

Book No. 6.

Elementary Social Organization.

Grimble Papers

Field Notes, Book No. 1. This is Grimble's first field compilation, collected and written when he was a District Officer on Abemama, probably in or about 1918. It is exceptionally valuable as showing the growth of his interests and knowledge.

Several of the items were in all probability obtained from his friend Father Ernest Sabatier, the author of Astride the Equator, who was in charge of the Catholic Mission on Abemama at the time.

Book checked  
and where necessary  
copied for book. n. f. a.

Social Structure in Groups sharply divided.

In south democracies with elected chiefs for purposes of war; in the north, aristocracies, founded, of course, on conquest. But such aristocracies may be again subdivided into two classes: (1) Those which submitted to a single overlord, or high-chief, which may be called feudal systems, (2) Those which submitted to no overlord or high-chief, which we may call democratic aristocracies.

It was among the pure democracies and the feudal populations that the government was most highly developed. In the former councils of elders known for their wisdom held the reins and punished offenders. Under high chiefs, all obeyed a single voice. But among the democratic aristocracies there was no general cohesion in times of peace. Each clan, with its slaves, owed obedience to its own chief, with his councillors drawn from the clan. Every chief was equal, and a separate entity.

Social structure

Family structure  
Inheritance  
Totems

Land  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Navigation: Canoes,  
m.s.s., etc.

The divisions of society under three systems were as follows: -

(a) Under pure democracy there were neither chiefs nor slaves: all were known as "inaomata" - free men.

(b) Under limited aristocracy there were Toka - chiefs

inaomata - landed proprietors

toro (Kaunga - slaves.

(c) Under feudal system there were: -

Uea - high chief;

Bannea - blood relations of high chief;

Toka - subsidiary chiefs;

Inaomata - landed proprietors;

Toro or Kaunga - slaves.

### Character of democratic government.

If there were no conflicting interests on an island the entire population was subject to a single council of old men. Not to be supposed that this was a highly organised body, nor that its meetings were regular or periodical.

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If a crisis arose or a public danger needed discussion the council would drift together and consider it. Meetings & decisions were secret. It dealt with varied matters, war, amusements, morality. If a man were addicted to violence the council would try his case in private conclave, but accused would hear nothing of the matter. If he were found to be undesirable character the old men's word would go forth to secret agents. These would seize offender by night, bind him to a log, and float him from ocean-reef to sea. Or he would be put in a canoe with a few nuts and a sail & told to find another home for himself.

Purely domestic matters were left to family councils. Another less drastic form of punishment was seclusion for fixed periods of time on the ocean side, away from village. Only the offender's mother was allowed to bring him food: he must not leave his prison. His wife must not accompany him.

Family structure  
Inheritance  
Totems

9  
board  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

neton: canoes,  
mess, etc.

Usually, there were two or three different factions on an island; in which case each faction would have its own council of elders. In case of war, council elected general.

The council was called "manewiri"; "the old wiri" — this being the usual dress given to a virgin before puberty. It signifies absolute inviolability and suggests the honour in which such councils were held. If someone disappeared overnight, no one dared ask where he had gone.

Private violence within a faction was especially a matter for the council. As it tended to disrupt the faction, it was held in great detestation + almost always punished by death. If there was a quarrel a fight was arranged — a sort of jousting. Death or killing was not the object of such fights — they were more sporting matters. It was considered disgracefully clumsy to kill opponent, whereas it was a sign of skill to wound him so that he would live

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and carry the marks. When angry blood was spent the Council would stop the fight & quarrel was thus settled. There were very few real wars in democratic islands: and for several centuries conquest & slavery were abolished.

### Character of aristocratic government.

Under kings or high-chiefs the system was precisely feudal. All land was held at will and by favour of the high-chief, who commanded absolute obedience from the blood royal, the chiefs and their underlings. He had the power to make or unmake all laws. It was necessary to enter his presence in a stooping attitude, with face always towards him. Old men of royal and chiefly rank aided him in Council, and although he might override them, he would not do so in small matters. Conclaves were secret. The King's executioners would carry out his sentences at night.

Family structure  
Inheritance  
Totems

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Land  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Navigation: Canoes,  
... etc.

But King in council would as a rule not interfere with private matters unless he felt himself offended thereby. A chief in his own family would hold power of life & death over slaves and members. His authority was limited but seldom questioned by the High Chief. His duties were to pay certain tributes of food, to lend slaves as workmen, and to do feoff-service to High Chief.

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The class of uiaomata, landed proprietors, corresponded to our own middle class. Consisted of slaves rewarded for good services, and of poor relatives of chiefly families. It might intermarry with chiefs according to its circumstances.

The slaves had theoretically no rights. They were things and considered less valuable than canoes or land. However by good work they might obtain land of their own & their children might

many into better families. Their position was therefore not irremediable. Slaves were originally those whose lands had been taken in war, or the survivors of the beaten side. A conquered man whose sister belonged to a conqueror by marriage might come out of the disaster rather well. Theoretically he was a slave, but the favour of his married sister might obtain him several pieces of land. If he pleased the High Chief thereafter he might rise to chiefly rank.

Services by which a slave might acquire a peculium:— ① Good cultivation; ② Canoe building; ③ Curing the sick by magic; ④ Fighting.

High chiefs + chiefs might have many wives. The High Chief decided the fitting limit for the chiefs, according to possessions of each. Middle classes were limited to two at most. A slave might take only one.

Family structure  
Inheritance  
Totems

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Land  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Water: canoes,  
mess, etc.



The social development of the people influenced their manner of living on the land.

Under the democracies there were few villages. Landowners lived on their own land scattered about the district of the faction to which they belonged. There was a central maneaba, or council & dance-house for their faction district.


