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THE CHIEF IN HAWAIIAN MYTHOLOGY¹

BY SAMUEL H. ELBERT

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I. INTRODUCTION

NUMEROUS scholars have examined oral tradition as a source of information about culture. Boas, one of the first to make a systematic survey of culture items found in a body of oral literature,² was followed by others, including Malinowski,³ Radin,⁴ Ehrlich,⁵ Kardiner and Linton,⁶ Spencer,⁷ and Shimkin.⁸ Their contributions and those of others are discussed by Thompson⁹ and Radin.¹⁰

Bascom recently pointed out that "anthropologists, with a few outstanding exceptions, have neither fully explored the relations between folklore and culture, nor fully utilized the insights into culture which folklore can provide," and added conversely that "the folklore of a people can be fully understood only through a knowledge of their culture."¹¹ This study attempts to examine a body of folklore for what light it sheds on the culture, and the culture at the same time is drawn upon to explain the mythology. The structure of the language, too, is scrutinized as part of the culture for correlates within the culture. The mythology, culture, and language under review is Hawaiian, and the focus of attention is the chief.

The material studied consists largely of texts in the Hawaiian language. Translations for which no Hawaiian texts exist were not considered, as most translation from Hawaiian into English is unreliable, and because some editors of translated collections have welded together variants of tales in an effort to form what they consider an ideal or more interesting version.¹² Leib's evaluation of the translations and his exhaustive bibliography of more than a thousand sources of Hawaiian mythology¹³ are helpful. I have analyzed for my study five collections of tales and chants:

1. Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore, The Hawaiians' Account of the Formation of Their Islands and Origin of Their Race, with the Traditions of Their Migrations, etc., as Gathered from Original Sources*, Bishop Museum Memoirs, IV (Honolulu, 1916-1917), 1-609; V (Honolulu, 1918-1919), 1-501. These volumes are hereafter cited as *F*, followed by volume and page numbers, for example, *F4:609*. The tales were collected in Hawaiian by Judge Abraham Fornander and his three Hawaiian helpers, Kamakau, Kepelino, and Haleole, over a number of years prior to 1887. They were later translated very inac-

curately and published in Hawaiian and English. The sixth volume consists of traditions and poetry, but has not been considered systematically.

2. Laura C. S. Green and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Legend of Kawelo and Other Hawaiian Folktales* (Honolulu, 1936), 185 pages. References to this work are written *Green*. This collection, published in Hawaiian and English, is of particular interest because (save for the first story) it is almost the only one not centered on royalty, and because the language is simpler and less exalted than much of that in the Fornander collections.

3. Martha Warren Beckwith, *The Hawaiian Romance of Laiëkawai* (by S. N. Haleole, 1862), with *Introduction and Translation*, Annual Report 1911-1912, Bureau of American Ethnology, XXXIII (Washington, D. C., 1919), 285-630. References are written *B*. This long tale, first published in Hawaiian newspapers in the 1860's, is not a true example of native art as it represents the conscious efforts of a Hawaiian, drawing on native sources, to create a literature comparable to the European. However, despite Euro-American touches, the explicit detail and the consistent use of Hawaiian motifs offer much of value. The English translation is rather close to the original.

4. Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka, a Myth from Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1915), 250 pages. References are written *PH*. Only the poetry is given in Hawaiian.

5. Martha Warren Beckwith, *The Kumulipo, a Hawaiian Creation Chant*, University of Chicago Press (Chicago, 1951). References are written *KL*. This epic poem of 2,102 lines has an evolutionary account of life which is very important in studying Hawaiian religion.

This makes a total of some nine hundred pages in Hawaiian, about the same number of pages of translation into English, and about two hundred and fifty pages in English with Hawaiian originals of the poetic portions. In addition, songs and chants from numerous other sources have been studied. Thus the term "mythology" is here equated with the entire body of oral tradition.

The Hawaiian system of classification as *mo'olelo* (any collection of utterances), and *ka'ao* (any imaginative tale), was of little help, and I have therefore distinguished the following five types of narrative: 1. hero tales overwhelmingly concentrate interest on the deeds of a semidivine or mortal hero and pay little attention to sex; 2. semihistorical anecdotes and tales mostly concern war and make a minimal use of the supernatural; 3. romances center interest on love affairs; 4. trickster tales focus on the cleverness of the heroes and underplay supernatural and romantic elements; 5. moral tales are usually about unnamed commoners.

Because to the Hawaiian audience a hero represented a gifted chief, I also equate the hero of the tales with the chief of the culture. I have tried to keep myth and culture rigidly separate because only by examining each entirely dissociated from the other can one estimate how accurately the one reveals the other. The first and largest part of each chapter concerns my findings in the mythology. Next I briefly summarize what can be derived about the same topics from ethnographies, historical accounts, and direct questioning of living Hawaiians. Finally I compare the two representations and comment on their variances and concordances.

There is no classic ethnography on Hawaiian culture; though much information about the culture has been collected, the fullest account has not yet been published. The best works now available are by Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino, and Pukui, all of whom are Hawaiians.

Hawaiian Antiquities,¹⁴ a basic source, was written by David Malo, who was born in about 1793 and played an important role in court life both as raconteur of traditions, songs, and genealogies, and as hula master. After his conversion to Christianity, he was encouraged by the American Protestant missionary, William Richards, to write down his knowledge. His book was translated much later by Nathaniel B. Emerson, who added many notes. Malo's book is haphazardly organized and never exhaustively treats any topic. At times it reveals a missionary bias. Certain subjects, such as infanticide and the mourning frenzies, are completely omitted. Nevertheless, the book is a mine of ethnographic matter, and as the translator says, "any utterance of Malo is to be received seriously."¹⁵ (Malo's work will be cited hereafter as *Malo*.)

