LANGUAGE AND CULTURE OF RENNELL AND BELLONA ISLANDS: VOLUME I

FROM THE TWO CANOES

FROM THE TWO CANOES

Oral Traditions
of Rennell
and Bellona Islands

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PREFACE

Rennell and Bellona are two Polynesian Outlier islands in the British Solomon Islands. The people of Rennell and Bellona often refer to their islands in their rituals and poetry as two canoes. The ancestors who discovered the islands came from the east in two canoes, and the crews of these two canoes laid the foundation for the culture of Rennell and Bellona. Each island, furthermore, is canoe-shaped, with low-lying interior and high coastal walls not unlike the sides of a canoe. This is why we have named this volume of traditions *From the Two Canoes,* and this use of "two" is in harmony with the Rennellese and Bellonese predilection for the dual number.

A collaboration of persons possessing different academic backgrounds and inhabiting different hemispheres and speaking different languages is unusual, but to each of us it has proved beneficial. Elbert was interested primarily in language and folklore for their own sake and for the information they provided about Polynesian prehistory; Monberg was interested in what the tales and traditions revealed about the culture, particularly the religious experiences of the people before they accepted Christianity. Our collections reflect these interests to some extent. Elbert collected many secular tales concerning the vicissitudes of ordinary folk. In addition to tales in this volume, Monberg collected many ritual and ethnographic texts which are not included here. Our informants learned our interests. They sensed that Elbert, after he had collected many songs and a few rituals, despaired of the ambiguities inherent in them, and that he enjoyed stories about gods and humans that contained humor and drama. People knowing this sort of tale came to him. People knowing rituals went to Monberg. Each of us was interested in the other's specialty, but did not deliberately seek tales relating to it.

Another advantage of our collaboration is that Elbert worked longer on Rennell (1957-58) and Monberg longer on Bellona (1958-59). A valuable result is that for a given story we have variants collected on different islands in different years from different persons.

Problems as abstract as theory and as prosaic as the use of commas were discussed between us. Each of us suffered the stimulation and the goad of having a doubter at hand who questioned his every categorical remark and scanned (and sometimes scoffed at) every line he wrote. Each checked every text and its translation.

Yet, the greatest advantage of all was the pleasure of sharing our enthusiasm about a people who delighted us.

Our work would not have been possible without the cooperation and aid of many institutions and individuals. The Tri-Institutional Pacific Program, administered by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the University of Hawaii, and Yale University, financed Elbert's field work on Rennell and Bellona in 1957 and 1958 and Taupongi's trip from Bellona to Honolulu in 1961 to serve as consultant. Monberg is grateful to Kaj Birket-Smith, of the Danish National Museum, who with his study of the material culture of the two islands in 1951, laid a foundation for further research into the language and social culture, and who arranged for

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SYMBOLS

BE .... Bellona

Brackets [ ] . . . . Insertions in translations for grammatical clarity

G .... generation

N .... Notes

    N49:l   Notes to Text 49, verse 1

    N41(A):6   Notes to Text 41, variant A, verse 6

    N4(II)   division II of Notes to Text 4

RE .... Rennell

SE .... Samuel H. Elbert

T .... Text

    T27:3   Text 27, verse 3

    T31 (B): 7   Text 31, variant B, verse 7

Taupongi 1961 . . Taupongi of Sa'aiho, Bellona, during his stay in Honolulu, June-August 1961, as consultant (see Section 1.3, Chapter 1)

TM.................... Torben Monberg

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The first three chapters of this book contain matter designed to make the islanders' traditions given in later chapters more meaningful. The present chapter includes brief discussions of the following topics: the field experiences of the two authors (Section 1); a physical description of Rennell and Bellona and a resume of their few contacts with the outside world (Section 2); the social organization, kinship system, religion, and cultural inventory of the people (Section 3); the language, orthography, and translating techniques (Sections 4 to 6); the function of stories and story tellers in the culture (Section 7); the selection and arrangement of the texts (Section 8).

Chapter 2 presents brief biographies of the 49 tellers best known to the compilers, and Chapter 3 consists of genealogies of ancestors and living persons, from the fat immigrants down through some 23 generations to the children of the present chiefs.

In Chapters 4 through 19 the traditions of the Rennellese and Bellonese are given in their own words, with our translations into English in parallel columns. The traditions are not presented here in the haphazard order in which they were told in the field, which depended on the knowledge and moods of 72 informants, but have been rearranged in the following historical-semantic order: the gods and the semi mythical early inhabitants; the immigration of the ancestors of the present-day people from a place called 'Ubea; the formation of settlements and clans and subdivisions of clans, and the nearly constant fighting and strife; the vicissitudes and doings of ordinary folk, and the arrivals of castaways from other islands; finally, the conversion to Christianity in 1938 with its traumatic events at Niupani.

1. FIELD EXPERIENCES

1.1. *Elbert's account.* I was on Rennell from October 4, 1957, to April 10, 1958. The first 6 weeks were spent on a trip from Mangautu, on the northwest coast, to Labagu, on Lughu Bay, where I stayed for a time. Most of December, January, and February were spent at Niupani, on the lake, with excursions to Hutuna, Tigoa, Teaba, and Mata'aso (see Plate 1). During most of March, I was on a field trip through central Rennell to as far as Hatagua. Because of experience with other Polynesian languages I could communicate with the Rennellese from the start, but many of their common words and particles were so different that I could understand almost nothing of connected discourse. I pretended ignorance of pidgin English and spoke only Rennellese. Pidgin English would not have been of much help with abstractions and multiple meanings. Cognates in other Polynesian languages were easily recognized.

The procedure was first to take a text verbatim, with some indication of junctures and allophonic variations, but without interrupting the informants with questions about meanings. Some informants, such as Samuel Tuhenua, immediately timed their speech to my writing speed. Older informants, before indoctrination, tended

either to speak very fast or syllable-by-syllable. After finishing a story I read it back, asking for corrections in pronunciation and for meanings of unknown or imperfectly understood words and idioms. This was often a long process.

Usually my house was crowded. Everyone wanted to help or to listen. People considered that leaving me alone even for short intervals was a breach of hospitality. Such solicitude prevented confidences, but did afford walking monolingual dictionaries, and made the informants alert to provide what they believed to be the most accurate information.

After finishing a translation I read back the text three or four times and asked questions about points still obscure.

In spite of frequently large and convivial crowds, the contributions were from individuals. Details sometimes were furnished by bystanders, but the story was given by the person named before each text.

Between November 29 and April 10 no ships called at Rennell. No white people lived on Rennell, and there were no stores. Communication was maintained with Honiara during fine weather by a pedal radio, but I could send or receive messages only with difficulty. A beautiful new house at Niupani was put at my disposal; it had views of the lake on one side and of a coconut grove on the other. My food consisted of canned goods to a limited extent, but mostly of coconuts, papayas, taro, and fish supplied by the Rennellese, with occasional chickens, eggs, bananas, and sweet corn. I usually reciprocated with stick tobacco.

When I arrived at central Rennell, Headman Tahua sternly told me that the people in his district wanted to give me food and would be offended if I gave anything in return. In every village the people came with gifts, sometimes such delicacies as string beans. I was never sick and I enjoyed the people and my work too much to be lonely. Also, the long canoe trips and hikes provided excitement and healthy exercise, as well as new informants and dialects.

Through the courtesy of Derek Cudmore, Commissioner of the Central District, I was able to spend a week on Bellona. However, there was no time for translating because of the almost ceaseless work and excitement prior to the visit of Sir John Gutch, High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, and Lady Gutch, for whom the Bellonese staged a lavish program of dancing and singing. The visit of the High Commissioner was most fortunate as he expressly asked via my radio that dances and traditional ceremonies be performed for his welcome. Otherwise, there would have been none because both missions forbid traditional dancing and singing. On my first visit to a church I saw these words in large letters on a blackboard: SINS. UNTRUTHFULNESS. PRIDE. DANCING. CUSTOM. LYING.

1.2. *Monberg's account.* I arrived at Rennell on October 2, 1958, almost 6 months after Elbert had left. The purpose of my visit was to collect as much information as possible on the pre-Christian culture, especially the religious aspects, before it vanished completely from the memories of the people.

I had a most excellent companion in Sten Wilier-Andersen, who took over the practical side of the expedition. He also collected animals for the Danish Zoological Museum, took pictures, and was of great help to the people of Rennell during the critical days of an epidemic of poliomyelitis.

In all ways my work was facilitated by the help of others. I would have been able to accomplish little during my 4 months' stay without the help of Elbert, who generously allowed me to make use of his linguistic field notes and vocabulary cards from Rennell. With my reading knowledge of other Polynesian languages, it was thus much less arduous for me to obtain enough training in Rennellese to be able to begin collecting material in this language after only a few days' stay. This saved months of field work.

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The 2 months' stay on Rennell was spent in Labagu village on Lughu Bay, in Niupani village on the shores of the lake, and in Matangi village in central Rennell. My first efforts were aimed at getting basic knowledge from informants about the pre-Christian social organization. Information was gathered through interviews and discussions, and was taken down in Rennellese. The Rennellese themselves showed great interest in this work. The house was usually crowded with people who listened and talked, and very often volunteered to be informants. Everybody was anxious that I should get as much information as possible and that it should be correct. Sessions were often gay, with joking and laughter filling the house till very late at night.

I admired the intellectual abilities of most informants. They patiently explained semantic nuances by giving examples of the use of a word in different contexts. They worked for hours, telling stories, listening to my rereading, and explaining difficult words and passages, and they never tired of correcting my mistakes. Even during arduous hikes through the bush, the people walking nearest me talked on subjects of common interest, or corrected something I had said the day before, or started explaining the construction of a temple site we had passed, or told a story about a battle fought in this particular area.

As informants the Rennellese and Bellonese had one particular drawback. Their concept of hospitality, mentioned also by Elbert, often made it difficult to arrange a session with only a single informant. My house was nearly always full of people who listened eagerly to what was said. In the beginning I thought this was an indication of suspicion toward each other, but soon realized that it was more an eagerness to help. Sessions with a single person, therefore, usually took place at noontime, when the temptation to take a nap prevailed over most people's eagerness to serve as informants.

I was especially interested in religious concepts and rituals, and in this respect my stay on Rennell was a disappointment. The Rennellese readily admitted that almost all the ritual formula had been forgotten. Only one man on the island, Paul Takiika, still remembered some of them. Unfortunately, Paul became very ill and was unable to help. I had heard people say that Paul Sa'engeika and others on Bellona still remembered a great deal about the old religious practices. Thus we decided to leave for Bellona, although I had originally planned to work only on Rennell. On December 8 we arrived there, together with one of our best Rennellese friends, Jotham Togaka, his wife Temota, and their two infant sons.

We were given a very fine house in Ngotokanaba village and stayed there until January 27, 1959. These were two months of almost incessant excitement. Informants would come early in the morning and work until late at night, telling stories, reciting ritual formulas, and demonstrating ritual practices. Frequent visits to sites of old settlements and temples revived their memories and evoked important details in their accounts. We lived at the border between the two rival districts of Sa'aiho and Ghongau. By working with informants from these two different clan groups, I obtained extensive comparative material concerning social organization and religious practices.

Taupongi of Sa'aiho was one of my principal Bellonese informants for tales. He was, moreover, an indefatigable teacher in all that concerned language, but he was too young to know many details of the ritual aspects of the old religion.

We left Bellona on January 27, 1959, and after a few days' stopover on Rennell returned to Honiara. I thought that my collecting of material from Rennell and Bellona was over. Later, however, Taupongi and Tapuika both sent me neatly written notebooks full of stories; their frequent interlinear translations (the method I had used) into somewhat halting English were done only for the easier words.

This material would not have been of much value had I not been able to work it over with Taupongi in Honolulu in 1961 and with others during my revisits to Bellona. Taupongi said that he had kept sending me stories because I had paid too little attention to some of them while I was there, and had used far too much tune for gathering data on ritual practices!

1.3. *Work in Honolulu.* We had the advantage of consulting Taupongi of Bellona in Honolulu from June 10 to August 12, 1961. All the texts in this volume (except T140) were checked with him. Many additional texts were taken down, and much material was tape recorded. Grammatical analyses were continued. Taupongi was of great help in clearing up obscurities and in supplementing our material. He talked quite freely in Honolulu and did not hesitate to use swear or obscene words. He may have felt free of the social restrictions of his island. Such freedom from local taboos is a possible advantage of working with an informant away from his home. His departure from Honolulu was as sad as our own departures from the two islands. His contributions are assessed in Chapter 2. His work in Honolulu in the summer of 1961 is referred to in the notes as "Taupongi 1961".

1.4. *Noona Dan Expedition of 1962 and Monberg's 1963 visit.* As members of the Danish Indo-Pacific Expedition, Elbert was on Rennell from August 16 to September 2 , and from December 9 to 13, and on Bellona from September 26 to December 9, and on December 13 and 14. In addition Elbert was at Honiara from July 16 to August 16, from September 2 to 25, and from December 15 to January 23, 1963 (save for a week on Malaita). Monberg was in Honiara for a month preceeding his time on Bellona and also from September 30 to October 9. He was on Bellona from August 15 to September 29.

Much of our time in Honiara was spent with informants from Rennell and Bellona. Elbert was checking translations and grammatical and lexical notes, as well as collecting songs and making demographic studies. Monberg was checking material on religion and studying social organization with Leif Christensen. No texts secured in 1962 have been included in this volume; additional notes made in 1962 have been so labelled. Each text was again checked hi 1962, most of them for the fifth time. We believe that our work in 1962 enhanced the accuracy of our translations and interpretations, but new-found intricacies left each of us with the impression that we were only beginning to understand the language and culture.

