroa, rain cape

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

DOCUMENTATION OF THE SACRED PRECINCT OF MATA NGARAU (‘ORONGO, EASTER ISLAND) IN THE LATE 19TH—EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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Easter Island, located in the southeast Pacific Ocean, was the home to a unique and highly-developed Neolithic culture that produced over 100 ceremonial platforms (Englert 1948: 515-33), several hundreds of *moai* ‘statues’ (Van Tilburg 2004, Shepardson 2009: 163), and several thousands of rock carvings (Lee 1992: 4). The Rapanui (Easter Island) people even developed a writing system (Fischer 1997).

The island became known to Europeans when it was discovered by the Dutchman, Jacob Roggeveen on Easter Sunday of 1722. The first Western visitors made numerous observations concerning the culture of the islanders; however, this information should be filtered from much more pragmatic comments:

> Furthermore some thought they had seen that the inhabitants had silver plates in their ears, and mother-of-pearl shells round their neck for ornament…. Now when we had properly investigated everything, and particularly the materials and their colours, as well as the imagined silver plates and mother-of-pearl shells, it was found that all this was trash, namely that their covering cloths round the body was a field-plant, sewn together…. (Sharp 1970: 93, 96)

The expeditions of the 18th century, led by González de Haedo, Captain Cook and La Pérouse, recorded more information about the Rapanui, as narrated in stories about their surveying and reconnaissance ventures. Several famous etchings were produced based upon their field sketches and some outstanding watercolours were also produced by John Linton Palmer, who visited the island in 1868. However, *in situ* sketching required considerable time and all the salient details were not always recorded, as admitted by Palmer himself describing his work in the sacred birdmen village of ‘Orongo (1870: 377):

> At the end of this settlement, which is close to the gap whence the lava escaped, almost all the blocks of lava are more or less sculptured; but as they are weatherworn, and the material perishable and overgrown, it is difficult to make out the design—so much that I made a coloured sketch I sent you without perceiving at the time that the one represented a face, which quite startled me on looking at my work. I wish I could spent some hours, nay, the whole night, up there, working away with my pencil; but at 2.30 was the last boat, and so duty called me away from a most interesting place.

Palmer's expedition discovered the famous statue Hoa Hakananai'a in one of the houses of 'Orongo, and brought it to England. On their arrival at Portsmouth, the statue was photographed for the first time, on the ship's deck (Van Tilburg 2004: 7). Further recognisable graphic documentation was made in 1872 by the Frenchman, Pierre Loti, who drew detailed pictures of the statues standing below the exterior quarries of Rano Raraku (see Heyerdahl 1961: Figs 9a, b).

Geiseler's expedition arrived at the island in 1882 on board the ship *Hyäne* without any photographic equipment, so Paymaster Weisser was responsible for making sketches that were further used to produce etchings and published in the expedition reports. The etching of *Moai Piropiro* from the exterior quarries of Rano Raraku (Ayres and Ayres 1995: 26, Fig. 7) is quite recognisable; the drawings of the painted slabs from 'Orongo (Ayres and Ayres 1995: Figs 11, 12, 16-19, 20), as well as carved rocks embedded into house walls, (Ayres and Ayres 1995: Figs 22 and 23) are accurate enough for identification (Horley and Lee 2009). One etching published as Geiseler's plate (Ayres and Ayres 1995: Fig. 21) had not yet been identified, to the best of our knowledge. The drawing shows three bas-relief birdmen side-by-side, suggesting that the carving in question most probably belonged to the sacred precinct of Mata Ngarau, the basalt boulders of which are densely covered with numerous repetitions of the *tangata manu* 'bird-man' motif. However, this particular configuration failed to match any of 'Orongo's boulders—until the moment we realised that the etching was made from an upside-down sketch (Fig. 1a). Upon making this correction, the design was easily identifiable as the birdmen motifs from Locus #18 (Fig. 1b; also see Lee 1992: 71, Fig. 4.44).

This identification is verified by the following details: (i) the space under the panel in the "corrected" etching is hatched because it represents rocks in the foreground; (ii) the boulder has a characteristic bump to the left from Birdman #3; (iii) Birdman #2 has an unusual back-pointed beak that was overlooked by Weisser so that, in his version, this Birdman appears beakless; and (iv) the hand of Birdman #1 is eroded/polished away, in complete accordance with Weisser's drawing. The details overlooked in the etching include a small *tangata manu* to

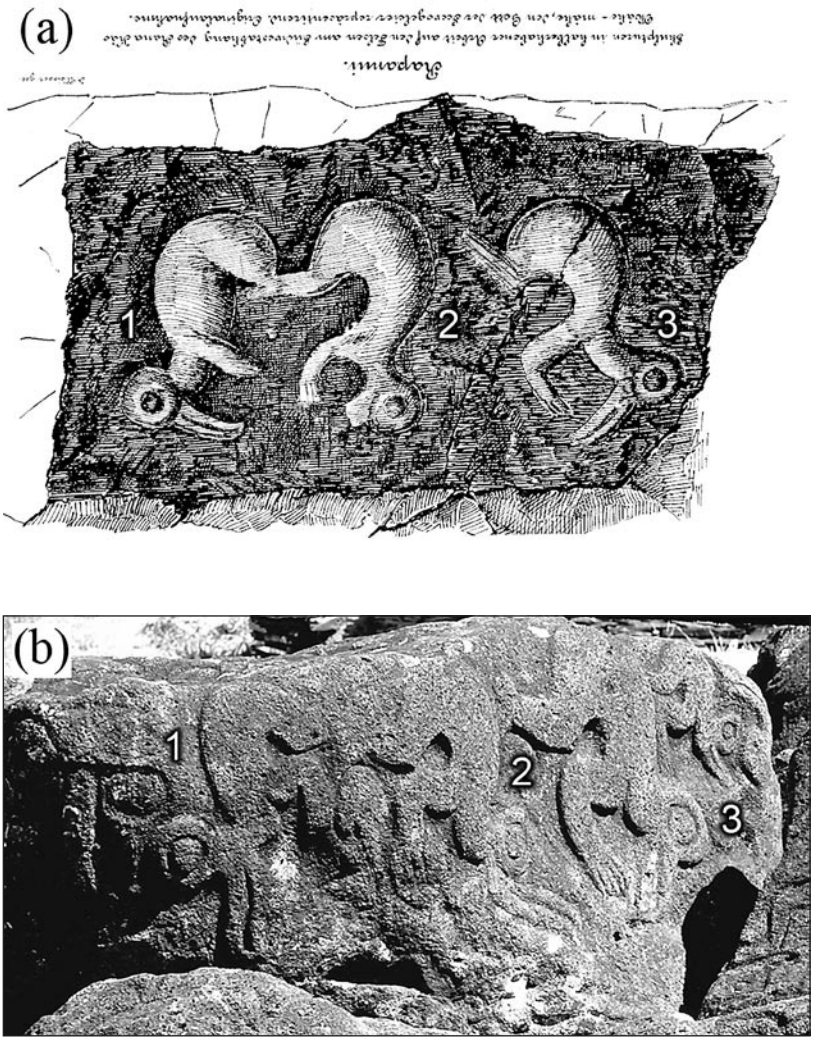

Figure 1. Birdmen carvings from Locus #18: (a) Weisser's etching published in Geiseler's Report, (b) photograph of the boulder by Lee. The corresponding motifs are marked with numbers.

the right of Birdman #3 and a stylised face of the Easter Island god Makemake carved at the edge of the boulder to the left of Birdman #1.

The next major expedition, by Paymaster William J. Thomson visiting Easter Island in 1886, was the first to provide photographic documentation of the Rapa Nui sites. Many of these pictures (taken by William Safford) were included in Thomson's 1891 report. Several unpublished Safford's images can also be studied in preview quality in SIRIS (Smithsonian Institution Research Information System, http://www.siris.si.edu). Among the photographs of 'Orongo Village, we would like to discuss the image published as Plate 22 of the Expedition report, reproduced here in Figure 2a. It shows the sacred precinct of Mata Ngarau from its northern extremity, featuring a large boulder with a carving of a face in the foreground. To the best of our knowledge, this boulder has not been discussed in the literature—despite the fact that it was *lost* to the ocean about 40 years after its first documentation by Safford. This surprising discovery can be made if we compare the 1886 photograph with the picture taken by Routledge in 1914-1915 (Fig. 2b) which clearly shows that the boulder in question is missing. The rocks around the lost boulder are marked with Numbers 1-5; in Safford's image, Rock #4 (Locus #23, Lee 1992: 137) is significantly blocked from view by a boulder with a face, which is clearly missing from Routledge's photograph. For easier visual comparison, we marked the corresponding rocks with numbers in Figure 2c which shows an aerial view of Mata Ngarau.

The second photograph of the northern face of the missing boulder was discovered by the authors in August 2011 within the photographic archives of Alexander Agassiz, in the collections of Ernst Mayr Library at Harvard University (Fig. 3a). The photograph, possibly taken by Henry Bryant Bigelow, shows the site with taller grass, which is curious as both expeditions visited the island approximately in the same time of year: December 18-31, 1886 (Thomson 1891:476) and December 15-22, 1904 (Agassiz 1906: 29). However, even in the presence of taller vegetation, it is clear that the rock marked with #2 in Figure 2a was already lost by 1904 (Fig. 3a). The missing boulder with a large face is still in place; the photograph allows us to study it visually under different lighting conditions. The lichen spots located under the face are well-defined and of quite the same size as that in the 1886 photograph; in contrast, lichen patches on the upper left side of the boulder had greatly expanded since Safford's documentation. A side-by-side comparison of 1886, 1904 and 1998 images (Figs. 2a, 3b and 3c, respectively) illustrates that lichen growth is highly irregular, sometimes showing drastically different expansion of lichen patches even on the same boulder. Moreover, one should take into account that the site might have been cleaned from lichens between the pictures were taken, thereby compromising the record. Thus, application

of lichenometry dating on Easter Island (see e.g., Rutherford, Shepardson and Stephen 2008) may have considerable complications, especially when available historical photographs documenting the site are insufficient in number or quality.