Under High Chiefs, there was a royal village complete with the central council & dancing house of the island. King's dwellings and wife-houses, dwellings of royal blood, slaves' quarters.


Under divided chiefs there were clan villages.


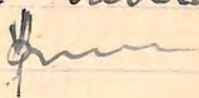
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Canoe crsts were pictures of family totems.

Tamarotabuariki, a line of small triangular mats up the mainstay were representations of the dorsal fin of the shark. Belonged to family of Tebakoa, descended from Tabuariki. see later. 

Tebukinibaña, a fishtail device of matting fluttering from the end of the boom  was a picture of the "Kaiwa" of a man named Nimita, an ancestor of the clan of Keaki. Kaitarana te mberube.

Tenuitawawa  device at peak of sail: a picture of the "nimitawawa" a jelly fish which floats to surface when there is fair weather at sea. Taberannā's crest. Called Teuberube. 

Tematāna : the head of the baika. She ~~had~~ <sup>lay with</sup> a woman named Taberiki ~~to~~ at ~~make a device of crossed sticks and~~ Tasawa and appeared in a dream to her and told her to call her son Mōnā.

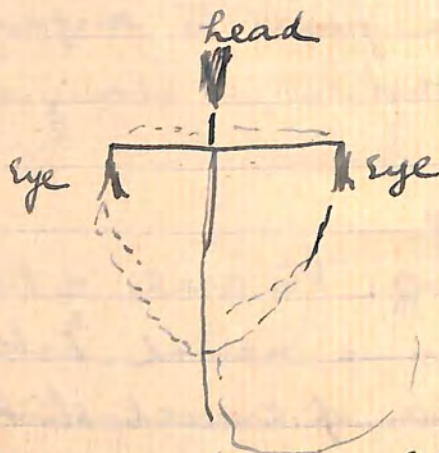
Family structure  
Inheritance  
Totems

Boat  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Material: Canoes,  
M.S.O. etc.

When child was born and named the  
bairu again told Taberiki in a dream  
to go to lagoon and bring two sticks  
of coconut midrib with her. She  
went as told and met the bairu. He  
lay in shallows. She told him about  
her son and said that the skin of  
his back was rough like a fish's.  
He told her to lay one stick up his  
spine from head to tail. The second  
stick was laid across his shoulders.  
His head was cut off and fastened  
to end of the spinal stick. He then  
told her to take his eyes and hang  
them to cross sticks. He told woman



to tell her son to use it as family  
crest, at peak of sail. Clan of Buatara  
Ikastriama.

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Temanikaburua or Tarataraweneina.

A woman named Mi Newi fell out of a canoe and floated on the sea on the back of a stingray until rescued by Kotua. Stingray was Tituabue's fish. When she was on canoe of Kotua she did magic with the strands of her riri. Then she bound them on a "stick" which she bound on the outrigger of the canoe. This represented herself floating. She made an image of a stingray's head representing the fish that saved her and bound it to the mast head.

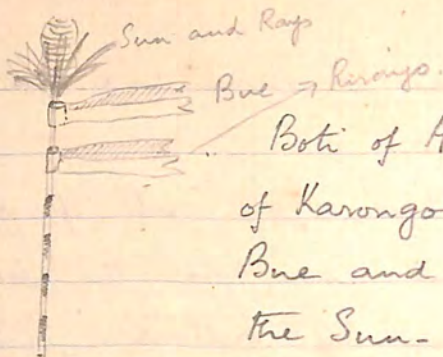


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board  
Customs

fishing, cooking,  
Food-getting

netting, canoes,  
mess, etc.

Te Kainikamata.



Boti of Abatou, in the Quarter of Karongoa. Descendants of Bue and Rurongo, the sons of the Sun. They lived on Bem

with Tamutoa. They wished to visit their father the Sun, so they took with them Te atibu, <sup>fruit of the non</sup> te matannon and <sup>decayed coconut</sup> te bokakua. When they were near the Sun began to search them so they threw te atibu at him: then te

matannon, and then te bokakua. At the last hit the sun he grew cool & they approached & spoke with him. Before he left he gave them Te Kainikamata and told them how to use it as a protection against the porpoise.

Genealogy of Bue & Rurongo: -

Tangaroa

Nei Titrabiue - Noubabati

Nakuanmai - Monamonan Tai



An offshoot of this clan is Tshokona in the Quarter of Keaki: it uses the same crest.

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Temaru Tabuariki. Crest of Quarter of Tebakoa.

