

Research on Rennell and Bellona

A Preliminary Report

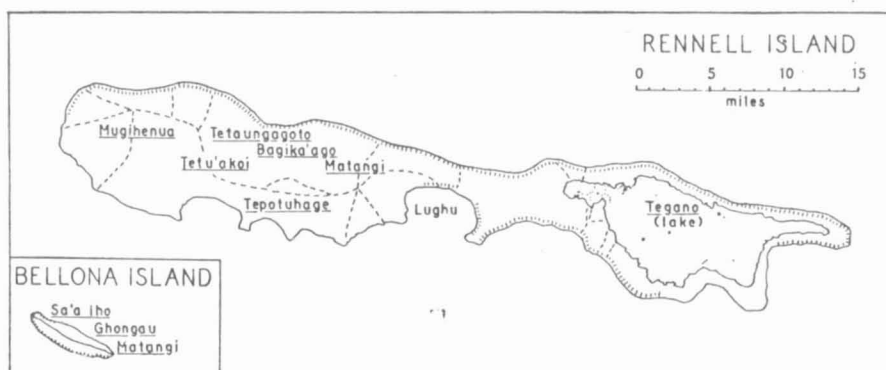
By TORBEN MONBERG

Among the Polynesian outliers in Melanesia, Rennell and Bellona are those which have hitherto received least attention from ethnologists. Very few research workers have visited these two islands in the British Solomons at a time when the culture was still uninfluenced by European concepts, i. e. before late in the 1930's. Only some notes and short papers have been published by scientists, who were able to study the old culture while it was still in bloom.

C. M. Woodford visited Rennell in 1906 and has given valuable information on the local culture (1). Notes on the language have been published by S. H. Ray and W. von Bülow (2), partly based on material collected by Bishop Patteson who went to Rennell in 1856 together with Bishop Selwyn and to Bellona in 1863 with The Rev. Codrington. Dr. Northcote Deck paid several short visits to Rennell between the years 1908 and 1911 and has given some information on the native life (3). Dr. H. Ian Hogbin and G. A. V. Stanley were on Rennell in 1927. Hogbin has published a short account of the local culture (4) and Stanley has included some observations of interest to ethnologists in his Geological Report (5). S. M. Lambert visited Rennell and Bellona as a member of the Whitney and Templeton Crocker Expeditions 1928 and 1933, and has given a charming and interesting picture of life on the two islands (6). Another member of the Templeton Crocker Expedition, Dr. Gordon McGregor, has published a valuable paper on the religion, which, among other things of interest, contains a good description of a harvest cult which he had the opportunity of observing in the *Tegano* (7) district on Rennell (8). During his researches in Tikopia Professor Raymond Firth obtained an account of the voyage of two Tikopians to Rennell. The charming narrative of their stay on the island throws valuable light on some aspects of the old culture (9). Apart from what has been listed above, some shorter notes on Rennell and Bellona have also appeared in a few other works.

In 1938 the Christian God conquered the old deities. Owing to the way in which Christianity was introduced, the old culture broke down unusually quickly. The pre-Christian religion is now entirely a thing of the past and is looked upon with no little degree of contempt by most of the natives. Even the social structure is now in nearly all ways different from the one under which people lived as recently as twenty years ago.

In 1951 Dr. Birket-Smith visited Rennell. Having obtained information that the old culture was now very rapidly dissolving he realized that if additional



Map of Rennell and Bellona Islands. District names underlined; trails indicated by dotted lines.

material on the old culture was to be preserved for the future it must be collected as quickly as possible. With two zoologists and a photographer he stayed on Rennell for four weeks. The ethnological material of the expedition was published by Dr. Birket-Smith in a book entitled "An Ethnological Sketch of Rennell Island" (10). In this work the author mostly deals with the material culture, and, furthermore, opens an interesting discussion as to the origin of the Polynesian population on Rennell and Bellona.

In 1953 two British zoologists, Mrs. Diana Bradley and Mr. J. D. Bradley visited Rennell and Bellona. Mrs. Bradley published a small paper (11) in which she gives a few myths and songs from Rennell, some of them in native language and with an interlinear translation.

