

Literature of the Settlement Period

Early Period of Return Voyaging and Settlement by Principal Families:

The 'Olopana Migrations to Hawai'i

The 'Olopana family migrations to Hawai'i are difficult to date because they are significantly early enough to be able to marry Kamapua'a to Pele (daughter of Haumea), and also be able to relate 'Olopana family in Waipi'o Hawaii to Kila's visit there during the period of Mo'ikeha toward the end of the voyaging period. (12th - 13th centuries A.D.). Fornander comments:

"...Among other southern families of note who arrive at the Hawaiian group during this migratory period, though now it is impossible to place them in their proper order...*Kalana-nuunui-kua-mamao*, *Humu*, and *Kamaunu-a-niho*, who came from Kahiki (the southern group) and landed at Kahahawai in Waihe'e, Maui. Aumu /sic/ [Humu] returned to Kahiki, being discontented with *Kalana*, who had taken *Kamaunu-a-niho* for wife.

"...They had a daughter, *Hina*, who became the wife of 'Olopana (not the brother of Mo'ikeha, the grandson of Maweke), who had arrived from Kahiki and settled at Ko'olau, O'ahu. To this Olopana is attributed the Heiau of Kawaewae at Kaneohe, O'ahu.

'Olopana's brother *Kahikiula* came with him from Kahiki. Both these families are said to have come from places in Kahiki called "Keolewa," "Haena-kulaina", and "Kauaniani"...With this family is connected the legend of *Kamapua'a*, whom story and fable have exalted into a demigod, assuming the nature of a man or that of a gigantic hog as suited his caprice. There was doubtless a historical foundation for the legend of *Kamapua'aa*. He is reported to have been the son of *Kahiki'ula* ('Olopana's brother) and *Hina*, 'Olopana's wife.

"He offended his uncle *Olopana* and rebelled against him, and after various battles was taken prisoner and condemned to be sacrificed but by the advice and assistance of Lonoaohi, the chief priest of 'Olopana, he surprised and slew his uncle in the very Heiau where he himself was to have been sacrificed. After that *Kamapua'a* left Oahu and went to Kahiki, where he married, and, acquiring renown for his prowess, dwelt a considerable time" [Fornander, APR: 2: 43-44].

<i>Kalana-nu'unui-kua-mamao</i> (k)	m.	<i>Kamaunu-a-niho</i> (w)	<i>Hina</i> (w)
<i>Hina</i> (w)	(1)	m.	<i>'Olopana</i> (k)
	(2)	m.	<i>Kahiki'ula</i> (k)
			<i>Kelekeleaiuku</i> (k)
			<i>Kamapua'a</i> (k)
<i>Kamapua'a</i> (k)	<i>Pele</i> (w)		<i>'Opelu-nui-kauha'alilo</i> (k)

Ka'ao No Kamapua'a
[FC 5: 2: 315-363]

Kamapua'a and 'Olopana

Kamapua'a lived with his grandmother, Kamaunu-a-niho (w) in Kaliu-wa'a, Kaluanui, Ko'olauloa (O'ahu).

'Olopana, the chief of Kaluanui, O'ahu sent 800 people to bring Kamapua'a to him because Kamapua'a had been stealing chickens from the hen house.

They bound him with rope, placed him on a pole (*auamo*) and took him to Punalu'u, but Kamaunu-a-niho (w) knew and chanted:

He miki, he miki
A i hanau mai oe e Hina,
Ka maka o ka pua'a,
E lele ana i ka lani,
E lele ana i ke kuahiwi,
Ewalu maka o ke keiki pua'a a
Hina,
Na Hina 'oe.
Na Kahiki'ula
Na Kahikilei

O Lonoiki 'oe
O Lononui 'oe
O ku'u maka, 'o ku'u aloha,
e Lono e,
Haina a moe i kuahu a Olopana,
A ko kakou ali'i,
Kou inoa, e o mai.

O Hiwahiwa oe
O Hamohamo na,
Ka maka o ke akua
Lele *oili* i ka lani,
O Hakio-ne,
O Aneka-la
Kau *hua*, kau lani,
Hookokohi ka lani,

Be alert, alert,
You, born of Hina,
Eight eyes of the pig,
Leap to the sky,
Leap to the mountains,
Eight eyes has Hina's pig-child,
You're Hina's.
Kahiki'ula's
Kahiki-lei's (child).

Small-Lono,
Big-Lono,
My face, my loved one,
Lono,
A sacrifice to lie down on 'Olopana's
altar,
Our chief!
Your name song, answer me.

Sacred black are you,
Anointed for sacrifice,
Face of the god
Appearing in the sky
Hakione,
Anekala,
Offspring of chiefs, season of
harvest,
Threatens a storm,

O ke kanaka oe,
I hanai i uka o Kaliuwaa
Ewalu ka wawae
He kanaha ka manea

You're a man
Raised in Kaliuwa'a upland,
Eight feet,
Forty toes.

O ka lau o ka hiwa,
O ke ki o ki kea,
O ka nana kea,
O ka ha hei kea,
Kakalanuhea, Kakalauela,
E ka ehū, e ka uli,
E ka hiwa, e ka mahakea
Ke kukui, Kamaumau,
Kahalaualoa,
Ke ao o'o, kea piwai
Ka haole nui maka alohilohi;

Issue of the black pig [*'awa hiwa*]
The white pig, [ti leaf]
Pale-colored,
Plump pig,
Grunting-tusk, grunting,
Red one, Black one,
Sacred sacrifice,
White-faced one,
Kukui nut tree, *'ama'u* fern,
Thorny *hala*, *uhaloa* plants,
Mature leaf, virile male,
Big, light-eyed *haole* !

E Kama lepo pua'a,
Ke ao pua'a i ka lani,
Na kino puaa o Kama i ka na-
helehele,
O Haunu'u oe, o Haulani,
O Kaalokuloku,
Ka mano o ka ia nu,
E ui, o ko inoa ia, e o mai.

Kama, pig-dirt,
Pig-cloud in the sky,
Pig-body of Kama in the forest,
You are Haunu'u, Haulani,
Ka'alokuloku, downpour of rain,
The shark, triggerfish,
Answer, this is your name song,
Answer me.

Kama then freed himself from the binding ropes and ate all of the people, except one, Makali'i, who ran back to 'Olopana with another sad outcome. Once again the people came and bound him up to take him to Punalu'u.

Kamaunu-a-niho chanted:

O Kanaiahuea oe,
O ke 'kua maka oioi,
Nana ka maka i ka lani,
E kilo ana i ka moku nei,
I ka hiki ua lani,
Ka puu e lono i ka haiuu,
O Hiiaka oe i Puuokapolei
Ke 'kua 'oe o Haia,
O Haia oe, kou inoa ia e o mai.

You are Kana'iahuea,
Conqueror-lifted-off,
Sharp-eyed god,
Whose eyes look at the sky,
Watching this district,
For rain to come down,
Hills that thunder to the heights,
You're Hi'iaka at Pu'uokapolei,
God of sacrifice,
You're the god, animal sacrifice,
Haia, your name song, answer me.

Kamapua'a rose up and ate the people, except Makali'i who ran to 'Olopana, telling him everything. 'Olopana ordered the people to do as before. They carried him to Kapaka, and Kamaunu-a-niho chanted:

Na Mumu ka lani,
 Na Muahaaha,
 Na ilo eu,
 Na Niniole,
 Na ka hua nui,
 O ke lono i ke ao,
 Na ka mana o ka puaa,
 Na kui, na nau,
 Na wali, na oka,
 Na Haapekupeku
 Na ka puaa eku aina,
 E ku nei i ka moku o Kauai,
 Oahu alua ia nei la,
 Kou inoa ia e o mai.

ooooo

Kamapua'a destroyed the people, except Makali'i who ran to 'Olopana telling all that had happened. 'Olopana then ordered the whole island of O'ahu, the chiefs under him, the warriors, the common people, no one exempt, to do battle with long spears, short spears, darts, clubs, sharks' teeth, wooden daggers; all to be dressed in feather cloaks and feather helmets to go to make war on Kamapua'a.

Word of this got to Kamapua'a, who then prepared himself for battle.

Kaliuwa'a, the place where Kamapua'a lived is a very high cliff about two-thirds of a mile (*'elua hapakolu o ka mile paha kona ki'eki'e mai ka honua o lalo a hiki i ka welau o luna*).

[*Explanation: the first falls, called Sacred Falls, is at the first rung of a series of waterfalls and cliffs. Of itself, the first cascade is probably between 30 to 40 feet high].

For silent ones the sky,
 Silent ones assembled together,
 Crawling worms of decay,
 Spotted ones eating without appetite,
 Fruit in season,
 Sounds in the world,
 By the power of the pig,
 Tusks and teeth for chewing,
 Mashing into dregs,
 By the one kicking,
 Rooting up the land,
 Standing on the island of Kaua'i,
 On O'ahu-a-Lua here,
 Your name song, answer me.

ooooo

First, Kamapua'a put his back against the cliff, leaning into it so that all the members of his family could climb up by his front, his older brothers, grandmother, and household servants (*ohua*), carrying all their gear.

When 'Olopana and his men reached Kaliuwa'a, they found nobody there. They searched along the cliffs of Ko'olau to Kailua, Maunaula, Wailupe, Waikiki, 'Ewa, and Wai'anae, where 'Olopana stayed, since Kamapua'a was living there. Kamapua'a had come across the Ko'olaus to Wahiawa, where he was busy farming.

In the meantime, disappointed with his kahuna advisor, Lonoaohi, 'Olopana had removed him from his position, bound him with ropes, and imprisoned him. 'Olopana then summoned the high priest of Kaua'i, Malae, who advised 'Olopana:

"My Lord and King, Kamapua'a has the nature of a god (*he 'kua ke 'ano*), and you will never be able to over come him, and you will not live if you fight him in an ordinary battle.

"There is but one way for you to deal with your opponent. Get a pig, a piece of 'awa, a chicken, a fish, a man, and a banana, all having the word or letters *lau*, *l-a-u*; then, take these things and lay them before Kamapua'a. These things will remove his strength and he will become very weak."

'Olopana and his men went to the place where Kamapua'a was living and laid everything at his feet. At once Kamapua'a became weak and feeble. They grabbed him and dragged him to Pahoa, in Wai'anae, and 'Olopana went home.

Meanwhile, Lonoaohi had been fastened to the post in the center of a house, and 'Olopana intended to sacrifice the two captives at the same time: Kamapua'a and Lonoaohi.

Lonoaohi had directed his two sons when Kamapua'a was captured not to allow anyone to cut up the pig and gut his insides out to make carrying him easier:

"You two go to the men and tell them that the king has sent word by you not to cut the hog open. Let it be as it is until reaching the altar, or the king's victim will be spoiled. Furthermore, the king has said not to drag the pig, or it will spoil the skin. If the pig lives, my sons, I will live."

When Lonoaohi's two sons, Ka-pua'a-olomea and Ka-pua'a-hiwa, reached the king's men, they were sharpening their knives, so they spoke to them not to spoil Kamapua'a for the offering.

That night Lonoaohi slept at the post to which he was tied, his sons with him while the guards watched the house.

Kamapua'a slept in the temple, surrounded by guards.

Late that night when the Milky Way could be plainly seen, Lonoaohi was awakened by his god, and after Lonoaohi had asked for help, the ropes fell away

from his body, whereupon he went to the temple where he found the guards fast asleep.

Lonoaohi passed his hand along Kamapua'a's nostrils and found that the pig was still breathing.

"Saved," said Lonoaohi. "I thought you were dead, but you are not. These bones will be cared for, and (as reward) I want the lands with the word *wai*, *w-a-i*, like Waialua, Wai'anae, and so on."

"Hu," said Kamapua'a.

Lonoaohi went back to his post and prayed all night until morning.

When the cocks crowed in the morning, 'Olopana and the priest, Malae, went to the heiau, where Kamapua'a was unwound and placed on the *anu'u*, the middle platform of the oracle tower.

The chief faced the priest, both naked, reciting the prayer when Kamapua'a opened wide all of his eight eyes. They were seized with terror and unable to move or run, when Kamapua'a then prayed from the *anu'u*, calling on all of his supernatural bodies (*kinolau*) and gods to come to his aid. When he finished his prayer, the ground outside the wall of the heiau was filled with gods and hogs.

Kamapua'a then called to Lonoaohi, saying:

"E Lonoaohi!,
Place the stones in the imu,
Put them here and there."

Lonoaohi came out with a flag in his hand for those who came under his protection, and Kamapua'a killed all except Makali'i, who ran to Kamaunu-a-niho to be saved. But 'Olopana died that day.

Kamapua'a and Lonoka'eho

Then Kamapua'a went to Tahiti. There he married the daughters of the chief Kowea, who was king on one side of Tahiti. The other side had another king: Lonoka'eho. The two kings were always at war with each other, so Kamapua'a decided to put an end to it once and for all.

Kamapua'a said to Kowea:

"I'm going to meet Lonoka'eho in battle, and I want you to watch the fire when it's lit.

"If the smoke rises and leans toward the sea, I have killed Lonoka'eho.

"If the smoke leans toward the uplands, then I have been killed by him."

Kamapua'a slept until daylight, then he went to Lonoka'eho's place. Lono was still sleeping. Kamapua'a called out:

E moe e Kahiki e!
E moe e Kahiki e!
E moe e Kahiki e!

E ala e Kahiki e,
E ala e Kahiki e,

E hume ka malo,
E ai ka ai,
E hopu ka lima i ka laau
Haua a pa i ke poo waimaka nui
Haawi ka aina
Lilo ka moku ia Kowea
Puni o Kahiki e! Puni!

oooo

Lonoka'eho heard Kamapua'a and said:

"What right do you have to give my land to anybody?"

[no answer]

Sleep, Tahiti, keep on sleeping,
Sleep--
Sleep, Tahiti, keep on sleeping,
Sleep.

Get up, Tahiti,
Get up.

Put on your malo,
Eat some food,
Grab the club with your hands
To strike the head watery-eyed;
Give up the land,
The district is gone to Kowea
All of Tahiti, all of it!

oooo

Where do you come from?

[no answer]

Why don't you come here and meet
me face to face?

[no answer]

Let's fight!

If I'm killed, that 's the only way
you'll take my land away from me."

"Yes," said Kamapua'a.

Lono had eight foreheads, each of
them sharp as an adz blade. They were up
in the sky of Kuanuenu and Leleianaha.

When they came down, they
chopped from the sky down. Lonokaeho
thought this would scare the pig off.

Instead, Kamapua'a called out to his
gods, calling them all by name:

No'u ke akua iki,
No'u ke akua nui,
No'u ke akua loa,
No'u ke akua poko,
No'u ke akua muki,
No'u ke akua hawanawana.

'Oi Ko'oko'ona,
'Oi ha inu awa a Kanaloa,
Eia o Opua anuenu,
Koha i ka lani,
Maewa keia,
Ma ka lehua.
Eliua--e paia.

E kela lewa, e keia lewa,
E ka lewa nuu,
E ka lewa lani.

Ka opi kana.
Ihiihi lauakea
Omilomilo,
O naupaka.

For me, god small,
god big,
god tall,
god short,
For me god who smacks his lips,
For me, god who whispers:

More support,
More of Kanaloa's 'awa to drink;
Here comes rainbow-cloud
Squawking to the sky,
Full of nasty reproach,
Stalling around, putting up a wall
(of defense);

This and that space of air,
Zenith level,
Sky level.

Let him fold up
Like a clover leaf,
Twist himself up,
Like *naupaka*.

Ka poiki,
Ka ponui,
Ka po loa,
Ka po poko,
Ka po i au wale ka la,

Small night,
Big night,
Long night,
Short --
Night since the sun went (down);

Ku ke ao iki,
Ku ke ao nui,
Ku ke ao loa,
Ku ke ao poko,
Ku ke ao a mihamiha i ka lani,

Stands small cloud,
big cloud,
long cloud,
short--
Stands the cloud silent in the sky;

Ka pukui o kea 'kua.
Kaumaha ai na ke 'kua.
O Kahaka, o Keluea,
O Kulia i ke kaua,
O Lonomakaihe,
O Kanaiahuea,
O Kepolohaina,
O ke 'kua maka oioi,

Assembly of gods wide,
Food offering for the gods,
Kahaka, Keluea;
Strive-in- battle,
Lono-in-the-spear,
Kana'iahuea.
Kepolohaina,
Sharp-eyed god.

Ohumuhumu,
Hawanawana,
Kanikawi,
Kanikawa,
Na akua i ke kino
Ko ke poo--

Grumbling,
Whispering,

High-narrow-sounds,
Open-throat- sounds,
Gods of the body,
Gods in the head--

O Ho'eu, e Hoomalana,
O apana poo, o poo i lolea,
Ko ka pepeiao.
O kokuli, o ke lono,
O Lonoikiaweawealoha,

Ho'eu, Ho'omalana;
Head part, a part scalped;
Belongs to the ear,
Deaf or able to hear
Lono, god of love-making;

Ko ke kui,
O Kui lena.
O Kui pilo
Ko ka lemu,
O Palala,
O Pipikauanana;

For the tusk,
Old yellow tusk,
Stinking tusk,
For the buttocks,
Palala,
Pipikauanana.

No ke kuli.
O Poloke, o Kapeke;
Ke kua--ka wawae,
O Mama.
Ke kua--ka wawae,
O Mama.

For the knee.
Poloke, Kapeke,
The back--the foot
Air for running fast;

Ilaila kini akua,
Ka lua o ke 'kua,
Ka uuina,
O paapaaina;

There, forty thousand gods,
And double that number;
Thunder booms,
Cracks the earth all around.

O Kumahumahukole,
O kole ka aka.

Standing there a weak ass,
Nothing but a laugh ass.

When Kamapua'a had ceased
calling his gods, Lonoka'eha let his eight
foreheads fall on Kamapua'a.

Kamapua'a called on his gods to let
the heads fall on the lava rocks, where they
kept striking until they were dull and
blunted. His plant forms, the *kukui*,
uhaloa, and *'ama'uma'u* then grew all
over them so that they could not rise up
against. Finished, Lonoka'eho.

Kamapua'a and Kū'iliioa

Before Kamapua'a was married to
the daughters of Koweia, they were already
the wives of a monster dog, Kū'ililoa,
whom they feared. They asked Kama-
pua'a if he would rid them of the dog hus-
band, and they would become his wives.

Kū'iliioa came home, and when he
saw Kamapua'a his hair stood up, his upper
jaw went up to the sky, the lower jaw
came down to earth, with teeth exposed,
snarling.

Kamapua'a chanted:

Kunahihi e--
Kunahihi,
Ano huhu e--
Ano huhu.

Bristling, e--
Bristling,
Kinda mad, e
Kinda mad.

Helu ka manea,
Wili ka huelo,
A'a ka maka,
Keke ho'i ka niho,
Aneane nanahu mai,
Moku au la,

Toes scratching,
Tail switching,
Eyes glaring,
Teeth rattling,
Almost me biting,
I'm cut up,

Moku au la,
Nau hoi na ka ilio,
Na'u hoi na ka puaa make

Slashed through
By the dog,
Now by the pig, die!

Kamapua'a called all of his plant bodies (*kinolau*) to grow into the jaws of Ku'ilioloa so that he couldn't bite down. The little hog bodies then entered the dog and ate up his insides. Dead, Kū'ilioloa.

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Kamapua'a and Pele

Kamapua'a sailed back to Hawai'i, landing in Puna, where he went up to Kilauea where Pele and her family were living.

There he stood at Akanikolea, looking into the volcano, Pele's home. He saw the Hi'iaka sisters on the floor of the crater, stringing leis. He chanted:

A ka luna i Puuonioni,
Noho ke anaina a ka wahine,
I ka luna o Wahinekapu,
He oioina Kilauea,
He noho ana o Papalauahi,
Ke lauahi wale la no o Pele ia Puna,
E malama ana e, aloha.

At the top of Puuonioni,
Sits a group of women,
At the top of Wahinekapu,
Peak of Kilauea,
Papalauahi, a dwelling place,
That Pele spread by flames to
Puna,
Taking care, love?

Pele ignored him, pretending she didn't hear him at all. Kamapua'a chanted again:

Mai Puna hoi au i hele mai nei,
Ua ike mai nei hoi au i na wahine
koho noni,
Wauwau noni,
Pakuikui noni,
Kakau noni;

I came here from Puna,
I saw women gathering *noni*,
Scraping *noni*,
Pounding *noni*,
Marking tapa with *noni*,

O Kapunaiki kanaka loa,
Ka loa o kanaka, i ka hele ana,
Make i ka oopa,
I ka maloeloe,
E ala, aloha e!

Tall man though Kapunaiki may be,
It's a long way to go for any man,
I'm dead lame,
Stiff, numb,
Get up, love?

From the bottom of Halema'uma'u crater, Pele answered:

"I would get up *if you were a man*, but since you're a hog, I won't."

Kamapua'a then said to his gods:

"You know, she didn't recognize me? She said I was a hog."

They said: "Chant again."

Kamapua'a chanted:

Ia Makalii lau awaawa o Puna,
Hala ka wai mauka o Kapapala,
Lani pili o Hilo--e,
I Hilo, i Puna kaua e!
E Pele e! ilaila kaua e noho ai,
Kui ana i ka lehua i Hopoe nei la,
E kui oe, e lei au,
E ala, aloha--e!

In the month of Makali'i, winter, the
'awa leaf of Puna is bitter,
And water inland of Kapapala is
gone,
But Hilo is in heavy rain--e.
In Hilo, but you and I are in Puna,
Pele, that's where we should live,
Stringing the lehua here in Hopoe,
You string, and I'll wear,
Get up, love?

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"Wake up," said the Hi'iaka sisters to Pele.

"Why keep on lying down? Look at that handsome man standing there on the heights of Akanikolea."

[no answer]

"You can tell if he's a big man, a small man, a tall man, a short man, a good man, or a bad man."

"That hog that you mistake for a man is not a man; that is Kamapua'a, hog grandson of Kamaunu-a-niho, son of Kahiki'ula and Hina."

"That handsome man standing there on Akanikolea, you say, is a hog? What a liar you are.

We've seen hogs in Puna with the body of hog, feet of a hog, head of a hog, eyes of a hog, ears of a hog, snout of a hog and...everything else...that is a hog's."

"Nothing like that man with a human form standing up there."

"That's a hog! That's no man at Akanikolea!" said Pele.

Kamapua'a said to his gods:

"You know, I believe I'm recognized by those people."

"No," came the answer. "They haven't recognized you."

Kamapua'a chanted:

Aole oe i ike ia'u o Kama,
O Kama paha i kuahiwi kau i ike,
I ke kualono,
Ka nahelehele,
I ka pulupulu ahi,
I ke kumu nei o ka laau,
Kau Kama paha ia i ike.

You don't know I'm Kama,
Kama of the mountain you may
know,
On the mountain ridge
In the forest,
In fire kindling,
In the trunk of a tree,
That Kama you might know.

"I know you," said Pele.

"You just came from Tahiti. You
fought Lonoka'eho, killed him. Kowea is
your father-in-law.

"You married his daughter, and
now you have a child.

"But my fires reached you and
pinched your eyes. You couldn't sleep, so
you came here.

"That's why you came. To put out
my fires!" said Pele, chanting:

O Kama hoi paha oe,
O kanaka o ka pali ku,
O ka pali moe
O ka pali ku-hoho
O ka pali kaa o ka pohaku,
I hehi ia e ka manu kalokalo,

You could be Kama,
Man from a high cliff,
Low cliff,
Deep ravine,
A cliff of rolling stones,
Stepped on by *kalokalo* birds;

[*Note: Pele is referring to the
"birds" who utter prayers (*pule kalokalo*),
conversing with gods; i.e., *kahuna*].

Anu ai ka uka o Kaliuwaa,
Nou no o Hiwa,
O Kama hoi oe,
O ke keiki puaa a Hina ma,
Moopuna puaa a Kamaunuaniho,

Cold in the uplands of Kaliuwa'a,
Yours is that of Hiwa, sacred black
[i.e., of sacrificial pigs]
Kama, indeed, are you,
Pig-child of Hina folks,
Pig-grandchild of Kamaunu-a-niho;

O ko pa la, o Lelepa,
O ko opu la, o opu ohua,
O ka aha o ko ihu, o Haleaha,

Your pen there is Jump-Fence,
Your belly, fruit of the harvest,
The string through your nose,
house-cordage.

O Kamapuaa oe,
O ka lemu helelei wale,
O ka ihu i hou ia i ka aha,
O ka mai pili i ka opu,
O ka huelo kahili mahope,
E o---e Kama i ko inoa.

Kama answered:

Makole, makole akahi,
Hele i kai o Piheka,
Heaha ka ai e ai ai,
He lihilihi pau i ke 'kua.
He 'kua, he 'kua,
He 'kua na 'lii o Kona,
A Paieie i Mokuhia,
Hele aku o Panaewa
Ikiiki e! Ikiiki e!
Ikiiki hoala hiamoe,
E ala ae oe e moe loa nei,
Aia ka la i Ouli,
Uliuli kai e uli,
Ka ua lele huna o Hopoe,
E kui e lele ka wahine
I kai o Makuakeke.
Hookeekē kahi akua,
Hoopunipuni kahi akua,
Kuahu ia ke 'kua ai puaa,
O Pele ke 'kua ai puaa,
Uhi--uha--mai an o Pele,
E Pele e! kaukau li,
E Pele e! kaukau li.

You're Son-of-a-Pig,
Buttocks falling down,
Nose pierced through with string,
Genitals stuck on the belly,
Tail twirled behind,
Answer--Kama is your name.

Red-eyed, red-eyed, number one
sore eyes,
Goes into a sea of Inflamed-Eyes,
So what kind of food does she eat?

Everything to the brink is eaten by
the goddess,
Goddess, goddess,
Goddess Kona district nobility,
Until Paieie in Mokuhia.
Is where Pana'ewa goes.

Sticky hot, sticky hot,
Wake up from sleep sticky hot,
Wake up then lie down again for
a long time...

Dark the sun at Ouli,
Dark towards the sea, dark
In the fine rain of Hopoe.

Hurt, the woman goes off,
Her crooked way in the goddess'
place,
The goddess' place is a lie!
An altar for the goddess to eat pig,
Pele is a goddess who eats pig,
Munch here, crunch there.

E Pele, there you go, hissing,
E Pele, hiss, hiss, hiss.

Pele was furious and told her
Hi'iaka brothers and sisters to start the fire,
two of her brothers to position themselves,
one above, another below Kamapua'a.

Kamapua'a asked his gods:

"Who are these coming?"

"Brothers of Pele, Hi'iaka-luna and
Hi'iaka-lalo. If they get to you together,
we're dead,:

Kamapua'a sent his love-making
god, Lono-iki-aweawe-aloha, to enamour
them with each other, and they forgot what
Pele had told them to do, and off they went
together.

Pele called on Lono-makua, her
fire-making god to start the fire.

Kamapua'a chanted:

O ke ahi a Lonomakua la,
A ka wahine a Pele,
Ke a ala i uka o Puna,
I ka hau aiai o Maunakea
I ka uwahi po i ka lani,
A ka wahine leo nui i Pohakea,
Ke halawai la me ka lani,
He akua kino lau,
Kino pahaohao,
O Lono ka maka,
Owau la ke kino,
Ke kii mai nei Hawaii ia'u,
I ke kaula waimaka nui,
Hiolo ka lae o ka pohaku,
Io io ka leo o ka ala,
Kui ke koi aweaweula,
Uwe ka leo o ka manu,
Ka leo waimaka nui o Hilo e!
Pau Kilauea i ke ahi e!
Kunia aku la wela ke one,
Ho'a ke ahi lele i luna,
I ka ai inoio a ke 'kua wahine,
Po puna i ka ua a ka awaawa,
Puku'i i ka uwahi a ka lua,
Hauna i ka uahi a Pele la e,
Aloha ka wahine o ka lua.

The fire by Lonomakua,
Of the woman, Pele,
That burns upland in Puna,
To the bright snow of Maunakea,
In the smoke that nights the sky,
Of the woman of loud voice in
Pohakea,
The meets the sky,
A goddess of many forms
Of mysterious body;
It may be Lono's face,
(But) mine is the body,
That gets Hawaii for me,
Prophet with watery eyes,
Stone forehead falling,
Sounds of basalt rock;
Joins those of the red-corded adz,
Cries the voice of the bird,
The tears of Hilo cying,
That Kilauea is finished by fire!
The sands burning hot,
The flame lit flies upward,
The goddess overeats,
Bitter the rain that nights Puna,
Stifled in smoke from the pit,
Pele's smoke smells stink,
Love the woman of the pit.

"That would have been all right," said Pele, "had you come in peace, I would have treated you peaceably..."

"But...since you came otherwise, you get Pele only if you're strong."

Pele told Lonomakua to keep the fires going, the Hi'iakas, Kahoali'i, uncles, and all the gods...

Molten rock flew to the skies, the heaven seemed as if in flames, the sky without cloud. The heat reached Kamapua'a on his chest, and his whole body enveloped by flame.

Kamapua'a's gods surrounded him, so that he was not consumed by lava.

The smoke from the volcano darkened the sun, and Kilauea was entirely lost from view through the great heat.

Sure that Kamapua'a was dead, Pele ordered the fires put out, and Kilauea ceased erupting.

When she looked up at Akanikolea, Kamapua'a was still standing, still alive.

She ordered the fire rekindled, but Kamapua'a called his sister, Keli'i-o-makahalanaloa, who came in the form of a small cloud from the south until it was over the volcano. A heavy rain then fell into the crater, putting out the fire.

The hog forms of Kamapua'a then went down into the caldera until Kilauea was overrun with pigs.

Kamapua'a then changed himself into a boar, which opened its mouth wide, showing its tusks and swallowing Halema'uma'u, taking in Pele and her family. and they would have died had not Kamapua'a's lovemaking god intervened, causing compassion to enter his heart.

Pele ordered the fires rekindled, and the same thing went on, again and again, for many days until Kamapua'a sent in his plant bodies to outgrow the fires until they died down.

Pele and Kamapua'a then agreed to live peaceably together, the dry side of the island to be for Pele, and the wet side for Kamapua'a. Pele took Puna, Ka'u, and Kona; Kamapua'a, Kohala, Hamakua, and Hilo. Thus ended the war between them.

Kamapua'a and Makali'i

Kamapua'a sailed to Maui, Moloka'i, O'ahu, stopping at Kaua'i, landing at Kipū.

On his way inland he met Limaloa who was going to the house of the chief, Kaneiki.

"With your help," he said to Kamapua'a, "I shall win the daughters of Kaneiki for my wives, for I have given them all that I own and still have not been able to win them."

They met a woman who refused to let Kamapua'a drink from the spring of Kemamo, and Kamapua'a finished her off. They went on to Kilohana, into a valley where overgrown with *kukui* trees, and there were the two girls of Limaloa,

"Are those the sweethearts?" asked Kamapua'a.

"Yes," Limaloa said.

Kamapua'a chanted:

He wahi pali iki hoi o Kipu e hele
ia nei,
Aole i anan ia ka loa o Makuaike,
Aole hoi au i hele i ka loa,
Aole hoi i hele i ka laula,
He pali kui, e hono, e waha,
I Mauea la e! aia i luna.
Aia i luna ka leo o ke kanaka,
Aia i lalo ka leo o Kaiwikui,
Ke ualo la i ka pali o Mahukona.
E laa o Kona e!
O Kona iki, o Kona nui,
E laa ke kanaka i ke aloha e!
Ua loa i ke aloha, ke haa mai la,
Haa la, haa na wahine i ka pali,
O Kukui ahinuhinu laua o Kukui-
ahalua,
O Aloula laua o Alokea.
Na Kaikuahine o Kaneiki e!
E aha ana la laua nei e!
E awale nei, o ka uka nei la,
Hoalohaloha wale, aloha.

When you go here, Kipu is a small
cliff,
The length of Makuaike has not
been measured,
I haven't gone the distance,
Nor gone the breadth,
It's a cliff that joins another and
opens out,
To Mauea, there it is above.
Above is the voice of a human
being,
Below, the sound of Kaiwikui,
Shouting to the cliff of Mahukona,
How sacred is Kona!
Small Kona, big Kona,
Such is a man because of love,
Having obtained love, he is humble,
Humble, like the women at the
cliff,
Kukui-ahinahina and Kukui-aha-
lua,
Red hibiscus, white hibiscus.
Daughters of Kaneiki!
What are they doing here?
Whiling away time in the uplands,
Love and affection.

The two girls sent word to their father that they wanted Kamapua'a for a husband. Kaneiki prepared a meal and waited for his daughters to come home with Limaloa and Kamapua'a. Limaloa ate well, and Kamapua'a ate like a pig.

When Kamapua'a had stayed for some days, the girls said to him:

"How can you sleep while we and our father were almost killed today?

"Let me go out to see this Makali'i with whom your father does battle, and you stay home."

"Chief Kaneiki," said Kamapua'a, "Have you seen a large stick of wood anywhere or heard of the whereabouts of one?"

ooooo

After them came Makali'i.

Kamapua'a chanted:

Nani kua ka pali,
Me he mea ala i kalai ia a nihoniho,
Ka pali o Kualele la e!
Lele, lele paha e!

Makalili answered:

O Makaliikuakawaiea au,
He kaha ku wau no keia aina,
Ia'u o uka, ia'u o kai,
Ia'u o na'e, ia'u o lalo,
Nou ka hele no ke koa,
Hele ka oha mahope,
Ka hele au a ke koa nui,
O Kaua'i nei la e!
O wai kou inoa?
E like me a'u nei la?

"There is a large stick," said Kaneiki, "in the uplands of Kahikikolo," and he sent several men to bring down the log.

When Kamapua'a got it, he went off with it to fight Makali'i, none other than the Makali'i who had not been killed at Wai'anae with 'Olopana.

First Kamapua'a fought Ahuli, a warrior of Makali'i's, at Kahoaea, with his log, Kahikikolo. He just struck him dead.

Omaumaukieo and Owaalawala-heekio came up, and they were good at spear-throwing, but Kamapua'a dodged their spears.

ooooo

Beautiful the back, straight as a
cliff,
As though carved and serrated,
Cliff of Kualele!
Fly, maybe fly away?

I'm Makali'i-ku-a-ka-wai-ea,
I possess this land,
Upland is mine, lowland is mine,
Lands within, lands below,
It's for me to go as a warrior,
Ordinary folks go behind me,
I go as a great warrior
Of this Kaua'i!
What is your name?
Is it like mine?

Kamapua'a chanted:

Lele ae la ka honu a kai,
Kipu iho la i ke alo o ka ala e!
A Ke kai hoolono e!
Ke kupa o Kaena la!
Holo paha, aloha e.

The turtle leaps to sea,
Holds onto the rock face
And to the sea listens!
A native crab boasting,
Run along? Hello?.

"How handsomely you chant my name! If I kill Kaneiki today, I will save you," said Makali'i.

Kamapua'a then chanted, naming all whom he had met in battle:

O Naipuni oe a kama ia,
Ia Owela ka moku,
Kauoha ka aina i na makua,
I ka makuakane,
I ka makuahine,
I ke kaikuaana,
I ke kupunawahine,
I ke kahuna ia Lonoaohi,
Oia wale no ia i ka hele ana,
I hahai i ka mai o Kapomailele,

You are a conqueror's son,
Of Owela district,
Land granted to your parents,
Father,
Mother,
Older brother,
Grandmother,
The priest, Lonoaohi,
Was alone in going,
Following Kapoma'ilele

Hele ae nei oia ma Kukulu o Kahiki
Make ke kua i ke Ahuku,
Hee ke kua i ke Ahumoe,
Make ke kua ia Olopana.

As far as the pillars of Kahiki,
Ahuku lost the battle,
Ahumoe fled,
'Olopana lost the battle...

[*Note: the chant continues, with all the names of warriors who lost battles with Kamapua'a and who fled. They are listed below]:

ooooo

Pohuehue	morning glory vine
Mahiki	grass
Popoki	crab
'Ohiki	sand crab
Aleale	sea billow
Pipipi	periwinkle
Aoa	sandalwood
Lepokolea	plover dung
Palahalaha	lipahapaha seaweed
Loloa	red seaweed
Paoolake	pao'o fish
Paookauila	pao'o fish
Alamihi	reef crab
A'ama	black rock crab
Kuapa'a	chiton
Naka	shellfish
'Opihi	limpet
He'epali	coastal octopus
Lipoa	sargassum seaweed
Limukohu	red seaweed
'Ina	sea urchin in coral
Ha'uke'uke	smooth sea urchin
Hinalea	wrasse fish
Weke	surmullet
'Opule	spotted wrasse
Uhu	parrotfish
Manō	shark
Malolo	flying fish
Piopia	barnacle (pi'oe'oe)
Lelepo	red seaweed
A'ua'u	swordfish
Kauleinaha	'ulei shrub; or umaumalei, surgeon- fish
Honunui	big turtle
Honuiki	small turtle

ooooo

Niuloahiki	coconut tree in the Milky Way
Moananuikalehua	mermaid in the channel/goddess
Kaeohoku	star-marking stone
Kaeholalo	upright-stone below
Nalukua	wave back
Nalualo	wave front
Ale'I	steep wave
Alemoe	low wave
Keaumiki	sucking current
Keauka	smiting current
Ahuikukanaloa	Kanaloa forms
Laumai'akewili	spiralling leaf of the banana (young)
Laumai'akenahae	banana leaf splitting (i.e., old)
Kupali'i	land crab
Kanaunaumamaawa	[awa chewer]
Mokumokupo'o	[decapitator]
Namakaokaha'i	[older sister of Pele]
Kuililoloa	[dog husband of daughters of Koweia]
Koea	sea worm
Lonokaeho	enemy of Koweia

Kipaku ia na makua lele i Kauai
O ka mamala hoi a Kama,
I Mahiki mai O'ahu mai;
Oia oe e Makaliinuikuakawaiea,
E o oe, ka'u lehua la e Makalii

(My) parents were sent away,
went over to Kaua'i
A piece of Kama's gardens,
So did you, Makali'inuikuakawaiea
Answer, my *lehua* warrior,
Makali'i;

Ke pii la la, ke pii la,
Ke ako la la, ke ako la,
Ke puunaue la la, ke puunaue la,
O aku ka'u lehua kea la e Makali'i;

Climb up, climb
Pick (the *lehua*), pluck (the flowers),
Until the sum may be counted,
O'ahu is my white *lehua* (blossom),
Makali'i;

Ke iho la la, ke iho la,
Ke wae la la, ke wae la,
Ke ako la la, ke ako la,
Ke aki la la, ke aki la,
Ke uo la la, ke uo la,
Ke kui la la, ke kui la,
Ke lawa ala la, ke lawa ala,
Ke pa'a ala la, ke paa ala,
Ke lei la la, ke lei la,
Ke lawe la la, ke lawe la,
Ke hao la la, ke hao la;
Ke hao la ke ahi i ke one o Akele
kele;

Come down, come down
Separate them, divide the lot,
Bite off (what may be used),
Tie them into small sets,
String them (together),
Until there's enough,
Bind, fasten
And wear the lei,
Carry it, take it,
Take it like the wind takes it,
By force did fire take the sands of
Akelekele;

Kaikoo Hanalei e! Kaiko'o,
Kai kuaau o Ha'ena,
Kai poi o Kalalau, e
Kai ne halaole ko Milolii,
Lele ae la ka huna a ke kai i luna;

Hanalei's seas are rough,
Inside the bay of Ha'ena,
Breaking surf covers Kalalau,
The sea of Miloli'i murmurs,
without *hala* (trees),
Spray from the sea leaps up;

A ke kai kuike i ke alo o ka ala,
A ke kai ho'omoe i ke alo o ka
pohaku;

The seas I know by sight from the
face of basalt rock,
The sea that puts the side of the
rock facing you to sleep.

E hiki mai auanei kuu kino makani,
O Kukeaoiki, o Kukeaonui,
O Kukeaoloa, o Kukeaopoko,
O Kukeaomihamihaikalani,

Here come my wind bodies,
Kū-in-the-small-cloud,
Kū-in-the-big-cloud,
Kū-in-the-long-cloud,
Kū-in-the-short-cloud,
Kū-in-the-cloud-silent-in-the sky;

Kaiehu ka lani, ehuehu ka lani,
Ehuehu ka lani ia oe la e!
E Makaliinuikuakawaiea,
Hee ko aina i ke kakahiaka
E Makaliinuikuakawaiea la,
Puni Kauai nei ia'u la e, puni.

The sky is spindrift, the sky is salt
spray,
The sky is salt spray to you,
Makali'i-ku-ka-wai-ea,
Your land slips away in the
morning,
Makaliinuikuakawaiea,
All of Kaua'i comes to me.

Now Makali'i knew it was Kama-
pua'a, and he chanted:

O oe no ka na e Haunuu,
E Haulani, ka mano nui,
E Kaalokuloku, e ui e?
O kou inoa ia? E o mai.

Are you Haunu'u,
Haulani, the big shark,
Ka'alokuloku, I'm asking,
Is that your name? Answer me.

ooooo

ooooo

"Yes, it's Kama"

"How was I?" asked Makali'i.

"I'm dead, I have no means to live,
nothing upland, nothing in the lowland,
nothing to the east, nothing below (south,
west), not even a clump of grass to hide,
I'm dead by you, Kama."

"You think one song saves you?"

Makali'i chanted all of Kamapua'a's
name songs until Kama agreed to spare
him.

"You won't die, if you honor me
with a song."

"Will you give me some land so I
have place to live?" asked Makali'i.

Remember what Makali'i had said?

"Go to Kahiki and stay with Koea."

"Le'a maoli ku'u inoa ia 'oe, ina i
make Kaneiki ia'u i keia la, 'o oe ka'u e
ho'ola."

"No, I can't live there. I would have
to cross the seas."

"How handsomely you chant my
name! If I kill Kaneiki today, I will save
you."

"Go to Hawai'i and live with Pele."

"I would never be able to live with
her."

"A man gets his name song from
his mother's womb," said Makali'i.

"Go to O'ahu and live with
Kelekeleaiuku and Kamaunu-a-niho."

"Can't you think of one in your own
'opu?"

"No. Not with them."

Kamapua'a's lovmaking god taught
Makali'i the name song for Kamapua'a,
and he chanted it.

"Then go up to the mountains
where there's a lot of ti, palai, 'ama'u, and
hapu'u ferns."

"All right." said Makali'i. He went
into the mountains with all his people.

Kamapua'a and the 'Ohana

When Makali'i left, Kahiki'ula, father of Kamehameha, came toward him. Love for his father began to well up in Kama-pua'a, and he said Kaneiki, the chief:

"There's your man!"

"A powerful man and a great warrior," said Kaneiki.

"If he's so great, why didn't he retain possession of his land on O'ahu. Instead, somebody else got it."

When Kahiki'ula came up to Kaneiki, Kaneiki struck him to the ground with his war club.

"Let me finish him off," said Kama. You go on ahead."

"Okay."

Kaneiki went on, and Kamapua'a looked down at Kahiki'ula.

"Say, you're almost dead."

"Yes, I'm almost dead. All he had to do was strike me once, and I'm down."

"You look like my father."

"I have no other son but one, Kahiki-honua-kele."

"Well, crawl from here until you meet up with Makali'i in the mountains."

Away went Kahiki'ula. Up came Kahiki-honua-kele, oldest brother of Kamapua'a. Kamapua'a said to Limaloa, his friend:

"There's your man!"

"He's a young man. I'll be killed."

"It's because I know he's not so strong that I tell you to take him down."

Limaloa struck Kahiki-honua-kele to the ground with his club and jumped on him to make sure he was dead.

"Wait, go on ahead, and I'll finish him off."

Away went Limaloa. Kamapua'a took Kahiki-honua-kele and gave him *lomilomi* until he regained consciousness.

"You're helpless; one blow and down you went. You look like my older brother."

"I have no younger brother. My two younger brothers are dead. One was killed by Pele and the other one hanged himself."

"Well, crawl from here until you find Makali'i and the others."

When Kaneiki and Limaloa came back, Kama said to them:

"There's one more big battle to win. It's against a woman, so we must run away and save ourselves."

Kaneiki and Limaloa ran off. Kamapua'a went on by himself, setting off for Kalalau valley where Kahiki'ula and Hina were the ruling chiefs.

At someone's home, he found out that a lot of fish had been caught that day.

On he went until he came to the house of Wailinu'u, his parents' fisherman. Said Kama:

"Give me some fish? If you don't, you die. Maggots will feed on you."

"You ask me for two things," said Wailinu'u, "for my fish and my death."

"Give me some fish," Kama repeated.

"Why don't you dive for some yourself?"

Kamapua'a said to the others who were there:

"Go down to the chiefess, Hina. Tell her that her son is here, and he has come for some fish for himself."

After Hina listened to them, she said:

"I have no other son. One was killed by Pele, one hanged himself, and Kahiki-honua-kele is the only one left. I don't know where this guy comes from. Just trying to get some fish out of me."

When the messenger returned empty-handed, Kama sent him back again and again, until he had to go himself.

When Hina saw him, she turned her face away.

"Is your back to be the one I talk to?"

Nani kuu noho ana i uka o Wai-
ahulu,
Hiki ana ka pihe ia o kai nei,
O ui au o ninau aku,
Nawai la ka i'a o kai nei?
Na Hina, na Kahikiula,
Na'u wale no ia i'a ke hiki au;

E Hina e, na'u kahi i'a.
E Hina e, he ole manawa ino;

Lealea ka noho a Kahikimauolina,
Ke one huli o ka moku.
I huli mai e imi mai,
Imi mai hoi i na makua,
He ua hoa ka makuahine,
He konia ka makuakane
He manonia ke kaikuaana;

It was nice where I was staying in
Wai ahulu
When came the shouting from this
coast,
So I asked whose fish is in this sea?
Hina's, Kahiki'ula's,
Some fish for me if I come here?

O Hina, give me some fish,
O Hina, don't be hard-hearted;

Kahikimauolina lives a happy life,
Searching the sands of the district,
So I came to search,
Seeking (my) parents;
Useless ('u'a) company for a
mother,
Stubborn (*koniā*) one for a father,
Unhappy older brother;

Kuhi a ka i'a i ka moana,
I ko'a loa, i ke ko'a poko,
I ke ko'a i noho ia e i'a,
I ke ko'a i mea ia Hina;

The fish of the seas are pointed
out,
In the long coral reef, short coral
reef,
In the reef coral lived in by fish,
The reef that belongs to Hina;

E Hina e, i hele mai nei au i ia
na'u,
E Hina e, he ole manawa ino, aloha,
Kupu ka ioio i luna o Waiawaawa
O kuu kino puaa ia,
Kai no au i hele mai nei,
E noonoo ana ka makua,
E Hina e, he ole manawa ino!

O Hina, I came for fish for me,
O Hina, don't be hard-hearted,
The spire that you saw at the top of
Bitter-Water?
That was my pig-body;
I thought when I came here,
My parents would think of me,
O Hina, don't be hard hearted.

"Well, Hina?" said Kahiki-honua-
kele, "Aren't you going to say some-
thing?"

"Is this your son?" asked the wives
of Kahiki-honua-kele.

"Is this your son? said the wives of Kahiki-
honua-kele.

"I have no other son on Kaua'i. If
you two want to give him some fish, go
ahead," said Hina.

So they gave him some fish.

Kamapua'a chanted:

Ma Kona hoi au i hele mai nei,
Ua ike mai nei au i ka ahu maia,
I aina a kiko ia e ka manu,
Ke kea mua o ka maia,
I kupono i ka lau o ka maia;

By way of Kona I came here,
I saw a bunch of bananas,
As food pecked by birds,
The first hand of the bunch,
Just under the leaf of the tree;

I ke ala pii la e Hina,
I ke ala imi i ka wai o Kekelani,
I ka wai o Waialamihi,
O ka luna i Kaula e,
Hoalohalo wale la;
E Hina e, na'u kahi i'a,
E Hina e, he ole manawa ino;

On the path of ascent, Hina,
On the path to find the water of
kekelani,
The water of Wai-alamihhi,
On the top of Kaula,
That for which I yearn;
O Hina, some fish for me,
O Hina, don't be unkind;

Ma Kona hoi au i hele mai nei,
 Ua ike mai nei au i ke kukui,
 Ka ihona i lalo he awaawa,
 Waawaaiki naaupo,
 Popoi o loko me he kaikoo la,
 Auhea ka manawa;
 No Kohala au,
 No Kohala ka makani anu he apaa,
 A paa i ka waha he ole,

E Hina e, na'u kahi i'a.
 E kuu kaikuaana e!
 Kuu kaikuaana o ka pali hii,
 Pali kui o Kaliuwaa,

Pali hanai, pali hele a maua,
 Pali waha ma ke kua,
 E haawe ai ke kua i ka huli,
 E uwe kua e, aloha,
 E Hina e, na'u kahi i'a,
 E Hina e, he ole manawa ino,
 No Kalihi oe, no Kalihi au,
 No Kalihi ka wahine haha pai,
 Moku a uu ke kaula,
 Lilo aku ke po'i me ka ipu,
 O ke kai mokumoku ipu o Kalihi,
 He paa o Kalihi e,
 E Hina e, na'u kekahi i'a,
 E Hina e, o na'u kekahi i'a.

Hina realized then that this was
 Kamapua'a, because she had gone to
 Kalihi where her calabash of crabs was
 lost.

She left to house to tell Kahiki'ula
 and Kahikihonuakela that it was Kama-
 pua'a. They went outside to greet him,
 Hina chanting:

I luna kukui o Hanunanuna,
 I ke kaha o Waimalu,
 Kuu kane ua--e!
 Aohe makana i ko inaina e!
 Eia ka lani poko la,
 He waimaka ke ua iho nei,
 Ke ua iho nei a pulu la
 Pulu kuu kino i ka manao la,
 Kuu keiki o ka pali hii e.

By way of Kona I came here,
 I saw the *kukui* lamp,
 Down below (in) a valley,
 A small valley of dark ignorance,
 The inside like a rough sea,
 Where is your heart?
 I'm from Kohala,
 Kohala of cold, strong wind,
 Steady closed-mouth refusal.

Hina, some fish for me,
 My older brother,
 My older brother of the cliff that
 carried him on the bosom,
 Cliff adjoining Kaliwa'a,
 Cliff where we were raised, where
 we roamed,
 Cliff open at the back,
 Where the back carried us over,
 Let's weep, have compassion,
 O Hina, don't be unkind,
 You're of Kalihi, I'm of Kalihi,
 In Kalihi the woman fished for
 crab,
 Where she cut and drew out the
 cord,
 The cover and the gourd were lost,
 In the sea that broke the gourd in
 Kalihi,
 Kalihi was safe,
 O Hina, some fish for me,
 Hina, let me have some fish.

Above the *kukui* trees of
 Hanunanuna,
 On the shores of Waimalu,
 Sire, it's raining,
 We have no gift to appease wrath,
 We are chiefs of a *poko* district;
 These tears rain down,
 We are drenched in that rain
 That wets my body because I
 remember
 My child when I carried him on my
 bosom.

Hina then approached Kamapua'a and laid down at his feet, and Kamapua'a sat down on her, Kahiki'ula chanting:

I luna kukui o Hanunanuna,
I ke kaha o Waimea,
Kuu kane ua--e!
Aohe a'u makana i ko huhu,
Hookahi makana o ka waimaka,
Ke ua iho nei e, a pulu la.

Kahiki'ula went to Kama and laid down at Kama's feet. Kama sat down on him, as Kahikihonuakele chanted:

Hanau ae no apopo ka olua keiki
O kou inoa no ka hoi keia,
O iliala i ka hau anu o Kaala,
Ko ili mahuna i ka awa,
I noho i uka o Kaliupeapea,
O ka ua kilinoe hau o Keke,
I uka hoi ka hala me ka lehua,
I kupu i uka o Kaliuwaa,
O kou inoa ia e o mai.

Kahikihonuakele went to Kama and laid down at Kama's feet. Kamapua'a stood up and stepped on all of them. Hina chanted more name songs for Kamapua'a, but he would not listen, until finally, she took off her clothing and followed him as he went away.

"Your fisherman shall die, because of what he said to me, since I must dive for fish for myself."

Hina then consented to give some fish to Kama.

"Why didn't you know it was me?"

"Because we knew you as a hog, not as a man."

Kama showed them all of his forms, then left to go back to Tahiti.

Above the *kukui* trees of
Hanunanuna,
On the shores of Waimea,
Sire, it rains,
I have no gift to appease your anger,
The only offer I have are tears,
I am wet as they rain down.

Your son was born a bundle,
This is your name (song):
Fragrant skin in the cold dew of
Ka'ala,
Skin scaly from 'awa,
In the uplands of Kaliupeape'a.
The fine misty rain of Keke,
The hala and lehua inland,
That grows in the uplands of
Kaliuwa'a,
Your name (song), answer.

Early Period, Voyaging and Settlement

Background

The genealogy of Papa and Wakea opens a lineal sequence starting thirteen generations for a period, roughly, of 325 years, before the brothers Ulu and Nanaulu, sons of Ki'i the second (i.e. Ki'i 2), "trample the bosom of Kane" (*ke'ehi i ka houpo o Kāne*) crossing the equator, called "Kane's diaphragm (*houpo*) on the way from Tahiti to Hawai'i, in an active period of discovery, exploration, and settlement. There is a preliminary period of political discontent in the time of Wākea and succeeding generations.

0-100 A.D. The First Century after Wākea: Crime and Pestilence
[Four generations]

A.D.	015	Wakea	Papa	Ho'ohokukalani
(1)	040	Ho'ohokukalani	Wakea	Haloa-naka
				Haloa
(2)	040	Haloa	Hinamanouluae	<i>Waia</i>

Waia, Son of Hāloa

"...According to the traditions handed down by the ancient Hawaiians, the government of *Waia* was extremely corrupt. He was so absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure that he disregarded the instructions of his father *to pray to the gods*, to look well after the affairs of the kingdom, and to take good care of his people so that the country might be prosperous.

"It is said that during *Waia's* reign a portent was seen in the heavens, a head without a body, and a voice came from it, uttering the words, 'What king on the earth below lives an honest life?' The answer returned was 'Kahiko'. Then the voice came a second time from the head and asked the question, 'What good has Kahiko done?'

"Again came the answer from below, 'Kahiko is well-skilled in all the departments of the government; *he is priest and diviner*; he looks after the people in his government; Kahiko is *patient and forbearing*.

"Again the head asked, 'What king on earth lives corruptly?' Then the people answered with a shout, '*Waia* is the wicked king.

'What sin has he committed?' asked the head.

" 'He utters no prayers, he employs no priests, he has no *diviner* [i.e., makaula], he knows not how to govern,' said the people.

“ ‘Then he is the wicked king,’ said the head, and thereupon it withdrew into the heavens.” [Malo, David, Hawaiian Antiquities (HM): 245]

The fragment of legendary tradition above gives insight into the idea of morality in ancient society, particularly the obligation of a chief to perform his religious duty, and to have priests (*kahuna*) and prophets (*makaula*) to read the future and from divination and prophecy predict where society should go. If the king does not perform his religious obligation, the universe responds with nature’s remedy: disease, death, and destruction.

“...During Waia’s reign Hawaii nei was visited by a pestilence, *mai ahulau*, which resulted in a *great mortality among the people*. Only twenty-six persons were left alive, and these were saved and cured by the use of two remedies, *pilikai* and *lolo*. [*Note: *pilikai* (*Stictocardia tilaefolia*) in the morning glory family, native from India eastward, possibly into Polynesia; *lolo* [no data (n.d.)]

“...This pestilence was called *ikipuahola* by the ancients.

“Kama, the Hawaiian medicine-man (*kahuna lapa’au*), gave it as his opinion that the *ikipuahola* was of the same nature as the *okuu*, the pestilence which appeared in 1804 in the reign of Kamehameha I” [i.e., in which Ke’eau-mokupapaiaheaha, father of Ka’ahuman died in Maunaloa, O’ahu].

[*Note: *ma’i ’oku’u*, *’oku’u*; disease at the time of Kamehameha I, perhaps cholera, because it was dysenteric; Puku’i-Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: 282].

“Kama made this statement to his grandson Kuauau, and one year before the appearance of this pestilence Kama foretold its arrival. The circumstances were as follows:

“Kamehameha was at Kawaihae making preparations for his *peleleu* expedition to Oahu. At that time, Kama was taken sick unto death, when he made the following statement to Kuauau.

“ ‘I am about to die, but you will witness a great pestilence that is soon to make its appearance among us. You will doubtless be weary and worn out with your labors as a physician, because *this is the same disease as that which raged in the time of Waia*. *ikipuahola* is the name of it. It is the same as that pestilence that *slew all but twenty-six of the population of Hawai’i*.

“ ‘How do you know that this disease is the same as *ikipuahola*?’ asked Kuauau. To this Kama answered, ‘My instructor once told me that if a distemper associated with buboes (*hahai*) and a skin eruption (*meeau*) were to show itself, a short time thereafter this disease would make its appearance. So the ancients told him, and so my preceptor Kalua told me.’

“After that Kamehameha sailed for Oahu and the pestilence in truth made its appearance, raging from Hawaii to Kauai. A vast number of people died and the name *okuu* was applied to it.

“After *Waia's* time another pestilence called *hai-lepo* invaded the land and caused the death of a large number of people. *Only sixteen recovered*, being saved by the use of a medicine which was composed of some kind of earth (*lepo*). The name of the king during whose reign this epidemic occurred has escaped me” [Malo: 245-246].

An interesting footnote to Kama's description of the *ikipuahola* epidemic during the time of *Waia* (grandson of Wākea) in the first century A.D. was added by Nathaniel B. Emerson, who translated Malo's manuscript: “This symptom resembles the chief feature of *bubonic plague*” [Malo: 246]. The storytellers remembered that after these epidemics on small islands that very few people, twenty-six, survived. After that, the survivors pass on the immunity. This event happened about in the first century A.D. If it was bubonic plague, rats are carriers. The question remains: how did bubonic plague (*ikipuahola*) or cholera (*ma'i oku'u*) spread to Lalowaia in 100 A.D.? Can't blame Europeans for spreading it. They didn't find Polynesia until the 16th century A.D. Were epidemics a factor encouraging out-migration from the homeland? Or bad chiefs like *Waia*, who didn't say his prayers, didn't hire professional *kahuna* nor ask for prophecies from divining *makaula*?

100 - 200 A.D. The Second and Third Centuries After Wakea

(3)	065 A.D	<i>Waia</i>	Huhune	Hinanalo
(4)	090	Hinanalo	<i>Haunu'u</i>	Nanakehili
(5)	115	Nanakehili	<i>Haulani</i>	Wailoa
(6)	140	Wailoa	Hikawaopuaiaanea	Kio

If we study the names of wives of the chiefs, *Haunu'u* and *Haulani*, we recall the chant of Kamaunu-a-niho to Kamapua'a:

E Kama lepo pua'a,
Ke ao pua'a i ka lani,
Na kino puaa o Kama i ka na-
helehele,
O *Haunu'u* oe, o *Haulani*,
O Kaalokuloku,
Ka mano o ka ia nu,
E ui, o ko inoa ia, e o mai.