S. M. Kamakau, who was born in about 1815 and was trained like Malo by Protestant missionaries, published numerous articles in Hawaiian newspapers. His greatest work, *Ka Moolelo o Hawaii*, describes Hawaiian life and customs at length and gives a history of the times of Kamehameha I. Although much of it has been translated, it has not yet been published.

The translated writings of Kepelino Keauokalani, who was born in 1830 at Kona, Hawaii, and was trained by Catholic missionaries, have been assembled and edited by Martha Beckwith.¹⁶ His articles relate to religion, social classes, agriculture, and other topics, but some which strikingly resemble the Bible must be discounted. Among the parallels are the statements that man was created to rule the earth and that woman was taken from his side. Woman is also described as eating a taboo apple (Kep. 33). The god Kāne punishes man's evil deeds by causing a flood, from which the only survivor is a man named Nu'u (Kep. 37). Kepelino is a tragic figure. He exults poetically over dramatic and splendid features of the old life such as the joys of surfing and the brilliance of the festivals, only to cut short his enthusiasm by saying that this splendor caused "one person to wax hot for another, with unseemly finale" (Kep. 97).

Mary Kawena Pukui, who has lived most of her life in this century, was raised in a remote part of Ka'ū, Hawaii, by a grandmother who practiced much of the old religion, and who helped prepare her granddaughter for a life devoted to scholarly interpretation of her people's culture. In her long career as associate in Hawaiian culture at the Bishop Museum, Mrs. Pukui has translated much if not all of the Green-Pukui collection of tales, the *Kumulipo*, and the writings of Kamakau and Kepelino. She has been informant and collaborator with Green and Beckwith,¹⁷ E. S. Craighill Handy,¹⁸ and Margaret Titcomb.¹⁹ She has written several valuable articles of her own,²⁰ has assembled some fifteen hundred proverbs and sayings, and has composed numerous Hawaiian songs. Perhaps her outstanding contribution will be a Hawaiian-English dictionary, on which she has worked for nearly two decades, the last six years with my assistance. Her verbal commentaries have been of great aid in preparing this series of articles. My debt to her is expressed by the Hawaiian phrase, *ana 'ole, lua 'ole* 'immeasurable, unparalleled.'

Other sources of ethnographic data include early explorers, missionaries, and professional ethnologists. The most important are the missionaries Ellis and Stewart, and the ethnologists Beckwith, Handy, Beaglehole, and Emory. References will be given when their works are cited.

A word remains to be said about the Hawaiian language. A phonemic analysis has recently been made of Hawaiian.²¹ As the published texts in the language do not

show the phonemic glottal stop and phonemic vowel length, these features in all transcriptions from published sources have been indicated by an apostrophe and by macrons over vowels. Words making up proper names (except for the names of the Hawaiian Islands and of King Kamehameha) have been separated by hyphens. These changes have resulted in rewriting the majority of Hawaiian names. Quoted material has been retranslated. The phonemes of Hawaiian include ten vowels (i, e, a, o, u, ī, ē, ā, ō, ū) and eight consonants (p, k, ' , h, m, n, l, w). No consonant clusters occur, vowel clusters are fairly numerous, and every syllable ends in a vowel. Stress is predictably on the next to the last syllable and on alternating preceding syllables, if long vowels are considered as two syllables, and diphthongs as one.

It is convenient to classify Hawaiian words in five form-classes: major words, minor words, numerals, particles, and interjections. These classes are determined by morphological and syntactical criteria. Major words, the productive part of the language, consist of monomorphemic forms that may form derivatives by affixation including reduplication, compounding, and vowel lengthening. They also inflect by vowel lengthening. They may be subdivided according to environment as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Minor words undergo none of the grammatical processes mentioned above and consist entirely of bound morphemes without any "root." They may be subdivided according to environment and morphemic content as pronouns, possessives, and demonstratives. Numerals form derivatives by affixation and compounding, but do not have the distribution of major words. Particles are monomorphemes whose meaning is usually grammatical rather than lexical. Interjections are outside the system just described. For the relationship of Hawaiian to other Polynesian languages, there is a study by Elbert.²²

A complete list of abbreviated references is as follows: AHC—*Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* (n. 26); B—Beckwith's *Laieikawai* (cited above in text); F—*Fornander Collection* (cited above in text); Green—Green-Pukui (cited above in text); HM—Beckwith's *Hawaiian Mythology* (n. 23); Kep.—Beckwith's *Kepelino* (n. 16); KL—Beckwith's *Kumulipo* (cited above in text); Malo—Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (cited above in text); PH—Emerson's *Pele and Hiiaka* (cited above in text); UL—Emerson's *Unwritten Literature* (n. 15).

2. BIRTH AND EARLY YOUTH OF THE CHIEF

The topics to be discussed relating to the birth and early youth of the chief are his parentage, his mother's pregnancy, his birth, portents at his birth, his strange conduct and pastimes as a boy, and his skill in warfare and in the arts.

MYTHOLOGY

Royal parentage. In three of the types of tales mentioned previously (hero tales, semihistoric anecdotes and tales, and romances), the leading character is either called a chief or a demigod or his parents' rank is mentioned. His birthplace is frequently told; about forty per cent of the heroes in the Fornander volumes are born on Hawaii, with eighteen per cent each on Kauai and Oahu. A conventional opening of a story is: "Holua-lua at Kona, Hawaii, is the land. Kau-malumu is the father, Lani-hau the mother. They were chiefs at that time of Kona" (F4:561).

Pregnancy. The symptoms of the mother's pregnancy are rarely mentioned; the most detailed description is: "The pregnancy of the chiefess is evident. These are the

characteristics: nausea, vomiting, appetite for suitable things" (F4:487). Gain in weight, perhaps considered obvious, is unmentioned. The "suitable things" to eat are often hard to get, as ice from the summit of Hawaii, kava of a famous kind planted by birds, and honey made by bees sipping nectar from the mingled blossoms of pandanus and *lehua* (Green 20-22).