The modern photograph (Fig. 3b) shows Rocks #3 and #4 in front of boulder #5 as completely open (Locus #22, Lee 1992: 137). Rock #4—Locus #23—has a birdman shape carved on it, which can be more clearly seen in the photograph taken during the Norwegian Expedition in 1955-1956 (Fig. 3c). The body of the birdman is carved on what appears to be a comparatively fresh rock surface (note how the upper part of the same body is already covered by lichen). There is a faint body shape incised in symmetric fashion (Fig. 3c) with an intention to create a *manupiri* 'double bird-man' design (Lee 1992: 70). As Rock #4 was located in a tight space between the now-missing boulder with the face and Rock #5, it is most probable that the birdman design shown in Figure 3c was carved *after* the large boulder went down the cliff—that is, sometime in the 20th century—raising a question about whether some other designs at Mata Ngarau could be recent as well.

The partial view of the south side of the missing boulder was also documented by Bigelow (Fig. 4a). With this image, we made a tracing of the motifs that once covered the boulder (Fig. 5). The large-eyed face is carved on its extremity, using the rock shape to emphasise the head's form. The bulging eyes have clearly-marked pupils, which is a common trait for Mata Ngarau faces (Fig. 6) as well as several sculptures such as *Moai* Tukuturi and a head excavated at Rano Raraku by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition (Skjølsvold 1961, Plates 51 and 53c, d). The cheekbones of the face are accentuated and the lips are set in low relief. The face has at least one ear, which is short but which features a well-defined ear-spool executed in bas-relief, most clearly seen in Safford's image (Fig. 2a). It was definitely the most elaborate ear in the Mata Ngarau carvings; at other loci, the ears, when present, are shown as mere outlines (Fig. 6a). Safford's photo also indicates that the missing boulder was worked below the face, aiming to create the semblance of a neck, which is a considerable development in comparison to simpler face forms carved on Mata Ngarau rocks. This impression of uniqueness is emphasised by the face being positioned on a prominent extremity of the boulder overlooking the ocean, suggesting this carving may have had a special function.

The missing boulder carried a number of birdman designs, marked with letters in Figure 5. It is difficult to identify them all based on three photographs only. Nevertheless, we are quite sure that the bas-relief birdmen A and B on its northern side were late and elaborated designs. Contour C may be the belly outline of an earlier birdman. Outline D appears to be the spine of a smaller

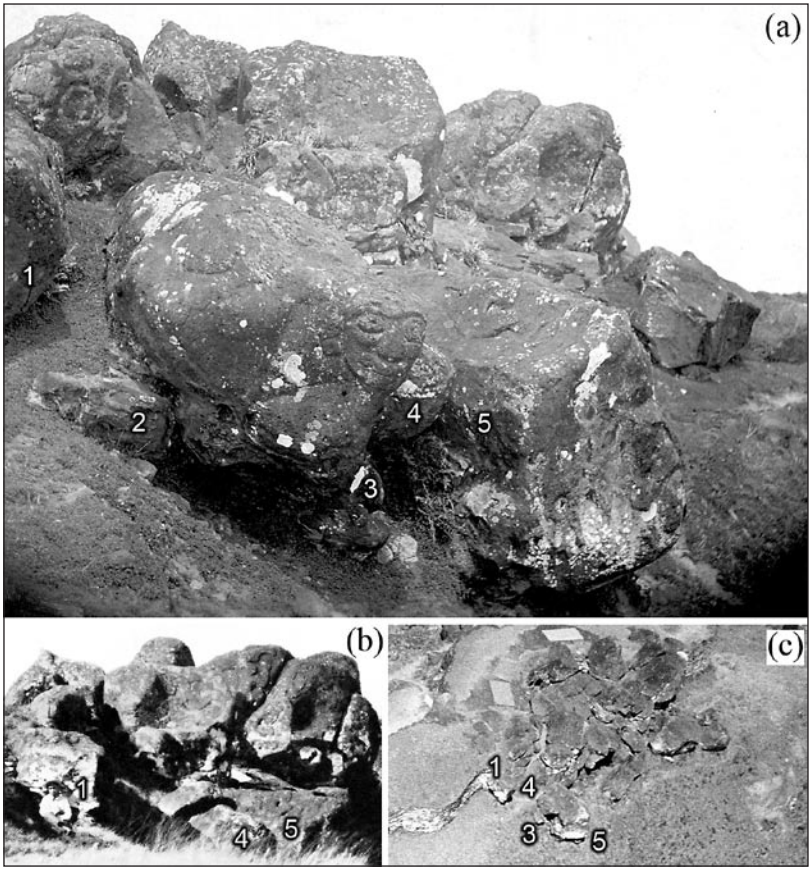

Figure 2. Mata Ngarau seen from the north: (a) William Safford's 1886 photograph, published as Plate 22 in Thomson's 1891 report (high-resolution scan from the original 19th century photographic print is courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, photograph NAA INV 04951700); the prominent rocks around the boulder subsequently lost to the ocean are marked with numbers 1-5. (b) Katherine Routledge's 1914-1915 photograph (Routledge 1920: Plate 12.1), showing Boulders 4 and 5 in their entirety, while these were partially blocked before by a boulder with the face in Safford's image. (c) 1998 kite aerial image of Mata Ngarau (courtesy of Donald and Elaine Dvorak).

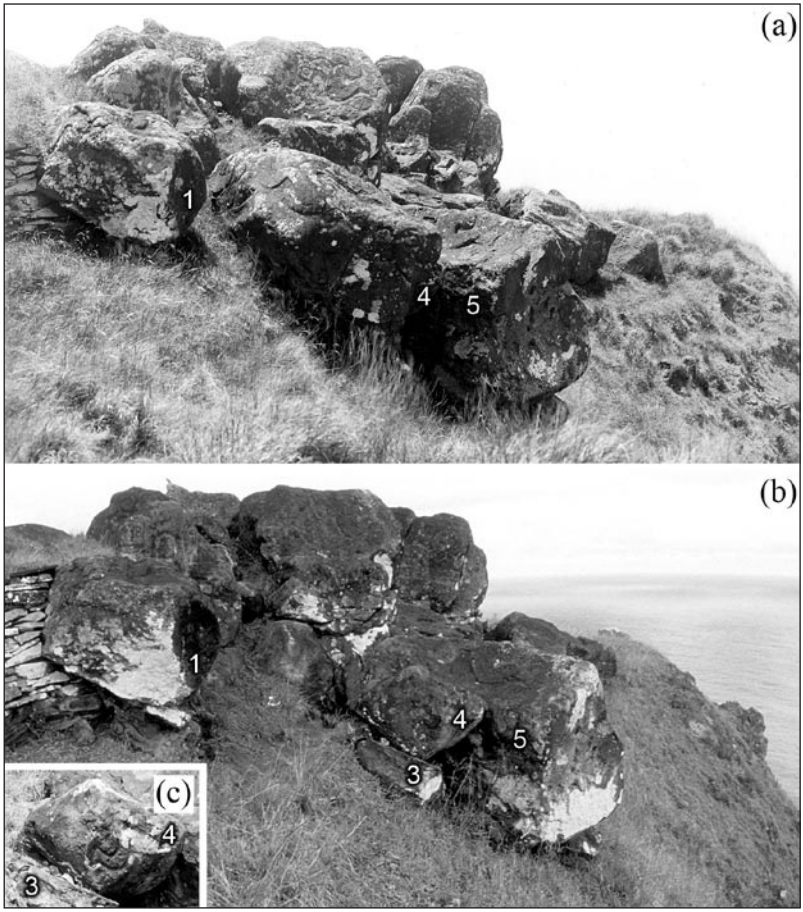

Figure 3. Views of Mata Ngarau from the north, similar to Fig. 2a and 2b with the same numbering of rocks: (a) 1904 photograph taken by Henry Bigelow during the Agassiz expedition (previously unpublished image courtesy of the Ernst Mayr Library, Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University). (b) 1998 photograph (courtesy of Don and Elaine Dvorak); note that the lichen patterns on Rock 1 is essentially the same as that in 1904 image, while lichen on Rock 5 has grown significantly. (c) Close-up to Rock 4 in Erling Schjerven's 1955-1956 photo (image courtesy of the Kon-Tiki Museum) showing a relatively recent (?) birdman design over a cleft rock surface.

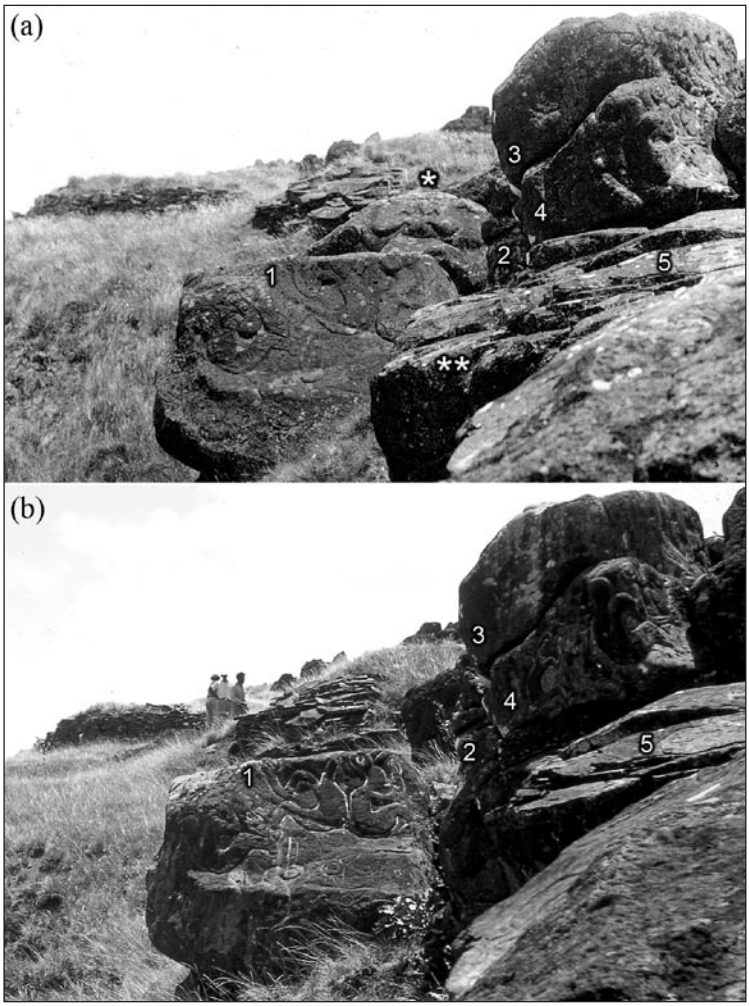

Figure 4. The view of Mata Ngarau from the South: (a) 1904 Bigelow's picture (Agassiz 1906, Plate 43; image courtesy of the Ernst Mayr Library) in which the reference rocks are marked with numbers and the missing boulder is denoted with an asterisk [*]. (b) 1955-56 Schjerven's picture (previously unpublished image courtesy of the Kon-Tiki Museum); note that court area marked with double asterisk [**] in Fig. 4a was also lost by the 1950s.