Kama, pig-dirt,
Pig-cloud in the sky,
Pig-body of Kama in the forest,

You are Haunu'u, Haulani,
Ka'alokuloku, downpour of rain,
The shark, triggerfish,
Answer me, this is your name song.

The genealogical information suggests that the position of Kamapua'a would be on

the maternal line descending from *Haunu'u and Haulani*, affines of chiefs descended from Wakea, Haloa, etc., and that Kamapua'a would not have been born until after their generation.

0-600 A.D. Dating the Settlement of Hawai'i from Genealogy and Archaeology

(continued)

(7)	165	Kio	Kamole (w)	Ole 1
(8)	190	Ole 1	Hai	Pupue
(9)	215	Pupue	Kamahele	Manaku
(10)	240	Manaku	Hikoha'ale	Kahiko
(11)	265	Kahiko	Kaea	Lukahakona
(12)	290	Lukahakona	Koulamaikalani	Luanu'u 1
(13)	315	Luanu'u 1	Kawaoma'aukele	Kii 2
(14)	340	Kii 2	Hinakoula	<i>Ulu</i>
				<i>Nanaulu</i>

[Thirteen generations after Wakea]

[*Note: Lukahakona generation in Kumulipo, Wa 15; Malo (HA): 238].

Genealogical Dating:

Dating methods used by scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, such as Abraham Fornander, a classicist, and John F. G. Stokes, an anthropologist, placed the migration and settlement of *Ulu and Nanaulu* in the Hawaiian Islands between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Ulu and Nanaulu are credited with voyaging to Hawaii and settling on several islands, mainly on O'ahu.

The genealogical dating used above is a rough estimate based on backdating precontact generations the 975 A.D. solar eclipse observed in the time of Lonohuanewa [acc. Masse, Tuggle, Johnson, *Islands in the Sky*, mss. 2001]. [*Note: More about this later].

It places Ulu and Nanaulu, who settled in Wahiawa, O'ahu in the fourth century A.D., into the period estimated by Fornander, who used 30 years per generation and John F. G. Stokes, 25 years per generation. Archaeologists prefer the 20-year per generation estimate [Cordy, Ross, *Exalted Sits the Chief*, 2000: 144].

Archaeological Dating:

[From Cordy, Ross, "The Rise and Fall of the O'ahu Kingdom: A Brief Overview of O'ahu's History," 1993: 4-9]

"A model of Hawaiian cultural changes developed in the early 1970s suggested that *early permanent settlement* was first established on the windward sides of O'ahu in the Ko'olauloa and Ko'olaupoko districts."

"...*Early settlement* was suggested to have taken place ca. the A.D. 300s-600s, based on dates from two sites on O'ahu, one on *Moloka'i*, and two on *Hawai'i* Island [ibid.: 4].

"...For O'ahu, it was stated that the leeward areas with flowing, year-round streams--most notably those around Pearl Harbor--may also have been permanently occupied fairly early, albeit after optimal windward areas" [ibid.: 4].

"...Ignoring the two very early dates from Kahuku and Kahana which must await further evaluation, the above information points to a picture of initial settlement on O'ahu between A.D. 0-600...*Many researchers now consider a settlement date for O'ahu and the other major islands of ca. A.D. 0-300 to be very reasonable*" [ibid.: 9].

[The questionable dates are *B.C. 430 Kahana - 210 A.D, Kahuku]:
*B.C. 430 Kahana valley
*B.C. 165-A.D. 210 Kahuku

A.D. 145-600	A.D.	('Ewa, Site 3357)
A.D. 225-565		'Ewa Plain (Site 3357, near Barber's Point); initial use ca. 145-600 A.D.]
A.D. 245-265		Waimanalo (Bellows dune, coast) [ibid.: 5]
A.D. 300-600		Maunawili Stream (Site 2022, back of Kawainu marsh)

If we coordinate the genealogical dates, which are only reconstructed dates, with archaeological dates, which are scientifically determined, for early settlement, presupposing therewith a preliminary period of early voyaging (discovery, exploration, and initial settlement), we obtain the following results.

0-600 A.D. Coordinated Archaeological and Genealogical Dating of
Early Settlement

B.C. 430 Kahana (questionable)
B.C. 165-210 A.D. Kahuku (questionable)

A.D. 145-600 A.D. 'Ewa, Site 3357, near Barber's Point; initial use
ca. 145-600 A.D.

(7) A.D. 165 Kio Kamole (w)
(8) 190 Ole 1 Hai (w)
(9) 215 Pupue Kamahele (w)

A.D. 225-565 'Ewa Plain (Site 3357, near Barber's Point); initial use
ca. 145-600 A.D.]

(10) 240 Manaku Hikohaale (w)

A.D. 245-265 Waimanalo (Bellows dune, coast) [Ibid.: 5]

(11) 265 Kahiko Kaea (w)
(12) 290 Lukahakona Koulamaikalani (w)

A.D. 300-600 Maunawili Stream (Site 2022, back of Kawainui marsh)

(13) 315 Luanuu 1 Kawaāmaukele
(14) 340 Kii 2 Hinakoula (w) Ulu and Nanaulu
(15) 365 Ulu Kapunuu (w)
(15) 365 Nanaulu Ulukou (w)
[etc.]..

While persons named in the thirteen generations descended from Wakea may have been living at the time O'ahu was settled, about 145 A.D. in 'Ewa, they are not persons identified with canoe-voyaging. Not until the sons of Ki'i, Ulu and Nanaulu, is there any true voyaging tradition with satisfactory survival and settlement in places identified in tradition and still possessing those place names to the present time.

Traditions of Voyaging and Settlement: Ulu and Nanaulu, the Sons of Ki'i

Hawaiian chiefly genealogies credit two brothers from Tahiti with the earliest Polynesian settlement of the island of O'ahu: *Ulu and Nanaulu*, whose arrival was told in the first English-language collection of Hawaiian myths and legends published by Daggett and Kalakaua (1888). Kalakaua and Fornander [Account of the Polynesian Race (APR)] credit Nanaulu with arriving earlier than Ulu. Fornander believed that the Nanaulu genealogy was respected by the people of the northern group, Kaua'i and O'ahu; the Ulu genealogy, by Hawai'i and Maui.

Of the two brothers, Nanaulu remained, and Ulu returned to Tahiti. Nanaulu settled in Kukaniloko, in Wahiawā, which later belonged in the district of Wai'anae (Wai'anae-uka). The districts, however, took some time to be politically and economically demarcated. Nevertheless, a settling of this region in central O'ahu implies that the coast (Kualoa, Ko'olaupoko) on the windward side would already have been settled.

If after a while, Ulu had decided to go back to Tahiti, is there any comparable tradition to the south recognizing his position? Maori and Moriori genealogies are the most comparable tradition [(Cole, William A. and Elwin W. Jensen, 1961: 206, 402; in Sutton, Bruce S., *Lehi, Father of Polynesia*, 2001: 167]; Sutton's dates are 25-28 years per generation), or a 50-year difference (i.e. Ulu/Nanaulu at 358 A.D vs. Uru 387 A.D.):

		<u>Maori</u>	<u>Moriori</u>	<u>Hawaii</u>	
A.D.	387	Tiki	Tiki	Ki'i 2	[ca. 358 A.D.]
	415	Uru	Uru	Ulu	[ca. 383]
	440	Ngangana	Ngangana	Nanaulu	[ca. 383]
				<u>Kapulani</u> (w)	[ca. 408]
				Nanaie (k)	[ca. 408]
				Nanailani (k)	[ca. 433]

[*Note: Kapulani (w) and Nanaie (k), children of Ulu]

		<u>Aitutaki</u>	<u>Rarotonga</u>	<u>Ra'iatea (Tahiti)</u>	
A.D.	387	Tiki	Tiki	Ti'i	
	415	Taitorangiuru	Taitorangingurunguru	Uru	
	440	Taitorangingangana	Taitorangingangana	Iri-ta'apura'i	
				[Cp. <u>Kapulani</u> (Hawai'i)]	

The comparative sequence is no accident, if groups to the south related to Nana-ulu, who remained with his children in Hawai'i, are descendants of Uru in Maori country, New Zealand, including the southern Cook Islands (Rarotonga, Aitutaki), while in Tahiti (Ra'iatea) are also descendants of Uru's son, 'Iri-ta'apura'i, all of whom are collateral cousins on both sides (Ulu and Nanaulu), Hawaiians (north) and Maoris (south and west). To the east, in the Marquesas and on Easter Island the relationship would be through *Tiki* [Cp. *Ki'i* (Hawaii), father of Ulu and Nanaulu].

Abraham Fornander recognized that the Nanaulu line reckoned from Ho'ohoku-kalani (daughter of Wakea), whereas the Ulu descent line reckoned from Hāloa (son of Wakea), one emphasizing the maternal line (Nanaulu), and the other, the paternal (Ulu). Nanamea, son of Nanaulu, continued Nanaulu's line into the ancestry of the ruling chiefs of O'ahu and Kaua'i. Ulu's descendants continued on Maui and Hawai'i.

Ulu's descendants returned to Hawai'i from the south with Mauiaka-lana's son, *Nanamaoa*, so that Nana-kaoko, grandson of Maui and also a descendant of Ulu, is credited with building Kukaniloko heiau in Wahiawā.

Nanaulu's sons, in the meantime, had continued to reside on O'ahu after their uncle Ulu went back to Tahiti.

Nanamaoa, son of Maui, returned in the generation after his father, but nine generations (225 years) later, after Ulu and Nanaulu first came to Hawai'i.

Reconstruction of Genealogies and Settlement Dates

(coordinated with archaeologically determined settlement dates):

[Explanation: The dating formula used below is based on a reconstructed date for the birth of Kamehameha on the comets of 1739-1740 A.D. back- and forward dating from the 975 A.D. solar eclipse recorded in the time of Lonohuanewa (Nanaulu genealogy)]:

[Opuukahonua genealogy]

000 B.C.	175 A.D.	Kalanimanuia	090 B.C.	260 A.D.
025 A.D.	195	Welaahilaninui	065	280
050	215	Kahikoluamea	040 B.C.	300
<u>075 A.D.</u>	<u>235 A.D.</u>	<u>Wakea</u>	<u>015 A.D.</u>	<u>320 A.D.</u>
100	255	Ho'ohokukalani	<u>040 A.D.</u>	340
100	275	Haloa	040	360
125	295	Waia	065	380

A.D. 145-600 A.D. ('Ewa, Site 3357)

150	315	Hinanalo	090	400 (Haunu'u)
175	335	Nanakehili	115	420 (Haulani)
200	355	Wailoa	140	440

A.D. 225-565 'Ewa Plain (Site 3357, near Barber's Point); initial use
ca. 145-600 A.D.]

225	375	Kio	165	460
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A.D. 245-265 Waimanalo (Bellows dune, coast) [Ibid.: 5]

<u>250</u>	<u>395</u>	<u>(42) Ole 1</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>480</u>
275	415	(41) Pupue	215	500

A.D. 300-600 Maunawili Stream (Site 2022, back of Kawainui Marsh)

300	435	(40) Manaku	240	520
325	455	(39) Kahiko	265	540
350	475	(38) Lukahakona	290	560
375	495	(37) Luanuu 1	315	580
400	515	(36) Ki'i	340	600
<u>425</u>	<u>535</u>	<u>(35) Nanaulu</u>	<u>365</u>	<u>620</u>
<u>425</u>	<u>535</u>	<u>(35) Ulu</u>	<u>365</u>	<u>620</u>
450	555	(34) Nanaie	390	640
475	575	(33) Nanailani	415	660
500	595	(32) Waikulani	440	680
525	615	(31) Kuheleimoana	465	700
550	635	(30) Konohiki	490	720
575	655	(29) Wawena	515	740
600	675	(28) Akalana	540	760
625	695	(27) Mauiakalana	565	780

650	715	(26)	Nanamaoa	590	800
675	735	(25)	Nanakulei	615	820
700	755	(24)	Nanakaoko (built Kukaniloko)	640	840

[Alignment of Kukaniloko Heiau, to Big Dipper and skies of ca. 560 A.D. Archaeoastronomically determined dating, by Douglas Fernandez Fernandez, 1998, mss.]

725	775	(23)	Kapawa	665	860
750	795	(22)	Heleipawa	690	880
775	815	(21)	Hulumanailani	715	900
800	835	(20)	Aikanaka	740	920
825	855	(19)	Hema Puna	765	940
850	875	(18)	Kaha'i Ua	790	960
875	895	(17)	Wahieloa Uamaikalani	815	980
900	915	(16)	Laka Uanini	840	1000
925	935	(15)	Luanuu 2 Auanini	865	1020
950	955	(14)	Kamea Newalani	890	1040
975	<i>solar eclipse</i>		Pohukaina Lonohuanewa	915	1060
1000	995	(12)	Hua Lonowahilani	940	1080
1025	1015	(11)	Pau Pau	965	1100
1050	1035		Huanuikalalailai Paumakua	990	1120
1075	1055	(9)	Paumakua Moeanaimua	1015	1140
1100	1075	(8)	Haho Kumakaha	1040	1160
1125	1095	(7)	Palena Nana	1065	1180
1150	1115	(6)	Hanalaanui Luahiwa	1090	1200
1175	1135	(5)	Lanakawai (Pa'ao migration)	1115	1220
1200	1155	(4)	La'au (etc.).....	1140	1240
1225	1175	(3)	Pili	1165	1260
1250	1195	(2)	Koa	1190	1280
<u>1275</u>	<u>1215</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>Ole 2</u>	<u>1215</u>	<u>1300</u>
1300	1235		Kukohou	1240	1320
1325	1255		Kaniuhi	1265	1340
1350	1275		Kanipahu	1290	1360
1375	1295		Kalapana	1315	1380
1400	1315		Kahaimoeleaikaakupou	1340	1400
1425	1335		Kalaunuiohua	1365	1420
1450	1355		Kuaiwa	1390	1440
1475	1375		Kahoukapu	1415	1460
1500	1395		Kauholanuimahu	1440	1480
1525	1415		Kihanuilulumoku	1465	1500
1550	1435		Liloa	1490	1540
1575	1455		Hakau	1515	1560
1600	1455		'Umi-a-Liloa	1515	1560
1625	1475		Keawenuiaumi	1540	1580
1650	1495		Kanaloakuaana	1565	1600
1675	1515		Keakealanikane	1590	1620
1700	1535		'Iwikauikaua	1615	1640
1725	1555		Keakealani (w) [m Kanaloakapulehu]	1640	1660
1750	1575		Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku	1665	1680
1775	1595		Ke'eaumokunui	1690	1700
1800	1615		Keouakupuapaikalaninui	1715	1720
<u>1825</u>	<u>1635</u>		<u>Kamehameha I</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1740</u>
[25]	[20]		[*years per generation]	[25]	[20]

The Maui Family, Descendants of Ulu on O'ahu.

Maui-ki'iki'i-akalana

The Kumulipo chant segment [Wā 15] confirms an established matrilineal residence ('ewe, *piko*, placenta, navel cord) and burial place of chiefs descending from Maui on the Ulu line by the sixth century A.D., inasmuch as the names are identified *ahu-pua'a*, Kahalu'u, Waikane, Hakipu'u, and Kualoa of Ko'olaupoko district (*moku*).

He [Maui] fought to exhaustion
 Around Hawaii, around Maui,
 Around Kaua'i, around O'ahu;
 At Kahalu'u the placenta,
 At Waikāne the navel cord,
 (He) died at *Hakipu'u in Kualoa*,
 Maui-of-the-loincloth,
Amazing ancestor of the district,
 Of the island.

They are not village (*kauhale*, *kulana-kauhale*, *kaiaulu*) names. They indicate *districts* (*moku*) with marked *ahupua'a* boundaries and feudal titles of the ruling chiefs.

The Maui family on the Ulu line is represented in relation to districts (*moku*) in Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu, although this name (Ko'olaupoko) is not used in the Kumulipo quote above. The succession of Maui chiefs [640 A.D. Nanakaoko - 665 A.D. Kapawa] to Kūkāniloko (central O'ahu) and Wai'anae (leeward O'ahu) promotes a continuing, parallel descent of Ulu and Nanaulu lines over several generations since Nanaulu [340 A.D.], representing a settlement period of 325 years. Maui descends on the Ulu line (Nanaie to Nanakaoko, greatgrandson of Maui):

[ca. 365 A.D. Ulu and Nanaulu; acc. Fomander (APR):1: 190-191]

365	Ulu	Kapunu'u (w)	Nana Kapulani (w) Nanaie
390	Nanaie (k)	Kahaumokuleia (w)	Nanailani
415	Nanailani	Hinakina'u (w)	Waikulani
440	Waikulani	Kekauilani	Kuheleimoana
465	Kuheleimoana	Mapunaia'ala (w)	Konohiki
490	Konohiki	Hikaululena (w)	Wawena
515	Wawena	Hinamahuia (w)	Akalana
540	Akalana	Hinakawe'a (w)	Maui-mua Maui-hope <i>Maui-ki'iki'i</i> Maui-akalana

565	Mauiakalana (k)	Hinakealohaila (w)	Nanamaoa
590	Nanamaoa (k)	Hinakapa'ikua (w)	Nanakulei
615	Kulai	[acc. Kumulipo, line 2051]	
615	Nanakulei	Kahaukuhonua	Nanakaoko
640	Nanakaoko	Kahihiokalani	Heleipawa/Kapawa
640	Nanakuae	[Malo/Ulu g. (HA): 238; Kumulipo, line 2052 Beckwith]	
665	Kapawa	[*acc. Fomander: Kapawa, same as Heleipawa]	
690	Heleipawa	Kookookumaikalani	Hulumanailani
715	Hulumanailani	Hinamaikalani	Aikanaka
740	Aikanaka (k)	Hinahanaiakamalama	Puna/Hema

Their district chiefdom (*'aimoku*) stretched across the corridor of O'ahu's central plain between the Ko'olau and Wai'anae mountains from Ko'olaupoko [Kumulipo]. The words *ewe* [placenta, cord] and *piko* (navel) establishes accord with the matrilineal side [i.e. *Hinakawe'a*, mother of Maui]. (This is confirmed by Kamakau).

I *Kahalu'u* ke 'ewe i *Waikane* ka piko
 Ha'ule i *Hakipu'u* i *Kualoa*
 O Maui-a-ka-malo
 O ka ho'okala Kupua o ka moku,
 He moku no...

"...The genealogy becomes that of Nana'ie...*Ulehawa and Ka'ōlae, on the south side of Wai'anae, O'ahu, was their birthplace.* There may be seen the things left by Maui-akalana and other famous things: the tapa-beating cave of Hina, the fishhook called Mānai-a-ka-lani, the snare for catching the sun, and the places where Maui's adzes were made and where he did his deeds. *However, Maui went to Kahiki after the birth of his children in Hawai'i.* The last of his children with Hina-a-kealoha was Hina-a-ke-ka...

"...Nanamaoa, Nanakulei, and Nana-kaoko, the next three generations, *lived at Wahiawā and Lihu'e in Wai-alua.* Kapawa was the son of Nana-kaoko, and with him began the setting apart of a special place for the birth of chiefs...*Kukaniloko...*" [Kamakau, S. N., *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, 1991: 135-136].

1. Distribution of the Maui Cycle in Hawaii

"The deeds of Maui, the trickster culture-hero of Polynesia, are reported sporadically in Hawaii, always minutely localized for each island, and centering especially about a point above Kahakuloa for West Maui, Kauiki for East Maui, a cave on the Wailuku river above Hilo for Hawai'i, Waianae on O'ahu, and Wailua on Kauai...*Only in the Kumulipo is there any indication of a complete legendary cycle*" [Beckwith, Martha W., HM: 226].

Beckwith's summary of the deeds of Maui is a useful tool for examining and analyzing the Maui cycle in Hawai'i [HM]: 227]:

1. Pushing up the heavens [Westervelt, Maui 31-32].

This deed takes place in east Maui where Maui, standing on Kauiki Hill thrusts the sky upward.

2. Getting fire [Thrum, Tales: 33-35; Westervelt, Maui 64-65].

This deed takes place in east Maui where the 'alae bird (a *kupua*) lies to Maui that fire is in the stalk of the ti or taro, which is why their stems are hollow because Maui tried to make fire with them, until the 'alae tells him that fire is in the *wai mea* stem.

3. Fishing up islands [Thrum, More Tales: 248-252]

This deed is told on Maui (east), O'ahu (Wai'anae), and Kaua'i. The east Maui tale is fishing for the great ulua fish, Pimoe from Kipahulu using the fishhook Manaia-ka-lani. Because the brothers look back when the fish is being hauled it, it breaks into the several islands.

The Kaua'i tale is fishing for Luehu on the night of Lono (the 28th moon) so that he can draw the islands back together, but the nine 'alae birds warn Luehu (cp. Luaehu, Mahanauluehu). Maui takes into his canoe a bailer (Hina-ke-ka) that comes floating on the water. The bailer becomes a beautiful woman whom the crowds cheer. The brothers look back to see her, and the fish breaks apart again. [The version on O'ahu is similar].

4. Snaring the Sun [Thrum, Tales, 31-33; FC 5: 538-539]

(a) Maui

"Maui was the son of Hina-lau-ae and Hina, and they dwelt at a place called *Makalia above Kahakuloa, on West Maui*. Now his mother, Hina, made kapas. And as she spread them out to dry, the days were so short that she was put to great trouble and labor in hanging them out and taking them in day after day until they were dry. Maui seeing this was filled with pity for her, for the days were so short that no sooner had she got her kapas all spread out to dry than the sun went down and she had to take them in again. So he determined to make the sun go slower.

"He first went to *Wailohi, in Hamakua, on East Maui, to observe the motions of the sun*. There he saw that the sun rose towards Hana. He then went to *Haleakala* and saw that the sun in his course came directly over the mountain. He then went home again, and after a few days, went to a place called Paeloko, at Waihee. There he cut down all the cocoanut trees, and gathered the fibre of the cocoanut husks in great quantity. This he manufactured into strong cord....

"So he went up to Haleakala again, taking his cord with him. And when the sun rose above where he was stationed, he prepared a noose of the cord and casting it, snared one of the sun's larger rays and broke it off...(etc) [Forbes, A.O., Legend of Maui-Snaring of the Sun, Hawaiian Annual for 1881: 59; in Sterling, Elspeth P., Sites of Maui: 48-49.

The above version of Maui lacks the lassoing of the sun when Maui ties each of *sixteen legs of the sun to the wilwili tree*, the presence of which suggests that Maui did not try to lasso the sun at the top of the mountain but below the summit where the forest began on the Kula and Makawao sides of Haleakala.

5. Rescue of mother, Hina from Kuna the Eel [Westervelt, Maui, 7-8]; (Hawai'i), or Rescue of wife from Pe'ape'a-maka-walu, the Eight-eyed Bat (Wai'anae, O'ahu).

Hina lived in a cave by Wailuku river in Hilo. While Maui was away snaring the sun at Haleakala, Kuna the eel hid her, almost drowning her. Maui returned to save her.

Pe'ape'a-maka-walu, the Eight-eyed Bat, hid Kumulama, Maui's wife, so his uncle Ku-olokele tells him he must go to Moanalaha by sail to recover her. He waits for all eight eyes to close in sleep before cutting off the head of the bat.

2. Versions of Maui in Hawaiian Language Newspapers:

A. [Fragment from, "Ka Moolelo o Maui", Ka Nupepa Kuokoa; translated by Keoana Hanchett; edited by R. Kawena Johnson for this text].tj

[Iulai 4, 1863, page 4, Column 3, Article 1]

Noho keia i ke kumu o ua wiliwili nei, a kani mai ana ka moa kuakahi, a me ka moa kualua, a hiki i ke kolu o ka moa; o ka inoa o ua moa nei o Kaauhelemoa, ia kana ana o ka moa kuakolu, ia wai, kiei iho la keia, e kolo ae ana ua luahine nei, e pulehu i ka maia a ka La, pulupulu no ka hoi ua luahine nei a-a ke ahi, a kau iho i ka eka maia, e kii malu aku ana keia, lilo ia ianei ka eka maia, i kii aku ka ka hana o ua luahine nei e huli ae i ua eka maia nei, u lilo o ia ianei, uhuhu iho la ka ua luahine nei.

"Uhuh-u, eia la hoi i hea ka maia a kuu La," a o ua luahine nei he makapo, oia ke kumu o ko iala ike ole i ka ianei lawe. Hele hou no ua luahine nei pulehu hou i eka maia, miki hou aku la no keia lilo, pela'ku pela'ku ka ianei lawe a pau ka maia a ua luahine nei, i iho la ua luahine nei, he kupu hoi keia. Ia manawa hanu aela ua luahine nei io ia nei, hanu ae la keia iluna, ninau aku la ua luahine nei, "Nawai ke kupu o oe?" Hai mai la kela, "Nau no," washi a Maui. I mai la kela, "Na'u nawai oe?" "Na no na Hina," wahi a Maui; ia wa, lele iho la no hoi keia noho iluna o ka uha o ua luahine nei, a ninau iho, "Heaha ka huakai o ka hiki anna mai?" I aku no hoi keia, "I kii mai nei au i ka La e make, no kona hele wikiwiki loa, aole e maloo ke kapa a Hina e kuku ai; nolaila, kii mai nei au e maka ka La." Alaila, haawi mai la no hoi ua luahine nei i ka pohaku a me ka aha hookahi, hui me kela mau aha mua, *umikumamaono aha*, o ka pohaku no hoi ka umikumamahiku, oia ka mea e make ai o ka La ia ia nei, ke wanaao loa ae la, ke ono mai ka La i ka maia. Aoaoku la no hoi ua luahine nei, "E noho oe ma ke kumu o keia laau la, a i pii ae auanei ke kukuna mua, alaila oe ahele iho i ka aha a paa, a omau ae i ke kumu o ka laau, pela aku auanei a pau na aha, alaila kii aku oe i ka pohaku, no ke kino ka hoi ia o ka La." Ia manawa, pau aela no hoi ka iala aoao ana mai ua keiki nei, hele no hoi keia a eli iho la i wahi lua ma ke kumu o ua laau nei, noho iho la no hoi keia, aole i liuliu iho, e pii mai ana no hoi ka wawe mua, e ahele iho ana keia i ka aha paa ia wawae, pela aku no hoi kahi wawae, a pau na wawae he umikumamalima i ka paa ia ianei, ke naku mai la kekahi wawae ilalo, kakali aku keia o ka pii mai, ka naku mai la no ia ilalo, a pii mai ana, ahele aku la no hoi keia paa ua kukuna nei, ike ua La nei ka pau o na kukuna i ka paa ia ianei, emi iho ana ilalo, e omau aku ana keia i na wawae i ke kumu laau, paa loa, aole e hiki ke hoi iho ilalo, ua paa mai la ia ianei, e pii mai ana ke kino a hiki no hoi iluna. Ia wa koke no, lalau aku ana keia i ka pohaku, kaikai ae la keia i ka pohaku a haalele iho, pane mai ana ua La nei," E ola au."

He stayed at the base of the wiliwili (tree), and at the sound of the first cock's crow, and the second cock's crow, the third came; the name of this third rooster was Kaauhelemaoa, and when he crowed. He (Maui) peered down, nere was an old woman moving along to broil bananas for the Sun, the kindling (wood) was put on the fire, and the hand ('ēkā) of bananas placed on the fire [i.e., cooking bananas]; he (Maui) quietly stole it and got the hand of bananas, as the old woman turned over the (aforementione) 'ēkā, and it was gone, the old woman groaned, "Uhu-hu, where are the bananas for my Sun?" Since the old woman was blind, the reason why she hadn't seen it taken away. She went again to broil another hand of bananas, and again it was quickly taken, and so it wnet until the old woman had no more bananas. She said to herself: "It's a spirit." then she sniffed everywhere; she sniffed above. Then she she sniffed where he (Maui) was, then she asked, "Whose spirit are you?" He answered, "Yours." "For whom have you come?" the old woman asked. "For Hina," replied Maui. Then he jumped and sat on the thigh of the old woman, and she asked, "Why have you traveled here?" He answered, "Iv'e come to kill the Sun, because it travels too fast, Hina's kapa that was beaten can't dry. There, I have come to kill the Sun." Then the old woman got a stone and a sennit cord. She joined the cords, sixteen of them, and the stone was the seventeenth, and this was (how) he was going to kill the Sun, very early next morning (when) the Sun would be hungry for the bananas. The old woman counseled Maui: "You stay at the base of this tree, and when the first rays of the sun rise, then you snare and secure (them), then you fetch the stone for the body of the Sun." When she had finished advising him, he dug a pit at the base of the tree where he sat, (and) he didn't have to wait long, the first ray of the sun climbed up, and he snared it with the cord, and so on, one foot at a time, until fifteen of the rays were bound, (and), one leg pushing (from) below, he (Maui) waited for him to climb, as he struggled below, and (was) climbing up, then he (Maui) snared and bound this (aforementione) ray (*kukuna*), the Sun then saw that the rays were all bound, that he was unalbe to descend (i.e down the mountain to the other side), that he was stuck there, and couldn't retreat ('emi iho, shrink down), that his feet were bound fast to the tree, so the body (of the Sun) climbed upward. Quickly he (Maui) seized the stone, raised it and flung it at the Sun, and the Sun answered, "I still live."

Maui replied, "You certainly do live; what you do is unkind. Perhaps you won't live by me?" "No, I'll thrive." said the Sun, so that they could come to an agreement.

After this, they talked about the time the sun quickly travels, and he (the sun) granted, *six months for traveling quickly, and six months to travel slowly*, and their thoughts agreed.

I mai la o Maui, "E ola hoi oe, he kumamaia ka hoi kau hana, aole paha oe e ola ia'u?" "Aole, e ola hoi au," wahi a ka La, no ka mea i holo i ko laua manao.

Ma ia hope iho, kamaailio pono laua nei no ka wa a ka la e hele wikiwiki ai, a haawi iho la no hoi laua nei, eono malama e hele wikiwiki ai, a eono no hoi malama e hele malie ai, a ua holo ia i ko laua manao. Oia ka ka loihi o ka la i ke kau, a pokole i ka wa hooilo, a ua pomaikai ka na kanaka e noho nei. Eia nae kauwahi hana mua a ua Maui nei, i kona wa kamalii, a mahope iho kona kii ana i ka la, a me ke ahi. A i ka wa ana e hahai ai i na kaikuaana, ke hele lakou i ka lawai-a, kau aku la keia mahope o ka waa, huhu mai la na kaikuaana o ia nei, a i mai la lakou, "Heha kau e hoolaaui nei, a komo iho ka waa ia oe?" Pane aku la no hoi keia, "He aha hoi ka mea e komo ai, he wahi kono uuku wale no ko'u?" Pane hou mai la no na kaikuaana, "E nana ae no hoi paha oe la, he uuku loa kahi wahi, ke kuleana hoi e hiki aku ai i kai." Kii mai la no hoi na kaikuaana hoolei ia ia nei iloko o ke kai, noho no keia a holo hou, pela no ka ia nei hoolaaui ana, e ake keia e holo pu i kai. No ka hoonaukiuki o ua o Maui nei, no ka hoi mai o na kaikuaana, he Mano wale no ka i-a, pahapaha honua ae la keia, "Ina paha wau e holo ana i kai, ai mai la ka Ulua nui o Pimoe." Ma ia olelo ana a ua o Maui nei, hiki aku i kekahi manawa holo hou i kai o ua mau kaikuaana nei, hookau pu ae la ia Maui, a holo aku la a hiki i ke koa Kahala, i kapaia ka inoa o ua koa nei, o Poo, aia no i aki pono aku o Kipahulu, o Kaiwi opele ka maka o ua koa nei, aia ia wahi i Hana.

Kuu no hoi ka pohaku o lakou nei a paa, hoolei aku la keia i ka ia nei makau, o Manaiakalani ka inoa, a kuu aku la no hoi na kaikuaana o ia nei i ka lakou mau makau, olelo iho no hoi na kaikuaana, me ka i ana, "E haha Ulua la." Oia hoi ka ai mai o ka i-a, pane aku ia no hoi o Maui, "Haha Mano la." Pane mai no hoi na kaikuaana, "Haha Ulua la." pane aku la hoi keia, "Haha Mano la." Pela ka lakou nei hana ana iluna o ka waa. Ai io mai la no nae ka lakou la he Mano no, e like me ka ia nei olelo aku, a hiki i ka wa i ai mai ai ka i-a i ka ia nei makau, pahapaha iho la hoi keia, "Haha Ulua la, " pane mai la na kaikuua, me ka hooho like mai, "Haha Mano la." Hoole aku keia, "aole, haha Ulua; no ka mea, kuu aku nei au i kuu makau o Manaiakalani, ai mai nei no ka Ulua nui o Pimoe, eia la, ke nee pu nei i ka papa ku." Olelo hou aku la keia i na kaikuaana, "Aohe pono i koe, hookahi pono o ke oki i ke kaula o kakou, a na ka i-a no e lawe aku ia kakou." Ae mai no hoi na kaikuaana, oki iho la lakou i ke kaula, ahai aku la ua Ulua nei, ka ohi no ia i ke aho a ia nei a, kaohi i ke pohue, oia hoi ka pau loa ana o ke aho.

Ka ahai aku la no ia o ua i-a nei, a hala elua la, lana mai ana ua i-a nei iluna, i aku la keia i na kaikuuaana, "Eia ka pono, ke hoolohe mai nae hoi oukou i ka'u olelo, e hoe oukou i ka waa o kakou, mai nana iki mai kekahi o oukou i hope nei, owau hoi

This is why there are *long days in the summer, and short days in winter*, and it is the reason for the people living here. However, here is something else about Maui, when he was a child, after he got the sun and fire. At the time when he accompanied his brothers, they went fishing, he was placed at the back of the canoe. The brothers were angry at him. Then, they said, Why do you persist in coming into the canoe? He answered, "Why? Because I have a very small body." The brothers replied, "Perhaps you'll watch a very small place when we arrive somewhere at sea?" The brothers got him and threw him in the sea. He got back into the canoe, sat, and (they) sailed again, and that is how persistent he was, that he wanted to sail with them to sea. Because of the aggravation by Maui, the brothers returned. A shark was the only fish that was caught, and he (Maui) chanted: "Perhaps if I were to sail to sea, I would catch the great Ulua, Pimoe." By these words of Maui, there came a time when his brothers were to go sailing again. Maui also climbed aboard, and they sailed to the *kahala* fishing grounds. Po'o was the name of the fishing grounds, just seaward of Kipahulu, Kaiwiopole was the lookout point of the fishing grounds, and these places were in Hana. They let down the stone anchor until it (the canoe) was secure. He (Maui) cast his hook, Manaiakalani, and the older brothers their hook, and the brothers said, "It feels like *ulua*." He replied, "It feels like shark." The brothers answered, "It feels like *ulua*." He answered, calling again, "It feels like shark." That's how they spoke on the canoe. Just as was said, the time arrived to eat the fish (they had) hooked, so he (Maui) chanted, "It feels like *ulua*." The brothers replied, "It feels like shark." He (Maui) denied it, "It doesn't feel like it because, I released my hook Manaiakalani, and the great Ulua, Pimoe, ate it, and here it is close to the surface." He said again to his brothers, "It's not right that anything is left (behind), there's just one thing more to do, cut our rope, and let the fish take us (for a ride)." The brothers agreed and cut the rope, and the Ulua fled. They gathered the line from everywhere to restrain with the *pohue*, and all the line (was let out).

The fish ran for two days, until it floated to the surface, and he (Maui) said to his brothers, "Here's what must be done, listen to my words, you paddle our canoe, but don't look behind. I'll pull on the rope of the fish. If you look back, the fish will be cut from our rope."

The brothers agreed and paddled (with) the fish (in tow), close behind, when one of the brothers looked back, and the line was cut. The fish disappeared, and the canoe separated from it. When the fish broke away, (that is) the reason why these islands are separated. There's more left, but I will end for now.

With my thanks, Pua'aloa.

ke huki mai ma ke kaula o ka ia-a, ina oukou e nana ae i hope, moku ka i-a a kakou." Ae mai no hoi na kaikuaana, hoe aku la no hoi na kaikuaana i ka i-a, a aneane kokoke loa ka i-a mahope o ka waa, e nana aku ana kekahi kaikuaana mahope, ia wa koke no, o ka moku aku la no ia o ke aho, a nalowale aku la ka i-a, kaawale ka waa, me ka i-a. O keia moku ana ka o ka i-a, ka mea i kaawale ai o keia mau Mokupuni. He nui aku no paha na mea i koe, a ke hoopau nei au maanei.

Owau no me ka mahalo.

Puaaloa.

B. He Moololo No Ka Hookumuia ana o na Paemoku o Hawaii Nei a me Ka Hoolaaaukanaka Ana i Hoikeia Ma na Mele Hawaii Kahiko, Ke Au Hou, January 24, 1912. Hooloolua e John H. Wise. A Tradition for the Founding and Peopling of the Hawaiian Islands, shown in ancient Hawaiian chants; assembled by John H. Wise.

A ma ka mahele moololo kahiko. oia hoi. ka moololo Kumuhonua. na keia Pu-Kolu Akua i hana i ekolu lani i wahi no lakou e noho ai, a i ka honua hoi i keehina wawae no lakou. Ua kapaia ka Honua, o ke "Keehina Wawae a Kane." A na keia pukolu Akua no i hana i ka La, ka Mahina, na Hoku a i kini o ke akua.

Nolaila, i ka hohui ana i na mahele moololo kahiko Kumulipo ame Kumuhonua, ma ka hoonohonoho ana o keia moololo, ua kapaia keia: Ka Moololo Kumulipo-- Kumuhonua o Hawaii, oia hoi, Ka Moololo Hawaii Kahiko.

I ka hoomaopopo hou ana i ka moololo kahiko o Hawaii no ka mea e pili ana i kahi i loa mai ai keia mau mokupuni, ua ikeia, he hookahi no honua aina okoa ma Hawaii nei, elike no me ia i hoike mua ia ae nei, mailoko mai o keia honua aina hookahi i loa mai ai keia mau mokupuni ka-kaawale.

Elike me ka mea i hoike mua ia no ka mea e pili ana i ko Maui hoao ana e hohui i keia mau mokupuni me kana makau kaulana o Manaiakalani, a lilo hou lakou i kino hookahi, pela no i ikeia ai ia mau manao ma keia mau lalani mele o ka moololo Kumulipo:

"Nui Maui, ninau i ka makuahine
Hoole Hina, aole au makau
O ka Malo-o-Kalana o ka makua ia
Ono i ka i'a na Hinaakeahi
Ao i ka lawai'a, kena Hinaakeahi
E kii oe i ko makuakane
Aia ilaila ke aho, ka makau
O Manaiakalani, o ka makau ia
O ka louna o na moku e hui i ka moana kahiko
Kiina ka alae nui a Hina
Ko kaikuahine manu
O kana ahiku na a Maui
O ke kupueu nana i hoolou
Ke a, ka waha, ka opina o Pimoe

In the section of ancient tradition, the Kumuhonua tradition, by the pantheon of gods were created three skies as places for them to live, and on the earth for them to walk upon. The earth was called, the "The-stepping-place-of-Kāne". And by the pantheon of gods were made the sun, moon, stars, and 40,000 gods.

Thus, when the Kumulipo and Kumuhonua were put together, and these traditions settled, these were called: The Kumulipo-Kumuhonua tradition, that is to say, Ancient Hawaiian Tradition.

In understanding again the ancient tradition of Hawaii referring to the oriin of these islands, it is known that there was one complete land, as shown before, and from this land (as one) came these separate islands.

As shown before that which pertains to Maui's effort to join these islands with his famous hook Manaiakalani, that they become one, known from these lines of the Kumulipo tradition:

Maui scolded (Hina) when he asked about his father,
Hina refused, (saying),
"You have no father.
The loincloth of Kalana is your father,"
Hina-a-ke-ahi (then) wanted to eat fish,
Teaching him to fish. Hina-a-ke-ahi (then) commanded him:
"(Go) get your father,
Over there is the line and hook,
Manaia-ka-lani. that fishhook [Scorpius]
For hooking up islands in ancient seas,"
(Then) get the Great-mudhen-of- Hina,
(My) bird sister
That was the seventh competition of Maui,
The trickster demigod caught by hook
The jaw. mouth. and gills of Pimoe.
The island fish that tethered shook the seas
Pimoe caught fast on the line of Maui,
(As) Mahanaulu'ehu's pity (for him) grew.
Son of Pimoe.

In ancient Hawaiian tradition referring to Maui, i.e., Maui-a-Kalana, hooking (of the island), is told by ancient Hawaiian genealogists, by those who have memorized the genealogy of Maui-a-ka-malo, it is thought that 23 human generations back to Wakea, that he was the last-born son of Akalana (k) and Hinakawea (w); and 1032 generations perhaps from Lailai (w), the wife of the very first man in the Kumulipo tradition, which is this:--

This Maui is familiar (to us) from the traditions of his ancestors, that the land was dry (i.e., drought), and there was one land of Hawaii, that he tried to hook all of the islands together so that they would be one; he got his famous hook Manaiakalani (and it

O ka i'a ai-moku e halulu ai ka moana
Lilo Pimoe moe i ka-ina a Maui
Ulu aloha o Mahanauluehu
O kama a Pimoe."

O ka moolelo kahiko o Hawaii nei e pili ana i ka hoolou ana o Maui--oia hoi o Maui-a-Kalana, wahi a kekahi poe kuauhau kahiko, a o Maui-a-Kamalo hoi ia i kekahi poe paa kuauhau, a no ka hanauna kanaka Helu 23 mai nei no ia mahope mai o Wakea, a oia ke keiki muli loa a Akalana (k) me Hinakaweia (w); a o ka hanauna 1031 paha ia mai a Lailai (w) mai, ka wahine a ke kanaka mua loa ma ka moolelo Kumulipo,--oia keia:

Ma ke kamaaina o keia Maui i ka moolelo kahiko mai kona mau kupuna mai, no ka aina maloo, a he hookahi no aina o keia Pae-moku o Hawaii nei, ua manao oia e hoolou hou a e hoopii hou i na honua aina mokupuni apau a lilo i hookahi; nolaila kii oia i ka makau kaulana ia Manaiakalani (a ua oleloia, maloko iho nei no o ke keena hoikeike o ke Aupuni kahi i waiho ai o keia makau; a eia paha maloko o ke keena hoikeike o ke Kula Kamehameha i keia wa) no ka hoolou ana i ka i'a, oia o Pimoe i hoikeia ae la ma ke mele.

Oia ame kona mau kaikuaana, no lakou na inoa, o Maui-mua, Maui-hope ame Maui-kiikii, kai hele no ka hoolou ana i keia i'a. Ma Hamakua, Hawaii, kahi a lakou i hana ai i keia hana.

I ka paa ana o Pimoe ia lakou, ua olelo aku la o Maui-a-Kalana i na kaikuaana, imua wale no ko lakou mau maka e nana ai, aole e nana i hope. A ia lakou i holo mai ai a waena moana, ia wa lana ae la o Hina-ke-ka, ma ke ano he kaliu waa. I ko Maui-Kalani ike ana i ua kaliu nei, lalau iho la ia a kau ae la iluna o ka waa. Ia wa o ke ku a kanaka maoli ae la no ia o Hina-ke-ka, a he keu no hoi a ka wahine ui pahee o ka ili, ua hele a lamalama.

I keia wa i huli mai ai na kaikuaana o ua o Maui-a-Kalana i hope, a ike i keia wahine a ka u'i nui wale e kau ana iluna o ka waa, o ko lakou manawa iho la no ia i hoomaka ai e aumeume; a iloko o keia wa a lakou e aumeume ana no ua wahine nei, ia manawa i paina ae ai a moku ke aho e paa ana ia Manaiakalani (ka makau) a o ka lilo iho la no ia o ka mana hoohui a hookui mokupuni a upuia ai e Maui-a-Kalana i mea ole.

Ua kulike keia moolelo (kaao) me ke mele i hoikeia ae nei. A ke hooia nei nae ka manao o keia moolelo kahiko mai ko kakou mau kupuna mai, he hookahi no honua aina kahiko ma Hawaii (hui ia) nei i ka wa kahiko.

A ma keia wahi e ulu ae ai ka ninau: Pehea i loa ai keia kulana kakaawale o nei mau mokupuni e ku nei i keia wa? [continued].

is said, that this hook is in a government office or in an office at Kamehameha Schools), for hooking again the fish Pimoe, as said in the chant.

He and his older brothers, Maui-mua, Maui-hoe ane Maui-kiikii went to hook this fish. At Hamakua, Hawaii, was the place where they did this.

When they caught Pimoe, Maui-a-Kalana said to his brothers, that they should look forward, not backward. And while they sailed out to deep ocean, there was floating Hina-ke-ka, as a canoe-bailing (calabash, gourd). Then the real person, Hina-ke-ka stood up, and she was so beautiful, with smooth, shining skin.

That was when Maui's brothers looked back to see this beautiful woman getting on the canoe, in the midst of the struggle, the line tied to Manaiakalani (the hook) was snapped, and the power to join the islands as Maui desired became as nothing.

This tradition (story) is as shown above. It confirms the thought of ancient tradition from our ancestors, that there was one land in Hawaii of ancient times.

And here the question arises: How shall these separate islands stand (up) now?

3. Distribution of the Maui Cycle in Oceania

A comprehensive comparative study of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga in the Pacific was made by ethnologist Katharine Luomala [Maui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks]. Her research showed that sky-raising and sun-snaring were distributed into the Philippines. Among the Bontoc-Lepanto tribes of north Luzon was a culture hero, Lumauig, whose name combined two sky-raising heroes in Polynesia: *Lū* (Hawai'i), *Rū* (Aitutaki), *Ruk* or *Truk* (Caroline Is., Micronesia), *Lug-ei-lang* (Marshal Is., Micronesia), and *Maui*. The third sky-raiser was *Rigi* (Gilbert Is., Nauru), a sky worm, snake or eel who pushed up the sky and then broke up into pieces, falling back to earth, creating the Milky Way (*Mata-Rigi*) and the Pleiades (*Matariki ~ Makali'i*).

By far the most persistent aspect of the Maui cycle outside the Oceanic culture area where Austronesian languages are spoken is that of sun-snaring, which Luomala found present in Southeast Asia to the borders of Burma and India, where an older tale-type antecedent and (probably) related to the Oceanic variant is present.

Within Oceania, the etymology of Maui's names suggests a route of distribution roughly parallel to that for La Pita pottery (excluding Micronesia, which appears to be influenced by Polynesian settlement in the outliers, and probably the same holds true for Polynesian outliers in Melanesia).

5. Dialectal Variations of Maui-tikitiki [compiled by Katharine Luomala, Maui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks; 1949: 25]

[East and Central Polynesia]:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Island</u>
Maui-tikitiki	New Zealand, Chathams, Tuamotus, except Vahitahi; Cook Islands, Mangareva(Australs);
Maui-ti'iti'i	Society Islands (Tahiti)
Maui-tikatika	Vahitahi (Tuamotu)
Maui-kiki'i, -ki'iki'i, -ikiiki	Hawaiian Islands

[West Polynesia and Polynesian Outliers in Melanesia/Micronesia]:

Maui-kijikiji	Tonga and Fiji
Maui-kisikisi	Tonga and Uvea
Moea-tiktiki	Rotuma
Mo-sigsig	Santa Cruz
Mo-tiketik	Yap and Feis (Carolines)
Ma'au-tik	Lamotrek (Carolines)
Ma-thikethik, Maitix	Mogmog (Carolines)
Maitik	Ponape (Carolines)
Me-tikitiki	Tikopia
Maui-tikitiki	Aneiteum, Efate, Nguna
Ma-tikitiki	Tanna, Futuna, Aniwa, Aneiteum, New Hebrides
Mo-shikishi	Aniwa, Futuna (New Hebrides)
Maui-tukituki	Efate (New Hebrides)
Maui-tikitiki	Efate (New Hebrides)
Ma-tiktiki, Ma-tiktik, Mo-tikitiki	Tanna
Amo-shishiki, Moshi, Mo-shishiki, Maisiki	Futuna
Ma-tshiktshiki	Aniwa
Moi-tikitiki, Moi-tukketukke	Aneiteum

After Mauiakalana: *Kapawa and Heleipawa*

540	Akalana
A.D. 560	[Alignment of Kūkaniloko Heiau, central O'ahu, to the Big Dipper [acc. archaeoastronomically determined dating, by Douglas Fernandez, 1998, mss.].
565	<i>Mauiakalana</i>
590	<i>Nanamaoa</i>
615	Nanakulei
640	<i>Nanakaoko</i> [built Kukaniloko heiau]
665	Kapawa
690	Heleipawa

'O Kapawa, 'o ke ali'i o Waialua

O Kapawa o ke alii o Waialua,
I hanau i Kukaniloko
O Wahiawa ke kahua
O Lihue ke ewe
O Kaala ka piko
O Kapukapuakea ka aa
O Kaiaka i Maeaea
Haule i Nukea i Wainakia
I Aaka i Haleu
I ka lai malino o Hauola
Ke lii o Kapawa hoi no
Hoi no i uka ka waihona
Hoi no i ka pali kapu o na lii,
He kiai Kalakahi no Kakae,
O Heleipawa ke keiki a Kapawa
He keiki alii no Waialua i Oahu.
[Kamakau, Samuel M., Ke Au Oko'a (1869)]

Kapawa was the chief of Waialua,
Born at Kūkaniloko,
Wahiawā the ground,
Lihu'e the placenta,
Ka'ala the navel cord
Kapukapuakea the womb,
Kaiaka at Māeaea,
He died at Nukea in Wainakea,
At 'A'aka in Haleu,
In the quiet peace of Hauola,
Chief Kapawa was returned,
Returned upland to the burial vault,

Returned to the sacred cliff of chiefs,
 Kalākahi the guard for Kaka'e,
 Heleipawa was the son of Kapawa,
 A royal child of Waialua, O'ahu.

[Translated by Frank Rapoza, Manoa, student, 1970-1971,
 University of Hawaii-Manoa]

'O Kapawa - Place Names [acc: Rapoza].

1. Waialua - Bay, district, Hale'iwa qd. (quadrant); O'ahu.
2. Kūkaniloko - Stones near Wahiawā, O'ahu, where royalty gave birth. (Fornander believed that these stones were established in the 12th century).
3. Wahiawā - Land section, district, central O'ahu; Lit., place of noise. [*Note (Johnson), this name identifies a chief by the name of Wā, and also means the Wā, a people, like the menehune, of short stature who lived in the forest and worked, but unlike the Mū, who were silent while they worked, these could be heard from a great distance.
4. Lihu'e - Land section, near Schofield Barracks; Lit., cold chill.
5. Ka'ala - Gulch and highest mountain (4, 025 ft.) on O'ahu; Wai'anae range.
6. Kapukapuākea - Ancient heiau said to have been built by Menehune of kauila wood, at east end of Kaiaka Bay, Pa'ala'a, Waialua, O'ahu; [McCallister, AO (Archaeology of O'ahu), Site 225].
7. Kaiaka - Point and bay, Hale'iwa, O'ahu; lit., shadowed sea.
8. Māeaea - Beach and landing near Waialua, O'ahu; lit., the stench.
9. Nukea - (n.d., i.e., no data).
10. Wainakia - n.d.
11. 'A'aka - Ancient surfing area, Lahaina, Maui; lit., roiled.
12. Haleu - Ancient land division in Lahaina at the site of the Jodo Mission Buddhist Cultural Park (Tax Map 4-5-04).

13. Hauola - Ancient surfing area, Lahaina, Maui; an offshore stone here is believed to have been a woman who was fleeing her enemies when the gods turned her into stone. Also known as Hikina-akala; lit., dew of life. This stone, rock in the ocean was known as a Pohaku piko. It's at the right hand end of the stone wall that separates Wharf Street from the ocean
14. Kalākahi - Place at 'Olopio, 'Iao, Maui [KPK, Ka Po'e Kahiko]; 'Olopio, a heiau at Wailuku, rededicated by Liholiho [RC, Ruling Chiefs: 188].
15. Kāka'e - A pali (cliff) at Kalākahi [KPK: 39]; the vault for the interment of chiefs was *Ka Pela Kapu o Kaka'e* cave in 'Iao Valley, Wailuku, Maui. [*Note: (Johnson) some traditions indicate that Ka Pela Kapu o Kaka'e is one the so-called "kapu" side of the valley, or as you go up, on the left-hand side].

"In the line preceding this chant for Kapawa, Kamakau noted that it was from the time of this chief that the people of old kept and celebrated traditions pertaining to each chief's place of birth. A year later, however, he altered the statement to say the records began to be kept in Heleipawa's time.

"In another of his writings, this one having been translated by Thrum, Kamakau explained that 'Kukaniloko was made or established by Nanakaoko and his wife Kahihiokalani as the place for the birth of their son Kapawa.' Kukaniloko became a famous birthplace for the children of subsequent high chiefs, and Ho'olonopahu was the sacred enclosure where their navel cords were cut. Kamakau adds that the ancient drum Hawea from Kahiki was stored there; whenever it sounded people knew that the cutting of the navel cord was over."

"Unlike Kamakau, some early writers believed the names of Kapawa and Heleipawa referred to the same person. Kapawa's name is omitted in the genealogy lists of Ka Moololo Hawaii (p. 34), Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore (v. 4, p. 404), and "Hoomaka ana o ka lahui o Hawaii ne" (in Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii, p. 191). The first source was cited by Abraham Fornander, in his An Account of the Polynesian Race (v. I, p. 191), who remarked that although the genealogy listed Heleipawa, Kapawa was the correct form. The two other genealogies I used for comparison are from The Kumulipo (p. 239) and Hawaiian Antiquities (p. 238), both which recorded the two names separately."

"With the above discrepancy in mind, there arises the question of whether or not Kapawa was the last reigning Nana chief. We know that Kamakau did not believe this to be true for in this chant and elsewhere he wrote about Kapawa's son Heleipawa, the chief of Kipahulu, Maui. David Malo's account Hawaiian Antiquities tells of the chiefs Kapawa and Heleipawa, but it does not mention any blood relationship between them. Fornander believed that Kapawa was the las of the ruling Nana family, having been deposed because of a great crime he committed.

"The magnitude of Kapawa's crimes noted by Fornander was great, yet this chief was highly honored by being the first one enclosed in the famous burial cave at 'Iao, Maui. Kamakau apparently considered Kapawa to be a fine ruler for he informed us that "Chiefs who did evil were known, and when they died, their bodies were cast away, apart from the chiefs who had ruled well." [Kamakau, S. M. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Dec. 29, 1866, p. 1]. The place of his burial at 'Iao is referred to in the line "He kiai Kalakahi no Kaka'e," because the cave was near the cliff of Kaka'e (Pali-o-Kaka'e) at Kalakahi) [Rapoza].

Commentary: *Background of Student Research and Translation,*
(Hawaiian Language Program, Department of Indo-Pacific
Languages, 1967-1973).

The foregoing study is an example of the situation commonly faced by students translating archaic native Hawaiian texts which were just beginning to appear on microfilmed copy of Hawaiian language newspapers in the 1970s. Until then they were not available to academicians outside the depositories [State of Hawaii Archives, Bishop Museum Library, etc.].

Dr. Charles Hunter of the Department of History, University of Hawaii-Manoa, had been working with librarians staffed at various collections throughout Honolulu to collate and to microfilm Hawaiian language newspapers which were then already in decaying condition. It took him years, and he was never recognized for his work until the publication of the first chronicle of entries, a quasi-index of the first year's (1861-1862) publication of Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a [1974, Hawaii Cultural Research Foundation]. The dedication reads:

"It would be a paramount oversight to let this occasion pass without paying tribute to the person who spent much time and gave greater attention to the slow and careful listing and location of sources on which our present effort depends, the late honorable Professor History at the University of Hawaii, Dr. Charles Hunter. To quote from Judith Reed's recent article, "Hawaiian Language Newspapers on Microfilm," the account of his extraordinary and dedicated performance is to acknowledge the debt students of today owe to him:

'The basis for assembling the newspaper holdings of libraries in Hawaii was an inventory of 200 titles made by the late Dr. Charles Hunter of the University of Hawaii. This list included newspapers in English, Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, and Portuguese...Dr. Hunter's students and many people from cooperating libraries helped in the collating and recording of worksheets which are now deposited in the Hawaiiana section of the University of Hawaii.'

"We take this opportunity to dedicate to his honor and memory this first volume of the Reference Series of Hawaiian Studies, containing the indices in the issues of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa from October, 1861 to September 1862 on this fifth day of May in the year 1973." [Johnson, Rubellite K. Editor]

Until the advanced translation Hawaiian language courses at the University of Hawaii-Manoa brought out the series called Working Papers in Hawaiian Studies (Vol. 1 No. 1, 1973) and Reference Sources in Hawaiian Studies: A Chronicle of Abstracts from Hawaiian Language Newspapers Published in Hawaii, 1834-1948, including Esther T. Mo'okini's "A Brief Survey of the Hawaiian Language Newspapers," (1967 Spring Semester), this primary source material was virtually unknown to the public, on and off-campus, except through the professional translations of John Papa I'i and Samuel M. Kamakau's works done at the Bishop Museum by Mary Kawena Puku'i with Dorothy Barrere, editor.

Until the publication in 1991 [Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Na Mo'olelo o ka Po'e Kahiko], for example, students in advanced Hawaiian translation of native texts (dating back to 1834, Ka Lama Hawaii at Lahainaluna Seminary) had no access to the expert translations by Kawena Puku'i, nor did students *before 1957* have the benefit, even, of the Hawaiian Dictionary [1957, Puku'i, Mary K. and Samuel H. Elbert], all other dictionaries [Hitchcock, Andrews-Parker, etc.] out of print for many years since Fred Beckley taught Hawaiian on campus in the early twentieth century.

From 1950 to 1957, there was no Hawaiian language dictionary at all. How would you begin to translate anything without requisite tools. From 1951 to 1957 the author of this text, as undergraduate and graduate student in Hawaiian language, entered the cards prepared by Samuel H. Elbert (University of Hawaii) and Mary Kawena Puku'i (Bishop Museum) for each alphabetized word entry into shoebox cartons stacked on shelves in a World War II barracks building. These became wordlists painstakingly typed and mimeographed by Patience Bacon who had already been working with Kawena Puku'i before Dr. Elbert came to Manoa campus after World War II.