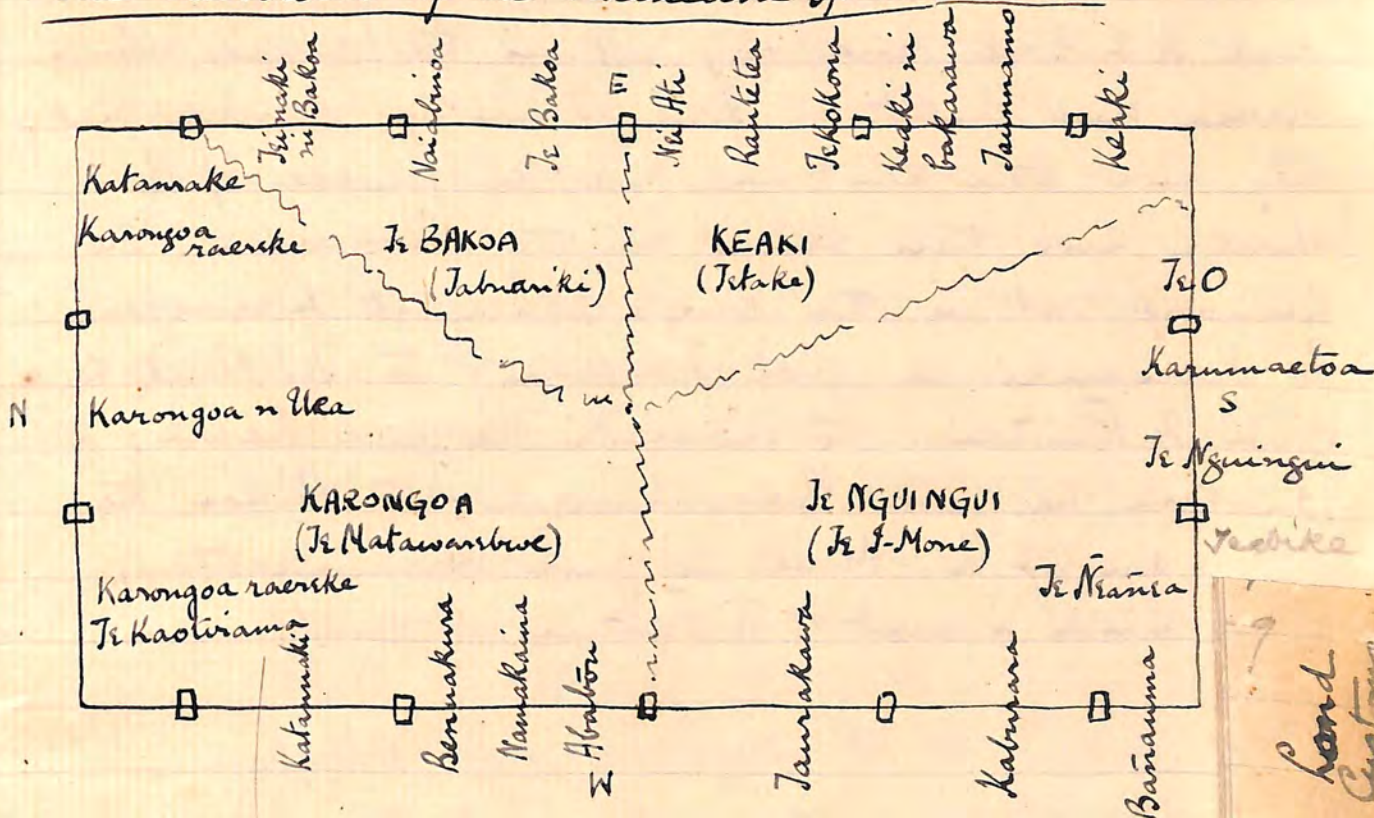


hand  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Customs: Canoes,  
Miso, etc.

# The divisions of the maneaba of Tamitooa



## The first maneaba.

From the Iwe of Samoa grew the man Matawarebwe. When the Iwe was broken he sailed to Bern with the two branches that were his father and mother. And he lay with Ni Tracimiatan, who bore him Tamitooa the King. Then he lay with Ni Tracintarawa, who bore him Jweia, Ni Jweia and Jweianta. And Jweia built a house for his elder half brother Tamitooa

Land Customs

Fishing, Cooking, Food-getting

motor, canoes, mess, etc.

So Tamitōa the King called the spirits Tabuaniki and Te I-Mone and they sat in the house which Teveia had built. Then Tamitōa decreed that they and their kin and all the people of Bem should have their places in the maneaba. He himself sat in the King's place at Karongoa. To Tabuaniki he gave Tebakoa; to Te I-Mone he gave Te I-Miimi; to Koumabi he gave Keaki; to Buatara he gave Te kaotirama; to Bakoa the son of Te I-Mone he gave Kamuaetōa, which is next to Te I-Miimi.

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The four great divisions of the maneaba are Karongoa, the King's quarter; Te I-Miimi, belonging to the King of the underworld; Te Bakoa belonging to the Thunder; and Keaki belonging to the Frigate Bird.

Each of these divisions is subdivided into family compartments or sitting places under the tutelage of their particular gods. These compartments bear separate names, but one among them always bears



that of the Quarter to which it belongs, and its tutelary spirit is that of the Quarter. The component parts of each quarter are bound together in the observance of special duties toward such quarters. The four quarters themselves are distinguished by special privileges and duties in the maneaba.

- (1) Karongoa, the King's place has the right of first speech in council & the first share of feast <sup>stranded fish, etc.</sup>
- (2) Te Niwini has the right of answering: besides this it has the duty of blowing the horn when people are gathered to council or games: this in remembrance of the horn which its tutelary spirit Te I'Mone blows under the seas. It has government over the pandanus harvest and all fish ponds: te inai.
- (3) Te Bakoa <sup>Keaki</sup> has the right of first entering the maneaba when the horn is blown; ~~in remembrance of~~ Tabuaiki the god who was first called by Tamaitoa.
- (4) Te Bakoa shares the King's portion.

board  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

motor: Canoes,  
etc., etc.

One clan of each quarter has the right of carrying and distributing its fourth share of the feast: and another has the duty of keeping the roof and floor of its quarter in repair.

Procedure at feast.

- (1) Niinui is told by Karongoa to blow horn;
- (2) Horn is blown and Keaki takes its place;
- (3) The rest follow;
- (4) The spokesman's clan of Karongoa stands and addresses the people, & pointing to food (which belongs theoretically to the King) <sup>of Karongoa</sup> asks what shall become of it;
- (5) Spokesman of Niinui stands and requests a distribution of the food;
- (6) Spokesman of Karongoa allows it on behalf of King, who never speaks.
- (7) Elder of "First divider of the feast" a subdivision of Karongoa (Abaton) divides food into 2 portions, laying

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one to North rather to South of middle. His privilege is to keep the pieces that fall or break off.

One division now belongs to Karongoa and the other to Niinini.

(8) First the Karongoa portion is dealt with.

