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F. R. Barton

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TATTOOING IN SOUTH EASTERN NEW GUINEA.

By CAPT. F. R. BARTON.

[WITH PLATES II-XV.]

INTRODUCTION.

TOWARDS the close of Dr. Haddon's monograph "The Decorative Art of New Guinea," there occurs the following sentence:—"It is quite possible that many of the geometric and more or less formal designs in use in British New Guinea have an origin which is by no means obvious at first sight. With regard to these, nothing of any value can be done at home. If these designs are ever to be elucidated, it can be accomplished only by those living on the spot. Information must be carefully collected, critically examined, and carefully compared and checked. In no case should the collector theorize: it is the native's explanation which is required. When it is discovered what a design represents, then the reason for its employment should be discovered, and whether it has or has had any religious significance."

I had collected the names of a number of Western Papuo-Melanesian tattooing patterns and taken photographs and sketches of them before I came across the advice contained in the above-quoted passage—advice which I thereupon determined to follow as far as possible. The result was that I amassed a considerable quantity of material, and should have collected a good deal more had not circumstances necessitated my leaving New Guinea earlier than I had anticipated. Gaps will be found here and there which not only render this paper incomplete but which had they been filled might have helped to corroborate or modify some of the conclusions I have tentatively arrived at.

For anybody who has acquired a fair knowledge of the Motu dialect and the confidence of the natives, it is easy enough in New Guinea to learn from native women the names of the different tattoo patterns¹ worn by this or that tribe, and if the enquirer has an observant faculty, he will soon find that some patterns are called by the same words as the names of certain birds, fish, etc., and that others have names which carry no alternative meaning. But when it comes to a question of ascertaining the reason for the employment of a certain design, or as to what association exists between designs which are named after natural objects and the objects themselves, it is found that great difficulties present themselves—difficulties which are largely augmented by the fact that some names are evidently not original names, but have been given later owing to an imaginary likeness between the pattern and some commonplace object.

¹ The men's knowledge of the specific names of patterns is very imperfect.

Furthermore, my experience has been that natives seldom, if ever, associate mentally the name of a conventionalized design with its corresponding natural object. There is, for instance, a Waima tattoo pattern called *areau*, which means frigate-bird, but if Waima natives are asked to explain what is the connection between the pattern and the bird, they show bewilderment and confess that it had never struck them before that the name of the pattern is the same word as their word for frigate-bird. In fact the natives' explanation of tattoo patterns is not obtainable, and if, under pressure, an explanation were offered, it would probably be quite unreliable.

So far, then, as Dr. Haddon's advice in the above-quoted paragraph is concerned, it may be considered doubtful whether in a subject so archaic as tattooing the origin of any designs can be elucidated any better on the spot than elsewhere.

This means of approach to the question having, for the above-stated reasons, proved unfruitful, I decided to venture upon an attempt to examine the etymology of those New Guinea pattern-names which carry no alternative meaning, and to compare them with words in allied languages and dialects, hoping that thereby some light might be thrown upon the subject. The danger attending an experiment of this kind when made by an amateur will be patent to any trained philologist, and the difficulties of the quest will easily be appraised by anybody who has had the hardihood to set forth upon a similar venture. An argument which rests upon verbal equivalents and affinities requires that it shall be fortified by a considerable number of words in allied dialects. These, however, have not been forthcoming in sufficient quantity in any one case to carry conviction, and though interesting indications have come to light here and there, the results generally must be regarded as disappointing.

In these circumstances it is with great diffidence that I publish the suggestions contained in this paper: my excuse for doing so is that they may excite criticism, for I feel sure that if the ultimate derivation of Oceanic tattooing patterns is ever discovered it will more probably be through a philological approach than any other avenue.

I.

Though the custom of tattooing in South-eastern New Guinea is wide-spread, it is not consistently practised except by the following tribes: Waima, Roro, Mekeo and Pokao to the West of Port Moresby; the Motu group,¹ inhabiting the coast from Redscar Head to Hood's lagoon; the Keakaro tribe; the Mailu tribe; one branch of the Southern Massim; and, lastly, a small group of tribes in the Collingwood Bay District on the North-east coast.

¹ The "Motu group" is an arbitrary classification which I have adopted for the sake of simplicity. In this paper the term includes the Motu tribe proper, the Sinaugolo and the Hula tribes.

The non-Melanesian tribes who inhabit the coast line of the Papuan Gulf from Cape Possession to the most easterly outlet of the Purari delta—a district called Elema by the Motuans—confine such rude tattooing as is practised by them to the faces of the men. The Purari delta tribes and those living to the westward of that river—a district the Motuans call Namau—do not, as far as I am aware, tattoo at all. Scarification is not practised either in the Elema or the Namau district. I have no drawings or photographs of tattoo marks worn by Elema individuals, but my recollection is that the rude patterns executed by them bear no resemblance to the Western Papuo-Melanesian designs, being for the most part single or concentric circles with or without rays.

The men and women of the dark-skinned non-Melanesian tribes, known collectively as Binandele, who inhabit the coast and river banks from Cape Nelson northwards to the Mambare River, do not tattoo, but many of them decorate their skins by scarring.

Occasional facial tattoo marks, rudely executed, are to be seen on men of the bush tribes from the southern slopes of the Owen Stanley range. There is said, however, to be a bush tribe living in the Hydrographers' Range on the north-east coast who tattoo themselves elaborately.

In South-eastern New Guinea tattooing operations are invariably performed by women. The men are unacquainted with the technique of the art, and though the names of patterns may vaguely be known to them, they are, for the most part, unable to give with certainty the correct name to any particular pattern. In districts where until recent years tattooing was consistently practised, women were tattooed without exception. In the case of men, tattooing appears to have been optional, except, perhaps, when individuals were tattooed with the distinctive marks for having taken human life.

I failed to find that any particular pattern "ran" in a family. An old woman of Gaile village (Motu district)—an expert tattooing operator—told me that she could give no reason for one girl being tattooed with one pattern and another girl with another pattern. She said that the pattern is traced in pigment first, and if it is then seen to be an unsuitable pattern on account of the colour of the skin, or other cause, another pattern is substituted, and so on until one is found to be suitable, and this is then pricked in. I cannot explain what was meant by suitability of pattern in relation to the colour of the skin.

The practice of tattooing is not confined to those tribes whose skins are fair, for there are tribes, such as the non-tattooing portion of the Southern Massims, whose skins do not differ in shade from those of the tattooing section of the same group, who yet make no attempt to practise it. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the accuracy and symmetry of the patterns are better preserved by the people of those tribes whose skins incline to fairness.

II.

The first stages of the tattooing of girls of the Waima tribe, the tribes of the Motu group, and the Aroma and Mailu tribes, are put in hand at an early age. The Mekeo tribe and the Southern Massim begin operations at a later age.

The order of tattooing the several parts of the body by the Motu group tribes is as follows :—

Girls from 5 to 8 years of age.

- (1) Face (*vaira*).
- (2) Arms (*ima*).
- (3) Chin (*ade*).
- (4) “ Base of ” vulva (*kiobadi*)¹.
- (5) “ Top of ” vulva (*kiodori*)¹.
- (6) Armpits and shoulder blades (*kadidiha mai murimuri ida*) = armpit, and, back of, with.

The foregoing parts of the body are all tattooed twice over (with intervals between the operations) before the second series of tattooing operations is begun. The second series begins when puberty is approaching, namely :—

- (7) Upper throat marking (*gado roho*)².
- (8) Inside of knees and thighs (*kio gunina*) = vulva, inland, the.
- (9) Lower leg and feet (*ae mai ae palapala*) = leg, and, leg, foot.³
- (10) Buttocks (*kunu*).
- (11) Chest and nape of neck (*gado, gado natuna, gado gado*)².
- (12) Sides and back (*ohe mai doru*) = side, and, back.
- (13) Region between navel and chest (*kopa*).

The place order followed by the Waima tribe, and, I believe, by the Aroma and Mailu tribes also, is much the same as the foregoing, with the exception of the face. This these tribes leave to the last : it is not in fact put in hand until the girl has reached a marriageable age.

¹ *Kio* = vulva ; *Kiobadi* and *Kiodori* denote respectively (a) the upper part of the thighs and region immediately below the vulva, (b) the region between vulva and navel. The sense of *badi* appears to be “ base,” and of *dori*, “ top.”

² The question of the meaning of *gado, roho*, and the *gado* patterns generally, is discussed in another part of this paper (see p. 50).

³ Female children of men who have been in command of *lakatoi* (trading canoes),—(*badi tauna* and *dori tauna* = base-man and top-man, or primary-man and secondary-man),—on trading voyages to the Namau district are tattooed on the lower legs and feet with distinctive patterns when they are about 8 years of age. This tattooing is called *lakatoi dagina* = lakatoi mark.

The implements, and the names of them, used by the tattooing operators of the Motu tribe are as follows :—

- (1) A small shallow earthenware basin (*ituru*).
- (2) A potsherd (*ataga*).
- (3) A small piece of wood, or portion of a palm leaf rib, for marking the pattern in pigment on the skin (*puriki*).
- (4) A thorn (*gini*) attached to a twig.
- (5) A wooden striker (*iboki*).
- (6) Tattooing pigment, made by mixing water with lampblack, the latter obtained by burning tree gum and collecting the soot on a potsherd (*lamanu*).¹

A Motu girl who is to be tattooed lies on the open platform of her father's house (Plate XI, Fig. 1). The operator (who is not necessarily a relative) paints the pattern on the skin free-hand with the *puriki*, which is held between thumb and first and second fingers, the hand being steadied by resting the tips of the third and fourth fingers on the skin of the subject—the *puriki* being dipped occasionally in the *lamanu* pigment in the same manner as a painter fills his brush. The pattern is then driven into the skin by a quick tapping movement of the mallet or striker (*iboki*) on the thorned twig (*gini*) over the drawn pattern. An adult female relative of the girl is usually present during the operation. Her duty is to keep the girl in the required position, who would, however, consider herself disgraced if she cried, or resisted, under the operation. Both she and those present remain strictly silent while the operation is in progress. The Motuans have a tattooing legend² which tells that originally tattooing gave no pain, but that this exemption came to an end one day long ago when a girl who was being tattooed irreverently laughed. The people of Aroma (Keakaro) have the same legend.

As far as I know no chants are sung during tattooing operations in New Guinea. Feasts, however, of an unimportant character are given by the relatives of girls at Waima when the last stages of tattooing have been completed, and the fully tattooed girls at this time do no work, but wear a profusion of ornaments borrowed from the members of their clan, and they display themselves in their finery for several days in the village.³

In Hood Bay it was the custom, which was abolished some fifteen years ago, to display nubile girls whose tattooing had reached one of the last stages before completion, upon a *dubu* (ceremonial platform), when certain rites were performed. A description of this ceremony will be found under pattern No. 18⁴ (see p. 40).

¹ Cf. the *lama* nut from the tree *Aleurites moluccana* by burning which the Samoans obtain the colouring pigment for tattooing by a like process, collecting the soot in an inverted coconut shell cup. *Tätowirung in Samoa*, Marquardt, p. 9.

² See p. 75.

³ *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 265, Seligman.

⁴ Since this paper was written I have seen Dr. Malinowski's treatise on the *Natives of Mailu*. In the short account he therein gives of their tattooing, he says : "The ornamenting of the face"

III.

Waima.

The earliest record we have of tattooing patterns worn by the people who speak the Roro dialect—the dialect spoken by the Waima tribe—is that given by d'Albertis, who spent some time in this district in the early '70's of the last century. He states: "I can scarcely call the men tattooed, for although they frequently have marks on the chest or shoulders, they occur very rarely on the face," and in another place he states "the women have nearly their whole body covered with marks."

Finsch records having seen, in 1882, tattoo marks on the men of Waima. Judging by his description of them it is evident that some at least were homicide marks, such as the chest patterns and the zigzags. Homicide marks belong to the past: for my part I do not recollect having seen any tattoo marks worn by the men of this tribe.

Waima females are tattooed from head to foot, and there seemed to me to be no distinctive difference between the pattern schemes on one woman or another. I have no record of the patterns worn on the backs or beneath the petticoats of these women.

1. *Areau*.—This word means frigate-bird, and the tattoo patterns so called are especially interesting owing to the many variations which appear to have been evolved from the original type. It is probable that the original *areau* convention took the form of a flying bird, *i.e.*, a four-lined obtuse-angled zigzag, for this simple convention, which is common in the Bismarck Archipelago and in the Solomon Islands, is by no means rare among the Waima *areau* patterns.

The *areau* subject in its various forms is tattooed repeatedly on Waima women in the region of the breasts and on the backs of the hands, and it is invariably placed on the upper part of the chest inside the *mairi-mairi* angle. (Plate II.)

The word *areau* is interesting for the reason that it appears to bear little or no relation to other words meaning frigate-bird in the Melanesian dialects of South-Eastern New Guinea.

2. *Ra'a ra'a*.—This word in the Roro dialect means centipede (*Scolopendra*). It may be that the terminal to the tattoo pattern consisting of a broad straight line with a short interruption in the centre represents the head, and the opposite angular terminals the tail, of the creature. This is so far true to nature in that the antennæ of *Scolopendra* are remarkably straight, and branch at right angles to the median line of the body, and that the hindermost pair of limbs, which are much longer than, and differently shaped from the other limbs—having more the appearance

[the body, with the exception of the shoulders, having been previously tattooed] "is connected with a small feast, in which women only participate. Taro is brought into the house and the girl sleeps on it. The next day the girl's face is tattooed, and in the afternoon the food is eaten."

of antennæ than legs—curve first outwards and then inwards. The upper part of the bellies of Waima women is covered by three repetitions of these centipede conventions, and a further series of three, in the same lines of axis, appear to extend over that part of the belly which is covered by clothing. The heads of the two central figures are usually depicted as meeting at the navel. The tail end of each figure is surmounted by an *areau* (frigate-bird) convention, and the breasts are covered with the same conventions. (Plate III, Fig. 2.)

A combination of centipede and bird patterns is very common in the tattooing on both sexes of the Samoans, who call the centipede *atua loa*, which means “long god.” The bird which is figured with *atua loa* is *gogo*, a kind of sea-gull¹ [cf. *Kobobe* (Aroma and Hula) = frigate-bird].

There appears also to be a combination of bird and centipede conceptions in one of the Motu *lakatoi* (trading canoe) pennants. The name by which the pennant is known is *raga raga*,² which may be the same word as *ra'a ra'a*. It consists of a length of ornamented rope to which are attached two pieces of wood carved in crescentic shape with an interval between. Tied to the horns of the crescents are tassels of leaf-fibre. These crescents are probably flying-bird conventions. (See remarks under pattern No. 28.)

Centipedes were formerly regarded with great repugnance throughout Polynesia. The common word for centipede in Polynesia is *veri*, and the same word is used in most of the Polynesian islands to signify loathing, dread, or fear. Turner states that Samoans believed that the movements of a centipede in certain circumstances betokened whether a sick person would die or recover.³ In the Caroline Islands the original name for centipede has been tabooed: by day it is called *man-en-ran* (creature of the day), and by night *man-en-pong* (creature of the night).⁴ The Javanese eschew naming the centipede at evening or night. It is then referred to as the red ant.⁵

¹ *Die Tätowirung beider Geschlechter in Samoa* (Marquardt). When tattooed on males the bird conventions are sometimes called *fa'a'ila* (*ila* = birthmark).

² *Raga raga* has two other meanings in Motu: (a) the region immediately below the armpits, (b) a kind of marine shell. The latter are broken into pieces, and those fragments which are red-coloured are selected, and ground smooth. These having been threaded on to the string of a *doa* (boar's tusk) pendant, the whole ornament is called *alaha*. *Ra'a ra'a* may possibly be a duplicated form of *rava*, this being a common Melanesian word meaning “great.” [Cf. *dirava* (Motu) = a species of mythical being, a word which the members of the London Missionary Society have adopted for “God.” The Roro equivalent to *dirava* is probably *tsirava* = spirits of the dead. Cf. *helaga* (Motu) = sacred, and *raa* (Tahiti) = holy.] Cf. also the Samoan word *la'ala'a*, the latter being the name of several Samoan deities among which there was a god supposed to be imbued with prophetic powers in cases of war and sickness. (See *The Maori Comparative Dictionary* (Tregear), under *rakahua*.)

³ *Samoa* (1884), p. 69.

⁴ *Caroline Islands* (Christian), p. 361.

⁵ *Golden Bough* (Frazer), iii, p. 411.

In New Guinea centipedes are regarded with disgust, but I have never heard that they are accredited by the natives with any magical power.

3. *Mairi-mairi*.—In several Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects *mairi* denotes mother-of-pearl shell (*Meleagrina margaritifera*) as well as the crescentic ornaments made therefrom which are worn as pectorals. The *mairi-mairi* tattoo pattern is the V-shaped marking on the chest, and its smaller repetition on the nape of the neck. Similar chest patterns are worn by the women of all the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes with the exception of the Aroma and Mailu tribes. This mark is invariably recognised as a sign that the female on whom it is tattooed is betrothed or married. Further remarks on this pattern will be found under *gado* (No. 28).

4. *Koio-Koio*.—In the Roro dialect *koio* is the well-known fretted turtle-shell ornament of circular shape. The art of making these ornaments is—in South-Eastern New Guinea—peculiar to Waima.¹ The tattoo pattern takes the form of a rectangular spiral: it is tattooed on the front of the legs above the knees, and on the calves. (Plate II, Fig. *b*.)

5. *Boaboa*.—Lines tattooed on the faces of women are all called *boaboa*, and the same word is used at Waima to denote tattooing in a general sense. (Plate II, Figs. *a* and *b*.) One informant told me that face-markings are also sometimes called *bao*, and gave as a translation of this word the Motu word *pepe*, but this information remains unconfirmed. The meaning of *pepe* is somewhat wide. Lawes translates it to mean “banner,” but it also denotes a clan-badge flown from the sail-limb of a *lakatoi* (Motu trading canoe), and also streamers made of pandanus leaf which are worn by men suspended from the armllets as a form of decoration at feasts and dances. The underlying sense of the word is probably “fluttering,” and it may possibly be related to *pepe*, which is the common word for “butterfly” throughout Melanesia and Polynesia. (See remarks on p. 68.)

I am unable to state whether the face lines tattooed on Waima women differ in pattern one from the other: they are not tattooed until just before or just after marriage.

6. *Bihiu*.—All tattooed dot marks are thus named. *Bihiu* may be the same word as *vihiu* (Roro) = star.

There is at least one Waima tattoo pattern the name of which is missing in my notes. This is the marking shown on the front of the legs below the knees in Plate II, Fig. *b*. It appears to be the same pattern as the Mekeo *mangeau* design.

¹ In the Mekeo district these ornaments are called *gefe* [*cf. geve* (Hula) = feather, and *gave* (Espiritu Santo) = wing], or *kina maanga* = face of the sun. Dr. Seligman spells the word *koiyu*. Perhaps the original meaning of *gefe* (Mekeo) and *geve* (Hula) was “brilliance.” [Cf. *kepe* (Barriai, N. Britain) = pearl-shell.] A parallel instance is afforded by the Polynesian word *kura* or *ura*, which may mean red, fiery, red feathers, or brilliance. *Ura* (Motu) = crayfish, and is possibly the same word as the Polynesian word *kura* or *ura*, the connecting idea being the bright red colour of these crustaceans when boiled.

Mekeo.

I do not recollect having seen any tattoo marks on a male of this tribe. Women are tattooed on the trunk of the body, but not on the face nor on those parts of the legs which are uncovered. My notes do not show whether their arms are tattooed, nor do I know what patterns may be tattooed on those parts of the belly and buttocks which are concealed by clothing.

7. *Aieme*.—This is a V-shaped betrothal pattern, here tattooed in the form of a single stripe with a break at the apex of the angle and two projections on the inner sides of the lines. *Aieme* is, perhaps, a compound word. [cf. *aio* (Mekeo)=neck; *geme* (Motu)=chest; *eme* (Pokao)=lime-spatula. The reciprocal chewing of betel-nut with lime by a youth and a damsel is by the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes regarded as a pledge of marriage].

8. *Aemakiunga*.—Inside the *aieme* angle—in the same position as the Waima tribe wear an *areau* design—a figure is often tattooed which has the form of a series of flying-bird conventions, and is called *aemakiunga*.¹ Père Vitale (a missionary who has been long resident in Mekeo) informed me that this word literally means “soaring-plunging.” At my request he questioned the natives with a view to ascertaining whether the word had any other signification besides the tattoo pattern, and he was told that *aema* or *aemakiunga* is the name of a large bird which flies high aloft and never alights on the ground. This may have been their way of describing a spirit-bird, but the description suggests a frigate-bird.

There is reason for thinking that tribes who at some bygone period have been sea-faring people and who have subsequently settled inland, occasionally substitute for sea-birds which formerly they held in special regard, other birds bearing some sort of likeness to them. A case in point came under my notice in Mekeo. I happened to be at the large village of Aipiana in the upper Mekeo district when the *upu* of one of the clans was decorated for a festival. Suspended from the projecting ridge-pole of the building was a black effigy of a bird with outspread wings and a *forked tail*. I enquired what this bird might be and was informed that it was the bird called *auopa*. Further enquiry elicited the fact that *auopa*, in the dialect of the place, means shag (*Phalacrocorax*), of which kind of bird there are large numbers in the neighbouring fresh-water swamps and lagoons. Now shags are so far like frigate-birds in that both have glossy green-black plumage, both have webbed feet, both have the habit of flying in single file, and both are given to soaring with rigid wings. But whereas shags have not got forked tails those of

¹ *Kiu* is perhaps the Mekeo equivalent of the Waima *tiu* and Motu *diho* (Melanesian *siwo*), meaning to dive or descend, and *ae* is probably the same word as the Motu *dae* (Melanesian *sake*) = up. Frigate-birds have the habit of swooping down from a height upon other marine birds, thus compelling them to disgorge, and catching the disgorged fish or morsel in mid-air. The Maoris have a word *tiu*, meaning (1) to go swiftly, (2) to swoop as a bird in flight, (3) to fall to the ground as a kite when flying (Tregear's Dictionary).

frigate-birds are so deeply forked as to be clearly visible even though the bird may be thousands of feet above one.

It may be that the original tutelary bird of this Mekeo *upu* was a frigate-bird, and that the tribe, having lost touch with the sea, have substituted the shag for the frigate-bird on account of a superficial similarity of habits and appearance, and have given to it a forked tail.¹

9. *Pi'iu*, meaning "star," is the name of the concentric lozenge-shaped figure between the navel and the breasts. (Plate IV, Fig. 1.) The same design is often carved throughout this district on coconut-shell sago spoons and is also painted on perineal bands, and in both cases it is known by the same name, *pi'iu* [cf. *pipi* (Toaripi), *bebeu* (Wedau), *pepeula* (Savo, Solomons) = butterfly].

10. *Mangeau*.—The two parallel lines extending from the *pi'iu* figure to the points of the shoulders and the angular markings on either side are called *mangeau*. This is probably the same word as the Waima *areau* and the Pokao *malegaru*. I did not find that the word has any alternative meaning. The continuation of this double-line pattern to the navel shown in Plate IV, fig. 1, and the two double-line zigzags shown on the back in Plate IV, Figs. 2 and 3, are called, I believe, by the same name, *mangeau*.