Monberg was back in the Solomons from October 2 to November 30, 1963, continuing his study of social organization. He was on Bellona for 2 weeks, and during the rest of the time worked with Bellonese employed by plantations on Guadalcanal.

2. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS; THEIR OUTSIDE CONTACTS

Rennell and Bellona, Polynesian Outlier islands with a single language and culture, are a part of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and lie at 11° south latitude and about 160 kilometers south of Guadalcanal.

Rennell Island is nearly 80 kilometers long and, at most, 14 kilometers wide. The island is completely girded by limestone cliffs, most of them covered with dense vegetation. On the south coast, the cliff at Tuhugago, the anchorage for the Lake district, is about 120 meters high. The coastal profile is even. The north coastline is straight, but the south coast undulates, with a deep bay in its center

at Lughu. Occasional patches of coconut palms and small strips of white sand are found at the bases of the coastal cliffs.

At Lughu Bay, on the south coast, the cliffs in several places are low, and access to the interior is easy; but to go inland elsewhere on Rennett, one scales the outer cliff by gripping roots and branches, then descends into a depression resembling a moat, climbs another less formidable rampart, and then gradually descends through rain forests to the interior basin. A lake—the largest in the Pacific—occupies almost the entire east end of Rennell; it is 27.5 kilometers long and 9.5 kilometers wide; it lies at sea level, and is everywhere about 42 meters deep, according to soundings made in 1962 by the Noona Dan Expedition. Its brackish water is occasionally drunk. The important villages on the shores of the lake today are Niupani, Tegano, Hutuna, Tebaitahe, and Tigoa. The western end of the lake is dotted with islets.

The Lake fauna includes two varieties of sea snakes, reported by Danish scientists as deadly poisonous (this the natives do not believe; the snakes have never been known to bite anyone); giant eels, which in stormy times are netted in the lake estuaries; small goby fish *(paghabu);* an African species of *Tilapia* introduced about 1957 which by 1962 was so common that 9 or 10 large ones could be speared in an hour. Bird life is abundant, and includes Australian gray ducks, gray teal, reef herons, and, especially, black-and-white, cormorants, which seem constantly to be diving into the lake, or posing like statues, wings outstretched, in tree tops.

The east central and far-western parts of Rennell are uninhabited wildernesses where towering trees grow like weeds from land strewn with coral boulders. Between these two wastelands is the most fertile part of the island, with frequent neat villages and beautifully tended yam gardens. Most of the 1,020 Rennellese (1959 census, McArthur, 1961: 23) live here or in the lake villages.

There are no streams on this porous island. Water is obtained in limestone caves. Rainfall is abundant. Elbert measured rainfall as follows: October 17-31, 1957, 485 mm. (19.09 inches); November 1-24, 173 mm. (6.82 inches); December 1-30, 191 mm. (7.52 inches); January 10-31, 1958, 54 mm. (2.13 inches); February 1-26, 359 mm. (14.13 inches); March 2-7, 24 mm. (0.95 inches); March 28 to April 10, 328 mm. (12.91 inches). At this rate the annual rainfall would be more than 170 inches. (From August 15 to September 2, 1962, it rained every day, sometimes very hard and for several hours!)

Bellona Island, 11.5 kilometers long and 3 kilometers wide, resembles other Pacific islands more than does Rennell. The surrounding cliff, covered by forest, is a modest 100 feet or so in height, and in many places it is easy (rather than impossible) to climb. Bellona, with approximately 700 inhabitants, is densely populated, and its ulterior is very fertile. A broad trail that is level enough for a car runs through the island from east to west. Along this trail lie neat villages, gardens, and coconut plantations that give an impression of orderliness and comparative wealth.

The very shape of this small island lying in the vast sea—the break of the surf heard everywhere, the cliffs visible on all sides of the low-lying interior—gives one the sensation of being on board a ship in the middle of the ocean. The inhabitants, who live in the hull of the canoe, are aware of this illusion, and in their poetry often refer to the island as *te baka* (the canoe).

Plates 1 and 2 are based on maps prepared by the Protectorate Geological Survey. We have supplied place names and some trails, but positions are only approximate, particularly for Rennell. The map of Bellona is more detailed than that of Rennell.

5

INTRODUCTION

The people impressed us as having been self-sufficient and as having feared contact with strangers until the advent of Christianity. This generalization may be said of the people of both islands. A Rennellese informant (T232:4) reported that when European ships came the people fled in fear to the interior of the island. Perhaps for many centuries the occasional ships saw no people. Blackbirders to a large extent kept away, as did planters and traders, who were appalled by the lack of safe anchorages, the poor soil, the lack of economic products, and the supposed hostility of the people (this reputation was enhanced by the murder of missionary teachers in 1910).

Rennell and Bellona apparently were discovered in 1790 by a Captain Wilkinson on the British vessel "Indispensable" (Findlay, 874, and Sharp, 162-163; Brigham, 137, and Woodford, 1916:46, had credited a Captain Butler on the "Walpole" in 1794 and 1801, respectively). The first white persons to go ashore, according to Yonge (164-165), were Bishop Selwyn and John Patteson (afterwards bishop) for a few hours in July 1856. They met about 20 people on Rennell and 13 warriors on Bellona. Later visitors included the Reverend Codrington in 1863, C. M. Woodford (Resident Commissioner of the Solomons) in 1906, Dr. Northcote Deck (a Protestant missionary) between 1908 and 1911, the Australian anthropologist Ian Hogbin in 1927, the American physician S.M.Lambert in 1928 and 1933, the American anthropologist Gordon Macgregor in 1933, and Broek d'Obrenan on the yacht "La Korrigane" for a week in 1935. Geologists have visited the two islands since World War II and have mapped phosphate deposits. Visitors have been so few that at least those since Deck are remembered. The most valuable accounts have been left by Lambert and Macgregor.

In 1951 scientists from the Danish Rennell Expedition, which was part of the Galathea Deep-Sea Expedition Around the World, visited Rennell, and Kaj Birket-Smith gathered material for his study (Birket-Smith, 1956) which was of great value to us on the islands and in our subsequent research. In 1953 the British Museum Expedition visited the two islands, and Torben Wolffs work (Wolff, 1958), based on the results of the two expeditions, has been our source for English names of the fauna and for most of the statistics cited in this section.

3. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CULTURE

In this sketch of the social organization and culture, which is intended to make the texts more meaningful, only certain aspects will be discussed: the nature of kin groups, kinship terminology, social stratification, sex and marriage, fighting, sustenance, religion, and culture change since 1939 when Christianity was suddenly and unanimously embraced. The interpretation is preliminary. An exhaustive analysis of our data concerning social organization is yet to be made. It will be noted that most references in the following are to conditions on Bellona; the social organization of Rennell has not been studied in detail.

3.1. *The kin groups.* The Rennellese and Bellonese distinguish functionally and formally the following types of kin groups:

sa'a: a large patrilineal and patrilocal descent group whose members all claim descent from the same first immigrant. *Sa'a* is translated as clan in this volume.

kakai 'anga: a patrilineal and patrilocal descent group whose members trace descent from a common, remote ancestor of a later generation than that of the first immigrants. Male members of a *kakai 'anga* all reside within the *same kano-manaha* (district). The *kakai 'anga* is a subdivision of a *sa'a.*

hanohano: a lineage or family. Persons sharing a *hanohano* trace descent to a

common ancestor who had once broken away *(babae)* from his paternal settlement and established his own settlement under a new name, usually on land inherited from his father. In vague speech all members of a clan *(sa'd)* are said to be of the same *hanohano,* in that they trace descent to a common ancestral immigrant, but it is also said that a person who has founded a new settlement has started a new *hanohano.* Another name for lineage is *manaha.* This term, however, has other meanings and these are discussed below. Both *hanohano* and *manaha* (in this sense of lineage) are a subdivision of the *kakai 'anga.*

hohonga 'anga: true matrilineal kin.

tau pegea: persons of the same *manaha* (lineage group) as a member of an individual's matrilineal kin *(hohonga 'anga).*

baaghaugha: remote relatives, such as persons of father's matrilineal kin *(hohonga 'anga)* and their offspring; offspring of male members of one's own matrilineal kin; members of wife's kin group *(manaha);* members of sister's husband's kin group *(manaha).*

The origin of the clans *(sa'a),* the largest kin groups on the two islands, is told in the oral traditions, especially in T66. The first immigrants are believed to have been eight married couples who settled on Bellona and became the founders of eight clans. Traditions concerning this vary and may of course be purely mythical. Of the original eight clans only two are said to survive. The people of Bellona inhabiting the eastern (Matangi) district and the middle'district (Ghongau) and all the people of Rennell trace their ancestry back to Kaitu'u, one of the immigrants, and are called the people of *sa'a* Kaitu'u. The small group of people inhabiting the western (Ngango) district on Bellona claim to be descendants of another immigrant, Taupongi, and are called the people of *sa'a* Taupongi. The *sa'a* are residential units, in that a man from one *sa'a* cannot reside permanently or own land hi the territories of the other. The borderline between the lands of the two *sa'a* on Bellona is clearly defined, but has been a source of incessant disputes and fights. In many texts the rivalry is shown by ridicule; in others, by open fighting. The two clans are particularly dissimilar on the religious level, for they worshipped different sets of deities (Chapter 4) and their rituals were somewhat different. The very small *sa'a* Taupongi was an exogamous kin group, whereas marriages might take place between members of the very large *sa'a* Kaitu'u.

According to traditions, *kakai 'anga* subdivisions were formed when a *sa'a* became overly large and land disputes had developed between its members. A number of texts in this volume describe the developments of *kakai 'anga* on Bellona. This will be clear if they are read with reference to the Bellona section of Plate 3. Teika'ungua (Ghongau line, G10) was said to be a prolific individual with 20 wives and 50 children (20 boys and 30 girls). Only two of this host of children are remembered: Ta'akihenua, who inherited the homestead called Ghongau from his father and carried on the line, and Teho'akimatu'a, who broke away from Ghongau and together with his son Teikangongo started a new descent group with its headquarters at Mataki'ubea at the east end of Bellona. The patrilineal descendants of Ta'akihenua constitute the *kakai 'anga* of Ghongau district, which was much later split into two sections (Tengutuangabangika'ango and Tengutuangabangitakungu) which are considered by most informants to be separate *kakai 'anga,* and by others simply separate section of the *kakai 'anga* of Ghongau. In contrast to other *kakai 'anga* these two sections, however, do not constitute local groups, as their homesteads and gardens lie intermingled within Ghongau district.

On Bellona there once were a few smaller *kakai 'anga* located within the larger ones, such as Nguaniua in Ghongau district, started by Hu'aingupe of Rennell CT140 and Genealogy 8). Another was Temanu hi Ngango (Sa'aiho) district, which

was started by Kaitu'u of the Taupongi clan (T144 and Genealogy 9). Both *kakai 'anga* are now extinct.

All members of a *kakai 'anga* thus trace their descent back to the same remote ancestor in the patriline. The *kakai 'anga* had its significance as a social group, especially on the religious and political levels. Each *kakai' anga* had its own set of gods *(ngasuenga;* see Introduction to Chapter 4) and was considered a religious unit in that all its temples were offshoots from one major temple in the district. It was a political unit in that its members commonly united in fights against other *kakai 'anga.* This was especially the case with the two small districts of Matangi and Ngango (Sa'aiho). In recent times members of the *kakai 'anga* of Ghongau have been fighting among themselves.

As previously stated, the *manaha* is a subdivision of a *kanomanaha* (district) and the word may be used as a general term for a patrilineal descent group. The term *manaha* is also used for gardens or coconut groves, or for any area inhabited by a nuclear family, and is also a general term for a homestead or a group of homesteads and land areas belonging to people who constitute a patrilineal descent group. In daily speech the terms *manaha* and *hanohano* are often almost synonymous. One may say that two *manaha* intermarry *(gua manaha hetaka'aki). Manaha* tends to emphasize members of the lineage as a social group; *hanohano,* the genealogical relationships. The islanders distinguish the various meanings of *manaha* (lineage, homestead, garden, owned land, group of homesteads) by context.

Lineages are named for the oldest and usually largest homestead of the group, the *hakanohonga.* This is the homestead to which every member owes allegiance *('oea kinai).* Other homesteads belonging to members of the lineage are sometimes described by qualifying terms. A *manaha sokotasi* (independent homestead) is a large unit with attached arable land; an *anga a manaha* is a smaller unit, usually without habitation, within the larger unit and is owned and administered by the same individual.

In this volume the word *manaha* when used without qualifiers is commonly translated as settlement, although research subsequent to the setting of type for the texts suggested that "homestead" would in some instances have been a preferable translation.