What appreciation do today's Hawaiian Studies students have of all this tedious labor? They're into computers which alphabetize, sort, spell-check and print in seconds to paper copy with Hawaiian fonts that macronize and glottalize. The age before theirs was scribbling on note cards and hand-sorting of 25,000 words gathered from the minutiae of annotations to translations made by Nathaniel B. Emerson, Thomas G. Thrum, Abraham Fornander, and Mary Kawena Puku'i. These were the only available translations of the late nineteenth to twentieth centuries, and Kawena Puku'i was the only one in the latter part of the twentieth. Charles Kenn's translation of John F. Pogue's Mo'olelo Hawai'i (1978, from 1856 text) and Dorothy Kahananui's translation of Sheldon Dibble's Mo'olelo Hawai'i (1984, from 1838 text) were also at tail end of the century.

We stand in awe of the labor of Elbert, Puku'i, and Barrere, whose efforts were also deprived of substantial aids to translation, but let us say something for younger students who also did without. Dr. Elbert had access to the great mind and memory of Kawena Puku'i, but Frank Rapoza was one of those who had no access to anyone of his *makua* and *kupuna* generation with a ready mind equal to that of Puku'i's, whose was the trained mind. But consider him fortunate. By the time he and his classmates were studying, Elbert and Puku'i had already published the first edition of Place Names of Hawai'i (1966), and the dictionary of Hawaiian (1957).

Rapoza's translation of Kamakau's original text in the early 1970s represents earnest effort to seriously probe Kamakau's writings. Kamakau, however, was surrounded by a literate bilingual Hawaiian society with control in the first language as well as English. Rapoza's world was visibly obliterated of a resident Hawaiian speech community. Even in the late nineteenth century, the society of Thrum, Emerson, and Fornander was competitively bilingual, and let's say it, on the *haole* side.

Available to students like Frank Rapoza were two primary sources of bilingual competency: Fornander (1909, Account of the Polynesian Race, and Emerson (1903, Hawaiian Antiquities (Malo, 1838), nothing else. Malo's work, which had been out of print, came back to life in 1951 and Fornander's work [APR] in 1969. Information from Kamakau specifically related to Kapawa and Heleipawa was not translated into publication until 1991, 126 years after Kamakau wrote it down.

"It is said that from Wakea down to the death of Haumea there were six generations, and that these generations all lived in Lolo-i-Mehani; but it is not stated that they lived in any other place; nor is it stated that they came here to Hawaii to live.

"Following these six generations of men came nineteen generations, one of which, it is supposed, migrated hither and lived here in Hawaii, because it is stated that a man named Kapawa, of the twentieth generation, was born in Kukaniloko, in Waialua, on Oahu.

"It is clearly established that from Kapawa down to the present time, generations of men continued to be born here in Hawaii..." [Malo: 5].

"Kapawa was a chief who was born at Kukaniloko, district of Waialua, island of O'ahu. He died at Lahaina, on Mau, and his bones were taken to Iao Valley.

[Nathaniel B. Emerson, Malo: 248; note] "...It was held to be a most distinguished honor to be born at Kukaniloko. Queens in expectation of motherhood were accustomed to go to Kukaniloko in advance, that by undergoing the pains of labor in that place they might confer on their offspring this inestimable boon. Kapawa is mentioned in legends as *ke alii o Waialua*, indicating that he may have passed his youth in that district. Tradition informs us that for some fault, whether of personal character or of government we are not told, Kapawa was deposed from his government. A chief named Pili Kaaiea was prevailed upon by the king maker, Paoa, to come to Hawaii and assume kingly authority. Kapawa was undoubtedly a weak and degraded character. The fact that, in spite of having been deposed from the throne, he died at Lahaina, in peace so far as we know, and that his bones received the distinguished honor of sepulture in the royal burying place in Iao Valley, argues that his unfitness for rule depended upon his own personal weakness, and debasement rather than upon outbreaks of violence and cruelty. Kapawa was the last of his line, the Nana genealogy."

"Hele-i-pawa was a chief who was born at Lelekea, Kaapahu, in Kipahulu on the island of Maui. He died at Poukela, and his bones were deposited at Ahulili. (Fornander, in *The Polynesian Race*, vol. 2, p. 21, regards Heleipawa as another name for Kapawa.)" [Malo: 246].

The translation above, out of Malo's Mo'olelo Hawai'i was made by Nathaniel B. Emerson in 1898 and published in 1909. Reference is made to Abraham Fornander in the context of the translation of David Malo's work, but not to Samuel M. Kamakau [Tale and Traditions of the People of Old, 1991: 38-39]:

"...There were two places set aside for the birth of chiefs as signs to make clear that they were high chiefs, *ali'i nui*, or chiefs, *ali'i*. These were Kukaniloko i Wai'alua, O'ahu, and Holoholokū at Wailua, Kaua'i."

Kūkaniloko

"Kūkaniloko was made by Nanakāoko and his wife Ka-hihi-o-ka-lani as a place for the birth of their child Kapawa" [p. 38].

[This is comparable to the record by Fornander [APR: 20]"...He [Nanakaoko] and his wife, *Kahihikalani*, are by the *oldest, and by all the legends*, acknowledged as having built the famous and in all subsequent ages hallowed place called *Kukaniloko*, the remains of which are still pointed out about three-fourths of a mile inland from the bridge now crossing the Kaukonahua stream in Ewa district, Oahu. Chiefs that were born there were 'born in the purple,' and enjoyed the distinction, privileges, and tabus which that fact conferred..."].

[Kamakau, continued]:

"A line of stones was set up on the right hand and another on the left hand, facing north. *There sat thirty-six chiefs*. There was a backrest, a *kuapu'u*, on the upper side, this was the rock Kūkaniloko, which was the rock to lean against. If a chiefess entered and leaned against Kūkaniloko and rested on the supports to hold up the thighs in observance of the *Liloe kapu* [the prescribed regulations for birthing], the child born in the presence of the chiefs was called an *ali'i*, an *akua*, a *wela*-- a chief, a god, a blaze of heat.

"When the child was born, it was immediately taken into the *waihau heiau* Ho'olono-pahu. *There forty-eight chiefs* ministered to the child and cut the navel cord. Ho'olono-pahu was a furlong and a half south of Kūkaniloko. Two furlongs to the west of Kūkaniloko was where the sacred drum Hāwea was beaten; it indicated the birth of a chief. On the east of the stream on that side of Kua'ikua were the *maka'ainana*--a great many of them--and to the south, three furlongs distant, were the *kauwā*..." [p. 38].

Between 1909 [Malo, translated by N. B. Emerson] and 1991 [Kamakau, translated by M. K. Puku'i] are 82 years during which only Malo's works were available to the public.

The point should not be lost that Lahainaluna Seminary's scholars (Malo, I'i, and Kamakau) wrote their works in the mid-19th century. We have hardly digested this material in our own generation to be able to critically evaluate the sincere opinion of Abraham Fornander that Kapawa and Heleipawa were the same person, that the Ulu genealogy was incorrect in listing these as different persons.

There was in literary tradition (not genealogy lists) *only a single poem from Kamakau's works* to clarify their existence. Could Kamakau have manufactured these traditions by himself, or do they seem to be from the ancient oratorical stock-in-trade?

Heleipawa

O Heleipawa, o ke alii o Kipahulu
 I Hanau i Lelekea
 O Pieleku la ke ewe
 O Paookahi ka piko
 I Hekeu i kuai ka aa
 I ka Kahaleikalalea kahua
 I ka piina i Keahuala i Makaaao
 I Kaapahu mauna i ka lani
 I Kaloiki la i Kalonui
 I ke alahaka i Manokiai
 I ke ala hoolewa i Nahunonapuunalu
 I ke alahauiki a Kane
 I ke Anawao i Kalepa
 I Waiahole la i Hualele
 I Puualea i Nuanualoa
 I Puolokalina i Kalaeoaihe
 I Mikimiki la i Maalo
 I Kahuwai i Popoiwi
 I Punahoa i Kanemalohemo
 Mokulau la i Muhiwai
 I Poukela i Loaloa i Paumakaa
 I Kaakaukawe i Kawahaohinau
 I Nakukuioolu i Paliakoe
 I Kaheka ilalo
 I Uliuli mauna iluna
 I Helaniku i ke poo o Kauhau
 I Ahulili, waiho no o Heleipawa...

[Kamakau, Ke Au Oko'a, 1869].

Heleipawa, chief of Ki-pahulu	[district, Maui]
Born at Lelekea	[bay west of Kipahulu]
Pielekū the afterbirth	
Pao-o-kahi the umbilical cord	[heiau]
At Hekeu, at Kua'i, the womb	
At Ka-hale-i-kalalea the platform	[house site, ground]
At the upward slope at Kahualā at Maka'aoa	
At <i>Ka'apahu</i> , mountain in the heavens	[hill, east rim of Kamalō gulch, <i>Moloka'i</i>]
At Kaloiki, at Kalonui	
At the bridge of Manokia'i	[<i>alahaka</i> , plank bridge, rough road]
At the ladder of Nāhunonapu'unalu	
At the small <i>hau</i> of Kane	
At Anawao (at the inland cave) at Kalepa	[gulch at Kaupō]
At Waiahole there, at Hualele	[ahupua'a, O'ahu] [Hu'alele; heiau, Moloka'i]

At Puuolea, at Nuanualoa	[Pu'ualea; hill on Haleakalā] [gulch; between Kipahulu and Mokulau]
At Puolokālina, at Kalae-o-iho (?)	[Kalae-o-'aihē (:?)]
At Mikimiki there, at Mā'alo	[gulch, north of Mokulau] [gulch, in Kaupō]
At Kahuwai, at Popoiwi	[crater, Puna, Hawaii] [location of Kānemalohemo heiau, Kaupō]
At Punahoa, at Kānemalohemo	[spring in Hāna] [heiau at Kaupō]
Mokulau there at Muliwai	[land area, Kaupō] [land area, Kaupō]
At Poukela, at Lo'alo'a, at Paumaka'a	[Lo'alo'a, Paumaka'a, war heiau at Kaupō]
At Ka'akaukawa, at Kawahaohinau At Nākukui'o'olu at Paliakoae	[Palikoa'e, area in east Ni'ihau]

Kaheka below

At Uliuli the mountain above

At Helanikū, at the head (of the valley) of Kauhau

At Ahulili, laid there was Heleipawa. [peak in Kipahulu]

[Translated by Moana, student, 1970-1971]

[Notes to places by Moana]:

"Chant #2 deals with Heleipawa, son of Kapawa, and chief of the Kipahulu-Kaupō area of Maui. The chant also mentions a few places on Moloka'i, O'ahu, Lāna'i and Ni'ihau. These are the place names in the chant:

Located on Maui:	Kipahulu	[district name]
	Lelekea	[bay, Kipahulu west]
	Kalepa	[gulch, Kaupō]
	Pu'ualea	[hill, Haleakalā]
	Mikimiki	[gulch, Mokulau north]
	Mā'alo	[gulch, Kaupō]
	Popo'iwi	[Kaupō]
	Punahoa	[spring, Hāna]
	Kānemalohemo	[heiau, Kaupō]
	Mokulau	[Kaupō]
	Muliwai	[Kaupō]
	Lo'alo'a	[war heiau, Kaupō]
	Paumaka'a	[war heiau, Kaupō]
	Ahulili	[peak, Kipahulu]

Located on <i>Lāna'i</i>	<i>Ka'āpahu</i>
Located on Moloka'i	Hu'alele
Located on O'ahu	Waiāhole
Located on Ni'ihau	Palikoa'e

No mention was found for the following [i.e., in Place Names of Hawai'i]:
[brackets, information added by Johnson from Elspeth Sterling]

Pielekū	
Pao'okahi	[heiau, Kīpahulu; <u>Sites of Maui (SM)</u> , 1998: 24-25]
Hekeu	
Keahualā	[Kīpahulu, SM: 30, 32]
Maka'aoa	
Kaloiki/Kalonui	[Kaloiki, Kīpahulu, SM: 32]
Manokia'i	
Kalaeoaiho ('aihē?)	
Uliuli	[Kahikinui, SM: 26; Kaupō, SM: 39]
Nahunonapuunālu	[Kaupo, SM: 19; Kīpahulu, SM: 32]
Anawao	
Puolokālina	
Poukela	[Kīpahulu, SM: 29]
Ka'akaukawa	
Kawahaehinau	
Nākukui'o'olu	
Kaheka	[cp. Kahaka: Kaupō, SM: 19; Kīpahulu, SM: 32]
Helanikū	[cp. Helani: Hāna, SM: 4, 6]
	[22 names, Maui; 9 unidentified: 1 Lana'i, 1 Moloka'i, 1 O'ahu; 1 Ni'ihau].

The above data is evidence sufficient to prove that Kamakau received information from knowledgeable sources (persons) because he was not native to Maui, having been born on O'ahu in 1815 (October 29), at Manua'ula, Kamananui, Waialua. He entered Lahainaluna Seminary at the age of 17 [1832] when David Malo and John Papa I'i were also in attendance. However, David Malo was born about 1783 in Kona, Hawai'i and was about 42 years old in 1835-36 while writing the Antiquities (Mo'olelo Hawai'i) [acc. W. D. Alexander in Malo, 1909: xviii]. Malo was older than John Papa I'i by about ten years. John I'i was born at Waipi'o, O'ahu in 1800 (August 3) and would have been about 32 years of age when Kamakau went to Lahainaluna.

This said, the death of Malo in 1853 (October 21) indicates that anything Malo himself may have written about Heleipawa (1835-1836) was obtained when he was a scholar at Lahainaluna in the 1830s, as Kamakau wrote for the newspapers Ka Nupepa

Ku'oko'a and Ke Au 'Oko'a in the latter half of the 1860's. Malo was then already deceased, John Papa 'Ii died in 1870, and Samuel Kamakau followed in 1876.

Malo's comment on Heleipawa is as follows:

"...Hele-i-pawa was a chief who was born at *Lelekea, Ka'apahu, in Kipahulu on the island of Maui*. He died at Poukela, and his bones were deposited at Ahulili" [Malo: 246].

In Moana's notes to her translation of *Heleipawa* (acc. Kamakau), she identified the place name *Ka'apahu* as of Moloka'i and Lāna'i from the dictionary identifications [Puku'i, Elbert, and Mo'okini, Place Names of Hawai'i, 1966: 61]:

"Ka'āpahu. Stream, Hanalei district, Kaua'i. Land area, central Lāna'i, Hill on the eastern rim of Ka-malō gulch, south Moloka'i, known as the Camel's Back (Stearns and Macdonald, 1947: Plate 2). Lit., the truncation."

We should add to the dictionary definition and to the translation of *Heleipawa* that Hele-i-pawa was born at Lelekea, *in Ka'āpahu, a mountain "in the sky" of Kipahulu* on the island of Maui, which Malo would have known during the twenty-two years he was resident on Maui [1831-1853]. The evidence as such weighs against Fornander's opinion that Kapawa and Heleipawa were one and same person, although the reason for his doubt will surface again later, when other traditions are considered.

**Aikanaka-a-Mako'o, Son of Hulumanailani,
Son of Heleipawa**

Ulu genealogy, continued:

ca.A.D.690	Heleipawa	Kookookumai-kalani (w)
715	Hulumanailani	Hinamaikalani
740	<i>Aikanaka (k)</i>	Hinahanaiakamalama had Puna and Hema

Commentary by Frank Rapoza:

"The traditional chants recorded by Samuel M. Kamakau in his "Moolelo Hawaii" series in Ke Au Okoa (1869) are presented here in English translation....[1970-71: page 1].

"...The majority of these chants follow a particular pattern as Martha W. Beckwith in Hawaiian Mythology [240-241] describes:

"...traditional chants are preserved which tell precisely where each of the five was born, where the afterbirth, umbilical cord, and navel string of each were buried, the place where each was reared, the site of his house, the place of his death and burial, and sometimes other data, together with lists of place names of which it is doubtful whether they name places where the body rested on the way to burial or have some other significance, factual or spiritual."

"Beckwith offered this description in reference to the five chants [Kamakau] about the chiefs from 'Aikanaka to Laka. *It should be pointed out, however, that Kamakau did not record such a chant for 'Aikanaka. Similar chants for Kapawa and Heleipawa before 'Aikanaka's time, and Hua-a-Kapuaimanaku, Hua-a-Pau, and Paumakaua after Laka's time also follow the above pattern.*

"...Kamakau noted that it was from the time of this chief [Kapawa] that the people of old kept and celebrated traditions pertaining to each chief's place of birth. A year later, however, he altered the statement to say the records began to be kept in Heleipawa's time."

'Aikanaka's position on the Ulu genealogy is stationed in Fornander's chart [APR: 1: 191], but he lacks the historic or heroic attention given to his forebears, i.e., Maui-akalana, Nanakaoko, Kapawa, Heleipawa. Nevertheless, 'Aikanaka is listed as buried in 'Iao valley on Maui with Kapawa and his grandson, Kaha'i [Fornander Collection (FC): 6: 2: 319]. If anything, 'Aikanaka receives negative attention because of breaking off the foot of his wife, Hina-hanai-a-ka-malama, his wife, the mother of Hema and Puna. Beckwith summarized his story from other legends [Thrum, More Tales; Kamakau, Ke Au Okoa (Oct. 21, 1869); Malo (HA): 246]:

"...Aikanaka was a chief born at Holonokiu, Muolea, Hana, Maui. He died at Oneuli, Puuolai, Honuaula, and his bones were laid to rest at Iao" [Malo: 246; in Beckwith, HM: 242].

The account by Thrum has more detail:

"...(a) *Thrum version.* 'Ai-kanaka (Man-eater) is a Maui chief, son of Heleipawa, son of Kapawa. He is born at Kowali-Muolea, at a place called Ho'olono-ki'u in Hana district and reared at Makali'i-hanau, and his home is on Kauiki hill. *He is a good industrious man and a kind ruler.* Hina-hana-ia(i)-ka-malama (Hina who worked in the moon), or Hina-mai-ka-lani (Hina from the heavens), comes from Ulupaupau in Kahiki to be his wife and to them are born, first, imbecile children, then Puna-i-mua (Puna-the-firstborn), and last Hema. Hina's servants are Kaniamoko and Kahapouli. After the birth of Puna, Hina begins to enlarge her landholdings. The children's excrement has to be carried to the north side of the water hole at Ulaino and Hina wearies of their constant messing and the tapu involved in the disposition of the excrement. Hence on the night of Hoku (Full Moon) she leaps to the moon from a place called Wanaikulani. Her husband leaps to catch her, the leg breaks off in his hand (hence she is called Lono-muku), and there she hangs in the moon to this day [Thrum (MT): 69-71 in Beckwith (HM):242].

Beckwith compared versions of the Kai-Tangata story to the south, ranging through Mangaia, Rarotonga (Cook Islands); New Zealand (Maori); Tahiti, Tuamotu (Anaa) for vestiges of Kai-tangata (father of Hema and Puna) before moving to comparative study of Hema and Puna. Of these, the Maori version is similar in details:

"...*Maori.* *Whaitiri* (or *Awa-nui-a-rangi*) of the heavens is a man-eater. She hears of Kai-tangata on earth and, taking literally a name perhaps signifying victory over enemies, comes to earth and makes him her husband. When she finds he is not really a man-eater she is disappointed. She bears him children, Punga and Hema (and others). He complains of their filth (or discusses her with others) and she returns to the heavens (having first made a filth pit for the children). Her husband tries to catch her by her garment in some versions [Beckwith (HM): 244]

Comparative folklorists would immediately spot the *Swan Maiden* theme widespread in world tradition, having this unique variation in Oceania. Briefly, a maiden comes down to earth from the sky. She is not human, and once married to a man on the earth lays down certain restrictions, which, if and when broken by her husband, binds her by the laws of her homeland in the sky to return home. If there are children, she takes them with her. After she is gone, the husband must find a way to retrieve her, goes to the sky, finds her and, most of the time, remains there with her rather than return to earth without her. So how does the moon (Hina) get into the Hawaiian version when it is absent in all other Polynesian versions.

Beckwith treated the Hinahanaiakamalama character as that of the cannibal woman (Nona, or Haumea), rather than the *Swan Maiden*. A very small but pertinent detail was that her home was in *Mahina* (Moon) North Tahiti [ibid.: 244].

What is really important is that the Hawaiian story is not talking about the island of Maui, although the story of 'Aikanaka is localized there. It is talking about the sky.

Kai-tangata ~ 'Aikanaka, "Man-eater" (Cannibal) is a great shark (*mano*) or crocodile, *mo'o*, in the sky, sometimes vertical, sometimes horizontal. It lives in the great river (or pool) called the *Wai Ola a Kāne*. It is the writhing (*ho'o-wili-mo'o*) of the great eel or worm (*Rigi ~ Li'i*, Milky Way [Caroline Is., Micronesia] throughout the year, as it twists and turns across the sky from northeast to southwest, or northwest to southeast, then arches midway over the northern hemisphere, then below the equator and across the southern hemisphere, from east to west, breaking up on opposite sides of the equator, like the legs of a crocodile or lizard, jackknifed as it stopes striding left or right, until finally, the creature's last great spiral becomes a complete circle around the edge of the horizon before it falls off completely. Near the last phase (*muku*, 'cut-off', new moon) of Hina, in *mauli* (29th night), Hina's dying soul goes through the Milky Way (*Wai Ola a Kāne*) and regenerates into life again at Hilo.

The dying moon, Hina, must go through *Wai-ola-a-Kāne* (Milky Way) to rejuvenate after she has become only a *spirit, Maui*, the 29th night of the moon before she is completely 'cut-off' (*Muku*) at the dark phase of the last moon, actually New Moon, before her *first braid (Hilo)* of grey hair (Hina) shines on the first night (Hilo), 'a *twist* of Hina's hair, which on the next night is Hoaka, the crescent. The New Moon is when her leg (i.e., the moon's last waning cusp) is *broken (muku)*, when she becomes *Lono-muku*, 'Lame-Lono'. [acc. Johnson, R.K., "Hawaiian Moon", mss.].

In India and Mexico, this phenomenon was represented in astrological and religious iconography as a snake biting its own tail, or in European mythology as two snakes coiled into a twisting spiral, the icon for the planet Mercury, for which the Milky Way is probably the annuit of Mercury's three synodic revolutions of 118 days each, somewhat parallel to the serpent coiled around the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden or the *naga* in East Indian iconography of Mount Meru sitting on a turtle and the snake coiled around the axis.

This creature, Kai-Tangata, is the Milky Way, and as it goes through its spiralling gyrations and breakups through nights, months, and year, transiting the zenith, it takes several Polynesian names:

'Ai-kanaka (Hawai'i)
Kai-Tangata (New Zealand)
Te-Mangō-Kai-tangata (New Zealand, Marquesas)
Te-Moko-'Ai'ata (Marquesas)
Wai-ola-a-Kāne (Hawai'i)
Niu-loa-i-hiki (Hawai'i)
Pae-loa-i-hiki (Hawai'i).

It has several configurations, most of which are also present in world astrologies; the river (Nile, Egypt), Cp. *Wai-ola-a-Kāne*; the snake (Naga, Southeast Asia; from water monster, Magar ~ Makara, India); Cp. *Moko* ~ *Mo'o*, crocodile, reptile, lizard; coconut tree (*Niu-loa-i-Hiki*); Cp. Scandinavia, Yggdrasil, the cosmic tree (Milky Way), and when it breaks up, *Kaha'i*, *Kaha'iha'i*, *Ha'i*, *Ha'iha'i* (Hawai'i). This profile of the Milky Way is known to astronomers as the *Galactic Equator*.

"...Milky Way. The Galaxy. The Akkadian idea of the Milky Way was in connection with that of a Great Serpent. It was also Eridanus, the great river. Akkadian: Snake-River: Hid tsirra, Assyrian Nahru tsiri, River of the Snake, thus Hid-dagal, "River great" (Hiddekel); Hid turra An gal (Akkadian), Assyrian Nahru markasi lli rabi, River of the cord of the God great; Akkadian Hid zuab gal, Assyrian Nahru Apshi rabi, River of the Abyss great; Akkadian Hid In-in-na, River of the Divine Lady. "This Snake-river of sparkling dust, the stream of the abyss on high through which it runs, the gold cord of the heaven-god connected with the hill of the Sun-god with the passage of ghosts, is the Milky Way; and it is the River of Nana, wife of the heaven-god, as, in Greek mythology, it is connected with Herē" [Allen, 1963: 476-477].

Also called Al Nahr, the River, in Arabic; Nehar di Nur in Hebrew; the crooked serpent (Job, xxvi: 13); (China), Tien Ho, the celestial river. In India it was Akāsh Gangā, Bed of the Ganges; (Hindu) Path of Aryamān; (Panjab) Berā dā ghās, the Path of Noah's Ark; (North India), the Path of the Snake [Allen, 1963: 477, Nagavithi.

Assyrian Masarati, Masrati, the Course of the Sun-god; in Babylonia applied to the zodiac; (Arabia) Tarik al Laban, Tarik al Tibn, the Straw Road. In China, the Yellow Road; for the color of this scattered straw [Allen, 1963: 476].

Polynesia: Arokeva, Kanivā, Le Ao-Lele, Na Kiore, Te-ika-kau-ki-rangi, *Te Mango Roa*, *Moko-roa-i-ata*, Patiki, Tarava, *Vai-ora-a-Tane*, *Tangaroa*, Hōkū-noho-aupuni, Kau, Pae-loa-hiki, *Kuamo'o*.

A parallel may exist between the Polynesian configuration of the Milky Way as a reptile (Te-Moko-roa-i-ata), or shark (Te-Mango-roa-i-ata) and the Indo-European snake-river (*magar*, shark; *naga*, snake in Sanskrit). The Polynesian configuration of the reptile-shark combines also with the "watery" sign of the god Tane (Vai-ora-a-Tane), the life-giving waters of Tane where souls go for everlasting life and youth after death. Cp. Polynesian *moko*, lizard, reptile; Sanskrit *magar*, shark, reptile" [Johnson, R. K., and John Mahelona, Na Inoa Hōkū, 1975: 133-134].

Hawaiian storytellers and pedigree-recorders (*kākā'-ōlelo*) had found a way to encode the relationship between the Milky Way and moon cycles as *'Aikanaka and Hina-hanai-a-ka-malama*, grandparents of *Kaha'i* (another name for the Milky Way when it breaks apart), who went looking for the eyes of his father, Hema, on the rainbow. *Anuenue* 'Rainbow' was the name of Kaha'i's canoe. Hema had gone to Hina's homeland in Ulupaupau, Ka-pakapaka-ua-a-Kane, to get the *'ape-'ula* taro as a birthgift for his soon-to-be-born son (Kaha'i).

The "Eyes-of-Hema" were in Hina's homeland on Tahiti-nui, in the district east of *Pape-'ete* called *Mahiṇa* (the cape of which was named Point Venus by Captain James Cook in 1768), located in the homeland of Kahiki-kū.

The Brothers Hema and Puna; Generations after
'Aikanaka

A.D. 740	Aikanaka
765	<u>Hema</u>
765	<u>Puna</u>
790	Kaha'i (son of Hema)
815	Wahieloa
840	Laka

I. *The Ulu-Hema Traditions*

'O Hema a 'Aikanaka

O Hema a Aikanaka
Ke 'lii o Kauwiki
I hanau no i Hawaiiikuauili
I Kapueokahi i Kalulu
I ka lai i ka makani kahi aoao
O Punahoa la ke ewe
Ka aa i Kawalakii
O Kuakaha ka piko, ka piko o ke 'lii
Lawea i luna i Mapuwena
I ka hala o Mapuwena
He 'lii no Kaihalulu i Mokuhanu
O Wananaiku kahua
He kahua olina na Hema
I imi a loaa ka wahine
O Luamaheau o Luamahahoia
Loaa Kahai ke koiula a Hema
Kauhua hookahi ka malama
Kaa i ka iloli aina
Ono i ka hiaai akolu
Aha, alima, eono ka malama
Holo Hema lilo i ka aaia
Haule i Kahiki i Kapakapakakaua
Waiho ai i Ulupaupau
Ilaila na maka o Hema.

[Kamakau, continued]

Hema, son of 'Aikanaka
The chief of Kauwiki

[Kauwiki - hill and fortress overlooking
the harbor of Hana, Maui].

Born at Hawai'i-kua-uli
At Kapueokahi at Kalulu

[Kapueokahi - port and harbor of Hāna
Bay]

[Kalulu - Kauwiki, Hāna, Maui]

The place, side in the calm stillness in the wind
Punahoa is the placenta, [Punahoa - land section, Hilo]
[Punahoa - Kauwiki, Maui]

The womb is at Kawalaki'i [Kauwiki, Maui]

Kuakaha is the navel, the navel of the chief [Kauwiki, Maui]

Taken up at Mapuwena [Mapuena, Paliuli, Kauwiki, Maui]
To the pandanus of Mapuwena
The chief at Kaihalulu at Mokuhanu [Kaihalulu - beach area at the
base of Ka'uiki Head, Hāna, Maui]
[Mokuhanu - rock islet off Ka'uiki, Maui]

Wananaiku is the house foundation/temple [Hāna, Maui]

The joyous, merry foundation/temple of Hema,
Searched until found was the woman,
Luamaheau, Luamahahoia [from 'Iao Valley, Wailuku]

Kaha'i found the rainbow-hued rain/mist/cloud of Hema
Only one was the month of pregnancy
Was in the state of unpleasant sensations of pregnancy
[emotional disturbance/ intense longing and craving]
Greatly pleased or delighted in the three,
Four, five, six (were the) months
Hema sailed to Kahiki [Tahiti]

Found Hema overtaken by dementia,
Fell in Kahiki at Kapakapakaua
Left/laid at Ulupaupau
There are the eyes of Hema.
[Translated by Davelyn Lee, student, 1970-1971]

Commentary by Davelyn Lee:

"In contrasting the legend of Hema as set forth by S. M. Kamakau in our class readings with the Martha Beckwith translation in Hawaiian Mythology and Abraham Fornander's version in An Account of the Polynesian Race, a few variances in the details of the legend appear.

"In the Hema tradition, according to Kamakau, the chief Hema married Luamaheau or Luamahahoia. However, in Beckwith's work, the wife of Hema is said to be Lua (Ulu, Ula)-mahehoa.

"Hema sails for Tahiti while his wife is pregnant in order to obtain a birthgift for the child-to-be from Lua's parents in Tahiti. Kamakau says that the wife is in her sixth month of pregnancy upon Hema's leaving; Beckwith states Lua is in the fifth month of gestation. The birth gift to

be obtained is, in Kamakau's version, an *'Ape-ula* (a typographical error?); in Beckwith's, an *Apo-'ula* (translated by Emerson as "Red feather band") and in Fomander's, *ke 'apo'ula* (translated by Fomander as being a red fillet-circlet or ring).

[*Note : In versions translated by the Hale Nauā society under Kalākaua, the birth gift was the *'ape-'ula* taro, which Hema would have planted in Hawai'i upon his return from Tahiti had he not been caught by the *'a'aia*, or 'white-bird (albatross) of Kāne, meaning by a group of people tracing descent from Kāne].

"Beckwith goes further than Kamakau in revealing the details of Hema's journey to Tahiti. According to Beckwith, Hema's in-laws are deep-sea divers whose custom it is to gouge out men's eyes for use as fishbait. Thus it goes with Hema; the line in Kamakau, *Loa'a Hema lilo i ka 'a'aia*, is translated in Hawaiian Mythology by Emerson as Hema having had his eyes 'caught by the 'a'aia bird of Kane'.

"In the three versions of this Hema legend, that of Kamakau, Beckwith, and Fomander, the chief is left demented, owing to his loss of eyesight, and dies in Ulupa'upa'u, Tahiti."

II. 'O Kaha'i nui a Hema

O Kahai nui a Hema
Ke 'lii o uka o Loiloa o Haunaka
I hanau i Kahalulukahi
O Halaahuila ka aa
O Keianimakua i Kaopi kahua

*O ke anuenue ke ala o Kahai
Pii Kahai, koi Kahai
Ae Kahai i ke koiula Hema
Hihia i na maka o Alihi
Ae Kahi i Keanaha
He anaha he kanaka ka waa
Iluna o Hanai a kamalama
O ke ala ia i imi ai i ka makua
O hele a i ka moana wehiwehi
O Haluluihalekumukalani
Ui mai kini o ke akua
Ninau Kane o Kanaloa
He aha kau huakai nui, e Kahai?
I imi mai au i na maka o Hema
Aia i Kahiki i Ulupaupau
Ala i ka aaia a hahamau ia a Kane*

[*Note: The above fragment (with minor differences) was included,
intra, page 67; from Fornander, APR: 2: 16-18].

Loaa aku i Kukulu o Kahiki
Hoi mai Kahai a luna o ka moku
Kaahe i Kau, noho i Paiahaa
I Mauaha la i Kamahaloloa
I Kaulanakehoa la i Kalae
I Unulau la i Kailioalono
I ka pali o Molilele Kahai
Haule i ka lua i Kailikii
Waiho i ke kaha i Kahului
I Keahuka la ke 'lii o Kahai
[Kamakau, continued]:

Great Kaha'i, son of Hema
Chief of the uplands of Lo'iloa, of Haunaka [Lo'iloa; Wailuku (SM):
100]

Born at Kahalulukahi [Kahalulukahi; 'Iao valley,
Wailuku, Maui]

Kaumoilani is the placenta
Hala'ahuila is the womb
Keianimakua at Kaopi is the house foundation/temple
The rainbow is the path of Kaha'i
Kaha'i went inland/ascended, Kaha'i strove,

Kaha'i stepped over/got on top of the Hema rainbow-hued rain/mist/cloud
Entangled in the eyes of 'Alihi

[*Note: 'Alihi, cp. Karihi, cousin of Tahaki, who was caught in the
"eyes" of the net stretched across the sky, a grid through which star
tracks are plotted; i.e., -lihi, 'edge', as of the net].

Kaha'i stepped over/got on top at Keanaha,
For four days, the man, the canoe
Above the moon, Hānaiakamalama;
This is the path by which (he) searched for the father,
Went far, to the dark ocean,
Of Halulu-i-Hale-kumu-ka-lani;
The multitude of the gods asked,
Kāne and Kanaloa questioned,
What is your long voyage/mission, Kaha'i?
So that I find the eyes of Hema,
There in Tahiti at Ulupaupau, [place in Tahiti]

There, (with) the legendary 'ā'aia (albatross) [and the catching of fish
with hands] of Kāne;

(*Note: Martha W. Beckwith [Hawaiian Mythology (HM): 248] quotes
an Emerson translation (instead of the Fornander segment (APR) intra,
page 67]:

"Alihi's eyes were blinded,
The horizon blinded his eyes,
.....
The foundations of heaven were shaken,
The kinsfolk of the god inquired,
Kane and Kanaloa asked him,
'O Kaha'! where are you going?"
'I am seeking the eyes of Hema,
'They are in Kahiki, at Ulupa'pa'u,
There with the Aaia bird sought after by Kane,
You will find them on the borders of Kahiki."

[Kamakau, *Ke Au Okoa*, Oct. 18, 1879; Malo, 323; For. Pol.Race 2: 16-18;
Thrum, Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS) 31:106].

[continued]:

Found/succeeded at the pillars of Kahiki
Kaha'i went back and upon the ship/island
Enfeebled/near death at Ka'ū, lived at Paiaha'a [Paiaha'a; land division
and ancient surfing area, east of South
Point, Ka'u, HI]

At Mauaha at Kamahaloloa	
At Kaulanakehoa at Kalae	[Kaulanahoa (?); near south Point]
At Unulau at Ka'ilioalono	
At the cliff of Molilele is Kaha'i	[Molilele; cliff inland of Wai-o-Ahukini, Ka'u, Hawaii; lava tube, shelter, pool on the Kona side of South Point, Hawaii]
Fallen in the pit at Kāiliki'i	[Kā'iliki'i; spot in Kalae, south Ka'u]
Left/laid at the place at Kahului	[Kahului; Maui]
At Keahuka is the chief, Kaha'i.	[Keahuka; in 'Iao valley, Maui].

Commentary by Davelyn Lee:

"...The father of Kaha'i, Hema, was born and raised in the Hāna area in Maui. Kaha'i's mother (Luamahehoa ~ Ulumahahoa) has her origin in 'Iao valley, Wailuku, Maui. Kaha'i was also born and raised in 'Iao valley, at Kahalulu-kahi. In this case the parents' pattern of residence appears to be matrilocal.

"Beckwith...noted that, upon his return to Hawai'i, Kaha'i landed in Ka'u, and there wed Hina-ulu-ohi'a of Honu'apo in Ka'u district.

"Kaha'i died at Kā'iliki'i in Ka'u but was taken to Keahuku, 'Iao valley for final burial."

III. Wahieloa 'O Ke 'Li'i o Ka'ū

Wahieloa o ke 'lii o Kau
I hanau no i Wailau
I Ninoole la i Kaalaiki
O ka waihu o Kauila ka piko
O Waimakanalua ia a Kaula wai
Ka aa ke ewe o ke 'lii
Lawe ia i uka i Keanaakaualehu
I imihia e ka Makuaiimi
I lama ia e Makualalama
I eli ia e Makuaelilua
Ike ia e Makuaaka
I pou pou ia e Makuapou pou
I kikoo ia e Makuakikoo
I haa ia o Makuahula
Loaa ia Laka i Anamakili
I aumakala i ka pali o Kupinai
Ilaila o Wahieloa nana hoi o Laka
Na Laka i hoihoi a ka moku
I ka aina ewe o Maui
Pae i Kipahulu
I Alae i Kaumakani
I Papauluana
Wai no o Wahieloa iwaho.
[Kamakau, continued].

Wahieloa, the chief of Ka'ū
Born at Wailau

[district, Hawai'i]
[land section, Honu'apo and
Pahala, Hawai'i]

At Nino'ole at Ka'alāiki

[Ninole, land section, village, cove, gulch,
Honu'apo, Hawaii; fresh water springs]
[Ka'alāiki, land section, Honu'apo]

The gushing spring of Kauila is the navel
It is Waimakanalua through to Kaula wai
The womb and the placenta of the chief,
Taken to the uplands, to Keanaakaualehu

[Kaualehu, caves at
Ka'u and He'eia (O'ahu)]

Sought by the Makuaiimi
Excavated by Makuaelilua
Seen by Makua'aka
Propped up by Makuapou pou
Measured, spanned by Makuakiko'o
Lowered by Makuahula
Laka found him at Anamakili

Held by the sun on the cliffs of Kupina'i,
There is Wahieloa born of Laka,
Of Laka, who returned by canoe,
To the maternal placenta of Maui,
Landed at Kipahulu [district, forest reserve, East Maui]

At 'Alae at Kaumakani [Alae, land section, Pu'uokali, Kula,
Maui]
[Kaumakani, landsection, Kipahulu;
mountain, Hāna, Maui]

At Papa'uluana [Papauluana, land section near Kipahulu,
East Maui; burial caves here are said to contain
the bones of Wahieloa, a son of the hero,
Kaha'i. Wahieloa went to Punalu'u, Ka'u,
for the birth gift for Laka, but is seized and
sacrificed. His bones are guarded in the cave
at Kaulehu (Ka'ū), but Laka returns them to
Papa-ulu-ana at Alae, Kaumakani, Kipahulu;
[Malo: 247; Beckwith (HM): 259]

Left/laid outside (was) Wahieloa.
[Translated by Davelyn Lee].

Commentary by Davelyn Lee:

"Wahieloa is born and raised in Wailau, Honu'apo, Ka'u, Hawai'i, the land of his mother's (Hina-ulu-ohi'a) birth. This place of residence emphasizes the matrilineal emphasis of his parents' Kaha'i and Hinauluohi'a's relationship.

"Wahieloa reigns as chief in Kipahulu, the birthplace of his wife, Hina-hawea (daughter of Hina-howana).

"After Wahieloa was sacrificed in Ka'u, his remains were then kept in a cave (Kaualehu) guarded by Kaikapu, a cannibal woman, who uses her granddaughter to lure travelers to her cave.

"The bones of Wahieloa are returned by his son, Laka, to Kipahulu, the birthplace of his wife (Hina-hawea), showing the influence of the wife's residence affecting the interment of the chiefs."

IV. O Laka a Wahieloa, Ke 'Lii o Kipahulu

O Laka a Wahieloa ke'lii o Kipahulu
I hanau no i Hilo
I ka ua i Hailimanu i Olaa
I ke oneuli i ke onekea
I Malanauli i Mahinakea
I ke one lauena a Kane
O Honokauwailani kahua
O hele i Kaipalaoa ke ewe
O Makaolanakila i Kuauakapu
I Kolopulepule ka piko
I uka i Waianuenue ke aa
I halai i Mokaulele
I kai i ka nalu i Huia
I Hikanui i Kalamaula
I ke one i Waiolama la i Waiakea
I Makaku i Kaohe i Nanakapea
I Mokuola la i Kanukuokamanu
I Lelewi i Kumakahi o Laka
Halulu kapuai hea ke ko waa
Koke ko waa, pale ke pale waa
Ui ke pale waa, hehi ke pale waa
Wahi aa, wahi o Laka i ka waa o Lea
Makuakaualehu Hookeikei i ka auwaa
He huena na Ulu ia Laka Wahieloa
Haule i Kualoa
I Mokolii i Mokeahukele
I kai loilo i Apua i kai malino
I Makamai la i Waiahole
I Haleola la i Waikane
I Hakipuu i Kualoa
I kai i o Ahuaalaka
O Laka hoi o Wahieloa
Nana hoi o Luanuu
Na Luanuu i hoihoi a ka moku
I ka aina ewe o Maui
Pae i Koholaloa
I Niukahi i Aawa ke 'lii o Laka
Hoi no i uka ka waihona
Hoi no i ka pali kapu o na 'lii
He kiai Kalakahi no Kakae.

[Kamakau, continued]:

Laka, son of Wahieloa, chief of Kipahulu [district, Maui]

Born at Hilo [district, Hawai'i]

In the rain at Hailimanu in Ola'a [Haili; forest area near Hilo]
[Ola'a; land division, Hilo]

On black sand, white sand
At Malunauli, at Mahinakea [Mahikea (?), islet, Hilo]

In the legendary homeland of Kāne (a land of plenty)

Honokauwailani is the house foundation/temple
[Honokawailani, heiau in Hilo]

Go to Kaipalaoa, the placenta [Kaipalaoa, ancient surfing area, Hilo;
land at the foot of Waianuenue St.;
Kamakau mentions a battle fought
here and a heiau of the same name
where Liholiho's navel cord was cut]

Makaolanakila at Kuaauakapu
To Kolopulepule, the navel [Kolopulepule, section of the town of
Hilo, behind the armory]

To the uplands, to Waiānuenue [Waiānuenue, Rainbow Falls, Hilo]

To the calm at Mokaulele
To the sea, the surf at Huia [Huia, ancient surfing place, Hilo]

To Hikanui, to Kalamaula [Kalama'ula, in Kailua, Hawai'i]
To the end at Waiolama, at Waiākea
[Waiolama, stream and beach, Hilo]
[Waiākea, land section, Hilo, park,
by (Mahohuli), fishpond, forest, reserve,
stream and school, Hilo]

At Makakū, at Ka'ohē at Ninakape'a [Ka'ohē, land section in Hamakua,
Humu'ula, Ka'ohē and Waiki'i]

At Mokuola, to Kanukuokamanu [Mokuola, Coconut Island, in Hilo bay]
[Kanukuokamanu, ancient surfing area,
Hilo]

At Leleiwi, to Kumukahi (all lands of) Laka
[Leleiwi, cape, beach, Hilo]
[Kumukahi, easternmost cape, Puna]

Shaking feet, calling to haul the canoe,
Swiftly, quickly the canoe is warded off/protected;
Covers the canoe, tamps down (the cover) (?)
The placental place, place of Laka, the canoe of Lea [canoe goddess Lea]

The Kaualehu-father took pride in the canoe fleet,
The unloading/opening/pushing of Ulu by Laka

Fell at Kualoa	[Kualoa, sacred <i>pu'uhonua</i> refuge ground, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu]
At Mokoli'i at Mokeahukele	[Mokoli'i, islet in Kaneohe Bay]
In sea water pools at 'Apua plain of calm quiet sea;	['Apua, land, Kualoa, Ko'olaupoko]
At Makamai at Waiahole	[Makamai, an <i>'ili</i> in Waiahole, O'ahu]
At Haleola at Waikāne	[Waikāne, land division, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu]
At Hakipu'u at Kualoa	[Hakipu'u, valley, stream, Waikāne]
At the seaside of Ahuaalaka	[Kai, Ahuaalaka, islets in Kaneohe Bay, off Kahalu'u]

Laka, indeed, of Wahieloa
By him is Luanu'u,
By Laka (Laka) was returned by canoe,
To the placental land of Maui
Landed at Koholaloa

[Koholaloa, old name for Sand Island, Honolulu; but probably on Maui]

At Niukahi at 'A'awa is the chief, Laka
[Niukūkahi, ancient surfing area. Kahului, Maui]
['A'awa, ancient surfing area near Wai'ehu, West Maui]

Gone back to the sacred cliffs of the chiefs
Kalakahī the caretaker/guard of Kaka'e [Kaka'e, chief, brother of Kaka'alaneo].

[Translated by Davelyn Lee and Moana]

Commentary by Davelyn Lee:

"In regards to the legend of Laka, I am personally confused as to the whereabouts of his birth. Kamakau states that Laka's birthplace is Hilo...

"...However, I find it difficult to understand how Laka could have been born in Hilo when his mother, while still pregnant with him, was left in Kipahulu, Maui when his father, Wahieloa, set out to obtain the birth gift for the yet unborn child Laka.

"Beckwith's version...is more in agreement with my thoughts-- she says that Laka is raised by his grandmother, Hinahowana, in Kipahulu, Maui.

"...According to Beckwith, Laka fells a tree for a canoe but finds it standing again the next day. His grandmother (Hinahowana) advises him

to hide in wait for the two leaders of the group that has been doing this mischief, Mokuhalii and Kupa'aikē'e, relatives of Laka. Laka then appeals to the gods for help in his journey by offering sacrifices to them--he receives their assistance by way of two canoes completed in one night.

"Beckwith...misplaces lines...found in Kamakau's chant for Wahieloa (not Laka)..."

"...Laka finds the bones of his father, kills Luahine Kaikapu (the cannibal woman of Kaualehu burial cave in Ka'u) and retrieves them with the help of the ancestors (Mākuā). The bones of Wahieloa are then returned by Laka to Maui.

"In Beckwith, Laka weds Hikawailena...it is again my guess that this chiefess, Hikawailena, is from the Ko'olaupoko area of O'ahu, for Laka, upon his death, is found living in that area. However, his remains are taken by his son, Luanu'u, to West Maui for final interment."

Commentary by Moana:

"Laka married Hikawaelena, and their son was Luanu'u. He (Laka) married Kapokulaiula, and their son was Kamea. Now his wife (according to Kamakau) was Popoalaea, also known as Popomaili. According to Fomander, Kamea's wife was called Popomaili.

"In any case, both agree that Pohukaina was the son of Kamea out of this marriage [Kamea + Popomaili ~ Popoalaea].

"Pohukaina married Huahuakapalei (according to Fomander) (Kamakau does not mention Pohukaina's wife). His [Pohukaina] son was Hua, sometimes called Hua-a-Pohukaina and also Hua-a-Kapuaimanaku (another name of Pohukaina). Here then is the story of Hua."

V. Hua-a-Kapua'i-manakū
Hua-a-Pohukaina

O Huaakapuaimanaku
Ke 'lii o Lahaina
I hanau no i Kahoma i Kanaha,
O Lelenuikuakamau kahua.
O Wai'ie ke ewe,
O Luakona ka piko,
O Kauaula ka aa,
I Haleili i Kahili
Noho i Wananalua
Hana kapu ia Honuaula
Hahau i ke kua o Kaniuhoopio,
I haka i Hakalau
I pa ia Kaona i Hikianakala,
I ili ia Kana,
I pale ia ia Kalaaualomakauahi
I ka laau kapu a Hua
Haule i Kehoni i Kiikewe,
I ka pa i Nua ke 'lii o Hua.
Hoi no i uka ka waihona.
I haka i Hakalau
I pa ia Kaona i Hikianakala
I ili ia Kana,
I pale ia ia Kalaaualomakauahi
I ka laau kapu a Hua
Haule i Kehoni i Keekewe,
I ka pa i Nua ke 'lii o Hua.
Hoi i uka ka waihona.

Hua of Kapuaimanaku
The chief of Lahaina
Born at Kahoma at Kanahā

[Kahoma, site of petroglyphs, Lahaina]
[Kanahā, wildlife sanctuary and pond,
Kahului, Maui]

The place (site, platform) at Lelenuikuakamau

The placenta at Wai'ie

[Wai'iea, heiau near Kapaula, Lahaina]

The umbilical cord (navel) at Luakona

[Luakona, heiau, near Kapaula,
Lahaina]

The womb at Kaua'ula

[land division, stream, Lahaina]

At Haleili at Kahili

Lived at Wanalua

[Wananalua, war heiau, Hana]

Did sacred work at Honua'ula

[district; heiau at Kauiki, Hana]

War came with force at Kaniuho'opio

Fought at Hakalau

[Hakalau, in Honomū in Hilo, Hawai'i]

Was struck by Kaona at Hikianakala;

Grounded by Kana
Warded off by means of Kala'aualomakauahi
Because of the sacred club of Hua [Kala'aualomakauahi]

Fell (died) at Kehoni at Ki'ikewe [Kehoni, hill in North Kohala]
[Ki'ikewe, in Waihe'e, Wailuku, Maui]

Within the enclosure of Niua, the chief Hua,
Returned to the uplands, to the burial place
[Translated by Moana]

Commentary by Moana:

"...(According to Fornander) the earliest remembered war between Maui and Hawai'i was said to have been led by this Hua who invaded Hawaii and defeated the Hilo chiefs at Hakalau, in the district of Hilo. This war was called Kaniuho'ohio. (This name may or may not have been confused with Kaniuho'opio--the name Kamakau gives as the place where the war came).

"Hua married Hikimolulōlea, and their son was Pau. He (Pau) in turn married Kapoha'akia, and their son was Huanuikalala'ila'i, also known as Hua (but not to be confused with Hua-a-kapuaimanaku).

"Here, then, is the story of *Huanuikalala'ila'i* :

VI. 'O Hua-a-Pau ke 'Lii

O Hua a Pau ke 'Lii
No Honolulu a me Waikiki
I hanau no i kahua la i Kewalo,
O kalia la kahua
O Makiki la ke ewe,
I Kanelaau i Kehehuna ka piko
I Kolo i Pawaa ke aa;
I uka i Kahoiwai i Kanaloahookau;
Haule i Honokohau
I uka i Kapaaukini
Hoi no i uka ka waihona...
[Kamakau, continued]

Hua of the chief Pau
From Honolulu and Waikiki,
Born at the place Kewalo,
The place Kalia [Kalia, toward Waikiki beyond Kewalo]

The placenta at Makiki,
The navel at Kānela'au at Pāwa'a [Kanela'au, near Punchbowl (Puowaina)
in Makiki; Pawa'a, east of Kanela'au]

In the uplands at Keho'iwai at Kanaloaho'okau
[Keho'iwai, upper Manoa valley]

Fell (died) at Honokōhau [district of Keahole, Kailua, Hawai'i;
and in Honolua, west Maui]

In the uplands at Kapa'aukini [Kapa'au, Kohala, Hawai'i]
Returned to the upland burial place.
[Translated by Moana].

Commentary by Moana:

"...According to the Ulu genealogy *Huanui-ka-lā-la'ila'i*
married Kapoea, and their son was *Paumakua*...

[*Note: The Paumakua which is the subject of this next chant by
Kamakau is probably not the descendant of Hema, on the line down
from Ulu. The Paumakua who was the ancestor of Kekumakaha
was descended on the Ulu line, true, but from Puna, brother of Hema.
However, Moana will discover this on her own].

"...(According to Fornander) there is a Paumakua of O'ahu (of the
Puna branch of the Ulu line), and a Paumkua of Maui (of the Hema
branch of the Ulu line. It may be that the two were confused (in the story
below) just told.

VII. 'O Paumakua, 'o Kekumakaha

O Paumakua, o Kekumakaha;
 O ka maka ia o Puna o Kekumakaha.
 O ke 'i'i o Koolau, o Mokapu, o Ulupau;
 I hanau no i Kuaaohe,
 O Kii la ke kahua,
 O Mololani ke ewe,
 O Halekou ka piko,
 O Mahinui ke aa.
 I Kapaa i Holoholomakani,
 I Puiwa la i Waihaukalua,
 I Moelana la i Luluku,
 I Kaneohe la i Heeia;
 Haule i Lanai, i Kaunolu;
 I ka pali o Kaholo, i Keanaakanoio,
 Waiho no o Paumakua
 [Kamakau, continued]

Paumakua, ancestor of Kekumakaha
 From the lineage of Puna (was) Kekumakaha
 The chief of Koolau, of Mōkapu, of Ulupau [Ulupau, hill, Mōkapu,
 O'ahu]

Born at Kua'a'ohe	[Kua'a'ohe, Kāneohe]
The place Ki'i	[Ki'i, point, Mōkapu]
The placenta at Mololani	[Mololani, crater, Mōkapu]
The navel at Halekou	[Kaneohe]
The womb at Mahinui	[Mahinui, mountain, stream in Mōkapu]
At Kapa'a at Holoholomakani	[Kapa'a, land section, Kailua, O'ahu]
At Pu'iwa at Waihaukalua	[Pu'iwa, area, pool in Nu'uaniu]
At Moelana at Luluku	[taro terraces, Kāneohe, between Keapuka and Halekou]
At Kāneohe at He'eia	[bay area, Kaneohe-Kailua]
Fell (died) at Lāna'i, at Kaunolū	[Kaunolū, southeast Lāna'i]
At the cliff of Kaholo, at Keanaakanoio	[Kaholo, cliff, west of Kaunolū [Ke-ana-a-ka-noio, sea cavern, Manele, Lāna'i]

The remains of Paumakua were laid
 [Translated by Moana]

Commentary [continued]:

"...The son of Hua-nui-ka-la-la'ila'i is Paumakua of Maui. However, it is Paumakua of O'ahu who is from the lineage of Puna, and it is this Paumakua who was born on O'ahu at Kua'aohe in Kailua, but he died on O'ahu rather than on Lana'i and was buried at 'Iao on Maui (according to Fornander).

"It is the Paumakua of O'ahu who is known for his voyages to foreign countries (which corresponds nicely to the next story of Paumakua.

"...On the other hand, Paumakua of Maui is not remembered in song or legend for anything remarkable he did or performed, yet it is this Paumakua whose son is Haho (in keeping with the genealogy), and not the Paumakua of O'ahu.

"What it all seems to come down to is, genealogically, it is the Paumakua of Maui that we are talking about here;

"...but in the lineage of Puna, birthplace, deeds, and voyages (as we shall soon see) is Paumakua of O'ahu of whom we speak (Pehea la?)

"Here is another story of Paumakua in Hawaiian followed by translation, all according to Fornander [APR 2: 25-26]:

"O Paumakua, ka lani o Moenaimua,
 O Paumakua, the lord of Moenaimua,
O ke Alii nana i hele ke Kahiki,
 O the chief who went to Tahiti,
A Kahiki i ke kaiakea,
 Tahiti in the open ocean,
O mimo, o momi, o ka mamio,
 The gentle, the precious, the prosperous,
O ka iamailoko, o ka Auakahinu
 (And) the fish within (were) Auakahinu,
O Auakamea ia lani
 (And) Auakaema the noble."

[*Note: The text above is also the same as that in Kamakau].

"...Paumakua married Manokalililani, and their son was Haho. Here is a bit of his story:

VIII. Haho (a Paumakua)

O Keakilani, maka o Haho a Palena,
 E ke kahiko poowai o Kuaikua,
 He uka waena he kai kela uka,
 O Kalani o Kakae a Kahekili,
 [Kamakau, continued]

Keakilani (favorite?) of Haho, ancestor of Palena
 By the ancient source of Kuaikua [Waialua, O'ahu]
 Between a sea and uplands
 Chief(ess) of Kaka'e (brother) of Kahekili
 [translated by Moana]

Review and Comparison of the Ulu Genealogy: To Paumakua (of Hema) and Paumakua (of Puna):

A.D. 740	Aikanaka	
765	<i>Hema</i>	
765	(Puna)	<u><i>Puna-i-mua</i></u>
790	Kaha'i	Ua
815	Wahieloa	Uamaikalani
840	Laka	Uanini
865	Luanu'u 2	Auanini
890	Kamea	Newalani
915	Pohukaina	Lonohuanewa
940	Hua	Lonowahilani
965	Pau	Pau
990	Huanuikalalailai	<i>Paumakua</i>
1015	<i>Paumakua</i>	Mocanaimua
1040	<i>Haho</i>	<i>Kumakaha</i>
1065	Palena	Nana

With the foregoing in mind, Abraham Fornander's opinion that there were two *Paumakua* heroes of the migration may seem warranted. To quote Fornander on this unresolved question of the descent of Maui and O'ahu chiefs:

"...The next families of note derived from this southern immigrating element of this period were the two *Paumakuas*, the one claiming descent from *Puna* and the other from his (Puna) brother *Hema*, both of the Ulu line.

"...The former family spread over Oahu and Kauai, the latter on Maui and Hawaii. The Oahu *Paumakuas* may have arrived in the time of granddfather *Newalani*, or even earlier; certain it is that the *Paumakua* of this branch was born on Oahu, at Kuaaohe in Kailua, Koolaupoko, that he died on Oahu, and was buried at lao on Maui.

"...The *Paumakuas* on the other hand, probably did not arrive earlier than the time of his father, Huanuikalalailai, if *Paumakua* himself was not the first arrival of that family, along with his brother *Kuheailani*...

"...And though the Maui and Hawaii dynasties ever kept the *Paumakua*, whom they claimed as ancestor, *distinctly descending* on the Hema branch of the Ulu line, yet they never scrupled in after ages to appropriate to him the legends and events connected with the Oahu *Paumakua*, and which apparently *they borrowed from Kauai and Oahu sources*...

"...And when *in later times*, previous to the discovery of the islands by Captin Cook, and *subsequently* during the long reign of *Kamehameha I*, the *Hawaii and Maui dynasties* had gained a decided preponderance and political supremacy, *their versions of legends and genealogies passed undisputed*...

"...and *it became treason to dispute them*. Hence no little confusion in the national records and great embarrassment to the critical student who endeavours to elicit the truth from these *conflicting relics of the past*.

"...Fortunately, both Oahu and Kauai genealogies have survived, and by their aid, and by the legends attached to them, *it is possible to disentangle the apparent snarl of the various versions*, and reduce the pretensions of the Hawaii and Maui genealogists and bards to limits conformable with historical truth" [Fornander, APR:2: 23-24].