A member (elder) of the clan opposite whose seat the portion lies carries it to the post which fixes the boundary of his clan and lays it within the boundary of that next nearest the King. As payment for this he may choose one piece of food from the heap. He carries this to his seat. The next clan takes it a stage further and lays food in the domain of clan nearer still to King. It takes its reward & so on until the King's food bearer (Katamake) lays it before the King. The latter designates the portion to be kept for Karongoa, the other portion goes to Te Bakoa.

9. Same process at South: second half divided between Niinini and Keaki.

board  
Customs

fishing, cooking,  
Food-getting

neton: canoe,  
mess, etc.

?? The totem of the whole maneaba and therefore the Gilbert race is the Kanawa tree from which grew the human and godly families in Samoa.

The totems of the four Quarters of the maneaba are as follows:-

- (a) Karongoa - the Kanawa tree (Bakati'bu)
- (b) Nui'ui - the wai tree and the comb horn. The former was the tree of Te I-More, the latter his signal to summon the fishes of the sea.
- (c) Keaki - the bird "Tetake", either a frigate bird or the booby. This was the god who grew on the summit of the Iri of Samoa.
- (d) TeBakoa - a stone representing the Thunderbolt of Tabu'ariki.

Each subdivision had its totem and its canoe crest:-

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| <u>Jeimaki</u><br>Clan. | <u>Jeanti</u><br>God.              | <u>Jeakua</u><br>Totem.                             | <u>Maninwawa</u><br>Crest.         |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| ✓ Karong. raerike.      | <sup>Sapraniki</sup> Matawawhu.    | <sup>Reiba</sup> Kanawa.                            | Je bon tenana.                     |
| ✓ " Uea                 | <sup>Mata</sup> Taburawaki         | <sup>Shank</sup> Kanawa                             | Je bon uona.                       |
| ✓ Kaotirama             | <sup>Banata</sup> { Stingray.      | Stingray.   | Matana ✓                           |
| ✓ Antekanawa            | Matawawhu.                         | Kanawa.   | Je bon uona                        |
| ✓ Katannaki             | Ni Temaiti                         | Stone (e.n).  | Manintakiti                        |
| ✓ Kataurake             | —                                  | —   | —                                  |
| ✓ Benuakura             | —                                  | —   | Niintawawa.                        |
| ✓ Ababon                | Buz: Rurono.                       | Nakuaumai.  | Kainikamata ✓                      |
| ✓ Niinui                | Trimone                            | Je wri  | —                                  |
| ✓ Taurakawa             | Taokarawa                          | —   | —                                  |
| ✓ Kaburara              | Tituabine                          | Baiku   | Taratarawa.                        |
| ✓ Baanauma              | Je M'amān                          | Baiku   | —                                  |
| Neanea                  | —                                  | —   | —                                  |
| ✓ Kammaetoa             | Shark                              | Niinionati  | —                                  |
| ✓ Je O                  | Auraria                            | Stone (e.n)   | —                                  |
| ✓ Keaki                 | <sup>Tituabine</sup> {<br>Tetake } | Tetake  | Je bukinibana                      |
| ✓ Bakarawa              | Bābama Bōno                        | —   | Je Kikanna                         |
| ✓ Tekokona              | Kotua                              | Porpoise  | Kainikamata                        |
| ✓ Je Bakoa              | Taburawaki to Bakoa                | <sup>Je an</sup> Stone (e.n.)<br><sup>Shark</sup> } | Je marotab'ki                      |
| Inakini B.              | "                                  | "   | "                                  |
| Naiabinoa               | "                                  | "   | "                                  |
| ✓ Ni Ati                | Tioaewa: Kieunari                  | Octopus: Maki.                                      | Manin <sup>ati</sup> <sub>ne</sub> |
| Rautēia                 | Kābunān                            | stone (e.n.)  | —                                  |
| Namakaina               | Taburimai                          | Je wri  | Namakaina                          |

hand  
Customs

fishing, cooking,  
Food-getting

neton: canoes,  
... etc.

Privileges of Clans. Tarentoa's maneaba.

Karongoa n Nea. King's clan. First speech.  
First share of food. Monopoly  
of all things stranded on the  
ocean beach.

Ababon First dividers of the feast.  
Repairers of King's portion of  
maneaba. Supervisors of  
construction of maneaba.

Katamake. Carriers of food to King.  
Dividers of King's portion.

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Nuini. Blowers of horn for assembly.  
Answered the King's spokesman  
in council. Receivers and  
{ Suppliers of } dividers of second half of  
{ to inai. } the feast. Reges ludorum.  
Suppliers and adjudicators of  
pandanus and fishponds.

Kammaetoa. Messengers to Nuini. Herald.

Banama. Fishers to the King.

Neanea. Carriers of the portion to Nuini.

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Keaki Rantetea. First arrivals at maneaba on  
sound of horn.

Bakarawa. Carvers of feast to Keaki

Ie Bakoa. Shares of King's portion of  
feast.

Iruakiini Bakoa. Carvers of feast to Ie Bakoa.

9  
hand  
Customs

fishing, cooking,  
Food-getting

netter: canoe,  
'miso, etc.

Kaūeri — used as count.

- ✓ ⑦ hips lifted + pinched so as to point;  
babu hips (flat) disliked.
- ✓ ⑧ Pelvis of <sup>girls</sup> ~~women~~ massaged in  
order to make broad.
- ✓ ⑨ Everything done to promote hair  
on sex organ. Woman without  
called bianjēngē, iker, Katimaran.  
So shameful that women lacking  
hair refused to be delivered of  
children + red. But hair kept  
short.