Birth. The physical difficulties of birth are seldom mentioned, and then in metaphor, as in this chant: "The sky becomes night in the storms,/ Heaven is storming, the earth rumbles loud/ Due to travail in heaven./ Pain strains to come out, rolling sensation, twisting and turning,/ Biting pain, wilting pain,/ Forcing out during the month of storm,/ Our Ku is born in the forest./ The 'ō'ū'ō'ū bird is born to sing in the green mountains./ The travelling child comes forth,/ Up in the midst of struggle./ He is a warrior from the chief, a battle!" (F4:385)

A widespread Polynesian motif is the teaching of natural delivery in place of Caesarian birth. In Hawaiian variants, Haumea, goddess of childbirth, shows the people that the mother need not be cut open and thereby lose her life (HM283).²³

Abnormal births, so frequent in the tales, might be interpreted as due in some measure to a desire to magnify the hero's eventual triumph by making him start life inauspiciously, perhaps as a piece of cord, egg, taro, image, human with rat hair, rock, or blood clot that is thrown out upon a rubbish heap. More likely the Hawaiian motif reflects an esoteric belief that abortions were the result of unions between spirits and mortals. The partially formed foetus could, indeed, suggest a supernatural being. Such a viewpoint, however, is not made clear in the tales. The parents simply throw out the abortion. This might be construed as a symbolic expression of infanticide, a topic discussed later. The discarded foetus is rescued by the grandmother, who knows how to restore life. Following are two examples:²⁴

Palila is born a piece of rope, and with derision (*ho'owahawahā*) is thrown out by his parents on a rubbish heap. His grandmother who has a premonition of the true nature of the abortion rescues the rope, wraps it in white tapa, and takes it to her remote home. Three times she unwraps the cord and rewraps it in different tapas. After ten days a human shape emerges; the grandmother keeps the child on a blanket of ferns and feeds him on bananas (F5:137).

Ka-ulu, a trickster, remains five years in his mother's womb because he overhears an older brother plotting to kill him once he is born. While in the womb his teeth grow, his hair becomes long, and his pubic hair sprouts. He decides to be born only after overhearing another brother speak well of him. He is then born as a piece of rope. The bad brother does not kill the child, who is only a rope. The good brother puts the rope away on a shelf. In thirty days he becomes human (F4:523).

Mention of the preservation of the navel cord in the tales is rare, and was noted in F4:9, 259, and B515.

Thunder, earthquake, lightning, and great downpours often herald the birth of a high chief (F5:193, F4:11, and the verse quoted above).

Strange conduct of the boy chief. Miraculously conceived, born a blood clot, egg, or piece of rope, the future hero continues to show his strangeness and apartness from others. An immediate evidence is a gargantuan appetite. Ka-welo eats an oven-full of food. His grandparents try to divert him by a gift of a canoe. Then he eats forty calabashes of *poi* and forty of baked pork; still hungry, he eats the same amount again. His less divine younger brother is content with forty sweet potatoes and forty pack-

ages of pork. These statements are made solemnly, without explanation. In another story, however, after a boy has eaten an entire pig and an oven-full of food besides, the people exclaim: "It is food for the gods!" (F4:457) The gods possess these important beings and must be fed.

The boy hero defies ordinary taboos, decency, and discipline; he urinates in his stepfather's food (F5:171), destroys breadfruit trees (F4:487), pulls up young taro plants (F4:427), or sleeps with his taboo foster sister (F5:305). These shocking acts lead to the conflicts described in the next section.

Pastimes. The youthful chief spends much time at sport, especially surfing (as F5:303). Surfing is frequently associated with romance. Hau-a-'Iliki, who thinks the best way to win a wife is to display surfing skill, surfs for five days, always being careful to ride waves apart from those chosen by others (B449-451). A taboo girl, enticed to the sea by magically-produced waves, is eventually abducted (F5:233-235). Other women fall in love with surf riders (B379) or kidnap a surf rider (HM194, 385).

Another popular pastime is gambling, with bets, some of great value, being made on almost all sports. In *konane* checkers, the winner is to sleep with the loser (B381). Hauna bets a canoe-load of precious red feather cloaks against two women (F4:313). In a riddling contest, the loser is to be baked in an oven (F5:403). In an arrow-shooting contest, five canoe houses and five net houses are wagered against a life (F5:281). In a fishing contest, the fishermen wager their lives (F5:129). In a series of stupid bets, Kākuihewa loses his house, the entire island of Oahu, and his daughter (F4:281-303).

Insight into intelligent instruction in sports occurs in the tale of Lono-i-kamakahi. The hero's childish questions about various implements of sport and war are answered by his guardians with patience, truth, and wisdom (F4:257-271). 'Alalā carefully explains to his son the games of bowling, spear gliding, stick-in-the-surf (*ko'ie'ie*), and the weapons of war (F4:451-453).

Sports listed in F4:35 include wrestling, free-for-all fighting, boxing, squat-wrestling, "hide the thimble," dancing, bowling, leaping from cliffs, and spear sliding. Ka-welo as a child plays with a canoe, flies kites, and rides the rapids (F5:3-5). Other games include jackstones (HM191), footraces (Green 181), canoe races (F5:129), rat shooting (F4:455), spear dodging (F5:19), calabash rolling (F5:151), and firebrand displays (F5:143). Narrators merely mention the games, without explaining rules or techniques, which the hearers probably know. Narration is not the place for exposition.

Training in war and the arts. Even more important than skill in sports is skill in war. The hero's inherited mana not always being available obliges him to undergo training in warfare. His later tribulations may be due to imperfect education. Ka-welo is in peril because he has not mastered the side stroke and the art of stone dodging. One narrator comments: "On reflection, perhaps there has been no one on the continents or the islands of the sea unlearned in the skill of soldiery, to go to war as Awkward did, unlearned" (F5:483). After Lono-i-ka-makahiki becomes king he assigns the rule to his wife, so that he may perfect himself in the techniques of warfare (F4:267).