11. *Aipa* is the Mekeo word for centipede, and the parallel zigzag lines tattooed under each breast in Plate IV, Fig. 1, are thus named. An almost identical pattern, also called *aipa*, is painted in Mekeo on perineal bands. This painted pattern is liable to be mistaken for another called *kiu* (elbow or knee), the difference between the two patterns being, perhaps, that the *aipa* zigzags are drawn with more acute angles than the angles of the *kiu* zigzags.

12. *Oi*.—The pattern tattooed immediately below the navel. It probably extends to the *mons veneris*. A design , also called *oi*, which is sometimes by inverted duplication made to form a cross, is a common figure in Mekeo carving. Variants of the carved *oi* are common on fish-forks from this district, and the same pattern is often worked into string bags. The word *oi* has no meaning in the Mekeo dialect other than that of a pattern-name. It seems not unlikely that the *oi* sound in the pattern-names *Koiokoio* (Waima), and *laudioi* (Pokao)—both of them spirals—is derived from the same source. *Oi* is possibly directly related to *Koki* (Maori) = angle, corner; *Koko* (Tonga) = bend or elbow; *Koki* (Mangareva) = crook [cf. the Mangarevan word *akakoki* = to make zigzags, *aka* being the causative; *Kokiri*

¹ In this argument I may have made more of the corresponding likeness of habits of these two birds than the case warrants, for on another *upu* in the same village I saw carved images of birds placed sitting in a row upon a suspended board, all of which had forked tails, and was told that they were *Kenge Kenge* (spur-winged plovers) (*Lobivanellus*), but it is significant that the tails of this species are also *not* forked. (See Plate xlv in *Melanesians of British New Guinea.*)

(Maori) = the name of a tattoo mark which appears to be a flying-bird convention ; *Kokiri* (Raratonga), a diamond pattern mat design ; *Koiko* (Mangareva = tattooing.)¹

Pokao.

Such scanty information as I have of the tattooing patterns of this district was collected at Diumana, the chief village of the Nara tribe. Like their neighbours, the once powerful Kabadi tribe, the Nara people have become decadent and are fast dying out. A few old women were to be seen ten years ago whose wrinkled skins showed traces of rich tattooing, but the young folk are scarcely tattooed at all, and such designs as I saw upon their bodies were but rudely executed. I have no note showing whether the face was tattooed by the Pokao people, but I have one which states that the chin was never tattooed by them. From this it may perhaps be inferred that the face, with the exception of the chin, was tattooed.

13. *Divu*, meaning "elbow," was in former days, apparently, a common pattern at Nara. It consists of chevrons tattooed within four symmetrically placed rectangular panels. The pattern is worn on the stomach, the non-tattooed spaces between the four panels forming a cross with the navel as a centre.

14. *Akubou*.—The pattern called by this name consists of continuous zigzags drawn between two parallel lines. In Fig. 2 (p. 34) the *akubou* pattern is the upper part of the design : the lines forming acute angles below it are called *divu*. This compound figure is an armpit pattern. *Aku* in *akubou* may be the Pokao word *akua*, to strike, used here in the sense of striking or tapping the tattooing pigment into the skin.² In this case it is the same word as the Motu *hatua* and the Hula *aua*. (See verbs "to tattoo" in Vocabulary No. 1.)

Bou may possibly be the same word as the Motu *bou* = together, meaning that both parts of the compound figure are tattooed together, *i.e.*, at the same time ; but this I regard as unlikely : or it may be the *bou* in the Roro word *boubou*, "An evil spirit like fire."³

15. *Laudioi*.—This rectangular spiral figure is identical with the Waima tattoo pattern *koiokoio*, and at Pokao as at Waima it is tattooed on the legs. An intricate spiral design is burnt upon the surface of lime-gourds by some Pokao men, which is also called *laudioi*, but the spirals are curvilinear, not rectangular. (Figs. 4 and 5 (A).)

16. *Malegau*.—In this case also the pattern-name denotes a lime-gourd design as well as a tattoo pattern. (Figs. 3 and 5 (B).) The two designs, though they bear but little resemblance to each other, have one feature in common, namely,

¹ Further remarks on *oi* will be found under pattern No. 17.

² Cf. *e o aku* (Hawaii) = to prick (Andrews).

³ Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

the bisection of the figure by a space enclosed within two parallel straight lines. The tattoo patterns that I saw which were called *malegau* differed to some slight extent from each other and were very rudely executed, and it may therefore be that the operator was not a proficient artist, and failed to draw the pattern correctly. But this suggestion is to a considerable extent discounted by the fact that the rudely executed Pokao tattoo patterns bear a strong likeness to the Mekeo *mangeau* design, as well as to the Waima leg-pattern of which I have been unable to give the name. The words, too, *malegau* and *mangeau*, are so much alike that there can be little doubt but that they are variants of one word.

A few years ago some engraved shells were dug up in Collingwood Bay. These engraved designs¹ are sufficiently like the *malegau* and *mangeau* tattoo patterns and the Pokao *laudoi* lime-gourd pattern to warrant a comparison between them.

*Motu, Hula, and Sinaugolo.*²

As the tattoo patterns of these tribes are identical in form and only vary in name, they will be found put together in each case under one heading. With the Motu tribe are included the Lakwaharu and Gaile sub-tribal groups.

A few old men were still to be seen some years ago who bore upon their chests, backs, and the deltoid region of the arms, tattoo marks distinctive of having killed an enemy man or woman,³ but I have never seen a man of these tribes tattooed as richly as the old Motu chief Hila is said to have been by Finsch, who saw him in 1882, and who gives the following description of the markings.

“On his chest he bore a double obtuse-angled stripe like the *gado* pattern of the women, but with a serrated edge, and below this were two zigzag lines in the central line of the body extending to the navel. On his thigh he had a row of crosses. The pattern on the arms was similar to the arm-patterns worn by women.”⁴

This description suggests that in former days the elders of the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes, or, perhaps, the supreme chiefs only, were tattooed profusely, and that this custom in the case of men has nearly died out.

Facial patterns are very common on the young men of these tribes, and tattooing on the back is not rare. Finsch states that he saw young men tattooed with zigzag lines, but omits to state on what part of the body they were worn. He was informed that they inherited the right to wear them from their fathers. I have

¹ *On Prehistoric Objects in British New Guinea* (Seligman and Joyce), Plate viii, Figs. 5 and 6.

² Sinaugolo pattern-names are taken from *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1893-94*.

³ At Hula a fret pattern called *riwu* was tattooed vertically on either side of the centre line of the chest for having killed an enemy woman. Guise, in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. i. (N.S.), 1899, pp. 207-209, states that among the tribes inhabiting the mouth of the Wanigela river a boy is never tattooed until he has taken life or assisted in doing so, but in the same paper he states that certain tattooing known as *Rogena* or *Muravaputi* is worn on the chins of boys whose fathers have taken life.

⁴ *Decorative Art of New Guinea* (Haddon).

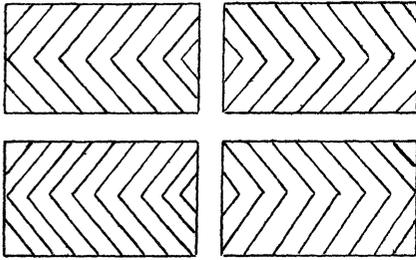


FIG. 1.
Diu. No. 13.

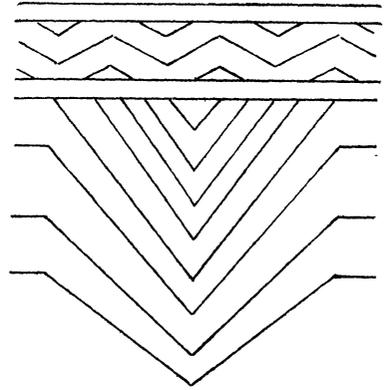
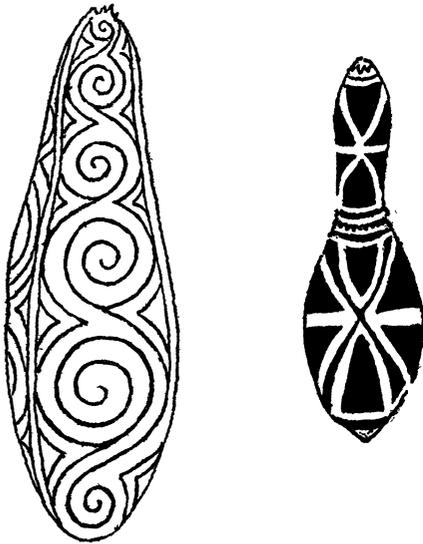


FIG. 2.
Akubou. No. 14.



(A) (B)
FIG. 5.

(A) *Laudioi* on lime-gourd.
(B) *Malegau* „

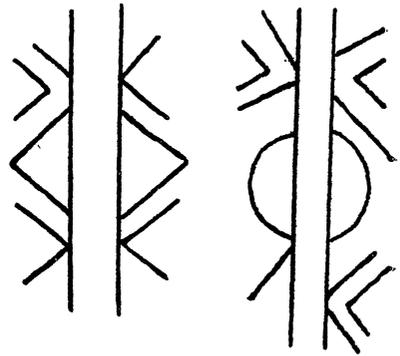


FIG. 3.
Malegau. No. 16.

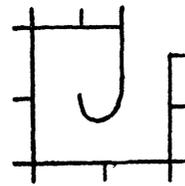


FIG. 4.
Laudioi. No. 15.

never heard this explanation given for the *neneva* (a zigzag pattern) which is sometimes worn on the back in present times, but it is quite likely that I never questioned natives on the subject. Until I saw Finsch's statement I had been under the fixed impression that this homicide mark had been assumed by young men (who I knew had never thrown a spear in anger or self-defence) from a motive of mere vanity, and that it had been permitted to them to do so by the elders of the community in that spirit of carelessness which follows the breaking-down of native custom by foreign interference.

Youths of Hula occasionally wear a pattern tattooed on the deltoid region of both arms called *bina* (hornbill). (Plate IV, Fig. 4.) The single example I have of this Hula *bina* pattern is identical with a pattern which is commonly tattooed on the backs of the hands of females of the Motu group, called *dihudihu* (Motu), *divu* (Hula). (Plate VII, Fig. 5.)

In *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Dr. Seligman has pointed out that the natives of Port Moresby have more than a usual proportion of Papuan blood in their veins as compared with the Lakwaharu and Gaile branches of the Motu tribe, and that this is due to the cross marriages which have taken place for generations between the Motu and the Koita tribes. The Koita speak a Papuan language, and they were undoubtedly a darker-skinned race than the Motuans when the two tribes first came in contact. The outcome of this blood fusion is that the Port Moresby Motuans are, on an average, darker-skinned than the other branches of the Motu tribe, and the result is seen in a degeneration of their tattooing art. This is evident not only in the lack of clearness and symmetry in the patterns tattooed, but also in the fact that the women find it difficult to recall the names of the several patterns.

17. *Kakui* (Motu), *Tipu* (Hula), *Magani-gini* (Sinaugolo).—The Motu and cognate tribes tattoo this interesting face pattern with much variety of combination. (Plate V, Fig. 2.) It is also found eastward as far as Aroma and Mailu, though at the latter place it has probably been borrowed from their western neighbours. A somewhat similar pattern is tattooed on the feet and the lower part of the legs of the female children of *badi-taudia* and *dori-taudia*, *i.e.*, the fore and aft captains of *lakatoi*, but it is only tattooed on the children of those captains who have made two or more voyages to the Namau district in the Gulf of Papua on trading expeditions. This marking is called *lakatoi dagina* (*lakatoi*=trading canoe; *dagina*=the mark or sign). (Plate V, Fig. 1.)

Attention may be drawn to a feature which is invariably present in the *kakui* patterns, namely, the peculiar terminals. These terminals seem to indicate that the outside and inside vertical lines of the separated figures may originally have been continuous lines, in which case a whole series of disjointed figures would form the parts of a single figure; or alternatively that the design was at one time a woven pattern from which the tattooing pattern has been copied.

The Sinaugolo word *magani-gini* for this pattern means "fish-bone," but, in my opinion, this is a recent name which has been given to it owing to an imaginary likeness between one variation of the design and a fish's backbone.

The derivation of the words *kakiu* and *tipu*—the latter word being sometimes pronounced *tipo*—is very obscure. In endeavouring to trace their origins I have come across an apparent affinity of certain words which leads me to think that these patterns may have been evolved from the conception of an elbowed bird's wing, and that this bird is possibly a raptorial bird or a frigate-bird. The grounds upon which this suggestion is based are partly linguistic, and partly based on the fact that angular birds' wing patterns undoubtedly occur in carving, tattooing, and painting designs—not only in the art of some of the Melanesian-speaking tribes of South-eastern New Guinea, but also throughout Melanesia. We have already seen that the Waima frigate-bird design takes the form of a variety of angular figures; we have likewise seen that in Mekeo the *aemakiunga* pattern is very likely to be a flying-bird derivative and that it may have been evolved from a flying frigate-bird. It now remains to adduce philological reasons for attributing a bird's wing origin to the pattern under present notice.

The Motuans have three different words to designate the frigate-bird, namely, *kokobe*, *mukou*, and *kidukidu*.¹ The first of these words is more frequently used at Kapakapa, Gaile, and Tupuseleia, and is also the word for frigate-bird at Hula and Aroma. At Pari (a Motu-Koita village) *kidukidu* is generally used, while at Port Moresby the bird is commonly known as *mukou* by the Motuans and as *kiduka* by the Koitapuans. There can, I think, be no cogent reason against assuming that *kidukidu* = *kiukiu*, and the comparisons I shall give presently point to the probability of *ko* in *kokobe*, and *kiu* in *kiukiu* having one and the same meaning, namely, flexure, crook, bend, angle; and further, that among the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes and in some parts of Polynesia, the frigate-bird as well as some other birds with long angular wings such as sea-gulls are named after this conception of something that is angular or curved—terms which in our notions are distinct though related, but which in the ideas of Oceanic peoples are apparently liable to become merged in a single conception.

In the languages of the Malays and the Dyaks both the roots *kiu* and *ko* occur, *siku* (Malay) and *sukuch* (Dyak) being elbow; and *bengkok* (Malay) and *bedikok* or *rikog* (Dyak) meaning crooked. In Madagascar *kihu* = elbow. In Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects *diu* (Motu), *diu* (Pokao), *digu* (Sinaugolo) = elbow, and *kiu* (Mekeo) = elbow or knee. In Southern Massim dialects *siu* (Bonabona, S. Cape, Sariba and Mukawa) = elbow.

¹ Cf. the following words for chicken-hawk or great hawk in two Alfur dialects of Celebes: *Kiokio* (Tonsea) and *Kiongkiong* (Tontemboan), *Tontemboansch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (N. Adriani).

The *ko* root in words expressing curve or angle appears to occur less often in New Guinea dialects than in those of Indonesia and Polynesia, but the following doubtful instances in Motu may be mentioned: *kokia*=to gather by breaking, *i.e.*, bending, a stalk (in contradistinction to *bulukia*, which apparently implies the gathering of fruit by means which entail no effort), and *makuku*=to crease, to wrinkle—which perhaps refers to the criss-cross appearance of creases or wrinkles.

Polynesian words containing the *ko* root are numerous, of which the following are a few instances, namely: *koko* or *koki* (Maori)=corner; *koko* (Tonga)=bend, elbow; *koko* (Marquesas)=to bend; *koki* (Mangareva)=crook, *akakoki* (Mangareva)=to make zigzags. Polynesian words containing the *kiu* root are somewhat rare. In Maori there is a word *kokeu* meaning curved, which is apparently made up of both the *ko* and the *kiu* root. In the Marquesas *kiu*=grasshopper, which may owe its name to the angular formation of its hopping limbs. *Kiu* seems to appear again in some words meaning bird's wing, thus: *pekehu* (Marquesas); and *ekeu* (Hawaii), of which the plural form is *ekekeu*.

In Oceanic languages, therefore, there occur *koko* and *koki*, words which definitely mean crook, curve or angle, and others such as *kiu*, *ekeu*, *diu*, etc., which mean elbow, knee, wing, and so forth, and which also apparently carry the meaning of crook or flexure.

There remains to be considered a small group of *kiu* words which mean bird, thus: *kiu* (Wedau and allied dialects, S.E. New Guinea) and *kiu* (Santa Cruz). It is open to doubt whether the *kiu* word for bird has any connection with the word *kiu*, an elbow or bend. It is true that conventions of sitting birds on the prows of canoes in the Massim area and in other districts of the northern coast of New Guinea often take the form of a mere crook or elbow (see Plate LXIII in *Melanesians of British New Guinea*). But it would be straining the point overmuch to suppose that a common object like a bird took its name from a peculiarity in carved representations of birds, nor would it be admissible in one and the same breath to argue—(a) that because *kiu* means bend or elbow and *ekeu*, wing, that therefore the *kakiu* design may be a wing derivative, and (b) that because *kiu* means bird and because birds in profile are represented as crooks, therefore the *kakiu* tattooing design may be derived from a carved bird's profile.

There is, however, a possibility that in the Alfur languages of Celebes, Amboyna, Ceram, etc., *kiu*¹ may have been a name applied to a certain class of birds whose habit it is, as Yarrell says of birds of prey, "to sail in circles with its rudder-like tail by its inclination governing the curve," its wings meanwhile remaining flexed and rigid; and the name *kiu* for such birds may have been derived from *kiu*, meaning bent or curved, referring to a circular method of flight or to the bird's

¹ See footnote on p. 36.

flexed and rigid wings. It is furthermore possible that in a few dialects *kiu* came to be used not to denote a particular kind of bird, but any bird. Not only is *kiu* an occasional word meaning bird in Melanesian dialects (*cf. kioala*, etc.=black cockatoo, in vocabulary No. 2); but *ko* is also a very common prefix to bird names, especially in Polynesia, and *koko*, as was pointed out, frequently means “bend” or “crook” in the Polynesian dialects.

Turning now to frigate-bird names in Polynesia, these for the most part are words which appear to contain *ko* or *koi* roots, and I suggest that these are the same *ko* or *koi* roots which occur in certain words for angle, curve or crook, as well as in some Western Papuo-Melanesian tattooing pattern-names such as the Mekeo *oi*, the Waima *koio-koio*, and the Pokao *laudioi*. Working in a direction from east to west, the following words embodying the *ko* root mean frigate-bird: *kota'a* (Cook Islands),¹ *otaha* (Tahiti), *'atafu* (Samoa), *gataf* (Uleai, Cent. Carolines), *kandavu* (Fiji),² the *ko*³ sound becoming more and more indistinct until in the Solomons, New Britain, and the Massim districts of New Guinea, the Samoan *'atafu* and the Fijian *kandavu* shade off into *atawa*, *taula*, *dauta*, *darute*, *dawat*, *davasi*, etc. (see Vocabulary No. 2).

In New Zealand and in Eastern Polynesia *oi* or *koe* take the place of *ko* in frigate-bird names. New Zealand lies outside the southern limit of the habitat of this tropical bird, and there it is consequently a legendary bird. Maori traditions tell of a huge bird whose habit it is to fly high aloft—a bird that has black plumage tinged with yellow and green and with a bunch of red feathers on its head. Another account says that it was a long-winged bird that is supposed to soar in the heavens far above human vision, and to descend to shore at night to feed on shell-fish.⁴ This bird is called *hokioi* or *okioi*, and Sir W. Buller,⁵ the New Zealand ornithologist, states that in his opinion it is identical with the frigate-bird. In Mangareva the frigate-bird is called *mokoe*, a word which recalls the Motu word *mukou* for frigate-bird.

In *Gonzalez's Voyage to Easter Island*,⁶ a short description is given of one of the designs which the natives painted (? tattooed) on their bodies, and the account is amplified by the statement that the young people do not “paint” themselves in this fashion, but that a few of them have a collar of the same colour traced round the neck, and depending from it a figure of a small animal resembling a toad, or frog, which they call *cogè*. This word is possibly cognate to the Maori *koki*, corner, and the Mangarevan words, *koki*, a crook, *mokoe*, frigate-bird, *koiko*, tattooing. The description of the figure suggests an anthropomorphic design such as a *tiki*.

¹ Cf. *Kotaha* (Maori), part of a chief's head-dress (Tregear).

² *Eastern Pacific Islands* (Christian), p. 239.

³ *Gogo* in Samoan and at Efate means a sea-gull.

⁴ *Trans. of N.Z. Inst.*, vi, 64. The scarlet coloured throat-pouch of the male bird perhaps gave rise to the red crest of the legend.

⁵ *Birds of New Zealand* (Buller).

⁶ Hakluyt edition, p. 98.

In the art of Melanesia birds and men are not infrequently combined in the same figure, and there are occasional though faint signs which seem to indicate that in the eastern part of Polynesia there was a connexion, as expressed in art, between the abducted and semi-flexed arms of a human being, and the outstretched wings of a bird.

As an instance of the way in which certain angular symmetrical figures were apparently liable to become associated with frigate-birds by the people of an earlier period, the case of a marine bivalve (*Malleus* spec.) may be cited. This shell is called by the natives of Kiriwina, Trobriand Is., *daute* or *lai daute*, meaning "frigate-bird" or "reef frigate-bird." I took some trouble to ascertain whether there was any connexion of ideas in the minds of the natives of Kiriwina between *daute* the bird and *daute* the shell, but could not discover that they associated the two things. It has occurred to me since that the shell may have been named after the frigate-bird for the following reason, namely, that if a closed shell were opened and the two sides of it laid flat, the figure so presented would suggest that of a frigate-bird with outspread wings and a forked tail (see Plate V, Figs. 3 and 4).

Tattooing nomenclature in Indonesia, New Guinea and Polynesia contains the following words, some of which may possibly be derived from the *ko*, *koi*, and *kiu* roots.

Kaki (Bahasa tanah), *maki* (Vitu Island),¹ *diju* (Onjo, Collingwood Bay, S.E. New Guinea), *koiko* (Mangareva), *kaioi* (Marquesas) = tattooing or tattooed. *Gidju* (Marshall Is.), *Kakiu* (Motu), *tipu* (Hula), *diu* (Pokao) *gogo* (Samoa), *Koae* (Hawaii) = specific tattoo patterns, the last two being obviously representations of flying-birds.

18. *Ikoru*² or *korokoro* (Motu), ? (Hula), ? (Sinaugolo).

A type of face tattooing consisting of short strokes sometimes fringed on the outside, is known by the above names (*ikoro* at Port Moresby, and *korokoro* at Tupuseleia and Gaile), and the same words denote all fringing strokes which are so often added to some tattooing patterns in this district. The same words are used by the Motu tribes to denote carving. It may also be noted that *foro* (Koita) = tattooing. (Plate VI, Figs. 1 and 2.)

Tattooing nomenclature in Melanesia and Polynesia consists to a large extent of words which contain *olo*, *ulu*, etc., and the patterns under consideration perhaps belong to this category. Owing to the fact that words of this construction have several meanings which may potentially be used to explain the derivations of the several patterns in question, it is extremely difficult to classify them. Throughout

¹ If *maki* is a *kiu* derivative, which seems doubtful, then *mak*, which is a common word for tattooing in Northern Melanesia, is also probably derived from the same source.

² Cf. *Kolomiti* (Ceram) = tattooing. The face patterns of the inland tribes of Ceram consist of figures which appear to be flying-bird conventions. *Reisen in den Molukken* (Martin), pp. 51, 124 and illustrations.

Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia such words may equally well serve to mean hair or feathers, head, bird, flight, and oil. It will also be shown later that certain words meaning oil are identical with words meaning flight, and that oiling of the body is connected with tattooing ceremonies.

The commonest term for bird (in a generic sense) throughout Austronesia is *manu*, though here and there we find *roro* and *rovo* as bird nouns¹ which appear to be derived from the common Indonesian and Melanesian *rovo*, and cognate words, meaning "to fly." But whereas *manu* may in some dialects mean a crawling insect, or even an animal (as opposed to human creatures) *roro* and *rovo* words are definitely connected with the idea of flight or feathers. An equivalent of *rovo* in its sense of flight is *rere*, a word which is ubiquitous in that sense in Polynesia, but which in New Guinea Melanesian dialects appears more often in words for carving than in tattooing nomenclature. *Manu* occurs occasionally, though rarely, among tattooing terms in Indonesia, New Guinea (S. Massims), and Polynesia, but not as far as I know in Melanesia, and in New Guinea it never appears in words for carving used in a general sense.

The *rere* as well as the *roro* and *rovo* class of words used in tattooing and carving nomenclature appear to convey the sense of flight or wing rather than the conception of a visualized bird, which is borne out by such words as *vurere* (Wedau) and *maroro* (Maori and Tikopia) = flying-fish; and *bobokoro* (Siassi) and *lolo* (Madagascar) = butterfly. In Motu *roroho* denotes a large species of ray,² so named probably because of its wing-like fins, and of its habit of leaping from the water. In the dialects of Bahasa tanah and the Alfurs of Ceram, the following *olo* and *ulu* words mean wing: *ihollo*, *iholjo*, *tiholu*, *ihule*, *ihul*, *ihur*.³ In the Barriai (New Britain) group of dialects *roro* = to fly. In the Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects we have *roho* (Motu), *robo* (Roro), *lovo* (Hula), *lobo* (Aroma) = to fly. In Florida *lovo*, and in San Cristoval *roho* have the same meaning.

The question is whether *roro*, *rere*, and *rovo* in their sense of flight and bird have been derived from one and the same root, and secondly, whether these words are cognate to *olo* and *ulu*, words denoting feather—questions which must be left for philologists to determine.

We now come to words meaning oil. One of the customs or ceremonies in connexion with the final operations of tattooing consists of anointing the body of a tattooed person with oil. In a description of the *Kuiraga* section of the *Kapa* feast in Hood Bay, Guise writes as follows:—"The most important feast is the annual *Kapa*. It is during the celebration of this that marriages usually take

¹ Another "bird" noun, *Kiu*, has been discussed on pp. 37, 48.

² Cf. *roha* (Maori) = sting-ray.

³ *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (Friederici), vol. iii, p. 54.

place. On the second day the principal part of the ceremony called *Kuiraga* takes place, and many hours are spent on the toilet of the girls. They are freshly tattooed on the whole front of the body, especial attention being paid to the lower parts, as a girl who is untattooed there, or has but indifferent tattooing, possesses no attraction in the eyes of the young men. They mount the *dubu* and stand side by side; and on a given signal untie their petticoats and throw them behind them. Married women then advance and place in front of each girl a basket containing on top a few long yams, and a small knife, and beneath, a quantity of areca nut. An old woman now advances and anoints each girl on the breast and on the whole of the front of the body with melted pig's fat or coconut oil. They are now ready for the concluding ceremony. Two or three married women, or widows, seat themselves behind the girls and beat drums with slow and rhythmical measure. Each takes a yam in her left hand and the knife in her right, and at each beat of the drum cuts off a piece of the yam, bends her knees, and slightly bows her head, causing the weighted head-dress to sway forwards. . . . After each girl has cut up half a dozen yams, she, on the cessation of the beat of the drums, which is announced by two short taps, seizes the basket of areca nuts and pelts the crowd."¹

Marquardt² states that in Samoa when a party of youths had been tattooed: "A festive procession of the *tufuga* (priests) and their assistants took place with burning torches, accompanied by the smashing of a water vessel at the feet of the young chief, whereupon the ceremony of the *lulu'u* brought the whole act and the accompanying festivities to an end. This ceremony consisted of sprinkling by the *tufuga* with the milk of a so-called *niuui*³ coconut all those who had been tattooed.

The word *lulu'u* in the account of this Samoan ceremony is suspiciously like words of the feather, wing, and flight group, but *u'u* in Samoan means oil, and *lolo* in the same dialect means coconut oil prepared for making scented oil, while *lololo* = fat of pork. Cognate words in Polynesian dialects are as follows: *lolo* (Tonga) = oil, *roro* (Mangareva) = milk of coconuts, and *akarorororo* in the same dialect means to render soft, to soften. In Fiji *lolo* = milk of a coconut squeezed from the kernel when scraped, *i.e.*, an oily substance. Brains of mankind, and, in some islands, of beasts were likened, apparently, to oil, thus: *roro* (Tahiti) brains of mankind but not of beasts; *lolo* (Hawaii) brains of man or animal; *roro* (Mangaia) brains.

I am unable to say whether similar words for coconut oil occur in Melanesia, but the Motu word for this substance, *dehoro*, may possibly be derived from the

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. i (N.S.), 1899, pp. 207, 209.

² *Die Tätowierung beider Geschlechter in Samoa* (Marquardt), p. 12.

³ *niuui* (Samoa) = to sprinkle with the juice of *niuui* in order to make common. 2. To pardon. *ui* = to take off the *tapui*, *i.e.*, tabu. *Niualava* and *niuui* = two kinds of coconuts (Turner). It would be interesting to know whether these are two different species of coconuts or the same species in different stages of growth.

same root as the above-quoted Polynesian words, and another Motu word *horo*, meaning to anoint the head, is seemingly cognate to *dehoro*. The possibility of these Motu words being connected with Oceanic words meaning oil or fat would not be pertinent to this discussion but for the fact that in at least two instances there are words, apparently meaning oil, which enter into compound words or phrases having the meaning of non-tattooed. (a) In the Motu dialect the condition of being non-tattooed is called *kasiri vahoro*. *Kasiri* means raw, uncooked, and in duplicated form, *kasiri-kasiri*,¹ it denotes a red-brown colour, *i.e.*, a dull red in contradistinction to *kaka kaka*, vivid red. Lawes gives yet another meaning for *kasiri* when used as an adverb with *abia*, *abia* being a verb meaning "to take hold of." *Abia kasiri*, he states, means "to catch unexpectedly, as a fish without a net," *i.e.*, without preparation. The transition of the meanings of *kasiri* may therefore be from *dull red* to *raw* (indicating the idea of uncooked flesh) and from this to *unprepared*, and the original sense of the phrase *kasiri vahoro* (untattooed) may have been "unprepared for oiling." It is true that one cannot say definitely that *vahoro* is related to *dehoro*, coconut oil, and to *horo*, to anoint, though there is a presumption that such a relation exists. (b) In Mangareva the word for non-tattooed is *roro tea*, and this word is apparently compounded of *roro*, the milk of coconuts, and *tea*, meaning unpolished or dull.² Both these expressions for non-tattooed seem to associate the idea of unpreparedness with that of oil, and bearing in mind the oiling ceremony which takes place in certain localities when tattooing is completed, I am inclined to think that the original meaning of them may have been "unprepared for anointing with oil." Further light may be thrown upon this question when words meaning non-tattooed have been collected in Melanesian dialects.³

19. *Neneva* (Motu), *Geve* (Hula), *Mulavapuli* (Sinaugolo).—This pattern is usually worn on the back or the belly, and by the Gaile people it is sometimes worn on the face. (Plate VI, Figs. 3 and 5.) Men of the Motu group of tribes frequently have the *neneva* design tattooed lengthwise on either side of the backbone. In its simplest form the subject consists of two parallel lines zigzagging between marginal lines, thus forming a ribbon-like figure. The zigzags often assume a curvilinear form, but this is probably due to the difficulty entailed in marking clearly on the skin the points of the angles—a difficulty that can be easily imagined if it is borne in mind that the edges and corners of the pattern painted on the skin, to which the operator works, are more or less obscured by blood.

¹ Cf. *ili ili* (Api, N. Hebrides) = red; *ili* (Aroma) = ripe.

² *Tea* (Mangareva) also means white or pale, and *roro* (Mangareva) alternatively means head.

³ The Maori word for non-tattooed is *papatea*. Tregear suggests (see Dictionary under *papa* and *papatea*) that the word is derived from the Tahitian *papatea*, a title which was borne there by some of the principal chiefs, who were not tattooed.

The *neneva* pattern in its purest form is probably that variant of it which is burnt upon the surface of lime-gourds by the Kerepunu tribe, who are proficient in this art (see Plate XI, Fig. 167, in *Decorative Art of British New Guinea*, Haddon), a form which occurs too with great variety of detail in tattooing patterns, some of which are shown in the illustrations to this paper.

The origin of the pattern is obscure, but it may possibly be derived from the jaws and teeth of a crocodile, the projections representing the opposing teeth in the upper and lower jaw, and the zigzags the wavy line of the mouth or jaw-bones. The semblance is best seen in a variant of the pattern which occurs at Mailu and Bonabona (see Plate VI, Fig. 4c), where it is said by the natives to have been borrowed from Kerepunu. In Mailu this pattern is called *lepa*¹ and at Bonabona *kupa*. *Lepa*, or in the Dauï dialect *lepa*, denotes a particular type of wooden sword which is often made in the Southern Massim area with deeply serrated edges; these serrations perhaps represent the teeth of a reptile or a fish. A flat-bladed type of wooden stave called *lepe* at Hula, and *kaleva* by the Motu tribe, was formerly made by the Western Papuo-Melanesians. The edges of these staves were never serrated, but the faces of the blades were carved. I do not recollect, however, to have seen the *neneva* pattern among the designs carved upon these staves. Natives have informed me that they were reserved for use in village brawls between rival clans.

A pattern which appears to be a variant of *neneva* was tattooed on the chest of homicides of the Motu tribe in past days. A good illustration of this variant is shown on Plate XIV of the *Melanesians of B. N. Guinea* (Seligman). At either end of the pattern another design is tattooed which has the appearance of the dorsal scutes on a crocodile's tail. In both these patterns the design is duplicated, with a vacant space between the upper and lower halves.

The *neneva* design is also frequently carved on *dubu* posts in association with the serial pyramid carving called *kalakala*. The latter design almost certainly represents the horny squames on a crocodile's skin.²

Neneva has no alternative meaning in Motu. *Geve* (Hula) means feather: white feathers are frequently cut into zigzag shape for ornamental purposes by the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes preparatory to being worn in the hair by males.

The Sinaugolo tribe—like the Motu and Hula tribes—tattoo this pattern, which they call *mulavapuli*, on both sexes: in the case of males it was in former days a homicidal mark. These people are said to believe that on the death of a person taking place a ball of fire, called *mulava*, appears, and *mulava* is also a name given by them to an evil spirit who is believed to possess the power of causing death.³

¹ Cf. *repa* (Tahiti) = cock's comb, *i.e.*, a serrated thing, and *repa* (Mangareva) = tattooed.

² Cf. *Mel. of B.N. Guinea* (Seligman), p. 38.

³ British New Guinea Annual Report, 1892-93, p. 69. *ibid.*, p. 65. *ibid.*, 1893-94, p. 66.

20. *Ganagana* is a Gaile pattern-name for two distinct face designs and for a body marking. (Plate VII, Fig. 1.) *Gana* is the Motu word for the armlet woven of fern-fibre (*Gleichenia flagellaris*) which is invariably worn by both sexes of Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes on the upper arms. The variants of this pattern have perhaps been derived from patterns woven into *gana*, or the pattern-name *ganagana* may be derived from *kanage*, *kanakana*, etc., meaning a tern (see Vocabulary No. 2).

In one of my notebooks I find that a name given to me at Hula for this pattern was *manu karena*, which means bird's wing; but I am distrustful of the genuineness of this name. As far as I can recollect it was given to me by Gima, the then chief of Hula. He was a very clever but somewhat unreliable person, and it may be that he was quick enough to have detected some undercurrent of my thoughts at the time—even though the idea may not have been actually suggested to him.

21. *Toto* (Motu), *Roro* (Hula), *Koaru* (Sinaugolo).—These pattern-names all denote dot marks, such as the row of dots usually tattooed beneath the lower *gado* stripe, and outside the border lines of chin patterns. *Toto* (Motu)¹ means a sore. *Roro* (Hula) and *koaru* (Sinaugolo) are perhaps cognate to *alo alo*=tattooing, or to *alova* (Hula)=fire (cf. *lo* (Mekeo)=fire). It is not an uncommon custom among the Melanesian-speaking tribes of South-eastern New Guinea (*e.g.*, Mekeo and the Trobriands) for women to burn indelible spots upon their skins by the application of a glowing ember (see left shoulder in Plate III, Fig. 2).

Dot patterns may originally have represented stars² or butterflies. The early people of Oceania perhaps associated bright coloured butterflies with shooting-stars and sparks—things which fly. Codrington states that the common word *pepe* for butterfly is not used in Motu to denote butterfly, but that they have the word in the sense that *pepe roworowo* means a flying spark.³

22. *Aiha* (Motu), *Aiva roa*⁴ or *aiva lele* (Hula), ? (Sinaugolo).—This pattern consists of two parallel lines, fringed on the outsides, extending from the corners of the mouth outwards towards the lower extremity of the ears. (Plate VII, Fig. 2.) *Aiha* and *aiva roa*=centipede (*Scolopendra*). The pattern is tattooed on both sexes. I was informed in Hula that this mark should properly only be tattooed on the cheeks of a chief's child.

23. *Ade revareva* (Motu), *Are aloalo* (Hula), ? (Sinaugolo).—These are terms which

¹ "Burning the persons of the mourners in spots with lighted rolls of *tapa*" was called *tutu* in Tonga. See *Natives of Tonga Island* (Mariner). Cf. *titotoi* (Barriai) = to make patterns on the skin by scarring (Friederici), *toto* (D. of York Is.) and *tot* (N. Ireland) = butterfly; and cf. *togi togi*, a term in Samoan tattooing nomenclature. In Samoan the dot over an "i" as well as the cross stroke of a "t" are called *togi* (Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 30). In Tonga, *tongi* = to carve, engrave (Mariner).

² Cf. *toti* (Alfurs of N.E. Celebes) = star; *toto* (Kilenge) = star; *titoti* (Saibai, Torres Straits) = star.

³ *Mel. Languages* (Codrington), p. 63.

⁴ Cf. *atua roa* (Samoa) = centipede, literally "long god."

include all chin patterns. *Ade* and *are*=chin, and *revareva* and *aloalo* respectively signify "tattooing" in the Motu and Hula dialects.¹ Though there is a great variety of chin patterns, I only came across one instance in which such a pattern was called by a particular name. It was worn by a girl of the Motu tribe and the name of it, *verihanai*, was given to me by an old woman—a tattooing expert in Port Moresby. The pattern itself is remarkably like an anthropomorph, or a reptile convention. The tattooing of chin markings by Western Papuo-Melanesians, though carried as far upward as the line of the lower lip, never extends to the actual surface of the lip.

24. *Bareko* is a Gaile pattern. It is similar to but larger than *kakiu*, differing from it mainly in that it is a true meander and generally has fringing strokes. I have seen it tattooed on the backs of the hands and on the sides of the body. An old woman at Gaile told me that this pattern is a copy of the markings left on the sand by hermit-crabs. (Plate VII, Fig. 3.)

25. *Ialata tarana* (Motu), *Pele* (Hula), ? (Sinaugolo). This is one of the commonest tattooing patterns of these three tribes, and it has many variants. (Fig. 6.) *Ialata* is a fish (*Naseus unicornis*) which is sometimes netted in large numbers in the shoal waters about the barrier reef. A peculiar feature of this fish is the single horn which protrudes forward from its head, but this feature does not appear to have influenced the pattern. *Tara*² (*na* = definite article) denotes the sharp-pointed defensive weapon of which the fish has two—one on each side of and close to the base of the tail. *Tara* occurs often in the names of this fish in other dialects, e.g., *etara* (Fyfe Bay, S. Massim); *gabui wai wara* (Goodenough Is.); *Kuma taraga* (Maisin, Collingwood Bay): it is evident, therefore, that names for this fish are often associated with its *tara* or tail weapons. At Hula, Aroma, and Mailu the fish is called *gume* and *ume*, and its weapon is named *Kala* at Hula and Aroma, and *nadi* at Mailu [*nadi* (Motu) = stone]. *Kala* is also the term used in Hood Bay and at Aroma to denote the square miniature pyramids carved in series on *dubu* posts and on the under surface of dwelling-house boards: it also means in those dialects the square horny plates on a crocodile's skin.³ In the Sinaugolo and Motu dialects the same class of carving on *dubu* posts is called respectively *Kora-*

¹ For some interesting remarks on the significance of chin tattooing see *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xvii, 1888. The importance of chin tattooing may be associated with the importance of the lower jawbone, which is often worn in Melanesia as a relic of deceased kin by the natives. The lower jaw-bone was also prized in Polynesia (see *Polynesian Researches*, Ellis, Vol. i, p. 309 (1853)).

² *Tara* is a common word throughout Polynesia. Its general sense denotes something which is sharp-pointed. Thus *tala*, *tara*, *kala* (Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii) = a thorn, the spur of a cock, etc., etc.; *tara* (Mangareva) a horn, a spine; and *aka tara*, to indent, notch, jag. It occurs again at Formosa, where *tarra* is a thorn-back fish. The New Britain word for osprey, *taragau* also contains *tara*, which in this case may have reference to the birds talons, or to its sharp beak.

³ Cf. *tua tara* (Maori), a lizard god; spines on the back of a lizard (Tregear's Dictionary).

kora and *ikoro* or *korokoro*, and the same words *ikoro* and *korokoro* are used by the Motuans to denote all fringing lines to tattoo patterns.

In my endeavour to trace the source of the Motu tattooing terms *ikoro* and *korokoro* I suggested that they are derived from *olo* or *ulu*, meaning feather: but the fact that *ikoro* and *korokoro* in Motu mean pyramid carving, which is called *kalakala* in Hood Bay, and that in Hood Bay *kalakala* means crocodile scutes and *kala'a* carving in a general sense, appears to render that suggested derivation very questionable. But *ikoro* and *korokoro* (Motu) do not only denote crocodile scute carving, for the words apply equally to carving in a general sense,¹ while in Aroma *alo alo* means carving, and *kala* crocodile scutes. *Alo* is more likely than *kala* to be cognate to the Motu *koro*, which has *tara* = *kala*.

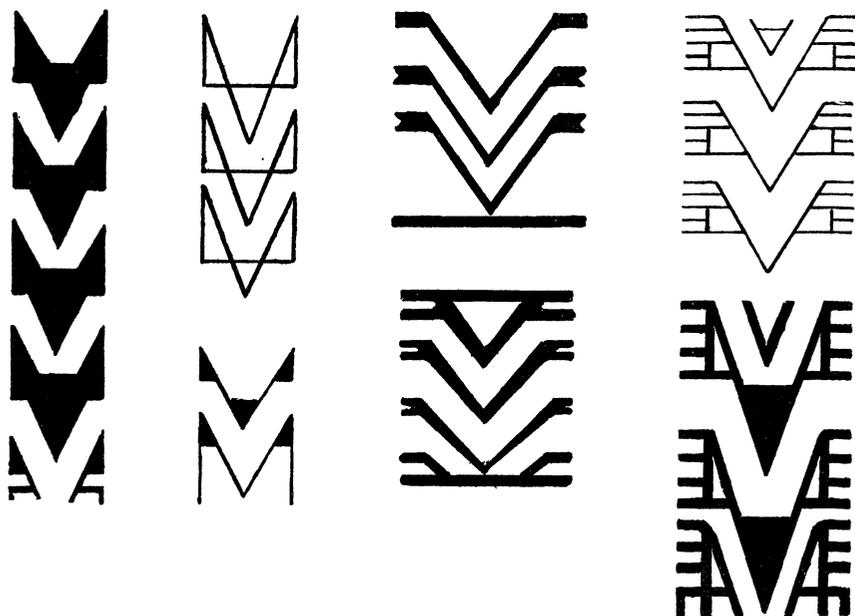


FIG. 6.—*Ialata tarana* variants.

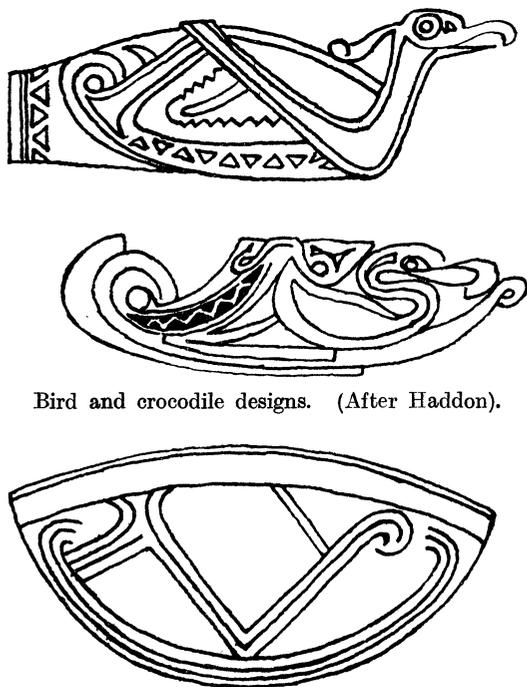
It is possible that the pattern takes its Motu name from the *tara* of the fish *ialata*, for both have a triangular shape, but as this name is purely local I incline to think it was given as an afterthought.

Pele, the Hula name for the pattern, affords no indication of its origin. The word at Hula and Aroma means chieftain, or in duplicated form, *pelepele*, a constrictor (carpet?) snake.

At Tatana—an islet near Port Moresby occupied by Motu people—the name given to this pattern is *lobu turia* = mullet's bone.

¹ *Ikoro tauna* (*tauna* = the man) means a skilful canoe-maker (Lawes). Canoes were made by scooping out trees with stone adzes, and these implements were also used for "crocodile scute" carving on *dubu* posts.

26. *Dihu dihu* (Motu), *Diwu* (Hula), *Bune goala* (Sinaugolo).—This pattern is tattooed on the stomach, the shoulder-blades, and on the arms and hands. (Plate VII, Fig. 5 and Plate VIII, Fig. 3.) *Dihu* (Motu) = *dibu* (Hula) = *digu* (Sinaugolo) = *ribu* (Aroma) = a wooden bowl of oval shape, often having blunt projecting ends. These dishes are generally used for holding cooked food. Wooden utensils of the same or similar shape are made in other parts of Melanesia (*e.g.*, Admiralty Islands and the Solomons), and also in Micronesia, and are sometimes finished off with a bird's head carved at one end and its tail at the opposite end, the whole vessel thus forming the figure of a bird.¹ It is possible, therefore, that the Western Papuo-Melanesian blunt-ended oval bowls may be survivals of a bird-shaped prototype.



Bird and crocodile designs. (After Haddon).

FIG. 7.—Pot design *Wamutufan*.