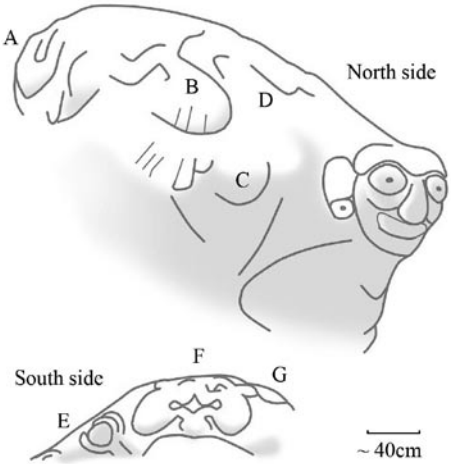

Figure 5. The carvings adorning the missing boulder traced from photographs of the Agassiz expedition (Figs 3a and 4a). The birdman designs are marked with letters A-G; carving F represents a *manupiri*. Contour C may belong to an earlier birdman. Possibly, Contour D may correspond to the left *tangata manu* or *manupiri* F, which will make G the head of Birdman B. The scale is approximate.

tangata manu and could actually correspond to the farthest left image from the *manupiri* motif appearing on the south side of the rock (Fig. 5 F). If this is so, the bas-relief bulge to the right of the *manupiri* (Fig. 5 G) may be the head of Birdman B. To the left of the *manupiri*, one can clearly see a hand holding the egg and a beak of yet another birdman (Fig. 5E).

Remarkably, Bigelow's photo (Fig. 4a) is practically identical with a picture taken by Schjerven during the visit of the Norwegian Archaeological expedition (Fig. 4b). Comparing both images, we can see that, in addition to the missing boulder (marked with an asterisk [*]), there is *another* large piece of rock missing, considerably shortening the court of Mata Ngarau (the area marked with a double asterisk [**]). To estimate the extent of rock loss, it is necessary to identify the locus in question. Noting the birdman design carved by a sharp ridge (located to the right of Number 5 in Figure 4a) one can confirm that the rock in question is Locus #16, with the corresponding birdman carving shown in Figure 7a. As one can see, just above the birdmen, the rock features an abrupt plateau containing incised lines, which appear in the published tracings thereof (Figure 7b). Just below the birdmen figures, there is a ledge without pronounced carvings, clearly marking the breakage line of

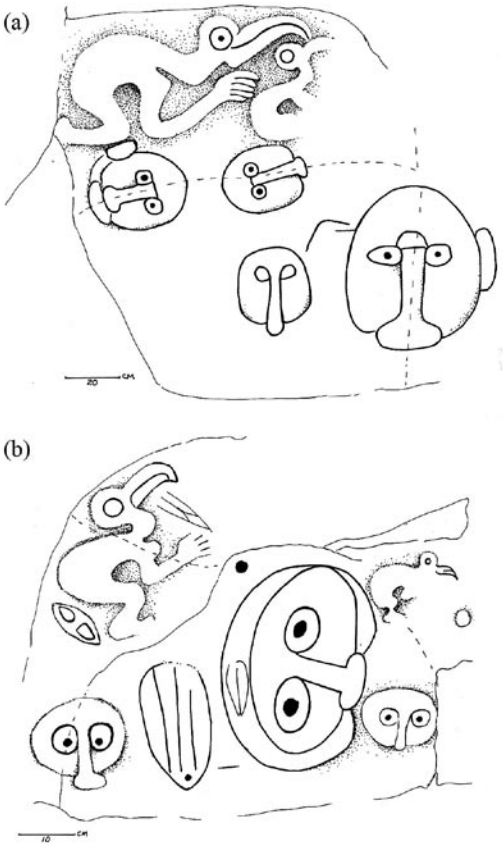

Figure 6. Face masks from Mata Ngarau (drawings by G. Lee): (a) Locus #26, (b) Locus #46.

the rock (Figure 7a). Referring to the tracing, one can calculate that the length of the segment AB between the lines is about 37 cm, suggesting that the size of birdman carving in the lower left of Figure 7a is about 40 cm long. Using the latter as a scale unit, one can estimate from Figure 4a that the broken part of Locus #16 was at least four times the length of the birdman carving – that is, about 1.6 m. Bigelow's photograph shows traces of numerous carvings on the now-missing part of the rock, however, there is no chance to decipher their shape owing to the angle at which the photograph was taken.

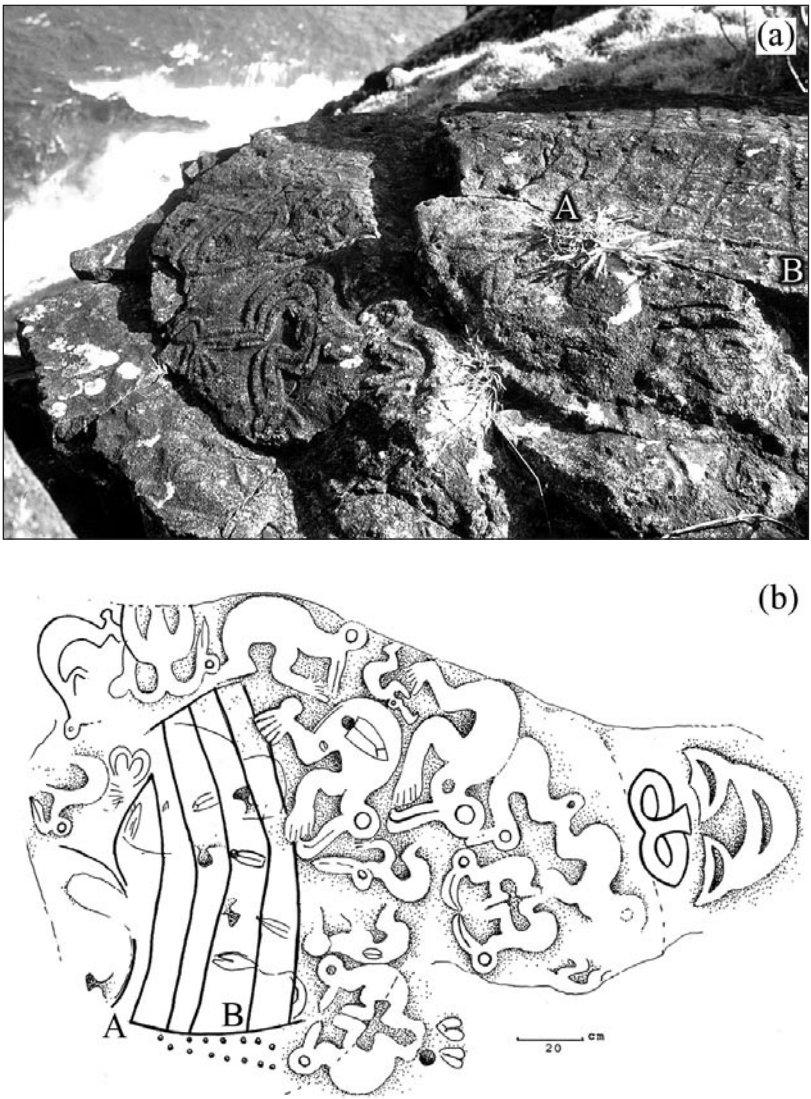

Figure 7. Locus #16: (a) photograph showing birdman carving with double outline and incised lines; (b) tracing of the same panel (images by Georgia Lee).

It is worth explaining why we are so sure that the missing boulders we discuss in this paper did indeed fall down the cliff and into the sea below and were not intentionally removed from their original location to some museum, etc. The petroglyph site of Mata Ngarau has a very peculiar location on top of precipitous cliff which drops some 300 metres to the sea below. The missing boulders were extremely large and heavy, precluding any possibility of moving them by manpower and/or the technical aids available in the late 1800s on Easter Island (there was no crane that had the potential to lift such huge stones). Analysis of the historical photographs shows that Mata Ngarau boulders are not firmly attached to bedrock but lie atop the rocky soil, being held in place by their own weight. The ground underneath is exposed to rain and wind, so erosion is to be expected. In addition, the now-missing boulders were located at the outskirts of Mata Ngarau's court area, downhill from the site and the path that runs through 'Orongo village and continues along the ridge of the crater. Any of the other boulders uphill and near the path would have been far easier to handle, had this been the intent of someone. To remove the now-missing boulders would have entailed considerable effort to raise them uphill and over the rest of the boulder cluster of Mata Ngarau, which, in our opinion, precludes any scenario of their disappearance other than falling down-slope into the ocean.

Needless to say, it is sad that so many rocks from the sacred precinct of Mata Ngarau have fallen into the sea. We are lucky to have historical photographs that allow us to extract at least some information about these carvings. The present results confirm the high priority of the exhaustive documentation of Mata Ngarau using modern techniques such as 3D laser scanning, which has already been successfully employed on other Easter Island sites (see O'Brien 2009). It is imperative to have such scanning done soon, because the basalt outcrop of Mata Ngarau is in a precarious, unstable situation on a cliff top that is undergoing continuous erosion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would have been impossible without the most kind collaboration of Dana Fisher and Robert Young (Ernst Mayr Library, Harvard University, Cambridge), Daisy Njoku and Jennifer Murray (National Anthropological Archives, Washington), Reidar Solsvik (Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo), Donald and Elaine Dvorak (Easter Island Foundation, California) and Volker Harms (Ethnology Department of Tübingen University, Tübingen), who offered valuable help with the scanning of the historical images and who granted permission to reproduce the aforementioned pictures here. We are also thankful to the anonymous referees for constructive comments that helped to improve this paper.