The chief's son must also learn the arts and crafts, but this phase of education is less often mentioned than training in war. The hero must study the hula and chant-

ing (F5:247, 302); fighting, fishing, and hula (F5:7); chants, legends, and debate (F4:267). Pāka'a teaches his gifted son all the chants concerning his estranged chief. The boy learns them perfectly and "everything else" pertaining to the service of a chief (F5:75).

Boy hero's supremacy. The future hero invariably surpasses his companions in sports and warfare. The stereotyped supremacy of the boy hero is epitomized in a cliché at the beginning of the Ka-lae-puni tale: "He is a very mischievous boy without fear; at the age of six he begins to beat his playmates; from then on his strength increases until he is twenty years old" (F5:199). Or Ka-welo: "The first activity of Ka-welo in his youth, with his parents (the elder brothers of his mother) is as follows: spear throwing, fencing, and all kinds of sports. His first sport is spear throwing. Because of the greatness of his skill, he always wins" (Green 30).

ETHNOGRAPHY

In this section, discussion will chiefly pertain to differences between the tales and the ethnography. By the term "ethnography" is meant any discussion of Hawaiian customs, whether by explorer, missionary, Hawaiian historian, or professional anthropologist. Omissions of cultural items in either the tales or the ethnography will be mentioned, but only those points of agreement that are of particular interest.

Articles on childbirth and infancy by Green and Beckwith (see n. 17) and by Pukui (see n. 20) contain far more details than do the tales, and discuss, for example, such topics (unmentioned in the tales) as dietary restrictions of pregnant women, ceremonies to assure mother's milk, bestowing of names, infant foods, and infant diseases.

As the boy hero's vandalism which is stressed in the tales is absent in the ethnography, it must therefore be considered folkloristic, although important as indirectly expressing the attitude towards chiefs. The boy hero, not nice, polite, or obedient, is too powerful for subjection to ordinary taboos or restraints. The tales use a vivid way to show the boy's power. Similar attitudes toward adult chiefs and gods also occur in tales. The chiefs and the gods are admired for their very fierceness and exemption from ordinary standards of behavior.

The importance of sports is as well attested in the ethnography as in the stories. The latter, however, usually mention only the more common sports and games. There were many others. Culin obtained a list of ninety-one games and sports in 1899 from four Hawaiian sailors.²⁵ Some were obviously European. Of the many, not mentioned in the stories, some like stilt walking, the bull roarer, and top spinning are interesting to the student of culture and diffusion.

Emory's description of the function of sport in the culture affords keen insight:

When the Polynesians were living their own life, there was probably not a people anywhere devoting such a large share of its time to athletic sports, to games, and to amusements. These not only served to keep them physically in fine trim and mentally alert, but they afforded a welcome relief from a life which, contrary to popular conception, was for most of them toilsome. What was of even more importance, they served as a wholesome release from the oppressive weight of the kapus [taboos]. Without these diversions the Hawaiians could not have been the cheerful sane people Captain Cook discovered.²⁶

Malo mentions training in warfare (Malo 194) but also states (pages 53-54) that the chief must learn to be gentle, patient, kind, temperate, religious, and not given to

violation of virgins. Kepelino says that the chiefs were taught to be humble, kind, open hearted, and to show aloha (Kep. 141). The tales do not reflect instruction in such Christian-like virtues. Indeed, as has been seen, the heroic sons were conspicuous for their vandalism and defiance of taboos. Are the Hawaiian historians reflecting their Christian training rather than the actual culture? The great disgust of Malo and Kepelino with court life indicates that the Christian virtues of sympathy for the poor, temperance, and humility were not the usual characteristics of chiefs. It may be that the descriptions of training in these virtues were prescriptive rather than descriptive.

In conclusion, the stories describe childbirth and infant care incompletely. The processes of midwifery and baby tending were not fit subjects for narrative; they seldom have been in the world's folk literatures. In the tales only the dramatic phases of education appear, and only a few of the many games enjoyed by the people. The attitude toward adequate training and the importance of the teacher in sports, war, and dances are, however, well shown in the myths.

The tales graphically describe the sports, particularly the royal sport of surfing, probably because sports are the activities of youthful chiefs. It is with the youth of the chiefs that the tales are principally concerned; neither their infancy nor their old age interested the storyteller.

Certain tale motifs which are not directly related to the culture may indirectly have a relationship. For example, the miraculous conception and strange birth, and the Caesarian birth, may have indirectly showed the chief's importance and the presence of divinity within his person. The jeering mother's abandonment of the rope offspring may have symbolically represented infanticide. Nature's recognition of the birth of a chief is in keeping with nature's deference and subservience to the chief, as described later in the section on religion. The unnaturally large appetite of the boy hero also indicates the god's presence within that sacred body. The mischief of the youth, too, may have been the work of the god, for gods were famous for their trickery. Only after the value and the methods of the mythology are more fully developed can this mischief be properly examined. While it may be a manifestation of youthful playfulness, it more likely is an early indication of the hero's superiority to the taboos and restrictions of ordinary mortals.

The picture of Hawaiian culture in the tales is vivid and integrated, although it lacks technical details and treats primarily only one phase of life, the youthful supremacy of the hero. The ethnographer lists facts, the storyteller dramatizes them.

3. THE CHIEF AND HIS O-CLASS RELATIVES

The Hawaiians like other Polynesians divide possessed objects into two classes that may be termed agentive and partitive. The agentive objects, designated by the morpheme *a*, are generally things *acquired* by the owner, whereas the partitive objects, designated by the morpheme *o*, may be considered *parts* of the object. Thus acquired spouses, offspring, grandchildren, and servants are in the agentive class, but inherited relatives, as siblings, parents, and grandparents, are in the partitive class. The classification extends throughout the language. Body parts, personal clothes, and a very few possessions are in the partitive class. Clothes not worn and most possessions are in the agentive class. Thus "my bone" is partitive when referring to a personal bone, but agentive when referring to a chicken bone that one is chewing. The

morphemes *a* and *o* are a part of the possessive pronouns, not a part of the objects, as *ka'u iwi* 'my nonpersonal bone,' and *ko'u iwi* 'my personal bone.'