Another type of oval-shaped vessel—in this case made of earthenware—is manufactured by the Oian tribe in Collingwood Bay. On either side of these vessels a design is applied consisting of a two-angled zigzag figure terminating at one end in a coil. This type of vessel is called *sawaf* in the Oian

¹ Describing a Dyak ceremony, Ling Roth, quoting from Sir Spencer St. John, writes: "A curious custom prevails among the young men at this feast. They cut a coconut shell into the form of a cup, and adorn it with red and black dye. Into one side of it they fasten a rudely carved likeness of a bird's head, and into the other the representation of its tail," etc. *Natives of Sarawak and N. Borneo*, ii, 173.

dialect and it is used as a drinking cup. The design is called *wamutufan*, which means canoe-prow.¹ There are reasons for thinking that this Collingwood Bay pot-design is a degraded form of the "bird and crocodile" subject which was first described by Dr. Haddon. The affinity will best be seen by comparing the *wamutufan* design with the figures in Plate XII of *Decorative Art of British New Guinea*, especially with Figs. 185 and 189. I suggest that the turned-up snout of the fish or reptile is represented by the two upper lines of the left-hand parallels, the single line next below them which ends abruptly in space, the tongue, and the lower line the under jaw. The bird's tail is shown curving backwards towards its head just clear of the reptile's tongue. The remainder of the bird consists of the two parallel lines meeting in an angle at the base, thence springing upwards to end in a coil, which latter represents the head and beak. The whole bird rests upon a secondary design which suggests the outline of a canoe, and in this respect it compares closely with Haddon's figure 189. Whether the projection which slants back from the bird's neck to the band below the rim of the pot represents the wing-line of the bird, or its crest, is doubtful.²

At Kiriwina (Trobriands) oval-shaped clay pots³ are called *Kwaila sulu pwaria*. As far as I can remember these pots have no design marked on them, but the word *sulu* is suggestive of a wing or feather derivative. It is noteworthy, however, that the lime-spatulas of which the handles are carved in the shape of a note of interrogation and which are made chiefly (perhaps solely) at Vakuta—an island lying at the south end of Kiriwina—afford, apparently, another instance of the "bird and crocodile" design. (For an illustration of this type of spatula see *Decorative Art of British New Guinea*, page 238, Fig. 87.)

In discussing pattern No. 17 it was mentioned that *kii* in at least two Melanesian dialects means bird. As there is reason for thinking that oval wooden dishes called *dihu*, etc., may originally have been carved in the shape of a bird, it is just possible that the word *dihu*, a dish, is derived from the word *kii*, a bird, a suggestion which receives some support from the word for wooden dish on the Mambare river, namely *keo* or *teo*. Friederici gives the figure of a canoe-prow ornament which is common to certain tribes in the vicinity of Angriffshaven on the north coast of New Guinea—people who speak a Papuan dialect. This figure appears to be a highly conventionalized bird, and is called *diu*, *deu*, etc. The dominant feature of the design is its crookedness, a feature so pronounced that it approaches nearly to a two-angled zigzag.⁴ But these reflections, though philologically they may be of some

¹ The illustration of a *sawaf* and the name of the design, with its translation into English, were given to me by the Rev. P. J. Money, a member of the Anglican Missionary Society.

² The presence of crests on the heads of canoe-prow birds in South Eastern New Guinea forms the subject of an interesting enquiry, but it would lead me too far away from the proper scope of this paper to discuss it here.

³ Round-shaped pots in Kiriwina have other names. ⁴ Friederici, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, 259.

interest in connexion with the pattern-name under notice, do not help us much in solving the question of the evolution of the pattern itself. I can offer but one suggestion, namely, that the *dihudihu* pattern represents a series of *dihu* dishes placed end to end as if seen in plan, and that it derives its name from the fact that the shape of a *dihu* dish is evolved from a bird-shaped prototype. It is a fact to be noted that *dihu* dishes are occasionally shown in plan carved upon *dubu* posts of the Koita Sinaugolo tribes—being merely oval-shaped depressions hollowed out of the side surface of the posts (Plate VIII, Fig. 1). It is clear, therefore, that the *dihu* dish had in the past a more than commonplace significance to the forbears of the people of these Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes; but what the nature of that significance was is as yet unknown.

The Sinaugolo term *bune-goala* is probably a compound word. *Pune* or *bune*¹ in several New Guinea dialects means the Torres Straits pigeon (*Myristicivora spilorrhoea*); *goala* may be *uala* = crocodile. In making this suggestion I do not mean it to be inferred that the Sinaugolo name for this pattern is related to the "bird and crocodile" design of the Massims, but at the same time I should not feel safe in summarily rejecting such a possibility.

27. *Kaia karo* or *kaia karoho*,² or *biobio*³ (Motu), *Kili* (Hula), *Biubiu* (Sinaugolo). All isolated crosses, namely, crosses which do not form part of the composition of larger figures, are called by these names. (Plate IX, Figs. 1, 2, and 5.) It is not clear in some instances whether the purpose of the tattooing operator was to represent a Maltese or a St. Andrew's cross. The choice depends upon how one visualizes the figure, whether as a positive or a negative. If the tattooed portion represents the intended design, the result is a Maltese cross, but if the untattooed portion represents it, a St. Andrew's cross is the result.

The most likely suggestion for the origin of these patterns is that they are derived from "star" or "butterfly." Cf. *Karokaro* (Fiji) and *koro* (Koiari) = star; *bobokoro* (Siassi) and *kaokao* (Toaripi) = butterfly; *alualu* (Samoa) = a kind of jelly-fish and also a star-like tattoo pattern worn by Samoan women⁴; *biu* (Aroma) and *gibu* (Sinaugolo) = star; [cf. *pipi* (Toaripi, etc.), *bebeu* (Wedan) *bebeula* (Savo), *molilip* (Jabim) = butterfly.]

Standing alone, the suggestion that these patterns are derived from stars would postulate one of three assumptions: (1) that the Western Papuo-Melanesians perceive rays emanating from heavenly stars and reproduce them in these patterns; (2) that the design has been inherited from a foreign people whose convention it was to

¹ This pigeon is one of the most important totem birds at Kiriwina in the Trobriand Islands. It is there known as *bubuna*.

² At Tatana this design is called *Kaiakaroho*.

³ *Biobio* (Motu) also means a charm carved in the shape of a crocodile head: these are made from a dried nut by the Gulf tribes and are worn suspended from the necks of males.

⁴ Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and illustrations.

represent stars as figures with rays; (3) that the patterns are representations of starfishes, or some marine creatures having geometrical form, which are phosphorescent, and so are mentally likened to stars. On the other hand, the explanation may lie in a mental association of stars with butterflies. (See remarks under pattern No. 21.)

The tattooing of the people of Mangareva (Gambier Islands) consisted largely of crosses, some being white on a dark ground and others dark on a light ground. They were worn on the shoulder blades and on the deltoid region of the arms.

In Ceram tattooing is called *kolomit*, and the commonest body patterns both of the coastal and the inland tribes are crosses. The inland tribes also tattoo on their foreheads figures which appear to be flying-bird conventions. (See footnote on p. 39.) Stephan, in his illustrations to *Südseekunst*, shows two figures of star-like form in the carving of the Barriai, said respectively to represent a star (*gigima*), and a starfish (*gigi rupu*). Maltese crosses are tattooed on the hands of women of the *Liukiu* islands.¹ Maltese crosses are represented in the art of the Kiwai tribe, Fly River [*Torres Straits* (Haddon), rubbing of a wooden comb, vol. iv, Fig. 346].

A kind of jelly-fish which is sometimes washed up on the sea beaches of the Gulf between Toaripi and the Purari delta has a clearly defined Maltese cross in its centre. The Biaru people call this jelly-fish *igo*. Questioned by me whether *igo* is an *ualare* (clan badge) in their tribe, they replied in the negative, but said that a figure in the shape of a Maltese cross is an *ualare* of the Venaripi and Lui-ipi clans.

28. *Gado* (Motu), *Aigo lavu* (Hula), *Boaroko*² (Sinaugolo).—This is the V-shaped pattern called *mairi mairi* at Waima. (Plate IX, Fig. 3.) Like the Waima pattern it betokens marriage or betrothal. It consists always of two broad parallel lines extending from either shoulder and meeting between the breasts. The lower line is called *sinana* = the mother, and the upper line *natuna* = the child. This pattern when it occurs in smaller dimensions tattooed on the nape of the neck is called *gado gado*. *Gado* (Motu) = throat, voice, language, speech. The Motu word for neck is *aio*. *Aigo lavu* is a composite word, *aigo* = neck and *lavu* = ? *Boaroko* is perhaps composed of two words: *boa* = tattooing at Waima and Mekeo, and *roko* a wing or flight derivative.

The betrothal tattoo patterns *mairi mairi* (Waima), *aieme* (Mekeo), *gado* (Motu), and *aigolavu* (Hula) evidently sprang from one and the same idea: they are tattooed in each case on the same part of the body, and they present but small degrees of variation. There appear to be some grounds for thinking (a) that these patterns are derived from, or are the counterparts of, crescentic pearl shell ornaments;

¹ *Cruise of the Marchesa*, p. 29 (Guillemard).

² The Annual Report of B. N. Guinea, from which the Sinaugolo patterns are taken, leaves it uncertain whether *boaroko* represents this or the next following pattern.

(b) that the crescents are flying-bird conventions; (c) that the patterns are, consequently, flying-bird derivatives.

In an earlier part of this paper it was mentioned that girls of the Waima tribe who have reached a marriageable age and whose tattooing has been completed saunter about their villages loaded with ornaments. Among these ornaments pearl-shell crescents are some of the most conspicuous, and are worn on the upper part of the chest and on the nape of the neck. The crescents are made from the large bivalve *Meleagrina margaritifera*, which shells are an article of currency from Mailu (the most easterly of the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes) to the Aird river delta in the Gulf of Papua.¹ The shell in the rough and the finished ornament are called by the same name; at Waima and by the Motu tribe *mairi* = brightness, in Mekeo *kaka* [cf. *kakakaka* (Motu) and *kaka* (Mangareva) = red, any bright colour], at Hula and Aroma *alo* = sun (cf. *alova* = fire), and at Mailu *maire*. Pearl shell crescents invariably constitute part of the price paid for a bride by the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes.

Occasionally, though rarely, crescent shell ornaments in New Guinea have angular projections on either side of the centre line on the convex edge. I have a note and a sketch of such a one seen at Nara. The projections are there called *posika*,² and my informants told me that crescents with projections had occasionally been made at Nara from time immemorial. These projections are certainly not due to accident, or to the mere whim of the maker; indeed, the extra labour involved in fashioning a crescent with projections may be imagined when it is borne in mind that the shape is obtained by grinding the edges of this extremely hard shell on a stone—an operation slow and laborious enough apart from the technical difficulty which must occur in breaking the outline of the curve in order to leave the spaces required for the projections, and finally completing the outline of the curve, and finishing off the projections.³

In Torres Straits pearl shell crescents are not infrequently found, made with projections, and there the projections are sometimes finished off in pronged shape.

In the Solomon Islands pearl shell ornaments worn suspended from the neck are made which undoubtedly represent frigate-birds or fish-hawks, and the tails

¹ In the Papuan Gulf they are worn as often by old and young men as by girls—never, I think, by married women. Among the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes men sometimes wear them, girls (of all ages) often, married women seldom or never. The Gulf people grind the shells into a slightly different (fuller-shaped) form to that preferred by the Western Papuo-Melanesians. In the Massim districts pearl shell crescents are seldom, if ever, seen and have no importance.

² *Posika* probably denotes a small projecting object. Cf. *busi* = penis, and *busi busi* = clitoris in the Motu and Sinaugolo dialects.

³ If originally all these crescents were made with projections, it is easy to understand that the technical difficulty involved led to a simplification of design.

of these carved birds are there shown either as distinctly forked, or in crescentic shape, signifying, perhaps, frigate-bird and fish-hawk respectively.

The *gado* lines on the chest are often tattooed with conspicuous breaks symmetrically placed on either side of the figure, and it is possible, though very doubtful, that these breaks represent projections which in former days it was perhaps customary to leave on the convex edge of pearl shell crescents.

It is somewhat remarkable that a design, called in Sinaugolo by the same name as the *boaroko* tattoo pattern, is occasionally carved by the Sinaugolo people on their *dubu* posts. This design, however, though in outline somewhat like the chest pattern, differs therefrom sufficiently to render it very doubtful whether it has been copied from it. On the other hand it may be verbally related thereto, for (assuming that I am correct in assigning to the tattoo pattern-name *boaroko* a bird's wing derivation) this carved pattern may represent a pair of wings in another form.¹ If the carved figure is bisected by an imaginary vertical line drawn through the apex of its lower angle it will be seen that the two halves compare fairly closely with the Mailu and Dauí frigate-bird forehead designs. (Plate V, Fig. 5.)

29. *Gado roho* (Motu), ? (Hula), *Boaroko*² (Sinaugolo).—Shortly before puberty all girls of these tribes are tattooed with a mark bearing this name in the middle line of the upper part of the chest and extending upwards to the underside of the chin. (Plate VIII, Fig. 2.) The patterns thus tattooed are usually No. 25 (*ialata tarana*) or No. 19 (*neneva*). The lower end of the *gado roho* mark is so placed that it will be above the inside of the *gado* angle when the time arrives later for that pattern to be tattooed. The pattern appears to correspond with the Mekeo *aema kiunga* motif (pattern No. 8), which I have suggested is a flying-bird convention. *Roho* (Motu) = *roko* (Sinaugolo) = *rovo*, etc. (Melanesian) = to fly.

30. *Kadidiha* (Motu), *Kariga* (Hula), ? (Sinaugolo).—These words mean armpit, and the designs, which show much variation, are actually tattooed within the armpits and extend outwards in fan-shape form to cover the outsides of the breasts. (Plate VIII, Fig. 4, and Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2.) The patterns are tattooed at an early age, and the operation is a very painful one, due to the sensitiveness of that part of the body. An examination of the etymology of the above words for armpit, and of some other words in Melanesian and Polynesian dialects denoting the same part of the body, e.g., *poaëae* (Tahiti), might perhaps throw some interesting light upon the origin of the strange custom of tattooing the armpits of women.

¹ Among some notes taken down in New Guinea by Dr. Seligman, which he has lent to me, I find that this carved *boaroko* (Sinaugolo) pattern sometimes encloses a design called *variva*. *Variva* is probably the Sinaugolo variant of the Motu word *ariha*, which means monitor lizard, commonly called iguana. Dr. Seligman notes that he saw such a compound design on the front left post of a *dubu* at Kwalimarupu in the Sinaugolo district.

² I am not sure whether *boaroko* (Sinaugolo) is the name of this pattern or of pattern No. 28.

Aroma.

Most of my notes on the tattooing patterns of this tribe have unfortunately been lost. The following account is written partly from memory, and as several years have elapsed since I left New Guinea, the list of patterns is incomplete.

Haddon—quoting Finsch—gives the following description of Aroma tattooing of women in his *Decorative Art of New Guinea* (1894).

“The tattooing at Maopa (Aroma) is wholly different from that customary among the Motu ; for example, the characteristic chest-mark (*gado*) is lacking, and the pattern does not consist so much of single panels usually transversely disposed, but of longitudinally arranged figures which form over the entire body a bilaterally symmetrical whole from the forehead down to the soles of the feet. All portions of the body are tattooed. Another difference appears in the relative number of curved lines, though the main figures are in straight lines ; crosses on a dark ground are very frequent. The pattern has not the letter-like character of the Motu ; it is also far richer, especially on the face, where zigzag lines are more frequently seen, and, at times, oblique stripes on the cheeks. . . . On the whole, there are fewer young women already so completely tattooed as among the Motu, and still fewer children.”

It is not clear what Finsch means by the zigzag lines on the women's faces. Presumably he refers to the *kakiu* (Motu) pattern, which is a common facial tattoo mark in Aroma. Not infrequently this pattern is there tattooed in the form of a meander. It is known as *Ragela*,¹ which is also the Aroma word for the Motu native village settlement Poreporena (Port Moresby). The other facial markings are peculiar to Aroma, and are tattooed, I believe, after marriage, as is the case with the Waima women. They consist of broad parallel bands drawn vertically down the forehead from the scalp to the eyebrows ; of broad lines extending from the lower lip downwards and underneath the chin ; and of broad lines extending from the region of the ear to the upper lip and the chin. This style of face tattooing is very unsightly. (Plate XIII, Fig. 1.)

The curved lines which Finsch found relatively frequent were perhaps face patterns borrowed from Mailu. I have myself seen Aroma women bearing such Mailu markings, and was informed that Aroma girls were occasionally tattooed while on visits to that island.

I am under the impression that the tattooing of children begins at Aroma as early as in the case of the other Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes, and this seems to be borne out by the photographs of Aroma children shown in the illustrations. (Plate X, Figs. 3 and 4.)

The following are the names of some of the body patterns :—

31. *Nono-pelewa*.

¹ Cf. *raila* (Barriai, New Britain) = frigate-bird.

32. *Pau-alo*=*pau*, bamboo, and *alo*, tattooing.—This word clearly alludes to the style of burnt-in ornamentation on Aroma bamboo beheading knives, which the pattern resembles.

33. *Leka-alo*.

34. *Waga-kapu* = *waga*, dog; and *kapu*=?—This is the same pattern as *kaiakaro* (Motu), *kili* (Hula); the Maltese cross pattern.

35. *Aivamele*=*aiva*, centipede; *mele*=*lele*=tattooing or carving in some dialects.

The men of Aroma are freely tattooed on the face with the *Ragela* pattern, and on the deltoid region of the arms with designs which they describe as *leka-alo*. It is difficult to know what the *leka* pattern is in simplified form. (See remarks under pattern No. 43.)

*Mailu, Bonabona and Dauí.*¹

The Mailu tribe inhabits the coast line of the western side of Orangerie Bay, and the small island called Mailu lying off that coast. They speak a non-Melanesian dialect which contains, however, some Melanesian words, while many other of the words in their vocabulary are identical with those spoken at Domara in Cloudy Bay and the hill tribes living inland of that bay. Their social organization is that of the Western Papuo-Melanesian group.

The men of Mailu island are mariners. Their vessels, called *orou*, are constructed of dug-out canoes lashed together and their sails are cut in the crab-claw shape like those of the Aroma *lugumi* and the Motu *lakatoi*. They sail in fleets on trading expeditions both eastward and westward—eastward as far as South Cape, and westward to Aroma—thus forming the trade link between the Massim and Western Papuo-Melanesian areas. The merchandise they take on these occasions consists not only of articles which have passed into their hands from either area, but also of certain shell ornaments and clay pots manufactured by them on the island. Contrary to the method employed by all other pot-making Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes, the Mailu people build up their pots on the spiral system. The clay of which they are constructed is dug on the island. These pots are delicately made and are ornamented with designs incised within a broad band below the outward-curving brim, and the designs and their names correspond in some instances with their tattoo patterns. The Dauí section of the Southern Massim make the same kind of pots.

¹ The names Mailu and Dauí represent two ethnological groups, but I am not sure that the words are, properly speaking, tribal names.

Bonabona is an island at the mouth of the lagoon known as Mullins Harbour, and is sometimes called Magula on maps. The Bonabona people and the Dauí group of tribes are Southern Massim.

Most of the Mailu tattoo patterns are identical with those used by the Dauï tribe; the small remainder are typical of patterns used by the Aroma tribe, their western neighbours. It seems probable that the Dauï tattoo patterns and the Dauï style of pot-making have been borrowed from them by the Mailu tribe, but this assumption is so far open to objection that if the patterns have been borrowed we might expect to find the names of tattooing and pot patterns borrowed also. This, however, is not the case. In only one instance, as far as my knowledge goes, is there a tattooing pattern used by both groups which bears a common name, this being the nose marking called *enari*, meaning lime-spatula. It is remarkable, too, that the name of at least one Dauï tattoo pattern has been translated into the Mailu dialect, namely, the Dauï pattern *davasi* =frigate-bird, which at Mailu is *aisava*=frigate-bird. The same thing is found in their pot ornamentation designs, each having a frigate-bird design called *davasi* in Dauï and *aisava* at Mailu; and another pot design which is called *budi budi* in Dauï is called *nogara* at Mailu, both words meaning "cloud."

The Dauï group of tribes inhabit a short piece of coast-line of which South Cape may be said to be the centre; Rogea and Sariba Islands, lying close to the coast; and Wari (Teste Island), the Brumer Islands, and the Engineer Group (Tubetube) lying further to seaward. I am not sure whether Basilaki and Moresby Islands are also within the Dauï area.

Tattooing is called *taro-taro* at Mailu; *uri-uri* or *ai uri* in the Dauï district; *kuri-kuri* at Bonabona; and *laulausi*¹ at Wari (Teste Island). The designs are tattooed in fine strokes, the body patterns being always enclosed between long vertical parallel lines, thus presenting a marked contrast to the tattooing of the Western-Papuo-Melanesian tribes.

The men of these tribes occasionally wear curvilinear designs on the chest, and an illustration of a rare design is given (Text-fig. 9 (3), p. 63) which I saw on the chest and upper arm of a Bonabona man. At Mailu the males sometimes have a figure tattooed on the deltoid region of the arm. They were apparently unable to give me the name of this pattern, for a note in my sketch-book states: "On being asked whether called *bina* they say it is, but this requires corroboration." Dr. Seligman, writing of Tubetube, states that "at the present day many of the younger men and boys who have been away working have a few tattoo marks upon their chest, arms, or cheeks. These are generally some form of the common south-eastern scroll pattern, but of old no male was tattooed except for sickness. Women, on the other hand, were always tattooed profusely. . . . A girl's face would be tattooed some time before puberty, but usually after her nose had been pierced, the scalp and neck apparently not being touched. Nothing more is done until the girl reaches puberty, when the chest, belly, flanks, arms and hands are tattooed after the first

¹ Cf. *loulou* (Paluan, Admiralty Is.) = tattooing (Friederici).

catamenial period. . . the tattooing of the parts of the body being treated in the order given above. There are no special marriage or betrothal marks, and there are apparently no feasts connected with the process of tattooing.”¹

36. *Aisava* (Mailu), *Hage* (Bonabona), *Davasi* (Dau). — *Aisava* and *davasi* both mean frigate-bird, and I believe that *hage* has the same meaning. The pattern represented by these names does not vary, and is invariably tattooed on both sides of the foreheads of the women of these tribes. It consists of two parallel lines forming a double-angled zigzag on either side of the central line of the forehead, terminating at the upper end in a coil. (Plate XIV, Figs. 1 and 2.)

In discussing the Motu *dihu-dihu* pattern I alluded to a pot design in Collingwood Bay and suggested that the latter is a degraded form of the “bird and crocodile” design. It is possible that the frigate-bird pattern now under notice when combined with one of the next two following patterns (Nos. 37 and 38) is another instance of the “bird and crocodile” idea. The indications, however, are very faint, and I therefore make the suggestion with reserve. In both designs there is an identical representation of what I take to be the bird’s head, namely, the terminal coil, but in the tattooed figure the bird is shown without a crest, which is a correct omission in the case of frigate-birds.

On the other hand, it would be rash to exclude the possibility that this frigate-bird design may represent the outspread wing of a frigate-bird—notwithstanding its likeness to the Collingwood Bay *wamutufan* subject—for in the art of New Ireland two-angled zigzags as well as three-angled zigzags are called *darula*=frigate-bird²; and in Waima tattooing both two-angled and three-angled frigate-bird conventions occur. The chief objection to assigning to this forehead pattern a wing derivation is the terminal coil, for a coil in Massim art is very characteristic of a bird’s beak.

