

The ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Nabanaba line.

The name of Nábänábä has already appeared in Section ... of this paper, attached to a particular form of steam-oven. The place is not to be confused with the island of Bänäbä, for it is pointedly described in local tradition as "lying up against the side of heaven (i.e., very far away) to westward of Banaba."

Nabanaba is intimately ~~associated~~ ^{connected} in story with the great sib-~~ancestor~~ ^{deity} Auriaria, whose name has ~~also appeared in earlier sections~~ ^{already been recorded here}

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ — first, as that of the co-originator of the pandanus tree in the western land of Matang (Section ...); and second, as that of the anti, or spiritual being, who together with Bateku the Skull was associated with the cannibal rites of Samoa (Section ...).

A very widespread series of traditions ^{Nabqugba} relates how ~~The traditions of Nabanaba~~ ~~that land~~ Auriaria of Tarawa voyaged to ~~that land~~ to procure timber for the canoe of his favorite son, "for it was a great land, where numerous trees grew." He was met, on his arrival, by two cannibal hags — Nui Aro-mangati and Nui Nou-mangati — who were his tibu (grandmothers ^{or} ~~ancestresses~~), ~~ancestral~~ ^{kin} and "dwelt upon the shores of Nabanaba." When they spied him from afar, they failed to recognise, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and

prepared to devour, him. One said, "He is a giant"; her sister answered, "Yes, he is big enough for two ovens." When he came nearer, however, they ~~to be~~ ^{to be} their kinsman, ~~because~~ ^{for the significant reason that} ~~he was a~~ ^{he was a} giant in stature, and his skin was red, and his hair stood high on his head, with curled ends."

On the top of a hill near the sea grew the "Trees of Nabanaba, the Man and the Woman," whereunder dwelt Tauaba, the High Chief of the land, with Nri Raanikai his wife, and Nakekea his brother, and Naabave his slave. The Trees were the ancestors of all save Naabave, who was a small, black man. There was a village near the South point of the land called Nibanqutu (or Nibakutu), "whereof the inhabitants were skulls without bodies, and arms without hands, and legs without feet, and ribs, and bones of all kinds." On the South-West point of the land dwelt a stunted black man named Nabanaa, another slave of the High Chief's, "whose duty it was to watch the sea for strange canoes." This being

is described as beeroro (~~very~~ ^{sooty} black), ~~kind~~ with flapping ears, and curls lying close upon his head, and a nose so flat that, when he breathed, it "made a roaring noise."

It was Nabanaa who, at the order of his High Chief, felled one of the ancestral Trees - the Woman - for Auriaria to carry back to Tarawa. The hero also took away as his wife Nei Ribaa-ni-Kai, the High Chief's daughter, whose name being interpreted means "Sucker (sprout)-of-Tree."

Discounting marvels, and giving the most obvious values to the not very cryptic symbolism of the Auriaria-Nabanaa traditions, one is left with the clear-cut picture of a western land wherein a race which claimed descent from two ancestral Trees was dominant over a small-bodied folk of Melanesian type. The man-eating "grandmothers" of Auriaria - mythical no doubt as persons - nevertheless signify the concrete facts (1) that cannibalism of some kind was practiced on Nabanaa, and (2) that between their race and Auriaria's there was kinship. The account of Nibanqutu (or Nibakutu), the village of skulls and

? what follows?

Reference now to section ... will recall that "beyond all other lands in the West" lay Matang, the land of spirits and ancestors, where grew the first pandanus tree. This land too, according to the traditions recorded, was the home of a red-skinned people, whose High Chief was Avriaria. If this evidence be read in conjunction with that of the Avriaria-Nabanaba tales, the extended picture is that of a tawny race migrating out of a far-western area (Matang), and carrying with it the habit of pandanus cultivation, first to an intermediate land called Nabanaba, and thence again eastwards as far as Tarawa in the Northern Gilbert Islands. An identical picture can be assembled out of a distinct and separate series of traditions, ^{connected with Nabanaba} which will now be examined.

Turning to the pedigree, we see that the woman Nri Jekamea, who migrated from Nabanaba to Tarawa and became

an ancestress of the Kiataa line, brought with her "a root of the Tree of Nabanaba."