The discussion in this section will treat the *o*-class relatives of the chief, those not of his own choosing or making, including the grandmother (*kupuna wahine*), grandfather (*kupuna kāne*), father (*makua kāne*), mother (*maquahine*), older brother (*kaikua'ana*), younger brother (*kaikaina*), and sister (*kaikuahine*). These terms which apply to the extended family include consanguine, affinal, and adopted relatives of a given generation. The terms for older and younger brother mentioned above refer to older and younger siblings of the speaker's sex.

MYTHOLOGY

Grandmother. In a previous section of this study it was seen that the future hero frequently owes his survival at birth to his grandmother who rescues the abortion discarded by the parents and magically produces from the abortion a human child. She then adopts the child as her own. In all the stories only a single parent refuses to give his child to his grandparents, and this refusal of rights provokes a war (F4: 231).

The tales were carefully scanned for information on infant and childhood training. The results, though meager, are significant. The grandmother at all costs avoids clashes, as when Ka-welo is diverted from eating so much by the gift of a canoe. In three examples the grandmothers (or surrogates) express disapproval of the grandchild's sexual activities, but withdraw opposition rather than risk open opposition, a line of conduct certainly with its effect on the child's character.

1. On a canoe trip, when La'ie-i-ka-wai, a taboo princess, opens up the tapa with which her face has been covered by her grandmother "lest her beauty become a common thing" (B359), the grandmother merely shakes her head in disapproval. The canoe paddler, "pierced through with great desire" from having glimpsed the girl's unusual beauty asks that her face be exposed. Although the grandmother answers that the girl herself wants to remain covered, La'ie reveals herself fully, as she has always wanted to do.

This little incident reveals: a fundamental difference in interests—the grandmother desires to preserve the girl's purity, whereas the girl longs for romance; the gentle permissive nature of a grandmother's discipline; the grandmother's quick resort to deception. This short episode, which would have been lost in an abridged variant, vindicates Beckwith's insistence on preserving the story "in all its original dullness" (B295).

2. In the tale of Puni-a-ka-i'a, the mother replaces the usual grandmother. The hero falls in love with a beautiful stranger attracted by a miraculous fish catch. The mother grants the hero's request for permission to marry the girl even though she does not expect the marriage to last (F5:157).

3. Hale-mano's grandmother has constantly helped during the many difficulties caused by his wife's beauty and unfaithfulness. She shows the couple how to hide when the chief sends men to fetch the wife for his pleasure. Only after his fickle wife has deserted him and his grandmother has made five trips to try to persuade the wife to return does she rebuke him for loving so faithless a woman, but her rebuke is one of the gentlest that can be imagined, and is itself a poem: "/ Sitting on the beach Ula-lana,/ Looking up at the good things of the mountains,/ The rain and the cool

wind/ Enfolding the fronds of ti leaves,/ *Lehua* blossoms sit lovely in the quiet of Trueness./ There is no truth in dreams." (F5:245) The hero is on the beach, the rain that looks so fine is the faithless wife of whom he has dreamed.

A grandmother's superior knowledge and skills are also shown in her advice to the hero on courting techniques (hula dancing is more effective than skill in fishing or farming, F5:245), in her provision of magic objects such as a leaf that enables one to fast four months (F4:43), and in her instruction in taboos (F4:429). A common Polynesian motif, that of the old woman who cooks by the roadside and guides the hero, is also present in Hawaii (F4:599-605).

The grandmother's jurisdiction extended theoretically into adult life, as illustrated above in the hero's asking his mother's permission to get married. In another story, *Ka-welo*, a married man, must ask his grandmother's permission to go to the beach to investigate some shouts. The grandmother arbitrarily refuses permission. Instead of objecting, *Ka-welo* merely waits and goes to the beach next day when he again hears shouts (F5:7).

Grandfather. The grandfather usually plays an insignificant role. He or a comparable figure were noted in only four of the published tales:

1. In the tale of *La'ie-i-ka-wai*, a priest, who has suggested a successful ruse to his daughter whose husband had vowed to kill any female children she may bear, takes her newborn daughter to her grandmother, and (now that he has become a grandfather) disappears from the story (B349).

2. The mother, acting as surrogate grandmother, permits her son to marry and collects gifts for the bride. "So does Nu'upia [the father]." (F5:157) Even this seems a large role for a grandfather. Later the mother gives a land division and three houses to her son's messengers. The father is not mentioned again, and the mother has complete control of the property.

3. An elderly couple arouse their enemy's thirst by feeding him salted fish. When he jumps into a well to satisfy his thirst they throw stones at him. He frightens the old man away by threats, but the woman keeps on rolling in rocks and killing him. The old woman appears heroic, the old man a coward. Although the old couple are not grandparents, they may be taken to represent them. (F5:205)

4. Only in the fragmental contracted tale of *Hina'ai-malama* does the grandfather play a part of any importance. The grandfather cracks open the ocean floor so that his grandson may escape his father (F5:269).

The only chief in the stories who is of importance in extreme old age is *Ku-ali'i*, who is unable to walk and is carried to the battlefield in a net. He, however, is a semihistoric figure; he does not figure as a grandfather, and no mention occurs here of his progeny (F4:365).

Father and son. Relationship between father and son in the tales is usually hostile. Some examples of conflict were given in the previous section. The harmonious ententes are found on examination either to be atypical or based on preference for one son at the expense of others (F4:33, F5:695, *Malo* 262). Conflict is absent in several tales in which father and son are not living together (F4:575-595, F5:11, *Malo* 262). In one story only, that about *Pāka'a* and his son *Ku*, is there perfect father-son harmony. But *Pāka'a* abdicates in *Ku's* favor, as symbolized by giving him the named canoe paddle and the steering seat in the canoe (F5:79). The son continues to obey his father, but the two seem merged into a single character. The sources of father-son conflict are listed below.