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ABSTRACT

A study of various early photographs of the petroglyphs at 'Orongo taken by several 19th century visitors to Easter Island enabled us to identify some missing carved stones from the ceremonial site, Mata Ngarau. After comparing photographs from the different expeditions, we discovered that a large carved boulder was missing—

apparently lost to the sea somewhere between 1904 and 1914. In addition, further study also showed that considerable parts of rocks forming the courtyard at Mata Ngarau did not survive up to the time of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition in 1955. However, using the existing photographs of the now missing boulders, we were able to study a drawing of the petroglyphs that once covered them.

Keywords: Easter Island, ‘Orongo, Mata Ngarau, petroglyph, cultural resource management

^{230}THORIUM DATING OF TOOLSTONE PROCUREMENT STRATEGIES, PRODUCTION SCALE AND RITUAL PRACTICES AT THE MAUNA KEA ADZE QUARRY COMPLEX, HAWAI'I

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With the advent of ^{230}Thorium dating of branch coral (e.g., *Pocillopora* spp.) in Pacific archaeology, the chronology of many sites, regions and ritual practices is being significantly refined (Khaweerat *et al.* 2010; Kirch and Sharp 2005; Sharp *et al*. 2010; Weisler *et al.* 2006). Although rare, the presence of unweathered pieces of *Pocillopora* spp. coral in the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex, on the island of Hawai'i (Figure 1), provides an opportunity to refine the chronology of this site complex which until recently had been based on radiocarbon age-determinations alone (McCoy 1977, 1990, 1991). Two recently published ^{230} Th dates of AD 1398 ± 13 and AD 1441 ± 3 (McCoy *et al.* 2009) established the near-contemporaneity of two shrines in one part of this massive quarry complex. Since the publication of the first ^{230}Thorium dates, two additional pieces of branch coral were found in the adze quarry at a newly recorded site (State of Hawai'i Statewide Inventory of Historic Places Site 50-10-23-28637) during an archaeological survey of the Mauna Kea Ice Age Natural Area Reserve in 2008-2009 (Figure 1; McCoy and Nees 2012). One piece of coral, found on the surface of a workshop, was extremely weathered and unsuitable for dating. The dated sample reported here is from the interior surface of a habitation rockshelter.

In this paper we describe the provenience of the new ^{230} Th date, the dating methods used, and the results. We then discuss the implications that the three ^{230} Th dates now available for the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex have for understanding the chronology of toolstone procurement strategies, the scale of production and ritual practices in the mid-14th to mid-15th centuries AD. We begin, though, with a brief overview of the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex.

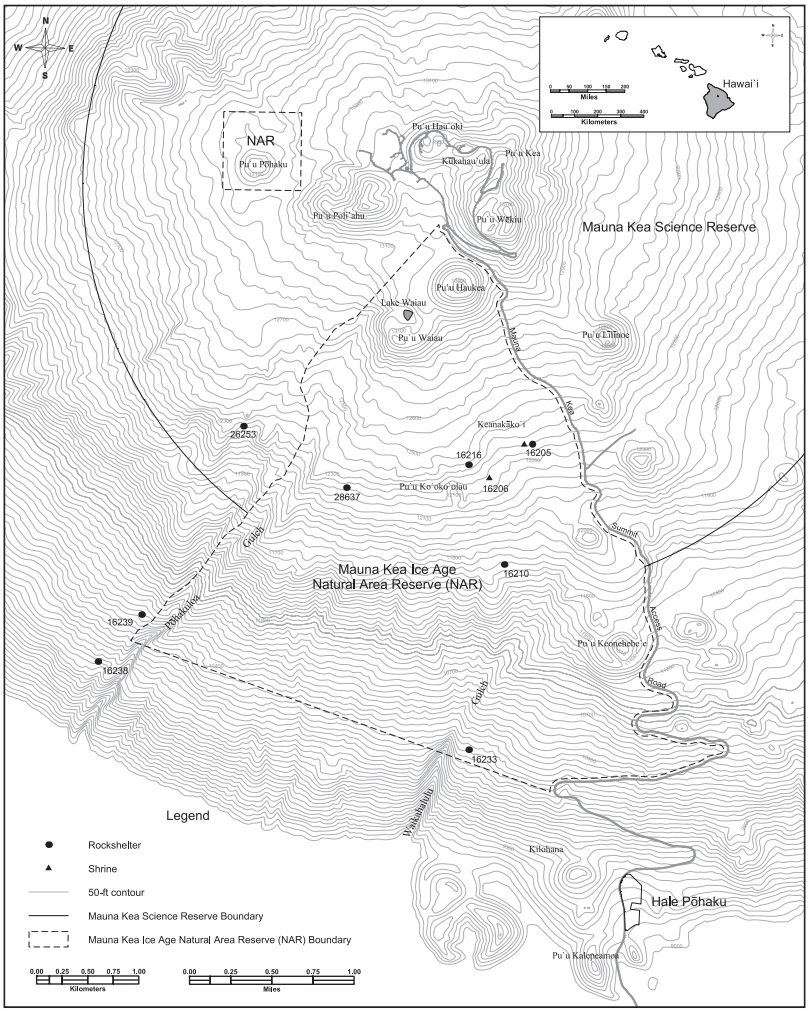

Figure 1. Location of dated sites in the upper reaches of the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex.

THE MAUNA KEA ADZE QUARRY COMPLEX

Prior to research investigations begun in 1975-76 (McCoy 1977, 1990) the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex, located in an alpine desert and sub-alpine forest environment on the south flank of Mauna Kea (Fig. 1), was essentially archaeological *terra incognita*, even though it had been placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1962 as a National Historic Landmark. Based on archaeological investigations (McCoy 1977, 1986, 1990, 1991; McCoy and Nees 2012) the quarry complex covers roughly 19.4 km^2, although the southern or lower boundary is still unclear because of spotty survey coverage in the forest below the ~3000 m elevation.

However the boundaries are drawn, the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex covers more area and contains more discarded adze preforms and manufacturing debitage than all of the other adze quarries in Hawai‘i combined (McCoy 1977, 1990; McCoy and Nees 2010, 2012). The size of the quarry is directly related to the local geology. The Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex is unique among Hawaiian adze quarries in the presence of two different, but related, sources of toolstone. The primary source is a series of basalt flows found along and below an escarpment at 3750 m elevation in the vicinity of Pu‘u Ko‘oko‘olau and at similar elevations in the Pōhakuloa and Waikahalulu gulch drainages (Fig. 1). Here are found the largest and most diverse sites in the quarry complex, defined in terms of the number, density and variety of extraction areas, other workshops, habitation rockshelters, shrines, petroglyphs, a basaltic glass source and possible burials. The second raw material source consists of glacial drift deposits of different ages containing lithologically similar sub-angular to sub-rounded boulders and cobbles that occur in both unconsolidated and indurated form (Gregory and Wentworth 1937, Porter 1979, Wentworth and Powers 1941, Wolfe, Wise and Powers 1997). Sites located in the glacial drift tend to be smaller, less complex and more dispersed.

The Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex has one of the longest chronologies of any single archaeological complex in Hawai‘i, although there is some geochronological evidence for short hiatuses in the quarry sequence (McCoy 1977, McCoy and Nees 2012). Based on radiocarbon dates on unidentified charcoal from three rockshelters (sites 16205, 16216 and 16239; see Figure 1), the quarry industry spanned approximately 700 years, between about AD 1100 and AD 1800 (McCoy 1977, 1990: 92-93), although a shorter chronology now seems more likely based in part on recently obtained radiocarbon age-determinations for the settlement of the Hawaiian Islands, which some archaeologists now argue probably did not occur until AD 900-1000 (Kirch 2011). The peak period of production, which clearly exceeded local needs

(McCoy 1990: 110, McCoy and Nees 2012), spanned a period of about 350 years between AD 1400 and 1750. Recent archaeological surveys have established the existence of ascent-descent routes used by adze makers from different parts of the island, thus lending new support to the hypothesis that the quarry was a common resource (McCoy 1990: 112, McCoy and Nees 2012).

SITE 28637

Location and General Description

Site 50-10-23-28637 is located on the edge of a ridge at about 3758 m elevation in a stony alpine desert. It is situated at the contact between an older (70-150,000 years) basaltic lava flow and a younger (13-40,000 years) deposit of glacial till (Dorn *et al.* 1991, Porter 1979, Wolfe *et al.* 1997). The site was found during a cultural resources survey in 2009 which did not include detailed mapping and excavations because of a lack of funding (McCoy and Nees 2012). The site is comprised of one bedrock extraction area, over 40 other workshops, three rockshelters and two diffuse scatters of debitage spread over an area of approximately 2 ha.

The toe of the ridge, where extraction took place, is an exposure of what appears to be petrologically uniform fine-grain basalt, although some between-flow geochemical variation exists (Mills and Lundblad 2006, Mills *et al*. 2008, McCoy and Nees 2012). Further study, currently in progress, using more highly discriminating geochemical techniques (e.g., Collerson and Weisler 2007) is needed to adequately characterise the multiple toolstone sources on Mauna Kea. The extraction area covers roughly 211 m^2 and is characterised by the presence of pits indicative of the mining of subsurface material. Numerous cores, adze preforms, hammerstones and flakes are found in and around the pits and other parts of the ridge. Mantling the ridge and landscape and extending far down slope are glacial drift deposits.

