

## HAWAIIAN CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS RELATING TO BIRTH AND INFANCY

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**M**OST of the material for this paper was collected by Miss Laura Green of Honolulu from an educated Hawaiian young woman, Mrs. Mary Pukui, whose father is an American from Salem, Massachusetts, and whose mother is the child of a Samoan father and a native Hawaiian mother brought up in the district of Kau, Hawaii. Miss Green is of missionary descent and has spoken the Hawaiian language from childhood. Although some references are made to accounts of ancient belief, there is no attempt made here to offer a complete study of old Hawaiian custom. Mrs. Pukui has related those customs and beliefs which are a part of Hawaiian lore to-day and with which she has come in contact in her own experience.

The main authorities cited on these subjects are the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore* edited by Mr. Thomas Thrum and published by the Bishop Museum of Honolulu in 1916-1919; David Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities*, translated by Dr. N. B. Emerson, 1898, and edited by Dr. W. P. Alexander; Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, second edition, London, 1832, and *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, London, 1826. Haleole's romance of *Laielikawai*, translated in the 33rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1919, is a mine of information in regard to old folk custom.

### BELIEFS ABOUT PREGNANCY

A very detailed folk-lore prescribes minutely for the future disposition, appearance, and health of the child as established by the mother during pregnancy, especially in regard to her craving for particular kinds of food. In some cases, the observance of taboos will avert the chance of evil. If an expectant mother finds the thread knotting or kinking as she sews, she must smooth out the thread quickly lest the child at birth should be strangled in

its own navel-cord. She should not sit in the middle of the doorway lest she be struck on the back of the head (by a spirit) and the child be killed. She should not string or salt fish, for if the fish should spoil, the child would be cursed with catarrh.<sup>1</sup>

Should an expectant mother have a particular longing to see one of her friends, that friend will be specially loved by the child. Such a longing is called *kou-na-maka*, "rest the eyes." If it is impossible for the friend to appear, a relative must take a smooth stone, place it in the center of the doorway and call out, "Here is so-and-so!" The mother will be immediately comforted. Mrs. Pukui has herself seen this little ceremony.

Should a woman become ill during pregnancy, her child will have a mean nature. If she is troubled with constant nausea, he will not provide for her. Whatever special food she desires a few days before the child's birth will be the child's favorite dish. The kind of food she craves determines some special characteristic of the child. If she desires *palani* (the "surgeon fish" which emits a rank odor) the child will have a foul-smelling skin and any fish that he may catch will also have a bad odor. If she wants *kole* (a brown fish with red eyes), the child will have pretty sparkling eyes. If she desires *aholehole* (silver fish) or *manini* (a kind of coral-reef fish),<sup>2</sup> the child will be shy; if *opihi* (a bivalve that clings tight to the rock), he will be affectionate; when he loves a person, nothing but death can separate him. If she craves *wana* (sea-urchin), he will be silent and harmless if let alone, but if disturbed he will seek to do harm; if *o-opu-poo-paa* (literally "hard-headed" gobey), the child will be obstinate; if

<sup>1</sup> Fornander (*Collection*, 3:2) describes the taboos which a pregnant woman must observe. "She must not eat fish salted by others; she must not eat white-fish, the *aku*, the *opelu*, or the mullet. She must not eat a brown-colored dog; she must not gird herself with a glittering skirt (*pa-u*). She was not to wear old garments; she was not to dwell in an old house; that was strictly forbidden."

Taboos were also enforced upon the child, who was "not to eat out of any old vessel which formerly contained anything filthy," and upon those who had care of the child, who were forbidden to eat "pig or coconut, or any unclean or filthy food," nor must their garments be greasy with such food. Death was the penalty for those who broke the taboo in waiting upon the child. These taboos were observed only for the children of high chiefs.

<sup>2</sup> In Haleole's Hawaiian romance of *Laielikawai* it is the spawn of the *manini* that *Laielikawai's* mother sends her husband to fish for just before the birth of the twins.