This detail is recorded in a tradition widespread through the Northern Gilberts, and is of a piece with the symbolism of the Auriana narratives, which call the hero's wife "Sprout-of-Tree" and stress the obvious by adding that it was the female Tree which he brought back to his home island. The existence of ~~all~~ traditions on this point seems to indicate ~~an intention of emphasizing~~ to imply a deliberate emphasis of the fact that the Nabanaba women actually did come to Tarawa ~~in the manner of~~ ^{for the purpose}

~~settled, did not represent victorious invasions of the island by new groups from Nabanaba, but were persons brought overseas at the will of the Auriana folk.~~

purpose of marriage, and not in the company of male invaders seeking to disturb the local Auriana dynasty. ~~on that island~~

It will be seen that the pedigree shows Tarawa, the King of Nabanaba, to have been the father of the migrant Nei Tkanua. This person's name, ^{which} has already appeared in the Auriana-Nabanaba traditions, ~~is~~ ^{is} merely ~~figurative~~ ^{figurative} ~~symbolical~~, meaning "Holder of the Land" (tau = hold; aba = land)

and designating any male of the ruling
Tribe-group on Nabanaba. The name of
Tanaba's wife, Nei Tekarara, is of the same allusive
or symbolical order, being that of the
Common Tropic Bird, and, as such,
a reference to the Nabanaba totem-group
to which the migrant Nei Tekarua
was related on her mother's side.

This is an important piece of
information, ~~as the Common~~ ^{as the Common} Tropic
Bird is claimed as a totem by the
clan of Keaki, one of the most widely
distributed social groups of the Gilbert
Islands ^{Today}. [Footnote. The other totems of
Keaki are The Red Tailed Tropic Bird
(Nei Ktaake), the Yellow Billed Tropic Bird
(Nei Tngutu), and the Giant Ray].

The coming of a Tropic Bird folk
from Samoa to the Gilbert Group has
already been made apparent in
sections, wherein the tradition of their
cannibal practices was examined;
but another set of stories, clearly much
earlier in origin than the tales of the
coming from Samoa, brings Tropic Bird
people into the Northern and Central
Gilberts from "Tebongiroro" ^(or Tebukiroro), the line of
lands in the West", under the leadership

of a woman named Maanga-ni-buka, whose paternal "grandmothers" were cannibals,

[Footnote. One of the tales of the Maanga-ni-buka series relates how a "son" of this personality, named Tiraaka, returned to Tebongiroro in order to obtain some pearl-shell fish hooks from his cannibal ancestresses, and how they nearly devoured him]

and whose tutelary deity was Nri Tituaabine.

Nri Tituaabine is the ^{deity} ~~sub-deity~~ of all the

Gilbertese

Tropic Bird ~~social~~ ^{sib} groups at the present day.

Reference to section --- will recall that she was "the owner" of the man-eating

Tropic Birds which invaded Butaritari and Little Makin from Samoa. She is

obviously the connecting link between the Tropic Bird people who came from Samoa and those who came with Maanga-ni-

buka from the West. ^{If further evidence be} ~~The cannibals~~

needed to elicit the relationship, it lies in the cannibal associations of both streams of immigrants ~~underlines their identification of one~~ common to both streams. ~~with the other.~~

There can be little doubt that the later stream, which came from Samoa, was derived from the same

~~ancestral~~ stock as the earlier stream, which came from "Tebongiroro" ^(or Tebukiroro) the line of ~~lands~~ ^{lands} ~~was~~ in the West."