R. G. Roberts, for some years District Commissioner in the British Solomon Islands, has published Rennell and Bellona genealogies and some variants of the legend of the first Polynesian settlers on the two islands (12).

In 1957-58 Professor Samuel H. Elbert from the University of Hawaii stayed about six months on Rennell and Bellona to study the language. The material which he collected contains a considerable amount of information on the pre-Christian religion and culture. Professor Elbert's material has not yet been published.

At the initiative of Dr. Birket-Smith and thanks to a grant from Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond (The Danish State Research Foundation), I was given an opportunity of spending four months on Rennell and Bellona in 1958-59 for the purpose of collecting as much material on the old religion as possible. On 2nd October I arrived at Rennell together with Mr. S. Willer-Andersen, M. Sc., who accompanied me for the purpose of taking cine-pictures of life on the islands.

Having some knowledge of other Polynesian languages, and also thanks to the generosity of Professor Raymond Firth, who permitted me to copy his notes on the related Tikopia language, and to Professor Samuel Elbert, who put his own

vocabularies and grammatical notes at my free disposal, I was able to acquire a basic knowledge of the language before my arrival at Rennell. This was naturally an enormous help and it enabled me to start collecting information shortly after my arrival (14).

According to the original plan the expedition was to stay on Rennell throughout the four months and to leave the neighbouring island of Bellona out of consideration. The turn of events, however, made it preferable to change these plans. During a polio epidemic which started on Rennell in the middle of November, the two men who were reported to be the only ones who would be able to provide me with more detailed information on the local myths and rituals fell so sick that they were unable to act as informants. Moreover, when asking about some special subject concerning the old social structure, tribal history, cults, etc. I was very often met with the answer: "We don't know. If you go and ask the old chiefs on Bellona you will get an answer. They still remember". Thus realizing that many a gap could be filled by people on Bellona, and as, moreover, very little research-work had been done on that island before (Professor Elbert only stayed there for about a week and Dr. Birket-Smith did not manage to get there at all), I decided to leave Rennell and arrived at Bellona on 8th December. During my two months of field work there a considerable amount of additional material was collected. The statements of my informants on Rennell proved to be correct. Of the old religion and culture much more was remembered on Bellona than on Rennell.

In spite of the strong influence of the missionaries who, purely out of ardent devotion to an ideal, do their utmost to cut all ties with the pagan past, the natives proved excellent informants. Their honesty, their helpfulness, their ability as 'teachers', and their patience with the ignorant stranger made living and working with them an unforgettable experience. Having once discovered that their guest does not belong to any mission and that he meets them with sympathy and without any moral prejudice, they talk freely even about those events of their past which their new set of moral concepts make them consider disgracing (murders, infanticide etc.). They even have a marvellous faculty for drawing a picture, more or less detailed, of their ancient culture without mixing it up with Christian ideas, a matter which I naturally had to control rigidly.

As far as can be seen, the explanation of this ability to separate ancient concepts from new ones lies in the extraordinary way in which Christianity was introduced on Rennell and Bellona. The old religion was literally abandoned overnight. During a harvest festival in *Niupani* on Rennell in 1938 a battle took place between the old deities and the Christian God. The ocular demonstration of this was that the priest-chief went mad and killed a lot of people because the deities had taken possession of him. The outcome was that the Christian God sent the old deities away to their heavenly homes, thus making himself master of the two islands. When the harvest festival was over people realized that as the deities had now left the islands forever the ancient forms of worship had entirely lost

their meaning. In the following week they started building churches all over Rennell, and a few months later Christianity was brought to Bellona. The old family-settlements were abandoned and people moved together in villages with the church as the all-important center. It is obvious that these sudden changes in the religious and social structure had a profound effect on the whole life of the islands. It is a fact that the natives of today look upon life as it was led before 1938 as if it were a life in another world. "Before that year we lived like animals in the bush, fighting and killing all the time, but now we live like men, we live in villages and there is no killing", people said to me. Even if this sounds like an extract from a missionaries' speech it gives a true picture of what people feel today. As far as one can judge the fact that the acculturation, at least in the spiritual field, started so abruptly has preserved the picture of the ancient culture more as a whole than has been the case in cultures where the transition between the ancient and the new has been more smooth. This may also be the reason why the natives on Rennell and Bellona more easily manage to separate old concepts from new ones when talking about the past.