*hilu* (a fish found in the coral-reef), this is a good omen for the child will be one of few words, quiet and industrious. If the mother craves mullet, the child will wander just where he pleases, like a full-grown mullet; if *opae* (shrimp), the child will have a somewhat wandering disposition, but will never go very far from home. *Panau e like me ka opae*, "Restless as a shrimp," is the saying. If the mother desires wild duck, the child will have a roving wild nature. If she desires some other bird, he will be a wanderer going from place to place, establishing a home and abandoning it to go elsewhere to make another. If she wishes a cock, he will be a good chanter. *Lea' i ke oli*, "Pleasure in chanting," is the saying. If she craves dog, the child will be a quarrelsome person, lazy, dirty, and gluttonous. If she wishes *luau* (taro-tops cooked like greens), the child will have a pleasant quiet disposition and answer questions only by nodding or shaking the head like the swaying of the taro-leaf. If she wants sour fruit, the child will have a sour disposition; if some sweet and some sour fruit, he will be sometimes cross, but quickly forgive and forget and become happy and sunny in disposition.

The locality from which the desired food is to be obtained also marks the child's nature. If the fish the mother longs for comes from the deep sea, the child will be of a roving nature—perchance leave home for good. If the fish lives near the shore, he may roam but will always return. If she craves land food, he will remain always at home.

Birthmarks may be determined in color and shape by the kind of food the mother craves before the child's birth. A craving for *moi* (fish of the thread-fin family), causes a white mark; that for *humuhumu-nukunuku-a-puaa* (a species of trigger-fish), a black mark; that for *ohia* (mountain apple), a red mark; and for yam, a large dark-brown spot. The craving for *okele* (a sea-creature resembling a sea anemone), leaves a mark resembling an anemone; that for shark leaves one like a small brown shark.

The sex of a child may be foretold before it is born by asking the mother for her hand.<sup>3</sup> If she gives it palm up, she will have

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haleole's romance of Laieikawai, chapter 1, where the expectant mother gives "her left hand with the palm upward" and is told she will have a daughter.

a daughter; if palm down, a son. If she gives both hands she will have twins, their sex to be determined by the position of the palms. A young woman from Hana district on the island of Maui told me that the practise was a common one among the older people of her district.

#### BIRTH<sup>4</sup>

So far as reported, the only presage which heralds a birth in a commoner's family is the cry of the night-bird called *ewaewaiki*, which tells of the birth of a child in the neighborhood. For a chief there are signs in the heavens.<sup>5</sup>

If a child at birth faces toward the door, he will be a provider for outsiders, not for his own family. If he turns to any relative, that person will be the child's favorite.

#### BIRTHEMARKS<sup>6</sup>

The position of birthmarks, called *ila*, on the child's body is indicative of his nature in mature life. A child born with a

<sup>4</sup> In old days, special care was taken that the first-born of a high chief should be born in a peculiarly sacred spot. Such a place was Kukaniloko in the uplands of Waiawa on the island of Oahu. See *33rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, page 339 and references in the footnote, for a description of this place and of the ceremony prescribed at the birth of the royal child.

Fornander (*Collection*, 3:110) names a special priest whose duty it was to examine with his hands the bones and arteries of the child and see if anything was out of place in order to set it right at once "Lest it grow upon him to develop when he becomes a man grown." Old Hawaiians are very skilful in such manipulation. Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, 1:261) describes the practise in some parts of Polynesia of shaping a boy's head with the hands so as to give him a war-like appearance.

<sup>5</sup> Fornander (*Collection* 3:108), says, "These signs, such as the clapping of thunder, the flashings of lightning, and the rain and wind on the ocean were all signs of royalty and pertained either to a dying chief, a travelling chief, or the birth of a chief." Stories about Kaméhaméha the Great represent him as born during a night of violent thunder-storm. A double clap of thunder heralded the birth of the twins in Haleole's romance (chapter 1) and a rainbow arched over the place in which Laieikawai was hidden. So in Fornander's story of *Kiha piilani* the rank of the chief is revealed by the presence of rainbows. Rain is regarded as a symbol of wealth in Hawaiian ceremonial, and a rainfall on a night of prayer is therefore of good augury (*Malo*, 208-209).

<sup>6</sup> See Fornander (*Collection*, 3:134-138). According to Fornander, the following characteristics accompany moles on particular parts of the body:

Feet (instep)—lazy and unsettled.

birthmark on his abdomen will be of mean disposition, that is, *opu ino*, "bad-bellied"; if on the chest, he will be kind; if on the feet or legs, he will be a great traveler; if on the thigh, he will like to sleep with his leg thrown about a pillow, called *hoouka*. A mark on the shoulder denotes a burden-bearer; on the hand, a worker; on the palm, a thief; on the neck, a fondness for wearing wreaths. If a mark is on the mouth, he will be a gossip; if on the ears, an eaves-dropper; if on the eyes, critical or *maka loi*, "disapproving eyes." If the mark is on the forehead he will become learned.