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Young child after birth: - (maningare)

- ✓ (1) To make dimples/at corners of mouth the cheeks were pricked gently on first day after birth with a piece of stiff grass.
- ✓ (2) Nose was gently pinched and stroked upwards on either side every day for about 2 years in order to make it thin. Flatness was not liked.
- ✓ (3) Child held with body away & feet on mother's chest and encouraged to push with feet. To make legs & thighs fat.
- ✓ (4) Incision unknown formerly. First introduced by Gilbertese who returned from Mission school of Kusaie. Became a subject of derision and laughter in Group. But now rather popular.
- ✓ (5) Sometimes purple pierces on upper side & flower worn. But not indigenous: introduced from Elia. Fathers as tickler.
- ✓ (6) Fingertips pinched to make tapers

Hand  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Water: Canoes,  
mess, etc.

# Ear piercing

This is all incorporated  
in the separate note on  
'Ear piercing' reproduced  
under Body care

A half of munimoi placed behind  
ear lobe. Operator sits facing patient.  
Holds little nut behind ear lobe +

stabs with Kaneri. Withdraw it  
+ immediately inserts into wound  
the ~~root~~ <sup>stem</sup> of a ~~stick~~ grass called utente-  
mane. This done in early morning.

In evening, taken out + a fresh one put  
in, a little thicker. Next morning

this removed + replaced by  
stalk of bingibing leaf. Evening  
a thicker stalk. Bingibing for

two or three days. After that  
replaced by a thick babai  
stalk. Babai used growing

gradually thicker until the  
thickness of thumb. Ear is  
now very sore indeed although  
hot water has been used every  
day both as fomentation +  
to remove stalk.

When size of thumb is reached

band  
Customs

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Victor: Canoes,  
mess, etc.

no further enlargement. Mas leaves  
now rolled up, heated at fire  
& introduced into hole. This is  
used medicinally, to heal wound.  
When outside edges are healing  
but the inside is still raw the  
mas is replaced by a roll of the  
film (manibwewe) or skin taken  
from the underside of the pandanus  
leaf. Another week or so it is  
healed.

Those who wished a further enlarge-  
ment had the Koran removed  
from the lobe. The Koran was  
the hard gland-like bulb that  
seems to have become apparent  
after the piercing. This was  
located and an incision cut  
down to it from the inside of  
the hole in the lobe and it  
was cut out. After this it  
can be enlarged by continually  
inserting layer plugs until  
it

Said to be beautiful because it carried  
scented things and ornaments for  
dance.

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

or Pictori: Canoes,  
miso, etc.

Nai Tarawa adopted <sup>as tibu</sup> by ~~Nai Tarawa~~ Taoutabuki  
 who was her mother's  
 uncle. His wife was  
 called Tarawa, & gave  
 her name.

These people then adopted  
 another child which  
 friend's parents of  
 Nai Tarawa they took  
 her away & gave her  
 name of Batiana the  
 name of an ancestor  
 (father's grandpather).

Nanoko got name at birth when  
 he was adopted as tibu  
 by Nanoko. He also took

|             |         |        |
|-------------|---------|--------|
| Nai Kora    | Bantoka | N. Ioa |
| Tabriaba    | Nanoko  | Boutu  |
| N. Tomateas | o       | Kabana |
| N. Kenoki   |         | Nanoko |

another name of Nanoko,  
 Unkeia, which he had had a child.

\*Domeniko

Hakeia

Hare

Teaboka

Tenoki

Nauoko

Hakeana

\*Dotty boy adopted in pity

Cat; and then dog

\*Nai Tenoki (see genealogy)

Nauoko, Domeniko, & self.

"

Names have <sup>two</sup> tiki, which are used in familiar or loving way. Tiki are likenesses or affinities. The tiki of Nauoko are above. The various tiki can be given away to different loved ones as above.

Karotu  
Torotu

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Victor; canoe,  
mess, etc.

7150  
550  
1650  
26  
295

(Heaki) Teina motuna  
Nei Tokoni =  
Kaburara Teina Mwea

- (Kaburara) Karotu
- (Kaburara) Tebatan
- (Kaburara) Bontu
- (Kaburara) N. Kaneakia = Maerua (Teu Talohao)  
Karotu
- (Kaburara) Tamton

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

in Tebatan: Canoes,  
mess, etc.



tuairoā }  
beka }

makano = the scrapings of pandanus  
fruit.

tuaka = to smooth out a heap of mashed  
food into a thin sheet.

aoniaki = mixed of 2 solids.

kaboaki = mixed of liquids  
or solid & liquid.

kaboreak } = mixed of 2 liquids  
Reaki }

kānawaki = only used of  
mixing kabuki  
with coconut.

Boroa = cut pandanus in slices.

No water drunk pure. Always mixed  
Fish most prized by Gilbertese as food, in order  
1. Porpoise. 2. Shark. 3. Conger <sup>Shark</sup> 4. Most deep  
sea fish.

Principal foods. (1) Fish, Karewe, coconut  
Kabutu, babai (2) <sup>Kamamai</sup> Toup (3) Manufactured  
foods Buators, tanana (manam), tanamui,  
tuasa, Kamakorokoro (beo), Korokoro,  
Kabā. (4) Salt fish, Kabuibui,  
Karaka (Kabulu) Sun-dried fish (cooked).  
Kabem (boiled body and coconut cream).

In times of famine: Te nitea, te wao,  
te toi.

Birds not usually eaten. Dogs  
sometimes.

Manai, Aai, Im Tab'aa'baa (sea crab),  
Im Tabena (pale crab on shoals), Kauke  
(beach crab).

Bairēati fruit used to poison  
fish. These fish not cleaned.

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Im Tuetoi: canoes,  
'miso, etc.

Mhrals.

Men + women together. Women carried food to men first. These helped themselves: if plenty food woman could then eat with him but if not much she waited for man to satisfy himself + then ate remainder.

Tarika. If stranger came + was fed in your house + was given food, he broke a piece off (tarika) and offered it to master of house who ate it. Same in mancala on larger scale. If you were entertained as stranger and introduced with feast to your hati you offered back part of the food which was taken by entertainers who happened to be there.