Taboos broken by the son: stealing of taboo chicken; neglect of prayers (Malo 244); neglect or violation of taboo sister (F5:267, 313); destruction of taboo insignia (F5:271). The son's destruction of food (F5:277) and urination in food (F5:171). The son teases father by sleeping in the face of battle (F4:411). The adopted son betrays his father in order to pay a debt of hospitality (F5:63-65). Anger of a son transformed into a pig because his father does not recognize him (F5:355). A father steals his son's wife (F5:461-463).

That in all but the last conflict the son should appear in the wrong is in keeping with the mischievous character of the future chief. The Hawaiian audience apparently admired the hero for not obeying the taboos.

The same pattern is followed in the relationships of a youth with his stepfather or his foster father, who are frequent in the tales, and of an adult with his adopted father (*keiki ho'okama*, F5:303).

Father and daughter. The relations between father and daughter are likewise hostile, except when the daughter is a favorite (*punahele*). (This strong tie supersedes any other relationship. The favorite can be refused nothing. Favorite daughters are described in F5:267 and 391.) The conflicts between father and daughter most frequently concern the daughter's desire to marry a socially inappropriate male (F5:193, 313, 389; Green 170). In one of these incidents the father disgraces the girl by stripping her nude; in another he kills the undesired suitors.

A slight incident that reveals contrasting attitudes of mother and father to daughter concerns the return home of a married daughter. The mother greets her with conventional weeping of affection, but the father merely delivers a tirade about her unmanly husband, whom he likens to a plover, a sandpiper, and a banana stalk (F5:23).

Mother and children. Mothers play such insignificant roles in the tales that scant details are available. Some have been mentioned, as the mother who fulfills the grandmother role and the mother who greets her daughter with affectionate weeping. Stronger evidence of affection is shown by a mother and aunt, who preserve for years a mysterious hand of a son believed killed by a shark, and who journey from one end of the Hawaiian chain to the other to be with another son who is to be sacrificed (F4:157). Hostile relationships occur between Hina and her two sons who want her to leave her lover, perhaps because of jealousy. Her bird attendants attack one son, but the other son, who has the power of stretching his body, forces the mother to leave her lover and return to the father (F4:449, Malo 227).

Brothers. That respect is due the first-born brother is expressed in this saying: *Nāna i wawaele i ke ala, ma hope aku kākou* 'he [or she] opened the path, we followed.' This superiority is explicitly stated in the Ka-welo story: "'Ai-kanaka is an older brother and master to them. All that 'Ai-kanaka says, they obey, whether stringing leis or anything else, they do not refuse but just agree.'" (F5:5) The younger brothers and cousins are soon in competition, however, and Ka-welo defeats them in kite-flying, in riding rapids, and in wrestling. The humiliated older boys go weeping to tell their grandmother that Ka-welo has stoned them. The common pattern of rebellion of the younger against the power of the older brother is comparable to rebellion against the father and the taboos. Other examples of fraternal strife follow.

Sex: Ka-welo falls in love with the wives of his older brother, and his father helps him win them (F5:695).

Jealousy of father's favors: 'Au-kele (F4:35), the youngest of eleven sons, his father's favorite and acknowledged heir, is hated by all the brothers except one, and

they try to kill him. Kila's four older brothers who hate him because he is to become their father's heir abandon him at Wai-pi'o (F4:135).

Political rivalry: Hakau, who inherits his father's kingdom, taunts his rival half-brother, 'Umi, because his mother is not of royal birth, and expels him. 'Umi is soon surrounded by scheming priests, trusted favorites, and a great army. When Hakau is tricked and brutally murdered 'Umi gets the kingdom (F4:205).

Refusal to give service: The younger brother was expected to serve the older. When Pūpū-ākea refuses to serve kava and chicken, his older brother hits him with a checkerboard until the blood pours forth, and Pūpū then performs the expected service (F4:333, F5:439).

Other examples of fraternal strife are F4:237-247, 449; F5:177-181, 365.

The youngest sibling in the family, known as *pok'i'i*, was sometimes treated as a favorite. Ka-welo speaks of his younger brother affectionately as "little Ka-malama, my *pok'i'i*" (F5:33).

Brother and sister. Just as the older brother seems identified in the stories with the hated father, so the sister appears identified with the helpful, magic-working grandmother. The Hale-mano romance, for instance (F5:229-263), has three sets of helpful sisters. The hero, having died of love sickness, is resuscitated when his sister sings this chant: "I sit weeping for my brother, / My brother of the forested uplands, / His perhaps is the soul in the wet forest, / Sitting there in the face of the cloud-withportent. / Lost in the dark skies, my guide, / Alas for my beloved / My guide of the eight seas, / Here I am, your companion, live! / Eat food, gird on a loincloth, live!" (F5:245) After the resuscitation the sister finds the sweetheart, manages her abduction, again resuscitates her brother after the wife is faithless and he dies again of grief, and finally advises him on courting techniques. A second sister in this story is so devoted to her younger brother that "not one request does she refuse, she can only agree to everything her brother says, not refusing, from big things to tiny things" (F5:233). A third example in this story is a sister who is sent as courting emissary.

Other examples of sisterly devotion are in F4:483 and PH xi; a brother sacrifices his life for his sister in Green 125; see also Green 151.