Of particular interest here is Rockshelter 1 which contained the dated piece of coral. It is located below and southeast of the extraction area and is contiguous with Workshop 1 (Fig. 2). A stacked and piled rock wall of cobbles and small boulders is located at the opening, beneath the dripline (Figs 2 and 3). The wall is oriented parallel to the opening and measures approximately 4.2 m long by 2.4 m wide at the southeast end and 1.1 m at the northwest end, with a maximum height of 0.45 m. The opening to the rockshelter is a southwest facing narrow crawlway between the enclosing wall and a natural rock pile. It is 1.0 m wide and 1.1 m high at the dripline. The interior of the rockshelter measures 3.5 m wide, 1.4 m deep (maximum), with a ceiling height between 1.1 m at the entrance and 0.4 m at the back. The interior surface is a sandy soil, mixed with cobble-size blocks of lava and debitage that may be from the enclosing wall, which is partially collapsed (Fig. 3).

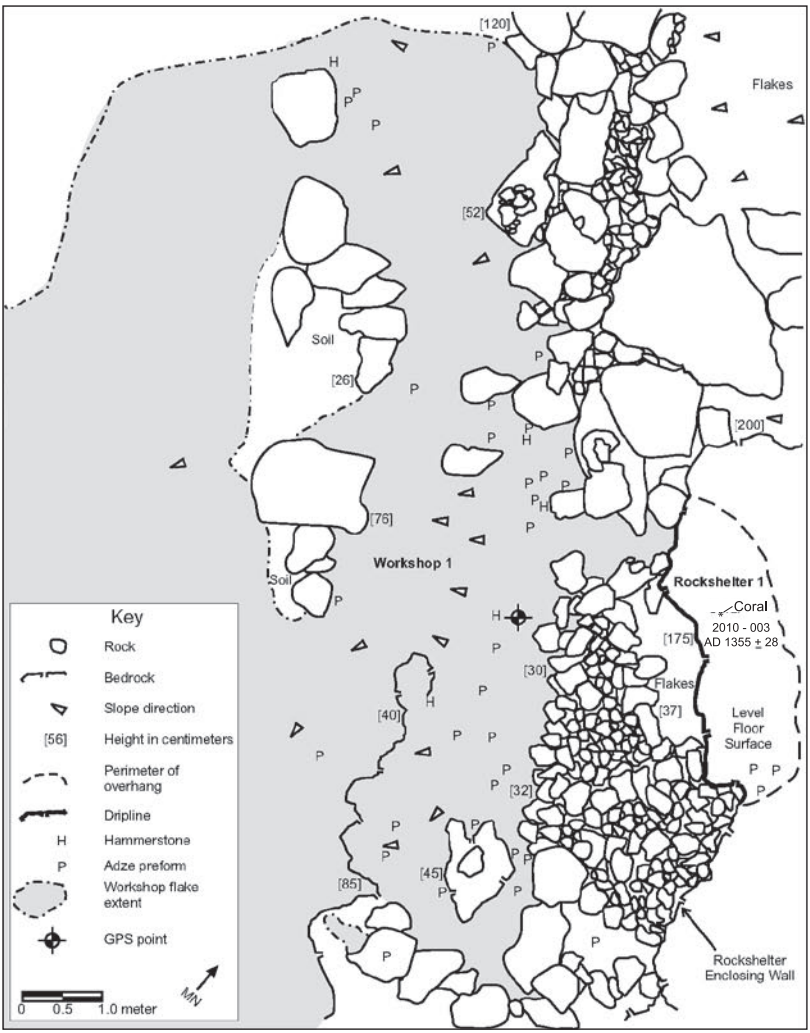

Figure 2. Site 50-10-23-28637 Rockshelter 1 and Workshop 1 planview showing the location of dated coral sample.

Figure 3. Site 50-10-23-28637 Rockshelter 1 interior surface and enclosing wall.

Coral Sample Context

The coral from Rockshelter 1 was found on the surface, together with some 50 flakes, at least three adze preforms and a small number of cores (Fig. 2). Noticeably absent on the surface is a hearth or any evidence of a fire, such as charcoal and ash. Fire hearths were an absolute necessity of living and working in the quarry because of the common occurrence of freezing night-time temperatures at these high elevations. Also absent from the surface are bone, shell and plant residues. At first glance the rockshelter does not appear to have ever been occupied, except for the presence of the enclosing wall. The relatively clean appearance of the rockshelter floor, and many of the other 52 recorded rockshelters[1] in the quarry, is one of the reasons that Emory (1938) believed that the adze makers lived down the mountain in warmer places and walked daily to their work.

Even though the rockshelter has not been excavated, there are obvious signs of use in the presence of a substantial enclosing wall. Elsewhere in the quarry, rockshelters with enclosing walls (Table 1) are associated with well-

Table 1. Excavated rockshelter characteristics.

Site No.	Rockshelter	Elevation (m)	Enclosing Wall	Roof-top Shrine	Interior Floor Area (m^2)	Excavated Area (m^2)
16216	Ko‘oko‘olau 1	3780	+	+	8	4.0
16205	‘Ua‘u	3720	+	+	21	6.0
16210	‘Ahinahina	3475	+	-	17	1.0
16233	Waikahalulu	3100	-	-	23	2.0
16238	Hopukani 1	3100	-	-	24	1.0
16239	Hopukani 2	3170	-	-	6	1.75
26253	–	3769	-	-	4	0.5

stratified deposits containing fire hearths, bird, fish and mammal remains, and both wild and domesticated plants that point to extended occupation (Allen 1981, 1986; McCoy 1977, 1986, 1990; McCoy and Nees 2010, 2012). It therefore seems highly likely that this rockshelter will also yield evidence of occupation upon excavation.

The likely reason for the lack of surface habitation evidence at many of the rockshelters in the quarry is that they are examples of what are variously referred to in the archaeological literature as “deliberate”, “structured”, or “special” deposits (Bradley 2000, 2003; Jones 1998; Richards and Thomas 1984; Thomas 1991) that are identified “through recurrent patterns of association and exclusion” (Bradley 2000: 118). As argued elsewhere (McCoy 1990), all of the evidence points to the rockshelter surface layers as “ritual fill” deposits resulting from deliberative actions intended to cap and thus remove from view the accumulated residues of meals and offerings to the gods that are polluting and thus dangerous to man in a sacred context (Douglas 1966: 160, 1975: xv; McCoy 1990).

DATING METHODS AND RESULTS

The sample consists of a single *Pocillopora* sp. finger 61.7 mm long, 47.3 mm wide and 37.0 mm thick and weighing 46.5 g. The sample was dated by the U-series method using the analytical procedure described in Weisler *et al.* (2006). The corrected ^{230}Th age is AD 1355 ± 28 (lab sample number 2010-003). This sample contains 5.65 ppb ^{232}Th, a Th level definitely not from seawater, but from sediment contaminant during burial at the site. In this case, the correction scheme for this sample, in which we use a bulk-earth

value for non-radiogenic ^{230}Th/^{232}Th ratio, is more appropriate. Sediment Th/U ratios should be within the range of the bulk-earth average, similar to that of basaltic bedrock in the area. The large 2-sigma error of ± 28 years is due to the assumption of +/-50 percent for the bulk-earth value.

DISCUSSION

The 1355 ± 28 AD date for site 28637 is the first ^{230}Th date for a habitation rockshelter in the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex. In contrast to the two previously dated pieces of coral from shrines at sites 16205 and 16206, both interpreted on contextual evidence as "dedicatory offerings", the coral at site 28637 is more difficult to interpret in terms of why and when it was left on the floor of the rockshelter. Although it would appear to have been deposited at the time the rockshelter was abandoned, we cannot discount the possibility that it was introduced at an even later date as some kind of commemorative act performed in honour of earlier adze makers. Two pieces of coral found in layer II of 'Ua'u Rockshelter (site 16205, Fig. 1) during excavations in 1975 could help resolve this interpretive dilemma, but unfortunately we have not been able to relocate these specimens, which are housed with the rest of the Mauna Kea Quarry collections from the 1975-76 project in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

While the dated coral from site 28637 remains open to some question, the ^{230}Thorium dates for sites 16205, 16206 and 28637 taken together have significant implications for interpreting the chronology of toolstone procurement strategies, the scale of production and ritual practices in the mid-14th to mid-15th centuries AD.

Toolstone Procurement Strategies

Unlike most adze quarries in Hawai'i, where toolstone consisted primarily of boulders and blocks that were merely collected from the surface (McCoy, Sinoto and Makanani 1993; Weisler 1990, 2011), new strategies were developed on Mauna Kea to extract raw material from the margins of lava flows and to mine subsurface exposures of toolstone, in addition to collecting loose surface material. Though caution is needed in interpreting the single surface date from site 28637, it raises questions about the chronology of adze manufacture in this part of the quarry which was previously believed to have been characterised by an optimal, mixed strategy of earlier surface collecting and later bedrock extraction or mining (McCoy 1990: 93-94). The evidence from site 28637 points instead to multiple raw material procurement strategies and reduction methods at a relatively early period in the history of the quarry. Further research is needed to test this proposition, but there seems little doubt that by the middle of the 15th century AD, and possibly earlier,

the adze makers were using more labour-intensive methods of extracting raw material from flows while also making preforms from glacial cobbles and boulders found on the surface of glacial drift deposits.

Scale of Production

There are now three ^{230}Th dates from three different sites in the upper elevations of the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex (Fig. 1). The dates confirm what could only be suggested with less precise radiocarbon dates, namely that different parts of the quarry were used contemporaneously during the 14th and 15th centuries. The new date of AD 1355 ± 28 from site 28637 is contemporaneous with a date of AD 1398 ± 13 from shrine 4, located above the entrance to Keanakakoʻi (lit. 'Cave of the adze') at site 16205, approximately 1.6 km to the east (Fig. 1). The date for site 28637 is slightly older than the AD 1440 ± 3 date from a possible communal shrine at site 16206 (McCoy *et al*. 2009), located about 440 m southwest of the site 16206 shrine and 1.5 km east of Rockshelter 1 site 28637 (Fig. 1).