Another link is a vital one.
~~The links~~ created by Nei Tituaabine ~~is a vital one.~~
The pandanus myth shows ~~Nei Tituaabine~~ ^{this being}
as a member of the red-skinned race
of Matang, ~~and~~ indissolubly ~~bound~~ ^{identified} with
Auriana as the co-origiator of the
pandanus tree. Through the personality
of Nei Tituaabine, therefore, the Tropic
Bird folk are ~~linked~~ ^{inseparably bound} ~~up with~~ ^{the} the
Auriana people: the two stocks were
components of the same original ^{Western} race,
and what is ^{historically} true of one ^{branch} should be
reflected in the traditions of the other.
The test is well answered when the Tropic
Bird ~~stories~~ ^{tales} are compared with the
Auriana traditions. The cannibal
associations of the Maanga-ni-buka stream
from Tebungiroro and of the Tropic Bird
groups from Samoa ~~are a perfect reflection~~ ^{accurately reflect those}.
recorded in ~~the~~ ^{the} Auriana-Nabanaba and the
Auriana-Samoa stories. The migration of
a race from West to East, reasonably
deduced from the Auriana narratives,
is related in plain terms in the Maanga-
ni-buka series. ~~The implication of~~ ^{The implication of} racial relationship
between Nabanaba and Tarawa ~~is~~ ^{which became}
contained in the Auriana accounts ~~is~~.
~~apparent~~ ^{becomes explicit in the} ~~is~~ ^{is} that a
~~confirmatory~~ ^{confirmatory} evidence from the other side ~~is~~ that a
Tropic Bird clan ~~of~~ ^{of} which representatives
were brought into the Gilbert Group by
the Maanga-ni-buka stream ~~was~~ ^{was} settled

The pandanus myth shows Nei Tituabine as
a member, with Auriaria, ~~as a member of~~
the red skinned race of Matang and as the

upon Nabanaba when Kirataa's grandmother migrated to Tarawa.

The ~~presence~~ ^{evidence that} of this man-eating group was established on the island corresponds with, and complements ~~confirms~~, the more cryptic allusions to Nabanaba cannibalism: ~~cannibal practices~~ contained in the Auriaria traditions.

The migration track Matang-Nabanaba-Gilbert Islands having been credibly established, it

~~by one set of stories and corroborated by the other, it is convenient to assemble the other facts which seem to throw light on~~

is convenient now to review all facts pertinent to the subject of this paper ~~concerning~~ which seem to throw light on the habits of the Auriaria-Tropic Bird people. That they ~~were~~ practiced some form of cannibalism is sufficiently clear, and that organised head-hunting was their custom has appeared in section ----. The evidence

concerning and their Matang

~~to renga~~ ^{as to}, the rd food of ~~gods and guests~~ Auriaria, Titupapine, companions in the lands of ~~Bouru and~~ Bouru ~~in the lands of Matang and Bouru~~ (section ----), leaves little doubt that the migrants ~~had~~ were of a betel-chewing ~~betel~~ stock. The discussion of food-avoidances and of sib-deities has shown that they practiced totemism and were divided into social groups based upon the totem. ^{Footnote:} ~~these groups~~ have subsisted until today; they are patrilinial and exogamous. ^{That they} ~~the reference~~

apparently an early draft
of the previous page

upon Nabanaba when Kiataa's grandmother migrated to Tarawa. The evidence that this anthropophagous group was established on Nabanaba corresponds with, and complements, the more cryptic allusions to cannibalism contained in the Auriaria traditions.

The Auriaria tales on the one hand, and the Titureabine accounts on the other, ^{are} thus thus

~~form a ^{body of evidence} ~~close knit~~ and consistent in its parts~~

seem to interlock with almost mechanical precision, and by their corroboration of each other present a body of evidence that leaves very little doubt as to the reality of the Matang-Nabanaba-Tarawa migration track which I have postulated. The conclusion as to the far-western origin of the Auriaria-Titureabine people derived from this material is, of course, immensely strengthened by the eschatological stories of the modern race, which place every Gilbertese paradise in the West (section ---).

practiced also the cult of the ancestor
and the ancestral skull in connection
with the sib-deity ~~who~~ appeared in
section - - - - , ~~when the ~~skull~~ pandanus~~
~~in connection with the~~
first-fruits ritual was being discussed.