It is not my intention to present any part of the material collected on Rennell and Bellona in this short report, but only to give a sketch of the various subjects of research and a brief outline of the structure of the ancient culture.

As mentioned above, the purpose of the expedition was solely to collect information on the culture of Rennell and Bellona as it was before the advent of Christianity and not to study the present culture of the two islands.

This distinction has not been made because it was considered to be more interesting to deal with the past than with the present, but because, having but a limited amount of time at my disposal, I found it reasonable to use this for collecting material on the ancient culture, which is doomed to complete oblivion within a very few years. It is, however, my sincere hope that not too many years may go before a thorough research into the present cultural stage can be carried out. The study of the culture as it was when still free of European contact and influence is, of course, first and foremost of importance to the study of Polynesian culture and of 'primitive' concepts, but on the assumption that the present cannot be fully understood without insight into the past it may even contribute to an understanding of the present culture of the islands, which is naturally a conglomerate of ancient concepts and new ones.

From what has been said above it will be understood that in studying the ancient culture I had to employ what has been termed the "historical method". The old deities had left the islands 20 years ago, the celebrations of the cult festivals ended, most of the myths, rituals and even names of many of the deities and ancestors had been forgotten, only very few people remembered the words and acts of the rituals, and the new social structure had, to some degree, thrown a veil of oblivion over the old way of life. All this meant that I had to rely almost

entirely upon oral information. The picture of the old culture, incomplete as it must be, had to be put together, piece by piece, from the various bits of material, which I managed to obtain from my informants.

This, of course, is by no means a unique situation. Many other field-workers have had similar experiences. However the feeling that only two decades had gone by since the time when one would have been able to observe the situations themselves and to work with people to whom the Polynesian religion and culture was a living reality, added considerably to the envy I sometimes felt towards field-workers who were fortunate enough to visit these islands before the advent of Christianity. It was obvious that even my informants, when sometimes tired of explaining to me things which I could have seen myself before 1938, felt that the situation was rather unfortunate. Not infrequently people would smilingly say to me: "Why didn't you come here twenty years ago. It would all have been much easier then". I could only agree with them.

Brief accounts of the immigration myth have been published by other visitors to Rennell and Bellona (15). I was given three variants of the myth by different informants. They agreed in the outlines but differed in some of the details. One informant was able to give some interesting details which had either been forgotten or suppressed by the others. The informants all being of different descent, the variants threw an interesting light upon the rivalry of various lines as expressed through the myths.

Twenty-four generations ago about one hundred people led by eight chiefs left their traditional homeland of 'Ubea looking for a new place to live in. The canoes sailed westward and first arrived at an island called *Hutuna* and later at an island called *Henuatai*. On leaving the latter all the canoes sank except the double-canoe belonging to a man called *Kaitu'u* and to his classificatory uncle, his *tuātina hakapigi*, whose name was *Togo*, and the canoe belonging to a man called *Taupongi*. From the hundred people floating in the water *Togo* pulled up eight married couples, each of which were descendants of one of the eight chiefs. The rest were left to drown and the two canoes proceeded westward, reaching first *Mugaba* (Rennell), where according to some informants no attempt to land was made, and the canoes went on to *Mungiki* (Bellona), where they landed, having at last found the place they wanted to live in. When *Kaitu'u* and *Taupongi* and the rest of the voyagers landed, they found both Rennell and Bellona inhabited by small, black people, *Hiti*. As time went on, these were completely annihilated by the settlers.