#### THE AFTERBIRTH

Special care must be given to the disposition of the afterbirth and the navel cord of a child at birth. The afterbirth must be thoroughly washed in order that the child may not suffer from sore eyes, and then buried.

After burying the afterbirth, a tree was in old days planted over the spot and on no account was it to be cut down as long as the child lived. Mrs. Pukui knew a woman on Hawaii who had a row of trees of uneven height in her garden to which she would point one after the other and say, "Why yes, that one is Irene, that Agnes and that Elijah."

To insure bright-looking eyes to a girl, the parents would hide the afterbirth in the hollow of a young pandanus "to sharpen

Feet (top)—lazy and wandering, but in less degree.

Leg (below knee)—itinerant, but not unstable.

Leg (above knee)—itinerant but a worker.

Privates—lascivious.

Back—selfish and inconsiderate.

Neck (back)—strong to lift burdens.

Neck (throat)—gluttonous.

Nose—"a kissing mole."

Forehead—attentive and resolute.

Crown—learned.

Wrist-bone—a good wrestler.

Lip—a tale-bearer.

Palm—a thief.

Eye-brows—ill-natured and selfish.

Fornander (ibid, 138-142) reports the signs which determine a child's characteristics according to the month in which he is born.

the eye-lashes,"—*i'ooi na lihilihi maka*. Just as the tree has sharp thorns, so the eye-lashes and eye-brows will become sharper and give the eye a bright sharp look.

Many stories occur in which an afterbirth or abortive child is thrown into the water and becomes a family guardian spirit in animal form.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE NAVEL-CORD

The same care surrounds the umbilical cord. The ancient ceremony of cutting the navel-cord of a child of high rank is described by Fornander.<sup>8</sup> When the blood flows the priest declares, "This is a rich child!" In the highly poetical song of the birth of the Hawaiian islands quoted by Fornander<sup>9</sup> and doubtless referring to the families of chiefs who ruled over them, the small rock island of Molokini is called "the navel-string" from the island of Kahoolawe, which was "born a foundling." The high chief Uluhina, whose function it was to cut the navel-string of new-born babes, is represented as cutting the navel-cord for this foundling and wearing it with the afterbirth as a loin-cloth. Afterwards he throws it away into the water and there is born out of it the little rock island of Molokini which hugs Kahoolawe so closely. In Haleole's romance of *Laielikawai*, the old great uncle who saves the life of the twin sister Lailohelohe, wears her navel-cord about his neck to keep it from harm. Again, in the legend of *Lonoikamakahiki*<sup>10</sup> the young chief asks his retainers, "If my navel-string is yet in your keeping, then tie it together with my father's bundle of war-spears." That is, he wishes it put away with those things which he has singled out as precious from his father's treasure-house.

The preservation of the navel-cord is still regarded as an important charge upon the parents or guardians of a child until it can be deposited in some sacred or safe spot especially reserved for such disposition. Should it chance to be eaten by a rat, the child will become a chronic thief.

Mr. Joseph Emerson writes as follows: "It is the custom of

<sup>7</sup> Cf. American Anthropologist, n. s., 19:504.

<sup>8</sup> Fornander *Collection*, 3:6.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 1:4,8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 1:258.

Hawaiian parents to pay great attention to the umbilical cord which is detached from a young infant. The *piko*, as they call it, is salted and wrapped up in a piece of *tapa* (native bark cloth) or put in a bottle and carefully preserved among the treasures. When a suitable occasion offers, perhaps many years after the birth of the child, the *piko* is taken by (the child's) parents to its final resting-place and deposited in as secure a manner as possible. . . . in order to prevent its being eaten or gnawed by rats or mice; for (should this happen) its owner will grow up a thief and a worthless character. *Pau piko i ka iole* ("Navel-cord gone to the rats") is a form of reproach that no Hawaiian will tolerate. On Molokai, a favorite place of deposit is in the sand at the base of Kalapapa cliff, at a spot known as *Ka-piko-one*, "The sand of the navel-cord." At Hilo, Hawaii, the place of deposit is in the Wailama river at its deepest point. The *piko* is first securely placed in a hole in a small stone (before being cast into the water). In Puna, Hawaii, famous for its cocoanut and *hala* trees, it is common to plant a young cocoanut and bury the *piko* under it or to secrete the same among the upper leaves of the *hala* tree where the pricklers would effectually check the approach of rats. At Honomolino landing in South Kona, Hawaii, there is a rock of legendary interest which, though it rather obstructs the approach of boats to the landing, the natives say nothing can remove. At very low tide it appears at the surface of the water. Thither anxious parents seeking the welfare of their offspring are wont to come from all parts of South Kona to secrete the *piko*. A hole is made or found in the rock, through which the *piko* is thrust. A small stone is then rammed in solidly to close the opening."