If you omit this you will be sick.

Pandanus firstfruits not eaten (Kabu) before ceremonial eating by stone ants.

If stranger + you have been  
entertained to a meal you leave  
a small present if you have one  
on you. You don't eat much,  
bad form. A belch considered good form.  
No special order of foods: sweet  
with fish + so on: any old  
order. But generally a meal  
was finished with a drink  
of Kabubu, morimoto, or Kanaima.

Old given to eat before young.  
Generally the children sat  
by them.

Fish eaten in fingers except by  
nursing mothers who used  
noko, or got someone to  
feed them.

Spoons (Kanae) used of  
fishbone etc. for puddings  
& baban soft. Process called  
teeriem.

Clumsy feeding derided  
mem ashawled

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

or Tinctor: canoe,  
, mess, etc.

Small eaters encouraged to  
eat more.

Buabeka manairan

---

Katannata

Antena ai are e bubu arei-ée? Kai  
ana ai Nsi -----! Ba ai tuiana  
Kanounnon ba ai-tamana Kanounnon  
ba a via te tanga n tiki-nono, tiki-  
tiki-tiki-tiki.

Lying covered by mat looking at fire  
three times. At last words clasp  
hands stretch whole body to breaking  
point everything tense.

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

wa. Tuetoi: canoe,  
, nso, etc.

Poison.

Buni. (balloon fish) { <sup>gall-bag</sup> <sup>roa</sup> <sup>ria-na</sup>, nimikana.

Names & fashions of hooks & fishing implements:-

- ✓ Nets: hand nets, ground-nets, seine-nets; line used.
- ✓ Rods. Methods of fixing in canoes, on land. Line used.
- ✓ Floats, anchored or for swimming.
- ✓ Anchors.
- ✓ Lines
- Hooks, diagrams of various, and purposes.
- ✓ Traps
- Ponds,
- ✓ Spears & Javelins, Missiles
- Various methods used.
- ✓ Eel pots, traps, etc. to a

|            |                                   |
|------------|-----------------------------------|
| Te Raku    | Sword fish (double tail)          |
| Te Kewe    | " (single tail)                   |
| Te bakoa   | Shark                             |
| Tababa     | ground shark Rokea.               |
| Babu       | not a man eater.                  |
| Anoi       | Hammer headed                     |
| Baikū      | small white stingray (rough skin) |
| Baumānū    | large grey stingray (smooth skin) |
| Atūnaomata | Man headed stingray.              |
| Teitei     | Small grey stingray.              |

Fishing, Cooking,  
Food-getting

Canoes,  
nets, etc.



Te riena ni kibe. { Long pole  
For night fishing in shallows with  
coconut leaf torch. (te teue, te Kamaawa)

{ Te riena n wakaraka. Small net on short pole. Bent  
hoop as illustration. Used by women.

{ Te riena n onou. Four foot hoop, ovate shape used  
on weather side waist-deep for te ikamawa.

Te ta Koba. Two foot + half hoop: ovate, short handle.

Te kibena. Full hoop, small: broadening net, as  
illustration.

Te Kuanu. Full hoop: 18 in diameter as illustration.

Te Kao. Like kibena: used for taking catch of seine.

It can be drawn tight with string. Sel catcher.

Te riena n tatae. Shallow net: 18 in hoop. Long pole.  
for catching gar fish.

Te riena ni bana. Four foot triangular flat tipped: illustration.

Te bana n aine. Globular. Three foot diam. Deep  
water trap.

Te bana }

Te u }

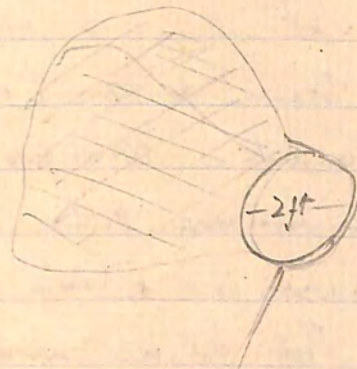
See

Kami Kabaru - rat trap.

Katatai - bird trap (for killing a single one)

matamea - bird snare for many.

reua  
nurakaraka



Kibena

Te Kuanu 18 inch.



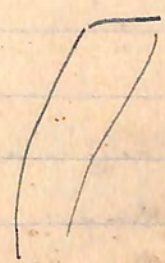
Reua mi tana

Bait Bait



opening

Rock + bait



5. Inlet: Canals,  
mess, etc.

Matamea n te sabono }  
Te kai ni Kabobo. }

Te Karanu. Seine net.

Te Karibetai. Hollow floats, te mas.

Wenibuna. Weights of shell called te bun.

Te rai. Weidens

Te Kainoa. Pole of wri-wood: 12 ft. at end a loop  
or te abo. Used with Kaneati hook for  
bonito which was played on a line passing  
through loop.

Te manuna. Flat net on two end sticks:

12 ft long by six broad. Held at opening  
in funnel shaped traps through which fish  
go to sea. Or used in company with men  
who beat shallows with coconut leaves.

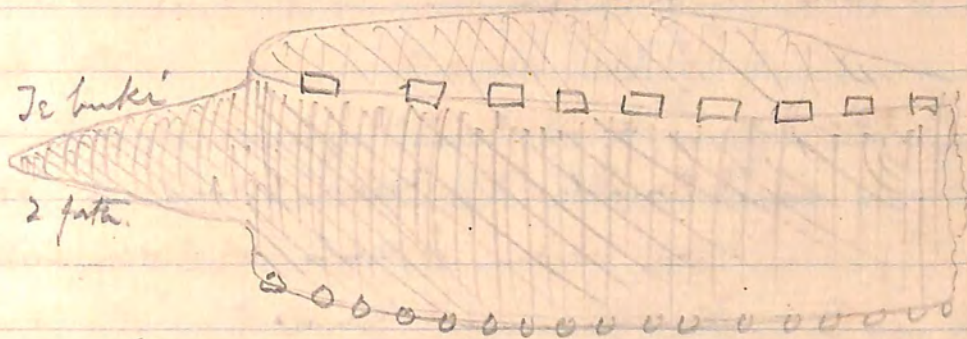
Te Katiaki rai

On ocean reef at 2 foot.