Additional support for an increasing scale of production in the 14th and 15th centuries AD comes from a recently excavated site in a previously little known part of the quarry complex located along Pōhakuloa Gulch (McCoy and Nees 2010). In 2008 a radiocarbon date of 450 ± 40 BP (Beta-256935), corrected to AD 1420-1480 at the 95 percent confidence level, was obtained on a piece of *Dubautia* sp. charcoal from a rockshelter at site 26253, located roughly 1.2 km to the west of site 28637 (Fig. 1) at 3769 m elevation (McCoy and Nees 2010: Table 6.16). This date provides further support for the exploitation of raw material sources near the western extremity of the quarry in the mid to late 15th century. Like site 28637, site 26253 is located in an area with extraction pits as well as glacial drift deposits containing toolstone quality rock.

Variability in Ritual Practices

The Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex is arguably one of the most important archaeological exemplars of what Handy called a "consecrated industry" in his description of traditional Polynesian crafts, where ritual was a pervasive element (Handy 1927: 282). There is abundant evidence that adze manufacture on Mauna Kea, like the making of a Hawaiian canoe, was an "affair of religion" (Malo 1951: 126). The ritual practices identified in the quarry include:

(i) the propitiation of what are believed to have been the tutelary gods of adze manufacture at different social scales or levels (e.g., individual work groups and communal rites) in the form of lithic artefact offerings (flakes,

cores, adze preforms and hammerstones) placed on shrines (McCoy 1981, 1990; McCoy *et al.* 2009; McCoy and Nees 2010, 2012);

(ii) rites of passage performed on the ascent and descent from the quarry, involving in one case a probable change in status from *noa* to *kapu* at a treeline camp (McCoy 1991, 2012), and in another case, the possible initiation of apprentice adze makers (McCoy 1990, 1999);

(iii) mortuary rituals associated with the interment of what are inferred to be adze makers in the quarry and elsewhere in the summit region of Mauna Kea, including possibly Lake Waiau (McCoy and Nees 2012);

(iv) offerings of diverse perishable foods and goods left inside of at least two rockshelters (McCoy 1990, McCoy and Nees 2012); and

(v) the ritualised desecration of some shrines in the deliberate breakage of the god-stones (McCoy and Nees 2010, 2012).

The latter two practices, as well as the possible burials, may post-date the abandonment of the quarry.

What is rather surprising about these different forms of ritualisation (Bell 1992), and the rites performed at shrines in particular, is how few of them used branch coral. We know of only six coral specimens, including the two missing pieces found in the excavation of 'Ua'u Rockshelter, despite several large-scale archaeological surveys (McCoy 1977, 1990; McCoy and Nees 2010, 2012) that have recorded some 78 shrines in the upper reaches of the quarry.

Why so little branch coral has been found in the adze quarry is difficult to understand since it was commonly used elsewhere by Hawaiians before European contact as a ritual offering based on ethnographic data (Handy 1927, Malo 1951) and its archaeological occurrence in religious contexts (Kirch and Sharp 2005, Weisler *et al*. 2006). Another interesting question without any ready answer is why the three dated samples all fall within a relatively short time span in the 14th and 15th centuries AD. Portability was clearly not an issue since coral branches would have been an insignificant addition to the supplies carried by adze makers or their assistants, even though at more than 45 km from the sea the adze quarry is one of the most remote archaeological complexes in the Hawaiian Islands. One possible explanation for the scarcity of coral is the substitution of some other item. A probable example of such behaviour is the likely substitution of certain plants and marine foods for pigs which, along with dogs, were common offerings to the gods. Pig and dog remains occur in the quarry faunal assemblages but in unexpectedly small numbers given the status of the adze makers and abundance of other offerings to the gods. In the case of pigs, it is likely that what the Hawaiians called "leaf pigs" and "sea pigs" were used as substitutes

for the real thing (McCoy 1990, Valeri 1985). Another possible explanation is the restricted distribution of coral reefs on the island of Hawai'i, especially on the windward coast which was the probable home of many of the adze makers based on both ethnographic and archaeological data. Whatever the reason, ritual performance among the Mauna Kea adze makers involving coral offerings was extremely limited with only 2.5 percent of shrines associated with coral. This is in marked contrast to the ubiquity of coral used for ritual and oftentimes included as construction fill in coastal fishing shrines; indeed, coral is considered a defining characteristic of this site class. Regional studies of branch coral use over time and space should elucidate additional details of Hawaiian ritual practice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

U-series dating was supported by an Australian Research Council Discovery grant to Weisler and Yu (DP0773909). An archaeological survey of the Mauna Kea Ice Age Natural Area Reserve, in 2008-2009, was done under contract to the Natural Area Reserves Program, which is administered by the Hawaii Department of Forestry and Wildlife. Pacific Consulting Services, Inc. is especially grateful for the support from the Hawaii Island manager of the NAR program, Lisa Hadway. McCoy's 1975-76 research in the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex was supported by two National Science Foundation grants (BNS75-13421 and BNS76-15763), two National Historic Preservation grants-in-aid, and a grant from the Charles and Anna Cooke Foundation of Honolulu. We thank Andy Tomlinson for preparing Figure 1 and Keola Nakamura for Figure 2. Thanks are also extended to three anonymous reviewers.

NOTE

1. Archaeological classifications are not immutable and in fact often require revision. This is true of the original site classification system employed in research on the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex. As explained in an earlier paper (McCoy 1990: 96), a distinction was originally made between rockshelters and what were called overhang shelters based on differences in surface characteristics. Rockshelters were described as containing a variety of residues indicating their use as camps. Overhang shelters were described as lacking midden deposits and containing only small quantities of adze manufacturing debitage (McCoy 1977: 229). The overhang shelters were inferred to have been used as either day-time work areas or for the storage of food, firewood and other bulky items. The test excavation of an overhang shelter at Hopukani Spring (Figure 1), in 1985, revealed a buried occupation layer with a fire hearth, faunal/floral remains and flake debitage (McCoy 1986). Based on the results of this excavation a new classification has been adopted that lumps all natural shelters into a single class, "rockshelters".

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ABSTRACT

^{230}Thorium dates on unweathered pieces of branch coral from the Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex suggest that a significant part of this quarry, the largest in the Hawaiian Islands, was in use by the mid-14th to mid-15th centuries AD. The dates also point to the high probability of labour intensive mining of subsurface toolstone by this date, in addition to the much easier strategy of procuring toolstone from the surface. While there is abundant evidence that adze manufacture on Mauna Kea, like the making of a Hawaiian canoe, was an "affair of religion," branch coral was rarely used in the several different forms of ritualisation that have been documented in the quarry. Possible reasons for this are briefly explored in this short paper, which is one more contribution to refining the chronology of this highly significant and important archaeological complex.

Keywords: Mauna Kea Adze Quarry Complex, ^{230}Thorium dating, procurement strategies, production scale, ritual practices.

REVIEWS

Bennett, R.S., *Treaty to Treaty: A History of Early New Zealand from the Treaty of Tordesillas 1494 to the Treaty of Waitingi 1840*, *Volume 2: 1494-1799 Western Powers Reach Out to the East and Pacific Ocean*. Auckland: RSB Publications, 2011. lvii + 301 pp., bib., index, maps.

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Treaty to Treaty, Volume 2 is a compendium of information and documents regarding European exploration in the Pacific as it relates to New Zealand. In it Bennett traces European activity in the area from 1494 to 1799. His stated focus is on New Zealand, but in the volume he casts his net much wider, considering events and voyages in the Pacific and Asia. The work is the second in a self-published trilogy. *Volume 1* presents background essays relevant to the overall topic of early European interest in the region, while *Volume 3* centers on voyages and their documents from 1800 to 1840.

Bennett's introductory section consists of an eclectic mix of material which includes a short and somewhat curious essay speculating about the possibility and probability of European explorers in Australia and New Zealand prior to Abel Tasman's "discovery" in 1642, six early maps of the region, a list of the rulers of England from 1485 (Henry VII) to 1901 (Queen Victoria), a calendar of European voyages to the Pacific beginning with Fernão Magalhães (Ferdinand Magellan) and ending with the voyage of the London Missionary Society ship *Duff* under the command of James Wilson, an essay on the Spanish—British rivalry in the New World, a list of politicians and office holders in Britain, Australia and Norfolk Island, and an essay on the background to the Treaty of Tordesillas. The wide-ranging nature of the introductory section is representative of the entire volume. This section would have been enhanced by an examination of the context of the debate surrounding these early voyagers and European discoveries.

The main part of the volume begins with a brief summary of papal bulls and political events leading to the Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal. The Treaty, endorsed by the Pope, divided the New World between the two Catholic kingdoms and began Europe's fascination with what would become known as the Pacific. Bennett provides a translation of portions of the Treaty as well as an account of political intrigues and strategies which informed it. He then proceeds to chronicle all of the known voyages to New Zealand and the southern Pacific region. Major voyages, such as Magellan's crossing and naming of the Pacific, Mendaña's "discovery" of the Solomon Islands and the expeditions of James Cook, are compiled and presented alongside lesser known journeys and expeditions, such as those financed by Jean Ango in the 1530s and 1540s as well as the mysterious 1576 voyage of Juan Fernandez.

In addition, the activities of the British East India Company, the Dutch Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie and other similar organisations are summarised attesting to the wider European interests in the region and how they influenced activities throughout the southern Pacific. Each entry is concise and reasonably well informed with many including bibliographic information for further reading. The presentation is somewhat quirky, in an academic sense, but the wealth of factual detail as well as the presentation in bold of key names, places, and terms makes it a quick and handy reference for voyages to the region.

Bennett returns to the theme of the possibility of other visitors to New Zealand before Tasman in a series of appendices which consider the likelihood of Arab and Chinese explorations in the region by cataloguing the surviving wisps of Portuguese and French cartographic and documentary evidence for the improbable discoveries. It is somewhat surprising that this material is presented separately from the essay in the introductory section as both cover similar themes. All this material would be better placed in an appendix. A brief, but useful index completes the volume.

Treaty to Treaty, Volume 2 is not your usual academic history book. At times the material presented suffers from the apparent passions of the author. A more careful and considered analysis of the voyages and events presented would have enhanced the volume, as would a more judicious organisation of much of the data. However, the book does inform the reader about which Europeans were in the region, where they went, and when. It also includes some discussion of the contextual issues in Europe, which influenced how the Pacific was perceived, and its exploration deemed desirable. Overall, *Treaty to Treaty, Volume 2* is a credible calendar of voyages and events which influenced the European exploration of New Zealand and the wider southern Pacific region.