37. *Bake* (Mailu), *Matakiriri* (Bonabona), ? *Silo* (Dau), ? *Matagadigadi* (Teste Island).—Turning back now again to the Collingwood Bay *wamutufan* pot design it will be seen that the nose of the suggested reptile convention in that design is shown by two lines curving upwards and backwards. This feature corresponds with the upper two-lined hook in the *bake* pattern, but the lower hook in this pattern presents difficulties which I cannot account for. On some Dau women’s faces there is tattooed on either cheek immediately beneath the eye a figure which is almost certainly a bird convention seen in profile, and, if the *bake* pattern is actually a reptile’s mouth convention, it may be that this bird, and not the frigate-bird on the forehead, forms the counterpart of the compound design. In this case the serrations on the upper line of the jaw pattern (*dalo daloloia*) which is a continuation of the *bake* pattern, may represent the teeth of the crocodile or shark.

¹ Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

² *New Mecklenburg*, Stephan und Graebner, Plate i, No. 3d and No. 4a.

Bake may be derived from *bakea* (Mailu)=shark. *Matakiriri* and *matagadigadi* are evidently compound words, *mata* meaning eye; but I do not know whether *kiriri*¹ and *gadigadi* have any alternative meaning. The Dauí *silo* has no other meaning in that dialect. (Plate XIV, Figs. 1 and 2.)

38. ? (Mailu), *Matakodo* (Bonabona), ? (Dauí).—This is the bird convention worn under the eye, which was referred to under pattern No. 37. If absent its place is taken by the *bevai* pattern (see pattern No. 42). *Mata*=eye, *kodo*=?. (Plate XIV, Fig. 2.)

39. *Enari* (Mailu), ? (Bonabona), *Enari* (Dauí).—This pattern, which is tattooed from the forehead to the tip of the nose, is subject to at least one variation, and there may be more. The commonest variety consists of threefold parallel straight lines without additions: another variety is more ornate, the outside lines being fringed by strokes pointing upwards and curving into hook-form at the top, while the centre line is cut short by a line at right angles to it ending in pendant hooks at either end, and having short fringing strokes on its upper surface. In this form the *enari* mark is reminiscent of a highly conventionalized reptile motif, and as the hooked ends point towards the forehead frigate-bird conventions it may possibly be another instance of the "bird and crocodile" design. *Enari* (Dauí) = lime-spatula.

40. ? (Mailu), ? (Bonabona), *Subanomnom* (Dauí).²—Short vertical strokes tattooed on the upper lip. *Suba* (Dauí) = lip, and *nom* (Dauí) = drink, and the compound word is said to mean drinking-water as distinct from salt-water. *Sobanomnom* (Sariba: S. Massim) = upper lip (see B.N.G. Annual Report). An alternative marking for the upper lip is a single curved figure known at Mailu as *boebua*. *Boe* is possibly cognate to *boi* = reefheron, or it may be *bo'i* (Mailu), a ghost or spirit. [Cf. *bogibada* (Motu) = fish-hawk.] (Plate XIV, Fig. 2.)

41. *Gumai* (Mailu), *Gumagumani* (Bonabona), *Dalodaloloia* (Dauí).—These words specify the four-fold parallel lines from ear to mouth enclosing zigzags, as well as the two-fold parallel lines enclosing like zigzags, extending from the neck to the inner sides of the breasts, and from there to the girdle pattern. The terminating S curve to the upper parallel lines of the face pattern, where they curl inwards to the *alae nasi*, is called in Mailu *boe* (cf. *boi*, Mailu = reef-heron, see suggestion under pattern No. 40). (Plate XIV, Fig. 2.)

Gumagumani (Bonabona) is said to mean hermit crab. *Gumai* (Mailu) is probably the same word in borrowed form. The canoe builders at the island Panaeati in the Louisiades carve a design on their canoes which they call

¹ Stephan, in *Südseekunst* (Plate viii, Fig. 1b), gives a carved bird figure from Siassi Is., called *sillili*, which he states is a small beach-bird. In the Wedau dialect *kivivi* means "any kind of sand-bird." *Wedau Grammar and Dictionary* (Copland King).

² Cf. *nomnom* = tattooing at Lou Is., in the Admiralty Group (Friederici, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, 226), but this word may have some connection with *monmon* in the same dialect, which means "bird."

guguman, and this word, also, I was informed at Panaeati, means hermit-crab. The carving motif, however, bears no resemblance to the tattooing motif. *Guguman* and *gugumani* are almost certainly cognate words. But *guguman* may be *koko manu*, and *kokomanu* construed by the *Koko* key (see remarks under pattern No. 17) may mean frigate-bird, and both these so-called hermit-crab patterns bear strong resemblance to bird conventions.

Dalodaloloia recalls the Mailu term *tarotaro* = tattooing. Relying on the assumption that the Mailu tattooing patterns have been borrowed from the Southern Massim, it is puzzling to find this Western Papuo-Melanesian word [*alo alo*, (Aroma and Hula) = tattooing] in Southern Massim tattooing nomenclature. The repeated zigzag which forms the dominant feature of the *dalodaloloia* pattern is (as I have just pointed out) characteristic of a Southern Massim frigate-bird convention (see remarks under pattern No. 36, also Plate XIV, Fig. 1). In the Wedau dialect *gugudaro* = frigate-bird. Here we have in a Southern Massim dialect “*taro*” in a non-duplicated form tacked on to *gugu* (cf. *koko* = seabird and frigate-bird). *Taro*, as I suggest later, may mean the spirit of a dead man: *gugudaro* may therefore perhaps be a compound word denoting a bird which is a host of the spirits of dead men. *Dalodaloloia* has no alternative meaning.

42. *Bevai* (Mailu), ? (Bonabona), ? (Dau).—The threefold parallel lines running obliquely across the cheek from the last discussed pattern towards the middle or upper part of the nose. For these lines there is sometimes substituted another figure (apparently a bird profile) of -like form called *matakodo* at Bonabona (see pattern No. 38). The Mailu word *bevai* is probably the same word as *bevai* (Aroma), which is one of two words I was given at that place to denote tattooing in a general sense. A similar word meaning tattooing and carving—*berai*—occurs at Seremina, a small hill tribe¹ living near the head waters of the Kemp-Welch river. The word in either case is, I think, cognate to *bela bela* (Sinaugolo) = tattooing. (Fig. 8A.)

43. *Lepa* (Mailu), *Kupa* (Bonabona), *Elepa* (Dau).—At Mailu one of the *lepa* designs is identical with the Bonabona *kupa* patterns, which I have assumed to be related to the Motu *neneva* pattern. (See remarks under pattern No. 19); but the Mailu people also gave me the name *lepa* for another figure which I saw tattooed on the back of a girl's hand. At Bonabona also there is an alternative *kupa* design which is distinct from the above-mentioned pattern, and at this island I was informed that two debased spirals I saw tattooed on the back of a woman's hand are called *lepa*. At Rogea Is. (Dau Dist.) there are at least two distinct designs called *elepa*, one of which appears to belong to the birds' heads scroll subject long since described by Dr. Haddon. I have already mentioned that *elepa* (Dau) [called *Kerepa* (Bona-

¹ This tribe, who speak a non-Melanesian dialect, show signs of Sinaugolo culture, as evidenced by their carved *dubu*.

bona)] is a wooden club often made with toothed edges. These clubs are generally ornamented with some pattern or other carved along the median line of the blade, and it is possible that the variety of tattooing designs called by these names may be due to the variety of patterns carved upon the clubs. But as *lepa* means head at Aroma and at Kerepunu, and as the Mailu people aver that some of the *lepa* patterns have been borrowed from the latter place, it is possible that the word may be connected with "head," for the reason that it may have been the custom of the Kerepunu tribe in former times to ornament skulls with certain designs. It was certainly the former custom of both these tribes to exhibit skulls on their *dubu*.

44. *Tomoinau* (Mailu), ? (Bonabona), *Karikarihei* (Dai).—The twofold parallel lines enclosing angular hooked figures, running vertically on either side of the median line of the trunk from neck to girdle pattern, are so called. *Tomoinau* = ? hermit-crab's footmark. *Karikarihei* = centipede. (Plate XIV, Fig. 1.)

45. *Urubobo* (Mailu), *Binagara* (Bonabona), ? (Dai).—In Mailu this pattern consists of twofold parallel lines extending from the shoulder to the girdle enclosing U-shaped figures: the same pattern is called *binagara* at Bonabona, where I have seen it tattooed on the inner side of the arm. Both these pattern-names appear to be compound words. *Uru* may possibly mean "head" or "feather," for *kuru* (Bonabona) = head or skull, and *uru* (Mailu) = feather. *Bobo* standing alone has, I believe, no meaning in these dialects, but *bobu* is perhaps cognate to *bebe*, *pepe*, *papa*, etc., which seem to imply a conception of wing or flight [cf. *bobo* (Barriai), *bobokoro* (Siassi) = butterfly¹; *boboro* (Motu) = hornbill].

Binagara may be *bina* = hornbill and *nagara* (S. Cape) = head or ? skull, the intermediate *na* having dropped out. The U-shaped figures may represent the corrugations on the upper mandible of a hornbill. In hornbill carving designs at Waima these corrugations are made V-shaped, but U-shaped figures represent the corrugations more accurately than V-shaped ones.

46. *Bunaru* (Mailu), ? (Bonabona), *Mora* (Dai).—The twofold parallel lines enclosing rectangular figures extending from the inside of the right shoulder to the outside of the breasts and so down to the girdle. *Bunaru* has no alternative meaning, but *mora* is the Dai word for a string-bag. The Rogea Island people maintain that this pattern is not copied from designs woven into such bags, but that it is so called because the *mora* is slung over the right shoulder. (Fig. 9 (1).)

47. *Motamota* (Dai).—A forehead pattern consisting of a horizontal row of chevrons tattooed from temple to temple. *Motamota* (Dai) = caterpillar or grub; literally, little snake. (Plate XIV, Fig. 2.)

48. *Boi sipasipa* (Dai).—A shoulder pattern enclosed within marginal converging lines which end in a point just above the armpit. The designs enclosed within the lines are two-angled zigzags in the upper part, and rectangular hook-shaped figures

¹ Friederici, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 67, 130.

in the lower part. The word has no alternative meaning; if—as seems likely—it is a compound word, *boi* may be reef-heron (see Vocabulary No. 2), but perhaps it is *bo'i* (Mailu), meaning the “spirit which dwells in the severed and preserved skull.”¹ In the Motu dialect *bogi-bada* signifies fish-hawk [*bogi* in this word is often pronounced by the Motuans with a break like the Mailu *bo'i*; *bada* (Motu) = great]. *Sipasipa* = ? The upper part of the design appears to be a “wing” convention and the lower part may represent claws: the whole design therefore may be connected with the idea of a fish-hawk. (Fig. 9 (1).)

49. *Manibobo* (Bonabona and Dau).—A shoulder pattern within marginal converging lines which is worn on the exterior side of, and next to, *boi sipasipa*. It is also worn sometimes on the inner side of the arm from shoulder to wrist. *Mani* is probably *manu* = bird; for possible derivation of *bobo* see pattern No. 45. *Mani* in this word may have the sense of “insect.” *Mani* (Tubetube) = bird, and *manikikiuli* in the same dialect, which is akin to Dau, is butterfly, literally, “little bird feather.”² (Fig. 9 (1).)

I have seen a very similar design carved upon a board in an *upu* (clubhouse) at Inawabui, one of the Mekeo villages, which was probably a *kangakangā* (clan-badge) of that *upu*. The Inawabui natives told me that its name was *lailai*, but this word I ascertained afterwards merely means “board” in the Mekeo dialect.

50. *Kadewa-munana* (Bonabona and Dau).—This trifold pattern is worn between marginal lines extending from the shoulder to the girdle. In Rogea Is., I have seen it worn on both sides of the body. It is evidently the same design as that which Finsch called a “clover-leaf pattern.”³ *Kadewa* (Sariba Is.) = dog, and I am, under the impression that I was informed at Bonabona that the design represents a dog's footmark. It will be remembered that the Aroma cross pattern *waga-kapu* (No. 34) is also perhaps associated with a dog. (Fig. 9 (2B).)

51. *Karawabitu* (Bonabona), *Wabitu* (Dau).—Horizontal strokes tattooed between vertical lines and worn on the belly below the girdle. *Wabitu* (Dau) is the name of a fish. (Fig. 9 (1A).)

52. *Murumurua* (Bonabona), *Sinauri* (Dau).—This pattern is worn on the back. It springs on either side from the girdle alongside the spinal column to the shoulder blades and from there curves outwards and extends down the outer sides of the arms. *Murumurua* (Bonabona) is said to represent bananas [cf., *murumurua* (Wedau) = banana var. Cavendish (Copland King)], and the pattern *sinauri* (Dau) is said at Rogea to be the markings on a snake called by that name. (Fig. 8 (4).)

¹ *The Natives of Mailu* (Malinowski), p. 653.

² Ray in *Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. iii.

³ *Tätowiren* (Joest), p. 41, and illustration. This illustration of a tattooed woman of Rogea Island is very misleading. On p. 116 of Joest's book, Finsch states that owing to the aversion shown by the women to his sketching their tattoo-patterns he had great difficulty in doing so. This difficulty probably accounts for the imperfections in the illustration.

53. *Motaiaia* (Dau).—A continuous zigzag design between parallel lines curving from the deltoid region inwards to the armpit. The natives say that the pattern is taken from the markings on a snake called *motaeanu*. It is also worn on the sides of the body between marginal lines extending from the region of the armpit to the girdle. (Fig. 9 (1).)

54. *Bisai*.—A Bonabona body pattern. (Fig. 9 (1).)

55. *Memenawa*.—A Bonabona belly pattern. I was told that the word denotes a dwarf species of pandanus which is cultivated by the natives and used by them for the purpose of making *rami* (grass petticoats). (Fig. 9 (1).)

Cape Vogel, Collingwood Bay, and Cape Nelson.

The tribes inhabiting the coast line from the eastern extremity of the mainland to Cape Vogel do not practise tattooing, though they all have words to denote it. Beyond Cape Vogel, and as far as, and including, Cape Nelson, the females of most of the coast tribes are tattooed, but only on the face and the forehead. The men are never tattooed. The tattooing patterns of the Iasi-iasi tribe near Cape Vogel and the Kworafi tribe on Cape Nelson are alike—these two places being the south and north extremities respectively of Collingwood Bay, some forty miles apart. These patterns consist of combinations of straight lines, zigzags, concentric circles and spirals.

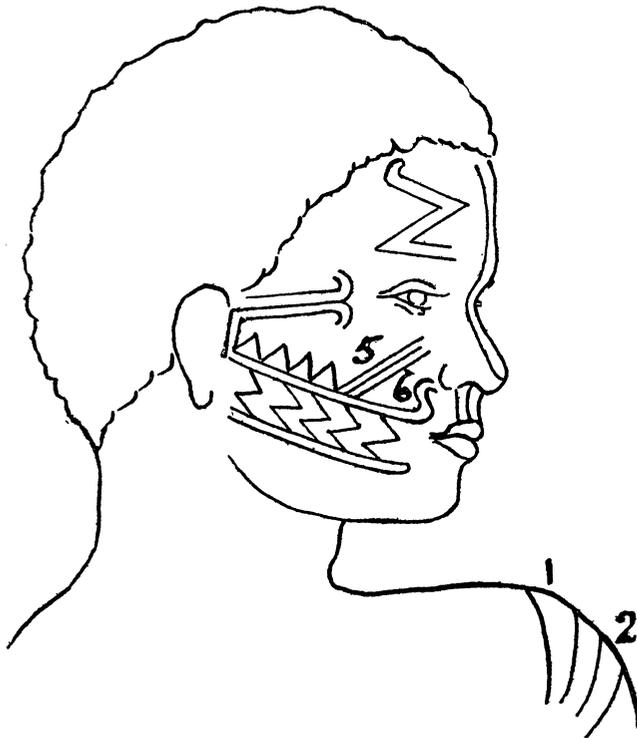
In the bight of Collingwood Bay lives the populous Maisin tribe. The faces of the females of this tribe are tattooed in great variety of pattern all bearing a general similarity to the patterns of the Kworafi and Iasi-iasi people.¹ (Plate XV, Fig. 1.)

Unfortunately I lost the few opportunities that presented themselves whilst I was in New Guinea of obtaining any particulars of the tattooing customs of these tribes, or of the individual names of the several patterns.

At a gathering of Cape Nelson and Collingwood Bay tribes which I convened in 1905, I observed a man with a design painted on his cheeks in red pigment. Upon being questioned what the name of the pattern was he promptly replied *atawa*, which in the dialects of Kworafi and Maisin means frigate-bird. I cannot now recall to mind which of these two tribes the man belonged to, but the incident affords positive evidence that frigate-birds are represented in the art of these people. The photograph (Plate XV, Fig. 2) which I took at the time shows that the convention is very similar to the frigate-bird conventions at Mailu and Dau.

¹ The Maisin people are proficient at burning patterns upon bamboo smoking pipes. They call this style of ornamentation by the same name as that for tattooing, namely *buwa*.

The Arifamu and Winiapi tribes, who occupy part of Cape Nelson, do not tattoo: they both speak Melanesian dialects. Their words to denote tattooing (see Vocabulary No. 2) appear to be cognate to words having the same meaning in the Trobriands and Woodlark Island (Murua).



A

A. Dauí woman's face.

1 and 2. Name not ascertained: detail shewn in B1 and B2.

5. No. 42. *Bevai*.

6. No. 41. *Boe*.

B. The same woman's body.

1 and 2. Detail of A1 and A2.

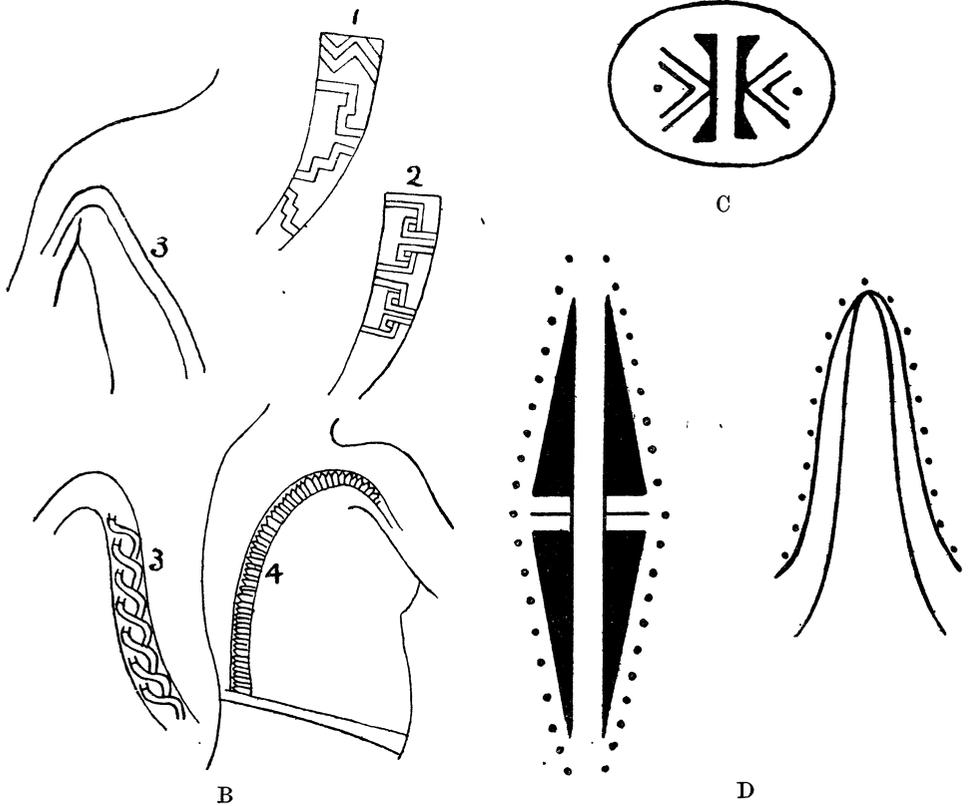
3. No. 43. *Elepa*.

4. No. 52. *Sinauri*.

C. Mailu hand pattern.

No. 43. *Lepa*.

D. Mailu shoulder patterns worn by males only (see p. 55).

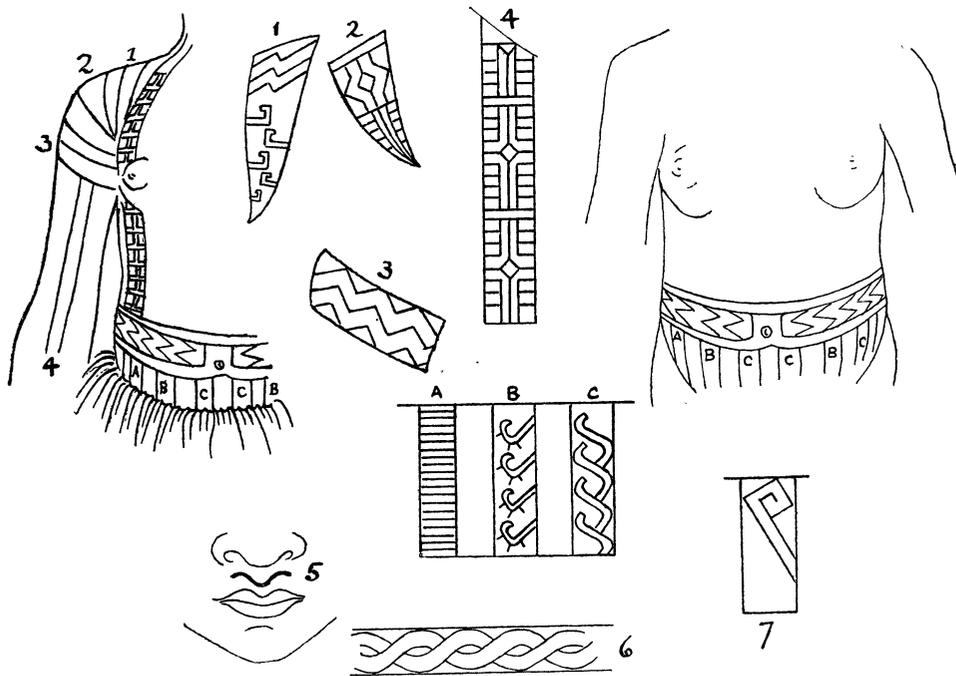


B

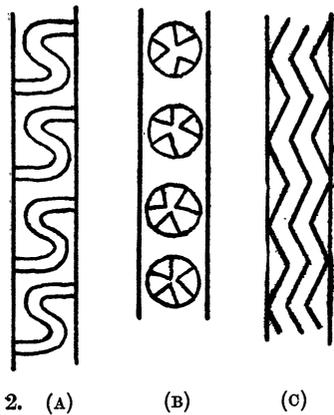
C

D

FIG. 8.



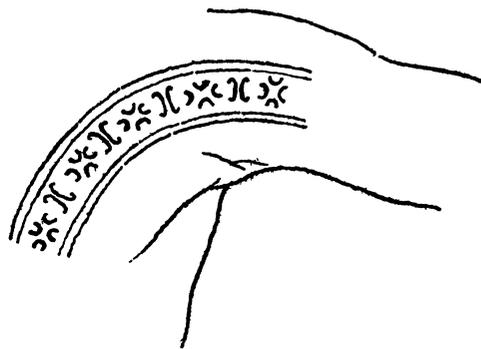
1. Daudi woman—(1) No. 48. *Boisipasipa*. (2 and 4) No. 49. *Manibobo*. (3) No. 53. *Motaiiaia*.
 (5) No. 40. *Boebua*. (6) No. 54. *Bisai*. (7) No. 55. *Memenawa*.