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Grandparents. Pukui has stated very clearly that the first-born child of each sex was usually raised by the grandparents.²⁷ She was herself raised by her grandmother, and is now raising her own eldest grandson. Almost any Hawaiian today can name persons raised by grandparents, and four examples occur immediately to my mind. Slight evidence, however, has been noted in the culture²⁸ for the weak position of the grandfather in the tales, and Pukui denies that the grandfather was unimportant. A correlation may exist between functional value to the society and importance in the tales. The male no longer has societal value after his sporting, fighting, and begetting days are over. The woman, on the other hand, has the important function of raising the grandchildren after her sexual activities are over. Her feminine skill of caring for children is extended to include manipulation of magic. Likewise, the greater longevity of females may partially explain their dominance in the old-age group.

No evidence has been noted in the ethnography that the grandmother's complete jurisdiction extends into adult life, as shown in the tales. This hypothesis merits checking; I have heard Hawaiian parents giving orders rather summarily to married children.

Siblings. Malo states that the younger brother was subject to the older brother (Malo 68). This superiority may have been in part due to likelihood of nobler blood. Malo remarks that the younger son may be offspring of the chief and a second wife of lower rank (Malo 55). The first wife was often chosen because of her high rank. That the older son was the theoretical heir to the title and properties may account for some of the rivalry found in the stories. Further, if one son were a pampered *punahēle* favorite, the other siblings' jealousy is understandable. The Kamakau history refers to feuds between brothers that were conflicts for power and echo the rivalries shown in the tales.

The sister's helpfulness to the brother seems not noted in the ethnography, except that it was known that the sister often took care of younger brothers.

Correlation of kinship terms with the findings. As some of the Hawaiian kinship terms may be traced back to Proto-Polynesian time and even to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian time, they are a heritage from the past and cannot be said to reflect purely Hawaiian custom. However, they did not *conflict* with Hawaiian culture *at the time of the tales*. (As they *do* conflict with the present Americanized culture, the English terms *brother*, *sister*, *mama*, *papa*, and *uncle* have been borrowed.) This brief discussion will be concerned with 1. sibling terms and 2. grandparent-grandchild terms.

1. The three sibling terms named earlier refer to older and younger siblings of the same sex, and sister of a male. A fourth term is for brother of a female. Each of the four terms shows sex in relationship to the speaker, but relative age only of the sibling of the speaker's sex. Thus the older brother's special position of authority with respect to siblings of the same sex, found of importance in both tales and culture, is reflected in the language. Whether the sibling of opposite sex is older or younger seems relatively unimportant in the culture, and certainly was unimportant in the tales, and is not shown by a special kinship term.

2. The terms for grandparent-grandchild are of more recent origin and perhaps come closer to mirroring Hawaiian culture, although not as close as they would be if the terms were confined to Hawaiian. They show clearly the close relationship of grandparent and grandchild at the expense of parent. The element *puna* 'spring, source' is in the word for grandparent *ku-puna*, and in the word for grandchild *mo'o-puna*. *Kupuna* may represent a shortening by hapology of *kupu* 'to grow,' plus *puna* 'source,' *kupuna* meaning literally the "source of growth." *Mo'o* means "succession." *Mo'o-puna* is "a succession of the source." The element *puna* is held in common and occurs also in the term *puna-lua* 'shared spouse,' and in the term *puna-hele* 'favorite individual'; the morpheme *hele* may be cognate with Tahitian *here* 'beloved.' Thus four institutions united by particular affection—grandparent, grandchild, shared spouse, and favorite—all contain the element *puna*. The term for "parent," on the other hand, is *makua* 'mature, older,' and is unrelated to the other four somewhat related terms.

A correlation further exists between kinship terms containing references to age, and the quality of the relationships. Age is referred to in the terms for "parent" (*makua* 'older'), for "older sibling of the same sex" (*kaikua'ana*), and for "younger sibling of the same sex" (*Kaikaina*). Antagonism was noted in the tales between males in these relationships. The feeling to younger sibling of either sex, however, is theoretically one of affection; the younger sibling is the *poki'i*, the beloved baby for whom the older youngster cared. Age is *not* referred to in the terms for grandparent, grandchild, male's sister (*kaikuahine*), and female's brother (*kaikunane*). No ten-

sions were noted between males or females in these relationships, but mutual affection and help.

In conclusion, the ethnography incompletely describes interpersonal relations, and the tales are valuable for their vivid portrayal. They reveal, startlingly, certain relationships, some of which are corroborated by the ethnography and some of which are not. Data mostly corroborated by ethnography include: grandmothers usually raise the chiefly children; brothers are aggressive rivals often in open conflict; brother and sister are mutually devoted and helpful, the sister usually rendering the greater aid in the tales because of superior magic. Mythological findings not directly corroborated by the ethnography include: avoidance of overt clashes between grandmother and child, usually by the grandmother's submission; prolonging of the grandmother's jurisdiction into adulthood; insignificance and unimportance of the grandfather; conflicts of the father with his son about his mischief and breaking of taboos, and with his daughter about her unwillingness to marry his political choice of a mate.

The mythology thus reveals dramatically and vividly the interrelationships of members of a family. The results are clear and unequivocal, perhaps exaggeratedly so. Some of the interesting findings are not yet corroborated by the ethnography. Those that are appear often much more clearly in the tales than in the ethnography.

NOTES

¹ This article and three to follow in subsequent issues of *JAF* constitute a condensed and revised version of my doctoral dissertation accepted by the faculty of Indiana University in 1950. An earlier article based on the dissertation, "Hawaiian Literary Style and Culture," appeared in *American Anthropologist*, LIII (1951), 345-354. I wish to thank my co-workers among the Polynesian peoples in Hawaii and in the southern islands whose pleasant tutelage and achievements have made this research happy and stimulating; in addition, special thanks are due to George Herzog of Indiana University, who directed the study in such an illuminating manner; and to Mary Kawena Pukui, associate in Hawaiian culture at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawaii, who introduced me to the Hawaiian language, and who has for many years unstintingly helped me understand both the language and the culture. I am also grateful to Katharine Luomala of the University of Hawaii, who read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

² Franz Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, Ann. Rept. 1909-1910, Bur. American Ethnology, XXXI (Washington, D. C., 1916), 29-1037.

³ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (New York, 1926).

⁴ Paul Radin, *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (New York and London, 1927).

⁵ Clara Ehrlich, "Tribal Culture in Crow Mythology," *JAF*, L (1937), 307-408.

⁶ Abram Kardiner and Ralph Linton, *The Individual and His Society; the Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organization* (New York, 1939).

⁷ Katherine Spencer, *Reflections of Social Life in the Navaho Origin Myth*, Univ. of New Mexico Pubs. in Anthropology, No. 3 (Albuquerque, 1947).

⁸ Demitri B. Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Literary Forms: an Introduction," *Jour. of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XXXVII (1947), 329-352.

⁹ Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1946), pp. 367-390.

¹⁰ Paul Radin, *Winnebago Hero Cycles: a Study in Aboriginal Literature* (Baltimore, 1948).

¹¹ William R. Bascom, "Four Functions," *JAF*, LXVII (1954), 337-338.

¹² As the following: Padraic Colum, *At the Gateways of the Day* (New Haven, 1924), *The Bright Islands* (New Haven, 1925), *Legends of Hawaii* (New Haven, 1937). William Hyde Rice, *Hawaiian Legends*, Bishop Mus. Bull. 3 (Honolulu, 1923). William Drake Westervelt, *Legends of Ma-ui—a Demi-god of Polynesia, and of His Mother Hina* (Honolulu, 1910); *Legends of Old Honolulu, Collected and Translated from the Hawaiian* (Boston and London, 1915); *Legends*

of *Gods and Ghosts (Hawaiian Mythology)*, Collected and Translated from the Hawaiian (Boston and London, 1915); *Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes* (Boston, 1916); *Hawaiian Historical Legends* (London and Chicago, 1923).

¹³ Amos P. Leib, *Hawaiian Legends in English*, Univ. of Hawaii Press (Honolulu, 1949).

¹⁴ David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson (1898), Bishop Mus. Special Publ. 2 (Honolulu, 1951).

¹⁵ Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii, the Sacred Songs of the Hula*, Bur. American Ethnology Bull. 38 (Washington, D. C., 1909), 107—hereafter cited as *UL*.

¹⁶ Martha Warren Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, Bishop Mus. Bull. 95 (Honolulu, 1932)—hereafter cited as *Kep*.

¹⁷ Laura C. Green and Martha Warren Beckwith, "Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs Relating to Birth and Infancy," *American Anthropologist*, XXVI (1924), 230-246; "Hawaiian Customs and Beliefs Relating to Sickness and Death," *American Anthropologist*, XXVIII (1926), 176-208; "Hawaiian Household Customs," *American Anthropologist*, XXX (1928), 1-17.

¹⁸ E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, "The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawaii," *Jour. of the Polynesian Soc.*, LIX (1950), 170-190, 232-240; LX (1951), 66-79, 187-222; LXI (1952), 243-282; LXII (1953), 123-168; LXIV (1953), 295-341.

¹⁹ Margaret Titcomb, "Kava in Hawaii," *Jour. of the Polynesian Soc.*, LVII (1948), 105-171; (with the collaboration of Mary Kawena Pukui) "Native Use of Fish in Hawaii," *Jour. of the Polynesian Soc.*, Memoir Sup. No. 29 (1951-1953); (in preparation) "Food in Hawaii."

²⁰ Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Canoe Making Profession of Ancient Times*, Bishop Mus. Occasional Papers, Vol. 15, No. 13 (1939), 149-159; *Hawaiian Beliefs and Customs During Birth, Infancy and Childhood*, Bishop Mus. Occasional Papers, Vol. 16, No. 17 (1942), 357-381; "Songs (Meles) of Old Ka'u, Hawaii," *JAF*, LXII (1949), 247-258.

²¹ Helene Luise Newbrand, "A Phonemic Analysis of Hawaiian" (unpubl. diss., Honolulu, 1951).

²² Samuel H. Elbert, "Internal Relationships of Polynesian Languages and Dialects," *Southwestern Jour. of Anthropology*, IX (1953), 147-173.

²³ Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (New Haven, 1940), p. 229—hereafter cited as *HM*.

²⁴ Other such strange births are in HM227, 464; Green 4; F4:99, 437, 501, 533, 539; F5:385.

²⁵ Stewart Culin, "Hawaiian Games," *American Anthropologist*, I (1899), 201-247.

²⁶ Kenneth P. Emory, "Sports, Games, and Amusements," in *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization, a Series of Lectures Delivered at the Kamehameha Schools* (Honolulu, 1933), p. 141. This reference will hereafter be written *AHC*. Other references to sports and games include F6:193-217, and the following: E. H. Bryan, Jr., *Hawaiian Nature Notes* (Honolulu, 1933), pp. 88-93, and *Ancient Hawaiian Life* (Honolulu, 1938, repr. 1950), pp. 48-51, and note the bibliography; William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches During a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*, IV, enlarged ed. (London, 1853), 197-200, 299-300, 368-372; Charles W. Kenn, "Games and Sports in Old Hawaii," *Paradise of the Pacific*, LV, No. 6 (1943), 30-32; Malo, Chapters 41-57; Donald D. Mitchell, "Na Pa'ani Kahiko o Hawaii (Ancient Sports of Hawaii)" [mimeo, n.d.]; George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World*, III (London, 1801), 252-258; William Drake Westervelt, "Old Hawaiian Games in Honolulu," *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, XII (1916), 345-347.

²⁷ N. 20, 1942, p. 376. See also George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York, 1949), p. 278.

²⁸ Margaret Mead in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928) suggests a similar situation in Samoa some thirty years ago in her statement (p. 194) "old women are usually more of a power within the household than the old men." Perhaps comparable is Kardiner's comment that the status of the Comanche male "declined quickly" once he was no longer able to fight (Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, [New York, 1945], p. 56).

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