Gershon, Ilana: *No Family is an Island. Cultural Expertise Among Samoans in Diaspora*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 2012. 208 pp., bib., index. Price US$69.90 (hardback), US$22.95 (paper).

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Ilana Gershon's ethnographic exploration of Samoan migrant experiences contrasts their situation in two countries, New Zealand and the United States, and in two contexts, in their churches and ceremonial exchanges (*fa'alavelave*), and in their interactions with the state. Her analysis of how Samoans represent themselves to the state in the US and New Zealand—and the complexities of that interface—invokes the concept of "reflexivity" to pin down analytically different constructions of "culture" by government officials and community workers, and Samoan migrants themselves. In my opinion, the concept does not add much to an otherwise richly and insightfully considered ethnography.

The book is in two parts roughly corresponding to these contexts. In the migrant imagination "Samoa emerges as a nostalgic utopic space… the site of authentic

and properly enacted cultural knowledge". From this perceived reality, Samoan migrants select, classify and construct the "cultural", the sentiments, obligations and performances they perceive as integral to their identity as Samoans, and define what Gershon terms "the a-cultural" in their encounters with state welfare offices and community organisations.

Part One examines the most salient markers of Samoan identity, kinship and church membership, and the performance and affirmation of that identity through contributions of money for family *fa'alavelave* and church donations.

In my experience, first generation migrants are expected to send money to close kin in Samoa for practical needs, such as house building, small businesses and school fees, as well as medical and financial emergencies. Those adults who wish to affirm kinship ties to Samoa, whether migrants or the children and grandchildren of migrants, are expected to contribute, both in their new homeland and in Samoa, to expensive *fa'alavelave*—funerals, weddings and chiefly installations—and to help fund the big 1st, 21st and 50th birthday parties that have become commonplace among Samoan migrants.

Further, monetary solicitations are made of migrant communities by visiting parties from Samoa raising money for building churches and other village development projects. On top of all these are further financial obligations to churches. Members of the majority and definitively Samoan Congregational Church are obliged to provide weekly financial contributions. These are publicly announced, encouraging families to demonstrate their pride and win prestige by exceeding one other in their giving. The Congregational Church also obliges church members to collectively pay their pastors' salary or stipend, house payments, and other sundries, such as electricity bills, car payments and personal holidays.

Gershon discusses how those requesting funds do not appear to base the size of the expected gifts upon the actual financial resources of the giver because people usually do not disclose their incomes in efforts to retain some control of them. In the context of these heavy and ambivalently borne financial burdens, she explores the spoken and unspoken motives underlying conversion from Samoan mainstream churches (Congregational, Methodist and Catholic) to newer churches (such as the Assemblies of God, Latter Day Saints, Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses). These non-mainstream churches not only provide more individual and often more expressive religious experiences, but apparently are also less financially demanding. Some of these churches even frown on and discourage *fa'alavelave* and most prescribe tithes, or treat donations as matters of private conscience, thus removing them from the arena of interfamily competition.

In Part Two Gershon explores the different approaches towards the funding of minority needs and recognition of "culture" by social services bureaucracies, in New Zealand and the United States, and Samoan migrant responses in representing their culture and communities. In both countries neo-liberal agendas have recognised that there are potential efficiencies to be gained by shifting responsibility for dealing with social problems from state agencies to civil society. The New Zealand approach has been shaped by the formal, and in some instances legal, recognition of the right to cultural difference and cultural rights among indigenous Maori, which has influenced

state approaches to the needs of Samoans and other Polynesian migrant minorities. Migrant groups soon recognised the opportunities provided by such policies for funding projects and getting jobs. However, there have been many problems of "cultural fit", for example, the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act of 1989 that enshrines policy-makers' assumptions about "cultural" solutions to social problems. Their expectation that Samoan and other Pacific Islander migrant families would be comfortable with frank, open discussions of family problems proved to be fraught with misunderstandings of how of culturally conditioned modes communication actually operate.

Samoan migrants in the US are a relatively insignificant minority, in contrast to their status in New Zealand. Social service provisions in California acknowledge the possibility of *ethnic* minority disadvantage, but not of *cultural* disadvantage. In New Zealand ten years ago (the time of which Gershon writes), the state accepted an obligation to help Samoans preserve their culture, an obligation that was not recognised in the more assimilationist US. There, modest funding for social services is available for secular community organisations that represent ethnic communities, but this system does not work well for Samoan communities, which are largely church-based. Gershon describes the hopes cherished by Samoan migrants in both lands that there would be specifically Samoan solutions to intergenerational social problems, if only the younger generation would properly "learn their culture". Unlike New Zealand's welfare bureaucracy, which is more open to such notions, US social workers promote doctrines of assimilation that specifically encourage families to become "American". In the US system "learning to be American" is a fundable objective, although it is unlikely that American Samoans (who have lived under an American administration for the past century) need to learn this. In the American context Gershon found that is was difficult for Samoans to be accepted by their own communities as "translators" mediating between two kinds of worldview. The problem is that social service providers assume that modern psychological approaches to family welfare and associated modes of communication have cross-cultural relevance and applicability, and in one of Gershon's many revealing examples, a government social worker attempts to explain to an uncomprehending Samoan family how children should be encouraged to "express their emotional needs".

The book provides substantial anthropological insights for migrant studies, and would be a useful text for American and New Zealand social workers, even if the academic mode of expression may affect readability for this important audience.

Schindlbeck, M: *Gefunden und verloren: Arthur Speyer, die dreißiger Jahre und die Verluste der Sammlung Südsee des Ethnologischen Museums Berlin*. Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum, 2011. 272 pp., appendix, bib., illustrations. Price: €44.90 (paper).

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This book (an English title might be '*Found and Lost: Arthur Speyer, the Thirties and the Losses of the South Seas Collection of the Ethnological Museum Berlin*') describes the sale and exchange of objects from the Berlin Museum's South Seas Collection into the international art market during the early 20th century. The book introduces to a wide audience the practice, so common in museums around the world during that period, of identifying particular ethnographic objects as "duplicates" and selling or trading them with other museums or professional art dealers. While providing a thorough overview of the Berlin Museum's dealings in these activities from the 1900s and into the 1940s, this book has a focus on the interactions of one particular dealer (Arthur Speyer) with the Museum's South Sea Collection during the 1930s.

The book contains six chapters. The first three chapters ("The Duplicates", "The Twenties", "The Thirties") provide a useful understanding of the contexts in which the losses to the Museum's collections could occur. These chapters introduce key players at the Museum, as well as collectors and trade networks, sketch out the various paths that objects took out of the Museum, and the reasons that led to this large-scale "sellout" (p. 16). These rationales ranged from the practical (minimising pressures on space by scaling down collections) and the pecuniary (supporting the construction or renovation of buildings, allowing for new purchases, etc.) to political motivations (colonial revanchism, an increased interest in European collections driven by Nazi ideology, etc.). What is remarkable is that there is a striking consistency in the poor quality or outright lack of documentation of these transactions throughout this period, suggesting a conscious attempt to conceal details of these activities by those involved. The fact that "numerous large-scale objects left the Museum without them having been signed out of the inventory books" (p. 70) meant that the losses suffered by the collections during the interwar period are not only many but literally immeasurable.

The fourth chapter ("The Speyer Collection") is the most substantial of the chapters in this book. It represents the cornerstone of the publication, as it is the case study around which all materials in the book revolve: the collections of Arthur Speyer (1894-1958) and his interactions with the Berlin Museum. This private collector is perhaps the most fascinating individual to trade with the Museum, as an uncountable number of objects flowed through him from the Museum to the international art market. Schindlbeck tells the story of Arthur Speyer, who started collecting ethnographic objects in 1921, in a gripping and colourful manner. Much of the information comes directly from Speyer's son who was interviewed by Schindlbeck. These first-hand accounts are augmented by archival information. Seen together, these sources create a detailed picture of the kinds of objects sold to Speyer, the circumstances of their sales, and the paths they took to other dealers and institutions after Speyer had acquired them. Schindlbeck's

portrayal of Speyer as a person whose love and appreciation of the material culture of the South Pacific (and other parts of the world) was genuine and heart-felt is rather positive but the author does not shy away from criticism. He points out repeatedly, for example, that Speyer exploited an emergency situation at the Museum and that his actions "resulted in […] large losses in the collections" (p. 104).

Although brief, the final two chapters ("The Losses of the Berlin South Seas Collection" and "Closing") offer some important conclusions on the issues raised throughout this volume. Perhaps most important among those is that Schindlbeck's work strongly suggests that the tendency of museums, particularly in Germany, to label missing objects in their collections as "war losses" (p. 209) is perhaps not accurate. Indeed, as he concludes, "museums were not always custodians of their treasure" (p. 215) and the sales of significant numbers of objects in their care to dealers are all too often kept quiet. Interestingly, he argues, due to their sheer size, these sales supported, shaped and even created an international market in ethnographic art that could not have existed otherwise, a dynamic that so far has gone understudied.

The final 45 pages of the book contain a sizeable appendix of archival materials from the Museum and elsewhere, and a detailed inventory of known objects that left the Museum's South Sea Collection until the 1940s. The book is beautifully illustrated throughout: 130 b/w plates and 20 colour plates, some specifically produced for this volume.

Unfortunately, the volume suffers from some problems with copy editing, and the numerous typographical, grammatical and factual errors and inconsistencies—combined with the sometimes choppy flow of the text—can be distracting. The volume is also primarily descriptive and lamentably does not provide much analysis or many firm conclusions. However, this book is a significant first step. By sharing his considerable inside knowledge of the history of the Berlin Museum, Schindlbeck provides a much-needed reference point to an eminent collection and lays a foundation for future research on it and collecting practices of this time more broadly. Indeed, his work should and surely will serve as a catalyst for further investigations into the interplay of museums and the ethnographic art market, both on a documentary as well as a theoretical level.