Fish driven ashore by coconut leaves  
in trailers of 60-200 yards long: by  
day. By night te mai is used in  
same fashion.

Te tao rai Fish driven in same way into  
a pool staken at low tide.

Te Karama



Te manuna  
man man



Kaibetia, used in line & rod fishing. Cigar shaped six inches long. lies on water. when fish strikes it stands.

Taomata



Te manuna: canoes,  
& mess, etc.

Te Karuwai. 15 foot spear of coconut wood  
for stinging. Or wai with ironwood  
tip.

Lures were made ① with sinnet. Two ply as a  
rule.

② Sinnet and female hair  
at end.

③ Bark strips.

Torches were made of dried coconut leaves and  
also of te iu, which was tied up very  
tight with coconut leaflets.

Kakimkiri. Shells shaken together  
under water at end of string  
to attract fish.

Te ua was a particularly holy and  
important method of fishing. Two poles  
were

It was native custom to put away wife for at least four  
days before a fishing expedition. (cf. also Caroline  
(Fiji) practice. Christmas p. 241.)

Forbidden fish.

I. Tabun tē kaina! Bon tē ika ae Tenari, ba aīka  
E maninga Atun iai ao ko aki wīngi buran au  
kaina ma E riai wīngakina ba e aonga ni ma-  
tairiki tē kaina ma Ninaki kewekewe ao e  
aki baba nanom iai!

II Tabun tē aomata ūkara E kaunaki nakon tē un Ke'  
tē buaka; Bon tē ika ae Tekwinawa, Ao ngkōa e ka-  
naki ao e kakai matē iai, Ao e itua tē aoraki  
ae Tenimanu ao e aki oa karana ni mate!

III Tabun tē buai! Ko na aki kana tē ika ae Te-  
rinai ba ngkōo ko kama ao ko aki buai  
ma ni buracrae iai; I bukini maranranin  
tē ika aei!

IV Tabun tē ika ae Tebaitai, E na aki kanaki  
ioun tē aine ae Bikoukou ba ngkana E  
kama ao e na baoua matan tē ataei iai!  
I bukina ba e mena irarikina matan tē  
ika aei! Ma ngaiā ae aki kama tē  
Bikoukou iai!

V Tabun tē ika ae Tebana! E na aki ka-  
kanaki ioun tē Bikoukou ba ngkana e  
kama ao E ngenge iai tē ataei! I bukina  
ba E ngenge tē ika ae Tebana!

5. inetai: canots,  
m.s., etc.

VI. Tabun tē ika ae Jennewe! E na aki kanna tē aomata, ba ngkana e kanna ao e na kinaka ma ni makooko, ao e tabuaki naba tē aine ae Bikoukou ni kanna ba ngkana e kanna ao a tēi burraeni matan tē ataei iai! I bukina ba a tēi burraeni matan tē ika ae!

VII Tabun tē ika ae Jeon! E na aki kanna tē aomata ba ngkana e kanna, ao e kinaka tē aine ma Je mane, ao tē tēi iai, ba kivina ngka-e kawakawa tē ika ae, ao e autaki i matani kunin tē ataei, ao rakin tē ika ae!

VIII Tabun tē ika ae a tia ni koreaki mai Jari ao arana tē nikira n a bea, ngkana e kanna tē aine, ae Bikoukou Eninimoti bain tē ataei ao e kani kira. I bukini koreakina ma kabachaeana.

IX Tabun tē ika ae Jeane! E na aki kanaki iroun tē tēi ni mane, ke tē tēi n aine ba ngkana e kanna ao e na waiwai iai! Ba i bukini irikona ae buakaka

X. Tabun tē ika ae Jekua! E na aki kanaki iroun tē tēi n aine ba aor ngkwa e maka tē wi iai! Ma e riai kanakina ngkana e maiti riki

nahoni wai ke tē nāi, ba e manī kanakina  
iai!

XI Tabun tē ika ae Tekuni! E na aki kanaki i-  
roun tē tēi n aine; ba ngkana e kanna  
ao e ma tā kuu ana kie ma ni buakaka!  
I bukina ba e a ranaki tē ika aei ba Tekuni;

XII Tabun tē ika ae Tebukibuki; E na aki kana  
ki iroun tē aomata ni bone ba ngkana  
e kanaki ao E roko ai am ni un ao  
ho na maku manī buki buki manawam  
I bukin aran tē ika aei! ae Tebukibuki

XIII Tabun tē ika ae Tekekerikaki! E na aki  
kanaki n tē tēi ni buaka; I bukina ba  
ngkana ko-uni ma ai am ao ko biri na  
ko ni kerikaki ao ko a māna oki ni un  
I bukin arana ae Tekekerikaki;

XIV Tabun tē ika ae Teaubuā; E bon aki  
kanaki irouia aomata ba ngkana E  
kanaki ao e na mara atum iai,  
I bukini makakananan Tonotono-  
na, Ma ngaiā are maran ran aon  
Atum n na kea burano.

XV Tabun tē ika ae Tebatua; E na aki  
kanaki i rouia aomata ba ngkana

Teaubuā: Canoe,  
ma, etc.



E kanaki ao e roko ai am ni un ao e ka-  
nai nako im, N' nas te irake ba kain atum  
te Biti aei; ao ngoia e maku naki tei  
rake ao arana te batihu. I bukin aran  
te ika ae Jehatitu!