Kamakau's Mo'olelo Hawai'i which appeared in the 1991 publication, Tales and Traditions of the People of Oldl. Na Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko (translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i and edited by Dorothy Barrer) added more facts to this debate from Kamakau's corner, which requires going back to the genealogy to add wives and children to the lists.

[*Note: in the genealogy below, Fornander left out Lukahakona (after Kahiko) and Kapawa after Nanakaoko. Kapawa is restored to the descent line].

A.D.	565	Mauiakalana (k)	Hinakealohaila (w)	Nanamaoa
	590	Nanamaoa (k)	Hinakapa'ikua (w)	Nanakulei
	615	Nanakulei	Kahaukuhonua	Nanakaoko
	640	Nanakaoko	Kahihioikalani	Kapawa/Heleipawa (?)
	665	Kapawa	Malelewaa	(Heleipawa)
	690	Heleipawa	Kookookumaikalani	Hulumanailani
	715	Hulumanailani	Hinamaikalani (w)	'Aikanaka
	740	'Aikanaka	Hinahanaiakamalama	<i>Puna</i> <i>Hema</i>
	765	<i>Hema</i>	Ulumahahoa (w)	<i>Puna</i> Hainalau (w)
	790	Kahai	Hinauluohia (w)	Ua Kahilinai (w)
	815	Wahieloa	Koolaukahili	Uamaikalani Haimakalani (w)
	840	Laka	Hikawaelena	Uanini (k) Welihaakona (w)
	865	Luanuu (k)	Kapokulaiula (w)	Auanini (k) Maunakuahaokalani (w)
	890	Kamea (k)	Popomaili (w)	Newalani (k) Kahihikaale (w)
	915	Pohukaina (k)	Huahuakapalei (w)	Lonohuanewa (k) Loiloa (w)
	940	Hua (k)	Hikimolulolea (w)	Lonowahilani Kahikihaaueue (w)
	965	<i>Pau (k)</i>	Kapohaakia (w)	<i>Pau (k)</i> Kapalakuakalani (w)
	990	Huanuikalalailai (1)	Kapoea (w)	<i>Paumakua (k)</i> Keananui (w)
			(2) Molehai (w)	
	1015	(1) Paumakua (k)		
		(2) Kuhelani (k)		
	1015	Paumakua (k)	Manokaililani (w)	Moeanaimua (k) Alahoe
	1040	Haho (k)	Kauilainapa (w)	Kumakaha (k) Moanaaulii
	1065	Palena (k)	Hikawainui (w)	Nana (k) Haakaleikini
			Hanala'anui (k)	
			Hanala'aiki (k)	
	1090	Hanalaanui	Mahuia (w)	Luahiwa (k) Kilohana (w)
	1115	Lanakawai (k)	Kolohialiiokawai	Ahukai (k) Keakamilo (w)
	1140	Laau (k)	Kuakamolimoli- aloha (w)	La'a (k) Kaikulani (w)
	1165	<u>Pili (k)</u>	Hinaauaku (w)	<u>La'amaikahiki (k)</u> (1) Hoakamaikapua- ihelu (w)
				(2) Waolena (w)
				(3) Manoopupaipai (w)
	1190	Koa (k)	Hinaaumai (w)	(1) Ahukini-a-La'a (k)
				(2) Kukona-a-La'a (k)
				(3) La-uli-a-La'a (k) Maelo (w)
	1215	Ole (k)	Hinamailii (w)	Laulihewa (k)
	1240	Kukohou	Hinakeuki (w)	Akepamailani (w)...
	[Etc.]..	[Hawai'i]		[O'ahu/Kaua'i]

Conclusion:

The genealogy by Malo [HA: 238] confirms that Pau (k) was the son of Hua (k), on the descent line from Hema, and Hua had a son Pau (k). The list is worth repeating:

- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Wakea | 16. Nanaie | 31. Hema | 46. Pili |
| 2. Haloa | 17. Nanailani | 32. Kahai | 47. Koa |
| 3. Waia | 18. Waikulani | 33. Wahieloa | 48. Ole |
| 4. Hinanalo | 19. Kuheileimoana | 34. Laka | 49. Kukohou |
| 5. Nanakehili | 20. Konohiki | 35. Luanuu 2 | 50. Kaniuhi |
| 6. Wailoa | 21. Wanena | 36. Pohukaina | 51. Kanipahu |
| 7. Kio | 22. Akalana | 37. Hua | 52. Kalapana |
| 8. Ole | 23. Maui | 38. <i>Pau</i> | 53. Kahaimoelea |
| 9. Pupue | 24. Nanamaoa | 39. Huanuikalalailai | 54. Kalaunuiohua |
| 10. Manaku | 25. Nanakulei | 40. <i>Paumakua</i> | 55. Kuaiwa |
| 11. Lukahakoa | 26. Nanakaoko | 41. Haho | 56. Kohoukapu |
| 12. Luanuu | 27. Nanakuae | 42. Palena | 57. Kauhola |
| 13. Kahiko | 28. Kapawa | 43. Hanala'anui | 58. Kiha |
| 14. Kii | 29. Heleipawa | 44. Lanakawai | 59. Liloa |
| 15. Ulu | 30. Aikanaka | 45. La'au | [60. Hakau/Umi] |
| | | [36. Kamea] | [61. total gen.] |

[*Note: Fornander adds a generation after Luanu'u 2: Kamea (No. 36), thus moving the generation numbers to Hakau/Umi as 61 generations = 1, 525 years]

Malo related:

"Puna and Hema were chiefs who were born in Hawaii-kua-ula *Isic*, at Kauiki, Maui. Hema died in Kahiki, i.e., foreign lands, and his bones were left at Ulupaupau.

"Kahai was a chief who was born at Kahalulukahi, Wailuku, Maui. He died at Kailikii in Kau; his bones were deposited in Iao.

"Wahieloa was a king who was born at Wailau, in Kau, Hawaii; died at Koloa, in Puanuu, Kau; buried at Alae, in Kipahulu, Maui.

"Laka was a king who was born at Haili, Hawaii; died at Kualoa, Oahu; and was buried at Iao.

"Luanuu was a king who was born at Peekauai, in Waimea, on Kauai; he died at Honolulu, Oahu, and was buried in Nuuanu." [Malo: 246-237]

[Kamea (k) was the son of Luanu'u, and Pohukaina (k) was the son of Kamea]

Kamakau remarks, concerning Luanu'u 2 [1991: 147]

"...Lu'anu'u was the son of Laka; his mother was Hikāwaelena, a chiefess of the Pa'ahoa rains of Waimea, Kaua'i. When she found that she was pregnant, she returned to Kaua'i; and as she was on the point of landing at Po'o in Waimea, she gave birth to the child; and he fell through a space in the platform, *pola*, of the canoe and plunged, *lu'u*, into the water. From this incident the child was called Lu'u, and because the child was laid in the 'anu'u tower of the *heiau* of Pōhaku-ha'ule at Kupale in Lā'au'akala of Waimea, Kaua'i, he was called by the name Lu'anu'u [Lu'u-'anu'u]. Lu'u-'anu'u-a-Laka was in the chiefly line of succession, *mo'o ali'i*, in the genealogy from Hāloa. He was born on Kaua'i and became the ancestor of Kaua'i chiefs. *However, according to his mo'olelo, his corpse was taken to O'ahu and is in the burial cave at Pū'iwa in Nu'uaniu (17)...*

[Footnote 17 gives no original *mo'olelo* from which Kamakau was quoting when he said this. Kamakau also skirts Pohukaina, of whom he says: "...Pohukaina, who was also known as Kapua'i-manakū." And that Hua, son of Pohukaina, was born in Lahaina, Maui].

Compare Malo [continued]:

"...Pohukaina, a king, was born at Kahakahakea, in Kau; *died at Waimea, Hawaii; and was buried at Mahiki.*"

[*Note: Pohukaina (acc. Malo) was the *son of Luanu'u*; born on Kaua'i and buried in Nu'uaniu; Malo: 247].

Compare Kamakau [continued]:

"...Kamea-a-Lu'anu'u was the *son of Lu'anu'u*. He was born at Kahakaha-kea at 'Opuhue, *makai* of Kahuku in Ka'ū, Hawai'i. His corpse was laid away at Mahiki in Waimea, Hawai'i. [His son was Pohukaina]" [Kamakau, 1991: 147]

[*Note: The Kamakau story of Kamea-a-Lu'anu'u is that of Pohukaina acc. Malo].

Compare Malo [continued]:

"...Hua [i.e., son of Pohukaina, whom Kamakau would also call Kapua'i-manakū]...was a king, who was born at Kahona, Lahaina, Maui; died at Kehoni on the same island; and was buried at Iao.

[*Note: This agrees with Kamakau, i.e., Hua-a-Pohukaina, or Hua-a-Kapua'i-manaku, was the son of Pohukaina, and he had a son, *Pau*. Here Malo and Kamakau versions agree].

Compare Fomander:

"...*Hua*, with the sobriquet of *-a-Kapuaimanaku*, in distinction from *Hua-nui-kalalailai*, the father of the Maui *Paumakua*.... He (*Hua*) is said to have been king of Maui, and lived principally at Hana, Kauwika. The earliest remembered war between Maui and Hawaii is said to have been conducted by him, who invaded Hawaii, and at Hakalau, in the district of Hilo, thoroughly defeated the Hawaii chiefs. The Hawaiian legends call that war by the name of *Kaniuhooio*...the springs dried up; no rain fell for three years and a half... *Hua* and his people perished miserably [APR: 41-42].

Compare Malo:

"...*Pau*, the son of *Hua*, was a king who was born at a place in Kewalo on Oahu; died on Molokai; and was buried at Iao.

"...*Hua*-(nui-i-ka-lailai), the son of *Pau* was a king who was born at Ohikilolo in Waianae, on Oahu. He died on Lanai, and his bones were deposited at Iao.

"...*Paumakua*, [i.e., son of *Hua-nui-i-kalalailai*], a king of Oahu, was born at Kuaohe, on Oahu. He died on Oahu, and his bones were laid to rest at Iao."

To this section of Malo's narrative, Nathaniel B. Emerson, as translator, took exception [note 6: page 250]:

"...There was a Maui *Paumakua*, with whom Malo has evidently confounded this one of Oahu. They belonged to different lines. The deeds of the Oahu king seem to have been appropriated by the bards who, in later times, sang the praises of the Maui man. As claimed by Fomander in 'The Polynesian Race,' vol. 2, pp. 24-27, the Oahu *Paumakua* was a great traveller. His exploits are embellished by the bards in high flown language... [*whereupon Emerson quotes from a *Paumakua* chant which Kamakau also provided (above)].

Commentary:

The confusion is real because there were two Hua, two Pau, and two Paumakua. One set is a Hua, Pau, and Paumakua descended from Puna (brother of Hema), and another set of Hua, Pau, and Paumakua descended from Hema.

Kamakau's *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* chants on the segment of Hema and Puna's descent may be aligned as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) | Hua-Pohukaina, Hua-a-Kapua'imanaku | (Hema/Paumakua/Maui) |
| (b) | Hua-a-Pau, Paumakua 'o Kekumakaha | (Puna/Paumakua/ Oahu and Kaua'i) |

(Malo, *continued*):

"Haho was a king about whom traditions are scanty.

" Palena, tradition says, had two sons, of whom the elder, called Hana-la'anui, was in the line of the Hawaii kings, and the younger, Hana-la'aiki, was of the line of Maui kings.

"Puna-i-mua [i.e., brother of Hema] was one of the ancestors of kings on Oahu and on Kauai; Hema, of kings on Hawaii" [Malo:247].

The Descendants of Puna

"...The other branch of the *Ulu* genealogy, descending from *Hema's* brother. *Puna*, is equally voluminous and equally subject to different versions, between which great discrepancy occurs. The one quoted by several ancient Hawaiians, *scil.*, Kamakau among others, and recited when rival heralds sang the praises of their chiefs, runs as follows:--

	Puna-imua (k)	Hainalua (w)	Ua
	Ua (k)	Kahilina (w)	Uamaikalani
	Uamaikalani (k)	Haikamalani (w)	Uanini
	Uanini (k)	Welahaakona (w)	Auanini
	Auanini (k)	Maunakuahaokalani (w)	Newalani
	Newalani (k)	Kahihiikaale (w)	Lonohuanewa
			Kahano-a-Newa (k)
*975 A.D.	Lonohuanewa (k)	Loiloa (w)	Lonowahilani

[*975 A.D. solar eclipse, celestially derived date; acc. Masse, Bruce, David Tuggle and R. Kawena Johnson, *Islands in the Sky*, mss. 2001].

[insert]

"...To judge from an ancient legend, *Newalani* had another son beside *Lonohoo-Newa*, the father of *Paumakua*. This son was called *Kahano-a-Newa*, and is mentioned as the *Kahu* (guardian or foster father) of *Kahihi-ku-o-ka-lani*, the wife of *Nanakaoko* and mother of *Kapawa*. If so, it establishes beyond a doubt the contemporaneity and relationship of *Kapawa* and *Paumakua*, as well as their southern extraction. With a singular blending in after ages of ancient reminiscences and ancient myths, the legend speaks of this *Kahano-a-Newa* as a great sorcerer--a prominent characteristic of most of the southern celebrities--who 'stretched out his hands to the farthest bounds of *Kahiki*, and on them,' as on a bridge, 'came the *Menehune* people to *Oahu*;' and the places assigned to them to live in were *Kailua* in the *Koolau* district, and *Pauoa* and *Puowaina* in the *Kona* district; and it is said that they were introduced to be the servants of *Kahihi-ku-o-ka-lani*, and that they were employed to build the *Heiaus* of *Mauiki*, *Kaheiki*, *Kawaewae*, *Ekū*, *Kamoalii*, and *Kuaokala*. It is further stated, probably in reference to some remarkable eclipse, that 'when the sun vanished and the earth became dark, *Kahano* brought the sun back again'...

"...It is impossible to determine the date of this legend, but the ancient national appellation of *Menehune* must have become obsolete long before that, and forgotten by the compiler. The mention of the *Menehune* as servants of a chiefess of known southern extraction marks the legend as a product of that southern element, especially *Tahitian*, where *Menehune* had become the name for the lowest labouring class of the people" [Fornander (APR: 2: note p. 23)].

[continued, Puna genealogy]:

[*975 A.D. solar eclipse in the time of *Lonohuanewa*]

[975 A.D.]	<i>Lonohuanewa</i> (k)	<i>Loiloa</i> (w)	<i>Lonowahilani</i>
	<i>Lonowahilani</i> (k)	<i>Kahikihaaeue</i> (w)	<i>Pau</i>
	<i>Pau</i> (k)	<i>Kapalakuakalani</i> (w)	<i>Paumakua</i>
	<i>Paumakua</i> (k)	<i>Keananui</i> (w)	<i>Moeanaimua</i>
	<i>Moeanaimua</i> (k)	<i>Alahoe</i> (w)	<i>Kumakaha</i>
	<i>Kumakaha</i> (k)	<i>Moanaaulii</i> (w)	<i>Nana</i>
	<i>Nana</i> (k)	<i>Haakaleikini</i> (w)	<i>Luahiwa</i>
	<i>Luahiwa</i> (k)	<i>Kilohana</i> (w)	<i>Ahukai</i>
	<i>Ahukai</i> (k)	<i>Keakamilo</i> (w)	<i>Laamaikahiki</i>
	<i>Laamaikahiki</i> (k)	<i>Hoakamaikapuaihelu</i> (w)	<i>Lauli-a-Laa</i>
		<i>Waolena</i> (w)	<i>Ahukini-a-Laa</i>
		<i>Manoopupaipai</i> (k)	<i>Kukona-laa</i>
	<i>Lauli-a-La'a</i> (k)	<i>Maelo</i> (w)	<i>Laulihewa</i>
	<i>Laulihewa</i> (k)		

Comparison:

(A) Conventional dating [25-year per generation, backdating from the 1758 A.D. comet, i.e., celestial dating]

765	<u>Hema</u>	Uluamahaoa (w)	<u>Puna</u>	Hainalau (w)
790	Kahal	Hinauluohia (w)	Ua	Kahilina'i (w)
815	Wahleloa	Koolaukahili	Uamaikalani	Haimakalani (w)
840	Laka	Hikawaelena	Uanini (k)	Welihaakona (w)
865	Luanuu (k)	Kapokulailua (w)	Auanini (k)	Maunakuahaokalani (w)
890	Kamea (k)	Popomaili (w)	Newalani (k)	Kahihikaale (w)
915	Pohukaina (k)	Huahuaikapalei (w)	<u>Lonohuanewa (k)</u>	<u>Loiloa (w)</u>
940	Hua (k)	Hikimolulolea (w)	Lonowahilani	Kahikihaaueue (w)
975	<u>Pau (k)</u>	Kapohaakia (w)	<u>Pau (k)</u>	Kapalakuakalani (w)
990	Huanuikalalailai (1)	Kapoea (w)	<u>Paumakua (k)</u>	Keananui (w)
		(2) Molehai (w)	Moeanaimua (k)	Alahoe (w)
			[etc.]	

(B) Celestial dating [of traditional accounts with known celestial events, acc. Masse/Tuggle]

[*975 A.D. solar eclipse in the time of Lonohuanewa]

[975 A.D.]	Lonohuanewa (k)	Loiloa (w)	Lonowahilani
	Lonowahilani (k)	Kahikihaaueue (w)	Pau
	Pau (k)	Kapalakuakalani (w)	<u>Paumakua</u>
	<u>Paumakua (k)</u>	Keananui (w)	Moeanaimua
	Moanaimua (k)	Alahoe (w)	
	[etc., intra.:102]		

The comparative data gives a difference of 42 years, nearly a half-century, in the procedures heretofore followed, requiring the adjustment necessary to bring the descent lines into a parallel chronology.

This section of the descent of ruling chiefs on the Ulu/Nanaulu line brings us to the threshold of separation of the societies, the indigenous Hawaiian from ancestral Polynesian. Canoes and migrants will continue to move back and forth but will come from and go home, leaving descendants in the new country to make a go of it without the man of the house, a recurring Polynesian trait of colonization of new lands. Their sons would be left behind to lead a fledgling society to survive on its own in the north, after which there would be, eventually, no necessity to sail back and forth.

How long was this period of active cross-equatorial travel? Count back from Pa'ao and Pili's time to Ulu and Nanaulu. How many generations are there?

Let's do it now, subtract them, using Malo's list of generations from Wakea, about 035 B.C., for the period of Ulu to Pili are 32 generations, between 340 and 1165 A.D., or about 825 years. How deep was love for the ancient homeland? Quite a bit. Even though there are no records in Tahiti attesting to any landfall made by a Hawaiian navigator of the period 358 -1183 A.D. The only corroborative evidence is in genealogies maintained by other Polynesians that are comparable to Ulu and Nanaulu and succeeding generations. [See: Cole, William A. and Elwin W. Jensen, Israel in the Pacific (1961) and Sutton, Bruce S., Lehi Father of Polynesia, 2001]. Perhaps we should take the time here to see some of the lists these scholars have gathered into an accessible contemporary resource.

[Cp. Sutton, Bruce S., *Lehi, Father of Polynesia*, 2001, page 115]:

	<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>
A.D.	015 Wakea and Papa	Rangi md. Papa
	040 Hoohokukalani md. <u>Manouluae*</u>	[i.e., Hinamanouluae (k)...
	[interrupted]:	

Insert: *He Mele no ka pae aina o Papa ma.*

Hoao Papahanau moku, I kana kane o Wakea i noho ai	Papahanaumoku married, Her husband was Wakea and she lived with him
Hanau o Hoohokukalani, He alii He kaikamahine na Papa, <u>Noho ia Manouluae.</u>	Hoohokukalani was born, a chiefess; A daughter by Papa, Lived with Manouluae
Hanau o Waia ke 'lii, o Waia O Wailoa, o Kakaihili, O Kia, o Ole, O Pupue, o Manaku, O Nukahakoa, hanau o Luanua, O Kahiko, o Kii, O Ulu, o Nana, O Waikumailani, ke 'lii, O Kaheleimoana, konohiki wawae na Kalana	The chief Waia was born, Waia, Wailoa, Kakaihili Kia, Ole, Pupue, Manaku, Nukahakoa, Luanua was born, Kahiko, Kii, Ulu, Nana, Waikumailani, the chief Kaheleimoana, the "foot rank" overseer for Kalana,
Hanau o Maui, he hookala-kupua, He kupua he 'lii o Nana a Maui, O Lanakaoko, O Kapawa, O Keliioawaialua, I hanau i Kukaniloko, O Wahiawa ka hua, O Lihue ke ewe, O Kaala ka piko, O Kapukapukakea ka aa, Haule i Nukea, I Wainakia Aakai i Heleu,	Maui was born, a supernatural being, A demigod, Nana of Maui, a chief, Lanakaoko, Kapawa Keliioawaialua, the chief of Waialua Born at Kukaniloko, Progeny of Wahiawa, Lihue, the afterbirth, Kaala, the navel, Kapuakpukakea, the womb, Fallen (died) at Nukea, At Wainakia Aakai at Heleu,

I ka lau malino o Hauola, ke 'lii,
 O Kapawa hoi no,
 Hoi no iuka ka waihona
 Hoi no i ka pali kapu o na'lii,
 He kiai kalakahi no Kaka'e.

In the peace and calm of Hauola, the chief,
 Kapawa, indeed,
 He was taken back to the burial place
 Taken to the sacred cliff of the chiefs,
 A guardian for Kaka'e for a long time.

[Ka Hae Hawaii, August 8, 1860;
 pg. 27, col. 2; translated by Malcolm N. Chun]

(Sutton, 2001: continuing):

<u>Hawaiian</u>		<u>Maori</u>	
A.D.	087	Wakea md. Papa	Rangi md. Papa [Rangi-atea]
	114	Hoohekukalani md. Manouluae	Tane-nui-a-rangi md. Kurawaka
	137	Waia md. Huhune	Hineahuone md. Tane-nui-a-rangi
	162	Wailoa md. Hikawapualanea	Hineahurani md. Tane-nui-a-rangi
	187	Kakaihili md. Haulani	Hinetitama md. Tane-nui-a-rangi
	212	Kia md. Kamole	Hinemanuhiri
	237	Ole md. Haii	Te Pohatu
	262	Pupue md. Kamole	Te Kahurangi
	287	Nanaku md. Hikohaale	Hinekapurangi
	312	Nukahakoa md. Koulamaikalani	Hinerauwharangi md. Maina
	337	Luana'u md. Kawamaukele	Hinetaira md. <u>Tiki</u>
	362	Kahiko md. Kaea	<u>Uru</u>
	387	<u>Ki'i</u> md. Hinakoula [340 A.D.]	<u>Ngangana</u>
	415	<u>Ulu</u> md. Kapunuu [365 A.D.]	Iorangi or Waionuku
	440	Nanaie md. Kahaumokuleia	Waiorangi
	465	Nanailani md. Hinakinau	Houtinao
	490	Waikulani md. Kekaulani	Hurakeke
	515	Kuheleimoana md. Mapunaiaala	Te Ruaoterangi
	540	Konohiki md. Hikaululena	Hakota md. Rukutai
	565	Wawena md. Hinamahuia	Manawatane md. Mataora
	590	<u>Akalana</u> md. Hinakaweia	<u>Irawhaki (f) md. Taranga</u>
	617	<u>Maui</u> [-akalana] [565 A.D.]	<u>Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga</u>

[Cp. Ki'i
 [Cp. Ulu
 [Nanaulu]

Correspondence: 340-565 A.D. Ki'i - Maulakalana, 10 generations] (225 years)
 [acc. Sutton]: 337-617 A.D. Tiki - Mautikitiki-a-Taranga, 12 generations] (280 years]

[Cp. Henry, Teuira, "Royal Tahitian Genealogies," Ancient Tahiti: 247-248]
 [Note: The Uru line in Tahiti descends to the ruling Pomare dynasty].

A.D.	362	1.	Uru	Hina-tumu-ro'o
	387		<u>'Iri-te-apu-ra'i</u>	Te-heheu (etc.)

[Cp. Ulu genealogy, Formander (APR): 191]:

A.D.	365	1.	Ulu	Kapunuu (w) had Nana (k) <u>Kapulani</u> Nanaie
A.D.	390	2.	<u>Kapulani</u>	[record does not continue in Hawaii but does in Tahiti]

Forgotten Families of the Voyaging-Settlement Period

The Legacy of Abraham Fornander

Abraham Fornander possessed a steel-trap mind with the dogged rigor of an accountant. He was also fair and honest, leaving nothing unaccounted for. Just as determined as he was to make sure the lines of ruling chiefs were *papa helu* perfect, he also saved in list upon list the other family lines that came on the charts and went off into the background. They were not in the mainstream of ruling chiefs who persist into the post-contact period (1778 A.D.-) when "*myth ends and history begins*".

Kumuhonua

Background:

Kumuhonua 1 [Kumulipo genealogy] was the son of Palipalihia (k) and Paliomahilo (w) [Beckwith, page 230; Opu'upu'u genealogy]. He had three brothers: Paliku, Ololo, and Ololohonua.

In that version Kumuhonua married Haloiho (w) and had three sons: Kane (k), Kanaloa (k), and Ahukai (*ka muli loa*), the last-born. The line thus came down (in the Kumulipo) from Kumuhonua to Ahukai and Ahukai's marriage to Holehana (w), from whom was born *Kapili* (k). After *Kapili* (k) are 18 generations to Wakea.

The version below is the Kumuhonua genealogy from Fornander [Account of the Polynesia Race, 1: 181-183]. It identifies *Kapili* as another name for *Laka*. [Note: The Kumulipo keeps *Kapili* and *Laka* separate in the recitations]

[Fornander version of Kumuhonua]

[R. K. Johnson, preliminary translations of names]

Kumuhonua	Lalohonua	earth foundation	foundation below	
<i>Laka</i>	Papaialaka	lehua tree	lehua foundation	cp. Rata
[Laka: or Kolo-i-ke-ao (k)		crawl-in-daylight		
(Kulu-i-po, or)		17th night of the moon (Kulu)		
(Kolo-i-ke-po, or)		crawl-at-night		
(Ahu (k),		altar		
(<i>Kapili</i> , or		close, attached to		
(Kaiki-ku-a-Kane (k) [probably Ka(h)iki-ku-a-Kane, i.e. Tahiti-nui)				
Kamoolewa	Olepuuhonua	swinging lizard	quarter moon	[Milky Way?]
Maluapo	Laweao	dark night	daylight taken	[solar eclipse?]
<i>Kinilauamano</i>	Upolu	cp. Kanokupolu, heart of Tonga/in Samos		cp. Tinirau
Halo	Kiniewalu	to peer	8 x 40,000	
Kamanolani	Kalanianoho	heavenly host	chief's dwelling	
Kamakaokalani	Kamo'olani	face of chief	sky lizard	[Milky Way?]
Kaleilani	Opuahiki	sky wreath	horizon clouds, east	[star Hokulei?]
Kalalii	Keaomelemele	small sun	yellow cloud	[solar eclipse?]
Haule	Loaiao	fall	obtain	
Iminanea	Imiwalea	seek rest	seek relaxation	
<i>Nuu (or Kahinali'i, k)</i>		zenith (Capella, Auriga) [cp. Kai-a-Kahinali'i, tsunami]		

[Fornander: APR 1: 181-182; 11 generations]

Nu'u	<i>Lilinoe (w)</i>	zenith	fine cold mist (sister of Poliahu, snow)	
	Nalu Akua (k)	god-wave		
	Nalu Hoohua (k)	foam-wave		
	<i>Nalu Manamana (k)</i>	branching-wave		(tsunami?)
Nalu-(akua, -hoohua, -manamana)	<i>Ka-ali-Akea (w)</i>		bright-noonday-sun	
Naeheehe Lani	<u>Kawowo-i-lani-Hikimoe</u> (w)	racking cough	roaring sky (to west)	[storm?]
<u>Kahakuimokulei</u>	Kekai-Holana	district chief	spread sea (float)	
Ke-kai-lei	Nalu-lei (w)	sea-wreath	wave-wreath	[star Hokulei?]
Ka-haku-lani	Moeana-i-lalo (w)	high chief	setting to south	[Canopus]
Hele-i-Kahiki-ku	Hooneenee-i-ka-Hikina	go-to-Tahiti	move-eastward	
Ka Noelo Hikina	Hala-po-loa (w)	seek-knowledge-east	long-night-passing	
Hele-i-ka-moo-loa	Kawehe'a'ao (w)	go-by-long-lizard	day-break	[Milky Way ?]
Ke-au-Apaapaa	Ke-au-laelae (w)	strong NE wind,	gentle, calm current (or time)	
		[or land lived on a long time]		

Luanuu [or Kanehoalani (k) [i.e., mountain-ridge, Kualoa, O'ahu; also known as the father of O'ahu-a-Luanu'u by Papa-hanau-moku]

[Nu'u	<i>Lilinoe (w)]</i>			
<i>Nalumanamana</i>	<i>Manamanaiakalua</i>	wave branching	branching [Manaia, Milky Way?]	
Kaiolani	<u>Kawowoilani</u>	heavenly hawk	roaring in the heaven	
<u>Hakuimoku</u>	<u>Kawaowaoilani</u>	district chief	sky wilderness	
Nunulani	Lu-i-ka-po	roll up sky	scatter night (or prop up the night)	
Honuaokamoku	Anahulukapo	district land	ten-day week	
Neenee-papu-lani	Wehekapo	move sky (heiau?)	open the night	
Heleikuahikina	Halakapo	go east	night passes	
Helemooloa	Kawanaao	go long lizard	dawn	[Milky Way?]
Keaoapaapa	Keaolaelae	cloud strata (horizon clouds)	clear day (cumulus clouds)	
<i>Luanuu</i>	[Lu-son-of-Nu'u; for Lu, sky-propping deity; cp. Kau-no-Lu, point, southwest Lana'i]			

Luanu'u	<u>Ahu (w)</u> [Ahu 1] (or, Meehiwa) (or, Hakulani) <u>(or, Kawowo-i-Lani (w))</u> (or Pomalie (w))	prop zenith	heaped (clouds) sacred-black chiefess [Canopus] roaring-heaven calm-night
Kunawao (or Kalani Menehune (k) [chief of the menehune people] (or Aholoholo (k))	Ka-mole-hikina-kuahine (w)	Ku-of-wild-forest	[Na Wao - forest-dwelling people] base of the island tree, i.e. taproot [eastward, probably related to solstice, i.e. summer below equator
Kaimipukaku (or <i>Kinilau-a-mano</i>)	<i>Kahooluhi-kupaa (w)</i> Ka-hekili-paapaaina (k) Ka-apaapa-nuu (k) Ka-apaapa-lani (k) Nakeke-i-lani (k) Kahiki-apaapa-nuu (k) Kahiki-apaapa-lani (k) Nakolokolo-lani (k) Nakeke-honua (k) Ku-i-ka-ewa-lani (k) Kau-wai-o-ka-moku (k) Hoopale-honua (k) <i>Newenewe-maolina-i-Kahiki-ku (k)</i>	to find east (azimuth) thunder storm sky vault, zenith sky level(s), strata rumbling sky, thunder zenith, Tahiti sky levels, Tahiti rumbling (as of surf or thunder) rattling-earth (seismic, earthquake) strike/stand(s)-irregular sky water(falls, sources, streams) of the district cover/protect-earth/land (high island)	patient steady one [Cp. Tinirau, Polynesian hero, from Samoa, who went to Tonga to seek Hina]
Newenewe-maolina-i-Kahiki-ku (k) Kaokaokalani Anianiku Anianikalani Hawai'iloa (or Ke-kowa-i-Hawai'i) (or <i>Ki'i</i>) (or Kana-loa) (or Laakapu)	Hehakamoku Kekaipahola Kamee-nui-hikina Hualalai (w)	Nowelo-Hikina (w) crowded sky mirror-like mirror-sky distant/far-Hawai'i channel (into) Hawai'i ancestor [Cp. Tiki (Marquesas)] ancestor/creator- god [Cp. Tangaroa (Marquesas, Tahiti)] sacred chief	Southern Cross, Tahiti-east weary earth [Cp. Tekotakota, Tuam.] spread-sea admired, east [Hua, Jupiter + sun, day-star]
<u>O-ahu (w)</u> 2 Ku-nui-akea Ke-lii-alia	Ku-nui-ai-a-ke-Akua (k) Kahiki-walea (w) Kahiki-alii (w)	Ahu, chiefess (2) Ku-of-wide-expanse chief	Great-Ku-of-the-akua (k) ease, relaxed chiefess, Tahiti
	[Cp. Hiki-ana-lia, star; computed as Spica in Virgo (probable; Sirius (Canis Major) [<i>alia</i> , post carried alongside the <i>makahiki</i> image; <i>alia</i> , pond, lake]		
Ke-milia (or Eleele-ua-lani)	Polohaina-alii [Cp. Polo- before star names, n.d.] Ka-oupe-alii (w)	pool, pond upright chief	chiefess (speaks, sacrifice?) aftermath of storm; or, lower end of canoe-paddle
Ku-ka-lani-ehu <i>Papa-nui-hanau-moku (w)</i>	Ka-haka-ua-koko (w) <i>Wakea (k)</i>	red-haired chief	rainbow

[*Note: The translations are a temporary attempt to glean the probable celestial component in names of ancestors and ruling chiefs; from Islands in the Sky (by Bruce Masse, David Tuggle, and R. K Johnson, mss. in preparation, 2001).

Comparative Study and Generation Count

[Kumulipo version of Kumuhonua, brother of Paliku, descent from Opu'ukahonua]

[Line 1740, Beckwith: 230]

Palipalihia	Paliomahilo
Hanau Paliku	
Hanau Ololo	
Hanau Ololohonua	
Hanau <i>Kumuhonua</i>	<i>Haloiho (w)</i>
O Kane (k) he mau mahoe	
O Kanaloa	
<u>O Ahukai ka muli loa</u>	<u>Holehana (w)</u>
<u>Kapili</u>	Kealona'na'i (w)

[Kumulipo *papa helu*]

KUMUHONUA	Haloiho	[Kumuhonua, 21 generations before Wakea]
Ahukai	Holehana	
<i>Kapili</i>	Kealona'ina'i	[Cp. Fornander version: Kapili (k) = Laka (k), 18 generations before Wakea]
Kawaikupua	Helea'eiluna	
Kawakahiko	Kaha'ulaia	
Kahikolupa	Lukaua	
Kahikoleikau	Kupomaka'ika'eleue	
Kahikoleiulu	Kanemakaika'eleue	
Kahikolehonua	Ha'ako'ako'aikeaukahonua	
Ha'ako'ako'alauleia	Kaneiako'akahonua	
Kupo	Lanikupo	
Nahaeikekaua	Hane'eiluna	
Keakenui	Laheamanu	
Kahinakiiakea 1	Luanahinakiipapa2	
Kolunahinakiiakea3	Ha'anahinaki'ipapa 4	
Limaanahinakiiakea 5	Onoanahinakiipapa 6	
Hikuanahinakiiakea 7	Waluanahinaki'ipapa 8	
Iwanahinakiiakea 9	Lohanahanahinak'ipapa 10	
Welaahilaninui	Owe	
Kahikoluamea	Kupulanakehau	
<i>Wakea</i>	<i>Haumea (Papa)</i>	
<i>Ho'ohokukalani</i>	<i>Wakea</i>	

Readjustment of Versions: Kumulipo and Fornander

[Kumuhonua readjusted]		[Fornander version]		
<u>[Kumulipo version, Paliku/Kumuhonua]</u>		<u>[Fornander version]</u>		
Kumuhonua	Haloiho [779 Lolopololo]	Kumuhonua	Lalohonua (a)	(38)
Ahukai	Holehana			
Kapili	Kealona'ina'i	Kapili	Nohinohinohele	(37)
<u>Kawakupua</u>	Heleaeiluna	Kawakahiko	Luhiluhiheleae	(36)
Kawakahiko	Kaha'ulaia	<u>Kawakupua</u>	<u>Kahikoolupa</u> [generations reversed]	
<u>Kahikolupa</u>	Lukaua	<u>Kahikoleihonua</u>	Nahaeikua	(34)
Kahikoleikau	<u>Kupomakaikaeleue</u>	Keakenui	<u>Kaipolauleiaiheleua</u>	(33)
Kahikoleiulu	Kanemakaikaeleue	Keakenui	Kalanihoohonua	(32)
<u>Kahikolehonua</u>	Haakoakoaikeaukahonua	Keolaimaolinaakane	Muolani	(31)
Haakoakoalauleia	Kaneiakakahonua	Kaleilani	Apaiki	(30)
Kupo	Lanikupo	Haulihonua	La'a-a	(31)
Nahaeikekaua	Haneeiluna	Kalalii	Keaomelemele	(30)
Keakenui	Laheamanu	<u>Lalookona</u>	Kamoleaniani	(29)
Kahinakiikea 1	Luanahinakiipapa 2	Hoonanea	Hoowalea	(28)
Kolunahinakiipapa 3	Haanahinakiipapa 4	Nuu, Kaiakahinalii	Lilinoe	(27)
Limaanahinakiikea 5	Onoanahinaakiipapa 6	Naluakua	Kaaliakea	(26)
Hikuanahinakiikea 7	Waluanahinakiipapa 8	Naeheehelani	Kawoweoilanihikimoe	(25)
Iwanahinakiikea 9	Lohanahanahinakiipapa 10	Kahakuimokulei	Kekaiholana	(24)
Welaahilaninui	Owe	Kekailei	Nalulei	(23)
Kahikoluamea	Kupulanakehau	Kahakulani	Moeanailalo	(22)
<u>Wakea</u>	<u>Haumea</u>	Heleikahiki	Hooneeneekahikina	(21)
(Ho'ohokukalani)	(Wakea)	Kanoelohikina	Halapoloa	(20)
<u>1 (Haloa)</u>	<u>Hinamanouluae (w)</u>	<u>Heleikamooloa</u>	<u>Kaweheaa</u>	(19)
2 Waia	Huhune (w)	Keauapaapaa	Keaulaelae	(18)
3 Wailoa	Hikawaopualana	<u>Luanu'u</u>	<u>Ahu (w) 1</u>	(17)
4 Hinanalo	Hauuu	Kalanimenehune	Kamolehikinakuahine	(16)
5 Nanakehili	Haulani	Kaimipukaku, <u>Kinilauamano</u>	Kahooluhikupaa	(15)
6 Wailoa	Hikawaopuaiaanea	Newenewemaolinaikahikiku	Nowelohikina	(14)
7 Kio	Kamole	Kaokaokalani	Hehakamoku	(13)
8 Ole	Hai	Anianiku	Kekaipahola	(12)
9 Pupue	Kamahele	Anianikaloa	Kameenuihikina	(11)
10 Manaku	Hikohaale	Hawaiiloa (Kii)	Hualalai	(10)
(11)		<u>[b. Mauiailii (k), Oahu (w), Kauai (k)]</u>		(9)

11 Kahiko [Ulu gen.] Kaea (w)		<u>O'ahu (w)</u> 2	Kunuiakeakua	(8)
12 Lukahakona Kawaomaaukele (w)		Kunuiakea	Kahiki-walea	(7)
13 <u>Luanuu</u> Koulamaikalani (w)		Keliialia	Kahikialii	(6)
14 Kii Hinakoula		Kemilia	Polohainalii	(5)
	Ulu + Nanaulu (k)			
[Ulu genealogy continues in the Kumulipo; Nanaulu genealogy continues in Forlander]				
15 Ulu Kapunu'u		Keliiku, Eleeleualani	Kaoupealii	(4)
15 Nanaulu Ulu kou		Kukalaniehu	Kahakauakoko	(3)
16 Nana Kapulani [Ulu]		<u>Papaihanaumoku</u>	<u>Wakea</u>	(2)
16 Nanamea Puia [Nanaulu]		(Haloo)		(1)
17 Nanaie Kahaumokuleia [Ulu]				
17 Pehekeula Uluae (w)				
18 Nanaielani Hinakinau [Ulu]				
18 Pehekemana Nanahapa [Nanaulu]				
19 Waikalani Kekaulani [Ulu]				
19 Nanamua Nanahope [Nanaulu]				
20 Kuheleimoana Mapuualaaala [Ulu]				
20 Nanaikeauhaku Elehu [Nanaulu]				
21 Konohiki Hakaululena [Ulu]				
21 Keaoa Waohala [Nanaulu]				
22 Waolena Mahuie [Ulu]				
22 Hekumu Kumukoa [Nanaulu]				
23 Akalana Hinaakeahi [Ulu]				
23 Umalei Umaumanana [Nanaulu]				
24 <u>Mau</u> i Hinakeaohaila [Ulu]				
24 Kalai Laikapa [Nanaulu]				

Readjustment for Comparative Dating of Kumuhonua Versions
 [Kumulipo (Liaikuhonua) and Fornander, Version (a) and Version (b) with emphasis on Laka]

<u>[Kumulipo]</u>		<u>[Fornander, Account of the Polynesian Race; Vol. 1: 181ff]</u>			
Li'aikuhonua	Keakahulihonua	Kumuhonua	Lalohonua (a)	Kumuhonua	Lalohonua (b)
<u>Laka 1</u>	Kapapaialaka	<u>Laka</u>	<u>Papaialaka</u>	Kapili	Nohinohinohele
Kamooalewa	<u>Lepuukahonua</u>	Kamooalewa	<u>Olepuuhonua</u>	Kawakahiko	Luhiluhifeleae
Maluapo	<u>Laweakeao</u>	Maluapo	<u>Laweao</u>	Kawakupua	Kahikoolupa
<u>Kinilauemano</u>	<u>Upalu</u>	<u>Kinilauamano</u>	<u>UPOLU</u>	Kahikoleihonua	Nahaeikua
Halo	Kinilauewalu	Halo	Kiniewalu	Keakenui	Kalanihoohonua
Kamanookalani	Kalanianoho	Kamanolani	Kalanianoho	Keakenui	Kalanihoohonua
Kamakaokalani	Kahuaokalani	Kamakaokalani	Kamoolani	Keolaimaolinaakane	Muolani
Keohookalani	Kamaookalani	<u>Kaleilani</u>	<u>Opuahiki</u>	<u>Kaleilani</u>	<u>Apaiki</u>
<u>Kaleiokalani</u>	<u>Kapu'ohiki</u>	<u>Kalalii</u>	<u>Keaomelemele</u>	<u>Kalalii</u>	<u>Keaomelemele</u>
<u>Kalalii'i</u>	<u>Keaomele</u>	Haule	Loa'io	<u>LALOOKONA</u>	Kamoleaniani
Malakupua	Keaoaalani	<u>Iminanea</u>	<u>Imiwalea</u>	<u>Hoonanea</u>	<u>Hoowalea</u>
Ha'ule	Loa'a	Nuu, Kaiakahinalii		Nuu, Kaiakahinalii	
<u>Namea</u>	<u>Walea</u>			Naluakua	Kaaliakea
Nanau'u	Lalohana			Naeheehelani	Kawowoilanihikimoe
<u>LALOKONA</u>	Lalohoaniani			Kahakuimokulei	Kekaiholana
Honuapoiluna	Honuailalo			Kekailei	Nalulei
Pokinikini	Polelehu			Kahakulani	Moeanailalo
Pomanomano	Pohako'iko'i			Heleikahiki	Hooneeneekahikina
Kupukupuanu'u	Kupukupualani			Kanoelohikina	Halapoloa
Kamoleokahonua	Keaaokahonua			Heleikamooloa	Kaweheaa
Paiaalani	Kanikekoa			Keauapaapaa	Keaulaelae
Hemoku	Pana'ina'i			<u>Luanu'u/ Kanehoalani</u>	Me'ehiwa (etc.)
Makulu	Hi'ona		Kalanimenehune, Kunawao		Kamolehikinakuahine
Milipomea	Hanahanaiau		Kaimipukaku, Kinilauamano		Kahooluhikupaa
Ho'okumukapo	Ho'ao		Newenewemaolinaikahikiku		Nowelohikina
Lukahakona	Niaulani			Kaokaokalani	Hehakamoku
<u>Kupulanakehau</u>	<u>Kahikoluamea</u>			Anianiku	Kekaipahola
<u>Paupaniakea</u>	<u>Papa/Haumea</u>	[Pola'a, 815 generations]		<u>Anianikalani</u>	<u>Kameenuihikina</u>
Ho'ohokukalani	Wakea	[816 gen.]		* <u>Hawaiiloa</u>	<u>Hualalai</u>
Haloa	Huhune	[816 gen.]		Oahu	Kunuiiaikeakua
Hinanalo	Haunu'u			Kunuiakea	Kahikiwalea
Nanakehili	Haulani			Keliialia	Kahikialii

[8 generation discrepancy]

Kemilia	Polohainalii
Keliiku, Eleeleualani	md. Kaoepealii
Kukalaniehu	Kahakauakoko
<u>Papanuihanaumoku Wakea</u>	
Ho'ohokukalani	Wakea
Haloa	Hinamanouluae
Waia	Huhune

Fornander's insistence that the Nanaulu genealogy was "more reliable" than the Ulu line bears out, somewhat, although the Ulu is more trustworthy in number of generations from Wakea. How, then, is the Nanaulu genealogy "more reliable" ?

Significant is the Kumuhonua-Lalohonua (b) version attesting to descent from Laka, *an earlier Laka* (perhaps the true Laka) attested to in the Kumulipo-Liaikuhonua line [Wa 14 line 1815] and the Kumuhonua-Lalohonua [Fornander, Version (a) above], *before Maui-akalana* [Kumulipo, Wa 15 line 2049 Maui], then Laka [i.e., son of Wahieloa, line 2061 (Beckwith)]

There are two Laka in the Kumulipo, one Laka who *before Haumea* [Wa 12 line 1734 Paliku] and *before Wakea* [Wa 14 line 1845 Liaikuhonua], then, another Laka *after Wakea* [Wa 16 line 206 [i.e., after Ulu, Maui, Hema].

The Kumulipo keeps these identities separate: Kapili, son of Ahukai, son of Kumuhonua [line 1716 Beckwith]; Laka, son of Li'aikuhonua [line 1815 Beckwith].

Of significance is agreement between the Kumulipo-Liaikuhonua genealogy and Fornander Kumuhonua-Lalohonua [Version (a)] including *Kinilauamano after Laka* [Kumulipo + Fornander Version (a)], versus agreement between Kumulipo-Kumuhonua genealogy and Fornander Kumuhonua-Lalohonua [Version (b)] change to *Kapili*, (same as *Laka*) representing, on one hand, descent to Wakea [Liaikuhonua/Laka], and on the other, descent to Haumea/Papa. However, nowhere in the Kumulipo are these identities the same, i.e., Kapili is Laka. They are kept separate.

Fornander identified Kumuhonua's son as *Laka, also Kapili*. Dubious and confusing though these effects may seem, three important names emerge on the Kumuhonua lists for persons famous in Polynesian mythology and legend: *Luanu'u, Kinilau, and Laka*. The Luanu'u genealogy, excised from the Kumulipo text (Kalakaua version, i.e., Beckwith translation), comes from the original Kumulipo *papa helu* written by David Malo at Lahainaluna, presented here in full.

Alternative Heroic Emphasis in *koihonua* Kumuhonua

To repeat: Three important names emerge on the lists of the Kumuhonua genealogy. They are persons famous in Polynesian mythology and legend:
(1) *Luanu'u*, (2) *Kinilau*, and (3) *Laka*.

1. *Luanu'u*

We have already met him, but he is not the primary subject of any *koihonua* or *mele inoa* except the small fragment in the *Mele a Paku'i* (Wakea and Papa):

Papa came back from within Tahiti
Was angry and jealous of her rivals
Was wild and bad-tempered toward her
 husband, Wakea
And slept with Lua for a new husband.
Oahu-a-Lua was born
Oahu-a-Lua an island child;
One of Lua's many children.

The *Luanu'u* whom we met in the *koihonua* Papa-Wakea was a *Luanu'u* who was a contemporary of Papa-hānau-moku and *Kāne*, as well as *Kū*, and *Kanaloa*. This *Luanu'u* is not the same *Luanu'u* descended from *Laka* (son of *Wahieloa*). He could be the *Luanu'u* who was the grandfather of *Ki'i* [Ulu/Nanau genealogy], but that would mean he was a contemporary of *Wakea*. But was he?

(a) *Ruanu'u* 1 (Tahiti), in Creation Myth.

1. Genealogies of the gods:

"...Then there were born the gods, Te-muhu-muhu...and *Ruanu'u* (Source of Armies)...[Henry, Teuira, *Ancient Tahiti* (AT): 357].

2. Incarnations of gods and spirits:

"...Belonging to the genus *Ciconia* were the *otu'u* (white and slate colored varieties of stork), the shadows of *Ruanu'u* (Source of Armies) [Ibid.: 385].

3. Raising of the Sky of Rumia:

"...At last *Ru* drew up the sky, Rumia, for his king, '*Ana-iva*, the ninth of the sky (*Betelgeuse* in Orion)...*Ru* only lifted the sky, but he did not succeed in quite raising it when he became hump-backed...he got badly ruptured, so his small intestines dropped away and settled in the horizon of *Porapora* and there they became clouds which are called the *Ruanu'u-a-Ru* (Source of hosts of *Ru*) to this day [Ibid.,: 409-410]...

"...But Tane went on digging and boring, and pushing until Atea was quite detached and ascended up on high! Then Atea was free, and light came into the world...Te-fatu sent word that he would have the prestige, *Ruanu'u* sent to say he would be first..." [Ibid.: 412]

4. Tane's Voyage and Struggle with Atea:

"...Tane and *Ruanu'u* and 'Aruru, Tane's wife, with the two artisans, 'Oina and Fafa, set out on a voyage of deity...at Vava'u [Borabora] was the harbor...Vavau receded, the shoals were left behind. And Tane guided his canoe again along the land of light winds, and by way of the land of rushing tides. They sailed again by the abyss in the west, and the abyss in the east, and continued to sail from age to age, until they reached Vai-ora (Living-water) [i.e., the Milky Way] in the sky of Tane!

"Tane stood up and declared war against *Atea*... He held council with *Ruanu'u*!...'War shall now rage against...Atea...

"*Ruanu'u* answered...'Thou art angry, no doubt, O Tane, handsome son of the gods...What means hast thou to cause Atea to fall? Thou art but a lad, Tane, and Atea is a parent; he is a vigorous elder. It was Atea gave thee birth, Tane!

" [Tane]...'all that is last, possesses by Atea, shall become Tane's!... O *Ruanu'u*, do not dispirit me!" [Ibid.:455-458].

(b) *Ruanu'u* 1 (Tahiti), in canoe ceremony, Te-Pori-o-Nu'u (Bosom-of-Nu'u), Tahiti-nui, in which lies Pape'ete:

"...The canoe was well-fitted out with mat sails, flying pennants and a long steering paddle attached firmly to the stern. It was manned with images representing men, made of braided coconut leaves dressed in maro and capes and with turbans upon their heads set over cloth masks for faces, and holding paddles on each side alternately; and abundance of food was placed around them and some presents for the gods of the ocean. The priests drew the canoe out to the edge of the shoal facing the open sea, the high priest address the men in effigy suitably for the land they represented.

"...Then setting the canoe before the wind, the high priest said as it sailed away:

"...Behold the arriving of the gods! There comes Tane, there comes Ta'i-te-araara...there comes Te-fatu...there comes *Rua-nu'u* (Source of Armies) ...there comes *Ta'arua*-nui-tahi-tumu, *father of the gods*...there comes 'Oro..." [Henry (AT): 321-322]

(c) Ruanuku 1 (Tuamotu)

“...The creation of the universe was scarcely terminated when Tangaroa who delighted in doing evil, set fire to the highest heaven, seeking thus to destroy everything. But fortunately the fire was seen spreading by Tamarua, Oru, and *Ruanuku* (Source of Armies), who quickly ascended from the earth and extinguished the flames...[ibid.: 348-349].

(d) Luanu'u 1 (Hawaii)

015 A.D	<i>Wakea</i>
040	Ho'ohokukalani
040	Haloa
065	Waia
090	Hinanalo
115	Nanakehili
140	Wailoa

A.D. 145-600 A.D. ('Ewa, Site 3357)

165	Kio
190	Ole
215	Pupue
240	Manaku
265	Kahiko
290	Lukahakona
315	<i>Luanu'u 1</i>

(e) Luanu'u 2 (Hawaii)

740	Aikanaka
765	Hema
765	Puna
790	Kaha'i
815	Wahieloa
840	Laka
865	<i>Luanu'u 2</i>
890	Kamea
915	Pohukaina

[550 years between Luanu'u 1
and Luanu'u 2]

2. Kinilau

The next is *Kinilau*, who is not, on the whole, treated as an important ancestor in Hawaii, although he has a place in the recitations (*Kumuhonua*). No reference other than his name on the *papa helu* lists are made to him in Malo and Kamakau's work, and neither does Beckwith in her summary of Hawaiian mythology devote any discussion dealing with his place in Polynesian heritage. Fomander is the only one who does mention his importance:

"...In the Hawaiian legend of *Kumuhonua* and his descendants, we find that the Hawaiian people claim descent from the *youngest of the twelve sons of Kini-lau-a-Mano*. [APR: 1: 40]

<i>Luanu'u</i> (k)	Ahu (w) (also, Meehiwa, Hakulani, Pomaie (w))
Kunawao (k) (also Kalanimenehune (k))	Ka Mole Hikina Kuahine (w)
Kaimipukaku <i>Kahooluhi-kupaa</i> (w)	to find east (azimuth) patient steady one
(or <i>Kinilau-a-mano</i>) [Cp. Tinirau, Polynesian hero, from Samoa, who went to Tonga to seek Hina]	
Ka-hekili-paapaaina (k)	thunder storm
Ka-apaapa-nuu (k)	sky vault, zenith
Ka-apaapa-lani (k)	sky level(s), strata
Nakeke-i-lani (k)	rumbling sky, thunder
Kahiki-apaapa-nuu (k)	zenith, Tahiti
Kahiki-apaapa-lani (k)	sky levels, Tahiti
Nakolokolo-lani (k)	rumbling (as of surf or thunder)
Nakeke-honua (k)	rattling-earth (seismic, earthquake)
Ku-i-ka-ewa-lani (k)	strike/stand(s)-irregular sky
Kau-wai-o-ka-moku (k)	water(falls, sources, streams) of the district
Hoopale-honua (k)	cover/protect-earth/land (high island)
* <i>Newenewe-maolina-i-Kahiki-ku</i> (k)	
<i>Newenewe-maolina-i-Kahiki-ku</i> (k)	Nowelo-Hikina (w) Southern Cross, Tahiti-east

"...O *Kinilau-a-mano* the husband, 'O Upalu the wife '
[Chant of Kualii, in APR 2: 385].

No Kinilau, he kanaka akua, He Kaao

Kinilau, A Demigod

[G. B. Haae, Ka Hae Hawaii; July, 1860] (Translated by Malcolm Naea Chun, 1972; edited by Johnson, Rubellite K., for this text).

E ka Hae Hawaii e:

ALOHA OE: - Eia keia Kaao no Kinilau akua. I pono ia oe e hahau ma kahi hakahaka o kou opu. Penei ka moolelo:

E noho ana o Ku, kekahi kanaka kahiko loa, me kana wahine o Kane-ikapapalahoomau. Aia ko laua wahi i noho ai i luna mai o Pololu; o Papalahoomau ka inoa o ia wahi. Ua hanau mai ka Ku mau keiki, eono lakou: elua keikikane, a eha mau kaikamahine; eha keiki ano kanaka. Eia ko lakou mau inoa: Kinilau kane (he akua ia,) Olohelua kane, Maiuumaawahine, Makohilani wahine, Onohinohiaua wahine, a o Kaulanaikipokii wahine aku ka muli loa. Eia na keiki o lakou i ano akua; o Kinilau, o Maiuuma, o Makohilani, o Onohinohiaua; elua wale no kanaka maoli o ia ohana, o Olohelua me Kaulanaikipokii.

I ka wa i noho ai, a nunui na keiki, ua hele na keiki ano akua a noho iluna o Kawaikapu, i Hamakua, a me kahi pokii loa. E noho pu ana hoi keia wahine maikai o Hina kona inoa, me na makua o keia poe keiki, iluna ae o Makanikahio, o Nanaluakaua ia wahi. I ka wa i ala ae ai ko Hina hiamoe, a hele iwaho o ko lakou hale i ka wa kakahiaka nui, e ku ana o Kinilau me ka mea milimili hulali ma kona lima, he hoku ia mea milimili. I ko Hina ike ana i keia me maikai, nui kona makemake, a nonoi aku ia Kinilau, aka, a e hoopunipuni aku o Kinilau me ka hoowalewale ia Hina. Hoowalewale ia'ku la o Hina e Kinilau a iho i ka pali o Pololu; halawai laua me Olohelua. I aku o Olohelua ia Hina, "E hele ana oe i hea?" I mai o Hina, "E kii ana au i kuu mea milimili, aia i kela kanaka la, ke ahai ia'la," Hoole mai o Olohelua, "Mai kii oe, o make oe, aole ia he kanaka, he akua ia o Kinilau."

"Pehea la ka auanei e loa'i kuu mea milimili?" Alaila, aoao aku la o Olohelua ia Hina, penei: "I hele auanei oe a hiki i kahi o ua kanaka la, ea, i hea mai auanei na kaikuahine o maua ia oe e noho ma kahi maikai ea, mai ae oe, i i mai ia oe e ai, mai ai oe, i i mai ia oe e moe pu ea, mai moe oe o make auanei oe: Aka, ina i olelo mai kuu wahi kaikuahine uuku ia oe, oia o Kaulanaikipokii ea, e hoolohe oe i kana mau olelo a pau loa. Oia kou me e ola'i," I aku la o Hina, "E aho o kua no ke hele, i kane oe na'u; a i wahine hoi au nau." Ua hele pu iho la laua. Ia laua nei i hele pu ai, pii ae la laua nei a hiki aku la iluna o Kawaikapu, i kahi o Kinilau me na kaikoeko. Ike ma la lakou la ia laua nei, heahea mai la, "He - mai - he -mai - ooe mai la ia, maanei ma kahi maikai e noho ai;" aole keia i ae aku; i mai la lakou la e ai, aole no keia ae aku, i mai la lakou la e moe pu, aole no keia i ae aku.

To the Hae Hawaii:

Greetings: - This is a tale about the god, *Kinilau*. It should be taken to satisfy the "groanings of your stomach". The legend is as follows:

Ku was a very old man living with his wife, Kaneikapalahoomau. They lived above Pololu, at a place called Papalahoomau. There were six children born unto Ku: two boys and four girls. Four of these six children had human forms. They were *Kinilau* (male), Olohelua (male), Maiuumaa (female), Makohilani (female), Onohinohiana (female) and Kaulanaikipoki'i (female) who was the youngest. Kinilau, Maiuumaa, Makohilani'i, and Onohinohiana were also gods. Olohelua and Kaulanaikipokii were the only real humans.