Finally, Schindlbeck's work can also be read as a timely cautionary tale. Set against the backdrop of a time not unlike today, when public finances are strained and museums are scrambling to make ends meet, this book serves as a reminder that one of the core functions of the museum is as a guardian of the objects kept inside its walls and the histories, values and knowledge these objects embody. Schindlbeck sums this up poignantly in his last sentence to the book: "[The] transformation of a collected figure, ceramic, bark cloth painting, and so forth into an arbitrary article of exchange… is an attack on the self-respect of any curator or collector of ethnographic materials" (p. 220).

Small, C.A.: *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs*. 2nd Edition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011. 312 pp., appendix, bib., figs, index, maps, notes, tables. US$19.95 (paper).

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The second edition of Cathy Small's exploration of migration and interplaying cultural shifts has extended the span of the original work to 30 years. It is an interesting and engaging meditation on contemporary globalisation told through the shared journey of the American anthropologist who became "Tonganised", Tongan participants who became "Americanised", and the latter's children who occupy an ambiguous position between and within the two ethnic/national identities.

By detailing and analysing the life courses of a family as they move between one small Pacific nation and the United States, Small sought to craft a portrait of the general state of late 20th/early 21st century transnational migration. It is a world of large-scale movement from former colonies and protectorates to (neo-)colonial centres, by people who maintain strong links with family in their countries of origin, enabling extensive, protracted movement back and forth. This, Small argued, has caused profound, ongoing changes in sending nations' demographics, economies, and cultural landscapes, while creating multiple, changed and confused identities, particularly for generations growing up in receiving nations.

Though her argument was cogent, a potential weakness was the lack of detailed engagement with literature on migration, globalisation and work from other countries or regions. In fact, there was very little in the way of theory or in-depth analysis until Part IV, and even then it did not incorporate much from other scholars. This was intentional however: Small wanted her text to be accessible to a non-specialist, educated audience, targeting the US reader in particular.

That is not to say there is little of value for the academic. Of particular note is an interesting interrogation of common American idealisations about immigration, including that the US is "a beacon of hope in a sea of desperation" and "the land of opportunity" (p. 186). Small argued that these "myths" were based on previous waves of European settlement to the US, but that the Tongan case showed contemporary migration to be of a different nature: migrants were not the desperate but those with means, and often went from relatively prestigious social positions at home to bottom-rung employment in industrialised nations. Upward social mobility, she noted, typically took place only in the home country, once US savings had been exchanged for the weaker currency.

By examining these tropes, Small demonstrated how the topic of migration requires consideration of the receiving culture just as much as the relocating one, their mutually influencing nature being a key theme of the book.

This extended to exploring the status of socio-cultural anthropology in a globalised context. Small did not identify her work as "post-modern", though *Voyages* is nonetheless an example of what good post-modern scholarship can be. Small's pragmatic rather than ideological reason for her approach was that participants

were also her neighbours, friends and fictive kin, as well as potential readers of the ethnography. Collaborative, reflexive, experimental anthropological writing was thus simply a necessity in an increasingly integrated world.

The experimental elements employed in the book included its non-linear structure, which weaved back and forth in time. Though sometimes disorienting, it enabled an important contribution: acknowledging that as people change, so too do their explanations of an event, situation, cultural element or context. Small illustrated this by detailing occasions where participants had asked her to alter their statements on a previous topic, their new selves—sometimes influenced by acculturation into US world-views, sometimes by other types of changed situation, such as having gained perspective over time—had reconfigured their interpretations.

The second edition, by not updating nor amending earlier material, but simply adding a new preface and the three chapters of the final section, has accentuated this point. The transition between Part IV and this new Part V is jarring, but in a sense, as it should be. We have leapt forward roughly a decade and a half—the total span of the "voyages" of the first edition—revisiting familiar characters (including Small herself) and meeting new additions, in the process discovering how participants' situations, but also points-of-view have changed. Significantly, Small shows that the anthropologist's own views had also shifted and evolved since completing the original text so many years before.

The added material approximates the structure of the original: a section on the US, a section on Tonga and a section of reflection. In it, Small observes the continuing cultural change that collapsed the categories she had previously set forth, now forming a nexus of "Economy-Family-Politics-Tradition-Identity" (pp. 254-55) that operates transnationally and domestically. This is especially cogently detailed through her examination of bark cloth manufacture, sale, use and exchange. Changing substantially in form and context over time, it now stands as a symbol of tradition, identity and prestige, as well as being both a commodity and mechanism of social cohesion, depending on the context.

Here again the Tongan case is extrapolated as representative of a general global situation, and would have benefitted from some kind of engagement with anthropological work being done elsewhere to support the claim. However, a lack of robust consideration of academic literature is, of course, the price of creating popularly accessible anthropology, which *Voyages* undoubtedly is. As an anthropologically trained Tongan/European New Zealander, I can appreciate this book on multiple levels that speak to its range and reach. For the cosmopolitan citizen it opens a conversation about the complex back-stories of one's own immigrant neighbours, and the global socio-political processes that have created the conditions for multicultural landscapes. For the student of anthropology, it gives insights into the reality of fieldwork, the murkiness of culture and the challenging process of writing ethnography. For the Tongan diasporic child it encourages reflection and analysis of the broader ethnohistory of which s/he is part, and the amorphous reality of what it means to be Tongan today. For the social scientist it is a great example of reflexivity, methodological transparency and collaboration, and also holds much of interest for anyone seeking to understand the realities of global migratory and macro-economic processes "on the ground", and particularly how these are mediated through and within a particular culture.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

October 2012 – December 2012

Imada, A.: *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xiv + 392 pp., bib., figs, glossary, index, glossary. US$25.95 (paper).

Pawley, A. and R. Bulmer: *A Dictionary of Kalam with Ethnographic Notes*. Canberra, A.C.T.: The Australian National University, 2011. xiii + 810 pp., illustrations, maps. n.p.

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

PUBLICATIONS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

The publications listed below are available to members of the Polynesian Society (at a 20 percent discount, plus postage and packing), and to non-members (at the prices listed, plus postage and packing) from the Society's office: Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92012, Auckland. All prices are in NZ$.

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MĀORI TEXTS

1. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 1). New Edition of 1958 edition, 2004. xxxviii + 464 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2004. Price $69.99 (hardback).
2. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 2). New Edition of 1961 edition. xxxviii + 425 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2005. Price $69.99 (hardback).
3. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 3). New Edition of 1970 edition. xlii + 660 pp., audio CD, genealogies. 2006. Price $69.99 (hardback).
4. NGATA, A.T. and Hirini Moko MEAD, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 4). New Edition of 1991 edition with English translation. xviii + 380 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2007. Price $69.99 (hardback).

MEMOIR SERIES

14. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 192pp., including 104 plates. 2004. Price $30.
15. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 268pp., including 138 plates. 2004. Price $35.
37. DE BRES, Pieter H., *Religion in Atene: Religious Associations and the Urban Maori*. 95pp. 1971. Price $4.10.
38. MEAD, S.M., Lawrence BIRKS, Helen BIRKS, and Elizabeth SHAW, *The Lapita Pottery Style of Fiji and Its Associations*. 98pp. 1975. Price $7.00.
39. FINNEY, Ben R. (comp.), *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging*. 148pp. 1975. Price $8.00.

41. McLEAN, Mervyn,. *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*. 252pp. 1977, with 74pp. 1981 Supplement. Price $12.30.

43. BLUST, Robert, *The Proto-Oceanic Palatals*. 183+x pp. 1978. Price $12.00.

45. HOOPER, Antony and Judith HUNTSMAN (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. 226+viii pp. 1985. Price $35.00.

47. SIIKALA, Jukka. *'Akatokamanāva. Myth, History and Society in the South Cook Islands*. 153+xi pp. 1991. Price $29.95.

49. SORRENSON, M. P. K., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*. 160pp. 1992. Price $32.50.

50. BROWN, DOROTHY (comp.), *Centennial Index 1892-1991*. 279pp. 1993. Price $30.00.

51. TE ARIKI TARA 'ARE, *History and Traditions of Rarotonga.* Translated by S.Percy Smith. Edited by Richard Walter and Rangi Moeka'a. 216pp., genealogies and song texts. 2000. Price $70.00.

52. REILLY, Michael P.J., *War and Succession in Mangaia—from Mamae's Texts.* 112pp., geneaologies and maps. 2003. Price $16.00.

53. BIGGS, Bruce Grandison, *Kimihia te Mea Ngaro: Seek That Which is Lost.* 80pp. figs. 2006. Price $30.00.

54. REILLY, Michael P.J., *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. xiv + 330 pp., maps, drawings, genealogies, index. 2009. Price $40.00.

55. TE HURINUI, Pei, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King*. 303 + xiv pp., figs, genealogies, indexes, maps. 2010. (Available to members of the Society only at $40.00.)

56. McRAE, Jane, *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction / He Kupu Arataki*. Māori translation by Hēni Jacobs. 158 pp., biblio., figs, notes, song texts. 2011. (Available to members of the Society only at $28.00.)

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

TOKELAU DICTIONARY. lii + 503 pp. Price: $35.00.

INCEST PROHIBITIONS IN MICRONESIA AND POLYNESIA: Special Issue, June 1976. 155pp. Price $12.00.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF THE ARTS OF OCEANIA: from *Special Issue,* June 1981. 70pp. Price $4.00.

BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC: Special Issue, March 1994. 108pp. Price $12.50.

KIE HINGOA *'NAMED MATS'*, 'IE TŌGA *'FINE MATS' AND OTHER TREASURED TEXTILES OF SAMOA & TONGA: Special Issue,* June 1999. 120pp. Price $15.00.

ESSAYS ON HEAD-HUNTING IN THE WESTERN SOLOMON ISLANDS: Special Issue, March 2000. 144pp. Price $15.00.

POSTCOLONIAL DILEMMAS: REAPPRAISING JUSTICE AND IDENTITY IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA: Special Issue, September 2003. 124 pp. Price $15.00.

POLYNESIAN ART: HISTORIES AND MEANINGS IN CULTURAL CONTEXT: Special Issue, June 2007. 192 pp. Price $30.00.

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