On July 1st, 1914, I visited two sacred rocks in Puna district on the island of Hawaii which are used for the depositing of the navel string by old Hawaiians in the vicinity. These rocks lie on the northern and southern boundary lines of the division (*ah-upuaa*) of land called Apuki. They are in the form of great smooth lava mounds of the formation called *pahoehoe*. The rocks themselves are pictured with cup-shaped hollows cut into the smooth surface, some with rings cut about them, some with two rings. All about in the smooth lava surface surrounding the mound are

pictographs of a more or less complicated kind. This is especially true of the mound on the north, called Puuloa. The other mound is called Puumanawalei, or "Hill of the bringing of the people together with rejoicing," and has very few markings. Puuloa means "Long hill," a name which may have in it some indication of sacredness to the gods. My informant was a native Hawaiian named Konanui, but not a very reliable fellow. He explained the markings as follows. The cups were made as a depository for the navel cord. A single cup was made for each child. Cups with rings about them were made for a first-born; with two rings for the first-born of a chief (*alii*). In some instances a number of cups were encircled with a single ring; this he said represented a family group, probably of a chief. Some of the pictures in the lava about the mound represented a *moo* or lizard, some a shark, some a *pulohu* or taboo signal in the shape of a round ball on the point of a staff, some "gods." One picture in the form of a cross, Konanui said, depicted the signal borne before a chief when he was traveling. Men bear the two ends, where calabashes are hung containing provisions; a torch is fastened to one bar; on the upright is fastened a *ka-lai-pahoa* or fetish object. When men traveled about the island, they camped at this place and drew the pictures here represented.

I give Konanui's explanations for what they are worth. He certainly did regard the markings with reverence, for when I began to chalk them before photographing I saw him give a start as if he thought I was about to disturb them in some way. This reverence was evidently stronger for the cup-markings on the mound than for the pictographs about it. I believe his explanation of the pictographs is probably correct, for in old days men traveled about the island once a year to collect the imposts and this point just on the borderline of a land division was a likely enough place for a camp. But the fact that the cup-markings on the rock are now used for the depositing of the navel-cord is not proof that they were originally cut for this purpose.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* (1823) in his appendix upon the *Hawaiian Language*, reports seeing along the southern coast "a number of straight lines, semi-circles, or concentric rings, with some rude imitations of the human figure

That they are still so used I was assured by my native Hawaiian hostess at Kalapana, born in Kamoamoa in 1862. For each of his fifteen children her father had made the journey to Puuloa and deposited the navel-cord. The method is to lay the cord in the hole and place a stone over the opening. The party camps overnight and when the stone is removed in the morning the cord has vanished. Since the loose lava-rock of this section swarms with insect scavengers, it is not necessary to attribute the supposed action of the gods to any special miracle.

#### HAIR TABOO<sup>12</sup>

If the parents are told in a dream not to cut a child's hair, that child has a very sacred head from the gods, called *poo kapu loa*, and to ignore the warning would bring disaster.

There is a general belief that to cut the hair, except to clip the ends, is unlucky.

A girl's hair was always well cared for and remained long until the time of marriage, when it was bobbed and the braid left with either her own or her adopted parents, called *kahu hanai*. The cutting of the hair signified the severing of the ties which held the girl to her parents. The braid became a keepsake and was often twisted into a cord for the *lei palaoa* or hair necklace, a number of woven strands of which were worn about the neck attached to a polished whale-tooth ornament as a sign of the rank of a chief.

#### NAMING CUSTOMS<sup>13</sup>

In old times no family name was given to a child. "Each child was born individually," says Mrs. Pukui. But to-day it is more common to give such. Nor is there any sex difference in names, according to Mrs. Pukui; names are given interchangeably to a girl or to a boy. Nevertheless in the romance of Laieikawai it is to be observed that most of the women bear names of plants

carved in the compact rocks of lava," which were ascribed to former travellers. The dots or marks in the center were explained as men; the circles denoting a journey completely around the island. Cf. Stokes, *Hawaiian Petroglyphs*, Bishop Museum Honolulu.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Emerson's note (8), Malo, 185.