These are the rough outlines of the beginning of the immigration myth. How much of this is historically correct in the European sense of the word will of course never be known, at least not as regards the details. However, it seems a fact that the settlers came from the east, and it is obvious that the natives of the two islands are of Polynesian origin. On the other hand it is also obvious that both the language and the culture contain elements of non-Polynesian origin, but traditions of

closer contact with the neighbouring Melanesian islands or other non-Polynesian cultures are very faint.

The importance of the immigration myth lies, however, not as much in its greater or lesser value as a historical account as in the picture it gives of native concepts of traditions concerning the past. One notes, for instance, there are no myths regarding life in the traditional homeland and that genealogies are not carried further back than to the arrival of the first canoes from 'Ubea. People on Rennell and Bellona do not claim descentance from the deities or the culture heroes; no family ties exist between deities and men. On the contrary, there is a gap between the world of the deities and the world of people, *pegea*, a gap which is, however, eliminated through the cults in which an identification of the deities and some of the participants takes place, and, furthermore, by the ancestors *ta'otua* acting as messengers between the heavenly abodes and the islands.

The immigration myth includes some tribal history. The eight *takaga*, married couples, settled in various parts of Bellona and had offspring. In this way the original eight lineages were formed. After about nine generations only two of these lineages were left, the rest having been exterminated through wars. The two surviving ones were the *sa'a Kaitu'u* and the *sa'a Taupongi*. Except for a very limited number of people of *sa'a Taupongi* all people on the two islands claim to belong to the *sa'a Kaitu'u*. As time went on and the number of inhabitants increased the *sa'a Kaitu'u* was split up into smaller units by people moving from the original settlement in eastern Bellona to other places. In the sixth generation three brothers went to Rennell and settled in different parts of the island. Their descendants founded new settlements in the areas originally taken over by the three men, thus forming the districts, *kanomanaha*, whose inhabitants, *kakai'anga* all traced their descent to the same forefather. Originally there were two districts on Bellona and three on Rennell. As time went on some of these districts were split up, others were united. In 1938 there were seven districts on Rennell and three on Bellona. It is a peculiar feature of the culture that there were no villages. The small family units, father, mother and their offspring, *hanau*, lived in separate settlements, *manaha*. These lie spread over the whole district in clearings in the bush near the respective gardens. A family unit could, however, own two or more such settlements, very often one in the bush and one near the sea, the latter being used during the fishing seasons. There is no doubt that this special trait is due to the nature of the islands. Fertile soil is only found in small pockets in the bush, and travelling over the sharp coral rocks is extremely arduous. Although the small family unit considered itself independent in most of its minor social affairs, the ties between the different *manahas* inside a district were very strong in such matters as religious feasts and wars. The chief of the *kakai'anga* was termed *hakahua*. He was chosen among the male members who could claim the most direct descent from their mutual ancestor. The *hakahua* normally lived in the *hakanohonga*, meaning the first settlement to be founded in the district and, thereby, the place from which all the other settlements

had split off in former times. In matters such as for instance religion and war the *hakahua* was the one who had to make the decisions and perform the more important religious ceremonies.

There was no supreme chief, neither on Rennell nor on Bellona. All chiefs considered themselves autonomous, but the desire for supremacy of one or more of the other districts very often caused wars which could last for several generations.

Descent was patrilineal, the first born son being first in rank. The ties to the mother's line were, however, strong. Exogamy of the *kakai'anga* was, more or less, considered the ideal, but inter-*kakai'anga* marriages seem to have been rather frequent. Marriage between cross-cousins, *ha'anga*, was very common. There is a traditional explanation of this. When after sixteen generations the *sa'a Kaitu'u* was about to become completely exterminated by war, one of the surviving *hakahua* on Bellona decided that the taboo on cross-cousin marriages, which had been 'brought' from 'Ubea, should be lifted so that the *sa'a Kaitu'u* could increase in numbers again as quickly as possible. From that time on cross-cousin marriage was considered a good thing and not classed as *getu*, incestuous.