The very remarkable implications of this
mixture of elements will be touched upon
later. The final picture realised by
assembling ^{all} the facts reviewed up to the
present is one of a tawny, cannibal,

~~head-hunting race migrating out of the
lands of Matang and Bouru in the
far West.~~

head-hunting race, which chewed the
betel-nut, cultivated the pandanus,
practiced the ~~skull~~ cult of the skull and
the ancestor, and divided itself into
totem-sibs, migrating out of the far-
western lands of Matang and Bouru, ~~the~~
probably in Indonesia, to
settle colonies first in islands such as
Nabanaba, relatively near its starting
point, and thence to extend across the
equatorial Pacific eastwards as far as
the atolls of the Gilbert Group.

It is to be presumed that Nabanaba
was colonised ~~earlier than~~ ^{by the migrants} earlier than

to the ceremonial offering of the first-fruits
of the pandanus at the atra-store of
the clan has emphasised the social
grouping and

Rivers has demonstrated that the migration of the Kava-people into ^{and its Polynesian outliers} Melanesia were historically earlier than those of the betel people. In areas such as Vanikolo, Tikopia and the Santa Cruz Islands, where Kava and betel occur together, the betel culture is clearly the later arrival, and its encroachment upon the earlier culture is, indeed, still in progress. [Footnote. Op. cit., vol. ii, page 250]. By extension, it may reasonably be assumed that the use of Kava, which is almost universal in Polynesia, was introduced by early streams of migrants, while any traces of the betel culture that may now subsist in the Polynesian area are attributable to later immigrations.

The hypothesis seems at first sight to involve a paradox. The processes of marginal diffusion which might account for the gradual encroachment of the betel upon the Kava culture in the Santa Cruz Islands are geographically impossible as between Western Melanesia and Eastern Polynesia.

Thus, if the betel culture be represented in the Marquesas or other Polynesian Groups, it could have been introduced by only one method — that of conquest and settlement, and the consequent superimposition of the new culture upon the old.

If this indeed happened, it remains to be explained why the ^{social system} ~~culture~~ of the conquerors has become so obliterated by that of the conquered as to leave the Kava culture — as it is today in the Marquesas — overwhelmingly ^{sasily} predominant.

The difficulty seems to disappear if it be supposed that the conquering immigrants brought with them into Polynesia a ~~possessed a~~ ^{derived had} social system ~~which consisted~~ ^{in fairly well balanced proportions} from the fusion of a betel culture with a Kava culture in their original home. It is obvious that such a people, once removed from its ~~home~~ ^{fatherland}, would tend to maintain the just balance of elements in its system only in those new homes where it came under the influence of neither a betel nor a

Kava culture. Settled among people possessing either one of these cultures in its typical form, the immigrants would obviously ~~lead to~~ ^{revert more} and more to ~~those~~ ^{those} elements in their own ~~revert towards~~ ^{revert towards} that elements in their own organisation which coincided with the custom of the country. In a group of which the conquered inhabitants were a Kava people, the result would eventually be the predominance of the Kava culture and the profound modification of all such traits of the betel culture as happened to survive the ^{new} fusion.

It is possible that history may have taken such a course in the Marquesas, ^{including New Zealand} and other parts of Polynesia, where vestigia of the betel culture appear to exist. The ~~have shown that the pandanus-Kabuba~~ ^{conclusion} ~~conclusion~~ ^{up to} ~~which I am leading~~ ^{leading} is that the stream of immigrants who introduced the pandanus-Kabuba habit into the Gilbert Islands may prove to be of great importance in this connection. That they were a people possessing a mixed Kava-betel culture, I have already shown. That they passed through Micronesia (colonising the Gilbert Islands on their way) and down to Samoa is

set beyond reasonable doubt by the evidence of local traditions concerning their origin and migrations.

[Footnote. A paper on Gilbertese traditions of origin and migration is to be published in due course. In the meantime, see the tradition concerning the origin of Bateku the Skull summarised in Section, "Cannibalism"]: According to the evidence they were scattered from Samoa, as the result of dissensions connected with cannibal practices and head hunting, "to all sides of heaven." Some of them returned to the Gilbert Islands. Whither the rest migrated, local story cannot tell, but it is noteworthy that the scattering from Samoa took place from ~~22~~²² to 25 generations ago, which is to say, upon the Maori-Rarotongan ~~at about the same~~ ancestors were also forced to leave those shores. [Footnote. See Percy Smith,