When the children grew up, the ones who were gods left to live about Kawaikapu in the Hamakua area with a younger relative. There was a beautiful woman named Hina who lived with the parents of these children above Mekanikahio and Nanalukaua. When Hina awoke, the rest had gone out of the house early in the morning. Kinilau was standing outside with a glittering toy in his hand. It was a star. When Hina saw this beautiful toy, she greatly desired it. She asked Kinilau for it, but he got around her (*ho'opunipuni*, to lie, deceive) and tried to fool (*ho'owalewale*, to tempt) Hina into jumping off the cliff of Pololu. Later, they met Olohelua.

"Where are you going?" said Olohelua to Hina.

"To get my toy, that man who is running away has it," said Hina.

"Don't try to get it, unless you want to die. He's not a man; *Kinilau is a god.*"

"Then, how shall I get my toy?" asked Hina.

"When you follow him and reach his home, well, our sisters will bid you to come in. But, don't accept. If they ask you to eat, don't say yes. If they ask you to lie down, don't. You'll be killed. But, if my sister talks to you, she is Kaulanaikipokii, well you must listen to everything she says to you. She'll be the one who saves you," advised Olohelua.

"It's better if you and I went as husband and wife," said Hina.

They went together, climbing up and down until they reached the home of Kinilau and his in-laws, above Kawaikapu. Kinilau and his relatives saw them and bid them welcome: "Come, come, it's you, here at this beautiful home" They did not accept. They invited them to eat. They did not accept. They asked them to come in to lie down. They did not consent.

Ahiki i ka wa e moe ai, hoi aku o Hina, a moe pu me Kaulanaikīpōkii. Kii aku la o Kaulanaikīpōkii i ka pupukanioeoe o ka nahelehele a me ka papauauhi o ke kai, (he mea hi aku) a hoopili aku la i ka papapua i na maka o Hina; a i ka pupukanioeoe hoi ma ko Hina waha, a hiamoe iho la lakou nei. Kakali mai la na kaikoeke akua o ko Hina hiamoe iho; aole e hiki, no ka wawa a me ke kani mau o ke kahuli pupukanioeoe i ka waha o Hina. Hele mai la na kaikoeke o Hina e nana, a ike iho la, "He oi ka keia o kahi wahine moe ole! Ke walaau nei no ka waha, a ke kaakaa nei no na maka." Aka, ua hiamoe loa o Hina. No ke aloha, a me ka maalea keia o Kaulanaikīpōkii i mea no Hina e ola'i.

Ke noho ia mea me ke kane i kahi o ka mea milimili ana i kii ai, a aole he loa mai; o ko laua nei ku no ia e hoi mai. O ka la keia o ka hoi alualu loa mai la na kaikuahine o Olohelua e ai ia Hina. Kokoke loa laua nei e loa, kahea mai la o Kaulanaikīpōkii mahope o laua nei, i mai la me ka leo nui, "E Olohelua e! Kopea ko lima ilalo i poopoo! Ia kope'a ana a Olohelua oia ka poopoo o na kahawai o Honopue, Honokea, Kalele, Honokaneiki, Honokanenui a me Pololu. Kou ka wahahee!

Pela no ke alualu ana, a pii laua nei iluna o Kaupe, oia o Kupehau. O Kaupe ko Kupehau inoa mua, no ke Kaupe ana o Hina me Olohelua, he inoa hou o Kupehau. Hoi mai laua nei a kukulu i ko laua nei mau hale i Pololu nei; a hana iho la i ka loko ia, ia Lokoula. Hapai ae la o Hina a hanau me he keikikane, a kapaia kona inoa o Konamaukuku. I ka wa i hanau ai, i aku o Olohelua, "E aho ma ko'u aoao e kahea'i," ho'ole loa o Hina. Pii aku la laua nei iuka o Pololu i ka mahiai maia, o Kalola ia mala maia a laua nei, ko ulu nei a hiki i keia la. I ka wa i pii ai, ao aku la na makua i ke keiki penei: "I noho oe a i puka mai he kanaka e lewalewa ana kaipuhi la ea, a e loloa ana ka lauoho la ea, i i mai ia oe e hele iwaho, mai ae oe." Ua hoi mua o Kinilau me na kaikuahine ona a noho i Hoolonopahu. Mahiai aku la laua nei, a lohe laua nei i ka nakolo o ka pahu o ka heiau o Hoolonopahu. I aku o Olohelua ia Hina, "Make hoi ke keiki a kau!" "Ke aha la," wahi a Hina. "Ke kani mai la ka pahu." Hoi mai la laua nei, ua make io o Konamaukuku. Ike mai la na kaikuahine akua o Olohelua ia Hina; i mai la ia Kaulanaikīpōkii: "E noho auanei oe, a kalua ae ia Hina i ka imu, e hele ana makou i ka heenalua," a ae aku la o Kaulanaikīpōkii ia Olohelua, "E ahai ae oe i ko wahine i o Hinamakua la. Ke i mai nei na kaikuaana o'u e kalua ia Hina i wahi mea ai no ke awakeal" Ahai aku la o Olohelua ia Hina a huna aku la io Hinamakua la, a hoi mai la.

When it was time to sleep, Hina went to lie down by Kaulanaikipokii. Kaulanaikipokii brought out a land snail from the forest and a sea shell used for *aku* fishing. She put the sea shell near Hina's eyes and the land snail near Hina's mouth. They, they went to sleep.

Hina's brothers-in-law waited for Hina to fall asleep, but she did not appear to be because it seemed as though noise and sounds came from her mouth. The *kaiko'eke* crept up to her to look at her.

"It's unbelievable, this woman doesn't go to sleep! Her mouth keeps talking, and her eyes are wide open." However, all that time Hina was really asleep. Hina was saved because of the love and cunning of Kaulanaikipokii.

Hina lived with her husband at the place where her toy was (to be) fetched, but she still had not gotten it from Kinilau. So they decided to go back. On the day of the return trip, the sisters of Olohelua followed them so they could eat Hina. They were soon very close, but Kaulanaikipokii called out after the two, saying loudly, "Olohelua, Olohelua! Dig out a pit below!"

Olohelua dug out the valley floors of Honopue, Honokea, Kalele, Honokaneiki, Honokanenui and Pololu. (What a story!).

And the pursuit continued as the two climbed above Kaupe, which is Kupehau. Kaupe was Kupehau's original name, because Hina and Olohelua were tired of wailing. By that time, Kupehau was the new name. They went back to build their home at Pololu. They also tended the fish pond called Lokoula. Later Hina became pregnant and gave birth to a son named Konamaukuku. When he was born, Olohelua said, "It's better to call him after my side of the family," but Hina refused.

They went above Pololu to cultivate bananas. Kalola was the name of their banana patch, and it still exists today. While they were climbing up, the father said to Konamaukuku: "While you are staying here, should someone appear from the sea, and also has long hair, (and) if he asks you to go outside, don't go."

Kinalu and his sisters came back to stay at Hoolonopahu. In the meantime, Olohelua and Hina were still at the farm. The two heard the beating of the drum at Hoolonopahu.

"Our son is dead!" said Olohelua to Hina.

"What!" gasped Hina.

Kii aku ia laua nei i ka pumaia, hoi mai la kalua i ka imi; oi hele lakou la i ka heenalua, mawaho au o Keawwhalau, mai ka wanaao a aui ka la, hoi mai la, me ka aeae mai e ai. Hoi mai la e hiki i ka hala, i huai kau ka hana, he puamai wale no, i nanali iho ka hana. I iho la, "E uaua hoi!"

Holo malu akula o Kaulanaikipokii e kokolo malie ana mauka aku o Kapili ia wahi. No kona kolo ana i poopoo ai o Kapili; mai loihi loa ka ia kahawai, loa e i na kaikuana, pepehi ia a make, a pau i ka ai ia. Keu ka wahahee! Imi ia'ku la o Hina a hiki io Hinamakua la, ninau aku la, "aole ia oe o Hina?" Hoole mai la kela, aole, "E kuha mai ana oe? E hooke mai ana oe i ko hupe? E ohiu ae ana oe i ke kokuli o ko pepeiao? E puhiu mai ana oe?" E kuhí ana ua poe nei ua huna ia iloko o ia mau puka. Pela oia i pakela ai i ka make..

Hoi hou mai laua a noho i Kawai ponihua nei, pii hou i ka mahi ai iuka o Kalola; ua hanau hou o Hina he keikikane, no o Kukuinoa ia keiki, aole no i ola, make hou no e like me kela mamua, paipaia na pepeiao a hooholo ia i ka loko o Lokoula. Hapai hou no a hanau mai he keikikane no, *'O Kinilau-hui* kona inoa; oia wale no kai ola no kela kahea ana o kona inoa o Kinilauhui, (o ka hui o ka wawae o Kinilau),. He hooalahala ko Kinilau no ke kahea ole ia o kona inoa, oia ka mea i make ai na keiki mua. *Alaila, hapai ae la na haku mele o ka wa kahiko mele e pili ana ia Kinilau.* (Ua hakuia no Kaupena).

“The drum sounds.”

They returned and found Konamaukuku dead.

When Olohelua’s sisters saw Hina, they said to Kaulanaikipokii, “You might as well stay and cook Hina in the oven while we go surfing.” She agreed.

Kaulanaikipokii said to Olohelua, “You must take your wife to Hinamakua. My sisters told me to cook Hina for lunch!” Olohelua took Hina to hide her at Hinamakua and came back.

Olohelua and Kaulanaikipokii went to get a banana stump and returned to cook it in the oven. The sisters went surfing outside, beyond the Keawehalau current. They stayed from sunrise to sunset and returned very hungry. When they reached the house, they dug up the oven finding a banana stump to bite upon. “How tough this is!” they said.

Meanwhile, Kaulanaikipokii had gone away quietly above Kapili, and in doing so had dug away much of Kapili, leaving it to be a very long valley. She was captured by her sisters and killed. Then she was eaten. (What a lie!).

Hina searched onward until Hinamakua. When people asked her, “Aren’t you Hina?” she denied it. “Do you spit? Blow your nose? Remove the wax from your ears? Break wind?” Then these people showed her where to hide in some of the caves. So did Hina escape being killed.

Ina and Olohelua returned to live here at Kawaiponihua. They went up again to farm above Kalola. Later Hina gave birth to another son named Kukuinoa. However, he didn’t live and died like the first son. He was deaf and ventured into the fish pond called Lokoula. Hina was again pregnant and gave birth to another son named *Kinilauhui*. Since Kinilau’s name had not been used before, the other sons were killed. Some time later, the composers of chants in the olden days created this chant referring to *Kinilau*. (Composed by Kaupena).

He Mele No Lokoula

Kaupena nui a Hainau, e Manena,
A Manena a kua lai ku i ka lani,

Nona Kaupena-he-o-koia nei,
I ka honua ka po-hakuku,
Kapeku ia e ka he kikili,
Hei luu kane lu honua,

O ke pou hiwa o Liloa,
Nana e moeaau ke koa,

Nana e hehu ka ekaha ku moana,

Maka ka mano ka lalakea
Kaluhia ka mano uluai aina,

Ua hei i Hanakamuimui
Ka ia nui o Konama(u)kuku
O Pimoe ka ia i ka eke,

O Manaiakalani ka makau

Oia, oia o Kukuinoa

Large net of Hainau, Manena,
Of Manena at the calm back of the
sky (i.e., the chief)

For whom are the sands of this place,
On the ground for stone anchors,
Splashed by winter's thunder,
Snared by Kāne-lū-honua (who dove
down (i.e., to secure the net)
[The god who ruled over earthquakes
[Malo: 83]. Lit., god (who) shakes
earth. See Kāne-lū-lū-honua, The earth-
quake-sending god; see Kāne-iā-kumu-
honua, Kāne-nui-akea. [Emerson,
(UL: 52). Lit. god (who) shakes earth;
from Johnson, Rubellite K. and Thelma
Parish, Encyclopedia of Hawaii, mss.]

The sacred black post of Liloa,
Who coursed the coral (i.e., reef fishing
grounds, *ko'a*)

Who caused the '*ekaha-kū-moana* to
be uprooted [*Antipathes grandis*,
black coral; also coralline sea-
seaweed; i.e., reef seaweed or
deep-sea fishing]

The white-tipped shark appears
The *uluai aina* shark yields
[i.e., stirred up (*ulu*), as by bait,
'*aina*, food, meal; '*ai 'āina*, to
rule, i.e., to tax]; *kāluhia*, i.e.,
made weary, fatigued (*luhi*) ;
or to vomit up, *lua'i*, as bait].

Is snared by Hanakamuimui,
The big fish of Konamaukuku,
Pimoe is the fish in the bag [i.e., of the
net; *Pimoe*, the great shark (or
ulua, son of Uluehu, that Maui
snared in hooking up the island]

Manaiakalani the fishhook [*Manai-
ka-lani-ka-makau-nui-o-Maui*,
Scorpius in the Milky Way, Maui's
fishhook]

Speared is he, named Kuku [i.e., Kona-
maukuku, son of Olohelua and
Hina]

O na kama a Olohelua

I paipaiia holo i ka wai,
Iloko o Muliwaiolena,
Lokoula, mai kapaia a Kinilau,
He kini, ka ia he mano ka ia,
Eia la k-o-nei,
Ua kino ia ua maka ia,
Ua makaia o Kaumano,
Ua paa i ka makamaka,
Ua ili aia i ka waa,
Ua komo ka waa, ua komo ka waa,
Ua komo o Kaumelimeli,
Ka waa nui olohia i ka waokele,
O Kumueli na waa o Wakea,

O kalolo a maiiau,

O Kanaloa a Muia ma,

Ma ka waa upena o ka lawaia,
Makai ka upena kuu ia,
Mauka ka upena kuu kanaka,
A hei ke kanaka o na moku eono,
O ke kuuna ia i Mokuohai,

Ka noho manini i ke awakea,
Ka opule kai ka lauli,
O kama uhu maka i kai,
I ka pauu hei i ka upena,
I ka upena a Kualono,

A ke'kua i ke poo kona malo,

E huna ana i ke ao uli,

I haha ulua'i a ia imua

Child/children of Olohelua

Encouraged to run into the water
In Muliwaiolena,
Lokoulu pond, not named by Kinilau,
So many *kini*-, (but) the fish is a shark,
Here, (whose place is) here,
Body of a fish, eyes of a fish
With eyes of a fish Kaumano appeared,
And took the friend,
Was there when the canoe ran aground,
The canoe came in, the canoe came in,
Kaumelimeli came in,
The great canoe sanded in the forest,
Kumueli, the canoe(s) of Wakea,

The *lolo* rite of neat perfection
[probably the *lolo-wa'a* ceremony
of consecrating the canoe; Malo:
129]

Kanaloa and Muia ma [Kanaloa was
invoked in the *lolo-wa'a* rite;
i.e., of the *Mū*, i.e. silent workers]

On the canoe the net of the fisherman,
In the sea the net let down,
Upshore the net lets down a man,
The man of six districts snared,
Let down at Mokuohai,
[*Mokuohai*, in Kona; but here
refers to the yellow-red blossoms
of *'ohai* in the district forest]

The *manini* fish are there at noontime
The spotted wrasse of dark fin,
The young parrotfish in the sea,
The young *ulua* fish snared in the net,
The net of Kualono [i.e., the upland
ridges where sound travels],
Of the god at the head (girds on) his
malo [the *kahuna* wears a white
loincloth in the *malo* rite]
Hidden in the sky [i.e., in the *ao uli*,
blue sky beyond cloud level]
Carries the *ulua* before him
[i.e., the *papa ulua* priest takes
the *ulua* sacrifice into the
heiau]

I kahukahu ai ke'kua
Ua ai ke 'kua a pela ka ipukai,
Ua kukuna, ua kalele,
Apapaa a ka ia i ka la,
Ua pakui i kaeaea,
I ka hohono o ka uahi moku,
O Hawaii Kahiko a Keawe,
A ka lani mano i ai ai,
Oia kai pokea iho nei,

Iloko o Lawalawaihonua,

A ka ipu hoolau makani
Ouhao ku i ka moae,
E kala no ia i miko ai,

Aia la i ka holowaa,
Ua ai ke oha me ka mauale,

Me kuenta aea ka hoopiliwale,
Me ke kanaka e o Holaniku,
O Holanimoe,

O Iwauli, o Iomea,

Ua aki ka ohua a ulu na niho,
A hiki malama ka opu,
A kuha koke i ka umauma,
A ike ole i ka puukole,

A halii ka alu, ua pelu na kuli,
Ua papa konahua, ua kea ka niho,
Puka ka ana a ka lawaia poopaa,

O ka lani nui ae aumoku,
I moku ole ka alihi,
Hono ole ka maka,

Offered to the gods,
Thus do the gods eat from the dish,
Placed upon the altar (*kū i ka lele*),
The drying of the fish in the sun,
Infusing the rising air,
The stench of smoke in the district,
Of old Hawai'i, land of Keawe,
Of the many chiefs who have eaten,
From the salt-water dish

[i.e., *ipu kai po'(o)kea*, a basin
of made of a skull holding sea
water (Malo: 167).]

In Lawalawaihonua [another name for
Hilo]

Of the gourd of many winds,
Out of which the tradewind rises,
That purifies when salted

[i.e., the *huikala* purification rite]

When there as the canoe fleet sails,
Having fed on taro shoots cleared from
the brush [*mauele*],

With the wanderings of the dependents,
The people of Holanikū
Of Holanimoe

[Names of ancestral lands]

Dark storm petrel (*'iwa* bird), reddish-
brown hawk [i.e., the *iwa* portends
a storm; the hawk symbolizes
a chief of Hawai'i, as the *'io*
hawk is found only on the island
of Hawai'i]

The small fry bite as teeth increase,
Until their stomachs are care for,
And chests expand and contract,
And the rear end is unseen
[i.e., the fish are fattened]

Flesh spreads and slackens, knees fold,
Layers of fat, teeth whitened,
Open is the cave of the fisherman of
po'opa'a [hawfish, *Cirrhitus*
pinnulatus, a good-eating fish]

The paramount chief of the districts,
Borders of which are not severed,
The beginning is not joined
[i.e., the center of the government
is of an independent sovereign
chiefdom]

I lana ka pikoi ka makua o ka lawaia,	As floats the <i>pikoi</i> [i.e., wood float attached to upper or head cord of gill nets], (a) fisherman's father,
Ka lehe ka pa o ka upena,	The lure of the net is stretched,
Ke kule ku i ke awakea,	Stays motionless at noontime,
I hoopuni no i Hopukoa,	Circles around at Hopukoa,
la la lawaia o Ku,	When Ku goes fishing,
Ma ka ia i ke hu o ka akia,	When fish rise up from the <i>akia</i> [i.e., stunned from the use of a plant that stupefies fish momentarily; <i>Wikstroemia</i> spp.]
I ka popo auhuhu wehi,	By the ball of <i>auhuhu</i> poison [i.e., <i>Tephrosia</i> spp.]
Ohi aku nei i ka lua palala,	To gather (them) at the wide cavern,
I ka lua kala i oi ka hiu,	The hole of the <i>kala</i> surgeonfish with sharp tail (that cuts),
I ka ka pewa ma ka lima,	When you take the tailfin by hand,
Ua hei aia Kahului,	Were snared at Kahului,
I hee aku nei ia lao,	When routed at 'lao
Iloko o ka pela o Kaka'e,	To the burial cave of Kaka'e
I ka paluli o Kahalukahi,	In the dark cliff of Kahalukahi [i.e., Kahalulukahi, Wailuku, Maui]
Hei ka ia i Kailapua,	The fish was snared at Kailapua,
O ka hoku o Hua, o Loe,	The star of Hua, (who wa) Loe,
O Loe o ka hoku o Hua,	Loe was the star of Hua
O kapo hanau umi nana a Kaka'e,	Kapo's tenth (?) by Kaka'e [*not clear]

[*Note: Loe (k) was the son of Ka-malu-o-Hua (Hanala'aiki genealogy, Fomander, APR: 1: 195]. Kaka'e (k) was born three generations from Loe (greatgrandfather of Kaka'e; Ka-malu-o-Hua was great-greatgrandfather of Kaka'e). Kaka'e married *Kapo-hauola* (w), whose son was Kahekili 1.

The verses above in this part of the *mele* probably refer to the defeat of Ka-malu-o-Hua by another famous *-Hua*, i., Ka-lau-nui-o-hua, high chief of Hawaii from Ka'u.

However, Ka-malu-o-Hua was probably not put to death or sacrificed by Ka-lau-nui-o-hua, because Malo [(HA): 253] states:

"...Kalaunuiohua pointed hither to Maui...and began to wage war against Kamaluohua, king of Maui; and he defeated him and added Maui to his possessions.

"...Kamaluohua was not put to death, but appointed governor of Maui under Kalaunuiohua... [Kalaunuiohua also conquered Kahakuohua of Moloka'i, likewise appointing him governor of Moloka'i]..

"...When Kalaunuiohua sailed on his campaign against Kauai to wage war upon Kukona [i.e., grandson of La'amaikahiki]...he was accompanied by Kamaluohua, *Kahakuohua*, and *Huakapouleilei*..."

O Kaka'e o ke kaele ha i ka wai,

Kaka'e the dark stem in the water,
[* Is this a reference to Ka'elehā, son of Kawelo-leimakua who had to kill his son, Ka'elehā for fighting on the side of the in-laws, or is it a reference to the dark stem of the taro, meaning another line of descent, or is it a reference to being tattooed black as to go to war, or is it a reference to the time when the chief (Kaka'e) was not yet living?]

O ka moe a Aukele i ka wai,
O Loe ka ia o ka malie kahiko,
O ka ia Haku Welonaula,

The sleep of Aukele in the stream,
Loe was the fish of ancient calm,
Whose lord was Welona'ula

[*Note: In the above line, the translation depends on whether *ia* means 'this' or 'his', or whether it is *i'a* 'fish'...as in the above line where there is no doubt as to *i'a* referring to Loe. Welona'ula, means 'red-tail' as a comet (*welo*), or a genetic family trait, *welo*. Or, it is a reference to *Welo, Welo'ula* [Johnson and Mahelona (NIH): 21, no data (n.d.); *welona a ka lā*, setting of the sun;

Cp. Wero-i-te-ninihi, Wero-i-te-Kokota (Maori); Cp. Te Kokota (Maori), the Hyades (NIH: 120); Cp. Vero-ma-Tauroru (Manihiki, Cook Is.) 'brightest of all stars' (Tuamotu), Cp. Tauroru, Belt of Orion], unidentified star(s)]

It may be an oblique reference to ancestor(s) having the root *-Naula*, in their names, e.g. *Na'ula-a-Maihea*, "...the Oahu prophet who left Oahu for Kaua'i, was upset in his canoe, and swallowed by a whale, then thrown up alive on the beach of Wailua, Kaua'i (Formander APR:1: 100);

O ka uhu lena o ka maio,

The parrotfish cut up [*Mā'i'o*, name of a star (n.d.)]

O kahala maka ueue,
Ka ia ka ola o ka honua,
O ka honua o ka moku,

The *kahala* fish that jerks away,
The fish, life of the earth,
Land of the district,

[*Note: the use of *honua* here is related to the idea of the placenta, or mother's side of the chief's and people's ancestry]

Ua hei mai la o Maui, o ke Kaalaneo,

Maui, the high chief [i.e., *ka'alaneo*, a feather cloak] snared

Kanaloa, Lanai, Molokai, ka ia,
Aia la i ka pele ku,
I na alu a ka lawaia,

Kanaloa, Lana'i, Moloka'i, the fish,
There in volcanic rock,
Where the fisherman pursues (his) quarry,

Kalawaia-e, Kalawaia-e,
Kalawaia ana o Kumuhonua,

The fisherman, the fisherman,
Kumuhonua who goes fishing,

I Luaipo o manu houli,
O ka ho mai lani,
O Luakanakamea,
O kanaka iki o ka moku,
Nana i haku ka upena,
I hikii ka pohaku ku,
Ka mole ka honua o ka upena,
E kiola ana a pa iwaho,
E paki ka pula i paa,

Ua kokoke ka ia i ka upena,
Aia i ke oka i ke-a,
Hoaho ia mai ka hale o ka ia,

Paku ia mai a paa,
Ua hei i Oahu ka makanalau,
O ke one o Kakuihewa,
O ka hu o ka makaainana,
O luna, o lalo, o uka, o kai,
Ua paa ia i ka pupu,

A luu kai, luu aholoa,
O Makuahine ka mikini,
O ka waa holo i Niihau,
Kau aku la i Pohakea,
Aia i ke awa a kahu,
O ka lawaia waa nui,
E paa aku ai ke pua,
E muku lehua'i na waa,
Ia ia ka mole ka pai o ka mau,

Kamaul! Kamaul! Kamaul, Kamaul!
Kahihi! Kahihi! Kahihi! Kahihi!
Kapaa! Kapaa! Kapaa!
Ka mau no ei

G.B. Haae, Kohala Akua, Hawaii, Iulai 12, 1860
Ka Hae Hawaii, December 12, 1860
pg. 155, col. 1-3.

Lua-ipo, dark-feathered bird
(That) the sky gave,
Lua-kanaka-mea,
Small man of the district,
Who made the net,
Who fastened it to the rock,
(At) the base of the earth the net,
Tossed until it (makes a fence) outside,
Sticks beating (the surface of the sea) to
drive the fish inside (and the net
is closed)

Close are the fish within the net,
Contained with all the dregs,
The house of the fish from which they
barely escape,
Bursting forth yet enclosed,
The many offspring snared at O'ahu,
The sands of Kakuihewa,
The overflow of the commoners,
Above, below, inland, seaward,
Fastened by the shell (i.e., a shell around
which the knot is tied),
Dove into the sea, with a long cord,
The mother was the one alert,
On the canoe that sailed to Niihau,
To rest at Pohakea,
In the bay (with a keeper)
Of big fishing canoes,
That the school of fish be secured,
The canoes swiftly stopped,
Until the bottom (is felt) to follow the beat
of *ka mau* [i.e., beating of the
paddles against the hull of the
canoe to keep time]

Continue, continue!
Netted, snared (the catch)!
Hold to the course, hold on!
Keep on going!

3. Laka

The third one is *Laka*. He's the least complicated one of the three.

A Case in Point: Polynesian Versions of Rata ~ Laka

In East Polynesia the atoll-dwelling Tuamotuans have a persistent association with Rata, such that if you visit there the children will sing for you this song. I heard it on the coral island of Vahitahi in 1961:

He vaka no Rata titohia
Kaore ana hoe
Kaore etata o Rata;

Porohia te tua tapu e,
Porohia te tua tapu e,
No Katomea te ara hihi e,
Tikotikoti ko tatou henua.

A canoe for Rata,
No paddle has he,
No bailer has Rata,

Sacred back,
Sacred back,
For Katomea the tangled pathway,
Cut up is our land (nowadays).

Beckwith's study of the Rata (cp. Laka) story in the Tuamotus yielded more versions than other places in East Polynesia. She writes:

"...The four Tuamotuan versions of the Laka story are so similar they must have come from a single source, and probably by way of Tahiti, since the locale of Laka's home is laid in North Tahiti. The land of Hiti-marama, sometimes spoken of as a land swallowed up by the sea, is in one version called Aihi [Cp. Vaihi, Hawai'i] and identified with Maka-tea or Saunders Island, seventy miles east of Tahiti...

The name of the island *Avaiki* is also present in the Rarotongan version, for which Beckwith has a summary:

“...Rata lives in the island of *Avaiki* [Cp. Savai'i (Samoa)~Hawai'i. Ra'iatea]. Va'ieroa is his father, son of Ta'aki [Cp. Tahaki~*Kaha'i*] son of 'Erna [Cp. Sema~*Hema*]. *Tairi-tokerau* [Cp. *Ko'olaukahili* (Hawaii)] is his mother. He is brought up by his grandmother *Ine-uru-o-runga* (or Tiau-tara-iti) [Cp. *Hina-ulu-ohi'a* (Hawai'i)] until the gods reveal to him that *soon after his birth his parents were swept out to sea...*

[*Note: In the Tahitian version, Vahieroa is swallowed by a giant clam while trying to rescue the chief and his family].

“...and destroyed by the sons of *Puna* (octopus, clam, etc.). He sharpens his axe by burying it overnight in the sand and when the little gods replace the tree felled for a canoe, he makes an offering to the gods Atonga and Tonga-iti-matarau and they complete for him the canoe O-tutai and tell him of the parents' fate...

“...A crew of ten men is selected for the voyage, each an expert in some art essential to managing the canoe. When *Ngana'oa* the kite flyer asks to join the party, he is refused. Twice taken in as a *floating gourd* and thrown out again he is finally accepted upon the promise to kill all the monsters on the way. This he achieves by entering their bodies *in gourd form* and stabbing their vitals; but for him all in the canoe would have been lost. At Great Fiji where Tukai-ta-manu is chief and Ina-ara-mauna his wife, he *outriddles the priest* and hence the saying:

“It was said by the young priest Kairu-mauanoke
‘Do not tempt voyagers lest you be outwitted.’”

“..He voyages to Motu-ta'ota'o and kills Te-vaine-uarei who has his mother's eyeballs.

“...Thence *he voyages to many lands*, remaining for a time at Vai-a-kura in the west of Tumu-te-varovaro [*old name for Rarotonga]. *Returning to Avaiki, he attacks Kuporo* and there his canoe is lifted and lodged in the treetops and he himself is slain by a great warrior named *Vaea*, but some say he escaped.” [Beckwith, Martha, Hawaiian Mythology (HM):

[*Note: *Vaea* is the hill on 'Upolu (Samoa) where Robert Louis Stevenson is buried and on whose grave is written the poem:

“Home is the sailor, home from the sea
And the hunter home from the hill.”]

As the story is found progressively westward, it becomes more simple, while retaining basic elements:

(1) Discovery that the father (or mother, or both parents) have been swept out by a wave and in being washed up on another island have been killed or mutilated (eyeballs scooped out);

(2) Outperforming other young males in the village by superior strength in athletic contests;

(3) Felling of a tree to make a canoe and restoration of the tree (in his absence) by woodland spirits, who come as elves (or birds);

(4) Dangers encountered on the voyage overcome by companions with special skills (i.e., the gourd wizard, Ngana'oa [cp. Nanahoa (Hawai'i)]);

(5) Swallowed by a monster of the deep and saving of others within.

A version from Vaitupu, in the Ellice Islands (north of Samoa) contains the element of the tsunami inundation of the island (Cp. Tuamotuan version, above):

"...Rata is the child of Mafieloa and *Tavini-tokelau*, born when she eats an eel to satisfy a pregnancy craving. *A tidal wave carries everyone away*, but the child is saved. He finds a house, clothing, and adz, and adapts each to his own use. A Sinota monster repeatedly erects the puka tree Rata has cut down for a canoe, until he has defeated it in wrestling. The monster Ulu-poko-fatu begs to come aboard, and accompanies and protects him from danger." [HM: 270].

The Samoan version says that Lata came from Fiji (probably the Lau group, which is a Tongan society):

"...Lata is a canoe builder who comes from Fiji, 'visited Upolo and built two large canoes at Fangaloo...At Tafagafaga on Ta'u (Manu'a group), he builds a double-canoe and sails to *Savai'i*, where a southwestern district is called *Lata*. Two hills on this island are called 'the double canoe of Lata.' From Savai'i he sails to Tonga and dies there and from him the Tongans learn to make the one-sided deckhouse after the Manu'a pattern, called *fale fa'amanu'a*. 'Steersmen in the canoe of Lata' (*Seu i le va'a o Lata*) is a title heard in Samoa in Turner's day.' [HM: 271].

In the Tongan version:

"...Lasa (Laka) prepares to make a trip to Fiji. *Haelefeke* *replaces the tree he has felled for a canoe, until on the fourth day Lasa hides and catches Haele, who then helps to build the canoe and advises his taking on board anyone whom he sees beckoning to him. Three helpful beings are taken on board in this way, a great eater, a thief, and finally Haelefeke himself [Cp. Ngana'oa (Rarotonga); Sinota/Ulu-poko-fatu (Ellice Is.)]. With their help the tests set by the demon of Fiji [Cp. *Hiti-marama* (Tuamotu)] are successfully met...The thief waits until the contestant of Fiji has filled his basket, then puts him to sleep with a charm and empties it into his own.'

The Aitutaki (Cook Islands) version of Vaiaroa [Cp. Wahieloa, father of Rata] is least complicated:

"...Vaiaroa and Tairi-tokerau, parents of *Ngana'oa* [~Ngana'oa (Rarotonga) ~ Nanahoa (Hawaii)] are lost in the land of moonlight, *Iti-te-marama* [Cp. Hiti-marama (Tuamotu), and Nganaoa joins Rata's sailing expedition to that land under promise to slay all the monsters that endanger them on the way. The parents are found braiding sennit *inside a monster whale that has swallowed them whole*" [HM: 262].

[*Note: in the Aitutaki version, Ngana'oa is a brother of Rata]

"...Rata lives in a far land called Kupolu (Ukupolu). In search of adventure he finds a heron attacked by a serpent. The tree he is cutting for a canoe for a voyage to the 'land of moonlight' returns to its place until he rescues the bird by killing the snake...then grateful seabirds deposit the completed canoe at his door. Nganaoa, refused passage, follows *in an empty gourd* and is taken into the canoe on condition that he kill all the monsters they meet on the way. These are a giant clam, an octopus, and a *whale*. Inside this last, Nganaoa finds his lost parents Tairi-tokerau and Vaiaroa sitting plaiting sennit. He builds a fire inside the whale...and leaves it to die." [HM: 270].

Commentary:

We have seen how the *mele* tradition (*mele inoa*, *mele koihonua*) treated the subject discussed above: father and son, as descendants of Ulu and Nanaulu. How does the same tradition come down as *mo'olelo* or *ka'ao*, rather than *mo'okū'auhau* or *papa helu* recitations, such as we see in various Kumuhonua genealogy lists (Fomander, Malo, Kamakau, and Kumulipo cosmogonic genealogy) with Laka intact.

Unfortunately, we only have (for the present) the summarized version of Laka given by Jonah Kaiwaaea, of Kipahulu (1930) in Thrum [Tales, 111-114, in Beckwith (HM): 263-264, published in 1940]:

"...Laka is the son of Wahieloa and Hina-haweia (Koolau-kahili or-kahiki) and is brought up by his grandmother Hina-howana in Kipahulu district on the island of Maui. As the time of his birth approaches, his father sails after a birth gift for his son, and, landing at Punalu'u in Ka-u district on Hawaii, is killed and his bones are thrown into the cave at Kaualehu guarded by old woman Kaikapu (or at the cave Makili and Makula at the cliff Kupinai). When the boys jeer at Laka *because he is fatherless he determines to seek his father's bones*.

"The tree cut down one day for the canoe, he finds restored to its place next morning. Instructed by his grandmother, he first hides and seizes the leaders of the little gods of the forest who are doing the mischief, Moku-hali'i and Kupa'aike'e who are his relatives, then 'greases the mouths of the gods' with offerings, and the gods complete the two canoes for him in a single night."

[*Note: Mokuhali'i and Kupa'aike'e are Kū gods, patron deities of canoe-makers. Kū-moku-hali'i also is the leader of the *menehune* folk who build the canoe].

"...In the morning of the night of Kane [i.e., 27th moon] he finds them standing outside his door ready to be lashed together and launched.

"...Four skilful men accompany him, father Prop (makua Poupou), to hold open the mouth of the cave, father Stretch (makua Kiko'o) to reach inside, father Torch (makua Kalama) to light the cave, and father Seeker (makua Imi) to hunt for bones. Arrived at Punalu'u they bribe the old woman to open the door by offering her a dish of soup. She tastes it and slams shut the cave door, declaring it is not salt enough. Father Reach now puts out his hand and tries the salt of various seas until the old woman is suited with that of Puna. No sooner is the door opened to take in the bowl of soup than father Prop holds it open, father Torch lights it up, father Seeker finds where the bones are lying, and father Reach stretches in an arm and brings them outside. They kill old Kaikapu and return to Maui, landing at Kaumakani. The bones, together with the canoes and the bodies of his companions, Laka deposits at Papauluana, whose entrance no man has found to this day" [HM: 263].

Every memorable trace of the voyage of Rata as known in East Polynesia, between islands, sailing with the gourd Ngana'oa (Rarotonga) and losing parents to a sea-monster or tsunami flood is gone. What remains is the cannibal woman and the faithful companions who help Laka outwit her to recover his father's bones from the burial cave, Kaualehu in Ka'u.

The indispensable motif, however, is the fallen tree restored by the *menehune* gods, Kū-moku-hāl'i'i and Kū-pa'ai-ke'e, the former a chief of the *menehune* and the latter, god of the swivel adz. [*Note: only two places in Polynesia have the swivel adz: Hawaii and Mangaia (Cook Islands)].

Retained, however, is the name Laka's mother *Ko'olau-kahili* (or Hina-haweā). This particular name, a maternal factor, is an important facet of the *mo'okū'auhau* introduction before the telling of the *mo'olelo* (tradition, regarded as factual) or *ka'ao* (tale, regarded as fictional).

On that level of distribution of the Lasa/Lata (Tonga, Samoa), Lata/Rata (East Polynesia) story, how persistent is a *personal name* on the maternal side of the hero in both the *mele koihonua* and *mo'olelo/ka'ao*?

Consider:

Hawai'i	Ko'olau-kahili Ko'olau-kahiki	(or, Hina-hawea) [mother] (<u>Hina-howana</u>) [grandmother]
Rarotonga	Tairiri-tokerau [mother]	<u>Ine-uru-o-runga</u> [grandmother] <u>Tiau-tara-iti</u> [grandmother]
Maori (N. Z.)	Matoka-rau-tawhiri	(or, <u>Hine-tua-hoanga</u>) [mother, or grandmother] [Cp. Hawai'i, above]
Tahiti	Maemae-a-rohi [mother]	
Tuamotus	Tahiti-to'erau Tairiri-tokerau	[mother] (or Matamata-taua) [mother] Ui-ura [grandmother] Kuhi~ Kui [grandmother] <u>Ine-uru-o-runga</u> [grandmother] <u>Tiau-tara-iti</u> [grandmother] [Cp. Rarotonga (above)]
Marquesas	Tahi'i-tokoau [mother]	Tu-a-hoana (?)
Ellice Islands	Tavini-tokelau [mother]	

Does it matter that as far west as the *Ellice Islands* (north of Samoa) the mother's identity, *Tavini-tokelau*, is important if it is retained as *Ko'olau-kahili* in Hawaii, with related forms in Rarotonga, New Zealand, Tuamotus, and Marquesas, or that grandmother *'Ine-uru-o-runga* (Rarotonga) and *'Ine-uru-o-runga* (Tuamotus) are not only the same but continue into the root of her Hawaiian name as *Hina-ulu-ohi'a* (Hawai'i). Then, consider this trait as one retained in the *papa helu* generation count and recitations of the Ulu-Hema (Paliku, Kumuhonua) genealogy [Fornander versions and Kumulipo]:

Kaha'i	<u>Hina-ulu-ohi'a</u>	[grandmother]
Wahieloa	Ko'olaukahili	[mother]
Laka	Hikawaelena	
Luanu'u		

How does this explain the lack of equivalent emphasis in versions from 'Aituaki, Samoa, and Tonga? In these versions the canoe construction and voyage are basically retained, but in what context are they told, and how do they relate to other versions?

Consider:

<u>Version</u>	<u>geophysical event/ swallowing</u> (how parents die/detained)	<u>location</u>
Tuamotu	tsunami (or, parents are sacrificed)	<u>Hiti-marama</u> <u>'Aihi</u> [Makatea Is.] Kororopo (mother taken there)
Rarotonga	tsunami (or river flood)	<u>'Awaiki</u> (Savai'i, Samoa) [Laka goes to Kupolo, Great-Fiji]
Ellice Is.	tsunami	-
'Aitutaki (Cook Is.)	[swallowed by giant clam, octopus, whale]	<u>'Iti-marama</u> [Laka lives in Kupolu]
Tahiti	[swallowed by giant clam]	<u>Hiti-marama</u>
Pukapuka (Cook Is.) -		<u>Witi</u> [Lata is from Samoa]
Samoa	-	[Lata is from <u>Fiji, sails to Savai'i</u> and Tonga]
Tonga	-	[Lasa sails to <u>Fiji</u>]
Hawai'i	[burial cave]	Ka'u [Cp. Ta'u, Manu'a group] [Laka is from Kipahulu, Maui] [Laka sails to Ka'u, Hawai'i]

Finally, the demon, wizard (priest) and useful tool (other than the adz) is another persistent group of elements in the action of the story:

<u>Version</u>	<u>demon</u>	<u>forest-dwellers</u>	<u>wizard</u>	<u>object</u>
Maori	Natukutakotako Matuku (heron) Whiti Kiroe-roa (rat) Kiore-roa (rat)	little people roro-tini (insects) pona-ua pona-turi (birds)	Whakaiho-rangi (priest) Apakura, expert (protection)	
<u>Version</u>	<u>demon</u>	<u>forest-dwellers</u>	<u>wizard</u>	<u>object</u>
Tahiti	Matutu-ta'ota'o Four 'Iore [rat brothers of Rata]	little people	warriors (all named Matua; [Cp. Kipahulu version Makua-]	
Tuamotu	Matutu-ta'ota'o Matuku-tangotango Matu'u Ngana-heke (demon octopus)	spirits [leaders, To'ahiti, Tava'a]	(helped by Tava'a, on journey)	
Rarotonga	-	spirits [Atonga, Tonga-iti-matarau]	<i>Ngana'oa</i> ; as floating gourd [<i>ue kura</i>]	
Marquesas	-	gods [Hope-ou-toi, <i>Motu-haiki</i> ; Cp. <i>Kūmokuhalii</i> (Hawaii)]		
Aitutaki	heron and serpent [Rata saves the heron] [Rata builds a fire inside the whale]	grateful seabirds	<i>Ngana'oa</i> (brother of Rata); as floating gourd	
Ellice Is.	Sinota (monster)		Ulu-poko-fatu	
Pukapuka	Hinata (rival magician)		-	
Samoa	-	-	-	
Tonga	demon of Fiji	eater, thief, Haelefeke	Haelefeke	
Hawai'i	cannibal woman	woodland menehune [Kumokuhalii, Kupa'aik'e'e]	Four skilled <i>makua</i> (men)	

Now that these elements have been all accounted for, in the etymological analysis of nomenclature, (personal and place names) where did the story originate?

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) tsunami (or river flood) | <i>Ellice Islands, Rarotonga, Tuamotu</i> |
| (b) swallowed by sea monster | 'Aitutaki, Tahiti |
| (c) demon bird
(heron vs. snake) | Tuamotu, Tahiti
Cook Is., Tuamotus |
| (d) demon clam
(reef animal)
(whale, octopus) | Ellice Is., Pukapuka (Sinota, Hinata);
[Cp. <i>fiŋgota, fangota</i> , clam]
Tonga, Aitutaki |
| (e) helpful birds (forest-dwellers).
insects and gods | Maori, Tahiti, Marquesas, Hawai'i |
| (f) gourd wizard (brother/priest) | Aitutaki, Rarotonga; <i>Ngana'oa</i> |

Is it a significant detail that the Polynesian Rata story from the Ellice Islands, Rarotonga, and Tuamotu islands relate the death of his parents from a *tsunami* (or river flood), and is it significant that when Rata goes to retrieve his parents from a *swallowing, as by a sea monster*, that in Rarotonga and 'Aitutaki (Cook Islands) Rata's voyage is assisted by a wizard priest (*Ngana'oa*) who goes into and is retrieved from the sea as a gourd calabash (*'ue kura*)?

Secondly, is it significant that in at least two of these places where a tsunami and clam (or other sea-creature) swallowing takes place, the only way that Rata can go through the "second swallowing" is to take with him a person he does not want, and in at least one version ('Aitutaki, Cook Is.) is his own brother, *Ngana'oa*, son of Vaialoa?

Is it significant that this "wizard-priest brother" travels with him as a voice calling from a gourd floating on the sea outside the canoe, a warning voice?

There are two kinds of "helpers" in the Rata story: forest-dwelling spirits as woodland birds and insects, or little people (*menehune*) and their canoe-making gods who first replace the damaged tree and later deliver a finished canoe. The woodland sprites merely interfere with him until they are placated. The real demon is yet to be faced. Is the giant tridacna clam, representing the "hinge" of the horizon, an analogue for being swallowed up by the unknown beyond the visible horizon where the upper and lower "jaws" of the monster are attached?

Who is *Ngana'oa* the man, and *Ngana'oa* the voice from the gourd calabash outside the canoe, which inside is no more than a gourd bailer, the *'etata*:

Kaore 'etata o Rata.
Rata has no gourd bailer.
[Children's song, Vahitahi, Tuamotu].

Commentary:

When the summaries of Rata legends were done by Beckwith [1940] or retold by Padraic Colum ["The Canoe of Rata or Laka and Those Who Sailed In It", in Legends of Hawaii, 1937: 77-83], it was reorganized to please modern audiences and made suitable for children to enjoy. For example:

Everytime Rata retrieved the floating gourd of Ngana'oa from the sea and from which the wizard (priest) spoke, all Rata saw within the gourd were the "*gleaming eyes of Ngana'oa*." What was the hero looking at?

When one goes on a visit to Moloka'i to see *Nanahoa*, what is the name of the rock? *Ka-ule-o-Nanahoa*, [from *ule*, phallus]. There is a spire on the Hakipu'u side of Kualoa that is another *Ule-o-Nanahoa*. Are they alike? No. The one on Moloka'i is carved so that it is a turtle, and the phallic part, the turtle's neck. Below the hill is a companion male stone and a female rock. No one knows what these things mean now nor who made them or when.

If the "*gleaming eyes*" of *Ngana'oa* are reflected in the gourd calabash when water is in it, what Rata saw was a reflection of the sky in the mirror. If there was more than one eye in the reflecting basin, then he was looking at a reflection of the night sky, because in daylight there would be only one eye, the sun. If stars, which ones?

The name for a first-magnitude star in Taurus like *Ka-ule-o-Nanahoa* comes from the Caroline Islands (Micronesia) for *Aldebaran: Daan, UI, Un, Uun, Wuun* (Carolines):

"...Aldebaran is from Al Dabaran, the Follower, i.e, of the Pleiades; originally this name was given to the Hyades and the lunar mansions: in the constellation of the Bull, Taurus. It was one of the four royal stars, or Guardians of the Sky, or Persia, 5000 years ago, when it marked the vernal equinox [Johnson and Mahelona, Na Inoa Hoku (NIH), 1975: 122].

The asterism of *Ngana'oa* [Cp. *Nanahoa* (Hawaii) is not only a phallic configuration within Taurus, although a primary form. It is an "oven" [*'oma* (Hawai'i) ~

koma (Mangaia) in which people were sacrificed from the clan of Tāne (Ngati-Tane, Mangaia) and a coral adz [‘*oma* (Hawaii) ~*koma* (Maori, Cook Is.). *Ka-oma-aikū*. The-adz-of-’Aiku. All of these configurations are applicable to the set of five stars in the asterism, *Hyades*, or “face” of the Bull in the “horns” of Taurus).

A *Ngana-* star is a “pillar star”, or ‘*Ana* star in Tahiti used by navigators for zenith and horizon navigation stars called *Tauira* in Rarotonga [Cp. *kaui* (Hawaii)]. In Hawai’i these are called *Pou*, or “pillar” stars, stars holding up the “ridgepole of the sacred house of god” (*Kaupoku o ka hale o ke akua*), synonymous with meridian (or longitude), i.e., when such stars transit the local meridian.

When the sun does that during the day, it’s the noon-day sun, and if you had no clock to tell the exact time you would know when it passed the zenith from east to west because the shadow would change its direction (around a pole or other object) from west to east.

In the morning, the shadow cast is west of the pole, and after the stroke of noon veers opposite, east of the pole. Rainbows do the same thing. In the morning, they are opposite the sun, in the west. Toward evening they are in the east, opposite the sun. (The shadows also move north or south, but that is a subject for another time).

For the moment, we must understand Rata’s wizard, *Ngana’oa*, as a priest who “flew kites” (like Maui) and sang songs. Does it matter that he was Wahieloa’s other son? That is only suggested in the Rarotongian version, when he says that he sings to “Our mother”.

The Tahitian ‘*Ana* ~ *Ngana-* pillar stars are in a series from north to south in the Polynesian compass.

For Aldebaran as *Un(u)* [Kapingamarangi, outlier in the Carolines]:

“...Polynesia: ‘*Ana*-muri, ‘*Aumea* [Cp. *Haumea* (Hawaii), *Kao-ma-Aiku* (Hawaii), *Tairio-aitu* (Tahiti), *Un(u)* (Kapingamarangi)” [ibid.: 122]

The Tahitian system identified ten “pillar” (‘*Ana*) stars [underlined below].

‘Ana-ni’a Polaris (Tahiti), in Ursa Major.

‘Ana-tipu Dubhe, in Ursa Major (Tahiti)

Ngana	Castor and Pollux (Gemini) [Tuamotu] [Cp. Nana-mua, Nana-hope in Na Mahoe or Na-Mahana 'The-Twins' (Hawaii), Castor and Pollux, in Gemini]
<u>'Ana-tahu'a-ta'ata-metua</u>	Arcturus (Tahiti) in Bootes; Cp. Hokule'a (Hawaii).
<u>'Ana-muri</u> Ngana-muri	Aldebaran in Taurus (Tahiti) [Henry (AT): 361]. Unidentified (Tuamotu); [Cp. 'Ana-muri (Tahiti), Aldebaran]
<u>Unu</u>	Aldebaran (Kapingamarangi in Caroline Is.) [Cp. Ul, Un, Uun (Carolines); Ule-o-Nanahoa (Hawai'i)?] [Ka-nuku-o-kapuahi, opening to the oven (Hawai'i)] [Ka-orna-aiku, the oven (or adz) or Aiku (Hawai'i)]
<u>'Ana-roto</u>	Regulus (Tahiti) in Leo [Henry, AT: 174]
<u>'Ana-varu</u>	Betelgeuse, in Orion (Tahiti) [Henry (At): 362]
[Equator]-----	
<u>'Ana-tahu'a-vahine-oto'a-te-manava</u>	Procyon (Tahiti), in Canis Minor
<u>'Ana-roto</u>	Spica (Tahiti) in Virgo [AT: 361] also called Mariua [Cp. Maliu (Hawaii)]
<u>'Ana-heuheu-po</u> Ngana-heuheu	Alphard, Cor Hydra (Tahiti) Cp. 'Ana-heuheu (Tahiti), Alphard, Cor Hydra Cp. Seu (Carolines), Corona Borealis
<u>'Ana-mua</u> ['Ana-hoa]	Antares in Scorpius (Tahiti) <i>Antares</i> in Scorpius (Tahiti) [Henry (AT): 361] [Cp. <i>Ngana'oa</i> ~ <i>Nanahoa</i> (?), Cook Islands + Hawaii]
Ngana-tua-rau	(unidentified, Tuamotu), a planet, one of Rata's two ships.
<u>'Ana'iva</u>	Phact, in Columba (Tahiti);]also: Zubeneshumali. (beta Librae) (Tahiti) [Henry (AT): 174]; Cp. Betelegeuse (Tahiti) [ibid.: 174] (also 'Ana-varu, Betelgeuse [ibid.: 174] [*Note: some confusion exists].

"...The pillars (Te Poupou) of the sky, Rumia have become great twinkling stars ('ana 'amo'amo) in the heavens: 'Anamua (Front Aster, Antares in Scorpio is the entrance pillar of the dome of the sky (te 'apu o te ra'i), that is 'Anahoa." [Henry, Teuira, Ancient Tahiti, 1928: 361].

Why are two stars in prominent constellations *Ngana-oa*, Aldebaran [Hyades in Taurus (Rarotonga)] ~ *'Ana-hoa*, Antares [alpha in Scorpius (Tahiti)] identified by one star name in Polynesia?

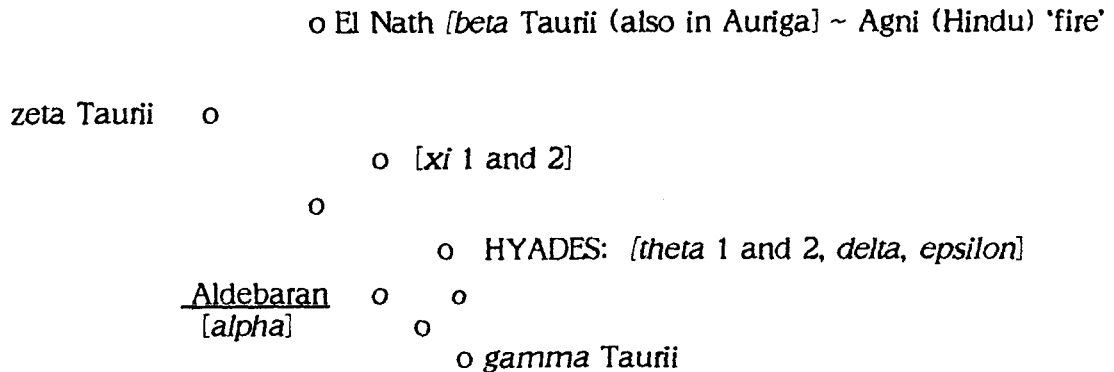
Regarding Aldebaran:

“...Flammarion has assigned to it the Hebrew Aleph that we have seen for Taurus, rendering it God’s Eye; and Aben Ezra identified it with the biblical Kimāh, probably in connection with all the Hyades and as being *directly opposed on the sphere to K e s i l which he claimed for Antares*” [Allen, Richard H., Star Names. Their Lore and Meaning: 1963: 385].

The letter A in the alphabet represented the head of Taurus, the basis of which was the first-magnitude star (alpha), Aldebaran. The sound /a/ in Hawaiian, represented as /wā/ is the first human vowel sound which a child at birth, taking its first breath, represents the beginning, i.e, alpha, and the last sound, closing of the mouth in silence was /mu/, the omega, ending. The combination of these vowels sounds, the alpha and omega in Sanskrit was also the sacred syllable *a-u-m*, represented as *Om ~ Aum* in recitations of the ancient Rg-Veda verses.

The asterism of the head and horns (*Ka-ule-o-Nanahoa, Un~Ui*) is larger than the Hyades, in which six stars mark the face of the Bull: *alpha (Aldebaran), gamma, theta 1, theta 2, delta and epsilon*. In the extended horns, upward from the head, at the tips, are four more bright stars: *beta (El Nath)*, in the tip of the northern horn; *zeta*, in the tip of the lower horn, *xi 1* and *xi 2* in the left eye and ear.

Exercise: Connect the dots, leaving the space between the “horn” tips unconnected.



Ka-oma-aiku [oven/adz of Aiku, ancestor]
 Ngana-(h)oa: Aldebaran (alpha Taurii)
 Cp. Ka-ule-o-Nanahoa (Hawai’i)
 U(n)u (Kapingmarangi), Ul, Uun (Carolines)

Do we suppose that *Ngana’oa* was a spirit voice of a wizard brother, coming from the ‘*ue kura*’ gourd? Otherwise, *Ka-ule-o-Nanahoa* is no more than a rock formation on the northern high ground of Moloka’i and eastern cliffs of Hakipu’u, O’ahu. The rock has two companions, a male and female stone, below the place where it sits, mute markers silent about their past. Who gave them their names, and why?

There is a supporting tradition in the story of Paka’a, to whom the wind calabash *Ipu-makani-a-La’amaomao* [Cp. *Rakamaomao*, god of winds (Rarotonga); Cp. *La’amaomao*, god of war (Samoa); *La’amaomao*, Mo’ikeha’s companion, who had with him aboard the canoe the *Ipu-makani-a-La’amaomao*] was given to him by his mother (La’amaomao). The wind-gourd came with Mo’ikeha (in the migration period, after Laka) with his companion, La’amaomao, who called forth the winds when there was none or called them back into the gourd when there was too much.

What kind of gourd calabash was it? It was a small gourd within a larger *hokeo* gourd trunk. In the smaller gourd, the *ipu makani*, were the bones of Paka’a’s grandmother. Who was she, from whom, apparently, the *ipu makani* had come down to her daughter, La’amaomao? Hers is just a name in a story, like Nanahoa, a voice from a gourd of interred bones whispering on the wind, keeping demons of doubt from overpowering inexperienced young men who know not what lies beyond the horizon.

Class Reading [Adapted from Savage, Stephen, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IX, 1910: 142-168, "The Rarotongan Version of the Story of Rata"]

[Parts: 14]

Narrator (1)	Vaieroa	(father)
Narrator (2)	Tairiiri-tokerau	(mother)
Narrator (3)	'Ine-nui-o-runga	(grandmother)
Narrator (4)	Rara	(grandson)
	Kokopu	(fish)
	Koura	(lobster)
	Pupu	(eel)
	Kavei	(eel)
	Atonga	(god)
	Tongaiti-matarau	(god)

Narrator (1): Va'ieroa (Wahieloa) and his wife, Ta'iriri-iri-tokerau (Kahilihili-Ko'olau) lived on the island of 'Avaiki* and after a while Tairiiri-tokerau became pregnant. [*Avaiki ~ Savai'i, Samoa].

Tairiiri-tokerau: O Vaieroa, my husband, I have a great craving for something to eat..

Vaieroa: Now, what could that be? Something from the garden? Something sweet?

Tairiiri-tokerau: No. I crave something from the sea, something from the stream.

Vaieroa: What could that be?

Tairiiri-tokerau: A repast of eels.

Vaieroa: It's that child you're carrying. Hungry all the time. Eels! You're making work for me.

Narrator (2): So Vaieroa set to work making hooks to catch freshwater eels from the stream and salt-water eels from the sea, so as to satisfy his wife's constant longing.

Narrator (3): Freshwater *kokopu* fish and *koura* lobster, who made their home where the stream ran into the sea said to their brothers, who were eels:

Kokopu ('o'opu): Listen, O our brothers, Pupu and Kavei, don't go about with your mouths open. Keep them closed. Vaieroa and Tairiiri-tokerau are preparing hooks and line to catch you."

Kavei: Oh, never mind. What they let down to us we'll eat. They can't catch us.
Pupu: We'll break their hooks!
Koura: All right, don't say we didn't warn you.

Narrator (4): And, having warned their brothers, Kokopu and Koura disappeared among the mangrove roots growing from the bottom of the stream. Soon Vaieroa and Tairiiri-tokerau came to cast their lines with baited hooks into the stream. The eels swallowed the hooks and began to struggle to get free.