<sup>13</sup> The subject of the name-song which is composed at the birth of a child of rank is not treated in this paper.

while the men bear such as indicate rank or prowess. It is possible that this is Haleole's own device.

Any one of a number of considerations may determine a child's name. Relatives or friends often name a "favorite child" after their own name and such children are referred to as "*kuu inoa*," or "my name." Hawaiians are apt to confer a fancy name or a family name of their own upon a white person whom they love.

A name is often given to a child to commemorate an event which happened at or about the time of its birth. One of the young men who, early in the history of white influence in the islands, went to New England in a whaler and was later found weeping on the steps of Yale College because of his compassion for his nation steeped in paganism, was named Opu-kaha-ia, that is, "Abdomen-cut-open," probably because a chiefess in that vicinity was unable to bear a child in the regular way, and this boy was named for that event. In those days priests performed a sort of cesarian operation with a piece of sharpened bamboo.

Hawaiian children sometimes receive names with an offensive meaning. Sometimes such a name is chosen as a protection for the infant, just as adoption is practised for the same reason. If, despite the best of care a number of children die in a family, it is believed that a *uhane kuewa* or "wandering spirit" has snatched away the children. In order to save the next child by making him appear disgusting to the spirit, the child is given an offensive name, such as *Pilau* (stench), *Pupuka* (ugly or worthless), *Kukae* (excrement), or *Kukae-kahiko* (old excrement) and *Kukae-maloo* (dry excrement). Ku-kahiko, the wife of the high chief Laa-nui, was a woman of low birth. Her name was originally *Kukae-kahiko*, but when she married into the nobility she changed her name to Ku-kahiko. Hence the riddle "*Kahiko hoi oe, aone ou nui ae*," "Ancient you are but still you are small," although it puns on the word *kahiko* (ancient) and *ku* (indicating retarded growth), also glances satirically at the woman's humble birth.

There is another reason for giving a child an offensive name. If a person has been given a bad name by one who is angry with her she will pass the epithet on to a relative's child or to an adopted infant, who also bears another name as well. Chiefs

whom anyone disliked got uncomplimentary names attached to them like *Hookano*, (proud), *Pupuka*, (worthless), *Ka aihue*, (the thief), *Kamakaeha* (sore eyes), which was one of the Queen Liliu-okalani's names. The chief to whom such a name was attached usually transferred it to the child of a dependent or to an adopted child, with the prefix *alii* (chief), as, *Ke alii hookano* (the proud chief); *Ke alii kanaka ole* (the chief without servants); *Ke alii pio* (the captive chief). Such a name is called *inoa kuamuamu*, or "scurrilous name." The reason Mrs. Pukui gives for this practise is to shame the giver of the scurrilous epithet, which will now live as long as the child; but it looks as if there were a deeper reason than this, perhaps depending upon fear of the power of a curse and the wish to avert it to some other and helpless recipient.

No child could be given such an opprobrious epithet for a name who had received a "secret name" from the gods. A secret name is called *inoa kahea o ka po*, or "name announced by the gods." It is revealed in a dream by the gods to some member of the family and will insure luck and protection to the child by the god or goddess for whom the child is named. The name may be revealed either before or immediately after birth and must be given to the child at once, for failure to so name it would result in the death or crippling of the child. Mrs. Pukui's secret name is *Ka-wena-ula-o-ka-lani-a-Hiika-i-ka-poli-o-Pele*, meaning "The rosy reflection in the heavens made by Hiika in the bosom of Pele." The "secret name" is supposed to be kept only in the family. If a scrcerer is able to proclaim it, that fact seals him as a *kahuna ike*, "supernatural sorcerer" or seer.

The following story from Kau district on Hawaii recounts the giving of such a name by a god.