2. (A) (B) (C)

Daudi body patterns.

- (A) Name not ascertained.
- (B) No. 50. *Kadewamunana*.
- (C) No. 53. *Motaiiaia*.



3. Bonabona male pattern
 (see p. 55).

FIG. 9.

From Cape Nelson northwards to the Mambare river the coastal tribes, known collectively as Binandele, are dark-skinned people and they do not tattoo. Many people, both men and women, among these tribes ornament their skin by scarring, the parts selected being usually the back, and the deltoid region of the arms. On the Mambare river the word for cicatrical markings is *taro*, while that for tattooing is *taroro*. It would seem, therefore, that tattooing, though not practised, is known to them. A photograph of the scarred back of a man from the Gira (or the Waria) river is shown in Plate XV, Fig. 3. On the Kumusi river women have the custom of gashing their cheeks deeply by a transverse cut as a sign of mourning. Obsidian obtained by barter from Goodenough Island was the substance used for gashing until glass and European knives took its place.

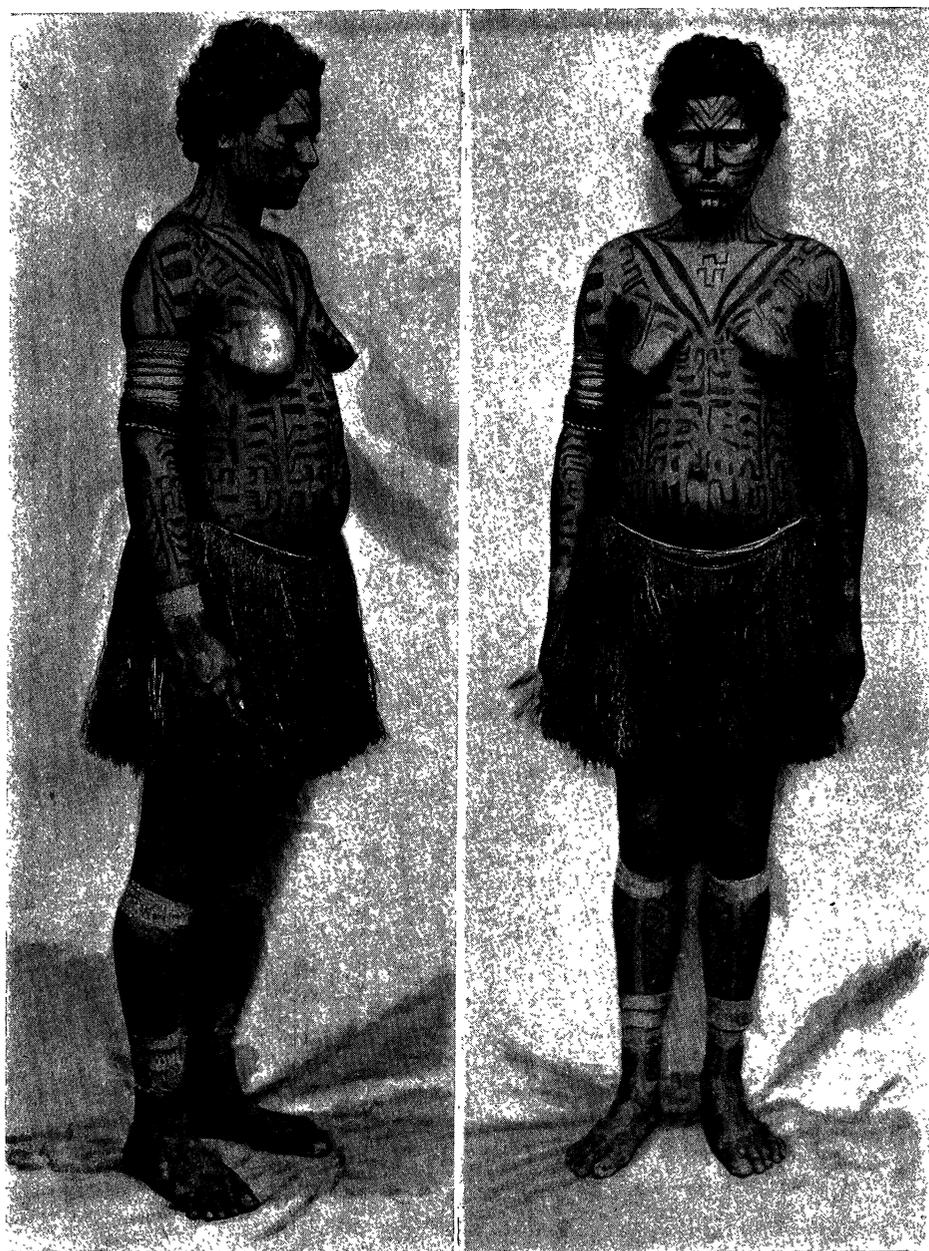
It was in this part of New Guinea that a stone pestle carved to represent a bird was found by a gold miner in 1905. It was discovered in "wash" forty feet above the present bed of the Aikora creek, and under ten feet of sand and clay. (See *Man*, January, 1908.) A very remarkable feature of this pestle are the wings. The artist who made it apparently endeavoured to give to the bird the appearance of having its wings outspread. But owing, perhaps, to the block of stone not having been large enough, or to the technical difficulty of carving a bird out of stone in that attitude, he has met the difficulty half-way by figuring it with wings unfolded, but not outspread. As the idea of birds and flight appears to be connected so largely with tattooing in South-eastern New Guinea, it is well to bear this carved bird in mind. That the people who made and used this pestle lived a great while ago is evidenced by the depth of river "wash" that covered it when found.

The Eastern Islands.

The tribes inhabiting the several islands and archipelagos stretching eastward from the mainland are none of them by custom tattooing people, with the possible exception of Rossel Island. Occasionally one meets a man with a device tattooed on the chest, and I have seen girls here and there in the Trobriands with crudely executed tattooing markings on the upper part of the belly.

During the single hurried visit I paid to Rossel Island, I do not recollect having noticed that the people there were tattooed, but subsequently I met at Sudest Island a Rossel Island youth whose face had been tattooed in such a manner as to give me the impression that it had been done by somebody whose tribe regularly practised the art. He informed me that he had been tattooed in Rossel Island, and gave the following names to the patterns (Plate XIV, Fig. 3).

The horseshoe-shaped marks within the marginal lines, extending from the corners of the mouth across the cheeks, he called *dō*; the circular marks under the eyes *puwa*, and the curvital mark in the centre of his forehead *nengō* or *n'gō* or *n'gwō*. This last design appears to be a flying bird convention. In a vocabulary



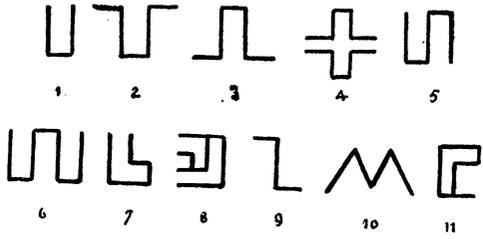
(a)

(b)

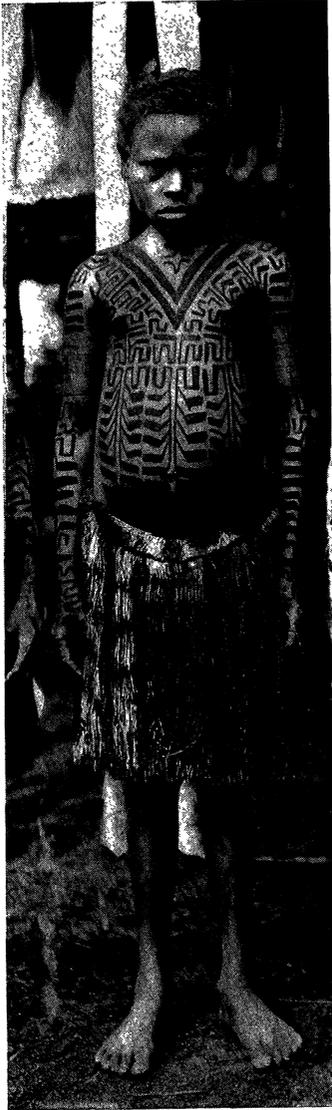
1.—WAIMA WOMAN, SHOWING PATTERNS NOS. 1 TO 6.

The marking on the deltoid region of the arm in (a) and on the belly in (b) is incomplete.

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.—SOME *areau* VARIANTS (PATTERN NO. 1).

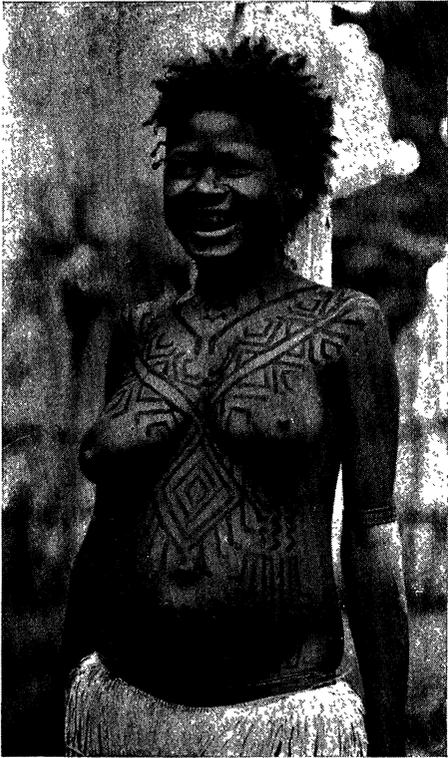


2.—WAIMA GIRL.

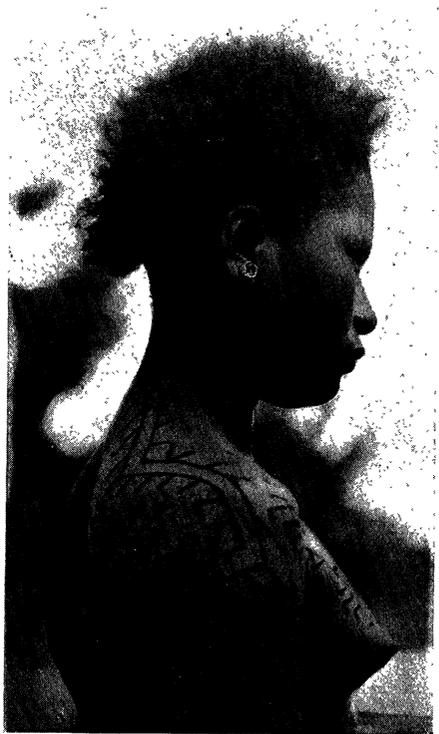


3.—MEKEO WOMAN.

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.—MEKEO WOMAN, SHOWING PATTERNS NOS. 7 TO 12.



2.—MEKEO WOMAN, SHOWING PATTERN NO. 10, *mangeau*.

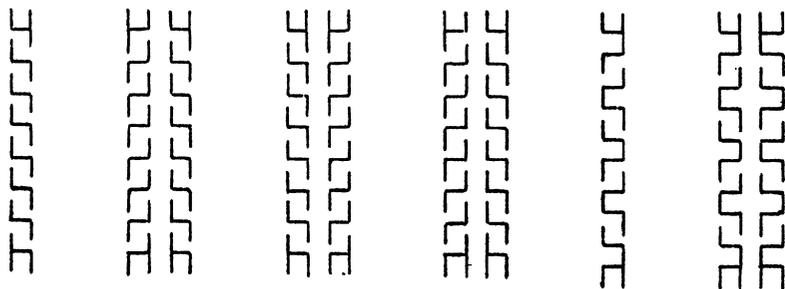


3.—MEKEO WOMAN, SHOWING PATTERN NO. 10, *mangeau*.

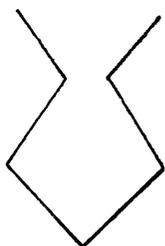


4.—HULA YOUTH, SHOWING *bina* MARK.

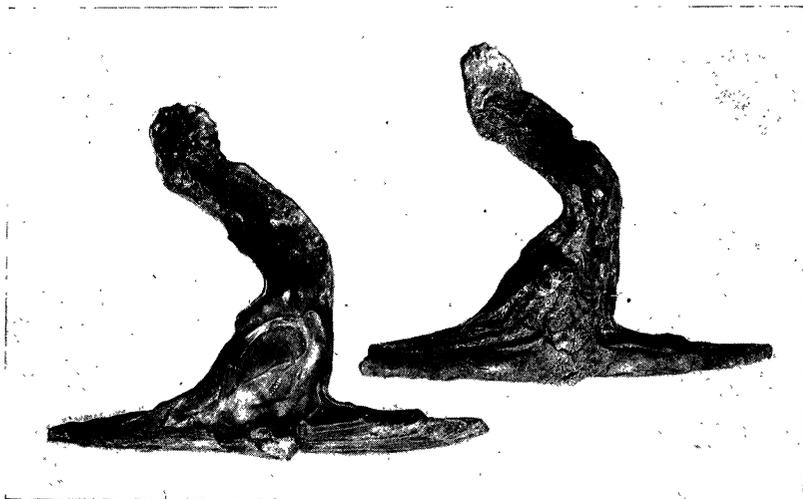
TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



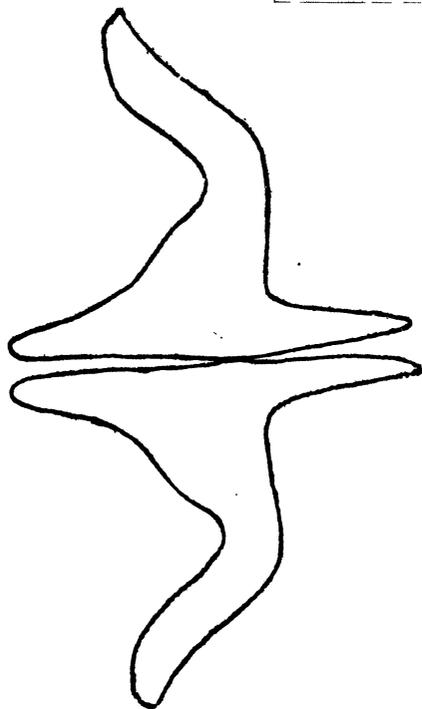
2.—*Kakiu* VARIANTS, NO. 17.



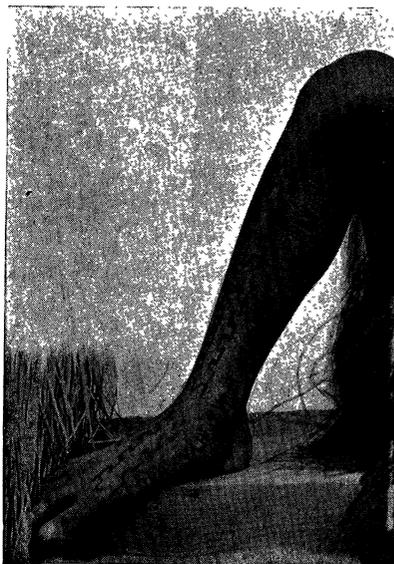
5.—*Boaroko* ON *dubu* AND ON CHEST.



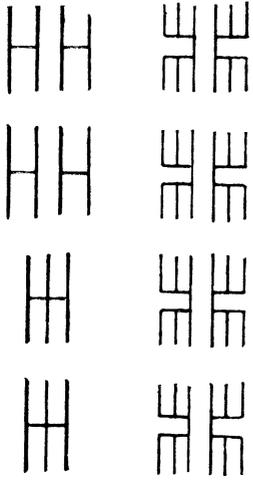
3.—MARINE BIVALVE CALLED *daute* (see p. 39), SHOWING BOTH HALVES OF SHELL. In figure 4 the shell is shown opened.



4



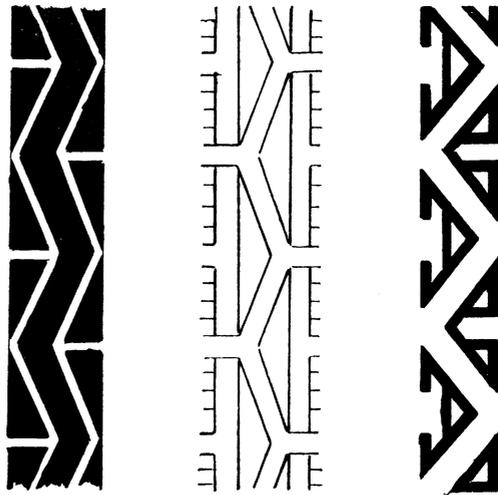
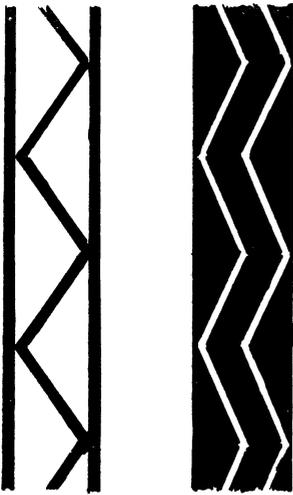
1.—*Lakatoi dagina* (see p. 35).



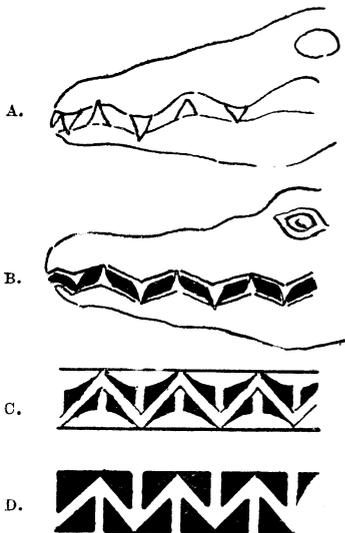
1.—*Ikoru* (no. 18).



2.—MOTU GIRL, SHOWING *ikoro* MARKS.



3.—VARIANTS OF *neneva* (no. 19).

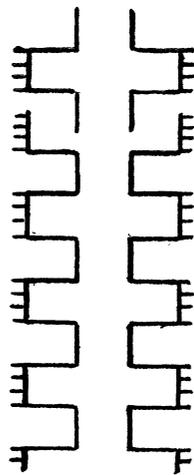
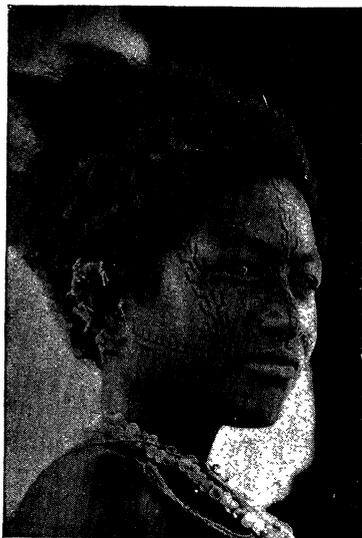
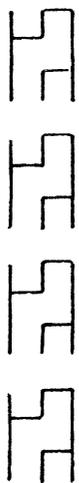


4.—A POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF *neneva*.



5.—MOTU GIRL, SHOWING *neneva* ON NOSE.

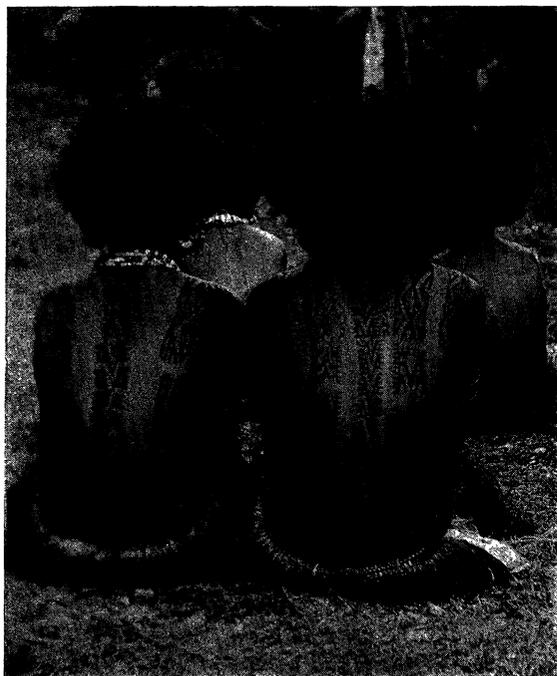
TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



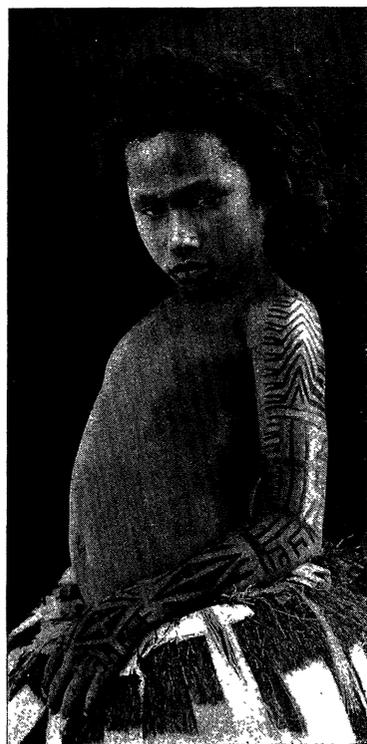
1.—*Ganagana* (NO. 20).

2.—HULA GIRL, SHOWING *aiva roa* (NO. 22)
ON CHEEK.

3.—*Bareko* (NO. 24).

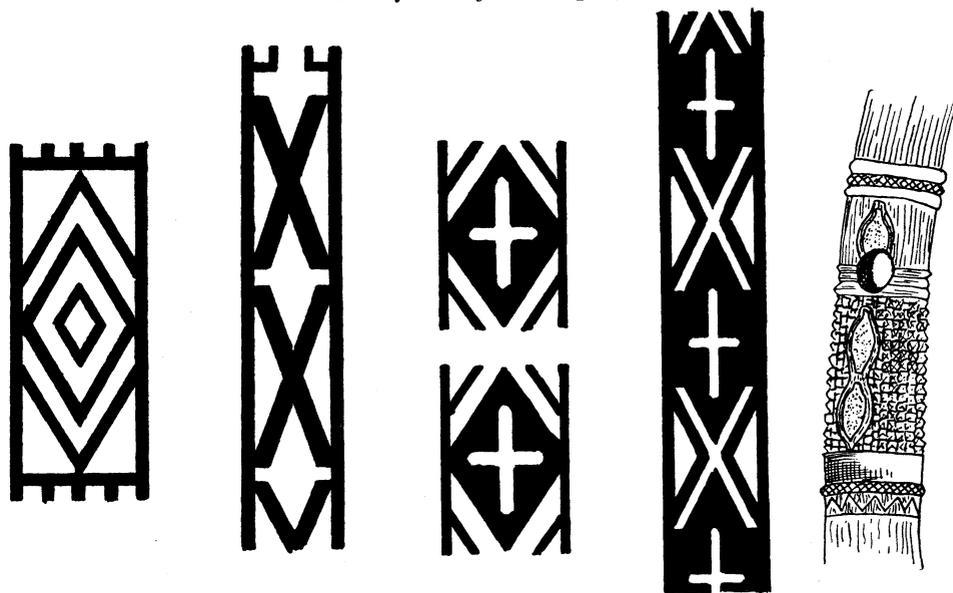


4.—MOTU GIRLS, SHOWING *ialata tarana* (NO. 25)
AND *dihu dihu* (NO. 26) ON BACKS.