An important feature of the socio-religious organization was the grouping of all male members as belonging to – or having – a *ngaguenga*. When *Kaitu'u*, the ancestor, came to the islands he 'brought' a *ngaguenga* called *Teuse* or *Magama'ubea*. The *ngaguenga* was a 'temple', a small house, often poorly built and containing the sacred sticks and mats. In front of the temple was an open space, *goto-maga'e*, surrounded by a low rampart. In the beginning all members of the community recognized *Teuse* as their *ngaguenga*, but in the splitting up of the islands into *kakai'anga*, some new *ngaguenga* were also started so that each *kakai'anga* had one main *ngaguenga* of its own and often numerous smaller ones too. The temples naturally played an important part in the cults, parts of the rituals being performed in the house of the settlement and on the open space in front, other parts being performed at the temple. This duplicity of the religious life was in a way connected with the worship of the two supreme deities, *Tehainga'atua* and *Tehu'aigabenga*. It was stated that the *ngaguenga* was the abode, *nuku*, of the former, whereas the latter owned the dwelling house of the *manaha*. Normally the *hakahua* of the district was also high priest, *tunihenua*, of the *ngaguenga*. It was his duty to lead the *giunga*, cults, and to recite the important prayers. He was assisted by a second 'priest', *haihenua*. This was a man of lesser rank, often a younger brother, *taina*, or son, *hosa*, of the *tunihenua*. Some younger, or inferior, members of the *ngaguenga* acted as helpers, *hakabaka*. In certain parts of the cults, ten or more male members played the parts of the district deities, *ngasuenga*. Sitting in a row inside *ha'itunga* they were given shares of food and drink, in a ritual of communion.

On both islands much of the rituals are now forgotten. On Rennell it was only possible to obtain the outlines of the proceedings and fragments of the ritual prayers. Conditions were, however, more favourable on Bellona, where some of the old men proved very good informants and furnished me with long and detailed

descriptions of several of the rituals. Owing to strong reluctance on the part of the local native missionary teachers, who possess strong authority, the old men were not allowed to re-enact the old rituals for my benefit. They were very keen on doing it not because they attached any importance to them at all, but only because they thought it would be a pleasant pastime and an excellent way of entertaining their white guest. In these circumstances, however, we had to employ a different method in order to get the details of the rituals as clear as possible. The old men 'transformed' my campbed into a miniature of the cult-place, putting a book up in one end as *ha'itunga*, laying small pieces of paper in front of it as the sacred mats for the deities and the ancestors, and heaping up small portions of cornflakes to represent the piles of yam etc. Seating themselves round the campbed, they "walked" around the cultplace with their fingers, dictating their comments and ritual prayers to me. When no missionary teachers were present they would even act some parts of the ritual on the floor of the house. As one can imagine these proceedings were not very spectacular ones, but under the circumstances it proved the best way to get a fairly clear picture of the rituals.

The most important of the numerous rituals were connected with the harvest season, *ghapu* (May-August). This was the time for digging the yam. The rituals were performed separately in each *manaha*, the *ngaguenga* however being used by all *manaha*. When the yam of a *manaha* was ready to be dug, the head of the settlement would summon relatives from other settlements and also people from other districts to participate in the *hakatahinga*, feast. The *tunihenua* of his *ngaguenga* arrived to lead the ceremonies, which would last several days, the center of activity shifting between *manaha* and *ngaguenga*. An important part in the ceremonies was played by the *ma'a*, the brother of the wife of the head of the settlement. This was only one of the many ways in which the social and economic ties with the wife's line were secured. The main purpose of the rituals was to secure *ma'ugi*, life, health, and *sahenga*, fertility, for the *manaha* and the *kakai'anga*. Being the holders of *ma'ugi* and *sahenga*, the deities were summoned to participate in the rituals in 'their' *manaha* and 'their' *ngaguenga*. They were given a share of the harvest and partook in a sacred meal, whereby their life, health, and fertility were transferred to the world of men. During the rituals the deities used priests and other men present as their mediums by sitting in front of them and talking through their mouths.