According to traditions each *kakai 'anga* consisted originally of people of a single *manaha;* but with population growth the *kakai 'anga* became subdivided into several *hanohano* whose members called themselves people of *(pengea o...)* the *manaha* or *hakanohonga* which first branched off. This process of segmentation continued down to the acceptance of Christianity. It was a dynamic process, yet occasionally a slow one. Several of its stages might be present at any given time. When Christianity was accepted in 1938-39 there were about 430 inhabitants on Bellona and they were divided into 20 exogamous lineages. Some of these lineages consisted of two or more sublineages *(manaha gua),* each taking its name from one of the more prominent homesteads among the *manaha sokotasi* (independent homestead) of the lineage, but still recognizing affiliation to the *hakanohonga.* Members of sublineages considered themselves as belonging to the same *hanohano.* Under certain conditions, as during feuds within the lineage, or if a head of one of the sublineages was a powerful and individualistic personality, a sublineage might branch off and establish itself as a separate homestead *(manaha)* with its own lineage *(hanohano).* The genealogies in Chapter 3 give a simplified picture of the traditions regarding the branching of lineages. In stories about ancestors, the reporting of how these branchings took place, why, and through whom, play an important role. In fact, much of the traditional history can be regarded as an oral rationalization of the lineage structure of the society.

8
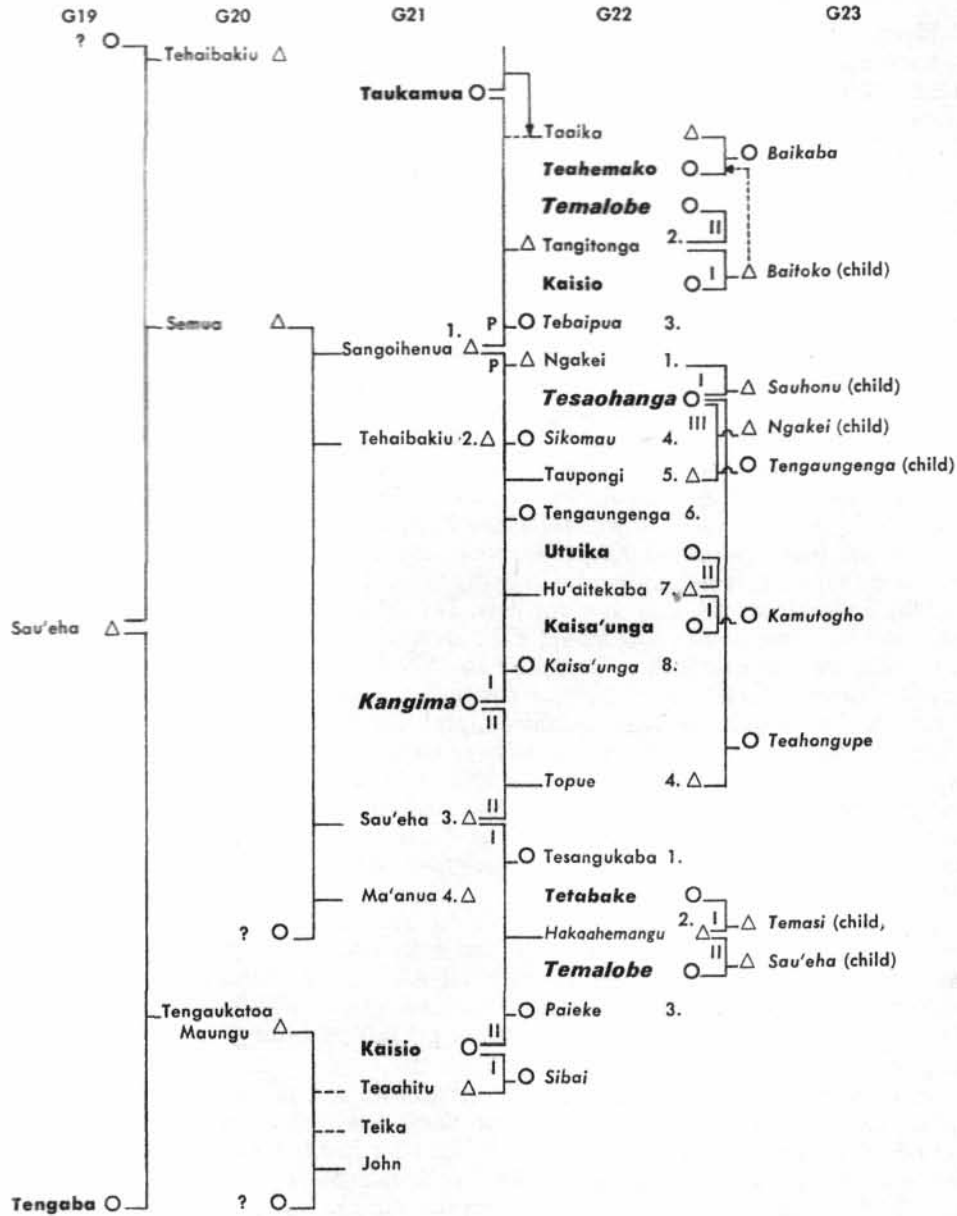
Figure 1. An example of the composition of a Bellonese lineage in 1939, that of the Hangekumi. The genealogy is skeletal and does not show marriages of female members of the lineage or births subsequent to 1939. Generations are shown in vertical columns; polygynous marriages of male and female members of the lineage by P; sequences of children by the same father are indicated by arabic numerals. Members of other lineages (wives of members) are in bold face type. Names of persons alive in 1939 are in italic type. Broken lines indicate adoptions.

Origin of females married to members of Hangekumi lineage: 619: Tengaba (Rennell); 621: Taukamua (Nuku'angoha); Kangima (Nuku'angoha)j Kaisio (Rennell); 622: Teahemako (Ghongau); Temalobe (Rennell); Kaisio (Mata'ubea); Tesaohanga (Matabaingei); Utuika (Mata'ubea); Kaisa'unga (Ghongau); Tetabake (Nuku'angoha); Temalobe (same as Temalobe above).

There were only two adult male members of Hangekumi lineage in 1939, namely Topue and Hakaahemangu. Gardens and homesteads belonging to members of the lineage were either owned *(hakahua)* or taken charge of *(ge'o)* by them. A few homesteads were cared for by Teahemako, widow of Taaika. When the sons of Tangitonga, Ngakei, and Hakaahemangu grew up, they took over land that had belonged to their respective fathers.

INTRODUCTION

Figure 1 shows the composition of a Bellonese lineage, Hangekumi.

Each adult male member of a lineage owned one or more settlements or homesteads with attached garden and bush areas. The homesteads of a lineage were not grouped together in villages but lay scattered in the arable areas of a district. On Bellona the homesteads lay along the main trail which runs across the island from east to west. The land and homesteads of different lineages commonly lay intermingled within the district, but there was a tendency to form local groupings, with several gardens and homesteads of a single lineage lying in close proximity.

A *manaha,* in the sense of a single homestead, was commonly inhabited by a nuclear family. The house lay in a clearing hi the garden area surrounded by coconut trees. It was usually a so-called *hata* (Figure 2), a pitched gable roof thatched with pandanus leaves and extending down to about 75 centimeters above the ground. Under this roof, about 1 meter above the ground, was a ceiling-like shelf *(hata)* that formed an upper storeroom under the roof. The house had no walls. The floor covering consisted of coconut leaves, and on ceremonial occasions was covered with coconut-leaf mats *(takapau).* Under the shelf were hung ceremonial paddles, dancing sticks, spears, parcels of turmeric, fishhooks, lines, and nets. Another house type, the *hage hakahuahua,* was a larger, more impressive edifice with curved rafters and artistic plaitings on the ridgepole. Such houses were rare, and were usually owned by expert carpenters *(mataisau)* or by those who enjoyed great prestige and thereby enlisted the aid of such carpenters. Behind the house was a small kitchen shed, the *hai umu,* or *paito,* containing the stone oven. All the food was prepared here, as it was *tapu* (taboo) to bring fire into the dwellings. In front of the house were the ritual grounds *(gotomaga'e),* a clearing surrounded by coconut trees. It was the place for religious activities, dancing, and distribution of certain ceremonial offerings. From the clearing a small trail *(anga singd)* led to the main trail *(anga tu'u)* of the island, passing through the garden areas of the *manaha.* At the beginning of the small trail, by the ritual grounds, lay graves of ancestors. Each grave was topped with a mound of sand, surrounded by flat coral stones, and covered by a small house with curved rafters. In front of each grave was a small clearing used during ancestor rituals.

Land was held individually by the male members of the lineage. As mentioned above, a man might own several *manaha* and sometimes also two or three houses in his various gardens and coastal areas. He might then live in one or the other, depending on which lay nearest the areas presently under cultivation, or he might live in his house at the coast during certain periods of fishing. In some cases of polygynous marriage each wife had her own house.

Succession to land was usually from father to son. If a person had no male offspring, land would commonly go to his brother's sons. As a general rule, women did not own land but acted only as stewards, as for instance when a husband had died and his sons were too young to hold titles to their father's *manaha.* The reason given by the Bellonese for this custom is that the *manaha* was exogamous, and these women of the lineage always married into other lineages and resided with then: husband's kin. Women were considered to belong to their paternal lineage; when a marriage was dissolved a woman returned and resided with her patrilineal kin. But as long as a marriage lasted, a woman was expected to show loyalty to her husband's lineage, even if it became engaged in hostilities with her own patrilineal kin. Any land owned by women in their paternal *manaha* might have accrued to members of other lineages. There are a few recorded cases of women owning land, or of persons inheriting land from a mother's brother (that is, from another lineage), but such cases are considered anomalies by the Bellonese and are generally disapproved of.

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With strict unilineal succession to land, and with considerable fluctuation in size of lineage groups from generation to generation, there was occasionally too much or too little available land for a lineage. This unbalance was at times met by inter-lineage adoption of males, and by polygynous marriage of males for the purpose of securing enough successors. In general, scarcity of land was a major source of conflict.

Within the lineage, primogeniture was of importance. Theoretically, the oldest son was entitled to his father's largest *manaha.* The person closest to being a direct descendant in the line of first-born sons *(hano 'angd)* would inherit the *hakanohonga* of the lineage, that is, the first and oldest homestead of the group. In practice, there were exceptions. A father would often consider the individual abilities of his pro-spective successors when allotting land. If, for instance, the first-born son was a better fisherman than gardener, or if he lacked any of the virtues so much admired by the Bellonese (generosity, diligence, and modesty), the father was free to allot larger blocks of land to younger sons or to other members of the lineage, preferably to those of the same generation as that of his children.

The land owner could normally decide when to cultivate the land, what to plant, and to whom to distribute the garden produce; he could also grant usufruct privileges to others for shorter or longer periods, or give the land to any member of his lineage without asking for consent from other members. There was, however, one particular restriction on individual ownership of land. If a person had alloted land to someone else such as a father to his son, ownership was usually considered joint as long as both parties were alive, but the original owner could, if conflicts arose, annul the conveyance and vest the land in someone else.

There was considerable cooperation within the lineage with regard to cultivation of land. If a male member became sick or died, his land was guarded *(ge'o)* and cultivated by other male members of the lineage until it could be formally taken over by his successors. A man could always count on help in clearing and planting from the men of his *manaha* and from their wives and children. Also, two or more men of a lineage might sometimes pool their garden produce and hold a single ritual feast with ritual distributions. When the gardens were ready for digging, relatives might be invited to partake in the work, together with the owner's relatives in other lineages, especially members of his mother's lineage and his in-laws, and receive their shares of the produce. There was, furthermore, close cooperation among the members of a *manaha* in such undertakings as fishing, hunting, canoe- and house-building, and fights against other lineages.

Rules of succession and inheritance might be set aside in favor of persons pos-sessed of talents and virtues admired in the culture. These included special skill in gardening, fishing, canoe- and house-building, dancing, poetic composition, and ritual performance. The most important virtues included kindliness and generosity.

Authority within the lineage, in theory, lay with all its male landholding members *(matu'a).* However, certain factors might assign one *matu'a* to a higher position. These included seniority in one's own generation, seniority of one's father in his generation, and possession in unusual degree of admired skills. Such persons were called *hakahua,* and in each of the large lineages there were one or two *matu'a* called the *hakahua* of the *manaha.* The word *hakahua* means to excercise authority, to act, to own, and to do as one pleases. Although outstanding personal attributes might elevate any land-holding male of the senior generation to the title of *hakahua,* the *hakahua* was usually the first-born son *('ugumatu'a)* of the former *hakahua.* An exception was Paul Sa'engeika of Bellona (see Chapter 2 and Genealogy 6), who acquired the title of *hakahua* because of unusual skills, even though he was of a junior sublineage.

The *matu'a* of the lineage were not compelled to obey the *hakahua*. The latter had no rights over their land and could not command other *matu'a* to labor for him. Yet because the *hakahua* usually had greater land resources at his disposal than had other members of the lineage, and because he was usually the senior member in his generation (often an older brother or first cousin of the other *matu'a),* his status within the lineage was higher than that of the other *matu'a.* He could perform more elaborate harvest rituals and distribute larger amounts of food and goods, thereby confirming or heightening his personal prestige. If he had the admired skills he became the central figure of the *manaha,* one whom it was considered an honor to serve, and one whose counsel and help were sought by members of the lineage. Often one or more of the other *matu'a* of the lineage added their own garden produce to that of the *hakahua,* who then performed the ceremonial distribution of their bonus material along with that of his own gardens. When a *hakahua* became very old and his strength and abilities began to decline, he was usually no longer considered a *hakahua;* the title passed quietly to another person of the lineage, normally the first-born son of the former *hakahua.*

Whereas a man's patrilineal kin group was of importance in establishing his rights to land, his relations with members of other lineages were influenced by his matriline *(hohonga 'anga).* Records of the *hohonga 'anga,* however, were not remembered for more than a few generations, rarely further back than the grand-parents' generation, that is, with the living kin of the mother. An individual had very close ties with his mother's sisters and brothers. The latter *(tu'aatind)* took part in the education of nephew and niece *('igaamutu);* they exchanged gifts, visited one another frequently, granted each other usufruct privileges, and were expected to help in tunes of crisis. Whereas all persons of the same generation and *manaha* were not considered of the same blood, those of the same generation and *hohonga 'anga* were considered as sharing blood *(te toto e tasi).*

Close ties also existed between and individual and members of the *manaha* of his matriline. Such persons were commonly called one's *tau pegea.* Persons in the mother's patriline were of particular importance. One was believed to originate *(tu'u n.ai)* in one's mother's lineage, whereas the father's *manaha* was that which a person was said to be born into. It will be seen below how this point of view is consistent with Rennellese and Bellonese views of conception and childbirth.