Narrator (1) The sisters called out from their hiding place:

Kokopu: We told you so.
Koura: That's what happens when you boast, O our brothers!
Kokopu: Not listening to our advice.
Koura: Now, break the hooks!
Kokopu: Else you become food for that man's wife!

Narrator (2) Pupu and Kavei were landed and soon dispatched, cooked, and eaten. Some time after this, Vaieroa's wife gave birth to a son, and the parents called him Rata.

Narrator (3) Things in general went on smoothly until one day the parents noticed that a skin disease had broken out on the child Rata--a *maera* rash that infects the groin. So the whole family, together with the grandmother of the child, went to the sea, at the mouth of a large river, to get a seaweed which was the only kind of remedy for this disease.

Narrator (4): When they reached the place, Vaieroa and Tairiiri-tokerau left Rata the child in the care of his grandmother. They were at some distance out on the rocks and procured a quantity of the seaweed. They brought it to the grandmother, who applied some to the rash, and Vaieroa and Tairiiri went back for some more.

Narrator (1): Heavy rains began to fall on the mountains inland, and a great and sudden flood swept Vaieroa and his wife to sea before they could reach a place of safety. There they perished, their bodies devoured by the sons of Puna who were sea-monsters: Eke the Octopus, Paua the Clam, Mango the Shark, and Aku the Swordfish, giants in the sea.

Narrator (2): The grandmother waited for some time in the hope that Rata's parents would return, but after a long while, she knew that her son and his wife were dead. Taking the child and the remaining seaweed she went home and there nourished the child until he grew up to be a man.

Rata: Grandmother 'Ine, where are my parents?

'Ine-nui-o-runga: You have no parents.

Rata: What happened to them?

Kui: Your parents, drowned in a flood that swept them away, Only you and I are left.

Rata: Maybe they were taken to another land.

Kui: So, what are you thinking to do?

Rata: To build a canoe, Grandmother 'Ine. Do we have an adz?

Kui: Over there, grandson, your father's adz. See for yourself what a mighty adz it is.

Rata: Grandmother 'Ine, I can't do anything with this adz. The cutting edge is broken.

'Ine-nui: Then take it down to the beach, bury the broken head in the sand, leave it there until tomorrow morning, then go back and bring it home."

Narrator (3): Rata did as he had been directed. In the morning he went to get the adz and found to his great surprise that it was perfect.

Rata: Grandmother 'Ine, I am now going to make a canoe.

'Ine-nui: And where does my grandson wish to go?

Rata: In search of my parents, Vaieroa and Tairiiri-tokerau.

Narrator (3): Rata then departed to the forest to search for a suitable tree. When he thought he had found it, he set to work to cut it down. By then, the day was over. He left the tree where it had fallen and went home. When he went back the next day, he found the tree standing in its original position. He cut it down again, and returned home. The next day the same thing happened. He cut it down again and returned home.

Ine-nui: Rata, my grandson, how is your canoe progressing?

Rata: I cut the tree down yesterday and left it where it fell. When I went back today I found the tree back where it was, as though I had never cut it down.

'Ine-nui: Now, grandson, when you return tomorrow, if you find the tree standing up again, cut it down, and after it falls, cut off the top part of the tree. Should night overtake you, don't come home. Hide under the top branches that you have cut off and watch for whom restores the tree to what it was.

Narrator (4) Rata listened to his grandmother's instructions and took them to heart. The next day he returned to the forest. The tree was standing up again! He cut it down, cut off the top part of the tree and commenced to hollow out the log. It was not yet night, and Rata hid under the branches. As the night wore on, a host of gods approached like the rush of a mighty wind, scattering debris in all directions. When they reached the spot where the tree had been cut down, they were about to restore the tree to its former state when Rata sprang out from his hiding place and chased them away. From place to place he ran, and all he heard was their cry: "E utu, e utu!" In despair he went home.

Ine-nui: Rata, my grandson, how is your canoe progressing?"

Rata: I did what you told me to do, and the gods came at night like the rush of a mighty wind, and I chased them away. They disappeared but I heard them crying: "E utu, e utu."

'Ine-nui: Tomorrow morning you must cook a lot of food for a feast and offer it to the gods Atonga and Tongaiti-matarau.

Narrator (1) Rata did as he had been told, preparing the food and cooking it in the oven. When it was opened Rata offered the food to Atonga and Tongaiti-matarau. He returned to the forest, cut down the tree, and hid under the branches. He had not been there long when Atonga and Tongaiti-matarau appeared. They called to the tree to resume its natural state and position:

Atonga: "Piri mai, piri mai taku maieti, taku maieta,--
Tu, tu re rau tu."
"Join together, come together,
My beloved, my cherished ones--
Rejoin your parents, O leaves."

Narrator (1): The fallen tree did not respond to the command, so the gods again called out:

Tongaiti-matarau: "Piri mai, piri mai taku maieti, taku maieta,--
Tu, tu te rau tu."
"Join together, come together,
My beloved, my cherished ones--
Rejoin your parents, O leaves."

Atonga and Tongaiti-matarau:

"Piri mai, piri mai taku maieti, taku maieta,--
Tu, tu te rau tu."
Tu, tu te rakau tu."

"Join together, come together,
My beloved, my cherish ones--
Rejoin your parents, O leaves--
Stand, O tree, stand.

Atonga: Wait, look! I see eyes glistening in the darkness.
Tongaiti: Eyes? Glistening in the darkness? Whose eyes?
Atonga: Ah, is it you, child? Come out of there, Rata.
Tongaiti: Do you wish to have a canoe of your own?
Rata: Yes. This tree is my canoe.
Tongaiti: No, it's not. The tree is not yours, Rata. Not yet.
Rata: Atonga and Tongaiti! I made food offerings to you.
Tongaiti: At long last! You thought you could take it without our permission!
Atonga: Why do want this canoe?
Rata: I'm going to search for my parents, Vaieroa and Tairiiri-tokerau.
Tongaiti: Too late, Rata, they were devoured by the sons of Puna.
Atonga: Your mother's eye-balls are possessed by their sister, Te-vaine-
uarei.
Tongaiti: It's so, our child, now go home, and we will make your canoe.
Narrator (2): Rata went home and told 'Ine-nui-o-runga all that had happened.

'Ine-nui: O my grandson! It is well that the gods make your canoe for you. You will become a famous man, and you will have many descendants, but you must seek revenge on the sons of Puna and not spare them.

Narrator (2): In a few days, Rata found his new canoe sitting on the platform in front of the house. He named it and took it down to the lagoon to set the sail.

[Adapted from Padraic Colum, Legends of Hawaii: 76-83, based on Rarotongan and Samoan versions].

Parts: (18)

First Voice	Kui, grandmother	
Second Voice	Rata, grandson	1
Third Voice	Nanoa	2
	Puna	

Chorus: all members of the class

Narrator (1)	Canoe-paddler	3
Narrator (2)	Rope-worker	4
Narrator (3)	Sailmaker	5
Narrator (4)	Paddlemaker	6
	Canoe-bailer	7
	Sailing-master	8
	<u>Canoe-steerer</u>	9
	Crew: all members on the canoe =	9

[Note: The crew on Rata's canoe were:
 Matua-oeoe-vaka (canoe paddler)
 Matua-iriiri-taura (rope worker)
 Matua-tuitut-kie (sail maker)
 Matua-tokotoko-vaka (canoe poler)
 Matua-akatere-vaka (canoe steerer or sailing master)
 Matua-paripari-oe (paddle maker)
 Matua-akara-eu (consultor of the stars or navigator)]

Prologue:

First Voice: A pathway for the canoe! A pathway for the canoe!

Second V.: A pathway of sweet-scented flowers for the canoe!

Third V.: A pathway to the sea!

Narrator (1): Such was the chant that Rata heard from those who were bringing him the canoe.

Narrator (2): It was beautifully finished, and he knew that the gods had finished it for him.

Narrator (3): He named the canoe Tarai-po, "Built-in-a-night."

Narrator (4): It was in this canoe that Rata sailed across the ocean to take vengeance on the Children of Puna who had devoured his father and his mother.

Kul (grandmother): "It is well for you, my grandson; the gods have made your canoe for you, and you will become a famous man, and your descendants will be many. But your first deeds must be deeds of vengeance you wreak on the Children of Puna; do not spare them."

Narrator (1): He tried his canoe upon the lagoon to see if it sailed well. It sailed better than any canoe that had ever before been seen there. But Rata had at this time no men to sail with him in the canoe.

Narrator (2): Then a man came to him and called out:

Canoe-paddler: "O Rata, where are you going?"

Rata: "I am going to sail over the ocean and avenge the deaths of my father and my mother."

Canoe-paddler: "I will go with you."

Rata: "Who are you?"

Canoe-paddler: "I am Canoe-Paddler."

Rata: "Come on board, Canoe-Paddler."

Narrator (3): Another man came, and he said;
Rope-worker: "O Rata, where are you going?"
Rata: "I am going to sail over the ocean to avenge the deaths of my mother and my father."
Rope-worker: "I will go with you."
Rata: "Who are you?"
Rope-worker: "I am Rope-Worker."
Rata: "Come on board, Rope-Worker."

Narrator (3): And then another man came, and another.
Rata: "Who are you?"
Sail-maker: "I am Sail-Maker."
Rata: "Come on board, Sail-Maker. And, who are you?"
Paddle-maker: "I am Paddle-Maker."
Rata: "Come on board, Paddle-Maker, and who are you two?"
Sail-maker: "I am Sail-Maker."
Canoe-bailer: "I am Canoe-Bailer."
Sailing-master: "I am Sailing-Master."
Canoe-steerer: "I am Canoe-Steerer."

Narrator (4): When they were all on board Rata had his crew of seven men. They set up the sail, they took up the paddles, and they were ready to sail across the ocean to take vengeance on the Children of Puna.

Nanoa: "Wait! Wait!"
Rata: "Who are you?"
Nanoa: "I am Nanoa."
Rata: "What do you do, Nanoa?"
Nanoa: "I fly kites."

Rata: "You fly kites? And what then?"

Nanoa: "I fly kites and I *leap up to the heavens and extol my mother with exalting song.*"

Rata: "You extol your mother, and what then?"

Nanoa: "*O, I exalt our mother,* and that is all."

Rata: "I will not take you on board."

Narrator (2): The canoe started off. Then, out in the middle of the sea, the people in the canoe came across a great calabash floating.

Crew: "Our calabash of good luck! Bring it on the canoe."

Narrator (2) They brought it on the canoe, and the first object that met their gaze were the glistening eyes of Nanoa. A voice called out:

Nanoa: "O Rata!"

Rata: "This is Nanoa, flyer of kites. Into the sea with him."

Narrator (2): So they threw the calabash into the sea again.

Narrator (3): They sailed on. Out in the middle of the ocean they saw a great calabash floating.

Crew: "Our calabash of good luck! Bring it in the canoe!"

Narrator (3): They opened it, and there was Nanoa. This time Rata let Nanoa stay in the canoe. As they went over the boundless ocean, Nanoa cried out:

Nanoa: There is death before us!

Narrator (3): They looked, and there was a monster before them on the sea.

Nanoa: Declare now, who is your wizard?

Rata: We have no wizard but you, Nanoa. You be the wizard.

Nanoa: Now I will strive for you against the terrible Children of Puna and against Puna himself!

Narrator (4): Before them was the first of the Children of Puna--'Eke, the Octopus. Its eyes were on a level with the surface of the sea; one of its tentacles gripped the bed of the ocean; another of its tentacles raised up to the sky. When it came down it would break the canoe and crush all the men in it.

Narrator (1): Nanao went into his calabash, floating over to the Octopus. It put its tentacles around the calabash and into its mouth. But Nanao had a knife in his hand and attacked its heart. 'Eke thrashed the sea with his tentacles, and poured blackness on the waters.

Narrator (2): In a while it sank down from the surface of the sea. The people in the canoe thought Nanao was lost, but then they saw the calabash floating on the water. They took it into the canoe, and Nanao came out of it uninjured.

Rata: But for you, O Nanao, we should all have been destroyed.

Narrator (3) They went on in the boundless ocean, and then Nanao cried out again.

Nanao: There is death before us!

Narrator (3) They looked, and they saw a great Clam, with its shell open ready to draw them in. This was Pa-ua, the clam, the second of the Children of Puna. Nanao went into his calabash again; he made it float over to where the Clam was. The Clam took the calabash into its shell, and sank with it down to the bottom of the ocean.

Rata: Nanao is lost!

Narrator (4) But in a while the calabash came to the surface of the sea again, and they took it into the canoe. When they opened it, Nanao was there uninjured; he had killed the Clam at the bottom of the sea, and forced his way out of the shell.

Narrator (2): Again they went on through the boundless ocean.

Nanao: There is death before us!

Narrator (2): Now they saw Mano-a the Great Shark bearing down upon them. Nanao got into his calabash; it floated and the Shark came to it. Mano-a tried to take the calabash between its double row of teeth, but the calabash spun round and round, and he could not bite at it.

Narrator (3): Nanao slipped out of his calabash. He plunged into the shark's mouth, past the double rows of teeth. He had his knife in his hands, and he struck at the shark's heart with it. He came out of the Shark's mouth again, and Mano-a, the third of the Children of Puna, floated upon the water, dead. Nanao came into the canoe.

Rara: But for you, O Nanao, we should all have been destroyed!

Narrator (4): The canoe went on over the boundless ocean, toward the Island where Puna lived.

Nanao: There is death before us!

Narrator (4) They saw, bearing down on them, the last of the Children of Puna. Aku the Swordfish. He came charging at them. Nanao turned the canoe until it lay with its side before Aku, and the sword which was the whole length of the lower jaw lay embedded in the canoe. His mouth was left open. He lifted the canoe up with his lower jaw and tried to shake it off.

Narrator (1) Nanao dove under the water and stabbed at Aku with his knife. The monster shook the canoe this way and that, sweeping it through the sea and lifting it up in the air. The men cut through the lower jaw with their axes, and Aku was left floating on the sea. Thus was the last of the Children of Puna destroyed.

Rata: But for you, O Nanao, we should have been destroyed.

Narrator (2): They sailed for the island where Puna lived.

Nanao: Do not go upon the island until the cold south wind blows. Puna is weak when the cold comes.

Narrator (2): So they went upon the island when they felt the cold of the south wind. Nanao found Puna, who was so weak he was able to bind his hands to the trees and his feet to the rocks. Then Rata came.

Puna: Begone! I am old. Tomorrow I'll show you I can overcome you!

Rata: I am Rata. I've come to take vengeance on you for the deaths of my father and mother.

Narrator (3) Now Puna was a giant, and he broke the trees that held his hands. He split the rocks that held his feet. But when the sun rose, he was easily overthrown by Rata. Having avenged his parents as he had promised his grandmother, Rata went on to visit more islands before going home.

Rata: Here am I, a warrior who went over the deep sea, and who returned safely, having taken vengeance on those who killed my mother and father.

Kui: O thrice powerful thou art: great is thy strength and great thy deeds: I behold thee now, not as a man, but as an immortal.

Narrator (4) Would you now hear how Rata, our great ancestor, came to his death? Rata, who made many voyages and planted his people upon so many islands through all the Great Engulfing ocean?

Narrator (1): On the Island of Manuka there lived a giant whose name was Vaea who heard that Rata the Great was coming to his island. He went down to the beach to watch for the strange canoe.

Narrator (2) When it came in, night had already fallen, and the men drew the canoe up on the beach and went to sleep in it--Rata and all of his crew.

Narrator (3) Then Vaea went down to where the canoe was drawn up. He lifted it; carried it over the mountains in the dark night, the canoe with all the men asleep, and left it in the tops of the trees.

Narrator (4) Before dawn came, Canoe-Bailer awoke. He took up his bailing gourd and began to bail out the canoe. He heard the water falling, but there was no splash. It sounded like rain.

Narrator (1): He looked over the edge of the canoe and saw that the canoe was on top of trees! He awoke everybody.

Narrator (2): All around them was forest, and their canoe on the top at a great height. Marooned!

Narrator (3): The sun mounted in the sky, and the men who had crossed the boundless ocean looked and saw nothing else but the forest of a strange country. One by one they began to climb down.

Narrator (4); Vaea was waiting below. As they came down, he killed them one by one. Last of all, Rata, who held the ropes of the canoe until it fell through the branches to the ground.

Narrator (1): Then Rata and Vaea strove together, and Rata was slain.

Epilogue: [Tuamotuan chant of the calabash of winds]:

[Parts: 4]: First voice, Second Voice
 Second voice Chorus (entire class)

First Voice: So do children sing on a faraway island of coral by a blue lagoon.

Chorus (all): Oh, my calabash!

Second Voice: Blown toward me by the wind,

Third Voice: My calabash rolls over and over on the toppling waves.

First Voice: It is my diviner, giver of the wisdom of the stars.

Chorus: O my calabash!

Second Voice: Old memories of my beloved homeland crowd into my heart.

Chorus: O my calabash!

Third Voice: Bringing me a brother's life-saving love,

First Voice: My calabash turns over and over on the crested waves.

Second Voice: It is the first of my possessions to be borne hither to my side,

Third Voice: Drifting into my welcoming hands.

Chorus: O my sacred calabash!

First Voice: Revealing the sacred wisdom of the stars!

[J. Frank Stimson, Songs of the Sea Kings, 1957: 75].

Toward The End of the Heroic Age: Maweke and Mo'ikeha

Recapitulation

	[Prehistory]			[Period after the Pola'a tsunami]	
A.D. 015	Wakea	Papa			
A.D. 040	Hoochokukalani				
A.D. 040	Haloa				
065	Waia				
090	Hinanalo				
115	Nanakehili				[Early settlement, O'ahu, ca.145 A.D.-350 A.D.]
140	Wailoa				
165	Kio				
190	Ole				
215	Pupue				
240	Manaku				
265	Kahiko				
290	Lukahakona				
315	Luanu'u 1				
340	Ki'i 2				
<u>365</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>NANAULU</u>	<u>361</u>	<u>ULU</u> [Early migration period]
	(Hema)	(Puna)			
390	Nanaie	Nanaie	-		
415	Nanailani	Nanailani	-		
440	Waikulani	Waikulani	Nanamea		[ca 450 A.D. Ka'u, Hawai'i]
465	Kuheleimoana	Kuheleimoana	-		
490	Konohiki	Konohiki	Pehekemana	461	
515	Wawena	Wawena	-		
540	Akalana	Akalana	Pehekeula	511	
565	Mauiakalana	Mau i-	-	560	A.D. Kukaniloko alignment (acc. Fernandez)
590	Nanamaoa	Nanamaoa	Nanamua	561	
615	Nanakulei	Nanakulei	-		
640	Nanakaoko		Nanaikeauhaku	611	[built Kukaniloko]
665	Kapawa	Kapawa	-		[1st king born at Kukaniloko]
690	Heleipawa	Heleipawa	Keaoa	661	
715	Hulumanailani	Hulumanailani	-		
740	Aikanaka	Aikanaka	Hekumu	711	
<u>765</u>	<u>HEMA</u>	<u>PUNA</u>	-		<u>HEMA</u>
790	KAHA'i 1	Ua	Umalei	761	
815	Wahieloa	Uamaikalani	-		
840	Laka	Auanini	Kalai	811	
865	Luanu'u 2	Newalani	-		
890	Kamea	Lonohuanewa	Malelewa'a	861	

<u>365</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>NANAULU</u>	<u>361</u>		
<u>765</u>	<u>HEMA</u>	<u>PUNA</u>			<u>HEMA</u>	
	(Hawaii)	(O'ahu)	(O'ahu/Maui/Hawaii)		(Maui)	
915	Pohukaina	Lonowahilani	-			
940	Hua	-	Hopoe	911		[Period of back and forth voyaging]
965	Pau	Pau	-			
990	Huanukalalailai	-	Makalawena	961		
1015	Paumakua	Paumakua	-			
1044	Haho	-	Leleho'oma	1011		
1065	Palena	Moe(a)naimua	-			
<u>1090</u>	<u>Hanala'anui</u>	<u>Kumakaha</u>	<u>Kekupahaikala</u>	<u>1061</u>	<u>Hanala'aiki</u>	Kapukapu (w)
1115	Lanakawai	-	-		Mauiloa	Kauhua (w)
1140	La'au	Luahiwa	Maweke	1111	Alau	Moikeaea (w)
1165	Pili	-	-		Kanemokuhealii	Keikauhale (w)
1190	Koa	Ahukai	Mulieleali'i	1161	Lonomai	Kolu (w)
1215	Ole	La'a	Mo'ikeha	1186	Wakalana	Kauai (w)
1240	Kukohou	La'amaikahiki	Ho'okamali'i	1211	Alo	Puhia (w)
		[Migrations end with La'amaikahiki]				
		[Migration period (ca. 365-1240 A.D., 875 years of voyaging)].				

1265	Kaniuhi	-	Kahai 2	1236	Kaheka	Maiaoula (w)
1290	Kanipahu	Lauliala'a	Kuolono	1261	Mapuleo	Kamaioikalani (w)
1315	Kalapana	-	Maelo (w)	1286	Paukei	Painalea (w)
1340	Kahaimoelea-	Laulihewa	(Laulihewa)	1311	Luakoa	Hinaapoapo (w)
1365	Kalaunuiohua	Kahuoi	Kahuoi	1336	Kuhimana	Kaumana (w)
1390	Kuaiwa	Puaakahuoi	Puaakahuoi	1361	Kamaluohua	Kapu (w)
1415	Kahoukapu	Kukahiaailani	Kukahiaailani	1386	Loe	Waohaakuna (w)
1440	Kauholanuiamahu	Mailikukahi	Mailikukahi	1411	Kahaokuohua	Hikakaiula (w)
1465	Kihanuilulumoku	Kalonaiki	Kalonanui	1436	Kaulahea 1	Kapohanaaupuni (w)
1490	Liloa	Piliwale	Kalamakua	1461	Kaka'e	Kapohauola (w)
1515	Hakau	Kukaniloko	La'ielohelohe	1486	Kahekili 1	Haukanuimakamaka (w)
1515	'Umialiloa	Kalaimanuia	-	1511	Kawaokaohela	Kepalaoa (w)
1540	Kealiiokaloa	Kaihikapu-	Pi'ikea (w)	1536	Piilani (k)	Laielohelohe (w)
1565	Kukailani	Kakuhihewa	Kumalaenuiaumi	1561	Kihapiilani	Kumaka (w)
1590	Makakauali'i	Kaihikapu-	Makua	1586	Kamalalawalu	Piilaniwahine (w)
1615	Iwikauikaua	Kauakahikua-	-	1611	Kauhiakama	Kapukini (w)
1640	(Keakealani)	Kaneikauaiwi-	'I	1636	Kalanikaumakaowakea	Kaneakauhi (w)
1640	Keakealani	Kalanikaulele-	Ahu-a-'I	1661	Lonohonuakini	Kalanikauanakinilani
1665	Keaweikekahi-	-	Kapaihi-a-Ahu	1686	Kaulahea 2	Papaikaniau
1690	Keeaumoku	Keeaumoku	Heulu	1711	Kekaulike	Kekuiapoiwanui (w)
1715	Keouakupua-	-	Keaweaeulu	1736	Kahekili 2	Kauwahine (w)
1740	Kamehameha I		Keohohiwa	1761	Kalanikupule	
1778-79	Captain Cook	d. February 14,	1779 Kealakekua Bay	(Hawai'i)		[Historic period begins]
1767	b. Kaoleioku					
1797	b. Liholiho		Aikanaka	1786		
1814	b. Kauikeaouli		Keohokalole	1811		
1834	Alexander Liholiho		Kalakaua	[b.1836 d.1891]		

1140 - 1240 A.D. The Maweke-Mo'ikeha Migrations.

The portion of recorded genealogy which we are to delve into (the 12th to 13th centuries A.D.) is targeted below:

<u>365</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>NANAUULU</u>	<u>361</u>		
<u>765</u>	<u>HEMA</u>	<u>PUNA</u>			<u>HEMA</u>	
	(Hawaii)	(O'ahu)	(O'ahu/Maui/Hawaii)		(Maui)	
1065	Palena	Moe(a)naimua	-			
<u>1090</u>	<u>Hanala'anui</u>	<u>Kumakaha</u>	<u>Kekupahaikala</u>	<u>1061</u>	<u>Hanala'aiki</u>	Kapukapu (w)
1115	Lanakawai	-	-		Mauiloa	Kauhua (w)
1140	La'au	Luahiwa	Maweke	1111	Alau	Moikeaea (w)
1165	Pili	-	-		Kanemokuhealii	Keikauhale (w)
1190	Koa	Ahukai	Mulieleali'i	1161	Lonomai	Kolu (w)
1215	Ole	La'a	Mo'ikeha	1186	Wakalana	Kauai (w)
1240	Kukohou	<i>La'amaikahiki</i>	<i>Ho'okamali'i</i>	1211	Alo	Puhia (w)

Our first impression is that Ulu's descendants (Hema) have secured a domain on Hawaii (Hanala'anui) and Maui (Hanala'aiki). Hanala'anui and Hanala'aiki were twin brothers. It was in the time of Lanakawai, son of Hanala'anui, that Pa'ao came to Hawai'i and, later, brought Pili to be a ruling chief.

Ulu's descendants (Puna) also have secured a domain on O'ahu (and Kaua'i, which doesn't show up in the segment delineated above), and sharing in the territory are the descendants of Nanaulu. We notice, then, that Ulu's descendants (Pa'ao and Pili) are still voyaging into the 12th century A.D., since their ancestor (Ulu) and his brother (Nanaulu) sailed to Hawai'i in the 4th century A.D. Between Ulu (ca. 365 A.D.) and Pili (ca. 1165 A.D.) are about 800 years.

Nanaulu's descendants (Maweke and Mo'ikeha) are still voyaging back and forth between Hawai'i and the homeland about the same time (1140 A.D. - 1215 A.D.), roughly, a period of about 775 years (since ca. 365 A.D., Nanaulu), but Mo'ikeha (son of Maweke) has sons who voyage again to return their father's bones to the family vault in Tahiti, Kila and La'amaikahiki in the next generation (ca. 1240 A.D.), rounding out the last recorded migration to about 875 years of voyaging across the equator, north and south.

We also note that it was Mo'ikeha's last wish to be reunited with his "son", La'amaikahiki, actually his nephew, with whom relationships between the cousins, descendants of Ulu (on La'amaikahiki's side, from Puna, were still fairly close and cordial, even after 850 years. They apparently occupied the same territory in the homeland that their ancestors had held, , since the time of Wakea and Papa, ore earlier. Thus have we pondered on this.

"From the Gills of the Fish: The Tahitian Homeland of Hawai'i's Chief Mo'ikeha"

[By Johnson, Rubellite K., Journal of Pacific Studies, 1979: 51-67; Institute of Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University at La'ie, O'ahu].

[*Note: Foot-noted information is within the context of the essay].

This study attempts to locate the Tahitian homeland of Mo'ikeha, an ancient hero of the migrations to Hawai'i from the place identified in tradition as Moa'ula (red-fowl) [Mo'ikeha may be dated some time near the twelfth century]. Its full name, Moa'ula-nui-akea, led Abraham Fornander a hundred years ago in his studies of the Hawaiian migrations to favor the island of Ra'iatea in the Society Group as the most probable site of Mo'ikeha's departure. He linked the *-ākea* of Moa'ula-nui-ākea to the *-ātea* in Ra'iātea, noting, too, that the reef pass into the lagoon on Ra'iatea is called *Ava-moa*. [Fomander, Abraham, Account of the Polynesian Race]. A comparative study by Teuira Henry in the 1920s disputed Fornander's conclusion. She favored, instead, the island of Tahiti-nui some 130 miles southeast of Ra'iatea. The following detailed examination of the available Hawaiian and Tahitian traditions will substantiate Henry's designation of the island of Tahiti, not greater Tahiti-nui as she suggests, however, but its peninsula to the south, Tahiti-iti or Tai'arapu, from the gills of the fish."

*Kū mai 'Ahukini-a-la'a
He ali'i mai ka nanamū
Mai ka 'api ō ka i'a
Mai ka 'ale po'i pū ō Halehale-ka-lani*

Now stands forth 'Ahukini-a-la'a
A chief from the foreign land
From the gills of the fish
From the overwhelming billows of Halehale-ka-lani.
[Fornander (FC): 4: 1: 2-4].

Genealogy of the Mo'ikeha Family:

Maweke (k)	Naiolaukea (w)	<i>Mulieleali'i</i> (k) Kalehenui (k) Keaunui (k)
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[*Note: This *papa helu* focuses only on one son of Maweke, i.e., *Mulieleali'i* (k)]

<i>Mulieleali'i</i> (k)	Wehelani (w)	Mo'ikeha (k) 'Olopana (k) Kumuhonua (k)
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Mo'ikeha (k) Mo'ikeha (k)	Kapo (w) Ho'oipo-i-ka-malanai (w)	La'amaikahiki (k) Kila (and others)
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[*Note: parentage of La'amaikahiki differs on the Ulu/Puna genealogy, cited above].

La'aimaikahiki (k)	Hoakamaikapuaihelu (w)	Lauli-a-La'a (k)
La'aimaikahiki (k)	Waolena (w)	Ahukini-a-La'a (k)
La'aimaikahiki (k)	Manoopupaipai (w)	Laulihewa (k)

[Fornander, APR: 1: 194-95].

In one story [Fornander (FC): 4: 1: 114], Moa'ula-ākea-nui is the place where Mo'ikeha's home was located. After an affair with his brother's wife Lu'ukia and the subsequent courting of her favors by another jealous suitor, Mo'ikeha decided to depart from Tahiti. He set sail with a retinue of skilled navigators and kinsmen, leaving behind his son by Kapo, La'a-mai-kahiki. In another version, 'Olopana (brother of Mo'ikeha) and Lu'ukia are chiefs of Waipi'o Valley, Hawai'i. They are swept by a flood to Tahiti where Mo'ikeha and Kapo are the chiefs of Moa'ula-nui-ākea-nui. A similar conflict develops, and Mo'ikeha finds the solution: leave Tahiti.

The journey brings Mo'ikeha to Hawai'i, first along the Ka'ū-Kona coast of the Big Island (Hawai'i). As his canoe passes each island, some of the voyagers get off until only a skeleton crew remains. Mo'ikeha lands on Kaua'i to the northwest and there settles down as a chief with two sisters for wives. After many years and when Mo'ikeha was nearing death, he yearned to see his Tahitian son La'amaikahiki. From among his Hawaiian sons, he chose Kila to take members of his original Tahitian crew home to fetch La'a from Tahiti so that he could catch a last, fond glimpse of his son before dying.

Thus, Kila's canoe sets out from Hawai'i. It arrives at Moa'ula-nui-ākea-*iki* (small) from where Kila glimpses his father's old house on Moa-'ula-nui-ākea-*nui* (great). Because one place was easily seen from the other, the Rai'atean location for

Moa'ula-nui-ākea seems most reasonable. Ra'iatea could be the one island and Borabora the other since they are in close range. Fornander's choice of Ra'iatea would appear to be a logical conclusion on this basis.

More evidence comes from a chant by Kamahualele, Mo'ikeha's companion on the earlier migration north from Moa'ula-nui-ākea. In his chant, Kamahualele refers to the island of Polapola (Borabora?) However, his Polapola is placed next to Nu'uhiwa, an island in the Marquesas, and not by Ra'iatea where it should be. It is doubtful, then, that the proximity of names in Kamahualele's chant provides any real clue for locating the exact departure site.

The Kamahualele chant cites Kahiki (Tahiti) as the home of chief Mo'ikeha, a "royal flower (*pua Ali'i*) from Kapa'ahu." Ancestors who are named, like Hawai'i, a "grandson" of Kahiko, son of Papa, daughter of Kū-ka-lani-ehu (father) and Kapu-(or Kupu-)-lana-kehau (mother) placed Mo'ikeha in the famous Papa-Wakea chiefly lineage:

Eia Hawai'i, he moku, he kanaka
He kanaka Hawai'i--e
He kanaka Hawai'i
He kama na Kahiki,
He pua Ali'i mai Kapa'ahu
Mai Moa'ula-nui-ākea Kanaloa
He mo'opuna na Kahiko lāua 'o Kapulanakehau
Na Papa i hānau
Na ke kama wahine o Kūkalani'ehu lāua me Kauakahakoko
Na pulapula 'āina i pae kāhi
I nonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana,
Pae like ka moku i lālani
I hui aku, hui mai me Holani
Puni ka moku 'o Kaialea ke kilo,
Nahā Nu'uhiwa lele i Polapola
'O Kahiko ke kumu 'āina
Nāna i māhele ka'awale na moku,
Moke ke aho lawai'a a Kaha'i,
I'okia e Kū-kanaloa
Paukū na 'āina, na moku,
'O Haumea manu kahikele,
'O Mo'ikeha ka lani nāna e noho.
Noho ku'u lani iā Hawai'i--a
Ola! Ola! 'O Kalanaola.
Ola ke ali'i, ke kahuna,
Ola ke kilo, ke kauwā,
Noho iā Hawai'i a lūlana,
A kani mo'opuna i Kaua'i,
'O Kaua'i ka moku -a
'O Mo'ikeha ke ali'i

Here is Hawai'i, the island, the man,
 A man is Hawai'i,
 A man is Hawai'i,
 A child of Tahiti,
 A royal flower from Kapa'ahu
 From Moa-'ula-nui-ākea Kanaloa
 A grandchild of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau
 Papa begat him
 The daughter of Kū-ka-lani-ehu and Ka-ua-kaha-koko
 The scattered islands are in a row
 Placed evenly from east to west
 Spread evenly is the land in a row
 Joined on to Holani
 Kaiālea the seer went round the land,
 Separated Nu'uhiwa, landed on Polapola,
 Kahiko is the root of the land,
 He divided and separated the islands.
 Broken is the fishline of Kaha'i
 That was cut by Kū-kanaloa
 Broken up into pieces were the lands, the islands
 Cut up by the sacred knife of Kanaloa*
 O Haumea Manukahikele
 O Mo'ikeha, the chief who is to reside,
 My chief will reside on Hawai'i
 Life, life, O buoyant life!
 Live shall the chief and the priest
 Live shall the seer and the slave,
 Dwell on Hawai'i and be at rest,
 And attain to old age on Kaua'i.
 O Kaua'i is the island
 O Mo'ikeha is the chief.

[*Note: The citing of Kanaloa as the god or chief who had the sacred bamboo knife (*ohe kapu*) with which to cut up (or distribute) land brought up by the fishline of Kaha'i (a role usually played by the hero Maui) is an association which holds particular importance for the island of Kaho'olawe, the old name of which is Kanaloa, where the high point is Moa'ula. According to the Kamahualele chant, the full name of Mo'ikeha's home was Moa'ula-nui-ākea-Kanaloa. It is interesting to note that Kamakau's history (p. 93) indicates that Moa'ula was connected with the name of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, son of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, who had gone to Tahiti. The Hawaiians, who looked forward to Lono's return, which had become confused with the seasonal migration of the god Lono for whom Lono-i-ka-makahiki the chief was named, identified Captain James Cook as Lono when his ships arrived in 1778. "Then, both chiefs and commoners, hearing this report said to each other, 'this is indeed Lono, and this is his *heiau* come across the sea from Moa'ula-nui-ākea across Mano-wai-nui-kai-o'ol!" The association with the god Lono explains why a number of *heiau* (*marae* or temples) are named Moa'ula in Hawai'i: Waipi'o, Hawai'i; Waikolu, Moloka'i; and Kipapa, O'ahu. The *heiau* in Waipi'o was named during the time of Ka-lani-opu'u when his son Kiwala'ō was made heir to the kingdom of Hawai'i and the war god Kūka'ilimoku was assigned to his nephew, Kamehameha. This event would have taken place after the death of Captain Cook in 1779 and before the Battle of Mokuohai in 1782. Moa'ula *heiau* on the ridge of Waikolu gulch, Moloka'i, is credited to the architectural feats of the *menehune*. See Thomas G. Thrum, *Hawaiian Annual* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 1938), pp. 126 and 133].

In another fragment of Hawaiian chants, Mo'aula-nui-akea is referred to in the plural as: *I na pae-moku o Moa'ula-nui-ākea* (The islands of Moa'ula-nui-akea).

'O Wahilani, 'o ke ali'i o O'ahu
I holo aku i Kahiki
I na pae-moku o Moa'ula-nui-ākea
E ke'eke'ehi i ka houpo o Kāne a me Kanaloa.

Wahilani, chief of O'ahu
Who sailed away to Tahiti
To the islands of Moa'ula-nui-akea
To trample the bosom of Kane and Kanaloa
[Fomander, APR 2: 10-11]

Teuira Henry noticed that the principal names of the Hawaiian Mo'ikeha legend had Tahitian counterparts. She correctly deduced that 'Olpana in the Hawaiian legend is also the name of a chiefly Tahitian family, the 'Oropa'a of Tahiti-nui. That the names Kū-kanaloa and Moa'ula-nui-ākea-Kanaloa are cited in the Kamahualele chant of Mo'ikeha, in which Kanaloa is the one who wields the sacred bamboo knife (*'ohe kapu*) by which to "cut the fish line of Kaha'i," is an association of three gods: Kū, Kanaloa, and Kāne. The sacred bamboo knife is a symbol of Kāne, god of procreation.

When Kila arrived at Moa'ula-nui-ākea-*iki*, he visited his uncle Kūpōhihi (or aunt Kāne-pōhihi). Kūpōhihi was called a 'rat' (*'iore*) in the story, meaning no doubt that he belonged to the Rat Clan, the 'iore. The 'iore were identified by Teuira Henry as the Tumu-nui family who lived in Te-pori-o-nu'u (north Tahiti-nui). Te-pori-o-nu'u stretches from Mahina (Point Venus) in the north through Matavai, Pape'ete, to the border of Fa'a'a in the northwest where the present airport now stands. According to Aurora Natua, librarian at the Pape'ete Museum, the original location and principal home of the 'Oropa'a family was at Mahina in the north, a fact confirmed by Teuira Henry. Aurora Natu'as family traces a line of descent back to some of the 'Oropa'a chief of Mahina [personal communication, May 1977].

Moa'ura, Tautira, Tai'arapu Peninsula, Tahiti-iti

From the standpoint of corroborative evidence in Tahitian place names for the Hawaiian Moa'ula-nui-ākea, there is a subdivision by that name, *Mo'ura* in Tautira to the south, recorded by Henry: "After 'Ati-viri came to Ho'ata-uri...*Mo'ura*." [Henry (AT): 87]. She must have overlooked this important detail since she was comparing family and island names rather than district names.

According to their traditional history, the chiefs of Tautira were displaced after battle by the chiefs of Te-ahu-upo'o district just south of Tautira. Since the names of the orators and chiefs of Tautira are identical with those of Te-ahu-upo'o, and since the southern (Te-ahu-upo'o) chiefs won rule over Tautira, then the Tautira names *Tira-hete* and *Te-ra'a-roa* which suggest the roots from the names of Mo'ikeha's beloved sons, *Kila* and *La'a*, must have belonged originally to the chiefs of Te-ahu-upo'o, the southern district of Tai'arapu [Henry: 86].

The name 'Oropa'a does not appear, however, among the names of titles of chiefs or orator chiefs of Tai'arapu, but the 'Oro clans ('Ati-'oro, 'Ati-'oro-i'oro) did occupy Tautira, and they also fell under the yoke of Te-ahu-upo'o. The tradition of Mo'ikeha records that his brother 'Olopana had come to Moa'ula-nui-akea-nui from Hawai'i. [The Hawaiian version pinpoints this Hawai'i as that of Waipi'o Valley in the Hawaiian chain, but Hawai'i is also an old Tahitian name for the island of Ra'iatea].

The name Ta'aroa (Kanaloa) is, according to Henry's description, significant in two ways. It is the name of a subdivision of land in Tautira district (*Ta'aroa-i-te-fa'a*), and it is also the name of the power, chief, or god Ta'aroa over the *marae* Pure-ora in Tautira. Again, as we have seen before, these names are found in close proximity in the Hawaiian chant by Kamahualele of the Mo'ikeha migration:

A man of Hawai'i
 A child of Tahiti
 A royal flower from Kapa'ahu
 From Moa'ula-nui-akea *Kanaloa*
 A grandchild of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau
 Papa begat him
 The daughter of Kūkalaniehu and Kauakahakoko

 Broken is the fishline of Kaha'i
 That was cut by *Kanaloa*
 Broken up into pieces were the lands, the islands
 Cut up by the sacred knife of *Kanaloa*.....

The evidence thus far strongly favors Te-ahu-upo'o, southern Tahiti-*iti* as a place from which Mo'ikeha may have left and another district, probably Tautira, within close range of Mo'ikeha's home (Lanikeha (which Mo'ikeha's son Kila sailed to get La'a on the earlier return voyage and to take back Mo'ikeha's bones on the later one. Could it be logically argued that Moa'ula-nui-akea-nui is Tahiti-nui and MOa'ula-nui-akea-*iti* is Tahiti-*iti*?

As was mentioned above, the 'Oropa'a high chiefs were not in control of the land subdivision of Te-ahu-upo'o or Tautira in Tahiti-iti. The Tahitian clan name of the 'Oropa'a chiefs is given, rather, to a major division of land called Papara or Vaitoru west of the Isthmus of Taravao between Tahiti-nui and Tahiti-iti (Tai'arapu Peninsula):

"This subdivision was formerly named 'A-'Oropa'a (of strong warrior).

The mountain above is Mou'a-tamaiti; the assembly ground below, Poreho; the points outside Maha'i-atea and Manomano; the rivers Fari'i-ore and Vai-poea; the marae, Maha'i-atea...Upon a high mountain of Papara is a great cavern which has been the family vault of the high chiefs, Te-ri'i-rere and Tati...Following is an archaic war song (*pehe-tama'i*) referring to ancient history of these districts which evidently dates from a time when the dauntless warriors of the 'Oropa'a were subjugating different parts of Tahiti, and which seems to throw light upon this part of Papara being named 'A-'Oropa'a (of strong warrior):

Te Rua-i-tupua te Rua-i-tahito ra!
Mai te tai maira vau,
Mai te mahu fenua.,
Te-tou nohora'a aroha e!
E hoatu anei ia Rua-i-tupua tahito
 Ia Vaitoru?
E tou's fenua maita'i e
Papara to'u fenua ia mau.
 Tou ivaiva.
Ua fatata i tau ma te ono,
Ho atu anei ia Rua-i-tupua tahito,
 Ia Vaitoru?
Papara to'u fenua ia mau.
Te ruma nei ra 'Oropa'a e!
Mai tana nei te fanau'a 'oura ri'i marae
E tere Hiro, e fete e feta
Pati fenua ia 'oe.
Tu ra, e oro'i, pua,
Te manu mou'a ri'i
Papa tane te fenua e mau e!

Rua-i-tupua (source of growth)
Rua-i-tupua (source of growth)!
From the sea have I come,
From the misty land [Te-'oro-pa'a]
The Cordia, O residence beloved!
To Rua-i-tupua of old shall
 Vai-toru (three-waters) be given? [The three Papara]
O my good land,
Papara is the land I'll hold.
Raging warrior.
The time of vengeance approaches.
To Rua-i-tupua of old shall

Vai-toru be given?
Papara is the land I'll hold.
O 'tis lowering over 'Oropa'al
 From its mountain sacred to gentlemen
 Clamor is brooding.
 The little shrimps [people of little power] of the
 marae are crying.
 As the sweep of Hiro comes the outbreak.
 Thou wilt make them leap upon the land.
 Stand, turn, blown away,
 Shall the mountain birds [people] be,
 Rock the man shall be in possession!
 [Henry (AT): 90].

In this context, the Kamakau genealogy of the brothers Kumuhonua, 'Olopana, and Mo'ikeha provides additional evidence in favor of this part of Tahiti-nui and in particular *the district of Vaiari* where *Lake Vaihiria* is located in the mountains and from which come the waters flowing into the valley that borders on *Vai'uriri*:

Ua 'olelo 'ia ua kua 'o Kumuhonua me kona Kaikaina me 'Olopana, a ua he'e 'o 'Olopana a kua i ka moana, a he'e i ka moana 'a'ohē wahi e pe'e ai i uka, a ua lawe-pu'e 'ia 'o La'amaikahiki e 'Olopana, a me Mo'ikeha. 'A'ole wahi e pae ai i Hawai'i. Ua holo loa 'o 'Olopana i Kahiki, a noho iloko 'o Moa'ulanuiākea. Ua lawe 'ia 'o La'amaikahiki i Waihiria a noho i uka 'o ke kua ka i'a a Mo'ikeha i lawe pū 'ia e 'Olopana. I ka moe 'ana 'o Mo'ikeha iā Lu'ukia. 'Oia ke kumu i ho'i hou mai ai 'o Mo'ikeha, a noho i Kaua'i.

It is said that Kumuhonua fought with his younger brother, 'Olopana, and 'Olopana fled and fought on the sea; (and he) fled to the sea (for) there was no land in which to hid upshore, and La'amaikahiki was taken by 'Olopana and Mo'ikeha. There was nowhere to land (the canoe) on Hawai'i. *'Olopana sailed to Tahiti and lived in Moa'ula-nui-ākea.* La'amaikahiki was taken to *Vaihiria* and there lived inland *the eel, the fish of Mo'ikeha* taken by 'Olopana. Then Mo'ikeha married Lu'ukia, that is the reason why Mo'ikeha came back again and lived on Kaua'i. [Kamakau, Samuel M., "Mo'olelo o Hawai'i Nei, *Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a*, Honolulu, 23 September 1865, Helu 14, 15, 16; Cp., Kamakau, Samuel M., *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, 1991: 77]

Hawaiian *Waiali*, equivalent to Tahitian *Vaiari*, means a base, foundation, or place for the king to speak at the rostrum for speakers, the *kahua Waiali in the heiau*:

Nui make o nōla'ela'e mālamalama mo'akāka
 Waiho wale kahiko ākēa, ike'a kahua 'o Waiali
 'Ike'a ke hipahipa o ka moku
 Ka pae ki'i, ka pae newenewe
 Ka hale hau a ke kua, ho'olono wale iho.

Fresh coconuts of clear water, clear as the light
 Akea remained unknown in ancient times,
Now appears upon the rostrum
 Appears the wonder of the island
 The image gods now stand full in their places
 In the house built for the gods.
 There the people hear the worship.
 [Fornander (FC): VI: 3: 379, note 29].

Henry continues that the name 'A-'Oropa'a had long been dropped, and that the three subdivisions were united into one *Papara* under the chieftainship of Tati whose seat of government was there. *Papara* and all the southern districts of Tahiti as far as the Isthmus of Taravao were called *Te-teva-i-uta* (mainland plain) and all the districts of *Tai'arapu* are called *Te-teva-i-tai* (ultra plain) from the belief that "*They were united in the fish before its sinews were cut,*" a Tahitian reference to a fresh-water eel (*kuna*) alluded to in the Hawaiian story of *Mo'ikeha* [Henry (AT): 81].

The Isthmus of Taravao, "the gills of the fish"

The myth of the "cutting of the sinews of the fish," or the cleaving of Tahiti at the *Isthmus of Taravao by Tafa'i* (Kaha'i) dates from the ancient past of Tahitian mythology. In 1822 and 1824, the story was recited by King Pomare of Tahiti. In the beginning, all of the islands were once attached to the sacred island of *Ra'iatea*. Once while the gods were sacrificing at *Taputapuatea*, they ordered all humans to remain in their homes. Disregarding this order, the young maid *Terehe* secretly went swimming in a nearby river. The gods were angry at her disrespect and caused her to drown. As she sank below the billows, a giant eel (*tuna*) swakkied her and it became possessed with her enraged spirit. The eel thrashed about so much that it tore the land in two between *Ra'iatea* and *Huahine*. The girl's spirit entered into the loosened land and like a great fish it started swimming away. Only the god *Tu* took notice of the "fish." He dashed away from the religious services being held and guided the "fish" safely south and eastward--the island of Tahiti had been formed. Now that the fish had become stable, it was necessary to cut its sinews to prevent it from moving. The victorious warrior *Tafa'i* with his miraculous axe (*Te-pa-huru-nui-ma-te-vai-tau*) chopped until the sinews of the throat were cut and the head of the fish drew back until there only remained two large mountains separated by an isthmus called *Taravao* (corner-plain)" [Henry (AT): 437-42].

The head of the fish, therefore, is Tahiti-iti; while the main body Tahiti-nui is behind it to the northwest. The Tahitian reference may then explain the expression *mai ka 'api o ka i'a* (from the gills of the fish) in the creation chant of Ka-haku-i-ka-moana:

Kū mai Ahukini-la'a,
He 'ali'i mai ka nanamu
Mai ka 'api o ka i'a
Mai ka 'ae po'i pū o Halehalekalani.

Now stands forth Ahukini-a-La'a,
A chief from the foreign land,
From the gills of the fish
From the overwhelming billows of Halehale-ka-lani.
[Fornander (FC): 4:1: 2-4]

The 'Oropa'a Burial Vaults

Another problem associated with Mo'ikeha's homeland is where the burial vaults were located to which Kila went with La'a to return Mo'ikeha's bones. Again, Teuira Henry favors the northern district of Tahiti-nui. In her work, she defines the three major districts of the 'Oropa'a as (1) North Tahiti: Tahara'a, Tapahi, Mahina, Fenu'aura; (2) West Tahiti: Te-'Oropa'a (Mano-tahi, Mano-rua; Puna'auia, Pa'ea); (3) South-west Tahiti: *Papara (Vaitoru, A'Oropa'a)*. Any one of these districts could have been the destination of Kila and La'a. Henry affirms that the location of Mo'ikeha's burial place was Kapa'ahu in northern Tahiti-nui, when she states, "the name of Ka-pa-ahu (heaped up shore)...is evidently identical with the hilly coast called Ta-pahi...in the district of Mahina, the home of Tafa'i." [Henry (AT: 566-67)].

Again her identification of northern Tahiti-nui as the home of the Rata family, the 'Iore or Tumu-nui clan mentioned in the legends, is a strong argument in her favor. However, in the last part of the Mo'ikeha tradition, when the family removes the bones of the dead Mo'ikeha to Tahiti, it should be borne in mind that Mo'ikeha, as a member of the 'Olopana/Oropa'a chiefs, would have qualified for burial in the vault of the 'Oropa'a "up in a high mountain" in Papara and not in northern Tahiti-nui. If the migrating party of Kila and La'a failed to get back to Tahiti, it may explain the lack of Tahitian tradition about Mo'ikeha's return to the cave of the 'Oropa'a. No information is available on the whereabouts of burial vaults for other chiefs, such as those of Te-ahu-upo'o and Tautira in Tai'arapu. In conclusion:

It is said that because La'a-mai-kahiki lived on Kaho'olawe, and set sail from that island, was the reason why the ocean to the west of Kaho'olawe is called "the road to Tahiti" (Ke-ala-i-Kahiki)...After La'a-mai-kahiki had lived on Kaho'olawe for a time, his priests became dissatisfied with the place, so La'a-mai-kahiki left Kaho'olawe and returned to Kaua'i. Upon the death of Mo'ikeha, the land descended to Kila, and La'a-mai-kahiki returned to Tahiti [with his brother Kila whom he picked up in Kaua'i]...and the bones of their father which were to be deposited in the mountain of Ka-pa-ahu. Mo'ikeha's own inheritance, where La'a-mai-kahiki and Kila also lived until their death. [Fornander (FC): 4: 1: 154].

Henry does not mention any other burial vault in a high mountain *except that in Papara* for the 'Oropa'a. It would be interesting to find out if there were other burial places for the 'Oropa'a chiefs in northern Tahiti besides that of Papara, for the Hawaiian account clearly states that his bones were to be deposited "in the mountain of Ka-pa-ahu, of Moa'ula-nui-ākea-nui.

In looking over the maps of Tahiti-nui to locate the names of mountains qualified by "-ahu," or *marae* named 'ahu. Te-ahu-po'o yields the same association of names that tend to link it with the Mo'ikeha-Kila migration. Te-ahu-upo'o in Tai'arapu Peninsula is itself an -ahu and it has the mountain, Te-*ahu*, the counselor of Te-ahu-upo'o district at the Fare--orometua-nui center of learning in ancient times was named Te-*ahu*-matua. Also of interest in this district is a group of *marae* at Matahihae, Tiria, Tipu'u and *Ahu-rau*. (See map.).

The meaning of Ka-pa-ahu in Hawaiian is uncertain. It may be *kapa'ahu* (cloak, covering, clothing) or *ka-pā-ahu* (platform enclosure, heaped-wall, platformed fence, terraced enclosure). It is important within this context of possible meanings to reflect upon the history of Te-ahu-upo'o and how it got its name. Henry states that the name was derived from a "wall of heads" taken from the people slain in battle between the districts of north and south Tai'arapu. A boundary dispute had begun the war that ended in bloodshed and the victorious southern district decapitated their slain foes and "made a wall of their heads for the boundary line" at Rapa'e" [Henry (AT): 86].

Place Names in Hawaii

Now that the two departure sites (hometown) from Tahiti have been established, we shall attempt to locate the possible residences of the Mo'ikeha family in Hawai'i. Where in Hawai'i do we have place names in close proximity to suggest that they were named after similar locations in Tahiti by the Mo'ikeha family [Puku'i, Mary K.; Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther, K. Mo'okini, Place Names of Hawai'i, 1974]. The juxtaposition of the names

Taravao and Vaitoru of Tahiti may be identified with a similarly named district on Moloka'i: Kalawao (Taravao) and Waikolu (Vaitoru). (Refer to maps). The Moa'ula tradition including the 'Olopana chiefs may have ties with the Ka-lua-nui district on O'ahu which includes Punalu'u and Hau'ula, the stronghold of chief 'Olopana. The western border of Ka-lua-nui district is situated by sacred Kualoa toward Kahalu'u in Kāne'ohe. Similarly, Taharu'u in Tahiti-nui is on the border between Papara district and Mataiea; the pass in front is Te-ava-ra'a.

Another good example on Moloka'i would be the prominent waterfalls named Moa'ula northeast in Halawa Valley and in Waikolu on the eastern side of Kalawao district. Waikolu also boasts of a Moa'ula *heiau* and this district borders exactly upon Kalawao, a remarkable coincidence of names with the districts of Papara (Tahiti-nui) and Tautira (Tahiti-iti). We have already mentioned La'a living on the island of Kaho'olawe, anciently called Kanaloa, whose high point is Moa'ula. All of these names were, perhaps, bestowed upon the places by Kila's voyagers who disembarked on Moloka'i, O'ahu, and Kaho'olawe during the several Mo'ikeha-Kila-La'a migrations.

Conclusion

In reviewing the positions taken by scholars Abraham Fornander and Teuira Henry for the location of Mo'ikeha's homeland in Moa-ula-nui-ākea-nui, our detailed evidence from Hawaiian and Tahitian traditions favors a place in Tahiti-nui or Tahiti-iti. Ra'iatea may ultimately be the original home of the Moa'ula or 'Oropa'a chiefs, but until more traditions have been evaluated, none of the recorded place names and chiefly titles for Ra'iatea present any exceptional proof in that direction. As for the exact location of Kapa-ahu where Lanikeha was situated and to which Mo'ikeha's sons, Kila and La'a, returned the bones of their father, the evidence thus far favors southern Tahiti, which is at variance with Teuira Henry's choice of northern Tahiti-nui. A cluster of associations between Hawaiian place names of districts, *heiau*, waterfalls, and chiefly titles with comparable Taitian ones favors the districts of Te-ahu-upo'o and Tautira in Tai'arapu Peninsula (Tahiti-iti) as the home of Moikeha and the probable location of Moa'ula-nui-ākea. The associations between Moloka'i and Papara for Waikolu/Vaitoru and Kalawao/Taravao suggest an early migration of 'Olopana/'Oropa'a chiefs from south Tahiti to Ka-lua-nui, O'ahu, and early contacts between north Moloka'i's Kalawao-Waikolu district chiefs with the 'Olopana/Luanu'u chiefs of Ka-lua-nui and Kualoa (O'ahu), hence the relationships of the descendants of those Tahitians who cleaved asunder Tai-arapu Peninsula from whence came La'amaikahaiki and his son Ahukini-a-La'a from the "gills of the fish."

Me ke aho i lawai'a ka i'a nui a Kaha'i
I kona lawwe mai a ha'i i ka po'o o ka moku,
Moku a nahā ka 'api o ka i'a
Ma Kalawao i ka pu'u o Kahiki.

Ahu lau ka po'o o Kaukila i ka pā
I ka pā o Ke-ahu-po'o i ka lā;
Kulu mai ka maka i ka wai 'ekolu
Mai Waikolu e kau i ka 'olu
I ka 'olu o ka wai e keha i ka 'iu
E keha i ka 'iu o Moa'ula.

By the cord was the great fish of Kaha'i caught
When he brought forth the head of the island to be broken,
Severed and split were the gills of the fish
At Kalawao in the throat of Kahiki.

Heaped at the altars were the heads of Kaukila in the wall,
In the wall of Ke-ahu-po'o in the sunlight;
The tears of three streams flowed at the source
Of Waikolu set in the coolness,
In the coolness of streams flowing from the heights
From the dignity in the lofty zenith of Moa'ula.

[Poem written by the author in 1977 commemorating the great deeds of Kaha'i].

Department of Indo-Pacific Languages
University of Hawaii, 1979

Miscellaneous Traditions from the Migratory Period

[From Kamakau, Samuel M.,

Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, 1991: 102-111]

1. *Pūpū-hulu-ana* (k)

Pupu-hulu-ana was of *Kaua'i* and came to *O'ahu* during a great famine. He left from *Kailua*, *Ko'olaupoko* for islands to the east, then returned from *Makali'i* island, landing at *Kalae*, *Ka'u*, *Hawai'i*.

2. *Wahanui* (k)

Wahanui was a chief of *O'ahu*. He took with him *Kilohi*, as *kilo hōkū*, *Mo'opuaiki*, the *kahuna*. They sailed from *O'ahu* to *Haleolono* on *Moloka'i*, then to *Kaholo* on *Lana'i*, passing *Kaunolū*. *Wahanui's* canoe met with a storm and was blown back to *Kaunolū*, where they came ashore at *Kaumalapau*. On their return to sea, they took with them *Kaneapua*, who lived on *Lana'i*, and he found the way to *Kahiki*. *Wahanui* returned by way of *Ni'ihau*.

3. *Ka-maunu-a-niho* (w)

Ka-maunu-a-niho (w) came to *Kahahawai*, *Waihe'e*, *Maui* with *Kalana-nu'u-ku-amamao* (k), and *Humu* (k). She married *Kalananu'u-* (k), and *Humu* returned to *Kahiki*. *Hina* (w) was born to them. *Hina* married *'Olopana*, with whom she had *Kahiki-honua-kele* (k). *Hina* also married *Kahiki'ula* (brother of *'Olopana*), from whom came *Kamapua'a* (k). [*Note: the *'Olopana* family was situate in *Waipi'o* in the time of *Mo'ikeha*, whose son, *Kila*, visited there in his time, ca. 1240 A.D.]