By means of the rituals, deities and ancestors were summoned to partake in nearly all the more important activities, especially those of planting and harvesting, fishing, preparing special kinds of food, manufacturing turmeric, carving hooks, cutting out canoes etc. Apart from the harvesting of cultivated roots and fruits, special importance was attached to the catching of sharks, *magō*, on Rennell and of flying-fish, *sasabe*, on Bellona and to the picking of the aromatic fruit, *gemugi*, in the bush on both islands. In the life of the community important rituals took place in connection with death, the starting of war and settling of peace, the construction of new *ngaguenga*, and the installment of new *tunihenua*. Minor rituals were performed

in connection with, for instance, childbirth, tattooing, and the snaring of birds. A special ritual was performed in connection with the trance of a prophet, *tāuga* or *tāuga 'atua*, who, being possessed by a deity or an ancestor informed people of the will of the heavenly chiefs. The pantheon consisted of numerous deities of greater or lesser importance. On their arrival at Bellona the first settlers brought two stones, which were the embodiments, *tino*, of a male deity, *Poutu' uigangi*, and a female deity, *Guatupu'a*. These were deposited in western Bellona and considered so sacred by people on both islands that worship of them could only take place on very rare occasions. It was stated that it did not even happen once in every generation. These two deities were, however, invisibly present at every cult festival and food offerings were presented to them on these occasions.

Of more direct importance were, however, the two deities *Tehainga'atua* and *Tehu'aigabenga* and their respective offspring. *Tehainga'atua* and his family were classed as *'atua*, whereas *Tehu'aigabenga*, his grandson, was an *'aitu*, the difference between *'atua* and *'aitu* being just as obscure on Rennell as in other Polynesian cultures. All *ngaguenga* except those of the *sa'a Taupongi* considered these two their principal deities, *tungingasuega*, but each *ngaguenga* also had a number of lesser deities, *ngasuenga*, attached to it. The *ngasuenga* were considered as the offspring of *Tehainga'atua* and *Tehu'aigabenga*, and most of them were *ngasuenga* of more than one *ngaguenga*. A few, such as for instance *Babenga*, a deity closely connected with the sea, were minor deities of all *ngaguenga* on the two islands.

When not walking about on earth, the deities stayed in their homes, *nuku*, in the heaven, *gangi*, far away to the east. Nothing was learnt about the series of heavens, one above the other, which exist in most Polynesian religions. The homes of the deities looked exactly like human settlements, only they were bigger and more richly equipped.

All the deities mentioned above were classified under the term *'atua giua*, deities worshipped. Another class was that of the *haka'apai*. These were *'atua he'e giua*, deities not worshipped. They lived in the bush and in the sea and their favourite pastime was to make people sick or lunatic. Among the *haka'apai* are found such well known Polynesian figures as *Tangagoa* and *Sina*.

A third class of spiritual beings were the *kakai* or *'atua pegea*, human deities. They were a kind of culture heroes, who had once lived on earth as human beings. Among these we find *Mautikitiki* and his father *'Ataganga*. *Mautikitiki* is credited with the act of having drawn Rennell out of the sea.

Of great importance were the ancestral spirits *ta'otua* or *takotonga*. When a man died his *'ata*, or spiritual self, left the islands, travelling westward by the same route as the one *Kaitu'u* took when coming to Rennell and Bellona. The *'ata* would finally arrive at the heavenly abodes of the deities, stay there for some time and then return to his grave, not, however, to stay quietly there from then on. As *ta'otua* it would be his duty to act as a medium between deities and human beings, constantly travelling between the heavenly homes and earth, expressing the wishes

of people to the deities and bringing back the answers. A considerable part of the ritual prayers is adressed to the *ta'otua*, imploring them to ask the deity for *sahenga* and *ma'ugi*.

As mentioned before, creation myths giving an account of the origin of all things, similar to the ones found in other parts of Polynesia, are absent. A curious myth told me by one informant was about an 'atua called *Hu'aitemanatapu* who created all things and lived in a place where there was no death. This story was reported to have been told to a prophet by one of the deities many generations ago. Although the myth does not contain clear evidence of Christian influence, it must be suspected that it may have come into being through contact with some foreign culture.

Among the myths and stories, *tautupu'a*, the ones concerning the *haka'apai* and *kakai* predominate. Myths about the 'atua *giua* are rare.