3. 2. *Kinship terminology.* Some kinship terms which frequently occur in the texts will be explained in this section.

The general name for genealogy is *hanohano.* The lineages of first-born sons which constitute the core of the patrilineal descent groups are called *hano 'anga.*

Persons are commonly addressed by their established name *(ingoa hakama'u),* which is the first name given in infancy by the parents, or by their baptismal name (members of the South Seas Evangelical Mission). Persons who stand in a restraint relationship, such as brother and sister, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law, use only the second name *(ingoa hakapengepenge)* as a term of address and reference. The only kinship terms occasionally used as terms of address are *tupuna, tamau, tinau, tu'aatina* (see below). Friends of the same generation and sex, lovers, and married couples often address each other by the informal term *teiana.*

All kinship terms are o-gender (see Section 5) except *hanau, tama,* and *tama-'ahine,* which are a-gender.

The following abbreviations are used here: B, brother; C, child; D, daughter; F, father; GP, grandparent; H, husband; M, mother; m. s., man speaking; P, parent; Si, sister; So, son; Wi, wife; w. s., woman speaking.

pegea: relative, family member, fellow islander (literally, person).

'atima'ogi: relative, close friend.

'api: collateral members of speaker's generation, usually of M's lineage.

nohonga, takanga: married couple.

tupuna: MF, MM, FF, FM, MMM, FFF; also others of GP or earlier generation, especially of speaker's matri- or patriline.

tamana: F, FB, FSiH, FFBDH, FFBSo, FMSiSo, MH, FMSiDH, MSiH, MMSiDH, HF, WiF; sometimes also other persons termed *ta'okete* or *taina* by F of speaker. Term of address: *tatnau.*

tinana: M, MSi, MBWi, FSi, FFBSoWi, FBWi, WiM, HM, MMSiSoWi, MMSiD, MFBD, FFBD, FMSiSoWi, FMSiD, FWi; sometimes also other females called *ta'okete* or *taina* by M of speaker, or *tuhahine* by F of speaker, and females married to persons called *ta'okete* or *taina* by speaker's F. Term of address: *tinau.*

tu'aatina: MB, MMSiSo, MFBSo; sometimes also other males termed *tunga'ane* by M of speaker: *tamana* of Wi.

maatu'a, hai maatu'a: P; also same as *hungabai.* Compare: *matu'a:* H.

ta'okete: persons of same sex and born earlier than speaker and of one of the following relationships to him or her: PC, MBC, FFBSoC, FFBDC, FMSiSoC, FMSiDC, MMSiSoC, MMSiDC, MFBSoC, MFBDC; sometimes also used for more remote relationships such as spouse of *ta'okete* or *taina* older than speaker.

taina: same relationships as with *ta'okete,* but persons younger than speaker.

tuhahine: Si, FD, MD, FED, FFBSoD, FMSiSoD, MMSiDD, MFBDD (m. s.).

tunga'ane: B, FSo, MSo, FBSo, MSiSo, FFBSoSo, FMSiSoSo, MMSiDSo, MFBDSo (w. s.).

ha'anga: FSiD, MBD, FFBDD, MFBSoD, MMSiSoD, FMSiDD (m. s.); FSiSo, MBSo, FFBDSo, MFBSoSo, MMSiSoSo, FMSiDSo (w. s.).

uguugu: Wi.

matu'a: H.

ma'aa: H of *tuhahine, tunga'ane* of Wi (m. s.); Wi of *tunga'ane, tuhahine* of H (w s.).

hai hanau: general term for persons called *taina, ta'okete, tuhahine, tunga'ane,* and *ha'anga.*

hosa: So; also So of persons termed *ta'okete, taina,* and *ha'anga* (m. s.).

tama: So; also So of persons termed *ta'okete, taina, ha'anga,* and *tunga'ane* (w. s.); children, offspring (m. s., w. s.). Plural: *tamagiki.*

tama'ahine: D of persons termed *ta'okete, taina, ha'anga* (m. s., w. s.) and *tunga-'ane* (w. s.).

'igaamutu: C of persons termed *tuhahine* (m. s.); also same as *hunga.*

hanau: general term for *hosa, tama, tama'ahine,* and *makupuna.*

makupuna: C of persons termed *hosa, tama, tama'ahine,* and *'igaamutu.*

hunga: DH, SoWi, BDH, BSoWi, SiSoWi, HP, WiP; *hungabai: tamana, tinana* of H, Wi.

Qualifying terms that may follow a base include *pusi,* adopted child (see below); *tangata,* male; *hahine,* female. Also *hakahua/hakapigi:* If X is a kinship term, *haka-hua* qualifies X as the closest possible relationship to ego, *hakapigi* the remoter.

tau: Like the Tikopia, the Rennellese and Bellonese sometimes place the relational particle *tau* before certain kinship terms. Then, in Firth's terms, "the existence of the other term or terms may be inferred, and a dual or reciprocal significance given to the concept" (Firth, 1936:254). *Tau tinana: tinana* and *tama* or *tama'ahine; tau tamana: tamana* and *hosa* or *tama'ahine; tau tuhahine:* lineal and collateral *tunga'ane* and *tuhahine; tau tupuna: tupuna* and *makupuna; tau tu'aatina:* male or female and *tunga'ane* of *tinana; tau ma'aa:* male and *tunga'ane* of wife or husband of *tuhahine,* female and *tuhahine* of husband or wife or *tunga'ane.*

Certain relationships required circumspect behavior. A man and the husband of

his *tuhahine* and wife's *tunga'ane (tau ma'ad),* and also a woman and the person to whom she was related as a *ma'aa,* had to observe careful decorum, solemnity, kindness, proper language, and politeness. *Tunga'ane-tuhahine* avoidance was carried out rigidly by persons in such relationship and of the same matri- or patrilineage for fear, people said, of marital alliance of people of the same lineage. A message for one's *tuhahine* might have to be relayed through another relative. It was a female's duty to keep out of sight of her *tunga'ane.*

Adoption was common. Two types were distinguished: (1) adoption of a child who had a father; such a child was called a *tama tuku* (given child); (2) adoption of a child born out of wedlock; such a child was called a *tama pusi* (reared child). Today *tama pusi* is commonly used unless the "given" origin is emphasized.

Another group of people of some importance to an individual were the relatives hi a *baaghaugha* relationship. The word *baaghaugha* means to creep along the ground or to branch off from a main stem, as with a vine. This term indicated that the persons in question were not in one's main stem, that is, his matri- or patriline, but were more remote kin. The term had a wide range. It was used about the *tau pengea* mentioned above, about people of one's father's matriline, and about in-laws. The *baaghaugha* relationship was important in that theoretically it involved cooperation, gift exchanges, mutual invitations to feasts, and alliances in fights, but one's obligations to these relatives were lighter than to one's patri- and matrilineages.

From an egocentric point of view, the term "my people" *(oku pegea)* referred to all living people to whom one could trace cognatic connection, and to whom one might, at least theoretically, turn for support. As in other societies, the actual social activity system on Rennell and Bellona was not guided by the ideal system of kinship alone, but also to some extent by such factors as friendship and the traditional alliances of certain lineages not otherwise related.

3.3. *Social stratification.* There was only limited social stratification on Rennell and Bellona. In Section 3.2 the position of the *hakahua* within the lineage was mentioned. There was no system of supremacy among the *hakahua* of an island or of a district. *Hakahua* of an older lineage were not considered superior to those of a younger lineage, nor was a *hakahua* with extraordinary personal skills considered superior to other *hakahua* of his district or island, at least not on Bellona.

The *hakahua* of a lineage did not dress or live differently than other *matu'a.* Some of them had larger houses and were tattooed with the solid *taukuka* pattern, a prestige symbol, but a man could very well live in a large house and have the *taukuka* tattoo without being referred to as a *hakahua.* Also, some *hakahua* lived in small houses and were not tattooed with the *taukuka.* Among the *matu'a* some were considered "big *matu'a,* almost *hakahua"* and others were only "small *matu'a."* The criteria were partly the amount of land held by the individual, and partly his personal abilities.

The lowest category of people were the *tangani pegea* (abortive people), or as they were also called, *pegea i tu'a* (subsidiary characters). The majority of these had been born out of wedlock *(tama tausu'u).* They resided with their mother's kin, often with a mother's brother, or they were adopted by members of a different lineage. In both cases they were considered to be of lower status than the true members of the lineage with whom they resided. They received little or no land, and often acted as servants *(guani, tino)* to a *matu'a* and labored for him in the gardens and about the houses. They received only the poorest shares at ceremonial food distributions, and only in exceptional cases officiated at rituals. A man frequently adopted illegitimate children born previously to his wife, but they rarely inherited his largest *manaha,* and this only if he had no true offspring of his own.

Social status and the amount of land held were thus interrelated factors.

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Apart from children born out of wedlock, there were a few other individuals who acted as servants for the *hakahua* on Bellona. They were usually people who had come from Rennell, or whose fathers had come from Rennell, and they were invariably people who had a low social prestige on their home island. They were usually given small lots of land, but their garden produce was normally handed over to the *hakahua* for ceremonial distribution as they could not act as priest-chiefs themselves.

The system of *guani* may have been more developed on Rennell than on Bellona. Out of the Bellonese population of about 430 in 1938-39, less than 10 men served as *guani.* However, the Bellonese claim that about one generation before the adoption of Christianity when the population was considerably greater (this was before any contact with Europeans began and before new diseases were introduced) there were more *guani* on the island, than there were in 1938-39. Undoubtedly a correlation exists between availability of land and the amount of landless, or practically landless *guani,* at any given time.

It should be mentioned that marriages between illegitimate persons and *hakahua* or *matu'a* or their offspring were disapproved of.

3.4. *Sex and marriage.* The Bellonese state that there are two reasons why people marry. One is that a marriage *(taka)* creates an alliance *(hepotu'akingd)* between two lineages. The other is that a man's wife, by giving birth to children, will make her husband's lineage "go on." The Rennellese and Bellonese claim that before contact with European doctors and missionaires they were ignorant of any connection between copulation and pregnancy. It is admittedly surprising to find ignorance of the function of intercourse in a patrilineal society, but several factors make the informants' statements seem plausible. Copulation was considered merely a pleasant pastime, a play, and a child was considered the fruit of the woman *(te hua o te hahine).* It was planted in her womb, not by her husband, but by one of her husband's deities or ancestors to whom he had prayed for a child to be born into his lineage by his wife. If an unmarried girl became pregnant, it was recognized that her ancestors had pitied her and given her a child. There is also a lack of sexual emphasis in the rituals, stories, dances, and songs. The only type of anti-conception practiced consisted of prayers to gods and ancestors to stop sending children as gifts *(tonu),* and this only if a woman was known to be subject to severe physical complications during the period of gestation.

There was considerable sexual liberty on Rennell and Bellona. Young people experimented before deciding to live together *(taka).* Sexual relations before adolescence were disapproved of, as they were believed "to stop the growth" of the boy and the girl. They were, however, practiced; but if discovered, the couple involved would be reproached by their relatives. Sexual relations of two people of the same patri- or matriline were termed incestuous *(getu).* It was considered bad and nauseating, but no official social sanctions were applied against the offenders.

The embarrassment might be set aside by parents desirous of creating or strengthening alliances between lineages, preferably as between a male and MBD (that is, between first cross-cousins). Many young people objected to such match-making by parents, and it was commonly agreed that parents could never force children to marry against their will. Sometimes children eloped with a spouse disapproved of by their parents. Marriages were always virilocal, and the girl moved to her husband's home. The father of the girl who had eloped might be angry, but there are no records of persons having taken action against an unwanted son-in-law. There was no immediate exchange of presents between a person and his father-in-law. If the marriage lasted, the husband would usually, after some time had elapsed, go to the house of his father-in-law and exchange presents of mats, necklaces, and

food, or he would invite him to one of his harvest feasts where the father-in-law would be given an elaborate share of the produce. By this procedure an official alliance between the two men and their *manaha* was established.

Extramarital relationships were frequent, but they were conducted in secret for fear of arousing a spouse's jealousy.

Polygyny was accepted but not very common. Out of a total of some 60 married males on Bellona in 1938 only 7 were engaged in polygynous marriages. A succession of spouses occured frequently. When a married couple separated major social problems sometimes ensued. Normally, the husband could dissolve the marriage without consequences; the wife would return to her father's home with personal belongings and her infant children. The children were still considered members of their father's lineage and they would return to his home when they were old enough to take care of themselves. If a woman suddenly left her husband, he might become angry and fight with his former wife's father and brothers. Despite the strong social ties between a man and his family-in-law, an interloper could cause the end of friendly relationships between the two lineages or districts, and could in tunes of hostility even break up alliances.