There is difficulty in dating the *'Olopana* family migrations, since the tradition places them in *Hawai'i* before the time of *Nanakaoko* [ca. 640 A.D.] and also in the time of *Mo'ikeha* [1215 A.D.]. The activities of *Kamapua'a*, whose origins are also connected with *Kamaunu-a-niho*, place him in *Hawai'i* in the time of *Pele*, who, as the daughter of *Haumea*, and a chiefess of *Borabora*, places her in the generations after *Wakea* [i.e., before the *Ulu* and *Nanaulu* migration].

4. *Kauma'ili'ula (k)*

In Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i lived the family of *Kalino*: [*Dates are reconstructed from the time of Nanakaoko].

[ca.]

[515] A.D.	Holualoa	La'aloa	<i>Kalino (k)</i> <i>Lulu-kaina (k)</i> <i>'Ahewahewa (k)</i> <i>Wawa (k)</i> <i>Mumu (k)</i> <i>Mailelauli'i (w)</i> <i>Maile-kaluhea (w)</i> <i>Maile-pākaha</i> <i>Kaulana-poki'i (w)</i>
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<i>Mailelauli'i (w)</i> (lived in Puuepa)	Hikapoloa (chief of Kohala)	Ka'ili'ala
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[540]	Ka'ili'ala	Wai-kua-'a'ala	<i>Lu'ukia (w)</i> <i>Kauma'ili'ula (k)</i> <i>Ka-lehua-lihilihi-loloa</i> <i>Kukui-kupu-ohiohi</i> <i>Ho'owiliwili</i>
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[565]	Lu'ukia (w)	Olopana (in Tahiti)	Kaupe'a (w)
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[590]	Kaupe'a (w) [daughter of Olopana but not by Lu'ukia (w)] (from Kuaihelani)	<i>Kauma'ili'ula (k)</i>
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Kaupe'a (w) returned to Kua-i-helani, and *Kauma'ili'ula (k)* and his brothers went in search of her. When *Kauma'ili'ula* reached Kua-i-helani, Kaupe'a was in labor with their child, and *Lu'ukia* and the others were in the tabu area. *Kauma'ili'ula* was detained by the old woman, *Kaikapu*.

[615]	Ka-maka-o-ke-ahi (w)	(?)	Kahihiokalani (w)
	Kahihiokalani (w)	Nanakaoko (k) [640 A.D.]	Heleipawa/Kapawa

Fornander ascribed this *Lu'ukia (w)* to the time of 'Olopana, brother of Kumuhonua and Mo'ikeha, which would make her the same *Lu'ukia (w)* that caused Mo'ikeha to leave Tahiti for Hawai'i. Hainakolo (w) [daughter of *Mulieleali'i (k)*] of the Hainakolo romance also belongs to 'Olopana family traditions. [*Mulieleali'i (k)* was the son of *Maweke (k)* and father of Mo'ikeha].

5. *Keānini* (k)

Keānini (k) followed his uncles (Keaumiki and Keaukā), who came to Hawai'i. They were brothers of his mother, who was from Hawai'i. They came by way of Keolo'ewa and Ka-pali-kala-hale on Ni'ihau. At Waipi'o, Hawai'i they found Hainakolo (w). Keānini took Hainakolo to Kua-i-helani, where Hainakolo (w) gave birth to a girl, Leimakani. Mother and daughter then returned to Hawai'i. [Hainakolo (w) was living about the time of Lu'ukia and 'Olopana.

6. *Kaha'i-a-Ho'okamali'i* (k)

The grandson of Mo'ikeha, Kaha'i sailed to Kahiki (with Kieleinahulu, Malaihane'e, Kolina, and Woukohi), from Kalaeloa, O'ahu. He brought back breadfruit from 'Upolu (Taha'a) and planted it at Pu'uloa. [Kaha'i, son of Ho'okamali'i, ca. 1240 A.D.]

Summary of Descent Lines of Precontact Voyagers

The dates below are based on Maud Makemson's selection of the 1758 A.D. appearance of Halley's Comet, which was identified in her work as Kokoiki, the bright star seen when Kamehameha I was born. The formula used is 25 years per generation,

<u>365</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>ULU</u>	<u>NANAULU</u>	<u>361</u>	
<u>765</u>	<u>HEMA</u>	<u>PUNA</u>			<u>HEMA</u>
	(Hawaii)	(O'ahu)	(O'ahu/Maui/Hawaii)		(Maui)
	[Insert below: 908 A.D. -1033 A.D.]				
965	<i>Pau (k)</i>	Kapohaakia (w)	<i>Pau (k)</i>		Kapalakuakalani (w)
990	Huanuikalalailai (1)	Kapoea (w)	<i>Paumakua (k)</i>		Keananui (w)
		(2) Molehai (w)			
1015	(1) <i>Paumakua (k)</i>				
	(2) Kuhelani (k)				
1015	<i>Paumakua (k)</i>	Manokalililani (w)	Moeanaimua (k)		Alahoe
1040	Haho (k)	Kauilaianapa (w)	Kumakaha (k)		Moanaaulii
	[End insert]				
1065	Palena	Moe(a)naimua -			
1090	Hanala'anui	Kumakaha	Kekupahaikala	Hanala'aiki	Kapukapu (w)
	[Insert below: 1065-1165 A.D.]				
1065	Palena (k)	Hikawainui (w)	Nana (k)		Haakaleikini
		Hanala'anui (k)			
		Hanala'aiki (k)			
1090	Hanalaanui	Mahuia (w)	Luahiwa (k)		Kilohana (w)
1115	Lanakawai (k)	Kolohialiiokawai	Ahukai (k)		Keakamilo (w)
1140	Laa (k)	Kuakamolimoli- aloha (w)	La'a (k)		Kaikulani (w)
1165	<u>Pili (k)</u>	<u>Hinaauaku (w)</u>	<u>La'amaikahiki (k)</u>	(1) Hoakamaikapua- ihelu (w)	(2) Waolena (w)
				(3) Manoopupaipai (w)	
	[End insert]				
	[Readjusted genealogy]:				
1115	Lanakawai -	-		Mauiloa	Kauhua (w)
	* [Pa'ao migration to Hawai'i, in the time of Lanakawai]				
1140	La'au	Luahiwa	Maweke	Alau	Moikeaea (w)
1165	<i>Pili</i>	-	-	Kanemokuhealii	Keikauhale (w)
1190	Koa	Ahukai	1165 Mulieleali'i	Lonomai	Kolu (w)
1215	Ole	La'a	1190 Mo'ikeha	Wakalana	Kauai (w)
1240	Kukohou	La'amaikahiki	Ho'okamali'i	1215 Alo	Puhia (w)

The above generation count (25 years per generation) is tested against the 975 A.D. solar eclipse appearing in the time of Lonohuanewa [Nanauulu genealogy].

Pa'ao and Pili: Bidding Farewell to the Ancestral Home

How do we first know of Pa'ao? David Malo commented:

“...We are informed (by historical tradition) that two men named Pao and Makua-kaumana, with a company of others, voyaged hither, observing the stars as a compass; and that Pao remained in Kohala, while Makua-kaumana returned to Tahiti.

“Pao arrived at Hawaii *during the reign of Lonokawai*, the king of Hawaii. He (Lono-ka-wai) was the *sixteenth in that line of kings, succeeding Kapawa.*” [Malo: 6]

Fornander also:

“...As to the time of Kapawa, the legend of *Pa'ao*--a Southerner of great rank and a high-priest, whose family was established during this *Maweke-Paumakua* period as *par excellence* the priestly caste, and whose descendants survive to this day--expressly confirms Kapawa's contemporaneity with this migratory period...” [APR: 1: 200-201]

“...The legend states that when *Pili-kaiaea* arrived from Tahiti...the *Nana* chiefs of Hawaii were extinct because of the crimes of Kapawa, the chief of Hawaii at that time: *'Ua pau na Alii Nana o Hawaii-nei ikahewa o Kapawa, ke Alii o Hawaii ia manawa.* What this great crime or fault may have been is not stated. *Pa'ao*, the high priest, who had then already arrived and established himself, sent to *Kahiki*... for *Pili*, who, on his invitation and through his instrumentality, became a king on Hawaii.

“...Thus *Kapawa* and *Pili* were contemporaries, and Kapawa's grandfather, *Nanamaoa*, was *contemporary with or of the period of Paumakua*; and the family was probably of that same Southern *Ulu*, descent as *Puna and Paumakua*, as though living for some generations on the Hawaiian group *previous to Pili*, they were never included on the original *Nanaulu* line.

Fornander gives what he believes to be convincing evidence:

“...Thus *Hinakapaikua*, the wife of *Nanamaoa* and grandmother of *Kapawa*, is also called the grandmother of *Niheu-kalohe*, who was the recognized grandson of *Kuheailani*, the brother of *Paumakua*...” [Ibid.: 201.

“...Thus the same lady is the grandmother of *Kaulu*, sometimes called *Kaulu-a-Kalana*, the renowned navigator and explorer of those days...to have been contemporary with *Kahiwa-kaapu*, the wife of *Hina-kai-mauli-awa*, the grandson of *Maweke*...” Ibid: 201].

“...I feel justified, therefore, in placing *Kapawa* within the period of *Maweke's and Paumakua's grandchildren, and as contemporary with Pili.*”

In short, Fornander did away with David Malo's 16-generations from *Kapawa* as the arrival time of *Pa'ao*, and *Pili's* rule two generations later, after that of *La'au (k)*, who succeeded *Lanakawai (~Lono-ka-wai)*. He does place *Pa'ao* and *Pili* in the time of *Paumakua* and *Maweke*, from whom came *Mo'ikeha* and after him, *La'amaikahiki*, toward the end of the voyaging period.

Some time later he explained:

“...Forty years ago there were two sets of traditions current regarding *Pa'ao*. They were nearly similar in most points, but differed in some essentials. The one legend, collected and referred to by David Malo, the Hawaiian antiquarian, states that *Pa'ao* came from 'Wawao'; that having quarrelled with his brother *Lonopele*, he left and proceeded to Hawaii, where he established himself in the capacity of a high priest; and finding the island in a state of anarchy and without a sovereign chief 'on account of the crimes of *Kapawa*, the chief of Hawaii,' he sent back (another legend says he went back himself) to his native island, inviting some chief there to come and take possession of Hawaii. To which invitation *Pili* responded, and, having arrived at Hawaii, was confirmed in the government by *Pa'ao*, whose family, after him, remained the high priests of the reigning chiefs of Hawaii, until after *Kamehameha I*..

“...The other legend, collected and referred to by S. M. Kamakau, another Hawaiian antiquary, states that *Pa'ao* came from 'Upolo', though he possessed lands at 'Wawao'...that having quarreled with his brother *Lonopele*, he left in company with *Pili-kaaiea*, *Pili's wife Hinaauaku*, his own sister, *Namauu-o-malaia*, and thirty-five others, relatives and retainers, and later a long and dangerous voyage, arrived at the island of Hawaii, where he established himself in the district of Kohala, and *Pili* became sovereign chief of the island of Hawaii. [Fornander (APR): 2: 23-39]. [See also: Kamakau (1991: 3-5, 97-100).

This led Fornander to question Malo's guess at Wawao in Tonga as the homeland of *Pa'ao* and Kamakau's guess that Upolo meant Samoa, and (without knowing that these were old names for Huahine and Borabora in the northern Society Islands) Fornander continued:

“...*Pa'ao* is said to have made his first landfall in the district of Puna, Hawaii, where he landed and built a Heiau (temple) for his god and called it *Wahaula*...it is almost impossible now to say what portions of it date back to the time of *Pa'ao*, seeing that it was almost entirely rebuilt by *Imaikalani*, a noted chief over the Puna and Kau districts...and was again repaired or improved in the time of *Kalaniopuu*, who died 1782. It was the very last Heiau that was destroyed after the tabus were abrogated by *Kamehameha II* in 1820.

"...From Puna *Pa'ao* coasted along the shores of the Hilo and Hamakua districts, and landed again in the district of Kohala, on a land called Puuepa... In this district *Pa'ao* finally and permanently settled...at Puuepa are still the ruins of the Heiau of Mo'okini, which he built and where he officiated..."

"...The 'Puloulou', bundles or balls of either black or white tapa, tied to staffs and erected in front of the dwellings of the high chiefs, priests, and of the Heiaus, as signs of tabu, are said to have been introduced by *Pa'ao*, the high priest of Hawaii..." [APR: 2: 33-37, 63].

The tradition from Malo is as follows:

"...*Pa'ao* continued to live in Kohala until the kings of Hawaii became degraded and corrupted (*hewa*); then he sailed away to Tahiti to fetch a king from thence. Pili (Kaaiea) was that king and he became one in Hawaii's line of kings (*papa alii*).

It is thought that Kapua in Kona was the point of *Pa'ao's* departure, whence he sailed away in his canoe; but it is not stated what kind of a canoe it was. In his voyage to Hawaii, Pili was accompanied by Pao and Makuakaumana and others...The canoes...were named Ka-nalao-a-mu-ia...

"Tradition has it that on his voyage to this country Pili was accompanied by two schools of fish, one of *opelu* and another of *aku*, and when the wind kicked up a sea, the *aku* would frisk and the *opelu* would assemble together, as a result of which the ocean would entirely calm down. In this way Pili and his company were enabled to voyage till they reached Hawaii. On this account the *opelu* and the *aku* were subject to tabu in ancient times. After his arrival at Hawaii, Pili was established as king over the land, and his name was one of the ancestors in Hawaii's line of kings" [Malo: 6-7].

Historic and Cultural Content in Genealogical Recitations

The Cosmogonic Creation Chant as Mele Inoa, The Example of "Ka Mele a Paku'i" [Wakea and Papa koihonua].

One need only go back to the homeland of Polynesia as it exists today in the remote islands of Tonga, Fiji, Uvea, Futuna and outliers in Micronesia and Melanesia to see ancient Polynesian ways in continuance. Lands and chiefly titles are still inherited to districts and land tracts no matter how Anglicized or Europeanized the governments have become. Chiefly seats of honor in the houses of assembly are still there, including oratorical greetings and exchanges formally maintained. How could they possibly be recited unless first memorized, and where does the training take place? How are orator chiefs taught the greetings they must know to go through the protocol of the kava ceremony without making an ungracious mistake.

This is how the portion of the Papa-Wakea cosmogonic chant needs to be understood by a generation such as this, two hundred years removed from the time in which it was composed until recorded in the time of Abraham Fornander (1812-1887):

[Papa-Wakea]:

120. The very topmost sprouting leaves of the heavenly bud
From thence sprang *Kuauwa*, a chiefly branch
Kamehameha that stands alone at Kawaluna
The lower step, the highest step at Hakawili
That is heavy and burdened with tabus:
125. The sacred sweat from Maheha
The black lips that Hakau hung up on Hawaii.
[*Mele a Paku'i*].

Why is Kamehameha I mentioned in this cosmogonic creation chant, toward the end, when it says he "stood alone at Kawaluna"? "...The heavenly bud, from thence sprang Kuauwa [i.e., *Kuaiwa* (misspelled)]. Kawaluna is a heiau on O'ahu.

[Ulu genealogy]

Kahaimoeleaikaikupou (k)	Kapoakauluhailaa (w)	Kalaunuiohua
Kalaunuiohua	Kaheke (w)	<i>Kuaiwa</i>
<i>Kuaiwa</i> (k)	Kamuleilani (w)	Kahoukapu
		Hukulani
		Manauea
Kahopukapu (k)	Laakapu (w)	Kauholanuimahu
Kauholanuimahu (k)	Neula (w)	Kiha-nui-lulu-moku (k)
Kiha-nui- (k)	Waoilea (w)	<i>Liloa</i> (k)
<i>Liloa</i> (k)	Pinea (w)	<i>Hakau</i> (k)
	Akahi-a-kuleana (w)	' <i>Umi-a-Liloa</i> (k)

'Umi-a-Liloa (k)	Kulamea (w) Kapukini (w)	Noho-waa-umi Kealiokaloa (k) Kapulani Keawe-nui-a-'Umi (k) Aihakoko Kumalae-nui-a-'Umi (k) Kukailani (k) Kaikilani (w) Makakauali'i (k)
'Umi-a-Liloa (k)	Pi'ikea (w)	
Kealiokaloa (k) Kukailani (k)	Makuahineopalaka (w) Kaohukiokalani (w)	

[Papa-Wakea, continued]:

110. The one of the royal belt
Liloa of Pakaalana the adept in heavenly
lore
The royal offspring was Hakau
The fair flower outside
The message that was shot outside the
claims of Umi
Which was a bravado of Umi's at the
royal precinct

The great precinct of Mako
Of **Makakauali'i**, the heavenly chief

Of **Kamawaelualani**
Of Kauinakea, of Kapaikauanalulu
Of Kaalawai, of **Hinakuluina**

Kuaiwa (k), ancestor of Kamehameha I is 19 generations (1390 A.D.) before Kamehameha (ca. 1740 A.D.), or about 350 years (ca. 1265 A.D.) before Kamehameha's time.

Maka-kauali'i (k) is 11 generations (1590 A.D.) before Kamehameha, or 150 years. But **Hinakuluina**?

There is nothing in the *mo'okū'auhau* to identify this Hina, except that **Kuluina (w)** is a chiefly name from Kaua'i (**Kamawaelualani**) and in some way **Maka-kau-ali'i** must have been connected to Ahukini-a-La'a through Kuluina (w). There is justification for this elsewhere in the chant:

[Papa-Wakea, continued]:

65. Wakea was the resemblance
It was Haloa that was theirs,
It was Piimai, Wailoa, and Kakaihili
That was placed by the royal owl
The owl of the still eyes
70. That lowered the height of the sail on the course
At the kite of the sacred chiefs
That was folded and united in the same wohi
That was Ahukaiolaa and was Laa

- 75.. Laamaikahiki the chief
Then Ahukini'ialaa
 Kukonalaa
 And the parent Laulialaa
 The triplets of Laamaikahiki
80. Who were born on the same day
 The birthwater broke, gushed forth with
 the afterbirth, the reddish flow
 The navel is Ahulumai
 The royal navel...

Who were *Pi'imai*, *Wailoa*, and *Kakaihili*?

[Nanaulu genealogy]

1. Wakea Papahanaumoku
 had
 2. Haloo (k)
 Ho'ohokukalani (w)
 Ho'ohokukalani *Manouluae (k)*
 3. Waia (k) Huhune (w)
 4. Wailoa (k) Hikawaopualanea (w)
 5. *Kakaihili (k)* Haulani (w)
- [Fornander, APR: 1: 188]

[From Malo: Chapter 59]. Ulu genealogy]

"Genealogy of the kings from Wakea to Liloa" [p. 238]:

1. *Wakea* Papahanaumoku (w)
 [Ho'ohokukalani (w)] Wakea (k)
 Haloo-naka (taro plant)
 2. *Haloo* Hinamanoulua'e (w)
 3. *Waia* Huhune (w)
 4. *Hinanalo* Haunu'u (w)
 5. *Nanakehili* Haulani (w)
 6. *Wailoa* Hikawaipuaiaanea (w)
- [Fornander, Abraham, Account of the Polynesian Race (APR): 1: 190]

Pi'imai is unknown, but since we now identify the Paku'i version as excerpted from the Nanaulu genealogy, we have insight into why Kamehameha I is included with the O'ahu group of *wohi kapu* chiefs:

	[Nanaulu genealogy: Readjusted]		
1140	<i>Maweke</i>	Naiolaukea (w)	Mulielealii (k) Kalehenui (k) Keaunui (k)
1165	Mulielealii	Wehelani (w)	Mo'ikeha (k) Kumuhonua (k) 'Olopana (k)
1190	Mo'ikeha	Hinauulua (w) Hooipoikamalanai	<i>Ho'okamali'i (k)</i> Kila (and others)
1215	Ho'okamali'i (k)	Keahiula	Kaha'i (k)
1240	Kaha'i (k)	Keheau	Kuolono
1265	Kuolono	Kaneakalelei	Maelo (w)

1290	Maelo (w)	Lauli-a-la'a (k)	Laulihewa (k)
1315	Laulihewa (k)	Akepamailani	Kahuoi (k)
1340	Kahuoi (k)	Pelea	Pua-a-Kahuoi (k)
1365	<u>Pua-a-Kahuoi (k)</u>	Nononui	Kukahiaaililani
1390	Kukahiaaililani	Kokalola (w)	Mallikukahi (k)
1415	Mailikukahi (k)	Kanepukoa	Kalonanui (k) <i>Kalonaiki (k)</i>
1440	Kalonaiki (k)	Kikenui-a-Ewa (w)	<u>Piliwale (k)</u> Kamaleamaka (k) Lo-lale (k)
1465	Piliwale (k)	Paakanilea (w)	Kukaniloko
1490	Kukaniloko (w)	Luaia (k)	<u>Kalaimanuia (w)</u>
1515	<u>Kalaimanuia (w)</u>	<u>Lupekapukeahomakali'i (k)</u>	Kaihikapu (k)
1540	Kaihikapu-a-Manuia (k)	<u>Kaunuiakanehoalani (w)</u>	Kakuhihewa (k)
1565	<u>Kakuhihewa (k)</u>	Kahaiaonuiakauailana (w)	Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k) <u>Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k)</u>
		Kaakaualani (w)	Kauakahinui-a-Kakuhihewa
1590	<u>Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k)</u>	<u>Ipuwai-a-hoalani (w)</u>	Kauakahikuaanaauakane (w)

[Papa-Wakea, continued]:

- Nononoho kau e ka pueo alii
Ka pueo makalulu
70. I loha i ke kaha i ka pea
I ka lupe o na lani kapu
I Apikina, i huila lakou a ka wohi kahi
.....
Was Puaakahuoi
Kamalea and Makahiko o Piliwale
Kamaiolena, Kahaloalena
Halolenaula, Kalanimanuia
90. *The highly praised one of Manuia*
The yellow dog that was reddened
To beget full friendship
That is Kaunui of Kanehoalani.
This is the water gourd of Hoalani [Cp. Ipuwai-a-Hoalani (w)]
95. *It is Kaehokumanawa*

[Nanaulu genealogy from Kakuhihewa's son, Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa to Kalanikaulele-
iaiwai (w), Kamehameha's greatgrandmother]:

1590	<u>Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k)</u>	<u>Ipuwai-a-hoalani (w)</u>	Kauakahikuaanaaua- kane (w)
1615	Kauakuaanaauakane (w)	Iwikauikaua (k)	Kaneikauaiwilani (k)
1640	Kaneikauaiwilani (k)	Keakealani (w)	Kalanikauleleiaiwai (w)
1665	Kalanikauleleiaiwai (w)	(1)Kaulahea (k) (Maul)	Keku'iapo'iwanui (w)
1665	<u>Kalanikauleleiaiwai (w)</u>	(2)Keaweikekahialiokamoku	Ke'eaumokunui (k)
1690	Ke'eaumokunui (k)	Kamaka'imoku (w)	Keoua-kalanikupu- (k)
1715	Kalanikupuapaikalaninui (k)	Keku'iapo'iwa (w)	Kamehameha (k)
1740	<u>Kamehameha I (k)</u>		

*Kaunui of Kanehoalani,
Ipuwai-a-hoalani (w)...*

Ipuwai-a-hoalani (w) was the daughter of (Kane)-hoalani (k), and she married Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k) [son of Kualii, paramount sovereign of O'ahu]. She was Kamehameha's ggggg-grandmother on his father's side, and greatgrandmother of his greatgrandmother (Kalanikauleleiaiwi).

[(FC):6:2:320: Kamakaohua (k)...*Kau-a-Kamakaohua*, daughter of Kamakaohua, was the wife of Hoalani, and their daughter was *Ipuwai-a-Hoalani*, wife of Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa.

Kamakaohua (k): chief of Kohala to whom belonged the heiau of Muleiula on the land of Kahei (APR 2: 276)

How does that connect with *Halolenaula, Kahaloalena, Kamaiolena?*

[Papa-Wakea, continued]

*Kamaiolena, Kahaloalena
Halolenaula, o Kalanimanuia,
O Kaihikapu a Manuia
O ka ilio hulu ii i ula ia
I mahamahao
O Kaunui a Kanehoalani kena
O Ipuwai a Hoalani ke ai
95. O Kehokumanawa...*

They are on the line down from Opu'ukahonua in the time of Kanananuikua-mamao (k), in Fornander [(APR)1: 186; (FC) 4:1: 24-25]. [*Note: The Opu'ukahonua genealogy should not be confused with Opu'upu'u in the Kumulipo]. The reference is to twenty generations before Wakea:

490 BC	Opu'ukahonua (k) Lolomu (k) Mihi (k)	Lana (w)	Kanananuikumamao (k) Ohikimakaloa (w) Hekilikaaka (k)
465	Hekilikaaka (k)	Ohikimakaloa (w)	Nakolowailani (k) Ahulukaaala (w)
440	Ahulukaala (w)	Mihi	Kapuaululana
415	Kapuaululana	Holani	Kekamaluahaku
390	Kekamaluahaku	Laamea	Lanipipili
365	Lanipipili	Laakekapu Hinaimanau	Lanioaka Laakealaakona

340	Laakealaakona	Kamaleilani	Haulanuiakea
315	Haulanuiakea	Manau	<u>Kahaloalena</u>
290	<u>Kahaloalena</u>	Laumaewa	<u>Kahaloalenaula</u>
265	Laakealaakona	Laumaewa	<u>Kamaiolena</u>
240	<u>Kahaloalenaula</u>	Kanehoalani <u>Hinakului</u> Kaihikapualamea	Kaiwilaniolua Kapumaweolani Kukonalaa
215	Kaiwilaniolua	Kanehoalani	Kalaniwahine
190	Kapumaweolani	Haweaoku	Manuiakane
165	Kukonalaa	Kaenakulani	Kalanipaumako
140	Pili Kalaniwahine	Maiea	Kamakahiwa Makakaile Makakailenuiaola
115	Kamakahiwa Makakaile	Loe Paweo	Kikenuiaewa <u>Kalanimanuia</u>
090	Makakailenuiaola Kikenuiaewa <u>Kalanimanuia</u> 1 (k) ?	Ewa	Kahiko Kupulanakehau (w) Kukalaniehu Kahakauakoko Kahikoluamea (k)
065	Welahilaninui (k)	Owe	Wakea
040 B.C.	Kahiko (k)	Kupulanakehau	Papa (w)
	Kukalaniehu (k)	Kahakauakoko	Hoochokukalani + Haloa
015 A.,D.	Wakea	Papahanaumoku (w)	

-----[etc. generations between]-----

1440 A.D.	Kalonaiki (k)	Kikenui-a-Ewa (w)	<u>Piliwale (k)</u> Kamaleamaka (k) Lo-lale (k)
1465	Piliwale (k)	Paakanilea (w)	Kukaniloko
1489	Kukaniloko (w)	Luaia (k)	<u>Kalaimanuia (w)</u>
1515	<u>Kalaimanuia (w)</u>	<u>Lupekapukeahomakali'i (k)</u>	Kaihikapu (k)
1540	Kaihikapu-a-Manuia (k)	<u>Kaunuiakanehoalani (w)</u>	Kakuhihewa (k)
1565	<u>Kakuhihewa (k)</u>	Kahaiaonuiakauailana (w)	Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k) Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k) Kaakaulani (w) Kauakahinui-a-Kakuhihewa
1590	<u>Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa (k)</u>	<u>Ipuwai-a-hoalani (w)</u>	Kauakahikuaanaaua-kane (w)
1615	Kauakuaanaauakane (w)	Iwikauikaua (k)	Kaneikauaiwilani (k)
1640	Kaneikauaiwilani (k)	Keakealani (w)	Kalanikauleleiaiwai (w)
1665	Kalanikauleleiaiwai (w)	(1)Kaulahea (k) (Maui)	Keku'iapo'iwanui (w)
1665	<u>Kalanikauleleiaiwai (w)</u>	(2)Keaweikekahialiiookamoku	Ke'eaumokunui (k)
1690	Ke'eaumokunui (k)	Kamaka'imoku (w)	Keoua-kalanikupu- (k)
1715	Kalanikupuapaikalaninui (k)	Keku'iapo'iwa (w)	Kamehameha (k)
1740	<u>Kamehameha I (k)</u>		

350 - 1200 A.D. The Polynesian Component in Hawaiian Place Names: A Living Heritage

Hawaiian Names and Their Relationships with the Pacific.

Johnson, Ruby Kawena (University of Hawaii) in Unedited Facsimiles, South Pacific Place Names Conference, Wellington, November 5-7, 1990; New Zealand Geographic Board, Nga Pou Taha o Aotearoa.

[From F. Summary/Concluding Remarks [page 82]:

"The Hawaiians have been separated from their closest relatives in Poly-nesia since the migrations stopped around the fourteenth century (1350 A.D.), according to Sir Peter Buck. It is customary to assign twenty-five years to a generation in order to compute that date back from the time of King Liloa who should have lived a century later, 1450 A.D. That would make him a contemporary of Columbus within a few years, so that we can have some kind of gauge by which to measure the sense of time which is involved in the recitation of genealogical names whose importance to us is locked in the past.

"It has been rewarding, and also surprising, to learn that the percentage of retention of Hawaiian place names, as of islands and districts, is high. Aarne Koskinen [1963: "A Preliminary Statistical Study of Polynesian Place Names," Studia Missologica Fennica II (Publications of the Finnish Society for Missionary Research) 8: 7-11], who studied the places names in fifteen Polynesian languages, [See list in D. intra, pages 296-311] gave percentages of no less than 17% Proto-Polynesian bases in the Hawaiian comparative sampling and a high of 23% agreement with Maori place names...

[In the 95-name sampling drawn from the list of comparative place names (Maori/Hawaiian - Hawaiiina/Maori), the retention of Proto-Polynesian bases (cognates or common compounds repeated from West Polynesian into East Polynesian), the Maori/Hawaiian sample showed a rough 34% or about one-third, but this is, of course, of a preliminary estimate awaiting more complete analysis and comparison].

"...Something of the romance and poetry, also, has been gained from this study, however fragmented the remaining portions in the Hawaiian records of the migratory periods. "If the safe figure of about 3000 years Pacific occupation is true of the Polynesians, in their vast adventures throughout the Pacific, then the record is truly a remarkable one, a source of pride in heritage that our forefathers wished us no to forget.

"Was it only yesterday the poets said:

Nani ka mana'o i hiki mai
 E naue a e 'ike ia Ka-lae,
 Ka Lae kaulana o ka 'āina
 E 'alo ana i ke 'ehu o ke kai.
 Noho ana Ka-'ilio-a-Lono
 Ho'oiipo ana me Ka-lupe-nui
 O ke Koko-a-Makali'i.
 He ali'i no 'oe e Kalalea
 Ka'ana nei me Wahine-hele
 Hele no a ia Ka-puhi-'ula
 Ki'ei i Ka-luo-o-ka-'iole
 Noho Poho-a-Hina i ka la'i.
 'Au'au i ka wai o Palahemo
 Kahi wai 'awili me ke kai.
 Ui a'e ka mana'o o ka hoa
 E ohu i ka lei kauna'oa,
 Nonono 'ula wena i ka la
 I ahona i ka lau 'ilima
 Noho mai Makalei i ke kapu
 La'au pi'i ona a ka i'a
 Ha'ina ia mai ka puana
 No makou a pau.

A wonderful thought arose,
 To travel to see Kalae,
 Kalae, the famous point of land
 Facing the foamy sea.
 There abides Ka-'ilio-a-Lono
 Making love to Ka-lupe-nui
 There too, Koko-a-Makali'i
 And the chief, Kalalea.
 Sharing (the scene) with Wahine-hele,
 Going on to Ka-puhi-'ula,
 Peering down Ka-lua-o-ka-'iole,
 Poho-a-Hina reposes in the calm.
 Bathe in the water of Palahemo
 Where fresh water mixes with the salty,
 Thoughts turn to the companions
 Adorned with leis of kauna'oa,
 Reddened by the sun,
 Cooled only by 'ilima leaves.
 Makalei abides in the kapu,
 That wood that attracts fish,
 This concludes our son in honor
 Of every one of us.

[by Mary Kawena Puku'i]

In sifting through the mass of Hawaiian place names for those which are traditional Polynesian/Pacific island names, one is struck by the volume of organize in order to review which reflect those particular relationships which have had a traditional longevity. The categories, only some of which can be examined here, are:

- (1) Names of principal islands (inhabited)
- (2) Names of uninhabited and offshore islands/rocks
- (3) Names of channels between islands
- (4) Names of reef passages and bays (anchorage)
- (5) Names of points/capes/reefs
- (6) Names of ocean currents/seas
- (7) Names of beaches and surfing sites
- (8) Names of inland waterways
 - (a) navigable rivers
 - (b) streams
 - (c) waterfalls
 - (d) natural lagoons, lakes, ponds
 - (e) fishponds (man-made)
- (9) Names of mountain peaks/ranges
 - (a) volcanic craters
 - (b) hills

From the perspective that Polynesian discoverers and settlers were interested in identifying prominent features of the land for the purposes of piloting, adding to those as they increased familiarity with other features and over time adding to the nomenclature, these should also be considered in relation to a stock-in-trade of traditional Polynesian naming with regard to:

- (1) Names of the migration group and its leaders
- (2) Names of ancestral homelands and memorable features
- (3) Names of chiefs and gods
- (4) Names of district divisions and owners/chiefs
- (5) Names of sacred sites, temples, birthstones, burial sites
- (6) Names of winds/stars and compass orientations
- (7) Names of famous battles/battlegrounds, historic events

A. Backgrounds of Comparative Polynesian Place Names Study

The Hawaiian Islands, New Zealand, and Easter Island are interesting in the study of place names because they are at the extremes from the central point of dispersal in East Polynesia. Should these extremes mean that they should resemble each other's history of migrations least or most? Of this Samuel H. Elbert in Place Names of Hawaii sounded a linguist's caution while at the same time carefully noting perseverance of East Polynesian island and place names to continue to reflect a geographic heritage from West Polynesian [Elbert et. al., 1974]:

"The only comparative study of Polynesian place names made thus far is by Koskinen [(Aarne), 1963]. He compared names in 15 languages. The number of names available to him ranged from 2,410 for Tongan to 107 for Niue. None of the lists other than those for Hawai'i and Rennell/Bellona indicated all the phonemes. Koskinen concluded that *the greatest number of Hawaiian place names are shared with Maori* [italics mine] (23 per cent), Tahitian (21 per cent), Rarotongan and Tupai (18 per cent), Samoan, Marquesan, and Tonga (each 17 per cent). He believed that Hawaiian shared 281 names with Tongan. How he arrived at such a high number is not clear, as he does not give his data. He did attempt to compare *ancient* rather than present-day forms of the names" [emphasis added].

"Certain generic names are found nearly everywhere in Polynesia, including reflexes of **awa* 'bay, anchorage', **fale* 'house', building', **fanga* 'bay', **la'e* 'point, cape', **maunga* 'mountain', **tahi* 'sea', and **wai* 'fresh water'. A question that the comparativist is bound to raise is this: Are compound names formed with such bases to be considered cognate, or may one assume that some of them have originated independently?

"The comparison of Polynesian place names attempted here is largely exploratory; it seems impossible to make a definitive, comparative study until certain theoretical problems are ironed out, and until rather lengthy phonemic lists of numerous places are available. In Table 1 we list only a few Hawaiian names that seem unquestionably to date back to Proto-Polynesian. For such an assumption, cognates of Hawaiian names must occur in Tongan or Niue" [Elbert et. al: 277-279]

His table (1. Proto-Polynesian Reflexes of Hawaiian Place Names) indicating proto forms for Hawaiian '*Upolu, Lani-akea, Manu'a-(kepa), Hā'upu, Hmoa, Hawai'i, Kahiki-nui, Ka'ū, Ko'olau, Kona, Wai-mea, Wawau* reveals a persistent traditional identification of island names from West into East Polynesia. Another table indicates percentages of vocabulary retention between Polynesian languages [acc. Dyen].

C. Hawaiian Place Names in Traditional Literature

Explanation:

When this paper was delivered in the 1990 South Pacific Place Names Conference as the opening presentation, this section (C) contained the subject matter which has been a part of this volume of Hawaiian literature, i.e., Origin Myths and Migration Legends. This section (C) of the original essay will be reduced by that amount of information. Unfortunately the bibliography for citations in the original paper no longer exists for reference in this text. For names of ancestral homelands, see *intra*, pages 86-93].

The comparative potential, then, exists for interisland West and East Polynesian place name study to continue, but per the total list of surviving place names under name topics or categories outline on page 1 of the manuscript [*intra*, page 277], we have no exhaustive documentation by which to make a study that would provide answers needed to so many questions of relationship, and what kinds of relationship, if not between place names, then other traditional names of titled chiefs, gods, stars given to places which might hint of routes of migration or a common stock-in-trade, that by the Elbert sampling, gives an idea of selected importance from the target traditions.

For example, the Maori place name *Haweā* connected with the South Island, New Zealand, is a Hawaiian place name:

1. *Haweā*: The *Haweā* tribe was among the original inhabitants of the South Island. The lake and other places where the name occurs may be named originally from one of Rakaihaitu's men. If the name was given through some event in history, it implies doubt and indecision [Reed, A.W. A Dictionary of Maori Place Names, 1961: 25].

2. *Hāwea*. Point and station, Lahaina qd., Maui, perhaps named for the famous drum brought by La'a-mai-Kahiki from Kahiki (HM 356) [Elbert, 1974: 43].

The drum *Hāwea* was one of two drums used to announce births of infant chiefs at the heiau Kūkaniloko, central O'ahu, beginning with the time of the chief Kapawa (= Kapaoa), Heleipawa (Heleipaoa), and chiefs descending from the time of La'amaikahiki (i.e., the Mo'ikeha/Kila/La'amaikahaiki migrations, extensions of the Maweke/Hua migrations credited to the Society Islands). It was brought to Hawai'i with a companion, *'Opuku* [cp. *Oputu*, a name of the daughters of Vehi'oa (Wahie-loa) (Marquesas) [Langridge, 1988: 52].

Savea-Si'uleo [cp. Tongan *Hikuleo*] was ruler, the 'eel-king', of Savai'i at the entrance [Fāfā] to the underworld homeland, Pulotu [*Hikuleo*, as a god in Tongan tradition, was incarnate in the eel]. The 'eel Savea Siuleo devoured all of his brothers except Ulufanuase'ese'e. Hikuleo [cp. Si'uleo] had two shrines in the Ha'apai group: Faleme'e temple at Ha'ano and another on Uiha. The Samoan chief Malietoa Savea (Malietoa I) was a grandson of Fe'epō in a line of chiefs descending from *Pili*. *Savea Si'uleo*, one of the high chiefs of Falealupo, Savai'i, is reminiscent of Havea Hikuleo of Bulotu in the Tau-fulfonua/ Havea Lolo fonua genealogies of Tonga.

As a West Polyensian place/ family name connected with the Maui [Vava'u, Ha'apai, Tongatabu] and a chiefly name [Savai'i, Samoa], it is a trace of identity connected with the *Haweā* name on the island of Maui. Equally interesting is its association with a lake *Havea* [South Island, New Zealand], just as it also is connected with water, *Vai Havea*, on Easter Island.

Another South Island connection with a Hawaiian place name is *Arahura* [Reed, a.W., 1961: 15; also Savage, 1962: 40]:

1. *Arahura*: *ara* 'path'; *hura* 'to discover'; connected with Ngahue, companion of Kupe on his discovery of New Zealand. *Arahura is the ancient name of Aitutaki* in the Cook Islands, and the landing place and river in the South Island were possibly named in memory of the island home.

On the other hand, it may be that Kupe and Ngahue, after a battle with an octopus in Cook Strait, went down to the west coast of South Island to search for any people they could find. Ngahue gave the name to perpetuate their search. It (*Arahura*) *was also an early name for the South Island.*"

In Hawaiian an *alahula* is a path on which one goes back and forth; a *pali hula'ana* is a cliff at the point of a bay where it is not possible to travel by land, forcing one to swim around to the other side, as from one valley to another around a ridge or cliff.

In Hawai'i the path much traveled by the shark goddess Ka'ahupahu, between Honolulu and Pearl Harbor, is called *Ke alahula Pu'uloa, he alahele o Ka'ahupahu*, 'the track of Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor), a pathway of Ka'ahupahu:

Nani Ka'ala hemolele i ka mālie,
 Kuahiwi kaulana a 'o 'Ewa,
 E ki'i ana i ka makani o ka 'āina
 Hea ka moa'e, eia au, e ke aloha.

Pūpū (a o 'Ewa)
 I ka nu'a (na kanaka)
 E naue mai (a e 'ike)
 I ka mea hou (o ka 'āina)
 A he 'āina (ua kaulana)
 Mai na kupuna mai
 He *alahula* Pu'uloa he alahēle o Ka'ahupahau.

Beautiful Ka'ala perfect in the calm,
 Famous mountain of 'Ewa
 Fetching the wind of the land
 The tradewind calls, "Here am I, Love."

(Like) shells of 'Ewa
 Are heaps of people
 Who come to see
 New things of the land
 A land famous
 Since the time of ancestors.
 The pathway of Pu'uloa
 The sea-path-of-Ka'ahupahau [shark-goddess, Ka-nuku-o-Mamala,
 to Pu'uloa]

[*Pu'uloa*, "many-hills", the old name for Pearl Harbor and Wai'anae Mountain range in the background, where the hills are all prefixed with *pu'u-*, i.e., Pu'u Kapolei (crater), Pu'u-ka-'ilio (Dog-Hill), Pu'u Kaua (War Hill), Pu'u Kapua'ai (Foot Hill), Pu'u-ku-Makali'i (Rising-Pleiades Hill), etc.]

A pattern, then, of older island names replaced by ones given later, superimposed upon a previous record of discovery and settlement, emerges, which is again consistent with the history of Polynesian place names, particularly of islands. From the very outset, then, we are handicapped by name losses and by elision of parts of older names, such elision obscuring and confusing the etymology:

1. Ma'ulili. Bay, East Maui [Elbert, 1974: 148].
2. Ka'ulili. Family surname [maiden name of my mother, Esther Kinney nee Ka'ulili; surname of grandfather, Solomon Kamaha Ka'ulili, from Moloka'i.
3. Ma'ulili. Family surname [cousin of my grandfather, from Hule'ia, Kaua'i]
4. 'Ulili. Family surname [of 'Alama family, of Kapa'a, Kaua'i];
 Lit., wandering tattler, winter migrant.

5. Kuriri. (a) A variety of small, dark gray bird; resembles the plover; a variety of snipe or sandpiper; gray plover or wandering tattler, *Heteroscelus incanus* [Tuamotu].
 (b) The name of a star [Tuamotu; Stimson, 1964: 266].
6. Kuri The snipe; a sea bird which frequents the shores of lagoons or the seashore; the *totanua incanus* spp. [Rarotongan].
7. Kuriri The sandpiper; a sea wading bird that frequents the sandy stretches near the lagoons [Savage, 1962: 134 (Rarotongan)].
8. Mata-kuriri 'Eye-of-the-wandering-tattler', a god of the migratory "plover", i.e., plover-priests, bird-men, navigators.

The wandering tattler was symbolic of the *torea* class of 'plover birds', meaning the navigation priesthood whose eyes (*mata*), were as the *torea* or *kuriri*, able to fix upon and home-in on the North Star (Polaris, in Ursa Major) or other fixed polar point north, and to navigate thus. The place name (Ma'ulili) and family names (Ka'ulili, Ma'ulili, 'Ulili) are variants of the compound Mata-kuriri ~ Maka'ulili, 'Eye-of-the-wandering-tattler'.

Names of principal islands and uninhabited islands in the Hawaiian chain older than those recorded in current usage since sonctact times were as follows:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Hawai'i | Nono-nui-akea
Lono-nui-akea
Hawai'i-nui-akea
Hawai'i-nui-kua-uli
Hawai'i-nui-kua-uli-kai-o'o |
| 2. Maui | Mauiloa
'Ihi-kapu-/kapa/-lau-ma'ewa |
| 3. Molokini | Mololani |
| 4. Moloka'i | Moloka'i-nui-a-Hina |
| 5. Lana'i | Nana'i
Lana'i-kaula-wahine
Lani-kaula-wahine |
| 6. Kaho'olawe | Kaho'olewa
Kohemalamalama
Kanaloa |

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 7. O'ahu | 'O'ahu-a-Luanu'u
Lalolo-i-Mehani
Lalo-o-hoaniani
Lalowaia |
| 8. Kaua'i | Ka-mawae-lua-lani-moku |
| 9. Ni'ihau | |
| 10. Lehua | |
| 11. Ka'ula | |
| 12. Moku-papapa | Na-papa-ka-haku-akea-o-Lono |
| 13. Nihoa | [Island recorded in Pele migration legend; given to Nihoa after 1789 discovery by Douglas of the <i>Iphigenia</i> and annexed to Hawai'i in 1898; pre-contact occupation by Polynesians confirmed by 66 sites listed by Emory, Kenneth P. <u>Archaeology of Nihoa and Necker Islands</u> [Bishop Museum Bulletin 53, 1928]. |

The presence of the name *Lono* [*Rongo~Ro'o*] in the old name for Hawai'i [*Nono*, variant of *Lono*, n/l allophone] and also in the name for *Moku-papapa* [a legendary name for an existing 'flat' (papapa) group where Ni'ihauans went fishing] as 'the-flat-strata' (papa), 'white' [akea] rock/island [haku] of- *Lono* gives some traditional understanding of atolls, shoals/rocks, or submerged reef lands northwest that at one time were under of a chief (or god) of that name [*Lono~Rongo~Ro'o*]. The suffix *-akea* 'broad' as the 'expanse of the daylight-sky (akea) from *Wakea*, is a personification of the meridian (*awakea*) 'noon-time' and celestial equator, *Ke-ala-i-ka-piko-o-Wakea* [path-to-the-navel-of-Wakea], a great circle extension beyond the terrestrial equator, *Ke-ala-i-ka-piko-o-ka-honua* [path to the navel/center of the earth, i.e., Earth Mother].

It suggests *Ra'iatea* [cp. *Rangi-atea~Langi-atea*, *Lani-akea*], which was *Hawai'i* [Henry, 1928: 95]. *Taha'a* island, at the same nexus with *Ra'iatea*, was in ancient times '*Upuru* and toward the north, Borabora, was then *Vava'u* [ibid.: 98, 102], while close by on Huahine Island in the northern Societies was a center called *Fare-nui-atea* (Great house of Atea) [Henry, 1928: 99].

Rangi (Maori) and *Wakea* (Hawai'i) reflect ancient *Atea* origins of *Ra'iatea* (Society Is.) in origin myths featuring *Atea/WakeaVatea* in chiefly genealogies of East Polynesia. As we note from Elbert's sampling of consistent place name cognates for Hawaiian *Lani-akea* ~ Maori *Rangi-atea*, Tongan *Langi-atea* is favored for a

West Polynesian source, a Samoan equivalent being unavailable. The *Atea* traditions of East Polynesia need to examine the *Savaiki~ Havaiki~ Havai'i~ Hawai'i* origin myths for elements that relate them to a common tradition. The complexity, for the moment, needs to be put aside as we view the other island names.

The tradition is still active in the Tuamotus, where children sing the song:

Vatea te i runga,
Fakahotu te i raro,
Areare kura e,
He rei hie,
I te tama.

Above, Vatea
Below, Fakahotu
Exalted in veneration
For the child.

To see the unfolding of these islands as they originate in "births" from Earth-Mother (*Papa-hanau-moku*; cp. *Papa-tu-a-nuku* (Maori) through a traditional chant fragment from the Hawaiian Papa/Wakea creation myth will help to present the Hawaiian understanding [Fornander, Abraham, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (FC = Fornander Collection), 1917; Vol. IV: p. 13-17]. [Refer, intra, p. 19-20].

Hawaiian tradition recognizes an 'east' (*kū*) and 'west' (*moe*) Tahiti, which is different from Tahiti-nui (*Kahiki-nui*, 'great-Tahiti', south Society Islands. Since Tahiti-nui is 'east' of Hawai'i this must be *Tahiti-ku*, Tahiti-east.

'Tahiti-west (*Kahiki-moe*) can only mean fiji [*Viti*, i.e., Viti Levu].

Tahitian traditions mention: *Tahiti-nui-mare'are'a*, same as Tahiti-nui; Tahiti-iti [i.e., Tai'arapu Peninsula]; Tahiti-iti [and Mo'orea; now called Aimeo ~ Eimeo].

Tuamotuan traditions list: *Hiti-i-te-ara-pi'opi'o*; *Hiti-ni'a* ['upper-Hiti', i.e. Tahiti and Mo'orea]; *Hiti-raro* ['lower-Hiti; i.e., Ra'iatea and Taha'a; *Hiti-roa*, i.e., Tahiti and Mo'orea]; *Hiti-poto* ['short-Hiti', i.e., Mangareva, in the Austral Islands]; *Hiti-tautau* [Moruroa~Mururoa, in Tuamotus]; *Hiti-tautau-atu* [Timoe]; *Hiti-aureveva* [Pitcairn Island] (Cp. *Hikiau*, name of heiau, Kealakekua, Hawai'i); *Hiti-marama* ['sunken island'; acc. Henry, 1928: 69-70]. Tuamotuan names indicate more familiarity with *Hiti*, than *Tahiti* [Stimson, 1964].

Rarotongan tradition identifies *Ta'iti* as the ancestral homeland of migration leader *Tangi'ia* from Puna'auia district, Tahiti-nui [Savage, 1962: 333].

Marquesan traditions [acc. Von den Steinen; in Langridge/Terrell, 1988] list *Fiti-nui* (near 'A'otonga [cp. Lalokona, Rarotonga), *Fiti/ Iti*; *Fiti-au-peka/-pe'a*; *Fiti-Kahakaha*, *Fiti-koko*, *Fiti Taaiai*, *Fiti-te-Tourme*, *Fiti-to'o-i-ani* [cp. Hiki-kolo-i-lani]; *Fiti-tua-pahu* [Langridge, 1988: 212].

That *Tahiti-nui* [Tahiti, Society Islands] ; *Hiti-ni'a*, *Hiti-roa* [Tuamotu]; *Ta'iti* [Rarotonga], and *Fiti-nui* [Marquesan] are not reflected in place names as *Tahiti* except in *Kahiki-nui* [Maui, Hawai'i] may indicate a closer relationship between the Hawaiian and southern Society Islands, Rarotonga, and the Marquesas.

Since *-ku* (east) and *-moe* (west) are compass-oriented, the *Tahiti-moe* 'son' of Wakea and Papa is situated west of the Hawaiian group, downwind in the direction of *Fisi* [Tongan] and *Viti* [Fiji/Viti Levu], the Tongan/Samoan orientation in the Hawaiian compass. Or, it may reflect the names of Tahitian gods/chiefs/chiefesses having the name *Moe*:

Moe, a Tahitian god connected with canoe-launching [Henry, 1938: 551];

Moe, chief of Tai'arapu Peninsula (Tahiti-iti) [ibid.: 377, 389];

Moe, chiefess of Fa'a'a, Tahiti-nui, and wife of Mahea-nu'u [ibid.: 594];

Moeata, chief of Hiti'a'a (Tairapu), the royal family of Tahiti-nui [ibid. 88], where runs the river called *Vaihi*; a goddess of the wind *Moe-hau-i-te-ra'i*, a child of Ta'aroa and Papa-rahara [ibid., 407];

Moe-te-ra-uri, high chief of Mataoa'e [ibid. 85].

The identity of *Moe*, chief of Tai'arapu Peninsula (Tahiti-iti, southeast district, Tahiti-nui) [Henry, 1928: 389, 85] is relevant to Hawaiian traditions (*Lua'ehu*, *Pimoe*, *Mahana'uluehu*) in the story of Maui fishing up the island fish, *Ulua*):

"The high chief *Moe*...of Mata'oe in Tairapu, had a shark named *Vivi-te-Rua-ehu*...whose habitation was a great hole on the coral reef of his district. The shark was of a reddish color and was regarded as a terror to all at sea except to Moe and his family. When it approached strangers, it is said that it would leap upon their canoe to upset and devour them and was only appeased when presented with a suitable present, of cloth or a hog. But it was said always to have known and protected the chief or any member of this family that was exposed to danger in the ocean. This family also had an immense eel god, also named *Vivi-te-Rua-ehu*. It was of a reddish color, and it dwelt with the shark, whose attendant and messenger it was believed to be" [ibid.: 389].

Easter Island migratory traditions do not credit Hiti or Tahiti as the homeland; rather, *Rapa*, *Rarotonga*, and *Mangareva* [Metraux, 1971: 94-97]. (Metraux distrusts the Rarotonga connection). Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) says that Mangareva has scant reference to *Tahiti* but greater reference to *Ruanuku* as an ancestral homeland [Buck, 1971:6, list of place names].

Papa (Hawaii) on her return from Kapakapakaua-a-Kāne (ancestral homeland) established a household with *Luanu'u*, whose name is a compound, *Lu + a + Nu'u*, meaning Lu-son-of-Nu'u. That makes O'ahu-a-Luanu'u, *Ahu-son-of-Lu-son-of-Nu'u*. *Luanu'u* (Hawai'i) ancestry enjoys strong representation on O'ahu, chiefly in the Kualoa area, Kāne'ohe district, of Ko'olauloa. It has a wide presence in west and east Polynesia, from Futuna to Mangareva:

West Polynesia:

- (a) Futuna *Luanuku* - place name (southwest, Fungatonga)

East Polynesia:

- (a) Mangareva *Ruanuku* - name of a marae (Gatavake, Kirimiro districts), built by Tupa of basalt; Tupa originally from *Hiva*.

ruanuku, general name for marae; name of a god.

Mangarevan tradition regards *Ruanuku* as the first-born son of Tu [Buck, 1938: 424], that the gods live in a sky-world called *Hapai* [cp. *Ha'apai*, Tonga (?)]. Among them are Tu and his descendants, *Ruanuku*, *Mariu* [cp. *Mariua*, the star Spica in Virgo in the Tahitian "Birth of Islands" chant; see, *intra*, p. 82-83], and *Tahiti*--who lived there as did Ru-te-ragi who directed the stars. Other inhabitants were Hura-a-manu and Papaniga-kura...*Tagaroa visited his son Tu in Hapai after he left his wife Haumea*, and it was from there that he saw her dead body floating in the sea" [Buck, 1938: 424, 450, 454, 470].

- (b) Tahiti *Ruanu'u*, name of a god (manifest in the 'otu'u stork; in Hawai'i, the auku'u is the black night heron).
- (c) Mangaia
(Cook Islands) *Ruanuku*, a god; also brother of Tangi'ia (migration hero).
- (d) Tuamotus *Ruanuku*, a god (mentioned with Tane in prayers) [See Emory, 1975: 138].

Strictly from the standpoint of genealogical tradition, rather than comparative place names, it is significant that Mangaian tradition records the name *Vae-rua-rangi* [Cp. *Kamawae-lua-lani*, old name for Kaua'i, Hawai'i] [See Buck, 1934: 15-19]. *Vari* [Cp. Walinu'u, wife of Kāne (Papa/Wakea) Chant of Paku'i) is the beginning of the Mangaian lineage to Vatea and Papa, whose sons were: Tangaroa, Rongo, Tane, and Tangi'ia. Their land is *A'ua'u*, an old name for Mangaia. *Vae-rua-rangi* is a descendant of *Rongo*, and *Tonga-iti* [Cp. *Tongafiti* ~ *Konohiki* (Hawai'i). On Aitutaki, also comes the related names *Ta-vaerua-nui* and *Ta-vaerua-iti*. There is a strong connection between Mangaia and Kaua'i with regard to *Vaerua-rangi* (Mangaia) and *Kama-waelua-lani* (Kaua'i).

Place names having the suffix *-nu'u~ nuku* [i.e., *Ke-apapa-nu'u*, *Ke-apapa-lani* (Hawai'i); *Papa-tuanuku* (Maori, NZ) are most widespread in the Pacific:

(a) Polynesia (West):

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) Outliers: | Nukuoro | [East Carolines; State of Pohnpei] |
| | Nukutolu | [Lau Group, Fiji] |
| | Nukunuku | [Vanua Levu, Fiji] |
| | Nuku Levu | [Viti Levu, Fiji] |
| | Nukulau | [Viti Levu, Fiji] |
| | Nukumanu | [No. Solomon Is.] |
| | Nuku Thikombia | [Lau Is., Fiji] |
| | Nukusemanu | [Ringgold Group, Fiji] |
| | Nukubalati | " |
| | Nukubasanga | " |
| | Nanuku Levu | " |
| Nukutolu | [Lau Group, Fiji] | |
| (2) Tuvalu: | Nukufetau | |
| | Nukulaelae /-lailai | |
| (3) Tokelau: | Nukunau/Nikunau | |
| | Nukunono | |
| (4) Tonga: | Nukulahanga | [islet, Vava'u] |
| | Nukulai | [island, Ha'apai] |
| | Nukunamu | [island, Ha'apai] |
| | Nukunukumotu | [island, Tongatabu] |
| (4) Tonga: | Nukupule | [Ha'apai] |
| | Nukutula | [Ha'apai] |

These *nuku-* names for islands/islets in Tonga, Tokelau, and Tuvalu (Ellice Islands) seem to be applied to islands in a group, most of which are within atolls, or smaller islands off the coast of a larger, high island.