From this brief sketch it may perhaps be seen that some of the ancient culture is still remembered today, twenty years after the great cultural revolution. It has been mentioned before that many features were completely forgotten and that people of today have only a vague idea of many of the ancient concepts. It was strange to see that whereas it was possible to obtain an amazing amount of the often very long ritual prayers, it proved an arduous task to get more than an outline of, for instance, the ancient social structure and the beliefs concerned with death. The explanation to this is perhaps that the ritual prayers, which were learnt, remembered and recited more or less mechanically and without much concentration on the actual meaning of the words, formed a more stable unity in the minds of the inhabitants than concepts which were later more or less replaced by concepts introduced with Christianity.

I regret to say that there is a gap in my material where the records of the important ritual dances ought to be. Although I managed to obtain the words of a number of the songs accompanying the dances, I did not see any real dancing myself. The reason was that the local native missionary teachers recieved orders from some visiting white missionaries that no dancing was to be allowed on the islands any more, the dances being the only part of the old 'devilish' rituals that was still kept a little alive. They went so far as to threaten their countrymen with the closing of all churches on the islands if they failed to obey this order. In fact one of my informants was expelled from church for some time because he had sung one of the ritual songs to me. Luckily this was an extreme case.

The material obtained on this Expedition, which left the islands on February 1st 1959, is now being worked up, some of it in close collaboration with professor Samuel Elbert. Besides my notes it consists of tape-recordings of prayers, myths, songs, etc. The collection of material from the two islands is, however, not completed yet. Written accounts of myths and tribal history are still being sent to me from some informants, neatly written, and occasionally with an interlinear translation

in more or less halting English. Besides being a proof that still more material concerning the ancient Polynesian culture can be obtained on these two islands, it shows that, in spite of the attempts of the missionaries to make the natives forget the past a general feeling of the value of traditions still exists among the people on Rennell and Bellona.

In concluding this paper I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, on whose initiative the field-work was carried out and to Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond for their financial support, to Professor Raymond Firth for permitting me to copy out his notes on the Tikopian language, to Professor Samuel Elbert for his generous help in the linguistic field and for his consent to collaborate in working up the material, to His Excellency the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, Sir John Gutch, for permitting me to carry out the research-work, to Mr. John Grover, Chief Geologist, to Mr. Derek Cudmore, D. C., and Mr. Roger Pearson, D. O. for their never failing helpfulness, and last, but not least to all friends on Rennell and Bellona for their hospitality and their deep interest in my work, and to Sten Willer-Andersen for his companionship and assistance throughout the expedition.

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11. BRADLEY, DIANA: Notes and Observations from Rennell and Bellona Islands, British Solomon Islands. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 65,4. 1956.
12. DIANA BRADLEY and J. D. BRADLEY are among the contributors to the work: *The Natural History of Rennell Island, British Solomon Islands, I-III*, published on behalf of the University of Copenhagen and the British Museum (Natural History), London. Copenhagen 1958. Edited by TORBEN WOLFF. This work contains some information of interest to ethnology.
13. ROBERTS, R. G.: The Children of Kaitu. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 67, 1. 1958.
14. Needless to say, I did not, of course, acquire a complete mastery of the tongue during my four months' stay. However, in order to avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretations I had nearly all information dictated to me in Rennelese or Bellonese, these two dialects diverging only very little from each other. Translations were made immediately afterwards in close collaboration with my informants who nearly all knew a good deal of Pidgin-English, and moreover had a marvellous faculty for elucidating the meaning of words by examples.
This, of course, made the collection of material a fairly slow process, but it is my hope that any quantitative deficiency is more than made up for by the accuracy of the material.
15. WOODFORD, 1907. HOGGIN, 1931. STANLEY, 1927. LAMBERT 1931, 1933. MACGREGOR 1943, FIRTH, 1931. BIRKET-SMITH, 1956. BRADLEY, 1956. ROBERTS, 1958.

TORBEN MONBERG,
Fredensborg,
Denmark.
November 1959.

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