3.5. *Fighting,* It will be apparent from Chapters 10 to 15 that fights between lineage groups *(manaha)* and also fights between individuals were a prominent feature of the culture of Rennell and Bellona. Raids, sieges, and assasinations were said to have led to almost constant fear and distress from the day people first set foot on the two islands until they adopted Christianity in 1938-39. We shall not discuss here the details of fighting techniques (they are well documented in the texts), but a few general observations should be mentioned. The beginning of a fight involved elaborate rituals, in which the prospective victims were dedicated to the gods as sacred food. Kinship ties prevailed in the conduct of fights. In theory, a person could not fight against members of his matri- or patrilineage or against affinal relatives such as brothers-in-law. This was considered *tapu.* In actual fact, there are quite a few recorded cases of fights among members of the same patriline, and T137 tells of a man killing his brother-in-law and attributes this act to a god who possessed the killer. Women were very rarely killed, no matter how remote their relationship to the attacker. The two major causes of fights were land trouble and verbal insults. Scarcity of arable land was a major incentive. If all male members of a patrilineal kin group could be killed, their land could be taken. Peacemaking was an elaborate affair. Women usually conducted the preliminary talks with the opponents of their *manaha.*

3. 6. *Sustenance.* The following description is based on the pre-Christian culture, but most features persist today. Accretions to the culture are listed in Section 3.8.

The economy was based on horticulture, fishing, and, to a lesser extent, on hunting and on collecting wild fruits and roots. Each large settlement was able to support itself, and there was no real specialization among the lineage groups as to cultivation, fishing, or bush collecting. The gardens lay scattered in the bush, usually near the settlement that owned them. The slash-and-burn method was applied in cultivating the land. According to informants, a garden plot lay fallow about 4 to 6 years before being used again. The most common crops were yams *(Dioscorea elatal),* and yams of the kind known in Solomon Islands English as *pana (Dioscorea esculenta?),* taro, bananas, and unidentified tubers such as *suinamo, betape,* and *abubu.* Coconuts were of great importance for their liquid and meat, and their leaves were used for mats and baskets. Coconut fiber was plaited into sennit. *Gemugi* fruits *(Gnetum sp.?)* were considered a delicacy, and involved elaborate rituals (see N79:2). Betel nuts were chewed.

Division of labor between the sexes was approximately as follows. Women's

work: cooking, gardening, fruit gathering, fishing (inshore), portage, plaiting (mats, bags, sennit), tapa making, net making, preparation of turmeric, midwifery, baby care. Men's work: gardening (heavier work), fruit gathering, hunting, fishing, portage, wood carving, canoe making, house building, thatching, tapa making, sennit plaiting, net making.

Because of the scarcity of good beaches, and because on Rennell many of the villages are far from the coast, fishing was perhaps of less importance on Rennell and Bellona than on many islands in Polynesia. However, most persons visited beaches regularly, and many had beach houses and canoe sheds. Of great importance on both islands was shark fishing, and on Bellona the netting of flying fish *(sasabe).* Turtles and porpoises were caught only when they came ashore. On Rennell, eels were netted in the lake's estuaries when they sought shelter there from storms. The people hunted doves *(gupe),* flying fox *(peka),* and coconut crabs *(akui);* all three were considered delicacies.

Manufactured articles included canoes, tapa (which was not painted), plaited bags and mats, nets, baskets, and, especially, war clubs. (Birket-Smith, 1956:187, after a detailed comparison of the material culture of Rennell with that of the rest of Polynesia concludes that "there is probably no single island in Polynesia where so many kinds of clubs occur as on Rennell." This accords with the emphasis on fighting that perhaps is one of the leitmotifs of the tales in this volume.)

3.7. *Religion.* Texts which have special bearing on the religious aspects of the culture will be found in Chapters 4 and 6. However, there is scarcely a text in this volume that has not some reference to religious concepts or ritual practices, a reflection of the culture orientations of the two islands.

A description of the religion and social organization of Bellona will be given in a later volume in this series. Here, some preliminary remarks may facilitate an understanding of the more important religious aspects dealt with in the texts.

As will be indicated in greater detail in the introduction to Chapter 4, rituals were centered around two groups of gods, Tehainga'atua and his family and Te-hu'aigabenga and his family. This duality is found also in the religious organization. Tehu'aigabenga and his family were worshipped primarily in the settlements. Rituals were performed in the dwelling houses and on the cult grounds in front of the houses. The dwelling house of the settlement was considered the earthly manifestation of Tehu'aigabenga's abode, Nukuahea, in the western sky. The other great deity, Tehainga'atua, who was considered the classificatory grandfather of Tehu'aingabenga, was worshipped in specially constructed temples *(ngaguenga),* of which there were a few large ones in each district and many small ones. These extremely sacred places were the manifestations of Tehainga'atua's abode, Manukatu'u. The duality of the pantheon displays an important aspect of Rennellese and Bellonese concepts. Tehainga'atua was a fearsome god, owner of all land and controller of nature and its phenomena. Tehu'aigabenga, a god of a milder disposition, controlled the cultural and social activities on the islands, and also the cultivated plants. The duality of the pantheon reflects the concepts of a duality of nature versus culture.

A third group of supernatural beings worshipped were the *sa'amaatu'a* or *takotonga* (ancestors). They were considered intermediaries between gods and humans, and they constantly traveled between their settlements of origin and the rituals performed on the two islands.

All adult males served as officials at the rituals. Tn each district most of the older chiefs or landowners *(matu'a)* held the title of *tunihenua* (priest-chief). The priest-chiefs took turns officiating at the various rituals in their districts. Each had a second priest-chief *(haihenua)* as a helper, and one or more *hakabaka* (assistant to priests),

who were young men being trained in the intricacies of the many rituals. In some of the rituals, namely those performed in the settlement, a group of adult males served as *bakagoa'au* (embodiments of the sons of the god Tehu'aigabenga). They sat in a row and received offerings of food and drink from secular members of the society.

One of the most important religious events was the cycle of rituals connected with the harvesting and distribution of yam and *pana;* the pertinent rituals were conducted successively settlement-by-settlement, and they usually began in April or May. After the harvest had been consecrated, it was distributed among the members of other kin groups, with the brothers-in-law, mother's brothers, and classificatory brothers getting the largest shares of the produce. In this way, close ties to other lineage groups and other districts were secured.

In death rituals the welfare of the spiritual self of a deceased person played only a minor role; the major parts of these rituals were concerned with strengthening social ties.

On the whole, religious concepts seem less concerned with eschatology than they do in certain other Polynesian cultures. Concepts of the creation of the world played no direct role in the rituals. The traditions of the heavens of the gods were not very elaborate. The fate of the spiritual self after the death of an individual was not of great importance. It was believed that the deceased went down to the coast, where he danced with other deceased ancestors and then, after a certain time, went to the abode of the gods in the eastern sky, taking the same route that Kaitu'u and the other immigrants had taken when they came to Rennell and Bellona. The dead person presented the gods with the gifts that had been buried with him, such as mats and necklaces, and then returned to his grave near the settlements. Here, his survivors performed minor rituals to induce him to carry out their wishes and to persuade the gods to come to the rituals. Theoretically, the spiritual self of an individual might exist eternally, but by certain rituals, however, a person could induce the gods to annihilate an enemy's ancestors, thus depriving him of ancestral help and protection.

The most sacred rituals of the islands took place near the two sacred stones, Guatupu'a and Tepoutu'uigangi (Gau'eteaki) at Ngabenga on Bellona. These rituals were only performed when invocation to other gods had failed. They took great courage and were considered extremely dangerous, as the two gods worshipped were said to be especially sacred and fierce. These rituals were performed only once or twice in each generation. Only fragments of the prayers are remembered today.

Rituals were performed for every type of harvesting, such as digging taro and other tubers, and picking bananas, coconuts, *gemugi,* and other fruits. Rituals for fishing and hunting were of equal significance, especially those concerned with the catching of flying fish *(sasabe)* and shark *(mangoo).* Social events also called for rituals. A newborn child was dedicated to the gods and thus entered the social sphere of the society. Construction of temples, installation of religious officials, and certain types of tattooing were also accompanied by rituals. Death was followed by elaborate offerings and exchanges of gifts; the ceremonies usually lasted several months.

Mediums *(taauga)* possessed *(eke)* by worshipped gods were considered very important conveyors of messages and information from the gods, and their trances were accompanied by certain rituals. Another type of possession of persons by gods who were not worshipped was manifested in madness *(ugu, uguhia).*

Women did not participate directly in men's rituals but worshipped their own female deities, such as Kaukaugogo and Geipau. Their rituals were shorter, less

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complicated, and less sacred. Rather than food, women offered articles of their own making, such as mats, bags, and tapa. They had their own female mediums, who were possessed by the female deities mentioned above or by female ancestors.

In general, the rituals satisfied two needs of the people: (1) They confirmed the ties between men and gods through communal offerings whereby life and fertility of soil, animals, and human beings were secured for the months to come. (2) In the elaborate feasts with their distribution of the produce of gardens, forest, and sea, a certain economic balance was maintained.

3.8. *Culture change since 1939.* All the texts in this volume were collected after the people on Rennell and Bellona had renounced their old religion, and after considerable change in the culture had taken place. The old settlements had been abandoned, and the people had moved together into villages where the churches were the most important centers. The two islands are still covered by the Closed Districts Regulations of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, and no white settlers or missionaries are allowed to stay there. Visiting government and missionary vessels, however, bring small amounts of European goods, such as money, knives, axes, matches, tobacco, cloth, kerosene lanterns, stationery, Bibles, medicines, and water drums. Chickens, pigs, watermelons, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, and citrus fruits have also been introduced. Clothes replaced tapa, brother-sister avoidance is less strictly observed, and the old rituals and gods are abandoned. A strict Sunday taboo is enforced. The Seventh Day Adventists have renounced many important traditional activities, such as shark fishing, eel netting, flying-fox snaring, gathering shell fish and longicorns, and catching coconut crabs; scaleless fish, flying fox, and all crustaceans may not be eaten. Church members in good standing no longer compose or sing *tangi* and traditional songs, and all young people know Christian hymns in English and write letters to absent relatives and friends. Dances are rare pleasures forbidden by both missions, which incessantly struggle to make the people forget their cultural past as they adopt European ways. The opposition to singing and dancing is apparently due to a fear of revivalistic movements, such as have occurred in the Solomons, and to the belief that such activities are a waste of tune. The story of the conversion to Christianity is told by the Rennellese and Bellonese themselves in Chapter 19. It will be noticed that this acceptance was extremely abrupt. The two missions that came to the islands — unlike some other missions in the South Seas — did not apparently tolerate mixture of old concepts or traditions and Christian ideas. It was either the old religion or the new, a dichotomy constantly emphasized by our informants.

This dichotomy appears to have had some effect which is of interest in studying the culture of the islands. The memory of the pre-Christian culture has been kept comparatively free of Christian concepts. Rennellese and Bellonese have a very clear idea of what is new and what is old. They surprised both of us by their ability to distinguish between the two cultural layers when they gave information or told stories. Very often we heard remarks such as "Before we believed so and so; today, however, we have been taught that..."

With change, there has been a considerable population increase. It is our impression that the members of deaths resulting from epidemics introduced by European ships are more than offset by medical care and by the cessation of the constant fighting and assassination of adult males.

4. LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The following segmental phonemes have been noted in Rennellese: /p t k' m n ng nggslbhghieaou/. /ptkmnng/ are stops and nasals at bilabial, dental, and

velar positions. /'/ is a glottal stop, /g/ is a voiced prenasalized velar stop, somewhat like *ng* in English *finger*. /s/ is a voiceless dental sibilant. /l/ is a voiceless alveo-palatal lateral, with allophones suggesting English / and *d* and the voiced *th* in *that*. /b/ is a voiced bilabial fricative, something like *b* in Spanish *abogado;* an uncommon allophone is prenasalized. /h/ is a glottal aspirate; after /u/ it is commonly labialized, /gh/ is a voiced velar fricative, something like *g* in Spanish *abogado,* but with more friction. All consonants occur initially and medially and in native words in slow speech, never at the end of a syllable or next to another consonant. A few common Bellonese words with /si/ are /hi/ on Rennell, as *tasi, tahi* (one).

The five vowels contrast in relative degrees of tongue position and lip-rounding. Double vowels are common as are double consonants in fast Bellonese speech in which vowels are lost. Vowels may be lengthened in emphatic speech, as in *hu'aaigaoi* (very, very good) contrasting with *hu'aigaoi* (very good). Final vowels may be lengthened or changed, as *Teikoo!,* a call to attract the attention of Teika when he is at a distance. Single vowels before terminal junctures are quite commonly voiceless, as they sometimes are within the utterance in fast speech. Vowels after terminal junctures are preceded by glottal stops; this predictable component of vowels is not the /'/.

Rennellese /g/ and /ng/ are both /ng/ in Bellonese; Another distinction in the two dialects is that many words with /gh-gh/ on Rennell are on Bellona /ng-gh/ or /gh-ng/. Examples include *maghighape* and *mangighape* (fantail), *ghoghughoghu* and *ngoghungonghu* (intestines), and *ighabogha* and *ighabonga* (parrot fish).

In this volume the following system of transcribing the two dialects has been used:

In texts, bylines, translations of texts, and notes after texts, the language of the text itself has been used.

In discussions elsewhere (as in Chapters 1, 2, and 3, and in the introduction to each of the remaining chapters), spelling is in Rennellese except in names of Bellonese persons and places. Thus, the names of the great gods Guatupu'a and Tehu'aingabenga are spelled in Rennellese fashion in the first three chapters, in the chapter introductions, and in Rennellese texts and notes. In Bellonese texts and notes these names will be written Nguatupu'a and Tehu'aingabenga.