A woman at Waikapuna often had dreams of a lover appearing to her from the ocean depths. Her husband was naturally indignant, and when he knew that a child was coming, he told his wife that if the baby was born from her mouth he would allow it to live, for then he would know it was the child of a god, but if it came in the natural way, he would kill it. One day the woman went to the beach and sat by a *kaheka*, or shallow pool where the water had filled a rock-bound depression. She was eating sugar-cane, and as one of her eyes irritated her, she rubbed it vigorously. The eye forthwith fell out and from its cavity came a wee shark which she named Ka-lani ("The heavens") and cast into the ocean. When she returned home, her husband

believed her story because of the missing eye. The father of this shark was Kua, the shark-god, and the birth-place is still called Ai-na-ko, "Eating of cane," to this day.

Kalani became very friendly with two fishermen and used to bring them shell-fish on his back, meanwhile driving a whole school of fish before him into their net. One of these men had a daughter named Kalawaia-holona, or "Amateur fisherman," which name had been bestowed on these two friends in ridicule. Her first son died and her next baby was still-born. Her father's companion was a *kahuna*, or seer. He saw that Kalani was incensed because his friends did not name the child after him. So he placed the still-born infant in an *umeke*, or calabash, held it up toward the rising sun and prayed, calling the child Hanau-maka-o-ka-lani, "Heavenly-born-eye," and as soon as he did so the little girl revived.

#### THE MAWAEWAE, OR CEREMONY TO INSURE MILK TO THE MOTHER

Two important ceremonies are carried out for the child in infancy,<sup>14</sup> one to insure milk to the mother, called the ceremony of *mawaewae*, "to clear the way," the other the *ukuhi* or "weaning."

In old days the mother's milk was all the milk the baby had, before goats and cows were introduced. But the ceremony to insure milk to a mother to feed her baby is still performed among all classes. A member of the family fetches a gourd full of spring water and a sweet potato vine about a foot and a half in length. The mother then stands at the door facing the rising sun, takes the potato vine and dips it into the calabash. Smiting herself with the vine on the right breast she says, "E, *Ku, e! Ho mai a nui, a mapuna puna, a kahe a wai!*" "O *Ku*,<sup>15</sup> listen! I want milk for my baby; give me milk in abundance like a bubbling spring, flowing like water." Again smiting herself on the left breast she repeats the same.

In families of chiefs and priests, as Mrs. Pukui says, soon after the birth of a first-born child, a more complex ceremonial is employed. For this ceremony a member of the family must secure

<sup>14</sup> No special ceremony attends a child's naming day. If in case of a revelation from a god the child is named immediately, nothing more is done, that being sufficient. But if the naming is neglected and the child falls violently ill, the family must give a feast for the gods. Pork and several kinds of fish and *awa* drink are served and the child named by a member of the family at the door, after begging the god's pardon. The god then partakes of the spirit of the food while the family eat the substance, all bones left from the feast being carefully gathered and buried.

Ordinarily, however, there are no naming days, but feasts are given on the child's birthday, especially the first year.

<sup>15</sup> *Ku* is one of the four great gods of Hawaii, *Hina* is his wife.



from the sea *aholehole* (a fish resembling white perch or sea bass), *kuapaa* ("hard-back," a marine mollusk), *kala* (a species of surgeon fish), *aama* (black crab), *limu* (sea-weed), and from the stream *opae* (shrimp). All this food is placed upon a *ti*-leaf (*Cordyline terminalis*). A pig has meanwhile been roasted in an underground oven. The tip of the ears, a bit of the nose and of each foot, the tip of the tail and a portion of the liver are cut off and placed on another *ti*-leaf. Half a coconut shell of *awa* drink is also given. The following prayer is then offered:

O Ku! Hina!  
Here is the sacrifice,  
The gift of love to you both.  
O ye gods,  
Give, O Ku, milk on the right side,  
Give, O Hina, milk on the left side,  
Transfer life to the mother  
And also to your offspring (literally "seedling"), your favorite,  
Until he creeps feebly, his steps totter and his breath is short  
(And he becomes ripe and brown) like a pandanus-leaf.  
Life is from you, O gods, until the blossoming at the end.  
Amama, it is freed.

E Ku! e Hina!  
Eia ka ai, he kanaenae aloha ia olua,  
E na akua,  
Ho mai, e Ku, i waiu ma ka aoao akau,  
Ho mai, e Hina, i waiu ma ka aoao hema,  
I ola no ka makuahine,  
A i ka olua pupapula, ka olua punahele,  
A kolo pupu, a hinewau, a poko ka hanu, a pala lauhala?  
Ke ola ia a olua, e na akua, a kau i ka pua aneane.  
Amama, ua noa, lele wale akula.