In East Polynesia, *nuku-* is a base qualifying a high island (Marquesas) and atolls (Tuamotu), but there are fewer islands named *nuku-*:

(b) Polynesia (East):

- (1) Marquesas: Nukuhiwa [Cp. Nu'uhiwa (Hawai'i); Nu'uhiva (Tahiti); 'Iva (Rarotonga)]
- (2) Tuamotu: Nukutipipi
Nukutavake

Land names of subdivided tracts having the base *nuku-* have recognized title, as of the land-owning family and its titled chief, a factor most characteristic of Tonga:

(c) Polynesia (West):

- (1) Tonga: (tracts/ sections of land) and title-holder (acc. Gifford, 1923: 178-181):

<i>Nuku-</i>		
Nukunukumotu Is.	(Tongatabu) Pangai, Lifuka Ha'ano	(Ha'apai) (Ha'apai), Tui Haangana (landlord) [Cp. Ngana ~ Nanaulu, Nanahoa (descendants of Maui (Hawai'i)) (Vava'u), Fakatulolo (landlord)]
	Kapa Is.	
Nukualofa/-lefa	village/district	(Tongatabu); capital
Nukuatea	Neiafu	(Vava'u); Fotofili (landlord)
Nukuea	Uiha * <i>Tuanuku</i>	(Ha'apai), Malupo (landlord) (Vava'u), Ulukalala (landlord) [Cp. 'Alala, east Moloka'i]
Nukuea	Longomapu	(Vava'u), Veikune (landlord)
Nukufeheaki	Angaha	Niuafou'ou
<i>Nukufetau</i>	Angaha	<i>Niuafou'ou</i>
[Cp. <i>Nukufetau</i> (Tuvalu)]		[Cp. Ni'i-hau (Hawai'i)]
Nukufotu	Otea, Kapa Is.	(Vava'u)
Nukuha	Kolonga	(Tongatabu); Nuku (landlord)

Nukuhake	Lapaha	(Tongatabu); Pangia (landlord)
Nukuhefa	Houma	(Tongatabu); Vaea (landlord)
Nukuhefala	Hamula	(Tongatabu); Pangia (landlord)
Nukuhefala	Lifuka	(Ha'apai)
	[Cp. Levuka (Fiji); > Lifuka (Ha'apai) > Lihu'e (Hawai'i)]	
Nukuhefala	Vaimalo	(Vava'u)
	Ha'alaufili	(Vava'u) Afu Ha'alaufuli, landlord
		[Cp. <i>Ahu-a-Lu-a-nu'u</i> (Hawai'i)]
Nukuhitulu	Nukualofa	(Tongatabu, Ha'apai)
Nukulave	Tongatapu	
Nukuleka	Fua'amotu	(Tongatabu); Tungi (landlord)
Nukulilo	Tungua Is.	(Ha'apai); Tui Ha'ateiho (landlord)
*Nukuloa	Ha'alaufuli	(Tongatabu); Afu Ha'alaufuli [Cp. <i>Ahu-a-Lu-a-nu'u</i> (Hawai'i)]

[Cp. Nukuroa, old name for Mitiaro, Cook Island]

[Cp. Nu'uroa, a location northwest of Tahiti ["Birth of Islands" chant]

[Cp. Nukuroa, ancient name for North Island, New Zealand], etc.

Nukulopa Niufo'ou Is.
[Cp. Nu'ulopa, Manono Is., Samoa]
[Cp. Kalopa, Hamakua, Hawai'i]

Nukululi	Moungaone Is.	(Ha'apai)
Nukuluve	Kolonga	(Tongatabu); Nuku (landlord) [Cp. <i>Ahu-a-Lu-a-Nu'u</i> (Hawaii)]
Nukumaanu	Tongatabu	
	*Tuanuku	(Vava'u); Ulukalala (landlord) [Cp. 'Alala, east Moloka'i (Hawaii)]

[Cp. Papa-tuanuku (Maori NZ), wife of Rangi-atea]

[Cp. Papa-hanaumoku (Hawai'i), wife of (Lani-akea)]

Nukumalolo	Fatumu	(Tongatabu); Laulea
	Muitoa, Ha'ano	(Ha'apai); Tui <i>Haangana</i>
	Niufo'ou	Fotofili (landlord)
Nukumotu	Okoa Is.,	(Vava'u)
Nkunamo	Fangonahina	(Tongatabu); Lasike (landlord)
	Leimatua	(Vava'u); Tui Pelehake (landlord)
Nkunamu	Ha'apai	
Nkunave	Tongatabu	
Nkunima	Kolonga	(Tongatabu); Nuku (landlord)
Nkunimauta	Kolonga	(Tongatabu); Nuku (landlord)
Nkunonu	Nukualofa	(Tongatabu)
	Lavengatonga	(Tongatabu)
	Hihifo	(Ha'apai)
	Pangai, Lifuka	(Ha'apai)
	Mua	
	Niufo'ou	

Nukunuku	Fua'amotu	(Tongatabu); Tungi (landlord)
Nukuofu	Tuanekivale	(Vava'u)
Nukuokai	Veitonga	(Tongatabu)
Nukuola	Tungua Is.	Tui Ha'ateiho (landlord)
Nukuolaloto	Tungua Is.	Tui Ha'ateiho (landlord)
Nukuolatahi	Tungua Is.	"
Nukuolauta	"	"
Nukupu'u	Fua'amotu	(Tongatabu); Tungi (landlord)
Nukuta'akinoa	Neiafu	(Vava'u)
Nukutapa	Okoa Is.	(Vava'u); Tui Lakepa (landlord) [Cp. Lakemba, Fiji]
Nukutapu	Folaha	(Tongatabu)
Nukutasi	Hihifo, Lifuka	(Ha'apai)
*Nukutavake Sand cay, Olutolu Is. Nomuka (Ha'apai)		
[Cp. Nukutavake Isl, East Tuamotu; inhabitants also occupy Vahitahi, under the same chief, Tupuhoe].		
Nukutolufofonu	Ha'apai	
Nukutoumamaha	Ha'apai	
Nukutula	Ha'apai	
Nukutuli	Hamula	(Tongatabu); Pangia (landlord)
	Moungaone	(Ha'apai); gods Moso, Pusipapanga
Nukutulu	Pukotala, Ha'ano	Tui Ha'angana (landlord)
Nukutupu	Pukotala, Ha'ano	Tui Ha'angana (landlord)
Nukuvai	Fuaamotu	(Tongatabu); Tungi (landlord)
Nukukava	Houma, Eua Is.	(Tongatabu)

These *Nuku-* names for tracts of land in Tonga have are reflected in Tuvalu (Ellice Islands), *Nukufetau*; Tokelau *Nukunonu*, and in East Polynesia, the Tuamotus *Nukutavake* [Cp. Olutolu Is., Nomuka, Ha'apai]. Two *Nuku-* names are significant in East Polynesian traditions of ancestral homelands and matriarchal ancestry (Maori):

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) Nukuloa | Ha'alaufuli | (Vava'u); <i>Afu</i> Ha'alaufuli |
| (2) Tuanuku | | (Vava'u); Ulukalala (landlord) |

Nukuroa [cp. Nukuloa] is an old name for North Island, New Zealand [Reed, 1961: 68] as well as the ancient name for Mitiaro in the Cook Islands [Savage, 1962: 186]. It is also found on Pukapuka [cp. *Te-nuku-loa-o-Mataliki*, Motu Ko village [Beaglehole, 1938: 19].

Tuanuku (Vava'u) is an epithet for Earth-Mother, *Papa-tuanuku*, who figures prominently in Maori cosmogonic creation chants as the companion of *Rangi* [cp. Rangi-atea, Ra'iatea].

While *nuku~nu'u* names are for islands and tracts of land in subdivisions governed by titled Tongan chiefs, the Samoan pattern of naming with *nu'u-* seems to lay emphasis on offshore rocks, coastal coves, offshore islets and prominent points of land, i.e., capes:

(2) Samoa: (*nu'u-* based names):

Nu'uiti	Rock, east Vaifanua, Tutuila
Nu'uolema'a	Cove, Sa'ole County coast, Tutuila
Nu'uoleniu	Cove, Sa'ole "
Nu'uomanu	Rock, Leasina County coast, Tutuila
Nu'u'o'osegi	Cove, Nu'u'uli, Pagopago, Tutuila
Nu'u'o'oti	Cove, Leasina county, Tutuila
Nu'usina	Rock, Mauputasi County, Tutuila
Nu'usetoga Is.	Offshore, Masefau Bay, Tutuila
Nu'utai	Rock, Mū Pt., Lealataua County, Tutuila
Nu'utavana	Rock, Leasina County
<i>*Nu'utele</i>	Rock, east Vaifanua, <i>Tutuila</i> Island, offshore; <i>east 'Upolu</i> Rocks, Maupua, <i>Tutuila</i> Island, offshore, <i>so. ea. 'Upolu</i>

[Cp. *Nukutere* (Tuamotu), a legendary land "in the cosmogonic records of Fangatau, while *Nuku* is the earth or the ancestral homeland, a place of origin (Vahitahi, Anaa); *Nukutaeroto* was a name for Ana'a Island]

[Cp. *Nuku-tere* (Rarotonga), is an esoteric name by which Rarotonga was once known [Savage, 1962: 186]; also referred to Samoa.

[Cp. *Nu'u-tere* (Cook Is.), referred to Tahiti-nui]

[Cp. *Ka-honua-ia-kele* (Hawai'i), ancestral land.

Nu'utoga	West Vaifanua, Tutuila
Nu'ututai	Goat Is., Pagopago, Tutuila
Nu'uuli	Pagopago, Tutuila
Nu'u	Inland place, Apia, 'Upolu
Nu'uatoi	Cape, south coast, Aganoa, 'Upolu
Nu'uavasa	Islet, so. 'Upolu
Nu'ulenamu	Point. so. 'Upolu, near Salamumu
<i>*Nu'ulopa</i>	Islet, offshore, west Manono Is. [Cp. tract of land, Niuafu'ou, Tonga]
Nu'ulua	Island, so. ea. offshore, 'Upolu
Nu'usafe'e	Islet, offshore Falealili, 'Upolu
Nu'utuloto	Rock, offshore, Fale'ula, 'Upolu

Of these *nu'u-* names, East Polynesian *Nu'utele/Nukutere/Nu'ukele* are Tuamotuan, *Nukutere* is a "legendary land in cosmogonic records (Fangatau); *Nuku* is the earth or ancestral homeland, and place of origin (Vahitahi, Anaa; *Nuku-tae-roto* was an old name for Ana'a Island. In the Cook group, *Nuku-tere* is a name by which Rarotonga was once known [Savage, 1962: 186].

With the exception of *Nukuhiva* (Marquesas) ~ *Nu'uhiva* (Hawai'i, Tahiti) the *nuku-* base is not widely distributed in East Polynesia.

Nukutavake and *Nukutipipi* in the Tuamotus identify atolls and *Nukuhiva* a high island (Marquesas), reminiscent of Tonga [*Nukutavake, Ha'apai*]. The scarcity of this base in place and island names suggests that such names moved into the general area of the Marquesas and Tuamotus through points north of the southern Cook and Society groups, bypassing the central East Polynesian heartland (Tahiti). The use, then, that the Papa/Wakea cosmogonic genealogy from makes of *Ke-apapa-nu'u* and *Ke-apapa-lani* as the first-born of sky/earth parents shifts emphasis to 'height' (*nu'u* 'zenith' and prominent point of land).

Nukuloa is, perhaps, a persistent Polynesian reference in Tahitian sailing directions to Hawai'i and O'ahu [Henry (AT) "Birth of Islands"; refer intra, p. 82-83]. The track set by the canoe lies between the Society Islands, *Nu'uhiva* (Marquesas) and *Nu'uroa*, suggesting a stop in the Tuamotus group (perhaps) and from there putting the wind back of the canoe on the haul northward, i.e., downwind). However, Mitiaro Island in the Cook group was *Nukuroa*, extending the reach of the canoe west of Tahiti. This would also include *Nukuroa*, the name of a reef in the lagoon of Aitutaki.

It is inconceivable why Tahitian sailing directions to the northwest would go southwest first, between Tahiti and the southern Cooks, but the seas would be between 140 (Marquesas) and 160 degrees west longitude, on which meridian are the Line Islands (Fanning, Palmyra) between Tahiti and Hawai'i.

At any rate, Tonga and Uvea seem to be the source of consistent sets of *Nuku-roa/-Nukuloa/-Nu'uroa* usage traceable through Polynesian wanderings east and west.

The dominant association is with atolls, reefs, reef passages, offshore islands, and capes:

(1) Uvea (Wallis group)	*Nukuloa	Island, outer reef
	Nukuatea	Island, outer reef

[Cp. Nukuatea (Tonga), Neiafu (Vava'u)]

	Nukufetao	Islet, reef
	[Cp. Nukufetau, Tuvalu; Niuafo'ou, Tonga]	
	Nukulufala	Islet
(1) Uvea (continued)	Nukutapu	Islet
	[Cp. Nukutapu, Folaha, Tongatabu, Tonga]	
(2) Tonga	*Nukuloa	Neiafu (Vava'u)
	*Nukuloa	Tongatabu
(3) Cook Islands (Maori)	*Nukuroa	ancient name of Mitiaro Island
	*Nukuroa	reef in lagoon (Aitutaki)
(4) New Zealand (Maori)	*Nukuroa	ancient name of North Island
(5) Tahiti	*Nu'uroa	(an island stop, between Tahiti and Hawai'i, sailing directions)

The surviving *Nu'u-* base names in Hawai'i today are:

(1)	Nu'u	Land section, landing; Luala'ilua Hills (Maui) Land section, Moloka'i; lit., height
(2)	Nu'u-anu	Valley, height (O'ahu)
(3)	Nu'u-pia	Fishpond (Mokapu Peninsula, O'ahu)
(4)	Nu'u-lolo~Nu'alolo	Valley, stream, land section, northwest coast (Kaua'i)
(5)	Nuku-'ele	Point, Makena qd., Maui. Lit., black point.
(6)	Nuku-o-Mamala	Reef pass into Kou, harbor (Honolulu, O'ahu)

These are two different words in Hawaiian: *nu'u-* 'height', 'zenith'; *nuku-* 'beak of a bird, opening, pass (as through a reef).

There are more Hawaiian ancestral homelands with *nu'u-*:

(1)	Nu'uhiwa	Kamahualele/ Mo'ikeha tradition
(2)	Nu'umea	Kahakuikamoana creation chant Kumulipo creation chant
(3)	Nu'umealani	'Aukelenuiaiku migration legend
(4)	Nu'umehalani	Papa/Wakea creation/migration chant
(5)	Nu'u-lolo-i-mehani	Nu'u/Kahinali'i tradition (deluge, flood)
(6)	Nu'u-papa-kini	Kumulipo creation chant

A qualifier in Hawaiian place names is "loincloth" (*malo*) for the island child born of sky and earth for which there ancient Polynesian precedent:

(1)	Marukau/Marokau	Tenararo (Tuamotu)
(2)	Marutiri/Marotiri/Morotiri	Austral (Bass Is.)
(3)	Maruroa/Moruroa/Mururoa	Tuamotu
(4)	Marotiri	Easter Island (offshore islet)
(5)	Marotiri	Mangareva (burial place)
(6)	Maro-te-tini	Borabora, Tahiti (family name)
(7)	Molokini	Islet (off Kaho'olawe; Hawaii)
(8)	Mololani	old name for Molokini

The most famous *maro-* was *Maro-take* (Tuamotu), a name for Maui's fishhook:

"Tahiti was called Tahiti but first Havaiki by mistake, for our ancestor Maui, who was of Paumotu, fished it up from the darkness of the deep ocean with the kanehu fishhook which belonged to Tafai. The name of the hook was Marotake. It was made of an uhi shell. Maui thought the land was the top of Fakarava Island, and as the name of Fakarava at that time was Havaiki, and it had lost its top from the anger of Pere, Maui thought the land he fished up was the top of Fakarava. So he called it Havaiki at first. But seeing it was a new land, a land not known before to men, a land not of one peak, as Havaiki had been, but of many sharp points, he called it Tahiti-nui. He called it so because it was a new land, the one raised by him, the one he fished up.

"Of the name Havaiki: Pere, a chief of Fakarava, called at that time Havaiki, went to Vaihi. He called Vaihi Havaiki-te-arunga, and he name Fakarava Havaiki-te-araro. He brought from Vaihi yellow earth or stones. The substance is still called 'Tutae-i-Pere'. The foregoing was taken down by me some years ago from the lips of Marerenui...[Young, J. L. 1898: 109-110].

There are a names for goddess *Hina*, the other prominent matriarch:

(1)	Tonga	Hina	land tract, Hunga Island (Vava'u); Fulivai (landlord) headland, west coast, Hunga Is.
(3)	Samoa	Sina spring Sinaloa Falls Sina Sina'ele Sinamoga Sinatai Sinauta Sinamano'o Sinapioa Sina tau Sinapoto	Savai'i (east) Savai'i (central, 675 ft.) 'Alofi, 'Upolu; ridge, Tutuila Crater, 'Upolu; 2840 ft. elevation Stream, Apia, 'Upolu east coast, 'Upolu east 'Upolu point, Tutuila peak, Tutuila, 1605 ft. no. east Tutuila point, no. coast, Ofu, Manu'a.

(2) Maori (New Zealand)

Hina-kura	Name of a chiefess who took ill and died by the Pahaoa River. She was buried there and the place was named for her. The true form of the name is <i>Hine-kura</i> .
Hine-rua	Two girls; hine, girl; rua, two.
Hine-te-awa	The girl of the river. This is the original name of Bowen Falls [Reed, 1961: 26].

(1) Hawaii

Hina-i-uka	A rock or peak, Hā'upu Mt., Lihu'e, Kaua'i Lit., Hina-in-the-uplands
Hina-kahua	Former site for dancing, maika, the kilu game, and fighting (mokomoko); Kapa'au, Hawai'i. Lit., Hina's arena.
Hina-lele	Falls, Hanalei, Kaua'i. Lit., Hina's leap.

Conclusion:

Given the tentative nature of this research and its findings, we hesitate to deduce which of the names shared between Hawaii and the Maori of New Zealand, Cook Islands, are of Proto-Polynesian origin. We may attempt to cross-reference the Maori/Hawaiian list into something which abstracts the Proto-Polynesian factor. The following list contains 95 names with Hawaiian/Maori and other Polynesian affinities.

Out of this number (95), 33 have West Polynesian affinities (Tonga, Samoa, Niue), or about 34 %, roughly one-third retention of names which may be cognates or which constitute a core of repeated West Polynesian bases in East Polynesian place names. In terms of time depth, given occupation by La Pita pottery dating [1100 B.C. Tonga (La Pita Pottery date of occupation)] and carbon dating [1500 B.C. Samoa], as well as occupation dates for the Marquesas, 100 B.C. to 100 A.D., the Hawaiian islands being settled by 350 A.D. [west O'ahu] and 450 A.D. [Ka'u, Hawai'i], with the end of the migrations out of Central Polynesia by about 1350 A.D., one-third is a significant percentage of retention.

D. East and West Polynesian (Proto-Polynesian) Relationships in Surviving Place Names

[*Note: The list below combines data from two lists in the original 1990 paper: (B) Preliminary Comparison of Maori and Hawaiian Place Names and (D) (title above). *Ancestral homelands (Hawaii)* are included if a proto-form exists elsewhere in Polynesia for a place name, or important place names in Hawaii which have mythical or religious value or ancestral relationship to other Polynesian traditions, particularly connected to navigation or route of migration.

Maori place names are from Reed, A.W. *A Dictionary of Maori Place Names*, 1961, Wellington; Hawaiian place names from Puku'i, Mary K. and Samuel H. Elbert, E. K. Mo'okini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 1974, Honolulu; dictionaries of the Tuamotu language (by J. F. Stimson) and Rarotongan (by Stephen (Savage)).

Commentary

It may be assumed that if a name exists in West Polynesia it has had a longer history in Polynesian nomenclature of place. Although the greater number of corresponding names in the comparative list are Hawaiian/Maori, those with greater antiquity are between Hawaiian and Tongan/Samoan.

(1) *Hawaiian and West Polynesian*

(Ke)-'Alohi-lani.	Ancestral homeland, home of Ke-ao-melemele; land of the gods. Lit., sky-brightness	[Futuna, 'Alofi, 'Alofi-tai; [Tonga: 'Alofi, kava ring]
Ha'eha'e.	East Puna, at Cape Kumukahi, i.e., eastern gate of the sun (Hawai'i); [see Mana'e] Lit., east.	[Tonga: Hahake (Ha'apai); east.
Hāmoa.	Land division, surfing area (Maui); Old name, Ha'a-moa (i.e., Sāmoa).	[Tonga: Ha'amoā, i.e., Sa'amoā]; Lit., sa'a (family) of the Moa.
Honua'ula.	Cove, land section, Kailua (Kona); heiau for human sacrifice, Waipi'o valley (Hawai'i); valley (Waimea) district (Kaua'i); Point (north Lana'i); Land division, Makena qd. (Maui); valley (southeast Ni'ihau). Lit., red earth.	[N.Z. Maori, Whenua-kura; the name was brought from Hawaiki by Turi of the Aotea canoe, and given in memory of the red feathers of the tropic bird]. [Tonga, Fonua-kula (Ha'apai). tract near Lapaha (Tongatabu), landlord, Fangia; tract near Felemea, village on Uiha Island (Vava'u).

Ka)-ho'olawe.	Island; old names: Ka-ho'olewa, Kanaloa, Kohe-malamalama-o- Kanaloa.	[Tonga: Fakalavelave (Ha'apai); Fakalava (Tongatabu); [Tuamotu: Fakarava, island name]. [NZ. Maori, Whakarewa; to cause something to float].
Koloa	Land division (Kaua'i); beach in Punalu'u, Ka'u district (Hawai'i). Lit., duck	[Tonga: Toloa (Tongatabu, and Vava'u) [NZ. Maori, Otoroa]
Kona	Districts, to leeward sides of the islands; prevailing winds southwest trades.	[Tonga]
Ko'olau	Districts, to windward sides of the islands; prevailing winds (trades); northeast to east.	[Tokelau Islands] [Tonga: Tokelau, Tokalau] [NZ. Maori, Tokarau, from toka, 'rocks' + rau 'hundred', many rocks, the Maori name for the Bay of Islands]. [Rennell: Tokenggau [Guam: To-gelagu. from lagu, east]
Kou	Old name for Honolulu (O'ahu). Lit., <i>kou</i> (<i>Cordia subcordata</i>) a hardwood tree.	[Tonga; Tou (Tongatabu, and Vava'u, Niuatopotapu].
Lalofonua.	Ancestral homeland (in the genealogies (Kumuhonua, wife of Kumuhonua and mother of Laka; Lit., earth-below, i.e., to south.	[Tonga: tract of land near Nuku- alofa, Tongatabu; tract of land, Vava'u; underworld, with entrance in Koloa, Vava'u].
Lani-akea	Cave and pond near Hulihe'e, Kailua, Kona (Hawai'i). Lit., wide sky, expanse; Cp. Akea, Wakea, Sky-father.	[Ra'iatea (Society Is.); [NZ. Maori, Rangi-atea, sky- father, for Rangi-atea-te-tuahu- o-lo-matakanakana, the shrine of Lo of far-seeing eyes]; [Tonga: Langiatea, tomb, Nomuka, Ha'apai].
Lihu'e	District (Kaua'i); land division near Schofield Barracks (O'ahu)	[Tonga: Lifuka, tracts of land in Ha'apai and Tongatabu; from Levuka (Fiji).
Maka-hanaloa.	Cape (O'ahu). Lit., (start of) long bay.	[Maori, Cook Islands: 'Akaroa] [Easter Island, Hangaroa] [Tonga: Fangaloa (Ha'apai)].
Makali'i	Points, Kalaupapa (Moloka'i) and	[NZ. Maori, Matariki; Pleiades or

- Kahana (O'ahu). Lit., Pleiades.
- northeast sea-breeze;
[Tonga: Matariki, village
(Tongatabu); Matariki, general
Polynesian for Pleiades in Taurus;
[Gilbert Is., Mata Rigi, "Eyes of the
Worm" (Rigi, sky-raiser), Milky
Way].
- Maku'u. Land sections, Honaunau, Kalapana,
Maku'u and Puna (Hawai'i);
canoe end-pieces, named for the
black night-heron, *auku'u*.
- [NZ. Maori, Matuku; bittern or
blue heron]
[Tonga, Amatuku (Nuapapu
Island, Vava'u), 'rope'].
- Manā "Barking Sands," Manā, Kaua'i;
Manā, Waimea (Hawai'i).
- [See Mauna-kapu].
- Manu'a Heiau (near grounds of Queen's
Hospital), Honolulu; Manu'a-kepa,
land section, Hanalei (Kaua'i);
Manu'a, name for the underworld,
ruled over by Kanaloa.
- [NZ. Maori, Manuka; tea-tree].
[NZ. Samoa, Manu'a]
[Tonga, Manuka (Tongatabu)]
- Mauna-kapu Hill, Lihu'e district (Kaua'i);
mountain, in Wai'anae range
separating Nana-kuli and Hono-
uliuli forest reserves (O'ahu);
Lit., sacred-mountain.
- [NZ. Maori, Maunga-tapu]
[Gilbert Islands, Maunga-tapu,
name of one of the types of
maneaba sacred and council-
meeting houses; Cp. Tahiti,
fate manaha; Hawaii, *hale
manā*, the sacred house on the
Tahitian *marae* and Hawaiian
heiau temple grounds].
- Mōkapu. Peninsula, Kāneohe Bay (O'ahu);
motu 'island' + kapu 'sacred';
Lit., sacred island, because
Kamehameha met his chiefs here.
Name of a bird islet (Moloka'i).
- [NZ, Maori, Motu-tapu;
motu 'island' + tapu 'sacred',
'forbidden'; Lit., forbidden island.
[NZ, Maori: Te Motu-Tapu-a-
Tinirau, a legendary chief,
The-sacred-island-of-Tinirau;
an ancient name for Mokoia
Island].
- [Cp. Kinilau (Hawai'i), a fishing
god to whom altars were built].
Mokapu (continued):
- [Cp. Samoa: Sinilau, hero in the
stories of Sina and Sinilau].
[Tonga: Motu-tapu, sacred island;
so-called because here rested
Fasiapule when taking his dead
half-brother, the 11th Tui Tonga,
Tuitatui]
[Tonga: Motu-tapu, tract near
Pangai, village on Lifuka Island
(Ha'apai); tract near Fanga-
leounga, village on Foa Islands
(Ha'apai), Niukapu, landlord].

Niumalu	Coast, Nawiliwili (Kaua'i); Lit., coconut palm shade.	[Tonga: Niumalu (Tongatabu).
Olokele	Canyon, Makaweli (Kaua'i)	[Tonga: Olotele (Tongatabu).
(Ke-) One-loa.	Beach, Mahaulepū, Koloa district (Kaua'i). Lit., many sands, long beach.	[Mangaia, Cook Is.; Oneroa, Landing] [Rarotonga, Cook Is.; One-roa; Mauke, One-'oa; Atiu, One-roa, east coast; [Tonga: Oneonelo, islet in Ha'apai; 'long strip of sand'].
'Upolu	Point, Kohala (Hawai'i); Cp. 'Upolu, 'Upalu, wife of Kinifauamano (Kumuhonua genealogy).	[Samoa: 'Upolu (island name), since the Tongan occupation]. [Tonga: Kupolu, Kano-Kupolu, 'the-heart-of-Tonga', i.e., the ruling house of the Tongan kings] [Tahiti: 'Upolu, the old name for Taha'a Island]; [Tuamotu: Kuporu, name of an ancient land]. [NZ. Maori, Waiau] [Tonga: Vaiau, Lofanga (Ha'apai).
Waiau	Lake (13,020 feet elevation), summit of Mauna Kea (Hawaii); Streams, Waimea (Kaua'i); Land division, Waipahu (O'ahu); in Makiki (O'ahu). Lit., swirling water.	[NZ. Maori, Waiau] [Tonga: Vaiau, Lofanga (Ha'apai).
Wai'eli	Hill, 'Ilio Pt. (Moloka'i) Lit., dug water.	[NZ. Maori, Waikeria] [Tonga, Vaikeli (Tongatabu, Vava'u].
Waihi	One of several streams originating in the high Ko'olau mountains behind Manoa Valley into Manoa Falls, Honolulu (O'ahu); Lit., trickling water.	[NZ. Maori, Waihi, 'gushing- forth'; an old Hawaiiki name. [Tahiti, Aihi, for Hawai'i, in the Hawaiian islands]. [Tonga: Vaihi (Hawai'i); also tract near Neiafu, Vava'u; tract on Moungaone Island (Ha'apai)]. [Tuamotu, Vaihi, name of the legendary land reached by Te Makehutomu whence the coco- nut was brought to Kurateke in the Tuamotus].
Wai-koloa	Land section, stream, Puakō and Waiki'i (Hawai'i); Land section and hill (2,800 feet high Humu'ula (Hawai'i). Lit., duck water.	[Tonga: Veitoloa, at Mua (Tongatabu).

Wailau.	Land section, Honu'apo, Pahala (Hawai'i); valley, Waimea (Kaua'i); land, stream, Kamalo (Moloka'i). Lit., many waters.	[Tonga, Vailau, near Kanokupolu (Tongatabu)]. [NZ Maori, Wairau, 'many waters]
Wailoa.	Land section, Pahala, falls, river (Hawai'i); Lihu'e (Kaua'i); Land division, stream, Kamalo (Moloka'i); Lit., long water.	[Tonga, Vailoa, near Nukualofa (Tongatabu)].
Waimea.	Land division at 3,000 feet elevation (Hawai'i); River, land (west Kaua'i); Bay, Hale-iwa and Pu'ukapu (O'ahu). Lit., red water (i.e., due to flooding).	[NZ. Maori, Waimea] [Tonga, Vaimea, near Vaipoa (Niuatoputapu and Niuafu'ou)].
(Ka)-Wai-nui.	Land sections, Honomū and Kailua; streams, Honomū and Waipi'o (Hawai'i); two streams, Ka-malo and Halawa (Moloka'i), swamp, fishpond, Kailua (O'ahu); Lit., big water.	[Tonga, Vainui, tract on Niuafu'ou]

2. Hawaiian and Marquesan, Easter Island, Tuamotuan [+ Cook Islands (Maori) and West Polynesian form]

Hono-uli	Land division, Hālawā (O'ahu)	[Marquesas, Hakau'i valley/ bay, Nuku-Hiva]
Hono-uliuli.	Land division, Waipahu (O'ahu) Lit., dark bay.	
Maka-hanaloa.	Cape (O'ahu). Lit., (start of) long bay.	[Maori, Cook Islands: 'Akaroa] [Easter Island, Hangaroa] [Tonga: Fangaloa (Ha'apai)].
Makaweli.	Land division, Waimea (Kaua'i); Lit., eye of the fire worm, eye of terror.	[Easter Island, Mataverī; Lit., season, eye of the centipede].
Mana'e	Point of the compass (Moloka'i); east. (-na'e))	[Pukapuka (Cook Is.), Ngake, east; Raroia, Tuamotu, Ngake, east.

3. Hawaiian and Tahitian

Hāloa	Hill (4084 feet), in Waipi'o (Hawai'i)	[Ra'iatea, Fa'aroa]
[Ho'ohoku-	(not a place name), mother of Hāloa, son of Wakea (cosmogonic myth)	[Tahiti-nui, To'ahotu, district]; [Cp. Samoa; Safotu, Safotulafai (Savai'i)] [Cp. Fotu, kavaring, Tonga]
Halelea.	Land division, Hanalei (Kaua'i). [Cp. Lea, goddess of canoe-builders, in the 'elepaio bird]; -lelea, prayer for 'awa-drinking].	[Huahine, Society Is.; Farerea Pass]
'Ili'ili-opae	Heiau, Mapulehu (east Moloka'i) Lit., level pavement outside the temple, paved with smooth pebbles. northern Society Islands].	[Cp. 'Opae, marae, on Maupiti Island, northern group, Society Is.]
Kahului	Bay (Maui); Lit., a battle formation, arranged as crescent rows of warriors, the front carrying long spears, slingstones, followed by short spears, then daggers, followed by wrestlers; bonebreakers.	[Ra'iatea, Society Is., Tehurui, bay.

4. Hawaiian and Maori (Cook Islands [+ West Polynesian]

('O) Ahu.	Island name. (O'ahu) Maori: Ahu Lit., gathering place; heaped up, as clouds; altar. In genealogy: Ahu (w), wife of Luanu'u (Kumuhonua genealogy)	[N.Z. Maori/Mangaia].
(Ke)-Awa-lua.	Coastal area, Lahaina (Maui); Land sections, Ke-ahole, Kailua, and Kohala quadrants (qd.). Lit., double-bay.	[Rarotonga (pass through the reef into Rarotonga]
Lalokona	Ancestral homeland (in the genealogies [Li'aikuhonua, Kumulipo, descending from Laka and Kinilauemano; i.e., Lalokona, son of Nananu'u; Kumuhonua, descending from Kapili; i.e., son of Kealomelemele (w);	[Rarotonga, Cook Islands] [Tonga: Lalotonga, Fa'akakai, Ha'ano (Ha'apai)]

(Ke-) One-loa. Beach, Mahaulepū, Koloa district (Kaua'i).
Lit., many sands, long beach.

'Olowalu Canyon, near Ukumehame, (west Maui).

[Mangaia, Cook Is.; Oneroa, Landing]

[Rarotonga, Cook Is.; One-roa; Mauke, One-'oa; Atiu, One-roa, east coast; also on Mauke].
[Tonga: Oneonelo, islet in Ha'apai; 'long strip of sand'].
[Atiu, Cook Is., Orovaru].

5. Hawaiian and Maori (New Zealand, primarily)

Ala Moana. Old surfing area in Ala Wai, Honolulu.

[N.Z. Maori; Aramoana.

Alia. Lake, inland salt ponds, Alia-manu (Bird-lake), Alia-pa'akai (Salt-lake), Moana-lua 'two-lakes' (O'ahu).
(Ke)-alia (Honaunau, Hawaii; east Kauai; Kaulakai, Moloka'i; Land division, Ka'ena (O'ahu).

[N.Z. Aria; a deep pool, or stretch of water suitable for fishing by net].

Halulu. Heiau, Kau-no-Lū (Lana'i); (Halulu, mythical white bird of Kāne).

[Cp. N.Z. Maori; Haruru, one of the *kete*, baskets of stars.

Hanalei Land division, bay, district (Kaua'i); Lit., crescent bay.

[N.Z. Maori, Whangarei, harbour and *rei*, cherished possession. [Mauke, Cook Islands; 'Anareia.

He'eia Land division, Kailua (O'ahu); Name given by Haumea to her foster child, grandson of 'Olopana.

[N.Z. Maori; Hekeia; father of Te Anau, early migrant from Hawaiiki].

Hilo District (Hawai'i); Lit., 2nd moon night.

[Cp. N.Z. Maori, migration hero, demi-god (Whiro); Rarotonga ('Iro), star, Procyon, or planet, Mercury]

Hōkū'ula Hill (4,415 feet), Hauko'i (Hawaii), said to have been lifted out of the sea by a turtle and where Lono-i-kamakahiki defeated Kama-lala-walu, chief of Maui; hill (1,400 feet), Lihu'e district (Kaua'i); coastal area, hill (2,504) in Hana (Maui); Land division, Makawao (Maui), Lit., red star (Antares in Scorpio), or planet, Mars.
[Cp. Hōkū'ula, in tradition, Mercury (Fornander, 1971: 127].

[N.Z. Maori, Whetu-kura, Lit., red star].

Hono-lulu	Capital (O'ahu); old name, Hana-lulu. Lit., calm, peaceful bay; i.e., safe anchorage; protected bay.	[N.Z. Maori; Whangaruru] from <i>ruru</i> , sheltered bay].
Honua'ula.	Cove, land section, Kailua (Kona); heiau for human sacrifice, Waipi'o valley (Hawai'i); valley (Waimea) district (Kaua'i); Point (north Lana'i); Land division, Makena qd. (Maui); valley (southeast Ni'ihau). Lit., red earth.	[N.Z. Maori, Whenua-kura; the name was brought from Hawaiki by Turi of the Aotea canoe, and given in memory of the red feathers of the tropic bird]. [Tonga, Fonua-kula (Ha'apai). tract near Lapaha (Tongatabu), landlord, Fangia; tract near Felemea. village on Uiha Island (Vava'u).
Kahiki-nui	District, Luala'ilua Hills (Maui); Lit., great-Tahiti	[N.Z., Maori, Rarotonga: Tawhiti-nui/Ta'iti-nui; for Tahiti-nui, Society Islands].
(Ka)-ho'olawe.	Island; old names: Ka-ho'olewa, Kanaloa, Kohe-malamalama-o-Kanaloa.	[Tonga: Fakalavelave (Ha'apai); Fakalava (Tongatabu); [Tuamotu: Fakarava, island name]. [N.Z. Maori, Whakarewa; to cause something to float].
'Iliau.	Trail, Waimea canyon (Kaua'i); Lit., iliau, plant related to the silversword, endemic to Kaua'i.	[N.Z. Maori, Kirikau; kiri 'skin', kau 'bare, naked', for a battle in which contestants fought naked].
'Iole	Land division, Kohala qd. (Hawai'i); mountain and stream, Lihu'e district (Kaua'i). Lit., rat.	[N.Z. Maori, Rarotonga, Kiore. [Tahiti-nui, 'Iole, old name for Mahina, 'Oropa'a (Point Venus), Tahiti].
Kai-halulu	Bay, surfing area, Kauiki Head, Hana (Maui). Lit., roaring sea.	[N.Z. Maori, Tai-haruru; sea-resounding].
Kailua.	Bay (Hawai'i, Oahu). Lit., two seas, or two currents. Land section, hill (1,269 feet), Paia (Maui); stream, Haiku (Maui); Land section, Mokapu (O'ahu), Lit., two seas, currents.	[N.Z. Maori, Tairua] (two tides, one from the north, another from the south].

Kaulana.	Bay, Kalae, South Point, Ka'u district (Hawai'i); coastal area, northeast Kaho'olawe; Lit., boat landing.	[N.Z. Maori, Tauranga; a sheltered anchorage, or a resting place for canoes].
Kamaile	Heiau, plain, spring, Ka'ena (O'ahu). Lit., the <i>maile</i> vine.	[N.Z. Maori, Te Maire, native tree].
Ka-milo	Point, Kalae (Ka'u) Hawai'i; Lit., twisting, of current. Points, Lihu'e (Kaua'i) and Kipahulu (Maui); Lit., the <i>milo</i> tree.	[N.Z. Maori, Te Miro, native tree].
Kaupō	Coastal area, village (Maui); ancient fishing village, Wai-manalo (O'ahu), canoe-landing, at night.	[N.Z. Maori, Taupō; short for Taupo-nui-a-Tia, from taupō, shoulder cloak + nui 'big'; discoverer of the lake].
Ka-nuku-o-ka-manu.	Waiakēa (Hilo, Hawai'i). Lit., beak of the bird.	[N.Z. Maori, Te-Ngutu-o-te-manu].
Ka-loko	Pond, Kona district (Hawai'i).	[N.Z. Maori, Te Roto].
Ka-luahine	Falls, Waipi'o (Hawai'i). Lit., old lady.	[N.Z. Maori; Te Ruahine.
Ka-wa'a-o-Maui.	Rock, in Wailua River (Hilo, Hawai'i); Lit., Canoe-of-Maui.	[N.Z. Maori; Te-waka-a-Maui; old name for South Island.
Ka-wela	Bay (Kahuku, O'ahu) Lit., hot.	[N.Z. Maori: Te Wera
Ki'i	Point north of Alahaka Bay, Kona (Hawaii); South Point, Kalae (Hawaii); Puna (Hawai'i); Landing (Ni'ihau); coast site, between Kahalu'u and Waiahole in Ko'olaupoko district (O'ahu).	[N.Z. Maori; Otiki].
Kilohana	Land divisions, Mauna Loa, south Hawai'i; Land division, at 9, 620 feet elevation, Waiki'i (North Hawai'i); peak and crater, Lihu'e district (Kaua'i); lookout, Waimea Canyon (Kaua'i); Point, near Kalae, Kalaupapa (Moloka'i); peak, Kalihi (O'ahu); Lit., lookout point, or outer tapa, best, superior.	[N.Z. Tirohanga, a view]

Ko'a	Fishpond, east Lana'i. (<i>ko'a</i> , fishing shrine; <i>ko'a</i> , coral rock).	[NZ. Toka, rock].
Koloa	Land division (Kaua'i); beach in Punalu'u, Ka'u district (Hawai'i). Lit., duck	[Tonga: Toloa (Tongatabu, and Vava'u] [NZ.Maori, Otoroa]
Ko'olau	Districts, to windward sides of the islands; prevailing winds (<i>trades</i>); northeast to east.	[Tokelau Islands] [Tonga: Tokelau, Tokalau] [NZ. Maori, Tokarau, from toka, 'rocks' + rau 'hundred', many rocks, the Maori name for the Bay of Islands]. [Rennell: Tokenggau [Guam: To-gelagu. from lagu, east]
Kulani	Cone (5,518 feet high), east slope of Mauna Loa (Hawaii); Lit., like heaven.i.e. to stand in the sky.	[N.Z.Maori; Turangi., name of a chief from tu 'to stand', rangi 'sky
La'au	Point, southwest cape, west end (Moloka'i). Lit., wood, (also) current); Ridge, Hanalei (Kaua'i); Hill, Hamakua (Hawai'i); Lit., wood, plants.	[N.Z.Maori; Rakau, 'tree, timber']
Lani-akea	Cave and pond near Hulihe'e, Kailua, Kona (Hawai'i). Lit., wide sky, expanse; Cp. Akea, Wakea, Sky-father.	[Ra'iatea (Society Is.); [NZ. Maori, Rangi-atea, sky- father, for Rangi-atea-te-tuahu- o-lo-matakanakana, the shrine of Lo of far-seeing eyes]; [Tonga: Langiatea, tomb, Nomuka, Ha'apai].
Laniloa	Old name for Pacific Heights, Honolulu (O'ahu); Laniloa Point, Lā'ie (O'ahu).	[Tuamotu, Rangiroa Island]; [Cp. NZ Maori, Maori name for Mt. Cook, South Island; some of the sky children came to earth in Te-waka-o-Aorani canoe, captain, Aorangi, and brothers, <i>Rangiroa</i> , <i>Rarangiroa</i> , and <i>Rangirua</i> .

Chant of Hi'iaka to Laniloa Point, Lā'ie (Oahu):

Lele Laniloa, ua malie,
Ke hoe a'e la ka Moa'e,
Ahu kai i na pali,
Kaiko'o o lalo, e,
Ua pi'i kai i uka, e.
Fly Laniloa, fly in the calm,
At the moaning of Moa'e (tradewind),
Mist velis the mountain walls,
The breakers roll ever below,
While the sea climbs on shore.

- Lani-pō Peak (2,621 feet), Maunawili (O'ahu) [NZ. Maori, Rangi-po, where the sky is dark].
- (Ka) Leina-a-ka-uhane. Land section, Ka'ena Point (O'ahu), the jumping-off place of the soul, i.e.,
Leina-o-Papio, Kamalo (Moloka'i);
Leina-a-ka-uhane, Lahaina (Maui). [NZ. Maori; Reinga, the underworld; Te Reinga, leaping-off place of spirits; wairua (souls) let themselves off a pohutukawa tree (i.e., lehua tree) into the underworld beneath the kelp.
- (Ka)-Loko Land section and fishpond near Kailua, South Kona (Hawai'i); coastal area, Makapu'u (O'ahu) Lit., the pond. [NZ Maori, Te Roto 'lake']
- (Ka)-Loko-loa. Cove, near Kealakehe, North Kona (Hawai'i); Lit., the long pond. [NZ. Maori, Roto-roa, 'long-lake']
- (Ka)-Lua Place, Palolo (Honolulu); Lit., the pit. [NZ. Maori, Te Rua 'pit], compo-
- (Ka)-Lua-kanaka. Cave, in Wailuku River, Hilo (Hawai'i), a deep and dangerous crossing, said to have been the death of many by drowning; once the hiding place of robbers; Lit., man-pit, grave. [NZ. Maori, Ruatangata, 'man-pit].

Chant: A Hilo au ehe la, ho'olulu ka lehua la,
A Pana'ewa la, i ka motu manu la,
A Wailuku la, i ka Lua-kanaka la..

I went to Hilo, the lehua blossoms had fallen,
I went to Pana'ewa, a place of birds,
I went to Wailuku, to the man pit...there...

(Ka)-luahine.	Cliff and falls, Waipi'o (Hawai'i); Lit., the old lady.	[NZ. Maori, Te Ruahine; Lit., old, wise woman.
Lua-wai	Land section, Kailua (Hawai'i); place, Kaimuki (O'ahu); Lit., water hole.	[NZ. Maori, Rua-wai; water in a cave, or two streams.
Mahuka (Pu'u-o-).	Heiau, Pupukea, Waimea (O'ahu). Lit., Hill-of-flight.; bay, Pahala, Ka'u (Hawai'i).	[NZ Maori; Mahuta (named after the third Maori king, Tawhiao; [Cp. N.Z. Maori; hero of the migrations, Mahuta (Tongareva, Penrhyn Island, also called Tu-te- Koropanga (Cp. Hawai'i, 'Olopana); and the god of forest growth, Tāne-Mahuta.
Ma'ili'ili	Hill and stream, Lualualei (O'ahu). Lit., pebbly.	[NZ. Maori; Makirikiri.
Makali'i	Points, Kalaupapa (Moloka'i) and Kahana (O'ahu). Lit., Pleiades.	[NZ. Maori, Matariki; Pleiades or northeast sea-breeze; [Tonga: Matariki, village (Tongatabu); Matariki, general Polynesian for Pleiades in Taurus; [Gilbert Is., Mata Rigi, "Eyes of the Worm" (Rigi, sky-raiser), Milky Way].
Maku'u.	Land sections, Honaunau, Kalapana, Maku'u and Puna (Hawai'i); canoe end-pieces, named for the black night-heron, <i>auku'u</i> .	[NZ. Maori, Matuku; bittern or blue heron] [Tonga, Amatuku (Nuapapu Island, Vava'u), 'rope'].
Malama.	Land section, crater, coast, Kalapana, Puna (Hawai'i); Name of Kamehameha's home, Kaunakakai (Moloka'i); place, Manoa (O'ahu); name of the western sea, 'Ewa (O'ahu).	[NZ., Marama; Lit., moon; [Tahiti, name of the sea to the northwest of Tahiti-nui]
Malino.	Place, lower 'Alewa Heights, Honolulu (O'ahu); Lit., calm.	[NZ. Marino]
Mālua	Drive, Alewa Heights, Honolulu (O'ahu); Lit., depression.	[NZ. Marua (valley).

- Mana. Heiau, Halawa qd. (Moloka'i).
Lit., supernatural power; [NZ. Maori; Mana, island near Wellington, for Te-mana-o-Kupe -ki-Aotea-roa, the ability (mana) of Kupe to cross the ocean to Aotearoa].
- Manā "Barking Sands," Manā, Kaua'i; Manā, Waimea (Hawai'i). [See Mauna-kapu].
- (Ka)-mana-iki. Place, Kalihi-uka (O'ahu); Lit., small branch. [NZ. Maori: Manga-iri]
- (Ka)-mana-nui. Place, western tributary of Moanalua Valley (Oahu)., Lit., large branch; also tributary to Waimea Stream, Hale'iwa (O'ahu). [NA. Maori: Manga-nui]
- Manawai. Land division, Kanihala qd. (Moloka'i). Lit., tributary; also, heiau (Moloka'i), named for Kumuko'a, high chief, whose daughter, Kalola, married Kamehameha I. [NZ. Maori; Mangawai]
- Mananui. Ka-mana-nui, Ka-mana-iki (O'ahu). [NZ. Maori; Manganui].
- Manu'a Heiau (near grounds of Queen's Hospital), Honolulu; Manu'a-kepa, land section, Hanalei (Kaua'i); Manu'a, name for the underworld, ruled over by Kanaloa. [NZ. Maori, Manuka; tea-tree].
[NZ. Samoa, Manu'a]
[Tonga, Manuka (Tongatabu)]
- Mauna-kapu Hill, Lihu'e district (Kaua'i); mountain, in Wai'anae range separating Nana-kuli and Honouliuli forest reserves (O'ahu); Lit., sacred-mountain. [NZ. Maori; Maunga-tapu]
[Gilbert Islands, Maunga-tapu, name of one of the types of *maneaba* sacred and council-meeting houses; Cp. Tahiti, *fate manaha*; Hawaii, *hale manā*, the sacred house on the Tahitian *marae* and Hawaiian *heiau* temple grounds].
- Mauna-pōhaku. Old name for St. Louis Heights and site of Lanakila School, Honolulu (O'ahu). Lit., rock mountain. [NZ. Maori; Maunga-pohatu]

Melemele	An ancestral homeland [Chant of Kaula, migration legend] Lit., yellow	[NZ. Maori, Meremere; for the evening star (Venus); also Vega star (Venus), also Vega (alpha Lyrae)] [Cp. Hawai'i, Melemele, stars in Orion's Belt]. [Cp. Tahiti, Meremere, Orion's Belt].
Moku.	Coastal section, Kaunakakai (Moloka'i); Lit., district, or islet; or 'severed', 'cut-off', piece of (land), section.	[NZ. Maori, Motu; island, or clump of trees].
Mokulua	Offshore islands, Kailua (O'ahu); Lit., two islands.	[NZ. Maori, Moturua; motu 'island' + rua 'pit', Lit., islands with a pit.
Mōkapu.	Peninsula, Kāneohe Bay (O'ahu); motu 'island' + kapu 'sacred'; Lit., sacred island, because Kamehameha met his chiefs here. Name of a bird islet (Moloka'i).	[NZ, Maori, Motu-tapu; motu 'island' + tapu 'sacred', 'forbidden'; Lit., forbidden island. [NZ, Maori: Te Motu-Tapu-a-Tinirau, a legendary chief, The-sacred-island-of-Tinirau; an ancient name for Mokoia Island].
	[Cp. Kinilau (Hawai'i), a fishing god to whom altars were built]. Mokapu (continued):	[Cp. Samoa: Sinilau, hero in the stories of Sina and Sinilau]. [Tonga: Motu-tapu, sacred island; so-called because here rested Fasiapule when taking his dead half-brother, the 11th Tui Tonga, Tuitatui] [Tonga: Motu-tapu, tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka Island (Ha'apai); tract near Fanga-leounga, village on Foa Islands (Ha'apai), Niukapu, landlord].
Nunulu	Land division, Kohala (Hawai'i). Lit., growl.	[NZ. Maori, Nunguru, 'sing, groan'.
Pa'ala'a	Land section, Hale'iwa (O'ahu). Lit., sacred firmness.	[NZ. Maori, Pakaraka; pa 'fortified village'; karaka, native tree].
(Ka)-Papa	Offshore island (14 feet elevation), Waikane (O'ahu), with fishing shrine, said to be the "mother" (Papa-hanau-moku) of O'ahu].	[NZ. Maori, Te Papa 'flat land'].

Papaiki.	Land section, Kamalo qd. (Moloka'i) Lit., small flats.	[NZ. Maori, Papa-iti]. (from papa 'flat', iti 'small').
Palena.	Place in Kalihi (O'ahu) Lit., border.	[NZ. Maori, Parenga]. (stream with slippery banks; probably not cognate).
Pali-kea.	Peak in Hanalei (Kaua'i); Stream, Hana (Maui); Peak, 3,098 feet high, above Lualualei, Wai'anae (O'ahu); Peak, above Kailua (O'ahu). Lit., white cliff.	[NZ. Maori, Pari-tea]
Pōhaku-loa	Land division, between Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa (Hawai'i); wide- spread name: Kohala (Hawaii), Kaupo and Hand (Maui); Halawa (Moloka'i); Waialua (O'ahu). Lit., long stone, but also means land with many rocks, stony	[NZ. Maori, Pohatu-roa].
Puna-lu'u	Land sections, Honu'apo and Pahala (Hawai'i); stream and fishpond, Kane-ohe (O'ahu); Kahana qd. (O'ahu); Lit., coral dived for; also, spring (dive into).	[NZ. Maori, Punga-ruku] [Tahiti, Puna-ru'u, name of the chief of the 'aroi society]
Pu'u-kapu	Land division, Kamuela (Hawai'i) Peak (1350 feet), Kawaihoa (O'ahu); hill (215 feet), Moanalua (O'ahu); Lit., sacred, forbidden hill; chiefs and commoners met here to discuss important matters.	[NZ. Maori, Puke-tapu].
Pu'u-lani	Peak, Waimea district (Kaua'i).	[NZ. Maori, Puke-rangi].
Pu'uloa	Land section, Kailua, Kona (Hawai'i); old name for Queen's Bath, Kalapana, Puna (Hawai'i); coastal area, Pearl Harbor (O'ahu). Lit., many hills; long-hill.	[NZ Maori, Puke-roa]
Pu'u-lua.	Gulch, double-hill, Halawa (Moloka'i); Cinder cone (1,666 feet), Kaunakakai (Moloka'i).	[NZ. Maori, Puke-rua]
Pu'u-maile.	Hill and stream, Waipi'o (Hawai'i). Lit., <i>maile</i> vine hill.	[NZ Maori, Puke-maire] <i>maire</i> , fern.

Pu'u-nui	Lower Nu'uuanu valley (O'ahu); Lit., big hill.	[NZ. Maori, Puke-nui].
Pu'u-'ula	Hill, 'Ilio Pt. (Moloka'i, east end). Lit., red hill.	[NZ. Maori, Puke-kura]
(Ka)-wa'a-o-Maui.	Rock, lying in Wailuku River, Hilo (Hawai'i); Lit., the canoe-of-Maui.	[NZ. Maori, Te-Waka-a-Maui; the canoe-of-Maui, old name for South Island, from which Maui fished up North Island (Te-Ika-a- Maui, the fish of Maui).
(Ka)-Wai	Point, Lihue district (Kaua'i); Lit., the water.	[NZ. Maori, Te Wai, 'stream' (common component of names).
Wai-ale'ale	Highest mountain (5080 feet) with annual rainfall, 476 inches per year (Kaua'i); Lit., rippling water; Wai'ale, reservoirs, Wailuku gulch, Kilohana (Maui).	[NZ. Maori, Waikare, 'rippling water].
Wai-'anae	Land division, mountain range (O'ahu); Lit., mullet water.	[NZ. Maori, Wai-kanae, from kanae 'mullet'].
Waiiau	Lake (13,020 feet elevation), summit of Mauna Kea (Hawaii); Streams, Waimea (Kaua'i); Land division, Waipahu (O'ahu); in Makiki (O'ahu). Lit., swirling water.	[NZ. Maori, Waiiau] [Tonga: Vaiau, Lofanga (Ha'apai).
Wai'awa	Land division, Wahiawa, Waipahu, Waikane (Oahu); Lit., milkish water.	[NZ. Maori, Waiawa; river in the valley].
Wai'eli	Hill, 'Ilio Pt. (Moloka'i) Lit., dug water.	[NZ. Maori, Waikeria] [Tonga, Vaikeli (Tongatabu, Vava'u].
(Ka)-waihau	District (Kaua'i); bay, 'Ilio Pt. (Moloka'i); Lit., icy water.	[NZ. Maori, Waihau; 'windy water'
Waihe'e	Land section, river, canyon, Wailuku (Maui); Lit., flowing water; old name for Waimea Falls (O'ahu).	[NZ. Maori, Waiheke; 'ebbing water].

Waihi	One of several streams originating in the high Ko'olau mountains behind Manoa Valley into Manoa Falls, Honolulu (O'ahu); Lit., trickling water.	[NZ. Maori, Waihi, 'gushing-forth'; an old Hawaiiki name. [Tahiti, Aihi, for Hawai'i, in the Hawaiian islands]. [Tonga: Vaihi (Hawai'i); also tract near Neiafu, Vava'u; tract on Moungaone Island (Ha'apai)]. [Tuamotu, Vaihi, name of the legendary land reached by Te Makehutomu whence the coconut was brought to Kurateke in the Tuamotus].
(Ka)-wai-iki.	Stream, Waipi'o (Hawai'i); River, Waimea (Kaua'i); stream, (Moloka'i); stream, Waialua (O'ahu); Lit., small water.	[NZ. Maori, Wai-iti, little river].
Wai-koko.	Stream, land section, Hanalei (Kaua'i); Lit., blood water.	[NZ. Maori, Waitoto; blood water, probably the scene of a battle].
Wailua	Land division, stream, Honomu, and Honu'apo (Hawai'i); Land section, river, falls, valley, Lihu'e district (Kaua'i); heiau, and birth stone in Wailua; Lit., two waters.	[NZ. Maori, Wairua, two streams].
Waima.	Point, Puakō, and stream, Waipi'o (Hawai'i); Lit., discolored water. (Hawai'i); Lit., discolored water.	[NZ. Maori, Waima, white river (for limestone in the riverbed)].
Waimalu	Hill (1450 feet elevation), land section, Pearl Harbor (O'ahu). Lit., sheltered water.	[NZ. Waimaru, calm water].
Waimanu	Land sections, bay (2085 feet elevation), valley, Waipi'o (Hawai'i); Land section, Waimea (Kaua'i); Falls, Kamalō (Moloka'i). Lit., bird water]	[NZ. Maori, Waimanu, stream frequented by birds].
Waimea.	Land division at 3,000 feet elevation (Hawai'i); River, land (west Kaua'i); Bay, Hale-iwa and Pu'ukapu (O'ahu). Lit., red water (i.e., due to flooding).	[NZ. Maori, Waimea] [Tonga, Vaimea, near Vaipoa (Niuatoputapu and Niuafu'ou)].

Waipao.	Gulch, Waimea district (Kaua'i); Land division, near Makena (East Maui); Lit., scooped water.	[NZ.Maori, Waipao].
(Ka)-wai-papa.	Valley, Waimea district (Kaua'i); Land section, gulch near Hana (Maui); Lit., the stratum (rock) stream.	[NZ. Maori, Waipapa; water on a flat rock, named for Waipao who was killed by Tuwhaka- iriora].
Waipōuli	Land division, Kawaihau (Kaua'i); Lit., dark water.	[NZ.Maori, Waipouri, dark stream].
Wai'ānapanapa.	Lakes (6,800 feet elevation), in Hana and Nahiku (Maui). Lit., glistening water.	[NZ. Maori, Wairarapa, glistening waters].

Conclusion

Comparative study has already shown a prevailing Tongan influence upon Hawaiian place names which Aarne Koskinen first reported (acc. Elbert, 1974: 277-279). Elbert questioned the 70% figure Koskinen supplied for Tongan proto-forms, suggesting that more linguistic sampling was needed. This present highly tentative effort reveals names recovered from Tongan, Rarotongan, Maori, and Tuamotuan place names (for which there are ample dictionaries) of which about 34% are Tongan. Equally interesting is the outcome of what appears to be the migratory conduit:

- (1) Some Hawaiian names are related to those found north and east of Tahiti: Marquesas, Easter Island, Tuamotus [List 2 above], suggesting early dispersal from the Marquesas north (Hawai'i) and southeast (Tuamotus, Easter Island);
- (2) Some names are those of the northern Societies: Huahine, Ra'iatea, Maupiti [List 3 above]. Was there a direct migration from there earlier than Tahiti-nui?
- (3) Some names are related to Maori (Cook Island group): Rarotonga, Mangaia, Atiu and Mauke (as distinct from New Zealand Maori) [List 4 above], suggesting a more direct migration to Hawaii from the southern Cooks, than from Tahiti;
- (4) The larger proportion of names are shared with New Zealand Maori [List 5 above], as expected, since the period of active voyaging, out of Central Polynesia (Tahiti and the Cook Islands) between the fourth and twelfth centuries A.D. This is supported by the surviving comparative genealogies and migration traditions dating back to that period.

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