It might have been preferable to have written always in Rennellese. Rennell is considerably more populous, and the Rennellese /g/ and /ng/ phonemes correspond to Proto-Polynesian /l/ and /r/, and /n/ (see page 23). Also, the two peoples would have had a uniform spelling, and the Bellonese would merely pronounce every /g/ as [ng].

This has not been done for three reasons: (1) We wanted to write a closer approximation to the actual speech of the tellers. (2) Bellonese speakers are sometimes not sure of the Rennellese form of rare words. (3) We have not wanted to suggest to the Bellonese that they burden themselves by attempting to write a distinction not made in their dialect.

The Four Gospels and the Book of Acts were translated into Rennellese and published in 1950 as *Tokagima Puka Esiesi.* The Renellese quickly became literate and used the Bible daily; but in spite of an extremely meager knowledge of English they prefer the English Bible, perhaps because it is, they think, in the language of Jehovah rather than that of Tehainga'atua. The people also have not accepted the spelling in their own Bible, and most writers use *ng, gh* and *b* for the Bible's italicized *n* and *g* and "v." We have observed *ng* and *gh* in dozens of letters and manuscripts, and have decided to accept the people's *ng* and *gh.* In two ways we break with custom, both that of the people and of the Bible. We write the glottal stop with an apostrophe and we show vowel length by means of double vowels (we may have

failed in some instances to do so). We always write *b* (some persons write this phoneme with both *b* and v).

Punctuation marks in this volume do not, in general, correspond to juncture and pitch phonemes; much of the material was collected before analysis of suprasegmentals was completed. In this volume, for example, all questions are followed by a question mark. (Actually, not all questions end with rising pitch.) Both suspension and falling terminals are indicated usually by commas and periods. (Elbert has indicated more of such junctures than has Monberg.)

In spans bordered by any of the terminal junctures, there is one unpredictable primary stress, with or without one or more secondary stresses and commonly alternating weak stresses. Bases (the smallest elements that may be heard alone) do not appear to exhibit stress contrast when they occur alone; the stress is on the penultimate syllable; geminate vowels constitute a single syllable and thus receive primary stress only in penultimate position: *[tàangáta]* (men), *[mángoo]* (shark), *[báato]* (canoe connective). Geminates before pauses are not voiceless. Final vowels before suspension junctures are frequently lengthened and sometimes stressed (N2[B]:5).

Factors influencing our choice of orthography included the wish to indicate most of the segmental phonemic oppositions, but to omit nonsegmental oppositions, the indication of which might confuse the islanders. It is our hope that the Rennellese and Bellonese themselves may find the spelling used in this volume acceptable for their own use.

A few English words have been completely assimilated into Rennellese. One of these is *gahumanu* (government). Contact with Europeans is so recent, however, that a great many English words are used that are not yet assimilated, and for which many pronunciations are heard. In a long story, not included in this volume, Elbert recorded four pronunciations for "Japan." One approximated the English pronunciation; another used Rennellese sounds except for the "j" sound of English, plus a final vowel *(japani).* The other two used Rennellese sounds exclusively *(tiapani, tipani).* The common word "school," which has come to mean "Christianity" and sometimes "school," is heard as *sikulu, skulu, sakulu,* and about as in English. Informants said they would prefer that such names be written in standard English orthography. Proper names are commonly written in conventional orthography, but are pronounced in various ways. The common name pronounced "Polo" is written Paul. We have decided, for the reasons given above, to write proper names and unassimilated loans from English in standard English orthography.

We have usually written contractions as heard. Some are so common that the full form is never heard, as in *hinake (hina ake,* come, come up), *hinatu (hina atu,* go away), *to'ake (to'o ake,* bring, bring up), *to'iho (to'o iho,* bring down), *na'anga (na'a 'anga,* knowledge [to know, plus a nominalizing article]).

A preliminary analysis shows the following levels: phonemes, bound morphemes (those uniting to form pronouns, possessives, and demonstratives, and such affixes as *-ina, -nga* and *haka-* that unite with bases to form derived words), particles (not said alone, not closely bound to heads, usually with grammatical meaning), bases (single morphemes that may be said alone and have lexical meanings), words (bases with or without bound affixes, and pronouns, possessives, and demonstratives), lexemes (dictionary entries: words or sequences of words commonly heard, as *tangata susugu* [white man] and *baka gege* [airplane]), phrases (words or sequences of words with or without modifying particles), sentences (phrase or phrases bounded by terminal junctures).

Spaces separate words and particles in the texts.

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As an aid to the reader familiar with other Polynesian languages, a table is given (p. 23) of the consonant correspondents of various languages, according to present knowledge. (In Bellonese, ,/g/ of Rennellese is replaced by /ng/.)

It will be noted that Rennellese /gh/ and /l/ have no correspondences. These phonemes have been discussed elsewhere (Elbert, 1962). Some 340 words have been noted with /gh/ or /l/ or both, exclusive of names of places and persons. None of these appear definitely to be of Polynesian origin. Although only 4 are included in the original Swadesh list of 215 basic words (claw, *lango;* clothing, *laoa;* dry, *mamala;* sew, *lapui),* many of them are of common occurrence. One theory suggests that these words may have been a legacy of the *hiti,* the original inhabitants of the two islands (Chapter 9).

In Section 5 a few structural differences between Rennellese and English are listed. A discussion of the grammar, however, is deferred to a later volume, and the position taken here is provisional.

5. TRANSLATION

Four types of translation have been recognized: linguistic, aesthetic-poetic, pragmatic, and ethnographic (Casagrande, 1954: 335). The linguistic translation is morpheme-by-morpheme, and is necessary in linguistic analysis, but has no meaning unless accompanied by one of the other types of translation. A free or aesthetic-poetic translation gives a literary flavor, perhaps of the translator rather than of the original; in Casagrande's words, it "is all too frequently sacrificed to the prevailing literary mode." This type of translation is rarely a safe guide for the student of a culture. A pragmatic translation (such as multilingual instructions on a bottle of medicine) is concerned with presenting a message and is unconcerned with aesthetics or fidelity.

An ethnographic translation is not rendered morpheme-by-morpheme but ordinarily does attempt to translate with glosses or by grammar every morpheme as long as there is no loss of clarity and smoothness. There is no one-to-one correlation of grammatical elements: a passive in one language is not necessarily translated by a passive in another. The word order is switched. This kind of translation differs, then, from the linguistic translation in that it has meaning. This meaning is closer to the original than are the meanings in either aesthetic or pragmatic translations. Fidelity of message and of style is a goal, but not at a sacrifice of smoothness and clarity.

Hence, there are no such terms in our translations as "we two inclusive" or "they three" or "subject marker." At the same time, information usually carried in English but not present in Rennellese has been supplied, such as the *he/she* and *his/her* distinctions, forms of the verbs "to be" and "to have," a possessive with body parts or kinship terms, and pronoun subjects and objects of verbs,

To summarize, we have had to resort to two compromises: (1) We have omitted in translation certain grammatical features common or obligatory in Rennellese but absent or rare in English. (2) We have supplied in translation the equivalents for features common or obligatory in English but sometimes or always absent in Rennellese.

A few points of structural differences in the two languages are listed below. An analysis of the grammar will be published later. Meanwhile, this brief section may clarify our translating methods, especially for those who have had experience with Polynesian languages.

Grammatical and lexical oppositions obligatory or common in Rennellese but absent or usually absent in English:

POLYNESIAN PHONEME CORRESPONDENCES

PROTO-POLYNESIAN

ISLANDS	p	t	k	ʔ	f	v	s	h	m	n	ŋ	l	r	#	#
Rennell	**p**	**t**	**k**	**ʔ**	**h**	**b**	**s**	**#**	**m**	**n**	**ŋ**	**g**	**g**	**gh**	**l**
Futuna	p	t	k	ʔ/#	f	v	s	#	m	n	ŋ	l	l	#	#
Uvea	p	t	k	ʔ/#	f	v	h	h/#	m	n	ŋ	l/n	l	#	#
Niue	p	t	k	#	f	v	h	h	m	n	ŋ	l	l/#	#	#
Tonga	p	t/s	k	ʔ/#	f	v	h	h	m	n	ŋ	l/n	#	#	#
Tikopia	p	t	k	#	f	v	s	#	m	n	ŋ	r/l	r/l	#	#
Ellice	p/ph	t/th	k/kh	#	f	v	s	#	m	n	ŋ	l	l	#	#
Samoa	p	t	ʔ	#	f	v	s	#	m	n	ŋ	l	l	#	#
Kapingamarangi	p/ph	t/th	k/kh	#	h	w/wh	h	#	m/mh	n/nh	n/ŋh	r/rh	r	#	#
Easter	p	t	k	ʔ	h	v	h	#	m	n	ŋ	r	r	#	#
Marquesas	p	t	k/ʔ	#	f/h	v	h	#	m	n	n/ŋ/k	ʔ	ʔ	#	#
Rarotonga	p	t	k	#	ʔ	v	ʔ	#	m	n	ŋ	r	r	#	#
Tuamotu	p	t	k	#	f/h	v	h	#	m	n	ŋ	r	r	#	#
New Zealand	p	t	k	#	h/wh	w	h	#	m	n	ŋ	r	r	#	#
Hawaii	p	k	ʔ	#	h	w	h	#	m	n	n	l	l	#	#
Tahiti	p	t	ʔ	#	f/h	v	h	#	m	n	ʔ	r	r	#	#

INTRODUCTION

   1. dual:plural (pronouns, possessives)
   2. inclusive:exclusive (pronouns, possessives)
   3. *o:a* (gender of possessed objects)
   4. plural:nonplural
   5. toward speaker:away:up:down:near addressee (bases)
   6. older:younger (siblings of ego's sex)

Grammatical and lexical oppositions obligatory or common in English but absent or often absent in Rennellese:

   7. lineal:collateral status of kin
   8. male:female (third singular pronouns and possessives, kinship terms)
   9. definite:indefinite (articles)
  10. owned:not owned (body parts, kinship terms)

A component common in Rennellese but rare in English:

  11. aspect

Components obligatory in English but absent or often absent in Rennellese:

  12. copula uniting successive phrases
  13. tense
  14. subjects of verbs
  15. objects of verbs

NOTES

Paragraph numbers refer to the oppositions listed above. References in parentheses refer to the sample translations following these notes or to texts in later chapters.

1, 2. The Rennellese personal pronouns are:

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Long	Short	Long	Short
1	*au* (e)	*kitaaua* (Tl[A]:19)	*kitaa* (T2[C]:4)	*kitatou*	*tatou, tou*
		kimaaua (Tl[A]:16)	*kimaa*	*kimatou* (T50[A]:20)	*matou* (k)
2	*koe* (Tl[A]:7)	*kougua* (Tl[A]:16)		*koutou* (Tl22:20)	
3	*ia* (Tl[A]:10)	*kitaaua* (T2[A]:1)	*kigaa* (T27:1)	*kigatou* (j)	
			gaaua (T28:2)		

First person dual and plural pronouns are inclusive (forms with *ta-*) and exclusive (forms with *ma-*).

The interrogative pronun is *ai* (who).

2,3. Possessives in Rennellese reveal the gender *(o, a)* and number (singular, dual, plural) of the possessed object, and the person (1, 2, 3) and number (singular, dual, plural) of the possessor. The forms given below are o-gender.

	Singular Possessors	Dual Possessors	Plural Possessors
1	*toku* (Tl[B]:7)	*totaa*	*totatou*, inclusive
		tomaa (T66:24)	*tomatou* (T9:1), exclusive
2	*tou* (Tl[A]:18)	*tougua* (Ti[B]:18)	*toutou*
3	*tona* (p, q)	*togaa* (Tl[B]:18)	*togatou* (T9:4)

A -gender is formed by replacing the *-o-* following *t-* with *-a-* (*-e-* commonly replaces *-a-* in all except *toku, tou, tougua,* and *toutou).* The gender morphemes may be replaced by *o'o* and *a'a* to indicate "one of several;" to these forms may be prefixed *m-* with the meanings "for, with, and."

Possessives meaning "plural possessed objects, o-gender" consist of the same forms with *t-* replaced by zero *(aku 'aamonga ... oku kainanga,* T67:2, 3). But if a t-form *precedes* the head, and the reduplicated possessive *follows* the head, the meaning is "one of several" *(toku uguugu,* my wife; *te uguugu o'oku,* my wife [one of a number of wives of a number of men]). Possessives meaning "dual possessed objects, o-gender" consist of the same forms with *t-* replaced by *gu (gu 'aku tama,* my two sons).

The inclusive/exclusive opposition in possessives is neatly illustrated in T88:8.

3. Gender opposition, o-gender marks possessed objects that may be classed as intimate, as *'ugu* (b), *tu'a* (d), *tautupu'a* (h), *hage* (p), *baka* (q), *mate, manaha* CT67:29.) Possessed objects classed as nonintimate are marked by the morpheme *a/e,* as *tama'ahine* (a, f), *mugi* (k), *gau* (k),

maatu'a (r), *giu 'atua 'anga* (T67:41). Body parts and parts of things are usually of the o-gender. Action words and acquired objects (such as a daughter) are a-gender. (Most other persons are o-gender.) A contrast is shown in T67:47: *tona hata ... tena tuhanga* (his perch .... his distribution). The o-gender here is an object on which one sits; the a-gender *(tena)* is an act one performs. The *o:a* opposition is obligatory. (However, only in the Lake district on Rennell is the distinction maintained in the third person, *tena* being the usual singular form elsewhere without gender distinction.)