The mother must eat all the food offered to her on the two leaves and drink the *awa* before the family have finished eating the rest of the pig; nothing must be left but the bones, which must be gathered up carefully and burned to ashes or thrown into the ocean.

#### THE UKUHI OR WEANING CEREMONY<sup>16</sup>

Of *ukuhi* or weaning ceremonies there are many forms. The first four forms given here have been used in Mrs. Pukui's family

<sup>16</sup> The ceremony of circumcision which used to be practised by all Hawaiians in ancient times and is still occasionally practised, is described by Fornander (*Collection*,

for generations, she herself having been weaned by the "stone" form (number 2). The fifth form was used by Mrs. Annie Woolsey when she weaned her first child. All consist in the use of particular objects, an interrogation and assent, a prayer, a test of the reaction of the child upon the objects presented, followed by a feast called *aha-aina ukuhi* or "weaning feast." The distinguishing factor is the object selected for the test.

1. Mother and child face the person who performs the ceremony. Two ripe *lele* ("flying") bananas are placed before them. The officiating person asks, *Ua makemake anei oe-elele ka waiu mai ia oe aku* "Do you desire, so-and-so, the milk to fly away from you?"

The mother as proxy for the child says, *Ae!* "Yes!"

*E lele, a lele loa, aole e ai hou* "To fly, fly forever, and you never to partake of it again?"

The mother says, *Ae!*

Then the officiator repeats the following prayer:

O Ku, hearken! here are bananas, flying bananas,  
Make to fly the nursing of so-and-so.  
Not to relish, not to desire,  
Not in any way to take the breast.  
So be it, it is free."

E, Ku, e, eia ka maia, he maia lele.  
E hooele i ka ai waiu o—,  
Aole ka ono, aole ka makemake,  
Aole ma na ano a pau,  
Aole oia e kii hou i ka waiu.  
Amama,—ua noa.

The prayer is repeated with Hina's name substituted for Ku's. If the child grasps the bananas and tries to eat them, the ceremony is a success, but if he ignores them, the feast and ceremony are repeated at a later date.

2. Two round smooth stones are placed before the child. The same questions are asked and the same answers must be given. The prayer offered is as follows:

3:6) and by Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (translated by Emerson, 1898) 127-129; 182. The operation is a mere slitting and not circumcision in its strict sense, according to note (3) page 129. Cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1:258-261.

O Ku, listen! take away  
The sweetness of the milk,  
The desire for the milk,  
The teasing for the milk.  
So be it, it is free.

E, Ku, e! e lawe aku i  
Ka ono ana o ka waiu,  
Ka makemake o ka waiu,  
Ka hoopunini i ka waiu.  
Amama, ua noa.

The same prayer is made to Hina, but it ends with

Life to your offspring, until the blossoming at the end.  
E ola ka olua pulapula a kau i ka pua aneane.

This is followed by the *Amama*, etc.

Should the child grasp a stone and throw it out of doors he is weaned. If he pays no attention to the stones, or throws the one he takes indoors, the same feast and ceremony must be given again later on.

3. A calabash of water is placed in the same position as in the other two ceremonies, and questions, answers, and prayer follow the same form as in number 2. If the baby places his hands inside the calabash and splashes the water, the performance is successful; otherwise it must be repeated.

4. A pure white cock, called *moa uakea*, is placed before the mother and child and questions and answers and prayers are repeated as in 2 and 3. Should the child try to injure or kill the fowl the ceremony is a success, otherwise it must be repeated.

5. In a bowl of spring water were placed two flowers, one to represent Ku, the other Hina. On this occasion, the mother's grandmother performed the ceremony. Mother and child stood facing the east. (To the question "Why?" the answer was, "because they desired light not darkness"). The baby thrust her hands into the bowl and grasped *both* blossoms. This destroyed the charm, for one flower or the other should have been taken,—if Ku's then the prayer would be to him, if Hina's then to her. The family were greatly disappointed, but after a short time the mother had a dream revealing what she must do to insure success. An *ehu* (sandy-haired) woman appeared to her and told her to use one

red and one white blossom. Satisfactory results came from following her directions.