5.—HULA GIRL, SHOWING *ialata* ON DELTOID
REGION OF ARM, AND *dihu dihu* ON HAND.

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.—VARIANTS OF *dihu dihu* (NO. 26) AND *dubu* POST, SHOWING *dihu dihu*.



2.—HULA GIRL, SHOWING *kakiu* (NO. 17) ON FACE, AND *gado roho* (NO. 29) ON CHEST.

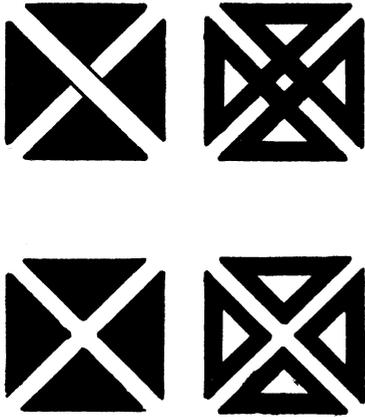


3.—*Dihu dihu* IN CENTRE LINE OF BELLY.

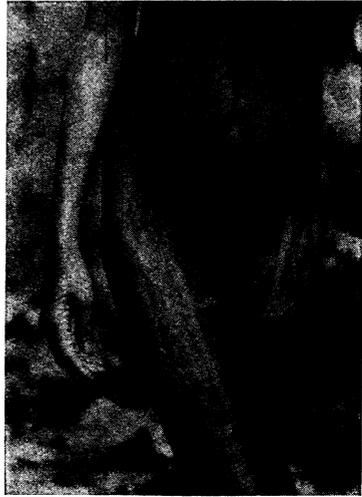


4.—*Kadidiha* (NO. 30).

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.—*Kaiakaro* VARIANTS (NO. 27).



2.—HULA GIRL, SHOWING *kili* MARKS (NO. 27).



3.—MOTU WOMAN, SHOWING *gado* (NO. 28).



4.—MOTU GIRL, WEARING PEARL SHELL CRESCENT.



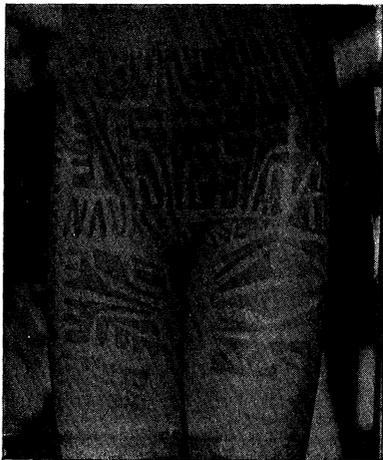
5.—MOTU GIRL, SHOWING *kaiakaro* AND OTHER MARKS ON LEGS.



1.—HULA GIRL, SHOWING *kariga* MARKING (NO. 30). E



2.—MOTU GIRL, SHOWING *kadidiha* MARKING ON RIGHT AND LEFT ARMPIT.



3.—AROMA GIRL.



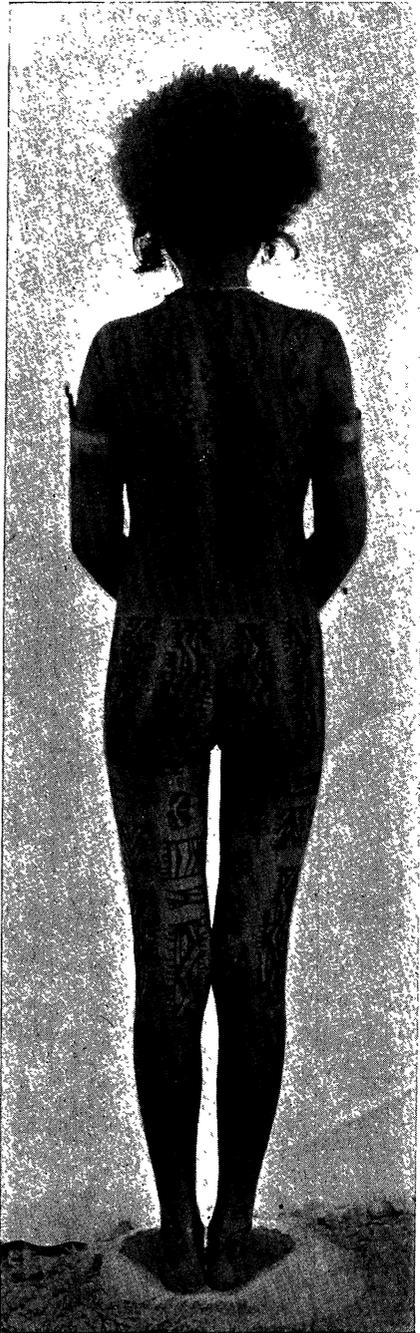
4.—AROMA GIRL.

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.— PAINTING PATTERN WITH *puriki* ON MOTU (GAILE) GIRL. (See p. 26.)

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.—MOTU GIRL, BACK TATTOOING.

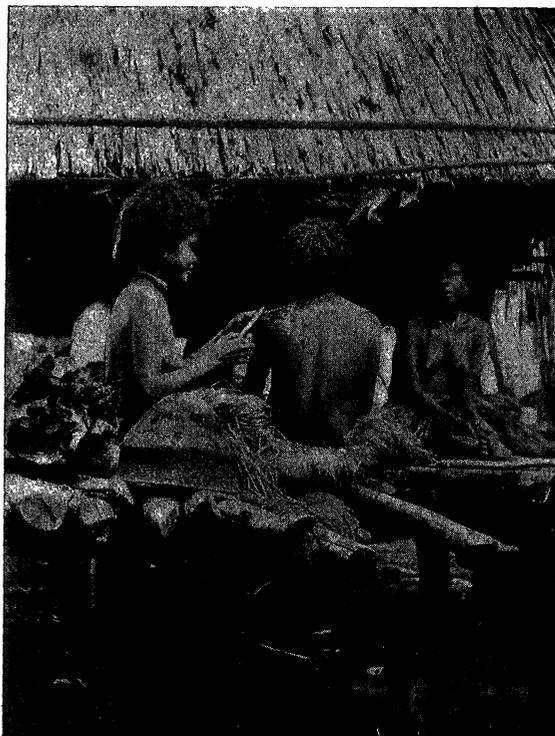


2.—GAILE GIRL, BACK TATTOOING.

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



I.—FULLY TATTOOED AROMA WOMAN.



2.—SHOULDER TATTOOING OPERATION AT BONABONA.
TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.

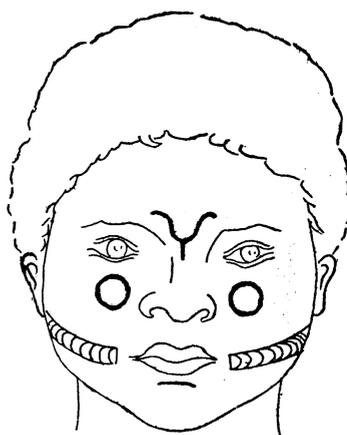


1.—MAILU GIRL. THE VERTICAL PATTERN FROM THE TIP OF THE NOSE UPWARDS IS THE MOTU *kakiu* (AROMA: *ragela*) PATTERN.



2.—DAUI WOMAN.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Aisava</i> (No. 36). | 2. <i>Silo</i> (No. 37). |
| 3. <i>Mata kodo</i> (No. 38). | 4. <i>Enari</i> (No. 39). |
| 5. <i>Subanomnom</i> (No. 40). | 6. <i>Dalo daloloia</i> (No. 41). |
| 7. <i>Motamota</i> (No. 47). | 8. <i>Boi</i> (No. 41). |



3.—ROSSEL ISLAND YOUTH.

TATTOOING IN SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA.



1.—PROFILE AND FULL FACE OF TWO MAISIN GIRLS.



2. *MAISIN GIRL, PROFILE*



3. *MAISIN GIRL, PROFILE*

of the Rossel Island dialect published in British New Guinea Annual Report for 1892-93, the word *ngu* is given as meaning frigate-bird. It is not improbable that *n'gö* and *ngu* represent the same word.¹

IV.

FIRST VOCABULARY.

Comparisons should be made between the words in the first and third columns of the following vocabulary, for it often happens that words which mean tattooing in one dialect mean carving in another. The words contained in the second column are less important, and it is not certain that all of them are correct, for though all the New Guinea tribes with whom I have come into contact have definite words to denote tattooing—whether they practise the art or not—those who do not practise it naturally find difficulty in supplying the interrogator with a verb which they never use. But I have considered it advisable to include them in the vocabulary, partly for the sake of the verbs in the dialects of those tribes who do tattoo, partly because in some instances non-tattooing tribes have given me verbs which may be useful for purposes of comparison. Some of the words given under “carving” are nouns and some are verbs.

The etymology of nouns for tattooing used in a general sense is, like the rest of tattooing nomenclature, very obscure. The following suggestions must be regarded, therefore, as little more than shadowy indications.

Poa.

The South Eastern New Guinea tribes in whose dialects words like *poa* or *bu* denote tattooing are widely scattered. Assuming that *oka* = *poa*, the word occurs as far west as the Purari delta, where the Kaimare and the Maipua people both have *oka*. Further eastward in the Gulf we find *hohoa* at Kerema and *foa* at Toaripi. In the Collingwood Bay district on the north-east coast similar words reappear in the dialects of the following tribes, *boare* (Kworafi, Okein, Upper and Lower Musa), and *bu* (Maisin). In Rossel Island, the most easterly island of New Guinea, *puwa* means tattooing. All the foregoing tribes speak non-Melanesian dialects.²

Only two of the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes use the *poa* word for tattooing, namely, the Mekeo and the Waima tribes, who have, respectively, *poapoa* and *boaboa*.

As far as I know there is not any word bearing any resemblance to *poa* for tattooing in any part of Indonesia, Melanesia, or Polynesia. The fact that where

¹ It is very difficult to write with accuracy words of the Rossel Island dialect. The vowels are often modified, and if a native is asked to repeat a word he as often as not varies the pronunciation.

² Melanesian words, however, frequently occur in many of such dialects.

FIRST VOCABULARY.

	1 tattoo (s.)	2 tattoo (v.)	3 carving	4 bird	5 wing	6 feather	7 blood	8 shoulder	9 star
Kiwai (Fly river)	titi ...	titi titi	titi ...	wowogo	tamu	wowogo pasa	arina	tigiri' ...	gugi
Maipua (Furari delta)	oka ...	—	kikiria	naku	baso, maho	uru, ke'ere	aro ...	ano ...	nopu, dopo
Kaimare (Furari delta)	oka ...	—	okoro	—	—	—	aro ...	ano ...	—
Kerema (Gulf)	hohoa ...	—	—	ori ...	maho	hahereva	ioru	horo ...	koū
Toaripi (Gulf)	foa ...	—	karoro	ori ...	mako, maho	behe, mehe	ovo	soroho	koru
Mekeo (W. P. Mel.)	poapoa ...	pa poapoa...	malele	inei	pangi	pui ...	ifa ...	vango	p'i'u, miūmū
Waima (W. P. Mel.)	boaboa ...	boaboa	marere	rovorovo	—	—	aruaru	aro	naoa
Nara (W. P. Mel.)	ilele	lele akua	ilele	manu	vani	vuiui	lala	vo'u ...	visiu
Kabadi (W. P. Mel.)	morere	—	? rere	manu	—	bubura	rara	aropaku	ue
Motu (W. P. Mel.)	revareva	revareva	igiri, ? ikoro.	manu	hani	hui ...	rara	paga ...	hisiu
		hatua	korooa (v.)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hula (W. P. Mel.)	aloalo	aloalo aua...	kalāa	manu	kare	geve, pulu	rala	alo ...	gibu
Sinaugolo (W. P. Mel.)	belabela	? nobera	—	manu	pane	pulu	lala...	n'gaba	visigu
Aroma (W. P. Mel.)	aloalo, bevai	? aviavi	aloalo	manu	bane	gui ...	lala...	ealo ...	bue
Maihu (W. P. Mel.)	tarotaro	? davadava	—	manu	papa, lealea?	bui ...	lala...	gabi ...	idū
Bonabona (S. Massim)	kurikuri	kurikuri	ureva	—	mabe, pepe	uru	osina	eahara	—
		ietore	—	—	—	daguri	—	—	—
Dau (S. Massim)	ai uri	eatu	pusa	—	—	—	osina	daba'alo	—
Sariba (S. Massim)	—	heatu	? sai	roro	peapea	daguri	kuašina	da'aiaro	kipuara
Teste Is. (S. Massim)	laulausī	silausi	pasa (of pots)	—	—	—	kvasine	le'ale'a	—
Maiwara (S. Massim)	hamari	aa hamari	laukidi	—	—	—	tala	avala ...	—
Wedau (S. Massim)	giruma or ruru	rurui	tai ...	kiu	pape	tawara, arara	tara	avara	ubona
Dobu Is. (S. Massim)	basileli	—	daiagi	manua	pape	dagura	rara	arana	kuadima
Goodenough Is. (S. Massim)	uliuli	gobaiyoyo ...	—	—	—	—	bubuda	avalada	—
Panaefeti Is. (S. Massim)	leileli	roror	roror	besumu	pepe	—	saria, mariba	everan	putum

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kiriwina (N. Massim) ...	katukwatu	katukwatu	kutaia, ? karoro	manua	—	dagura, ? digulela	buiai	ilava ...	utuam
Murua (N. Massim) ...	kutukwata	—	iteres	man	pinpene	unuwuni	buiaivi	ereva ...	utuni
Nada (N. Massim) ...	kutukwatu	—	rete	manu	papane	umunu	buiai	—	utuma
Rosset Is. ...	puwa	—	de-tiada, taa	mma	leuma	giyanda, ... chanda	wò, wite	tinya, ngenan- egge	gwoda, budu, puru
Maisin (Collingwood B.) ...	bua	bua, ku ta	kayan, ovi...	—	—	—	ta ...	siva ...	—
Oian (Collingwood B.) ...	kirukirum	ku kirum	kirukirum	—	—	—	rara	tuabun	daidia
Onjo (Collingwood B.) ...	diju	dija	diju...	—	—	—	dira	munturun	—
Ubir (Collingwood B.) ...	gayam	egayam	gayam	—	—	—	tava	abaran	—
Kworaŋ (C. Nelson) ...	boare ²	boare dewu	kamba	rika	—	buroro	ororo	gatonu	—
Okein (C. Nelson) ...	boare ²	—	—	—	—	—	bisara	gapo	—
Winiapi (C. Nelson) ...	atuatun	kuatunu	anafito	—	—	—	rara	tuabun	—
Arifanu (C. Nelson) ...	atatun	tatun duabi	anafito	—	—	—	rara	tuabun	—
Upper Musa River ...	boare ²	—	wariote	—	wachi	—	iva ...	eri ...	—
Lower Musa River ...	boare ²	—	bumbuki	—	—	—	onona	yisa ...	—
Binandele ...	taroro	taroro	kewari, ovi	ni	wasi	—	ororo	gapa, apapa	dabori
Koita ...	foro	beruma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Koiari (inland, Cent. Div.) ...	beima	foro kia	fugeara	ugu	akahani	homo	tago	bagu ...	vamomo
Sogere (inland, Cent. Div.) ...	hogoho	bebe	kuruku	ugu	—	fomo	tago	bagi ...	kolo
Kagi (inland, Cent. Div.) ...	hisai	hogoho	—	ugu	—	—	ago	bego ...	—
Iaibu (extinct, Cent. Div.) ...	ova	beima	—	ugu	—	—	taro	bego ...	—
Aione (extinct, Cent. Div.) ...	tarotaro	hisai beovo	—	te boari	—	—	iaa ...	payai ...	itu
		taro nelana	—	kana	—	iguvi	rara	babaroku	—

¹ *tii*, cf. *tii* = tattoo; *giri* (kiwai) = knife.² Verbal nouns in the Binandele dialect, to which these four dialects belong, take the suffix *ari*.

poa words occur in South Eastern New Guinea Melanesian dialects in places contiguous to the two boundary lines of Papuan speaking peoples, and that the latter people in both areas use similar words for tattooing [*foa* (Toaripi) and *buā* (Maisin)] would seem to indicate that the word may have a Papuan origin. On the other hand it is unlikely that the art can have taken its rise independently in Papuan culture, for the skin of this race is too dark to display patterns tattooed upon it. Moreover, the Binandele tribes, who scar but do not tattoo, and who inhabit the country immediately north of the Maisin tribe, have the words *taro* for scarring and *taroro* for tattooing. I do not think, therefore, that *poa* is a Papuan word, and the suggestion I make is that *poa* is a term which reached South Eastern New Guinea earlier than *revareva*, *aloalo*, and *kurikuri*, and that some of the Papuan coastal tribes were so far affected by the culture of an early wave of migration as to have borrowed the word from the people who composed this wave.

Revareva.

Lawes, in his *Motu Grammar and Vocabulary* gives as the meaning of *revareva*, "tattooing, anything striped or variegated; hence writing, printed matter." The Sinaugolo term for tattooing, *belabela*, is perhaps the same word as *revareva* by inversion. Relying upon this assumption there are good reasons for concluding that *belabela* is the purer form, for *belabela* means tattooing in the Aru islands, and cognate words having the same meaning are *belbela* at Timor laut, and *belbel* in the Kei Islands.¹

In one of the Amboyna dialects the word for butterfly is *pepeul*, and Codrington has pointed out that this word reappears in slightly altered forms in the Solomons and the New Hebrides²; and, further, he expresses the opinion that *ul* (*pepe* being a very common word for butterfly in Oceania) may be the same word as the Malagasy *lolo*, meaning butterfly. I have already suggested that *olo* is a flying or feather derivative, and it seems not improbable that the Kei Islands *belbel* (tattooing) is cognate to *pepeul* (butterfly). If this be so, the Timor laut *belbela* and the Aru Islands *belabela*, have almost certainly, and the Sinaugolo *belabela* has very probably, been derived from the same source.

In the "wing" column of the comparative vocabulary it will be seen that some New Guinea dialects have *pepe* and words of similar construction; and such words occur also in Melanesia for wing. It is possible, therefore, that *pepe* (butterfly) and *pepe* (wing) have the same root, and the sense conveyed by the word appears to be something that remains suspended in the air by fluttering as opposed to suspension by a sailing or soaring method of flight [cf. *faapepepepe* (Samoa) = flutte³].

¹ *Tätowiren* (Joest), pp. 7 and 8.

² *Melanesian Languages* (Codrington), p. 63.

³ *Pepe* (Motu) = flag, pennant, *i.e.*, a thing that flutters, and *Kaubebe* (Motu) = butterfly.

There is, however, room for doubt on the question as to whether the Motu *reva-reva* (tattooing) is an inverted form of the Sinaugolo *belabela*, for in the dialect spoken at Mangareva, which has many words in common with Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects, *repa* means tattooed, and some other meanings of *repa* in Polynesia are in accord with Lawes' translation of the Motu word "anything striped or variegated," such as "the border or edging of a garment" in Tahiti and Hawaii.

In Tahiti the cuckoo, *Eudynamis Taitensis*, which has a long tail conspicuously barred with alternate dark brown and dull yellow, is called *areva reva*¹. The New Zealand bush-hawk (*Harpa ferox*), called by the Maoris *Karewarewa*, *Karearea* or *Kaeaea*, has black tail feathers, each of which is barred by a series of seven narrow white bands. In New Guinea the sea-snake, *Platurnus colubrinus*, which is marked with alternate bands of chocolate and yellow, is called by the Motu tribe *koko-rereva*, and in the Eastern portion of the Papuan Gulf (from Orokololo to Kerema) *hahereva* means feather. *Reva* in these words seems to indicate the idea of a pattern consisting of contrasting light and dark colours in symmetrical alternation; that is to say, a balanced pattern. (Cf. *rerereva* (Dobu) = equal.)

Alo.

The Mailu *tarotaro*, the Wedau *ruru*, and the Binandele *taroro* are seemingly the same words as the Hula and Aroma *aloalo* in varying forms. It appears not improbable that *ruru* is cognate to *roro* and *rere* denoting flight, and it is noteworthy that in some Melanesian and Polynesian dialects *alo* occurs as a word indicating the same idea. Thus *alo* = wing and *aloalo* = butterfly (Ysabel)²; *aroarowhaki* (Maori)³ = to float in the air as an albatross without moving the wings; *lofa* (Tonga), i.e., *alofo*³ = to fly with extended wings. The New Guinea tattooing words belonging to this group may possibly be related to the following Melanesian words denoting ghost; namely: *ataro* (S. Cristoval) = spirit or ghost; *ti'ndalo* (Florida) = spirit of a dead man; *tataro* (Banks Is.) = beings addressed in prayer. And there may be a further sequence of ideas leading from ghost to invocation, in which case perhaps the following Polynesian words belong to the same category:—*talo* (Samoa) = prayer; *tarotaro* (Tahiti) = a short prayer to the gods; *Kalokalo* (Hawaii) = prayer; *tataro* (Gilbert Is.) = prayer.

Uri or Kuri.

Throughout Oceania the root of words meaning hair and feathers appears to be *ulu*, and the Southern Massim nouns for tattooing, namely: *kurikuri* (Bonabona),

¹ This bird appears in the tattooing of women on the island of Liueniua in the form of a flying-bird, and the pattern is called *arewa* (Thilenius in *Nova Acta*, vol. 80, p. 43).

² Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³ Tregear's Dictionary.

uri (Dau), *uliuli* (Goodenough Is.) are seemingly derived from that root. Friederici shows that certain words in Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects have undergone a phonetic change, and among these he places the Western Papuo-Melanesian words *hwi*, *bui*, etc., meaning hair or feather. *Hwi* and *bui*, he states, were originally *hulu* and *bulu*.¹ A similar change appears to have taken place in the S. Massim words now under consideration, the *l* or *r* in these words, however, having been retained. Cognate examples in Melanesia of this form of change are provided by the words: *umri* (Anaiteum), *ului* (Aurora), *uli* (Meralava), *ului* (Motu), which all denote hair (and ? feathers). At Wedau an alternative word to *ruru* = tattooing is *giruma*, and this is probably the same word as the Oian word *kirukirum* = tattooing. *Iru* in *giruma* and *kirukirum* is apparently *uri* by metathesis, and here again cognate examples are to be found in Melanesia, e.g., *ilu* (Api), *ilu* (Whitsuntide Is.) *ivu* (Alite, Malanta), which mean hair (and ? feathers). If these several assumptions are admissible it is a fairly safe deduction that the *uri* and *kuri* words for tattooing are derived from words meaning feathers, a deduction which is supported by the South Massim Tubetube and Sariba word *daguri* = feather.

V.

SECOND VOCABULARY.

The native names of birds in the following list were all collected by me saving those in the Kiwai dialect, those belonging to Collingwood Bay, and some Binandele words, which were respectively obtained for me by others. It is possible that the list contains inaccuracies here and there, for the reason that mistakes are liable to occur unless the bird for which the name is wanted can be shown to the native. It is seldom safe to rely upon the translation by a native into his own dialect of the name of a bird known to him and to the enquirer in another dialect, but this risk must sometimes be taken if the bird the name of which is wanted is not at the moment in sight. Some of the birds given in the Vocabulary do not appear in the body of this paper, but I have thought it as well to include them in case their native names may be useful to other enquirers.

It will be observed that in some cases a name which denotes a certain bird in one dialect denotes some other bird in another dialect. Thus *binam*² = frigate-bird at Ubir and Oian (Collingwood Bay) appears as *bina* = hornbill in four of the easternmost Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects, and in Dau (S. Massims). Again, *aisava* (Mailu) = frigate-bird becomes *airava*,³ etc. = hornbill in the three western-

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 93.