4. The specifically plural stems in Rennellese are few in number and include *boo* (1), *ngiu* (m), *noho* (kinds), *kigi* (skin), and derived reciprocal forms in *-'aki* (1) and *he... taki* (o), and reduplications (*tutugu,* c, e).

5. The common directional particles are *mai* (toward the speaker), *atu* (away from the speaker), *iho* down or toward the speaker westward), *ake* (up or toward the speaker eastward), *ange* (sideways from the speaker). *Examples:* c, d, f, g, 1, n.

6. 7. Relative age of consanguineal relatives of ego's generation and sex is implicit in the most common uses of the kinship terms *ta'okete* and *taina*. Lineal versus collateral status is not indicated (see Section 3.2). The terms *ta'okete* and *taina* are translated in this volume as brother (man speaking) or sister (female speaking), unless the contexts indicate that the term "cousin" is more accurate, or unless an indication of "older" or "younger" is essential for comprehension.

8. Sexual gender is shown in English third person singular pronouns and possessives, but not in Rennellese (a, d, f, p, q, r). Sexual gender is implicit in certain English kinship terms but not in Rennellese (brother, sister, uncle, aunt, grandmother, grandfather).

9. The common Rennellese particles *te* and *na* mark nouns in the singular and plural, respectively, rather than the definiteness of an object (c, h, i, j, 1, m, o, q).

10. Body parts and kinship terms in English are commonly preceded by possessives, in contrast to the frequent lack of possessives in Rennellese (b, c, i; but possessives occur in a, d, r). Possessives have been added to English translations where needed for clarity and smoothness.

11. Certain common verb-marking particles in Rennellese *(e, ma, manga, kua)* mark aspect rather than tense, but have been translated by English tenses.

12. Noun phrases often follow without contiguous verbs or verb phrases in Rennellese (h, q).

13. Tense is rarely marked in Rennellese. In the sample translations given below, only the word after *noko* (j) seems to require translation by an English past. The other words translated by English verbs have no preceding markers of tense-aspect (c, f, g, k, p), or merely have co-ordinators *(kae,* a; *o,* a, b, d, g, 1, m, n, o, p; *e,* c; *te,* e, 1, o). In translating the texts we have adhered to the English need for tense consistency, and have usually used the past tense.

14. 15. Comprehension of a story was often made difficult by a frequent omission of the subjects and objects of verbs. The man in the culture usually knew the story, and knew who was being pushed into the oven to die, but foreigners often need to ask such questions; in our translations, subjects and objects often had to be supplied. Brackets enclose these insertions, so that the student may gain an impression of the elliptic quality of many of these narratives. Examples: b, c, d, f, g, 1, m, n, p.

SAMPLE TRANSLATIONS

(g: gender; lc: lineal-classificatory; nm: noun marker; po: possessed object; sg: singular)
Text 33:6-7

a.

Kae	hano	o	noho	a		'Atagangahenua,	ngege	ia	tena	tama'ahine;
and	go	and	sit	intransitive subject		'Atagangahenua	call	to	his/her sg po *a-g*	lc daughter

And 'Atagangahenua went, sat down, and called for his daughter;

b.

o	a'u	o	hai	te	'ugu	o	te	tamana.
and	come	and	do	nm	head o-g	of	nm	lc father

[she] came and looked for lice in her father's head.

c.

Hakagongo	ake	ki	na	go'imata	e	tutugu
cause to feel	up	to	plural nm	tear	which now	trickle

[He] felt tears trickling down

3*

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d. ki   te   tu'a   o'ona.   O   hakaanu   ake   kinai:
    to   nm   back   of his/her   And   cause to ask   up   to him/her
                              o-g
    to his back. And [he] asked her:

e. "Po   ni   aa   te   tutugu   kiate   au?"
    question   some   what?   does   drip   to   me
    "What is dripping on me?"

f. Siga   ake   kinai.   Ko   tena   tama'ahine
    turn   up   to him/her   person   his/her   lc daughter
                                       subject   sg po
                                                   a-g

    [He] turned to her. His daughter

g. manga   tangi,   o   hakaanu   ake   kinai:
    is   cry   and   cause to ask   up   to him/her
    was crying, and [he] asked her:

Text 125(A):I

h. Te   tautupu'a   o   te   tokagua   hai hanau,
    nm   story   of   nm   number-   sibling
                           o-g   classifier
                                            two
[This is] the story of the two brothers,

i. ko   Taamogi   ma   te   taina —
    person   Taamogi   and   nm   lc younger sibling ego's sex
    subject
    Taamogi and his younger brother —

j. Ko   kigatou   noko   gue   te   hogau.
    person   they-3   did   prepare   nm   trip
    subject
    They prepared the trip.

Text 40:6

k. Tautou   mugi   kae   amatou   gau.
    yours-3   lower   and   ours-3   leaf
    a-g   exclusive
                                    plural
                                    a-g
    You have the lower [part] and we have the leaves.

Text 4KB):3

l. Ma   te   boo   ake   o   ngii 'aki   te   kupenga
    and   do   go   up   and   wrap   nm   net
                     plural   plural
    And [they] went up and wrapped up a net

m. o   ngiu kinai   o   'asu   ai   te   kaui
    and   bring back to it   and   drive   into it   nm   fish
             plural
    and brought [it] back to it [the reef] and drove the fish into it

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n.   o   to'ake   o   pusi
     and   lift up   and   take care
     and lifted [it] up and took care [of it].

Text 41(B):16

o.   ma   te   hepootaki   ngua   hatu   ki   te   hinangango   o   benga   ai
    and   do   collide   two   stone   in   nm   throat   and   burn   it
    and the two stones collided in his throat and burned it.

Text 20:7

p.   To'o   e   ia   o   tau   i   tona   hage
    take   transitive
              subject   he/she   and   place   on   his/her   house
    sg po
    o-g
    He took [the basket] and placed [it] in his house.

Text 5:4

q.   Te   mi'ibaka   tona   ingoa   te   hua
    nm   small canoe   his/her   name   nm   small-type canoe
    sg po
    o-g
    The small canoe was named the *hua* type.

Text I(B):I2

r.   o   hakama'ungi'ia   tena   matu'a
    and   cause to live   his/her   husband
            transitive   sg po
                            a-g
    and brought her husband back to life

    As can be seen in these sentences, we have not hesitated in translating to change word order: to put the subject before the verb, the adjective before the noun, and to move a pronoun subject from a position after a second verb to precede an earlier verb. *(Ina ano kinai, sa'u ake e ia te pegea* [T6:3I], looked then at him/her took out subject she/he the person: she then looked at him and took the person out.)

    We have kept in English translation certain Rennellese redundancies, even at a sacrifice of clearness and smoothness. Some of this redundancy may have been a feature of oral delivery, and some a result of our frequent requests to informants to explain missing subjects and objects.

    Semantic segmentations in related languages rarely coincide, and in languages as diverse as English and Rennellese, the differences harass the translator. Sometimes in Rennellese, minute distinctions are conveyed by terms that may in English either be glossed by cover-all terms (if the context contains the nuance involved), or explained in long phrases. Only four examples will be mentioned here; exact definitions must await a lexicon or be inferred from the texts.

    go: *hano, hinatu, siga, singi, boo, tatae.*

    carry: *takitaki, 'amo, baba, laughaghi, nebe, 'abingi, kopi, to'o, soge, pagepage, lughulughu, nekeneke, neneke, labaga.*

    break: *motu, momotu, momomomo, tohi, totohi, tohitohi, hohoa, mape'e, mapoghi, hati, tigi, lulugu, bubulu, bulubulu, bulu, lobe, lage.*

cut: *tua, tuatua, koti, kotikoti, huge, pani, toghitoghi, tapi, sege, tobago, pe'egua, ha'a gua, taataa, taa, sepe, sugi, gamo, nao.*

Some general terms in Rennellese may each be translated by a great number of English equivalents. Examples are:

kinai: to him (T14:4), her (T50[C]:9), for him (T6[A]:5), it (T8:6), to it (T4:2), at it (T4:3), by this (T6[A]:3), for her, him, her, there.

ai: into it (m), it (o), her (T1[A]:1), about it (T1[A]:3), from there (T2[A]:8), with (by means of, T1[B]:5), there (T1[B]:5), so (T6[B]:1), who, to him, accordingly.

gaoi: good, beautiful, fine, handsome, well, moral.

songo, maase'i: bad, ugly, wicked, sinful.

gaataki: meaning, example; to understand, learn, measure, imitate, read, practice.

pan: permanently, forever, chosen, selected, determined, decided, concluded, finished; character, nature, responsibility; to think, believe, protect, care for; very, completely.

We have standardized our translations to the extent that each of us has attempted to adhere to the conventions above, and each has checked the other's translations. We have also agreed on the translations of technical terms. For these we have avoided using Rennellese words without English qualifiers (as *huaa mako* song); we have also avoided words with Euro-American connotations, such as devil, spirit, soul, service, licentious, adultery, war, murder. For words not used in the presence of Rennellese women or brothers-in-law, we have used risque English as the most apt translation of the original (see N13:7).

Otherwise, the two of us made no effort to translate in the same way. No two people ever translate the same, and no one person translates the same way twice.

6. NOTES TO THE TEXTS

Notes by the translator are given after most texts in this volume. (The translator is identified by his initials, SE or TM.) The purpose of these notes is to:

(1) Present as intimately as possible the background of the telling—place, time of day, attitudes of tellers and others present, especially their biases and predilections, as well as their narrative techniques. Both of us consider this background helpful for analysing the function of traditions in the culture (see, however, Section 7.2), as well as for studying the style. Such notes also reveal much about the life of both the people and the collectors and about the mutual interplay between them.

(2) Present additional information given in answer to questions about obscurities of any kind, especially cultural and grammatical ones. The ethnography gleaned in this way was sometimes considerable, and also necessary for comprehending the text.

(3) Explain specific translator's problems and solutions.

(4) Indicate exact places in the texts where tellers and others present laughed or argued or were uncertain or seemed embarrassed, or preferred to make substitutions or additions to the original text, whether the text was by the speaker or by someone else. Our practice of reading texts aloud on several occasions evoked much additional material and some controversy. Many comments made by Taupongi in Honolulu are in the notes.

(5) Give cross-references to other texts or notes.

We think the notes indispensable. The elliptic style of many tellers, and the fact that a thorough knowledge of both present and old culture is assumed for the hearer make their constant consultation necessary.

To some texts both of us have added notes; these are titled I and II.

Chapter 2 contains informal notes on those tellers for whom we were able to gather information. The careful student of a particular text is advised to consult these sketches, which are alphabetized by tellers' names.

7. STATUS AND FUNCTION OF STORIES AND STORY TELLING

7.1. *Terms for stories.* The general term for stories is *tagatupu'a* or *tautupu'a.* These names cover all types of tales—those about gods, culture heroes, animals, *hiti,* ancestors, and ordinary folk—as well as genealogies and informal accounts of recent events. Tales as such are sharply distinguished from two other types of oral traditions, the *kupu giu 'atua* (ritual formulas) and the *kupu me'a* or *taugua* (songs).

7.2. *Function of tales.* The tales were collected between 1957 and 1959 after considerable acculturation had already taken place on Rennell and Bellona. Therefore, it was difficult to analyse the original function of tales in the society. From available data, however, the following picture of the role of tales emerges. They served the purpose of establishing, preserving, and rationalizing (a) group ties and border lines between groups in matters such as kinship, ownership of land, and social and religious rights and duties; (b) the superiority of one social group over another; (c) social institutions such as marriage rules; (d) moral values; (e) ties to supernatural powers such as gods and ancestors. The tales probably also served the psychologically tranquilizing function of explaining to some extent the nature of the universe.

These categories do not constitute a Rennellese and Bellonese typology of tales; actually they overlap each other. More than one purpose may be served by one text or one portion of a text. T66 is an example: (a) this text tells the story of the immigration and also rationalizes the division of society into clan groups; (b) told by a member of the Taupongi (Iho) clan, it stresses the superiority of that clan over the Kaitu'u clan; (c) it relates the history of how cross-cousin marriage became allowed; (e) it relates how the first contact between the immigrants and the gods was established.

Thus it seems that the tales served the function of verbalizing the structure of the universe within the boundaries of the Rennellese and Bellonese world. Of course, the tales served other purposes, including the obvious one of providing good entertainment.

With the changes of acculturation, stories probably lost some of their original functions. We might venture the theory that after contact with Europeans the people of the two islands realized how much the white man appreciated tales, and thus it became a matter of social prestige to know stories, even for those who had never been interested in stories before. A result of this, according to Taupongi 1961, was a pilfering *(kaia'a)* of tales that originally belonged only to certain family lines. Consequently, the original social function of tales on the two islands became difficult to determine.

7.3. *Tellers and the situation.* Training in story telling was a part of a child's upbinging, as was training in the arts of handicraft and of fishing, gardening, hunting, and fighting. The first thing a child was taught when he started to speak was usually the play-counting of the children *(taunga babange o na tamagiki): Kahika, ngua ka, tongu mu, hati mai, noko ihea, noko iko, paka ko, tiitii, manai, pingii.* These words represent the numbers one to ten. Their purpose was to make the children laugh. At a later stage, the child was taught tales about animals (not

included in this volume), Mautikitiki (Chapter 5), and Sina and other culture heroes (Chapter 6, 7). At the same time, the religious training of the child was started. He was taught ritual prayers and children's versions of the ritual formulas, and he was taught to make offerings to the imaginary gods, Ngau'amo and Tehingimatu'a.