In the prayers the invocation is repeated to the god Ku and to his wife Hina because the feminine deities have control over the right side of the body, the masculine over the left side. The selection of the "flying" banana and the pun which employs it for the invocation are characteristic of the sacred use made of names in religious ritual. For example, in the ceremony to secure milk for the mother one of the fishes to be secured for the offering is the *kala*, a word which means "forgive." Thus the Hawaiians played upon the names of the foods which they placed before their gods.<sup>17</sup>

#### INFANTICIDE AND ADOPTION

Infanticide was practised by the aristocracy in old days often as a means of preserving rank. If a woman of chief rank was pregnant through a commoner, her relations watched for an opportunity to take the new-born child and put it immediately to death.<sup>18</sup> Sometimes a compassionate servant would take the child and hide it.

Common people practised infanticide to rid themselves of work.<sup>19</sup> Often they were too busy waiting on their chiefs to bother about raising children.

Adoption was practised by the common people for two reasons, either because it was too much trouble for the parents to raise the

<sup>17</sup> Malo tells us (op. cit. 119-127) that in old days, when women and children were not allowed to enter the men's house, or to eat with them, the weaning period was an important step for the boy because it marked the time of his leaving the woman's house, or *noa*, and entering the men's eating house or *nuu*. This was spoken of as *ua ka ia ka nuu*. After this time he was separated from his mother and brought up with the men of the household. The household idols were brought out, a pig's head offered, and the ear placed in a gourd hung about the neck of one of the idols as a symbol of wealth. At the feast, bananas, coconuts, and *awa* were offered to the gods and then eaten by the worshippers in order to lift the food taboo from the child, these articles of food being taboo for the women. The highly symbolic prayer quoted by Malo is much more elaborate than those prayers cited to-day for the weaning ceremony.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Malo, 98; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1:256; *Tour through Hawaii*, 300.

<sup>19</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1:248-258; *Tour through Hawaii*, 298-302. The attitude of Polynesian parents toward their infants in old days was much like our own toward a family of pups or kittens, which must so shock the sensibilities of a Brahmin.



child and some one else took a fancy to it, or as a protection to the child if the parents had themselves lost other children.

In a chief's family, a boy was often adopted by his father's relatives and the girl by her mother's; or one would be adopted and the other kept so that when they grew up they might be married. The issue of such a union of brother and sister of high rank belonged to the *alii niau pio*, chiefs of the highest rank. Such offspring ranked above either parent because they possessed double virtue from the double union.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Malo, 80-81, 99. Every care was taken to secure the purest line of descent for the first-born child; after the birth of the first-born, children might be born of inferior unions. The mother's rank always counted before the father's. Malo, 179, describes the religious ceremonies performed by the chiefs to secure offspring of divine rank. Cf. Fornander *Collection* 3:308. In Fornander's story of *Hinazimalama*, op. cit. 2:266, we have an account of such a brother and sister marriage. See also Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, 1:380.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE PLAINS EARTH LODGE

By RALPH LINTON

THE large earth-covered dwellings of the Indians living along the Missouri river have repeatedly been figured and described, and their general form is familiar to all students of American ethnology. Their origin is an archaeological problem which can not be solved until more work has been done in this region, but a study of the historic structures reveals some suggestive facts.

Earth lodges of the Plains type were constructed by some ten different tribes in historic times and a number of others have traditions of the use of some sort of earth-covered house. Several of the historic earth-lodge tribes seem to have originally used dwellings of other types. The Omaha and Ponca say that they borrowed the earth lodge from the Arikara<sup>1</sup> and this probably holds for the other tribes of the Dhegiha group. The Skidi Pawnee claim to have originally lived in tipis,<sup>2</sup> and the great individual variation in the structure of the lodges of all the Pawnee bands suggests that the type was not an ancient one among them. The Iowa and Oto claim to have used earth lodges in their old home in Minnesota, but those described in the Iowa tradition given by Pond<sup>3</sup> apparently were not of the regular Plains type. The historic lodges of the Oto seem to have been much like those of the Omaha, but had a peculiar secondary pit, in the middle of the excavated floor, where the residents could sit around the fire.<sup>4</sup> The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara say that they have used earth lodges from the earliest times and their historic lodges apparently showed less individual variation than those of any of the tribes to the south of them.

<sup>1</sup> Fletcher, A. C. and La Flesche, F.: *The Omaha Tribe*, 27th Annual Rep. B. A. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Dorsey, G. A.: *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, Boston, 1904, p. XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Pond: *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1852, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Bradbury, John: *Travels in the Interior of America*, etc. in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, R. G. Thwaites, editor, Cleveland, 1904, vol. 5, p. 79.