² The question as to whether there is a connection as between the *bina* and *binam* words for hornbill and frigate-bird, and the Massim ceremonial axeblades called *benam* would form an interesting subject of enquiry.

³ The suffixes *rava*, *laba*, *sava*, probably denote "great"—*rava* in Melanesian dialects very commonly having this meaning.

most Western Papuo-Melanesian dialects. Perhaps, too, *bulibwali* (Trobriands) = fish-eagle is the same word as *buliali* (Nara) = frigate-bird. This perplexing confusion is not peculiar, apparently, to the above-mentioned tribes, for the Barriai tribe of South-western New Britain also seems to have interchanged the names of two birds. They call the noddy tern (*Anous stolidus*) *taule*,¹ and the frigate-bird *raila*.¹ *Raila* is probably = *aila* (this tribe having the habit of introducing "r" into words, as, e.g., *pore* for *poe*, a paddle) and *aila* is most likely an abbreviated form of *ailava*, meaning hornbill at Waima and Nara, and of *aisava*, meaning frigate-bird at Mailu : and *taule* is with equal probability the same word as the New Ireland *daula* and *ndaul*, meaning frigate-bird. The frigate-bird and the noddy tern are, of course, both sea-birds, but they are so far unlike each other that whereas the frigate-bird is a large bird with wide wing-spread, and a stately sailing method of flight, the noddy is by comparison a small bird, and, like all terns, flies in a restless, fluttering manner.

Under pattern No. 8 I have given some reasons for supposing that in certain circumstances the substitution by a tribe of one kind of bird for another kind of bird may take place owing to a similarity of habit or appearance. The interchanges of frigate-bird and hornbill names given above must, however, be due to another reason, for it would be absurd to suppose that any native could see any resemblance, either in appearance or habit, between a frigate-bird and a hornbill. The frigate-bird being essentially a marine bird and the hornbill as essentially a forest bird, suggests the possibility that originally one may have been the tutelary bird of a sea-going folk and the other the tutelary bird of a bush folk. It is conceivable that in the region of the Dampier and Vitiaz Straits the migrating peoples coming from the west and feeling their way along the coast line would pause for a time among the sheltered islands which abound in this vicinity,² with the result that tribes before then unknown to each other would meet, and there might follow as a result of their meeting some overlap and confusion of culture. Perhaps it was due to some such circumstances as these that the interchanging of the birds under notice took place.

The words given in the Vocabulary for fish-hawk do not necessarily stand for a particular kind of fish-eating hawk, though all of them designate large raptorial birds. Generally speaking, they are words for the kite—*Milvus affinis* ; but names for the fish-eagle (*Haliaeetus leucogaster*), and the osprey (*Pandion leucocephalus*) may be among them. The latter bird is, in my experience, rather rare in South-eastern New Guinea ; kites are very common, especially in the vicinity of coast villages ; fish-eagles are met with fairly frequently. The Motu word for fish-hawk

¹ Friederici, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 195, 196.

² Cf. Friederici, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 13.

SECOND VOCABULARY.

Dialect	1 Crow <i>Corvus orru</i>	2 Fish-hawk <i>Haliaeetus leucogaster</i> , <i>Pandion leucocephalus</i> , <i>Milvus affinis</i> .	3 Cockatoo (white) <i>Cacatua triton</i>	4 Cockatoo (black) <i>Microglossus aterrimus</i>	5 Tern <i>Sterna sp.</i>	6 Frigate-bird <i>Fregata aquila</i>	7 Torres Straits pigeon <i>Myristicivora spilorhoa</i>	8 Hornbill <i>Rhytidoceros plicatus</i>	9 Reef-heron <i>Demigretta sacra</i>
Kiwai (Fly River)	oa	kauare	kēa	kapia	oromo sarari	—	gimai	wāea	wowogo ea
Tate (C. Cupola, Gulf)	—	laho	eo	iore	—	aro	—	baina	poe
Toaripi (gulf)	—	laho	pasaya	kiovea	isou	aro	—	itava	poe, lele
Mekeo (W. P. Mel.)	wangiu	foi	engo	inoa	—	? aemakiunga	kofi	lainapa	foe
Waima (W. P. Mel.)	ao	po'i	apena	bihiau	iau	areau	lauria	airava	poe
Nara (W. P. Mel.)	alo	—	deva	—	—	buliali	poiomaro	ailava	—
Motu (W. P. Mel.)	galo	bogibada,	karai	kitogalo	kanage	mukou, kidu,	bune	boboro	nogo
		gamoga.				kidu, ko-			
						kobe			
Hula (W. P. Mel.)	kao	amoa	kalai	kioala	anave	kokobe	pune	bina	pogi
Sinaugolo (W. P. Mel.)	gao	gamoga	—	kitavara	—	—	bune	bina	—
Aroma (W. P. Mel.)	kao	gamoa	alai	ivala	kanave	kokobe	pune	bina	—
Mailu (W. P. Mel.)	a'e	amua	orana	ma'i	anave	aisava	vulla	bina	boi
Daui (S. Massim)	botoboto	magesubu	vadaea	mo'ilava	mogo	davasi	gabubu	bina	boi
Maiwara (S. Massim)	baeobaoe	manubada	keoi	katieawa-	—	gugnepo	gabubu huire	eagama	—
				eawa					
Wedau (S. Massim)	ogaoga	manubada	keloi	kapikoa	—	gugndaro	gabubu	binama, ta-	—
				n.f.	mekera	dawat	bunebune	gama	boi
Dobu Is. (S. Massim)	kaukau	bwoeba	keioi	n.f.	—	—	—	n.f.	—
Goodenough Is.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Panaetia Is. (S. Massim)	waiawai	manubutu	kakauwe	n.f.	maicla	dauwai	bune-e-bune	binama	apoi
	ovak	magesubu	etakena	n.f.	manu kela-	lawat	lumlum	n.f.	boi
					kela				

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kirwina (N. Massim) ...	kwaiaota	magesubu, mi-nuweka, buli-bwali	katakela	n.f.	kanau waga	daute	bubune	n.f.	boi
Murua (N. Massim) ...	auwau, kawa-wa	—	atakeia	n.f.	—	dauta	bobuna	n.f.	boi
Sudest Is. (Louisiades)	waho	malā ...	takena	n.f.	kanakana ...	dawate	bunabuna	n.f.	boi
Rossel Is. ...	owa	malā ...	kuaba	n.f.	sea-a-bibi ?	? n'gwō	iyam	n.f.	boaijo
Maisin (Collingwood B.) ...	owa	onenga	kekeu	wangi	—	atāwa	umo foia	bēremu	—
Oian (Collingwood B.) ...	awau	manubed	kasak	waikira	—	binam	umak	jagam	—
Onjo (Collingwood B.) ...	owe	—	kawa	akio	—	atekeka	andi	konkōn	—
Ubir (Collingwood B.) ...	owe...	manubad	kasak	waikir	—	binam	mofor	jagam	—
Kworafi (C. Nelson)	oga	lidunu	angia	waikira	—	atāwa	gumbara	bēremo	—
Okein (C. Nelson)	oga	bangai	ang-ena	mo-iki	—	sa-umbo	gumbara	bēremo	—
Wimiapi (C. Nelson)	awawa	neduna	kasawa	waikira	—	fanaiyo	imako	yagama	—
Arifamu (C. Nelson)	awowo	neduna	kasawa	waikira	—	fanaiyo	umago	yagama	—
Upper Musa River	owowa	amoa ...	woiko	uko	—	inui...	ubani	bobore	—
Lower Musa River	oa ...	udū ...	sagai	wai	—	atāwa	gumbara	peremo	—
Binandele ...	owa, oga ¹ ...	duna, bung ¹	aia, agina ¹	kiwai, kilol ¹	kanau	baruga, onono ¹	gumbara	biana, bene-mu ¹	poia, poi
Koita ...	gaioka	duna, boibada	kae	kerea	kanage	kiduka	bunc	gure	iyai
Koiari (inland, cent. div.)	makaika	—	kaia	birora	n.f.	—	biakai	gure	noko, boi-
Sogere (inland, cent. div.)	makaika	—	kaia	bahuto	n.f.	—	bia ...	gure	bedi (spoon-
Kagi (inland, cent. div.)	n.f.	n.f. ...	gai'a	biola	n.f.	—	n.f.	gure	bill).
								gure	ebogi
								gure	ebogi
								bobori	n.f.

NOTE—the letters n.f. denote that the bird is not found in that tribe's district.

¹ Buna Bay: the other Binandele words were obtained on the Mambare River.

(*Milvus*) is *bogibada*.¹ Similar words in Motu are *bogebada* and *bo'ebada*. These variations in the pronunciation of the word occur in archaic chants sung on ceremonial occasions, the meaning of the words of which has been lost, and it is possible, therefore, that *bogebada* and *bo'ebada* may originally have had some other meaning than fish-hawk. At Waima the bird is called *po'i*, and at Toaripi *foi*. *Bogibada* and its variants are compound words, *bada* meaning "great," but *bogi*, *boge*, and *bo'e* have no meaning in the Motu dialect. It is, however, not unlikely that originally they bore the same meaning as the Mailu word *bo'i*, which, according to Malinowski, means an "innocuous kind of ghost," or, alternatively, "the spirit which dwells in the severed and preserved skull." I have pointed out that the suffix "*lava*" to many frigate-bird and hornbill names probably denotes "great." The suffix "*bada*," which frequently occurs in fish-hawk names, undoubtedly has that meaning. The sense implied by these qualifying suffixes is most likely to be that of pre-eminence rather than of size, in the same way that *bada* is used in the compound word *tarubada*—literally "great man" but actually meaning "master."

The widely diffused word *poë* for reef-heron is possibly derived from an Indonesian root for "white"—a root which carries the same meaning in many Melanesian dialects. As one form of the reef-heron has snow-white plumage, the bird, perhaps, owes its name to that peculiarity, or it is possible, though less likely, that the bird's name is derived from the common Oceanic word *po* or *boi* = night, owing to its habit of homing to its roost at dusk. A third possibility is that *poë* (reef-heron) and *bogi* in *bogibada* (fish-hawk) are the self-same words, of which the original meaning was ghost or spirit.

The Binandele word *baruga* for frigate-bird deserves passing notice for the reason that it may be cognate to a group of Southern and Northern Massim words meaning ghost or spirit. Thus, for example, *arua* (Wedau) = shade, spirit, reflection, image; ² *karua* (Sariba) = ghost; ³ *yaruyarua* (Tubetube) = spirit of the dead; ⁴ *barom* (Trobriands) = shades of the dead.⁵ These words again may be possibly cognate to *varua* (Tahiti), *vaerua* (Mangaia), *wairua* (Maori), etc., meaning soul or spirit.

The question pertaining to the origin of the Oceanic names of certain birds, and the overlapping confusion which has occurred in regard to some of these names, is extremely complicated and difficult to solve. The result of a broad survey of the whole question has led me to think that the race from whom the Oceanic people obtained their bird cult regarded certain large birds, not as birds, but as spirits; or, to be more precise, as the visible vehicles of the spirits or ghosts of dead persons.

¹ Cf. *bogi sapulo* = *Haliaeetus leucogaster*, a totem bird of the Barriai in N. Britain (Friederici, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 187).

² *Wedau Grammar and Dictionary* (Copland King).

³ *British New Guinea Annual Report*.

⁴ *Melanesians of B. N. Guinea* (Seligman) p. 657.

⁵ *Melanesians of B. N. Guinea* (Seligman) p. 734.

On this assumption many of the difficulties I have mentioned would disappear, for the names of these birds would be the names of incarnations rather than of birds—the birds themselves being of secondary importance. It is much easier to account for a change of names taking place as between those of ideas such as incarnations than between those of visible objects such as different kinds of birds. This theory would also account for the apparent anomaly presented by carved representations of birds on Massim canoes—such as, for instance, a bird's image with a pronounced crest being called *boi*—a reef-heron—this being a bird without a crest.

I was once the fortunate witness of an incident in New Guinea which was perhaps the survival of a custom of the people who introduced the bird cult to Melanesia. Westward of the Trobriand archipelago there is a collection of islets known as the Lusancy Group. These islets being situated in dangerous uncharted waters, and having no importance for traders, were at that time seldom visited by Europeans. I went there once only in the course of a sea journey from Cape Nelson to Kiriwina in the Trobriands, and anchored off a diminutive inhabited island named Simsim. Whilst I was being pulled ashore in the ship's whaleboat my attention became fixed upon a small flock of terns which, with unusual fearlessness, accompanied us, hovering low over the boat. On nearing the shore two men emerged from the village houses and walked down to the little beach. One of the terns thereupon left the flock and flew towards the men, and after circling over them for a few moments, it perched, to my amazement, upon one of their heads. The man appeared to be quite oblivious of the bird's presence, which remained seated on his head till we landed. In the village there were two or more tame reef-herons of the white variety walking about leisurely among the houses, and several Torres Straits pigeons which were unconfined, and flew among the village people, settling upon them fearlessly. During the short time I was there the terns every now and then flew in a flock from the village to the sea, where they plunged for fish for a few minutes and then returned to the village again. I had no interpreter with me who could speak the dialect of these islanders, and was consequently unable to ascertain any particulars regarding the meaning of this singular intimacy between them and the birds, but it is significant that in the Massim area terns, reef-herons, and Torres Straits pigeons are all common totem birds.

VI.

TATTOOING LEGENDS.

Motu.

In ancient times tattooing was effected by painting the tattoo patterns on the skin with *lamanu* (tattooing pigment). This caused blood to flow without giving pain. But one day when a woman was beginning to tattoo a damsel she (the woman) broke wind, and the damsel thereupon laughed loudly so that the woman

became greatly ashamed. The woman said nothing, but when the damsel arose, she (the woman) took some of the damsel's blood and put it on a green ants' (*birairo*)¹ nest. Next time the woman was occupied in tattooing no blood flowed as it had been wont to do before, so she went away and got a small thorned twig, and returning tried to make the blood flow by pricking the skin therewith. Then blood flowed, but pain was caused. Therefore the woman spoke, saying: "If you [plural] do not laugh at me this tattooing will not give you pain, but if you laugh at me I shall take damsel's blood and put it on a green ants' nest, and the ants will gather together about the blood, and then this tattooing will be a different thing and will cause pain."²

[I have translated this legend from the Motu as written in that dialect for me by Ahuia.]

Koiari.

[This legend appears to be fragmentary. The Koiari is a Papuan bush tribe living inland of Port Moresby. The people of this tribe do not tattoo, with the exception of the Sogeri branch.]

Buda and Soli were two good-looking unmarried young women. They tattooed each other and collected the blood in a vessel and Soli hid it in a house. Soon afterwards they heard the blood cry out and when they looked they found the blood had turned into a female child, and Soli took it and fed it at her breast. When the child had grown up she [the child] collected a quantity of grasshoppers and took them to the house of Buda and Soli. Soli and Buda ate the grasshoppers and they stuck in their throats. So they said to the girl: Why don't you get a husband who will pay for you in wallobies and pigs, which we can eat instead of these nasty grasshoppers?—Then the girl went away and fell asleep in the jungle. While she was asleep an old man came and saw her, and he put her two breast nipples in his mouth, and then he too fell asleep beside her. When the girl awoke she stood up and withdrew her breast nipples from the man's mouth. Then she plucked two flowers from a vine and putting one in each corner of her mouth, she went to Buda and Soli and said: "You virgins! (*Kiomu kaka!*)³ Why did you send me into the bush for an old man to bite my breasts?"

¹ These ants (*Oecophylla* sp.) infest the bushes and trees in the Port Moresby district. They are also to be found in great numbers in the scrub on the waterless coral islands in that neighbourhood. They are very fierce, and their bite is painful. They make nests by drawing the green leaves of trees or bushes together, and binding them in a compact mass by a substance exuded from their mouths.

² Cf. the Maori legend of the origin of tattooing, which affords an interesting parallel of the idea that tattooing was evolved from skin painting. (See *Ancient History of the Maoris*, White, ii, 4, and *The Maori Race*, Tregear, p. 259.)

³ *Kio kaka* — a Motu expression meaning *virgo intacta*, literally, vulva red. In the sense in which it is used in the legend, the expression appears to have been meant derisively. The legend was obtained for me by a Koita man who was intimate with the Koiari tribe.

Dawi.

[The following legend is quoted verbatim from *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, page 493, Seligman. That part of the legend relating to tattooing appears to be merely incidental, and the legend, therefore, contains little of interest in connexion with this subject. Saving the reference therein to tattooing, it bears close resemblance to the Taupota Folk-tale "The Frog Witch," on p. 401 of the same book.]

A woman man-eater, her village on Bonarua : she lived in a hole in the rock : also a small girl, her village was Bonarua. This girl was given to wandering about. At all times her mother and father they said, "Don't wander, or else the sorceress in the bush will eat you." The girl did not listen, she walked about. The old woman saw the girl and called her and said, "You come!" The girl went and with the woman came to the cave and stood outside. The sorceress said to the door of the cave, "Open!" and it opened. The two entered the cave, whereupon she tattooed her. She commenced at the face and went down even to her feet. She boiled the blood and ate it. When she had finished the tattoo on another day the sorceress said to the girl, "You stay, I go and seek our food." She lied to the girl, her idea was to go far searching, that she might eat her on the morrow.

Therefore she, the girl, considered : she thought, "I will speak to the door to open." She said "Door, you open!" and the door itself opened and the girl ran away to her father and mother. She said, "The sorceress caught me, to-day she would have eaten me." Therefore her father baked a stone wherewith to kill the sorceress. The sorceress arrived at her cave and found no girl. Then she sought and went to the girl's father and mother and asked. They said, "She is here." Then she said, "My grandchild there bring to me!" The girl's father said, "Yes," then spoke down and said, "Open your mouth and I will show your grandchild to you and you can swallow her." And the girl's father threw the hot stone and she swallowed it and died. Therefore the girl's tattoo they afterwards imitated.

VII.

SUMMARY.

Although there are indications which point to a large number of the tattoo patterns discussed in this paper being derived from birds, the only two kinds of birds definitely specified by name are the frigate-bird and the hornbill. Frigate-bird patterns are tattooed at Waima, Mailu, and by the Southern Massims ; and a similar convention of the same bird is painted on the face by one or more of the tribes of Collingwood Bay. Patterns named after the hornbill are of rarer occurrence, being worn on the deltoid region of the arms by males at Hula and Aroma. Centipedes are definitely specified by name in many of the Western Papuo-Melanesian patterns as well as in those tattooed by the Southern Massims. The latter people have one or more patterns called by words meaning "snake," but there is no clear evidence that

snakes are figured in Western Papuo-Melanesian tattooing designs. The almost total absence of fish-patterns is remarkable unless the *ialata tarana* design is an original name, and not, as I have suggested, an assumed name. With regard to the derivations I have suggested for the other pattern names there is not sufficient evidence absolutely to justify the connections, but if I have not pressed my deductions unduly they appear for the most part to be associated with ideas of flight and feathers, and here and there, perhaps, with stars.

I have given reasons for thinking that some bird names are primarily the names of spirits or ghosts, and it may be that all objects which remain suspended in the atmosphere without visible support and which are capable of moving with great rapidity through that medium, such as birds, butterflies and meteors, were thought by the early Oceanic people to possess spiritual attributes. Birds which have the habit of sailing aloft with rigid wings appear to have made a stronger impression on the minds of these people than birds with a fluttering manner of flight: hence, perhaps, the importance in Melanesian religious conceptions of large raptorial birds and of frigate-birds.¹ It is to be noted, however, that hawks are not represented in tattooing—at all events not by name.

The importance of feathers is very marked in Oceania and there would seem to be some obscure association of ideas between feathers and body hairs, especially pubic hairs, and between these and tattooing. It is at any rate noteworthy that words for feather and pubic hair should be so commonly identical in Melanesian and Polynesian dialects, and that the tattooing of those parts of the body where hair grows is so persistent a custom. In parts of Fiji, for instance, where a few years ago tattooing (*ngkia*) had otherwise become an obsolete practice, the females were still almost invariably tattooed round about the vulva. And the Western Papuo-Melanesian tribes are at great pains to tattoo the whole surface of the armpits. The Melanesian-speaking tribes of South-east New Guinea have all a deep-seated repugnance to allowing their body hair to grow, a feature which is more or less common, I believe, throughout Melanesia and Polynesia. Unmarried girls of the Motu group of tribes who have reached, or are approaching puberty, even go so far as to remove eyebrows and eyelashes before attending a feast or dance ceremony. It is to be borne in mind, however, that tattooing the region about the vulva may have originated in the idea that maleficent spirits would thereby be prevented from entering the body by that orifice, or that beneficent spirits might be induced to enter. Chin and lip markings, and the wearing of nose sticks, and ornaments in the ear-lobes, may

¹ In Borneo the Kayans watch for an omen before preparing the ground for sowing padi; the omen bird being a hawk (*nihō*). If the hawk sails around *without once flapping his wings*, it is regarded as a propitious sign. *The Home Life of Borneo Head Hunters*, Furness, p. 162.

Some of the large kinds of butterflies and particularly the *Ornithoptera*, which latter are fairly common in Indonesia and New Guinea, also have the habit of soaring with rigid wings.

be due to the same conception, but this supposition cannot, apparently, account for armpit tattooing.

There can be little doubt, I think, but that tattooing as exemplified in Oceania is founded in a religious impulse. The silence preserved during the performance of the operation in South-east New Guinea even down to the present day; the mere fact of arbitrarily drawing human blood which the operation entails; the importance laid upon the effusion of blood in the Motu legend; and the miracle, described in the Koiari legend, of the blood thus drawn changing to a human being,—all point to the rite having a religious origin. A few instances of tattooing ritual culled from other parts of Oceania which seem to support this theory may be quoted here. At San Cristoval drums are beaten at prescribed intervals during the operation. It is a fairly safe assumption, I venture to think, that the beating of drums in Melanesia is, or was in former times, associated with the presence of spirits, though in the account which follows the writer states that the drums are beaten at San Cristoval in this case for the purpose of communicating information to other villages. In this island of the Southern Solomons tattooing is called *uhuwahu*,¹ and the operation is performed by male professionals. “The patterns tattooed are: above the nose a frigate-bird and lines over the eyebrows to represent the evening sky; beside the eyes circles representing the fruit of a certain tree, and on the cheeks, clouds and birds’ wings alternately. . . . When one half of the face is done, drums are beaten to announce the fact to neighbouring villages, and when the frigate-bird is finished the drums are beaten again.”²

In Samoa we have seen that the operation was concluded by a festive procession of the priests and their assistants accompanied by a ceremonial removing of the *tabu*.³

The Marshall Islanders chant a song during the performance of the operation, accompanied by the beating of drums. I quote one verse of the song: “The chant rises to the gods and inspiration returns to the artist. Beat the drums, beat them in the circle. The black noddy tern (*Tölpel-seeschwalbe*) flies by with wings outspread. Its blackness falls upon the tattooing. Make the lines well, you tattooers.”⁴

¹ At Florida (S. Solomons) hair or feathers is called *ulu*, but in the neighbouring island of Malanta *wuhu* means hair or feathers.

² *Many-sided Melanesia* (Coombe), p. 315.

³ See p. 41.

⁴ *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa* (Krämer), p. 408.