~~top. cit. Note] There is evidence of the betel culture among the Maori. [Footnote. Ruviss, op. cit. vol. II,]~~

op. cit., Note]. The famous Maori-Rarotongan ancestor Karihi, of the Samoan period, in local story appears as a Samoa- Gilbertese ancestor under the name Kani. The Maori practiced the traditional and head-hunting; the traditional food of the East Coast Maori, arai-toto-koe, has been identified with Gilbertese ara-toko-toko. The Rarotongans ~~the Maori~~ were cannibals.

forms of
Cannibalism

The fragmentary evidence thus assembled ~~raises~~ ^{through} fragmentary, raises a strong presumption that the pandanus-Kabubu people, who certainly reached Samoa ^{through Micronesia}, were a branch of that race, called by Percy Smith and Churchill the Tongafiti, whose dispersal from Samoa caused the latest migration ^{Footnote:} into Rarotonga and New Zealand. [Churchill's conjecture, based upon linguistic evidence, that a Tongafiti migration track through Micronesia into Nuclear Polynesia would some day be discovered, seems therefore to have been a shrewd one]. If the pandanus-Kabubu habit, ~~could now be identified~~ ^{or memories of it can now be} traced in Rarotonga, it is obvious how the presumption ~~evidence~~ will be strengthened.

As for the Marquesas, the evidence is that forms of cannibalism and head-hunting were also practiced in those islands; and Percy Smith has shown the probability that the people were a branch of the Tongafiti stream. [^{Footnote:} ~~the final~~ test Percy Smith, op. cit., pp. 115-122]. ~~the~~ ^{by this} case again the hypothesis may be tested against the existence of the pandanus-Kabubu habit the pandanus-Kabubu index.

The remote origins of Kabubu are naturally bound up with the history of the pandanus tree. The myth exhibited in section 12 ~~hereafter~~ attributes the origin of the ~~pandanus~~ tree to two deities named Auriaria and Nei Tituaabine, in connection with whom (inter alios) the cult of the skull and the ancestor was, until ~~recently~~ ^{the advent} of Christianity practiced by ~~the~~ ^{every} ~~various~~ Gilbertese totem-sibs. The myth relates that the pandanus first came into being in Matang — a land which universal tradition places in the West. Popular belief has it that Matang-of-the-West (Matangi-ni-Maeao) was peopled by a fair or red-skinned ^{ancestral} race, of which Auriaria and Nei Tituaabine were the chief and chiefs, and of which numerous other deities of Gilbertese totem-sibs ~~ancestral~~ ^{ancestral} deities — including Taburimai, Tabuariki, Tangaroo, Tabareroa (or Tabeneroa), and Nei Teveni — were also members. [Footnote. The name given to the white man in the Gilbert Islands is to 1-Matang — the inhabitant of Matang — because his skin is held to be of the same colour as that of the ancestral deities]. The inference to be drawn from these facts seems to be that the pandanus tree, and therefore also the

bones, emphasizes the point as to cannibalism; and the extraneous evidence associating Auriaria's name with cannibal practices ^{highly} is compatible with his relationship to the folk represented by the two hags. The description of the hero's physical traits distinguishes him sharply from Nabanaa and Naabave, the ^{black-skinned} members of the subject ~~people~~ ^{race}, and in so doing associates him with the dominant ~~people~~ ^{folk}. His marriage with a "daughter" of the High Chief ^{gives further color to the} ~~connection~~ ^{racial} connection.

Auriaria's name, of course, stands for a whole group of people established upon Tarawa [Footnote. See Note... ante], and the broad ^{impression left} ~~picture~~ ^{and marriage} ~~given~~ by the tradition is one of traffic between two branches or sibs of the same large-bodied, tawny-skinned ^{cannibal} ~~cannibal~~ race, dominant the one upon a land in the ~~the~~ western Pacific, the other upon an island of the Gilbert Group.