XVI. Jabun te ato ni ika ni bone! E na aki  
kanaki ironia aomata, ba angko e na  
reke aia tai ni makoroua ngkana  
aun ao a mate naba ba kioina a  
kana te ato ae boni kabakoa.

XVII. Jabun te ika ae Teinai! E aki kanaki  
ironia aine, ba ngkana a kanna  
ao e na buki mangarua a tuia  
iai! Ba kioina e manga bukin  
te ika ae Teinai!

Names of different patterns in mat weaving given  
by Kei Nibarara Matanoko: -

Te Bainibem, Te Kabwebwe, Te inarika,  
Te Nān Koto, Te tena, Te i-Mone, Te baineitei,  
Te wāu, Te iribaietana, Te Kama Kama,  
Te Kanoanimata, Te waelimakamo, Te  
nokonokonira, Te Kaonira, Te roata, Te  
aomata, Te nokonokoniamiki, Te ri,  
Te winibakea, Te tānini, Te uponimoa-  
-aine, Te Kāunta, Te bwebwe, Te Kabwe,  
Te Kamaerere, Te Kamāi, Te Karoro, Te  
Kawāki

Te Kamaerere: Canoe,  
Te Karoro, etc.

Women's work.

Awake & about just before dawn. If not was  
ashamed & derided. Drink of Kamaimai.

Nibaki. Collecting babai leaves ~~and pandanus~~  
leaves to put round babai roots. Before dawn.

Jobon. Sifting black earth in Kamarei for babai  
pits. Before dawn. Left on bank for use.

Ithrai. Drawing water in coconut shells.

1 Burikaiao. Plucking Kaura (*wedelia strigulosa*)  
flowers before dawn. These to be dried  
in sunlight for babai pits.

When this is done she eats. Coconut, fish,  
Kakubu. If she is going to work at babai  
pits she eats no fish, for fear of hands  
getting dirty: babai believed to die of rot  
& worms if hands dirty. Also if menstruating  
must not work babai. Also must not  
eat during night or smoke in morning.

After meal mat-plaiting or  
preparing mat-material. This all  
day until night = also maai, basket  
etc. <sup>gumuna</sup> <sup>gumuna</sup>  
gumuna te ika: gumuna te  
<sup>awaawa</sup>  
babai: gawa te Kamaimai u te nana:

gumuna: canoe,  
mess, etc.

Te taebenn: te taerivi; brikane; musta, bunna;  
umuna te ton: ~~ika te ton~~: a awa te ba:

a <sup>Kakana</sup> Kanoa te Kora; a wairau; a tororan.

a Tabearia: te taebenn; te boran; fishing  
on shallows for octopus, te wrakaraka, shell  
fish, rod fishing especially ninimai: o-rin: nam.

She carries everything on return from  
food collecting with man.

No woman may climb.

No woman may kibe.

Woman menstruating may not eat with  
others for 3 days after cessation. On 4<sup>th</sup>  
day she may return, but all remnants of  
her <sup>exposed</sup> food must be thrown away. She kept  
separate drinking vessels for menses.

Woman who could make fire was  
praised.

Old women especially fed the fire.

Matawauwe

Tahariki

Tituabine

Karongoa man = Bakoa woman

Karongoa-girl = Keaki man

Keaki-boy = Bakabaka girl

Keaki girl = Kamuaetoa man

Keaki boy = Wiwi girl

Kamuaetoa children

Keaki children.

Towatu ←

Auriana

Mata.

Tahariki

Karongoa man = Bakoa woman

Wiwi man = Karongoa girl

Karongoa boy = Keaki girl

Wiwi children

Karongoa children

to Tahariki: Canoe,  
mess, etc.

Bare shell prob. a variety of Natica.

in Naticton: Canals,  
, Miss, etc.

## Kamaimai.

The toddy cut at dawn & taken at noon was supposed to be best for making Kamaimai.

Only people of the utu could touch this toddy.

Boiled at once, in coconut shells.

Wood fire made above ground.

When boiled to about half the contents of half the shells was poured into the others and the empty ones thrown away.

Again boiled down & the process repeated.

So on until solid called te-baku-maista. Thick glutinous yellow ball. Pieces cut and mixed with water or other food.

1. Maran. Mainakoian. First boiling
2. Maran } Second boiling  
Frannatu } when treachy.
3. Matawarebwe. When slow  
sticky bubbles arise  
in boiling.
4. Karebwebwe. When it sets  
glutinously on cooling.
5. Bakamaista.

Je Kaben. When boiling has reached  
Maran stage throw in half  
handful of grated coconut  
& let boil a minute or two.



# Kabuba.

Tāneene

1. Cut tabataba (sweet end) off & throw away hard end (bikenisi).
2. Remove the tabataba, about 1 hour.
3. Heap it on the nabinabi (mat about 3 1/2 ft. square) doubled. Sides raised on stones.
4. Pound the cooked fruit with pemphis pestle, until it is crushed (manhi).
5. Separate with hands into clots about as big as a loaf of bread and put these on separate mat. (buabua)
6. When this is done take each clot individually before you and knead it energetically with closed fists, until it is close packed and solid. (Kabura)  
Shape rectangular long
7. As each cake is ready, cover it with rawan of plaited leaf. Reverse so that nabinabi is on

lumps  
called karibi

top & leaf underneath. Set leaf  
with contents to dry in sun (Tawala)  
Continually turn cake until  
sunset.

8. At sunset place cake in urn  
oven on a foundation of sticks  
to keep it clear of embers &  
leave till morning.

9. Set in sun again until  
evening every day for a week  
or so.

10. In a karababa. Set in heaps  
of about ten each on fire, continually  
taking undermost to put on  
top until they are all  
brown.

11. Cool in mats. When cold  
break up into clumps  
& pound into powder.