Informants stated that although the names of the gods were sacred the stories could be told by anyone at any time. The father taught stories about gods and ancestors to his sons even before they had reached puberty and could be initiated as *hakabaka* (assistants to priests). Even women could tell all types of stories freely and teach them to their children. However, nobody could mention the names of gods casually or joke about them. Informants said that although the stories were not sacred the names of the gods were. The degree of sanctity of the tales and other traditions is difficult to establish today; all bans have been lifted, and everybody talks freely and without caution, even about matters that were immensely sacred before the acceptance of Christianity.

Stories were not a part of the rituals, but were told freely when few or many people were gathered, as in the family circle or at the large feasts. Every lineage had its own stories, but many stories were common lore of larger groups of lineages or districts, or of the whole of Rennell and Bellona. Everyone was free to retell the stories of other lines, and apparently the tellers often colored the stories to fit into the religious or historical traditions of their own lineages (T66, T67), and to preserve their social status (N66). This may help explain the wide range of variants of the same tales within the comparatively small community of Rennell and Bellona.

Taupongi 1961 said that there were three settlements on Bellona that had men who were expert story tellers: Tebaitahe and Nukungango in Sa'aiho district, and Bosuka in Matangi district. Whether this information is correct cannot be proved. However, to some extent, it agrees with Monberg's experience that the people of Ghongau district were not so much interested in tales as in rituals and songs. In 1962 Paul Sa'engeika, from Ghongau district, said that the great story tellers of Bellona in the old days were the men of Sa'aiho, thus admitting the superiority of a clan other than his own in this special field. In fact, not many people of Ghongau district were able to contribute tales to this volume. Taupongi said furthermore that when school (Christianity) came everybody stole stories of the two ends (Sa'aiho and Matangi districts) of Bellona and told them incorrectly.

This brings us to the question of what attitude the tellers and listeners had toward the stories. Did they seem merely an amusing pastime? Were they believed to be true, and, if so, what does true mean?

As mentioned in Section 8.2, the Rennellese have no interest in chronology. The events in each story usually fell in a certain order, but the stories were told as separate entities or blocks of data, and an informant rarely attempted to place the events in time unless prodded by us. Thus, the long immigration story (T66) actually consists of several huge blocks of tales that hang together only because they are remembered and told by the same informant. The informants were interested in the events they talked about, and were not concerned with piecing together a chain of events; there were no compunctions to produce a connected story.

We believe that the Rennellese and Bellonese appreciated some of the factors mentioned in Section 7.2, and that they also set value on the stories as an expression of truth. They are a people with a high regard for truth. Time and again a teller would ask others: "What is the man's name? What were his exact words?" Truth or fiction, we never heard any debate on the subject. Raymond Firth (1961:12) said that in Tikopia no one seemed to care if the stories were true or not. On Rennell and Bellona no one seemed to have doubts. Marvellous or prosaic,

truth was truth, and the approach to stories was very realistic and matter-of-fact. One of Teika'ato's objections to a rival version of a complicated *tangi* song (not included in this volume) allegedly composed and sung by a newborn baby being carried between a pool and the settlement was that the other version was too long. The baby didn't have time to sing such a long song. Nobody seemed to have doubts that a newborn baby could sing, but the singing itself had to accord with the empirical laws of the culture.

The value of this material as a source of history (in our sense of the word) will not be discussed here. What is important, however, is the Rennellese and Bellonese conception of this part of their lore. To them, probably all tales are history in the sense that they relate true events, and their veracity is proved by the mere fact that they have been handed down through the centuries or that they have been told by mediums in their trances, and probably also by their serving certain functions in the society (Section 7.2).

One more question about the tellers. Are the tales, songs, and rituals going to die out? Are the young people going to learn them? For the tales, the question is hard to answer. The fate of the songs and rituals that accompany the tales, however, is certain. Unless the missionary ban on them is lifted, they cannot survive. We did not find one person in his teens who knew any songs other than church hymns (often from the mountains of Arkansas and Tennessee) or a few songs learned at Honiara in English, pidgin English, or a Western Solomons language. The songs in the tales will probably not be remembered except for fragments. The two variants of T185 exemplify premissionary and postmissionary styles. Variant A, by Paul Sa'engeika, has a beautiful *saka* song that tells of clouds hovering between sky and earth. Variant B by a much younger man, Togaka, has just as good a story, but with only the first and last lines of the song. The poetic variant shows the gods' delight in music, while the second version shows little more than the gods' greed for offerings.

Story telling, perhaps without poetry, will probably survive. Stories are enjoyed too much to die out; furthermore, they are well known to persons still in their 30's, such as Taupongi, Tuhanuku, Headman Togaka of Rennell, Te'ota, Malakamu, and Teikanoa. Tellers need not fear condemnation of the mission as long as the stories do not contain prayers or sexual references.

The new function of tales (Section 7.2) as a means of acquiring prestige among Europeans may also contribute to their survival.

7.4. *Style.* Some of the narrators differed both as to type of story known and as to method of delivery. Some had special interests. Paul Sa'engeika of Bellona was an expert on ritual and religion and an inspired leader of the ancient dances, but he did not remember many stories. Paul Takiika of Kanaba, Rennell, remembered many semihistorical stories, and took much pride in listing all the names of persons and places, involved. Te'ota at the lake, one of the best female sources of stories, knew almost no names and places, and her stories contained no gods; she preferred domestic dramas—a bossy woman drives her husband to suicide, or a man eats his wife and then is killed in revenge by their daughter. In her stories, women are important, just as they are in some of Esther Teika'ato's, and they are not told of in heroic terms. Tetamogi knew stories of the gods, and took pains to remember genealogies. Most tellers (especially male) attempted to remember verbatim set speeches of gods and heroes, often in figurative and cryptic language. Other persons who were intelligent informants and walking dictionaries could remember no stories (Taumoana, Luke Tegheta, Headman Tegheta, Puia, Headman Haikiu, Headman Tahua, Headman Solomon Puia). The last two knew songs but not stories.

Delivery styles varied even more. At first, Tetamogi of Tigoa had so little confidence in Elbert, who arrived in the dead of night at his remote village, that he told the stories to others, expecting them to be passed on to the strange white man. Later he gained confidence, and then spoke with feeling, often making graceful arm gestures, and obviously enjoying the stories himself. On the other hand, Tuhenua was so cold and efficient that he might have been an executive dictating an annual report to a secretary. Malachi Tegheta talked in a low, gentle voice, never shedding his reserve and passivity, even when his material was hilarious. Taupongi often roared with laughter over his own stories. Te'ota was shy, as women were supposed to be, and usually wrote out her stories beforehand. Moa wrote his, too; he was conscientious, and a perfectionist and a scholar.

Some tellers frequently stopped to consult listeners, who were nearly always in attendance. Others, who had perhaps previously checked details, spoke without hesitation and with serene confidence, even such young tellers as Taupongi, Tapuika, and Malacham Teikanoa. Some tellers seemed to simplify; at least their texts were easy to translate and contained few rare expressions. Some tellers inserted for our information explanatory details that would probably not have been included in tales told to islanders. Children may have been told the tales with similar pedagogy. Paul Takiika's stories usually did not need much explanation. Taupongi, on the other hand, had no mercy for his interlocutors, and his tales were filled with rare and difficult expressions, often with figurative meanings that required much explanation. Although we rejoiced in these problems, we despaired when Taupongi's explanations contained still more new words and idioms, as they always seemed to do. He was usually very patient and clear in his explanations, but always showed surprise at our ignorance.

Some of our difficulties were attributable to the elliptic style. Was it more elegant to talk without interposition of subjects and objects of verbs, or was it merely old fashioned? We were not sure, and it was a long time before we finally began to surmise who in the stories was doing what and to whom. Other tellers, such as Headman Togaka of Mugihenua, Rennell, usually mentioned these details. Did they pity us, or were they just more deliberate?

8. SELECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF TEXTS

8.1. *Selection.* The material in this volume is only a portion of that collected. The following types of texts have been excluded. (1) Ritual texts (descriptions of rituals, ritual formulas, comments on ritual procedures), collected by Monberg; they will appear in a later volume concerning pre-Christian religion. (2) Animal stories without humans and a group of stories concerning adventures with snakes *(ngata),* lizards *(hokai),* and legendary giant octopuses *(ngungutapongi)* have been excluded for reasons of economy. Most of these stories were collected by Elbert. We hope that they can be published separately. (3) Many songs, collected by both of us, have also been excluded for reasons of economy. Most songs, such as the types called *huaa mako* (for dancing), *pese* (clapping songs), and *saka* (songs for comforting persons being tattooed and for gods) are difficult to translate and require more notes and comments than space in this volume permits. (4) Garbled texts and fragments that do not clarify other texts or the general culture have also been excluded for reasons of economy.

Although the criteria for excluding or including a text were established by us, our informants actually set the standard themselves. They told of what seemed most important to themselves. We rarely prompted the telling of stories. The tellers

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gave us what they wanted to give. Very often the telling of one story about a certain god, culture hero, or ancestor would release a whole series of stories about the figure in question, and we would mechanically take down what was told.

For the benefit of scholars Interested in traditional history, and for the light the texts may throw upon the structure and the concepts of society, we have included as many historical and semihistorical accounts as space permits. A few sections of these accounts have been excluded, but we have included as many variants of the same traditions as possible

For scholars interested in comparative studies of folklore, we have attempted to give all stories about legendary persons known elsewhere in Polynesia (names found elsewhere in Polynesia are in parenthesis): Mautikitiki (Mauitikitiki, Maaui), 'Ataganga (Atalanga), Tangagoa (Tangaloa, Ta'aroa, Tana'oa, Kanaloa), Sina (Hina), Gata (Lata, Laka, Rata). We have also included stories of the types generally known, such as counting stories and explanatory tales.

A characteristic of the Rennellese and Bellonese oral traditions unusual in Polynesia is the almost complete lack of proverbs and traditional sayings. The only comparable elements are the cryptic remarks in tales of gods and ancestors, which are usually repeated verbatim by tellers in sometimes apparently archaic language.

In general, we have attempted to present the history of Rennell and Bellona and the concepts of the Rennellese and Bellonese as they conceive them. It seems to us to be very difficult to establish objective criteria for selecting oral traditions for a volume which covers as many different fields as does this one. To be as objective as possible we have let the informants talk and choose themselves. The arrangement of the material is the only part that is entirely our work.

8.2. *Arrangement.* Most of the Rennellese and Bellonese trace their ancestry back to Kaitu'u, who is believed to have come 23 generations ago from a place called 'Ubea (T66). We have dated Kaitu'u as living in the first generation (see Plate 3), and have numbered consecutively the suceeding generations up to the present ones, G21, G22, and G23.

When asked by us, the Rennellese and Bellonese - often after much discussion - were able to locate by generation significant or unusual events in their genealogies. They knew songs attributed to Kaitu'u (Gl) and Tinopau (G8). They recalled such things as Taupongimatu'a's fear of being tattooed (G10; T115); chief Nika, who fell from a *baghu* tree and died (G17); and the incessant fighting and killing throughout the centuries from Gl until the adoption of Christianity.

In spite of this collective skill in locating by generation great and small events, and in spite of a deep interest in history and the past, it cannot be said that the Rennellese and Bellonese have any interest in chronology. Time and again we had to ask the generation of a story's protagonist, and often only after prolonged discussion was an answer given. Details were remembered, not because of a desire to produce a complete history for its own sake, but for many other reasons, of which only a few can be touched upon here and these only speculatively. One reason may be pride in ancestry (remembering complimentary things in one's own line and uncomplimentary things in a rival line). Others might be the strangeness of an act (perhaps why suicide stories are recalled), or earthy humor (a bridegroom's letting wind, T202), or fascination (tales of culture heroes), or horror (stories of snakes and cannibals).

The arrangement of the texts in a time-semantic sequence is ours, but the material is from the Rennellese and Bellonese. We have tried not to intrude our Euro-American obsessions with time and classification into the stories and thek translations.

In attempting a semantic chronology, we have begun this ethnohistory with

accounts of the deities *('atua),* and then the stories of the culture heroes *(kakai),* especially Mautikitiki, Sina, Gata, and Soso. Then follows the material that to the people of the two islands is perhaps their most cherished tradition, the discovery and settlement of Rennell and Bellona by Kaitu'u, Taupongi, and others. Kaitu'u found people on the islands whom he called the *hiti.* The encounters of *hiti* with Rennellese and Bellonese are told of in Chapter 9.

The six chapters that follow contain semihistorical events that happened in the various districts of the two islands. The texts in each chapter are arranged in chronological order by generations. These chapters begin with Tinopaumatu'a, who lived in both central and east Rennell, and then give the accounts by districts, proceeding westward from the lake to Bellona. Following the dated texts, the stories of persons whose genealogies or names are unknown are given in two chapters; those concerned with the relationships of men with gods are in Chapter 16, and the prosaic tales of the relationships of a man with his wife, parents, and brothers are in Chapter 17.

Chapter 18 concerns castaway canoes *(baka tahea),* so ardently wished and prayed for by the Rennellese; also included here are the few available texts about the visits of Rennellese to other islands. The final chapter gives the islanders' own account of the killing of the missionaries in 1910, and of the conversation later to the white man's God in 1938-39.