Particularly valuable in this direction are
the traditions ~~concerning~~ ^{concerning} ~~the~~ ^{the} red food of
gods and ghosts called te rruqa, which link
~~together~~ the names of Matang and Bouru
~~in the manner~~ indivisibly together. ^{Footnote}
similarity of these ^{and other names of Gilbertese paradises} ~~two names~~ with those
of ~~places~~ ^{places} in Indonesia has already been
observed]. The evidence of the western origin

She's — máa — lády-love

and by the traditions connected with the
~~importation of~~ certain forms of cooking oven (including
one that bears the name of Nabanaba)
from Western lands (section ---).

That Nabanaba was the real name
of a real land is

She is maa — dove — maa — baby-love

She's — no gal — for sitting down to dream

She's the only queen Lagúna knows

I — know — she likes me

I know she likes me

Because she says so

She is my li — ly of Lá — gúna

She is maa lily and maa rose

Kabubu habit, was introduced into the Gilbert Islands by a stream of folk which originated in the West; which practiced the cult of the skull and the ancestor; which was divided into totem-sibs having Auriaria, Nei Titraabine, and other known beings as their deities; and which was fairer of skin than the saddle-brown Gilbertese of the present day.

A passage of extraordinary interest in connection with the origin of Kabubu appears in Percy Smith's "Hawaiki". In discussing the ancient land of Irihia, one of the early ^{western} homes of the East Coast Maoris, the author records the names of certain ~~food plants~~ ^{vegetable foods} traditionally associated with that place, among ~~these~~ ^{which} appears "the arai-toto-Kore, which was reserved as an offering to the gods, because there was no blood in it. It would keep good for a long ~~while~~ ^{time}, and hence when the original migration came away (from Irihia) to the East, to the many islands they afterwards came across, they used this food the arai-toto-Kore". [Footnote. Hawaiki: the original home of the Maori — S. Percy Smith, Whitcomb and Tombs, Limited, Christchurch,

New Zealand; 1910 edition, page 74]. The author translates the name of the food, tentatively, as "bloodless — perhaps sapless — arai". In conclusion, he observes, "I cannot suggest what kind of food "arai-toto-Kore is. Arai-nano in Mangareva Island is the pandanus, but probably has no connection here, though the drupes of the tree were eaten."

Summarising Percy Smith's account, the known facts concerning the mysterious food of Irihia may be tabulated thus:—

- (1) It originated in a Western land;
- (2) It was valued for its great durability;
- (3) It was bloodless or sapless, which is to say, desiccated;
- (4) It was a vegetable product;
- (5) It was called by a name — arai-toto-Kore — which suggests its possible association with the pandanus tree.

Gilbertese Kabubu also originated in the West; its most valued quality is its durability; it is desiccated; it is a vegetable product. So ^{indeed} closely do the first four facts ~~enumerated above~~ ^{concerning arai-toto-kore} conform to the description of Kabubu that the identification of the Irihian food with

the Gilbertese might be regarded as reasonably certain if further evidence ~~is~~ concerning the fifth point — its association with the pandanus tree — were forthcoming. This is fortunately available.

The Gilbertese name of ~~that particular variety~~ ^{any kind of pandanus} is prefixed by the word ara-, and ~~the name of that particular variety~~ ^{the name of that particular variety} which, above all others, is preferred for the manufacture of Kabubu is te ara-toko-toko. The similarity of this name with the Irihian arai-to-koe, considered as ~~an isolated~~ ^{an isolated} ~~fact~~ ^{fact}, might have appeared to be a mere accident; but viewed as the culminating point of a series of five coincidences, it acquires a real evidential value. The strong

~~A sixth coincidence may or may not~~ probability seems to be that the food of Irihia remembered in tradition, though long lost in substance, by the East Coast Maoris was identical with the Kabubu,

~~which is still made by the Gilbertese~~
~~in the form of~~
~~the~~
~~of the Gilbertese~~ preserved until today by the

Gilbertese.

Whether the name of the iria, or leaf packing in which Kabubu is stored, has any connection with the Irihia of the Maoris, is perhaps open to question. The application of the name of a land to an object of material culture

derived therefrom

has, however, already been observed in the cases of the Ruanuna cooking oven and fish trap, and the Kivoro oven.

The identification of the Gilbertese food with the arai-toto-Kore of Irihia seems to afford a sufficient reason for the rather exceptionally ceremonious manner in which it is now drunk, and to confirm the conjecture already made that the act of draining the dregs is the vestige of a magico-religious ritual; for it is definitely stated in the Maori tradition that the arai-toto-Kore was "reserved as an offering to the gods."

So striking are the ^{associations,} ^{and use} nature of the food called Kabubu ~~the Gilbertese~~ and so ^{notable} individual are the magico-religious observances grouped around its parent plant, the pandanus, that the pandanus-Kabubu habit might well be taken as the index of an individual culture stream which flowed out of Indonesia into

the Pacific. The compound term "pandanus-Kabubu" is used advisedly, because, on the one hand, there are Oceanic peoples who cultivate the pandanus, but appear to know nothing of Kabubu; and, on the other hand, there may be races who have borrowed the Kabubu habit without

~~associated (system) of ^{sun-magic} magic connected with the fructification of the pandanus. Only the possession of both traits together could thus be accepted as evidence of the connection of a given community with the passage of a migration stream through hypothetical migration streams.~~

acquiring ^{either} that particular religious attitude towards the pandanus which is suggested in the Maori tradition, or its magico-ritual equivalent represented by the fructification ceremony of the Gilbertese. Only the possession of ^{both} Kabubu habit and pandanus ritual together could thus be accepted as ^{reliable} evidence of the connection of any given ^{Polynesian} community with my hypothetical migration stream/out of ^{Maori Iukia or} ~~Indonesian~~ Gilbertese Matang.

Searching, in the manner indicated classical by Elliott-Smith and Rivers, for a "culture complex" with which the ~~Kabubu habit~~ pandanus-Kabubu habit may be associated, I have already

attempted ^{shown} to show that the folk responsible for its introduction into the Gilbert Islands appear to have practiced the cult of the skull and the ancestor, and to have possessed a social organisation based upon descent into the totem sib. Evidence

[Footnote. Though the sib-ancestors were sometimes females, evidence extant to this paper indicates that the method of descent was patrilineal. The sibs were exogamous].

grouped in ^{earlier} ~~later~~ sections of this paper indicates that the race also practiced head hunting and cannibalism (sections) and brought with it memories of the betel-chewing habit which profoundly affected its eschatology after settlement in the Gilbert Islands had rendered the cultivation of the areca palm impossible (section 14).

The ~~association of such elements of the culture of~~ ^{association of these particular elements of the} ~~the pandanus-Kabubu stream of migrants~~ ^{single stream of migrants} is noteworthy in its bearing upon certain conclusions drawn by Rivers in his ~~epoch-making~~ "History of Melanesian Society." Rivers has attributed head-hunting, the cult of the skull, and the betel-chewing habit to an individual stream of immigrants ^{into Melanesia} whom he calls the betel-people.

What does this page go for?

A male of the Kimaatōre
clan in Tebukirōrō
(Na Atiia)

A woman of the Kimaatōre
clan in Tebukirōrō
(Nei Kuikeru) } mar. { A man of the Pandanus clan
(Kirataa)

A branch of the
Pandanus clan
migrated to Abatiku
(Branch of Kirataa's
tree) } } mar. { A woman of the
Pandanus clan
migrated to Abatiku
(Nei Nikarawa) } } { A man of Fitiua-
abine clan on
Abatiku
(Na Utonga)

A man of Pandanus
clan on Abatiku
(Trunk of tree) } } married ← { A woman of Fitiuaabine
clan on Abatiku
(Nei Matamona)

Ancestors of Sun-Moon
clans of Ababou and
Maerna migrated to
Tarawa
(Bue and Riirango)

Mythically, the connection of the Tarawa
ancestors with the Sun, the Moon, and the
heavily Pandanus tree is worked across the factual
of the story, serving a symbolic genealogical purpose at some
points, and at others cropping out as pure
narrative, but always so subservient to the
genealogical theme that in the end the
historian, having brought his ancestors to
Tarawa, is left with a remnant of his
myth still to tell, and is thus curiously
forced to attribute finish with a stellar creation
story the creation of constellations, whose
chronological place must be among the most ancient
of his race traditions.